

*The Background of Colonial American
Portraiture: Some Pages from a
European Notebook*

BY LOUISA DRESSER

THE study of the history of art is as subject to the changes of enthusiasm and emphasis as any other, and it is interesting to consider a fundamental shift of attitude which has occurred during the past twenty years on the part of students of American colonial portraiture. It is now attracting the attention of a new generation of scholars already trained in the history of art. The first persons to interest themselves in this subject, of whom the Reverend William Bentley about 1800 was an early example and Charles K. Bolton, author of *Portraits of the Founders*, 1919, 1926, an outstanding later one, were concerned with the likeness. Was the portrait a genuine contemporary representation of the sitter? By the second to fourth decades of the twentieth century, however, an interest was flourishing which dated back to the studies of William H. Whitmore¹ and Augustus Thorndike Perkins² in the third quarter of the nineteenth, the seeking out and defining of the work of various artists active in colonial America, and the writing of their biographies. Lawrence Park tackled

¹ William H. Whitmore, *Notes Concerning Peter Pelham, the Earliest Artist Resident in New England, and His Successors Prior to the Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1867).

² Augustus Thorndike Perkins, *A Sketch of the Life and a List of Some of the Works of John Singleton Copley* (Boston, 1873).

Joseph Badger³ and Joseph Blackburn,⁴ Henry Wilder Foote wrote of Robert Feke⁵ and joined John Hill Morgan in continuing Park's work on Blackburn,⁶ J. Hall Pleasants studied Justus Engelhardt Kühn,⁷ and Barbara Neville Parker and Anne Bolling Wheeler produced their monumental catalogue of Copley's American portraits.⁸ The histories of portraits by unknown artists and the biographies of the sitters were carefully studied to determine whether the portraits were actually painted in America. Much fundamental spadework was done by devoted amateurs but, whether by amateurs or professionals, it was done primarily by persons whose interest was in building the history of American painting by establishing the works produced in this country on which it could be based. Much of the research was carried out by men eminent in other professions, law, medicine, the ministry, and by staff members of historical societies and art museums. The careful examination of the pictures themselves, off the wall and in good light, by William Sawitzky, and in the laboratory with x-ray photography by Alan Burroughs, were further developments of this interest. So was a determined effort to uncover certain "fake" portraits (many of eminent men ornamented with Smibert signatures)⁹ which had been concocted and accepted in the 'twenties. Colleges and universities played virtually no part with the exception of Har-

³ Lawrence Park, *Joseph Badger and a Descriptive List of Some of His Works* (Boston, 1918).

⁴ Lawrence Park, "Joseph Blackburn—Portrait Painter," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, New Ser., XXXII (1922), 270-329.

⁵ Henry Wilder Foote, *Robert Feke, Colonial Portrait Painter* (Cambridge, Mass., 1930).

⁶ John Hill Morgan and Henry Wilder Foote, "An Extension of Lawrence Park's Descriptive List of the Work of Joseph Blackburn," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, New Ser., XLVI (1936), 15-81.

⁷ J. Hall Pleasants, "Justus Engelhardt Kühn, an Early Eighteenth Century Maryland Portrait Painter," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, New Ser., XLVI (1936), 243-280.

⁸ Barbara Neville Parker and Anne Bolling Wheeler, *John Singleton Copley, American Portraits* (Boston, 1938).

⁹ Henry Wilder Foote, *John Smibert, Painter* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950), pp. 234-246.

vard's conservation laboratory and Yale, where John Marshall Phillips, Curator of the Garvan Collection, did not ignore American painting in his seminars on early American decorative arts.

Yale has continued to lead the way and there, under the guidance of Jules D. Prown, a group of graduate students in the fine arts is addressing itself to the various problems in the field of early American painting. Prown himself has made a special study of Copley's English paintings which are included in his recently published catalogue of the artist's work.¹⁰ He has spent much time in England for this purpose and his interest is indicative of one of the most important ways in which the study of colonial painting has recently developed. A great desire has grown to know more of the careers of early American artists in Europe, of the years before the arrival of those not native-born, and, of those born in America, their periods of study abroad or of later work there.

In a parallel development the frequently unresolved and detailed discussions of attribution which took place in the 'thirties and early 'forties gave way, after the second world war, to an entirely different concern which may be summed up in the inquiry, "What is American?" which was the title of a special issue of the periodical *Art in America* published in the fall of 1958. Touched off in 1945 by the exhibition entitled *Old and New England* organized by Gordon Washburn at the Museum of Art of the Rhode Island School of Design,¹¹ sides were soon taken, some agreeing with Mr. Washburn's premise that early American painting has a distinct character of its own, others convinced that it was only a provincial off-shoot of English

¹⁰ Jules David Prown, *John Singleton Copley* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966), 2 vols.

¹¹ *The Catalogue of Old and New England, an Exhibition of American Painting of Colonial and Early Republican Days together with English Painting of the same time . . . in the Museum of Art of the Rhode Island School of Design* (Providence, 1945).

and continental schools. Adherents of the latter idea claimed Mr. Washburn's exhibition achieved its effect by comparing American work with academic and sophisticated English painting whereas it should have been compared with provincial painting in England. To resolve the matter it was obvious that students of American art should go to Europe to see for themselves. They did so and came back fortified with photographs and color slides, illustrated catalogues of English mansions open to the public, and many pages of notes. Because of the great interest in the question on the part of students here, they were barely off plane or boat before they were urged to report at seminars and in print.¹² To the amazement of those who had stayed at home, the travellers did not seem to have changed their previously held opinions. But, beneath the positions taken to make sensible talks, and the fun of comparing reproductions of provincial European and American portraits, there was a feeling of frustration. I know, because I was one of the travellers. The task we had set ourselves was an impossible one. We thought we could return with definite conclusions based on a thorough study of authentic examples of provincial or untutored painting. As I look back on it now, we were surfeited with the watered down, wishy-washy, eighteenth century pictures (or copies after them) by fifth-rate hangers-on of the academic tradition with which one met in the back halls or lesser rooms of the great houses and which the English scholars thought we meant when we asked for guidance to where we could see simple portraits by minor artists. They thought we must be mad to be interested in what they rightly considered less than nothing. When we showed them photographs of *Mrs. Freake*

¹² For example: Anna Wells Rutledge, "Fact and Fancy: Portraits from the Provinces," *Antiques*, LXXII (November, 1957), 446-448. I am grateful to Miss Rutledge for very helpful information and advice, especially in the early stages of my study.

and *Baby Mary*¹³ and the little, paper doll-like portraits of the Gibbs children¹⁴ of seventeenth century Boston; of Pau de Wandelaer,¹⁵ a small bird perched on his hand and silhouetted against the forbidding further bank of the Hudson River; or of the Reverend Ebenezer Devotion¹⁶ by Winthrop Chandler, seated in his eighteenth century, Connecticut study before shelves of books all legibly lettered, in a chair with every brass tack carefully depicted, they were enchanted. But they could suggest no English pictures remotely resembling the Wandelaer and Devotion portraits and, when they mentioned pictures comparable with the Gibbs and Freake likenesses of the 1670's, these turned out to be Stuart portraits of a generation or two earlier. By careful searching in museums, guildhalls, hospitals, educational institutions and private houses, some pictures emerged which seemed comparable with American work of roughly the same period but often these could only be seen hung high or in poor light and sometimes one could not be sure they were not later copies. Background material on the pictures was very scanty. In fact the great difficulty was that, understandably, the basic study had not been done on these pictures to prove their status as genuine examples of seventeenth and eighteenth century work. If strong and simple primitive portraiture of this period exists in private possession it has not been lured into public view, as has been the case here, by enthusiastic collectors, and dealers interested in supplying

¹³ Louisa Dresser, comp. and ed., *XVIIth Century Painting in New England, a Catalogue of an Exhibition Held at the Worcester Art Museum in Collaboration with the American Antiquarian Society, July and August, 1934, with a Laboratory Report by Alan Burroughs* (Worcester, 1935), frontispiece; Worcester Art Museum, *News Bulletin and Calendar*, XXIX, No. 5 (February, 1964), repr.

¹⁴ James Thomas Flexner, *American Painting, First Flowers of Our Wilderness* (Boston, 1947), repr. pp. 8, 10, 246.

¹⁵ *Ibid.* repr. opp. p. 80.

¹⁶ Nina Fletcher Little, "Winthrop Chandler," *Art in America*, XXXV (April, 1947), repr. p. 92.

their needs. The fact of the matter is that the students of British painting have taken very little interest in identifiable artists of higher rank than those we were seeking. With no basic work of classification having been done, the American student was in somewhat the same position a foreigner would have been coming about 1900 to study early American painting. Even Ellis Waterhouse, who has interested himself as much as anyone in minor British painters, in 1953 barely permitted Smibert to slide under the wire of mention in his *Painting in Britain 1530 to 1790* and then, grouping him with minor contemporaries of Hogarth, he described him as "the least of these."¹⁷ However, the Witt Library of the Courtauld Institute, London, had made a fine beginning by the 'fifties in photographing routine pictures, among them many as they came up at auction. It is impossible to acknowledge adequately how much we were aided in our research by these photographs and by the wonderfully well-ordered files of the National Portrait Gallery, London, and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh. The last named has been carrying out a systematic campaign photographing portraits in private possession in Scotland.

In retrospect, looked on no longer as ends in themselves but surveys laying a foundation for the future, these study trips abroad seem eminently successful. The high pressure to answer the question, "What is American?" seems to have been somewhat shelved in favor of learning more about minor British painting on its own terms as well as about seventeenth and eighteenth century portraiture on the continent. Interest on the part of British scholars in their own minor painters has been growing recently and

¹⁷ Ellis Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530 to 1790*, The Pelican History of Art, ed. Nikolaus Pevsner (Baltimore, 1953), p. 138. He makes some amends to "the founder of the independent portrait tradition of New England" by illustrating one of his paintings, *Sir Francis Grant, Lord Cullen*, Pl. 114A.

the extensive Paul Mellon collection of conversation pieces, intimate portraits, town and country-house views, and animal paintings has been shown not only in the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts¹⁸ and the Yale University Art Gallery but also at the Royal Academy. It provides a very good background for the study of humbler works. Personal contact has been made in England and Scotland not only with the professional scholars but with local enthusiasts who have made a hobby of searching records or filling their houses with simple pictures gathered from the surrounding countryside. Supplied with information and photographs they are keeping their eyes open for clues which may be of use to American scholars.

An important aspect of the relationship between early American portraiture and its European background was first noted by Bryson Burroughs in 1916 when he pointed out that Copley's portrait of Mrs. Jerathmael Bowers, painted in America in the 1760's, was an exact copy in pose, costume, and accessories of a mezzotint by McArdell after Reynolds' portrait of Lady Caroline Russell.¹⁹ Frederick A. Sweet in 1951²⁰ dramatically illustrated how Copley based portraits of three Boston ladies, Mesdames Murray, Hubbard, and Amory, on a mezzotint by Faber after a portrait of the Right Honorable Mary, Viscountess Andover, by Hudson, and at the same time showed the relationship of two early New York portraits of boys, each with his hand on the head of a pet deer, and a mezzotint by Smith which reproduced in reverse Kneller's double portrait of The Lord Buckhurst and Lady Mary Sackville. However, it was Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr., in studies

¹⁸ [Basil Taylor], *Painting in England 1700-1850* (Richmond, 1963), 2 vols.

¹⁹ The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Bulletin*, XI, No. 3 (March, 1916), 76-77. For reproductions of painting and mezzotint see John Hill Morgan, "Some Notes on John Singleton Copley," *Antiques*, XXXI (1937), 117.

²⁰ "Mezzotint Sources of American Colonial Portraits," *The Art Quarterly*, XIV (1951), 148-157.

pursued particularly at the British Museum and the Courtauld Institute, London, but cut short by his death in 1949, and subsequently published in 1955, 1957, and 1959,²¹ who discovered the full importance of prints in transmitting to artists in America the poses, costumes, and mannerisms used abroad. While this brought to a sudden halt the assumption that a picture probably American was undoubtedly a record of dress and other objects in use in this country at the time of the sitting, and while it gave support to the theory that early American painting was but a provincial echo of British academic productions, it should be stressed that the American painter usually made something very different in feeling from the frequently vapid British source: real portraits of individuals by Copley, sturdy and straightforward portrayals by lesser men.

During two trips abroad in 1957 and 1962²² I spent seven and a half months seeing as many examples as I could of the less pretentious portraiture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, extensively in England and Scotland and briefly in certain museums in Wales, Ireland, France, Spain, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland. My principal memory as I look back on these trips is of the overwhelming number of portraits that were produced and are still

²¹ *The Discoveries of Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr., Concerning the Influence of the English Mezzotint on Colonial Painting*, ed. John Marshall Phillips and Barbara N. Parker (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), reprinted from *The Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr. Collection of Portraits and Silver*, published for The New-York Historical Society by the Harvard University Press in 1955; Charles Coleman Sellers, "Mezzotint Prototypes of Colonial Portraiture: A Survey Based on the Research of Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr.," *The Art Quarterly*, XX (1957), 407-468; Waldron Phoenix Belknap, Jr., *American Colonial Painting, Materials for a History*, prepared for publication by Charles Coleman Sellers (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 271-329, Pls. X-XLIX.

²² For six and one-half months in 1957 under a generous grant from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation and for a month in 1962 through the Worcester Art Museum's Frances A. Kinnicutt Fund.

to be seen: in four solid ranks from chair rail to ceiling in the Senaatskamer of the University of Leyden,²³ side by side in a solid row high on the walls just beneath the ceiling of the panelled room from the Lochmannhaus in the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zurich,²⁴ and in tiers on the walls of the Council Chamber of the Guildhall, Norwich,²⁵ to mention a few characteristic spots representative of so many. And then the row upon row of likenesses in the large houses still in family possession, some hung out of family pride or sentiment but many, copies of portraits of eminent men or beauties of the court, used purely for decorative purposes. Records remain of the use of portraits to ornament the streets during such celebrations as the Norwich guild days when they were hung along the fronts of the houses in two rows with landscapes and tapestries.²⁶ It is small wonder that portrait painting began early in the American colonies, that likenesses were commissioned and treasured, and that adequate numbers of artists emigrated to produce them or to train the native-born to do so.

My second general impression is that, while I saw many portraits comparable with some of the weak, run-of-the-mill eighteenth century American pictures which are usually classed as by unknown artists or wishfully attributed to known ones whose manner is not too clearly defined, I saw none which had the same sort of character and untutored strength one finds in the work of such distinctive individuals

²³ P. J. Blok and W. Martin, *De Senaatskamer der Leidsche Universiteit* (Leiden, 1932), frontispiece.

²⁴ Photograph in the Worcester Art Museum files from negative #44581, Schweizerisches Landesmuseum. The house was built in the seventeenth century by Colonel Heinrich Lochmann.

²⁵ City of Norwich, *A Catalogue of Portraits and Paintings in St. Andrew's Hall and Other Public Buildings* (Norwich, 1905).

²⁶ *Notices and Illustrations of the Costumes, Processions, Pageantry &c. Formerly Displayed by the Corporation of Norwich* (Norwich, 1850), Pl. following p. 32.

as Thomas Smith,²⁷ the painter of Ann Pollard²⁸ or the Aetatis Sue limner.²⁹

A third point is that what untutored painting I saw, such as the fascinating ceiling decorations which are being uncovered in Scotland, is very different indeed from surviving American work. However, it would seem that the "personages in antique costume, and the men with beards and helmets, or crowns"³⁰ which John Watson, the Scottish emigrant, is said to have painted on the shutters of his gallery in Perth Amboy, New Jersey, may have come from the same tradition as the "nine nobles" of the early seventeenth century painted ceiling in Crathes Castle.

In the fourth place I realize, having seen some pictures for a second time after a five-year interval, how easy it is to mistake similarity of costuming and pose for a real basic likeness.

And finally, as I go through my many notes and photographs, I am increasingly sure that, in the present state of our knowledge, no one person can make valid definitive statements about the European background of Colonial American portraiture. The best I can do at present is to recognize the strong relationship that exists but suggest that in the most vital American work there is a quality

²⁷ Dresser, *XVIIth Century Painting*, pp. 24-27, 133-140 (reprs.), 168-172; Frederick L. Weis, *Checklist of the Portraits in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society* (Worcester, 1947), reprinted from *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, New Ser., LVI (April, 1946), Nos. 104, 105 (repr.). The Self Portrait of Thomas Smith has been owned since 1948 by the Worcester Art Museum. In *XVIIth Century Painting*, p. 133, it is stated that Smith was "thought to have come from Bermuda to New England about 1650." It should be clearly understood that no definite proof has yet been found of this theory. There is just as much chance that Smith was born in New England or came from elsewhere.

²⁸ Esther Forbes, "Americans at Worcester—1700-1775," *Magazine of Art*, XXXVI (March, 1943), 82 (repr.); Flexner, *First Flowers*, pp. 46-51 (reprs.), 288.

²⁹ Flexner, pp. 79-83 (reprs.); Agnes Halsey Jones, *Rediscovered Painters of Upstate New York 1700-1875* (Utica, 1958), pp. 10-12 (reprs.).

³⁰ John Hill Morgan, "John Watson, Painter, Merchant, and Capitalist of New Jersey, 1685-1768," *American Antiquarian Society Proceedings*, New Ser., L (1940), 253.

which differentiates it,—a quality which may be due to the distance separating competent but untrained artists from the academic centers.

In the pages that follow I simply wish to record some of the many portraits which, for various reasons, caught my eye during my travels, and which still hold my attention as interesting examples of the European background.

The most satisfactory comparisons, as far as I am concerned, since they bear out a theory I have long held, are between the portraits painted in Boston in the 1670's and English portraits of the second and third decades of the century.³¹ In Charlecote Park, Warwickshire, which lies four miles to the east of Stratford-on-Avon and is now a property of The National Trust, hangs a group portrait (fig. 1) of four children of Sir Thomas Lucy and Alice Spencer who were married in 1610. These are said to be Constance, aged five, second from the spectator's right, who holds by the hand Margaret, aged three; Richard, aged one, who is seated wrapped in a red robe; and Bridget, aged two, who stands at the left holding a red-breasted bird and a necklace. The girls all hold flowers and wear dresses of yellowed white. Their white shoes stand out against the dark floor covering with its white pattern. The background is dark with greenish curtains to left and right. It is in oil on canvas, measures 49 x 67 inches, and is inscribed *Anno Domini 1619* and, beneath the names of the children, *Aet Suae 5, 3, 2, 1*.³² Comparison with the

³¹ In *XVIIth Century Painting*, pp. 22, 23, 24, 26, the comparison was with the linear and decorative aspects of Elizabethan painting. These persisted in many portraits of the early Stuart period.

³² [James Lees-Milne], *Charlecote Park, Warwickshire* (London, n.d.), p. 8, No. 18; letter from F. St. John Gore, November 23, 1965. As this picture was only seen fairly high on the wall, Mr. Gore, who is in charge of paintings for The National Trust, has kindly supplied the information concerning the measurements and inscriptions. He adds that the picture is mentioned in Mary Elizabeth Lucy, *Biography of the Lucy Family* (Privately printed, 1862). I am grateful to The National Trust for permission to reproduce.

group portrait of David, Joanna and Abigail Mason,³³ painted in Boston in 1670, immediately comes to mind. The three little, full-length figures like dolls, carefully defined against a dark background and a floor of square tiles, are identified by the number 6 beside Joanna's head, 4 beside Abigail's and *Anno Dom 1670* beside David's.

Sir Thomas Leventhorpe, 2nd Baronet, 1592-1636, was painted with his wife and one of his daughters (fig. 2) probably in the late 1620's. They are depicted full length in oils on a canvas approximately six feet square standing on what is apparently a woven grayish-yellow straw matting. All are brown haired and brown eyed and, were it not for the fact that Sir Thomas and his wife are dressed in black which merges with the brown background, the figures would be as well-defined as those of the Lucy children and are, in fact, less modelled and more paper doll-like. Accessories of dress, cuffs, ruffs, bows, and belts stand out in startling and exact detail. Particularly remarkable are the perforated white leather shoes of Sir Thomas with their great "roses" of gold and silver lace. The feather fan which hangs from his wife's belt is white while the belt itself and the ribbons at her elbows are pale yellow. Yellow also is the dress of the little girl who holds a sprig of red cherries. This group portrait is owned by the Marquess of Lothian and hangs in Melbourne Hall, Derbyshire, whither it was moved from Shingle Hall, Hertfordshire, a property which had been inherited by Mary, granddaughter of Sir Thomas, and wife of John Coke of Melbourne.³⁴ This picture, more than any other which I saw in my travels, brought to my

³³ Flexner, *First Flowers*, p. 9 (repr.).

³⁴ Lord John Kerr, *Melbourne Hall* (Derby, n.d.), Pl. 21. I am grateful to the Marquess of Lothian for the privilege of reproducing this picture, and to Mrs. Mavis Worth, Curator, for information concerning its size and the history of the Leventhorpe family. The photograph is by Derby Photo Service. Copyright of Lord Lothian.

mind the Boston portraits of John Freake³⁵ and Mrs. Freake and Baby Mary,³⁶ probably painted in 1674, and of Margaret, Robert, and Henry Gibbs dated 1670.³⁷ Here on a canvas painted at least forty years earlier was the same sheer delight in costume detail, meticulously painted and as important a part of the picture as the faces themselves. Here was the same willingness to paint all possible hands no matter how lacking in anatomical detail, and the same touching representation of family affection. In the Leventhorpe picture the mother's hands are clasped by both her daughter and her husband. Mrs. Freake supports little Mary on her lap with both hands while the child, in turn, stretches out her left hand toward her mother. Most comparable is the lack of modelling in both, combined with the clarity of outline.

How does it happen that these Boston portraits resemble pictures of an earlier generation so much more than the paintings which are contemporary with them and in which light and shade are used to reveal form? The most logical explanation is that they may be the work of a man who left England for the colonies in the 1630's, fully trained as a decorative painter-stainer, who did not turn to portraiture until late in life when, far-removed from the academic centers, he produced portraits which resembled those he had known in his youth. Without making any attributions one can call attention to at least one possible artist, Augustine Clement³⁸ of Reading, Berkshire, who on March 4, 1634/5, took the Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance with the intent of going to New England. He had begun his

³⁵ Dresser, *XVIIth Century Painting*, p. 80 (repr.); Worcester Art Museum, *News Bulletin* (February, 1964), repr.

³⁶ See note 13.

³⁷ See note 14.

³⁸ For information about Clement, I am entirely indebted to the researches of Sidney M. Gold of Reading, whose letter to *Country Life*, September 8, 1955, was fortunately brought to my attention by Nina Fletcher Little.

apprenticeship under Jonathan Miller, an heraldic and decorative painter, with whom he worked eight years, completing his training under Edward Newman of Eton. He arrived in New England aboard the *James* in the spring of 1635, lived and owned land in Boston and Dorchester, made his will, January 31, 1671/2, and died October 1, 1674. Though he was not referred to as a painter in his will,³⁹ and the inventory of his possessions listed nothing connected with this craft, he was recorded as a painter-stainer in a deed during his lifetime and in another after his death.⁴⁰ It is hoped that some future documentary discoveries may definitely link his name with some of the portraits painted in seventeenth century Boston.

It has been suggested that Clement might have painted portraits before his departure for New England though there is nothing in the records to indicate he was more than a decorative painter. He was of the parish of St. Lawrence, Reading, and it is interesting though perhaps not significant to note that Roger Knight, a fellow parishioner who had been twice mayor of Reading, sat for his portrait (fig. 3) three years before Clement's departure. With that of his wife it is owned by the Museum and Art Gallery, Reading, and was studied in 1962 in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall.⁴¹ It is in oil on panel and measures 34½ x 24¼ inches (sight). Knight is shown as a gray-haired elderly man wearing a black robe trimmed with

³⁹ Suffolk County Probate Records, Will (1674), No. 708, Vol. 6, pp. 62-63 of original volume, or pp. 109-111 of new volume; Inventory (1674), Vol. 5, pp. 217-218.

⁴⁰ I am grateful to Abbott Lowell Cummings for this information.

⁴¹ Sidney M. Gold kindly brought to my attention these portraits and his theory that they might be the work of Clement. He states they formerly were at the Manor of Bix (near Henley, Oxfordshire). I am grateful to T. L. Gwatkin, Director of the Reading Museum and Art Gallery, for supplying photographs of them, taken after cleaning at the Victoria and Albert Museum (treatment which had not taken place when I saw them), and for permitting the reproduction of that of Roger Knight. The photographs were taken by Walton Adams, Reading.



THE LUCY CHILDREN—THE NATIONAL TRUST, CHARLECOTE PARK

Photograph, Witt Library

Figure 1



THE LEVENTHORPE FAMILY—LORD LOTHIAN, MELBOURNE HALL
Figure 2



ROGER KNIGHT—READING MUSEUM AND ART GALLERY

Figure 3



MRS. SPARROW—CASTLE MUSEUM, NORWICH
Figure 4



A CHILD OF THE VON ORELLI FAMILY—SCHWEIZERISCHES LANDESMUSEUM, ZURICH
Figure 5



A PRINCE OF THE PALATINATE BY JOHANN HEINRICH ROOS
KURPFALZISCHES MUSEUM, HEIDELBERG

Figure 6



A DAUGHTER OF SIR EDMUND BACON, 4TH BARONET OF REDGRAVE
SIR EDMUND BACON, RAVENINGHAM HALL

Figure 7

Photograph, Witt Library

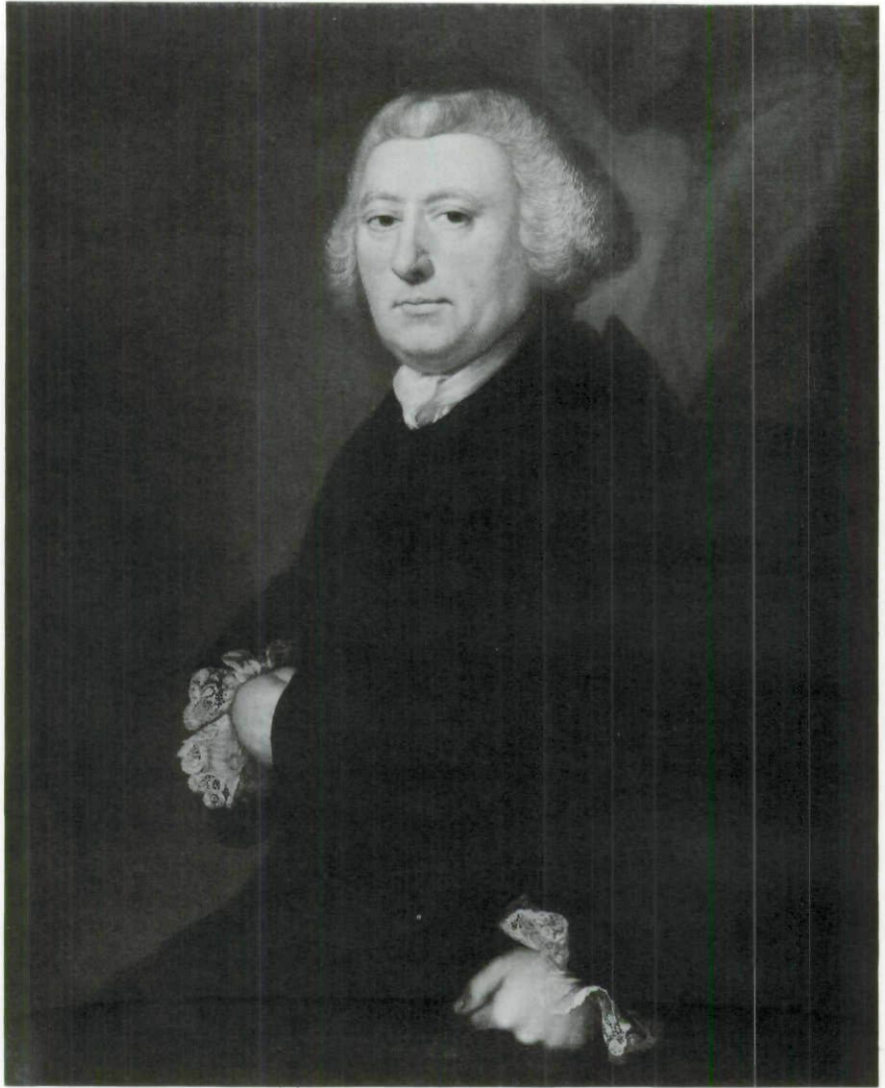


CHILDREN OF THE JACOB FAMILY—GUILDHALL, THETFORD
Figure 8



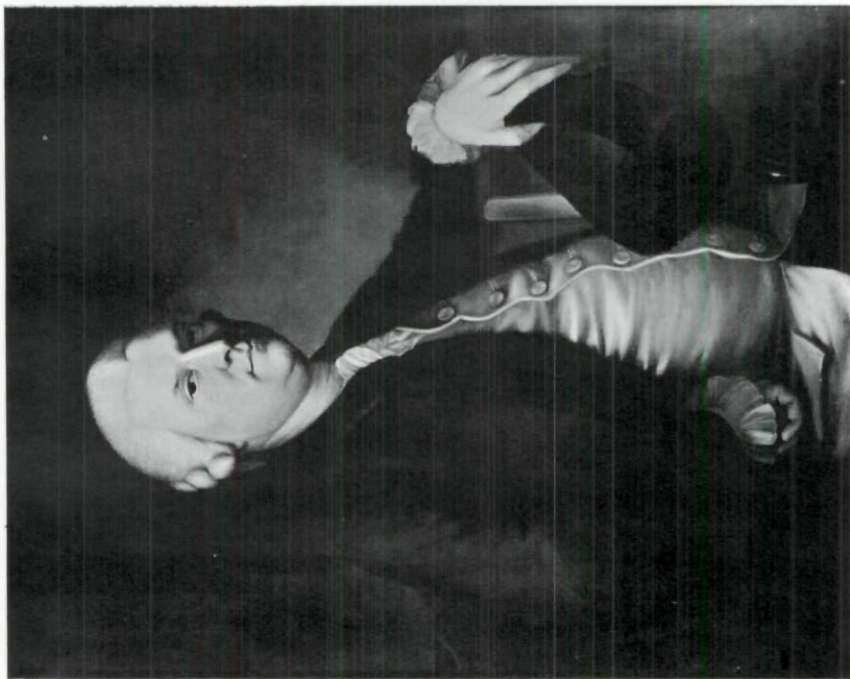
AN ARTILLERY OFFICER—SCHWEIZERISCHES LANDESMUSEUM, ZURICH

Figure 9



MORGAN GRAVES (No. 127) BY JOSEPH BLACKBURN, 1768
MISS MARY G. HAMILTON, ST. ALBANS

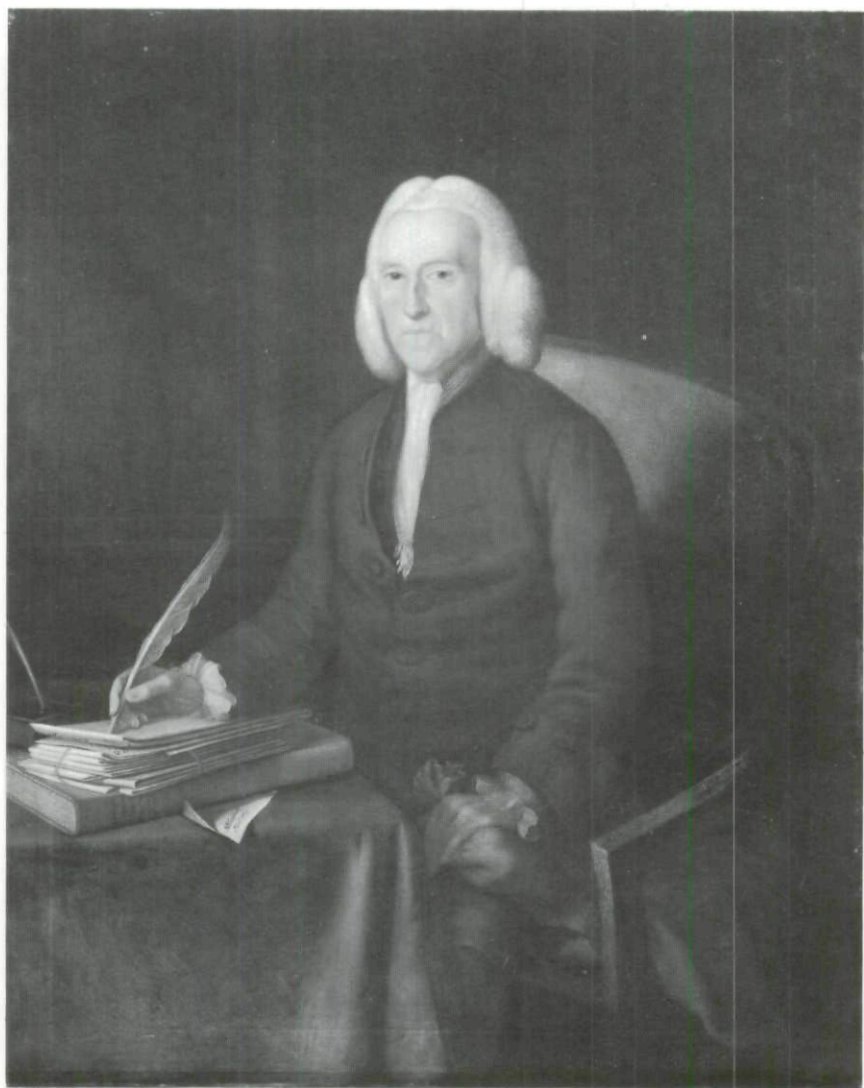
Figure 10



THOMAS HUGHES (No. 128) BY JOSEPH BLACKBURN, 1774
ART GALLERY AND MUSEUM, CHELTENHAM
Figure 11



MRS. THOMAS HUGHES (No. 129) BY JOSEPH BLACKBURN, 1774
ART GALLERY AND MUSEUM, CHELTENHAM
Figure 12



HUGH JONES (No. 130) BY JOSEPH BLACKBURN, 1777—WORCESTER ART MUSEUM
Figure 13



WILLIAM TAYLOR (No. 131) BY JOSEPH BLACKBURN—THOMAS JAY, DERDALE
Figure 14



MRS. WILLIAM TAYLOR (NO. 132) BY JOSEPH BLACKBURN, 1768—THOMAS JAY, DERNDALÉ
Figure 15



ELIZABETH, KATHERINE AND SARAH TAYLOR (NO. 133) BY JOSEPH BLACKBURN, 1775
THOMAS JAY, DERDALE
Figure 16



PASCAL PAOLI BY HENRY BENBRIDGE—JOHN BOSELL, AUCHINLECK

Figure 17

brown fur and a sheer white ruff. He carries in his right hand a handsome pair of light grayish-brown gloves ornamented with rose-red bands and gold fringe and embroidery. On the forefinger of this hand is a gold ring bearing the sitter's initials and on the other hand a ring in the form of a skull set in gold. On the upper left of the panel is an inscription in yellow: *Forsake me not in mine olde/age, when I am gray/headed./Anno Domini: 1632./Ætat: suae lxxm./2:Mayor of/Redding*. This picture is of the same type though certainly not by the same artist as the much-discussed portrait of John Winthrop⁴² owned by the American Antiquarian Society. By rights, the Winthrop should be a copy of 1691 in part after the miniature⁴³ on deposit at the Massachusetts Historical Society, in part after "the grate one" in the townhouse, but in spite of the evidence of a letter⁴⁴ in the Winthrop correspondence indicating Adam Winthrop, ancestor of the donor, was having a copy made, it seems unlikely that a copy based on originals showing only a head and shoulders would have taken this form at the end of the seventeenth century. Of course the original townhouse portrait may have been destroyed by fire and may not be the one in the Boston state house now.⁴⁵ If so it may have shown hands but there is still the verdict of Alan Burroughs, after laboratory study of the Society's portrait, that "judging by the freedom and emphasis of the brush strokes this is the original."⁴⁶ If so it was probably painted in England shortly before Winthrop's departure in 1630. The Knight portrait and, to a lesser degree, that of Winthrop, have a feeling for form, a

⁴² Weis, *Checklist*, No. 147, repr. opp. p. 43.

⁴³ *Winthrop Papers*, II (Boston, 1931), repr. opp. p. 48.

⁴⁴ "The Winthrop Papers, Part IV," *Massachusetts Historical Society Collections*, VIII, 5th Ser. (1882), p. 500.

⁴⁵ Lawrence Shaw Mayo, *The Winthrop Family in America* (Boston, 1948), repr. opp. p. 12.

⁴⁶ Dresser, *XVIIth Century Painting*, p. 177.

sense of the existence of the figure in space, which is absent in the Leventhorpe and Freaque portraits.

A feeling for form keeps a particularly charming portrait of the 1670's in the Castle Museum, Norwich, (fig. 4) from being as much like New England portraits of the same period as similarity of costume and sensitivity of expression might make it at first appear. The portrait is that of Susan Sparrow,⁴⁷ wife of Anthony Sparrow, 1612-1685, Bishop of Exeter from 1667 until 1676 when he became Bishop of Norwich. It is on canvas and measures about 30 x 25 inches. The sitter's dress, the hood covering her hair and the ribbons of her collar are black as is the bull shown against a white ground in the coat of arms at the upper left corner of the canvas. The background and spandrels are brown. In the manuscript accession book of the museum under date of August 9, 1831, are listed "2 Portraits in Oil of Bishop Sparrow & his Lady and Various Fossil Shells." Fitch Esqr., Ipswich, is named as the donor.⁴⁸ The Boston portrait which Mrs. Sparrow's

⁴⁷ City of Norwich, *Catalogue of the Pictures, Drawings, Etchings and Bronzes in the Picture Gallery of the Norwich Castle Museum*, 4th ed. (Norwich, 1909), No. 98; *Restoration of King Charles II*, catalogue of an exhibition held at Strangers' Hall, Norwich, May 28-July 27, 1960, No. 38. In neither case are the first and family names of Mrs. Sparrow given. M. Rajnai, Deputy Director of the Castle Museum, Norwich, who has been most helpful in response to my inquiries, sent me in a letter December 21, 1965, the following notes compiled by his colleague, Miss Rachel Young: "SUSAN LYHART The tomb slab of Mrs. Sparrow is still visible in front of the altar of St. Michael at Pleas Church, Norwich. The inscription is for Susan Sparrow, wife of Anthony, late Bishop of Norwich, died Aug. 1697 in her 76th year. The arms on the slab are (in a lozenge) 'Ermine, three roses seeded' impaling 'A bull passant, a bordure charged with roundels'. i.e. The arms granted personally to Bishop Sparrow 'Ermine, three roses *argent*, seeded *or*' (which differ from his family arms of '*Argent* three roses and a chief *gules*') impaling the arms of LYHART '*Argent* a bull passant *sable* armed and unguled *or* within a bordure *sable* besantee'. (Farrer, E., 1893, *The Church Heraldry of Norfolk*, vol. 3, p. 90.)" The companion portrait of Bishop Sparrow, also owned by the Castle Museum, bears arms described as "Bishopric of Exeter impaling Sparrow" thus fixing the probable date of the likenesses as between 1667 and 1676 while he was Bishop of Exeter. I am grateful to Mr. Rajnai for permission to reproduce the portrait of Mrs. Sparrow, and to Mrs. G. A. Trusler of Toronto, a descendant of the sitter, for information about the Sparrow family.

⁴⁸ *Ninth Annual General Meeting of Subscribers to the Norfolk and Norwich Museum held November 27, 1833* (reprinted 1846), p. 6. The Sparrow portraits appear in a list of donations with the donor as W. S. Fitch.

most resembles is that of Rebecca Rawson,⁴⁹ dated 1670 and probably by the same hand as the Freake portraits, but this is due in large measure to the similar black hoods and a solemn, rather wistful expression. Mrs. Sparrow's face is depicted in delicate planes very attractive in effect, yet in a curious way reminiscent, especially in nose and lips, of the awkward and crude but fascinating early eighteenth-century portrait of Mrs. Jethro Coffin⁵⁰ owned by the Nantucket Historical Association. Could the limner of the Coffin and related portraits⁵¹ have been led to achieve his extraordinary effects by trying to follow such a model as the Sparrow portrait?

An entertaining comparison with the 1670 Boston portraits of children of the Gibbs and Mason families⁵² is offered by a portrait of a little girl in the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zurich (fig. 5), so similar in pose and setting, so different in treatment and effect. She is believed to be a child of the von Orelli family though there does not seem to have been a female member of that family of a suitable age to have been painted in the month of March, 1682, the date apparently given in the difficult-to-decipher inscription at the left of the figure near the shoulder. In oil on canvas, the painting measures about 35½ x 29½ inches.⁵³ The child wears a brown dress with a close-fitting cap, and bows at arms and collar of a richer brown. Her shoes are white. She stands on a red and white

⁴⁹ Dresser, *XVIIth Century Painting*, pp. 128, 129 (reprs.).

⁵⁰ *The Oldest House on Nantucket Island*, Part I, 2nd ed. (New York, 1905), repr. opp. p. 84.

⁵¹ Flexner, *First Flowers*, reprs. on pp. 47, 48, 50, 270.

⁵² *Ibid.*, reprs. on pp. 8-11.

⁵³ I am grateful to Dr. Lucas Wüthrich of the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum for information on the subject, size, inscription, and provenance of this picture, in a letter dated November 23, 1965. It was purchased in 1944 from Willy Siegfried of Zurich, and previously had been for a long time in the possession of the Siegfried family. I am also grateful to the Direction of the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum for permission to reproduce this portrait and that of an artillery officer (fig. 9).

tiled floor against a brown background with red curtains at either side. Her accessories, a fan and a rose, are the same as those held by Joanna and Abigail Mason and Margaret Gibbs, but her hands seem mannered and unchildlike in comparison, and out of place since the face has the appeal of childhood. The floor has perspective and the dress stands out around the little figure in almost metallic folds. This painting is definitely continental and it is unlikely that it would ever be confused with English or American work.

Another continental portrait of a child has, however, a clear relationship with a completely different element in American painting. In the Kurpfälzisches Museum in Heidelberg is a portrait in oil on canvas, about $30\frac{3}{4}$ x $25\frac{7}{8}$ inches, said to represent a young Prince of the Palatinate (fig. 6) and bearing at lower right the signature of Joh. Heinrich Roos, 1631-1685, who became the court painter of Karl Ludwig of the Palatinate in 1664.⁵⁴ The brown-haired boy wears a white suit trimmed with red ribbons and an elaborate sword belt. His right hand rests on what is apparently a hat trimmed with red and white feathers. Of special interest is the landscape background which includes a formal garden with a pattern of flower beds centering on an elaborate fountain. Between the sitter and the garden is a brown wall and at the right is the lower part of a large column. This picture can hardly fail to bring to mind the well-known full length likeness of Eleanor Darnall⁵⁵

⁵⁴ Thieme-Becker, *Künstler-Lexikon*, XXVIII (1934), 579. Dr. Klaus Mugdan, Director of the Kurpfälzisches Museum, has not only graciously granted permission for reproduction of this portrait but, in his letter dated November 19, 1965, has given helpful information concerning it. The signature and date he reads as "H. Roos fecit 1654". I had not been able, when I studied the picture, to make out the third digit of the date. It was purchased in September, 1957, from the firm of Erna Hummer, Salzburg, and nothing is known of its previous history.

⁵⁵ Flexner, *First Flowers*, repr. p. 94; Pleasants, "Justus Engelhardt Kühn," repr. opp. p. 270.

by Justus Engelhardt Kühn at the Maryland Historical Society. There, also, a formal garden with a fountain occupies the background. A balustrade is shown instead of the wall, an immense vase of flowers on a pedestal takes the place of the column, a curtain replaces the dark mass of the hillside while the pose of Eleanor Darnall whose right hand rests on the head of her dog echoes that of the young prince. Kühn, a German, applied for naturalization in Maryland in 1708 and lived and painted portraits there until his death in 1717.⁵⁶ It is possible that he may have come from the Palatinate, for German Protestants emigrated to Maryland shortly after 1708. He probably brought from his homeland memories of just such paintings as the Roos. It would be tempting to look in South Germany for actual examples of his work, done before his departure for Maryland.

In the possession of Sir Edmund Bacon at Raveningham Hall in Norfolk are two delightful portraits of young daughters of Sir Edmund Bacon, 4th Baronet of Redgrave, which perhaps were painted in the 1670's, but it is because they have about them an air reminiscent of certain charming New York portraits of the 1730's, such as the likeness of Phila Franks (posed with her brother, David),⁵⁷ that one has been chosen for reproduction (fig. 7). The brown hair demurely parted in the middle and the eyes gazing solemnly at the spectator are well set off by a red dress with a gold scarf held by pearls at the bosom. A blue scarf is thrown over the stone wall against which the sitter leans. Her white shoe has a red heel and in her hand is a white and

⁵⁶ *Pleasants*, pp. 246-252.

⁵⁷ Belknap, *American Colonial Painting*, Pl. XL, No. 48A. Though the composition of this portrait is apparently derived, as Belknap indicates, from the mezzotint by Smith after Kneller's double portrait of William, Lord Villiers, and his sister, Pl. XL, No. 48, the serene little figure of Phila Franks seems more truly related to the likeness of Sir Edmund Bacon's daughter than to the stylish, superficial representation of Lady Mary Villiers in the print.

red flower. In the right background are three white statues on a parapet with tree tops, pinkish clouds and blue sunset sky above. The picture is in oil on canvas and is about 32 inches wide.⁵⁸

Another Norfolk portrait has a stronger relationship with New York pictures and illustrates clearly that the derivation of poses from prints was practised among provincial painters in England as well as in the colonies. This double portrait (fig. 8) of a son of John Jacob of Norton, Wiltshire, and his sister Elizabeth, who married John Buxton in 1717,⁵⁹ is obviously a combination of poses from two mezzotints by John Smith after Sir Godfrey Kneller. The figure of the girl is based exactly on that of Lady Mary Villiers in a print of 1700 except for the costume and the fact that Lady Mary is shown looking toward the spectator's left. However, in its straightforward simplicity it resembles far more the New York likeness of Phila Franks in the portrait with her brother (mentioned above) which is based on this same print.⁶⁰ The Jacob boy, in more modern neckwear and shoes with buckles instead of boots, has a pose which resembles that of Lord Buckhurst in a print of 1695,⁶¹ except that his left hand is on his hip instead of holding a garland. With his right hand on the head of a deer he might well be mistaken for another in the series of boys with deer after Kneller so popular in New York.⁶² In fact this Jacob double portrait is the only one of the series discussed here which I think I should have taken for granted was American if I had seen it in America rather than in

⁵⁸ I am grateful to Sir Edmund Bacon for the privilege of reproducing this portrait.

⁵⁹ [E. Farrer], *Catalogue of Collection of Norfolk and Suffolk Portraits, the Gift of The Late H.H. Prince Frederick Victor Duleep Singh* (Thetford, 1927), p. 9, No. 35. (John Buxton is described as of Channonz Hall in Tibenham and Shadwell near Thetford.)

⁶⁰ See note 57.

⁶¹ Belknap, *American Colonial Painting*, Pl. XLI, No. 50.

⁶² *Ibid.*, Pl. XLI, Nos. 50A, 50B, 50C. See also p. 314. 50A was once thought to have had a French origin and this has not been entirely disproved.

the Guildhall at Thetford, Norfolk, where it forms part of the remarkable collection of minor paintings from country houses assembled by Prince Frederick Duleep Singh and bequeathed by him to the Mayor and Corporation of Thetford. This particular picture in oil on canvas measures $50\frac{3}{8} \times 40\frac{3}{4}$ inches (sight). The boy wears a red coat and the girl a white dress with blue bows. Her blue wrap is thrown over the bench on which she is seated. Her shoe is red and her garland is of yellow, white, red and pale blue flowers. It formerly hung at Shadwell Court near Thetford and was given to Prince Frederick by Mrs. Buxton of Tockenham Manor, Wiltshire.⁶³

At the Schweizerisches Landesmuseum in Zurich is a portrait of a Swiss artillery officer of the mid-eighteenth century (fig. 9). In oils on canvas, it measures about $35 \times 26\frac{3}{8}$ inches and is in poor condition.⁶⁴ However, it seems worth reproducing as it represents a number of portraits at the Landesmuseum which call to mind Jeremiah Theus who was born in nearby Chur in 1716⁶⁵ and who emigrated to South Carolina in 1735, by which time he could have received some training in painting. Much of his work in America has the direct, down to earth quality of this portrait. One may mention particularly *Daniel Ravenel of Chelsea* owned by the Telfair Academy of Arts and Sciences, Savannah, and *Young William Branford*⁶⁶

⁶³ Farrer, *Catalogue*, No. 35. I am indebted to W. Ellis Clarke, Town Clerk of Thetford, for permission to reproduce this portrait which is owned by the Corporation of Thetford. The photograph is by Studio Five, Thetford.

⁶⁴ See note 53. Dr. Wüthrich in his letter also gave information about this portrait. It was purchased in 1905 from Moritz Im-Thur of Schaffhouse after having been, as far as is known, in that family's possession since it was painted. Therefore the subject may be a member of that family. His uniform seems to be that of an artillery corps of Schaffhouse, Zurich, or perhaps Savoy.

⁶⁵ L. Dresser, "Jeremiah Theus: Notes on the Date and Place of His Birth," Worcester Art Museum, *Annual*, VI (1958), 43.

⁶⁶ Margaret Simons Middleton, *Jeremiah Theus* (Columbia, South Carolina, 1953), pp. 97, 61 (reprs.).

in private possession. Perhaps the democratic social environment of Switzerland, a bit remote from the academic centers, fostered a type of portraiture which would compare with some of the independent, self-reliant work done in this country.

In these pages I have chosen, to discuss and illustrate, some of the English and Continental portraits that interested me most in relation to colonial American painting.⁶⁷ I have not consciously tried to present a varied or balanced group and, as I review my selections, it is evident that I have not done so. Of the nine pictures chosen seven date from the seventeenth century and only two from the eighteenth (though it should be pointed out that two of the seventeenth century pictures were selected for comparison with eighteenth century American works). The reason for this imbalance may be that I have a special interest in provincial seventeenth century painting. On the other hand it really seems the lesser works of that period often have a simple sturdy quality more related to native American works than do the weakly academic minor portraits of the eighteenth century. Another point which strikes me is that there are ten likenesses of children and only five of adults in this group of nine pictures. This preponderance of representations of children often happens also when one is choosing from the work of minor colonial American artists to illustrate lectures or articles. Perhaps it is because, on both sides of the Atlantic, such artists often lack the power to portray the characters of older sitters while they can often succeed in making children

⁶⁷ There were several more I should have especially liked to include had it been possible and I wish to thank R. E. Hutchison and Basil Skinner of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, R. A. Hill of the Huntly House Museum, Edinburgh, and the staff of Christchurch Mansion, Ipswich, for their help in studying portraits and assembling photographs. I also wish to thank Bryan Hall of Banningham, Norfolk, for the privilege of seeing his collection and for his care in providing photographs.

appealing, posed in elaborate costumes modelled on those of their elders. For example a child by Badger might well be chosen for illustration whereas one would be far more likely to prefer an elderly man or woman by Copley. I must conclude that these selections clearly indicate the random and thus far inconclusive nature of my study of a fascinating subject. I offer them simply as a step in the direction of a clearer understanding of the European background of colonial American portraiture.

During the last few days of my second journey abroad I gave myself the pleasure of trying to see six examples of the portraiture done by Joseph Blackburn in England after he left New England. On the following pages these, together with an additional English example owned by the Worcester Art Museum, are described and illustrated with a numbering that follows the sequence of Park's and of Morgan and Foote's catalogue.⁶⁸ I learned of the Graves portrait from the list by Mr. Collins Baker published in 1945,⁶⁹ and of the Hughes and Taylor portraits from the files of the National Portrait Gallery, London. All of these portraits and that of Hugh Jones were apparently painted in the southwestern part of England or in Monmouthshire on the Welsh border and here we may presume the elusive artist spent much of his time after his arrival in England, probably in late 1763 or early 1764, following a successful painting career of ten years or so in New England. He painted Morgan Graves, Mrs. William Taylor and probably Mr. Taylor in 1768, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas Hughes in 1774, the Taylor children in 1775 and Hugh Jones in 1777. It is interesting to note that the grandfather and father

⁶⁸ See notes 4 and 6.

⁶⁹ See No. 127, bibliography.

of Thomas Hughes were agents for the Morgan family of Tredegar as was Hugh Jones. In some cases Blackburn's English work shows very little change from his American work and it is startling to compare his likeness of Hugh Jones (fig. 13) with that of Colonel Theodore Atkinson,⁷⁰ painted in 1760, whom Jones sufficiently resembles so that one would think at first glance it was a question of two portraits of the same man. Only later is one aware of subtle differences of feature. The *Mrs. William Taylor* (fig. 15) is a beautiful portrait reminiscent of that of Mrs. Nathaniel Barrell,⁷¹ dated 1761, but evidencing a considerable increase in competence. This may also be appreciated by comparing little Sarah Taylor, her apron full of flowers (fig. 16) with young Lucy Winslow, similarly posed carrying fruit, in the *Winslow Family* of about 1755.⁷² In his *Morgan Graves* (fig. 10) and *Mrs. Thomas Hughes* (fig. 12) there is less of his American work and more evidence that he has been observing the painting of his contemporaries since coming to England. How long Blackburn's career continued in England after 1777 we do not yet know, nor has it yet been determined when and where he was born. Doubtless there are a number of dated portraits still to be located in England and it is to be hoped that, as they come to light, they may lead to the discovery of more exact biographical information.

127. MORGAN GRAVES

(Fig. 10)

SUBJECT: Morgan Graves, born November 9, 1708, son of Richard Graves and Elizabeth Morgan, daughter and co-

⁷⁰ *Art through Fifty Centuries from the Collections of the Worcester Art Museum* (Worcester, 1948), p. 76, fig. 102.

⁷¹ Frank W. Bayley, *Five Colonial Artists of New England* (Boston, 1929), p. 67 (repr.).

⁷² Flexner, *First Flowers*, pp. 208-209 (repr.). Though a date appears on this painting, it is not clearly decipherable.

heir of Thomas Morgan, Esq.; married in 1742 Ann, daughter of James Walwyn of Longworth, Herefordshire; lived at Mickleton, Gloucestershire; died December 26, 1770, and was buried in the family vault at Mickleton.

DATE: Signed "I · Blackburn Pinxit · 1768." (in small black letters, at lower left).

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil on canvas, 36 x 27 inches.

DESCRIPTION: Half-length, head and body turned toward spectator's left but blue eyes directed toward the spectator. The subject is seated on a mahogany chair, the back of which can be partly seen at the spectator's right. Above it is a billowing, cinnamon-brown curtain. His proper right hand is thrust in the front of his partially unbuttoned waistcoat. His left hand forms a fist on his left thigh. He looks a little young for his sixty years but perhaps not too much so. He wears a neat gray wig tied at the back with a bow; a plain white neckcloth; a blue-black suit; and meticulously painted lace ruffles at his wrists. The background is gray-green, dark to the spectator's left, lighter to the right.

OWNERSHIP: This portrait hung in Mickleton Manor, Mickleton, Gloucestershire (between Stratford-on-Avon and Chipping Campden) and came with the manor to the present owner, Miss Mary G. Hamilton, St. Albans, England. She still owns the manor but has removed the portraits to her house in St. Albans where they were seen in November, 1962. The picture has always been in the possession of the Graves family. Miss Hamilton is descended from Richard Morgan Graves, second son of Morgan Graves. The eldest son, Walwyn, had no legitimate children.

REPRODUCTIONS: National Portrait Gallery, London, Reference 1368; negative bought in 1934 from Mr. Collins Baker. A photograph supplied by the owner is in the cura-

torial file, Worcester Art Museum, from a negative made by Juliet Haddon, photographer, St. Albans.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: C. H. Collins Baker, "Notes on Joseph Blackburn and Nathaniel Dance," reprinted from *The Huntington Library Quarterly*, IX, No. 1 (November, 1945), 35, 36, 42. (Here, curiously, Mr. Collins Baker gives the inscribed date as 1778, making quite a point of this being the latest in date of Blackburn's known works. There seems no doubt from a study of the painting itself, or of a clear photograph, that the date is 1768.)

Note: I am deeply indebted to Miss Hamilton for permitting me to study and reproduce this portrait and for supplying photographs and much biographical and other information.

128. THOMAS HUGHES

(Fig. 11)

SUBJECT: Thomas Hughes was born at Trostrey, Monmouthshire, in 1732, youngest son of Charles Hughes and of Miss Pleydell of Ampney Crucis, Gloucester. Charles Hughes was a lawyer who succeeded his father as agent of the Beaufort Estates and for the Morgan family of Tredegar. Thomas Hughes also became a lawyer and in 1762 was taken into partnership with Mr. de la Bere of Cheltenham to whom he had been articled in 1749. In 1763 he married Elizabeth Bridges (see no. 129) through whom he acquired large estates. He became Under-Sheriff of Gloucester in 1772 and in March, 1776, bought a house in Cheltenham High Street. In that year the partnership with de la Bere was dissolved and Hughes continued on his own. In 1783 he built near his house, with Henry Holland as architect, a set of Assembly Rooms which became very fashionable. He died August 14, 1794.

DATE: Signed "J. Blackburn Pinxt, 1774" (in black script at bottom right).

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil on canvas, 36 x 28 inches.

DESCRIPTION: Three-quarter length, turned toward spectator's right, the sitter is shown as a portly, middle-aged man, seated in a chair, the brown "country Chippendale" back of which may be seen at the spectator's left. Books are on a table at right on which he rests his proper left hand holding a black hat. In the left background is brown paneling. The wall behind his head and to the right is gray. He wears a white wig, a dark blue coat, white satin waistcoat, white ruffles and neckcloth.

OWNERSHIP: Owned by the Art Gallery and Museum, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, presented by the National Art Collections Fund and local subscribers, 1940:286.

REPRODUCTIONS: National Portrait Gallery, London, photograph. A photograph supplied by the owner is in the curatorial file, Worcester Art Museum, from a negative made by Donald Bott, photographer, Cheltenham. Reproduced in books by Little and Hart listed below.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Bryan Little, *Cheltenham* (London, 1952), repr.; Gwen Hart, *History of Cheltenham* (Leicester, 1965), repr.

Note: I am very grateful to H. G. Fletcher, Librarian and Curator of the Public Libraries, Art Gallery and Museum, Cheltenham, for supplying photographs of the Hughes portraits and biographical information on the sitters, much of it based on a pamphlet by L. W. Bayley on Robert Hughes, 1771-1827. Mr. Fletcher also kindly supplied me with a reading of the signature and date on the portrait of Mr. Hughes which I had not been able to make out when I saw the portrait hanging on a staircase wall in November, 1962.

129. MRS. THOMAS HUGHES

(Fig. 12)

SUBJECT: Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Henry Bridges of Keynsham Abbey near Bristol, married Thomas Hughes in 1763, had three sons and a daughter, died November 14, 1786, aged fifty-eight.

DATE: Signed "J. Blackburn Pinxt 1774." (in black script on edge of table at bottom right).

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil on canvas, 36 x 28 inches.

DESCRIPTION: A lively, charming portrait of a middle-aged woman shown three-quarter length, her face in profile to the spectator's left. She is seated in a chair the brown, Chippendale-type back of which may be seen at the spectator's right. Her left arm rests on a polished brown table top also at the spectator's right. In her right hand she holds a grayish rose. On her gray hair, which is piled high, is a little lace cap with a blue ribbon coming down under her chin. She wears an oyster-white dress with lace ruffles and a blue bow at her breast. There are white lace ruffles also on her sleeves. Over her shoulder is a black lace-trimmed shawl and at the back of her neck a blue ribbon. She is depicted against a dark gray background.

OWNERSHIP: Owned by the Art Gallery and Museum, Cheltenham, Gloucestershire, presented by the National Art Collections Fund and local subscribers, 1940:269.

REPRODUCTIONS: National Portrait Gallery, London, photograph. A photograph supplied by the owner is in the curatorial file, Worcester Art Museum, from a negative made by Donald Bott, photographer, Cheltenham. Reproduced in the book by Little cited above.

Note: See note on portrait of Thomas Hughes. The portrait of Mrs. Hughes was also seen hanging on a staircase wall but the signature could be read and it can be clearly made out in the photograph. It closely resembles that on the

portrait of Hugh Jones, also in script. The first initial can be described either as J or I.

130. HUGH JONES
(Fig. 13)

SUBJECT: Hugh Jones, born about 1700, was "Agent to the Family of Tredegar & Ruperra" for fifty years according to an old label on the back of the portrait, or, judging by the inscription on the book shown in the portrait, from 1725 to October 24, 1777. The latter may be the date of his death. The label on the back indicates that he died in October, 1777, at the age of seventy-nine. On one of the folded documents shown in the portrait appears "To Charls- Morgan Es". Charles Morgan of Tredegar, Lord Lieutenant of County Brecon, born 1736, succeeded his brother in 1771, died 1787 (Burke's *Peerage and Baronetage*, 1937). Tredegar Park, Newport, Monmouthshire, is given as the seat of the family in 1937. The father of Charles Morgan, Thomas Morgan, 1702-1769, is listed in Burke's as of Ruperra and Tredegar.

DATE: Signed "J Blackburn/Pinxt: 1777." (in black script on a slip of paper painted on the table).

INSCRIBED: "To/Charls- Morgan Es" (on folded document); "Abstracts/of Ruperra/Rentalls/From ye year/1725 to Octob/24th-1777." (on large volume shown lying on table). An old paper label is attached to the back of the canvas which has not been relined. It reads as follows: "Hugh Jones Esqr 50 Years/Agent to the Family/of Tredegar & Ruperra/Obt Octr 1777 Aged 79/belongd to Ruperra Augt 16h 1783" (At first glance the date 1777 on this paper label seems to be 1779 but on close examination the reading 1777 seems more likely. The "&" has also been read as "at.")

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil on canvas, $50\frac{9}{16}$ x $40\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

DESCRIPTION: An elderly man is shown three-quarter length turned slightly toward the spectator's left, his eyes directed toward the spectator. He is seated in an armchair upholstered in blue-green against a dark brown background with, to the left, the indication of a ledge, perhaps suggesting panelling. At the spectator's left is a table covered with a long blue-green cloth on which is a piece of white paper bearing the signature and date indicated above, a large book, a pile of folded documents tied with red ribbon and, at far left, a pewter inkwell with a quill pen. The proper right hand of the sitter, holding another quill pen, rests on the topmost document. The proper left hand rests on a buff-colored money bag on the sitter's lap. He wears a white wig, a dull red coat with a fringed white neckcloth, and white ruffles at his wrists.

OWNERSHIP: Presumably this portrait was owned successively by Charles Morgan of Tredegar; his brother, John, who succeeded him in 1787; his sister, Jane, who succeeded him in 1792 and who had married Sir Charles Gould who took the name of Morgan; their son, Sir Charles Morgan; his son, 1st Baron Tredegar; his son, Viscount Tredegar; his nephew, Viscount Tredegar; his son, Viscount Tredegar; his uncle, the 5th Baron; his son, Frederic Charles John Morgan, 6th Baron Tredegar, born 1908, who succeeded his father in 1954 and who had an address in Paris in 1962. On October 20, 1961, this picture was No. 2 in a sale at Christie's. It was listed as "The Property of a Nobleman." Portraits of seven members of the Morgan family were also in this sale. The purchaser was given in the price list as Nicholls. The picture came into the hands of the dealer, Julius H. Weitzner, New York, who sold it to the Worcester Art Museum (Eliza S. Paine Fund in memory of William R. and Frances T. C. Paine) in 1962. Accession number: 1962.21.

REPRODUCTIONS: In *The Art Quarterly*, XXV, 268. Photographs of obverse, reverse, and detail of label are on file in the curatorial office, Worcester Art Museum. A reproduction is also on file at the Witt Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London. (Information supplied by the staff of the Witt Library was of great assistance in tracing the history of this portrait.)

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Christie, Manson & Woods, Ltd., *Pictures of the 16th, 17th & 18th Centuries . . . sold . . . October 20, 1961*, p. 3, lot 2; Worcester Art Museum, *Annual Report, 1962*, pp. x, xiii; *The Art Quarterly*, XXV (Autumn, 1962), 263, 268 (repr.); John Steegman, *A Survey of Portraits in Welsh Houses*, 2 vols., II (Cardiff, 1962), 165, No. 38, Pl. 31B. (Here the sitter is, mistakenly, I believe, identified as Dr. Charles Gould. When Mr. Steegman saw the picture at Tredegar before the sale of the property it may well have been so identified. Mr. Weitzner has stated that when he purchased the picture it was in a frame which bore the label: Mr. Gould—Blackburn. The catalogue of the 1961 sale at Christie's, however, follows the old label on the back of the canvas and lists it as a portrait of Hugh Jones, an identification which accords well with the inscription on the large ledger shown in the picture.); "La Chronique des Arts," *Supplément à la "Gazette des Beaux-Arts,"* No. 1129 (February, 1963), 67 (acquisition noted).

Note: See No. 129, note.

131. WILLIAM TAYLOR

(Fig. 14)

SUBJECT: William Taylor, son of William Taylor of Blackburn, Lancashire, married Katherine Carpenter; was Mayor of Hereford in 1786 and High Sheriff of the County in 1789. Died in May, 1807, and is buried in the parish church of Burghill, Hereford. His house was Tillington Court.

DATE: Probably 1768. No signature or date found but the portrait of Mrs. Taylor is signed by Blackburn and dated 1768.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil on canvas, 50 x 41 ½ inches.

DESCRIPTION: The sitter is shown three-quarter length, leaning his left elbow on a brown coping at right, his right hand before his body pointing toward the spectator's right. His head is turned very slightly to the spectator's left. There is a background of trees and sky with the indication of a fountain at the spectator's right. Mr. Taylor wears his hair powdered gray. His coat is blue with a red collar and silver buttons, his knee breeches black, his shirt white and ruffled, and his white waistcoat ornamented with red and gold flowers, black leaves and blue-green stripes. The painting is in its original carved and gilded frame.

OWNERSHIP: Caroline Jay of Litley Court was the owner in 1877 when she put an inscription on the back of the canvas identifying the sitter as her great-grandfather. She was the daughter of James Jay, 1808-1877, son of Katherine, daughter of the sitter, who had married Thomas Jay, died 1829. The picture passed from Caroline Jay to her second cousin, Thomas Edward Jay, grandson of her grandfather's brother, William. It is now owned by Thomas Jay of Derndale, son of Thomas Edward Jay.

REPRODUCTIONS: Photograph at the National Portrait Gallery, London, from a negative made by F. C. Morgan, Hereford. Photograph in the curatorial files, Worcester Art Museum, from a negative made by Hammonds Studios, Hereford.

Note: It is hard to express adequately my gratitude to Mr. Jay for the trouble he took to have photographs made of the three Taylor portraits. In addition to permitting me to study them in November, 1962, and to reproduce them,

he has also kindly supplied measurements and full biographical details.

132. MRS. WILLIAM TAYLOR

(Fig. 15)

SUBJECT: Katherine, born about 1739, daughter of Thomas Carpenter and his wife Sarah, daughter of the Reverend William Tyler, Vicar of Dilwyn; married William Taylor of Tillington Court and died in September 1789.

DATE: Signed "I · Blackburn Pinxit 1768" (in black at lower right).

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil on canvas, $49\frac{3}{4}$ x $41\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

DESCRIPTION: Three-quarter length, body turned toward spectator's left but with face toward the spectator. Her right hand holds a spray of white jasmine at her breast, her left hand holds a fold of her dress. Landscape background with a tree at the spectator's right, a field and low trees at left and green and rolling hills which have a Herefordshire look, under a cloudy sky. The sitter wears a gray dress with a brocaded floral pattern, blue bows with picoted edge, sheer white ruffles and sheer lace. Over her shoulders is black lace. A white lace ruffle is around her neck tied in back with a blue bow, in her black hair is a white feather, and she wears a pearl earring. The original carved and gilded frame may be seen in the accompanying illustration.

OWNERSHIP: This picture has the same history and ownership as that of William Taylor.

REPRODUCTIONS: Photograph at the National Portrait Gallery, London, from negative no. 9412, Chichester Photographic Service, Ltd. Black and white lantern slide taken by Thomas Jay, son of the owner. Photograph in the curatorial files, Worcester Art Museum, from a negative made by Hammonds Studios, Hereford.

Note: The owner of this portrait has in his possession a piece of the dress worn by Mrs. Taylor when she posed for her portrait. He points out that comparison "shows the painting to be very accurate and true to detail." See also No. 131, note.

133. ELIZABETH, KATHERINE AND
SARAH TAYLOR

(Fig. 16)

SUBJECT: The three daughters of William Taylor of Tillington Court, County Hereford, and his wife Katherine. At left: Elizabeth, the second daughter, who died November 27, 1788, at the age of seventeen. In the center: Katherine, the eldest daughter, who married November 25, 1799, Thomas Jay of Derndale, Canon Pyon, County Hereford. She died at the Cottage, Canon Pyon, March 28, 1846. At right: Sarah, the youngest daughter, who married the Reverend Edmund Eckley, Vicar of Burghill, and died in 1848 aged seventy-five. Thus in 1775, the date of this group portrait, the girl at the left would have been about four years old and the girl at the right about two.

DATE: "—lackburn Pinxt 1775" (at lower left in black; the first part of the signature is rubbed and cannot be seen).

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil on canvas, 50¼ x 40 inches.

DESCRIPTION: All three children are shown full length. Elizabeth, who leans on her older sister's shoulder, has brown hair and dark eyes. She wears a sheer, striped dress of sage green, a close-fitting white lace cap and a red shoe. Katherine, who holds a rose in her left hand, has reddish hair and blue eyes. She wears a pink dress with blue convolvuli at the breast, a white lace cap with pink flowers

and a white shoe. Sarah, who holds pink roses in her apron, has dark brown hair and blue eyes, and wears a brown underdress with a sheer, embroidered overdress. In her hair are roses and other flowers. In the background are trees at the spectator's left and gray sky at the right. The frame is the original one of carved and gilded wood.

OWNERSHIP: This picture has the same history and ownership as that of William Taylor.

REPRODUCTIONS: Photograph at the National Portrait Gallery, London, from a negative made by F. C. Morgan, Hereford. Black and white lantern slide taken by Thomas Jay, son of the owner. Photograph in the curatorial files, Worcester Art Museum, from a negative made by Hammonds Studios, Hereford.

Note: See No. 131, note.

At about the time Blackburn left New England for England a young artist, Henry Benbridge, set out from Philadelphia to study in Italy. He was there from about 1764 until 1769 when he proceeded to London, returning to Philadelphia in 1770. While in Italy he was commissioned by James Boswell to paint a portrait of the Corsican patriot, Pascal Paoli, and when I went abroad in 1957 one of my various objectives was to see that portrait which seemed to me a basic picture for understanding the later work of Benbridge in this country. However, I could not readily locate it and I was almost on the point of returning to the United States when a letter came from Robert F. Metzendorf, late of Yale University, telling me it was still at Auchinleck. I made a special trip to Scotland to see it and take pleasure in describing and illustrating it here.

PASCAL PAOLI

BY HENRY BENBRIDGE, 1743-1812?

(Fig. 17)

SUBJECT: Pascal Paoli was born in 1725, son of Giacinto Paoli, a Corsican rebel leader with whom he went into exile. He studied at Naples, served in the Neapolitan army, and returned to Corsica in 1755 where he was made commander-in-chief and led the rebellion against Genoese rule which was successful in confining the Genoese to coastal towns. Thereafter, until 1768, as head of the Corsican government, Paoli reorganized the administration and instituted many reforms. In 1764 the Genoese had called in the French to aid them and in 1768 Genoa sold Corsica to France. French forces were much increased and eventually Paoli had to take refuge in London in 1769. There he was given a pension and was received as a friend by leaders in art and letters including James Boswell who had spent several days with him in Corsica in 1765 and had later commissioned the American artist, Benbridge, then in Italy, to go to Corsica to paint his portrait. With the French Revolution Paoli was recalled from exile. He returned to Corsica in 1791 but he was out of sympathy with the new order and went back to England in 1795. He lived in London until his death in 1807.

DATE: Probably 1768. A letter, September 24, 1957, from Robert F. Metzdorf, then Secretary to the Committee, The Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell, states "So far as we can tell from information in the Boswell papers, the portrait of Paoli was painted in 1767 or in 1768; there is a reference to it being in transit at the end of 1768, and Boswell evidently received it in the early part of 1769." William Roberts in his article listed below describes and quotes a leaflet signed by James

Boswell and dated May 8, 1769, which he found, while bookhunting, attached to a copy of the catalogue of the 1769 exhibition of the Free Society of Artists. The leaflet refers to the picture of Paoli painted for Boswell and continues: "Mr. Boswell sent, for this purpose, to Corsica last summer, Mr. Henry Bembridge, . . . and, . . . his Excellency was pleased to sit. . . . When the picture was brought to Leghorn, all who had seen the General thought it a striking likeness. The Grand Duke of Tuscany expressed a desire to see it, upon which it was sent to Florence, where it was much admired."

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil on canvas, about 7 feet by 57¼ inches. (The height is that given in a newspaper account in the spring of 1769 quoted by W. T. Whitley in his book listed below. The width was measured while the portrait hung, framed, in a stairwell. This seems to be the actual width as the frame reveals edges of the canvas.)

DESCRIPTION: Full length, about the size of life, body turned slightly toward the spectator's left, head turned three quarters toward the spectator's right. Proper right knee slightly bent, left hand with fingers spread at waist, right hand resting on a brown truncheon on a rock. The background consists of brown rocks at right and left and brown ground with a dark shrub between; at spectator's left of figure a gray sea or lake with gray shore stretches to meet a pale orangey, sunset sky, and, at right, a tiny dark tree is silhouetted against a gray misty background. The sky above, probably because of discolored varnish, appears dark brown. There are dark brown trees with bare branches against the sky at the upper part of the rocks at the left, and at the right there is indicated a gray mountain mass rising above the brown rocks. The sitter is wearing a suit and waistcoat of dull green edged with gold braid. The coattail is lined with white and both coat and waist-

coat have gilt buttons. There is a glimpse of the gilded hilt of a sword. He wears a white neckcloth with lace frill, and white ruffles at his wrists. His stockings are white, his shoes black with gilt buckles. His hair is probably his own, either white or powdered. The picture, which is in a massive frame with emblems of battle and liberty above, shows evidence of former injury for which it has been treated. When seen in 1957, however, it was flaking, particularly in the background. The body of the subject gives an effect of portliness but the figure has authority and vigour. The face though fleshy is strong and handsome; the mouth well defined; and the glance of the eyes purposeful. The hands, especially the left one at the waist, are weak and have no special character. The artist's study in Rome under Pompeo Battoni is evident in pose and approach. It is interesting to compare with the portrait Boswell's word picture of the sitter in his Corsican journal (October 21, 1765): "He is tall, strong, and well made; of a fair complexion, a sensible, free, and open countenance, and a manly and noble carriage. He was then in his fortieth year. He was dressed in green and gold. He used to wear the common Corsican habit, but on the arrival of the French he thought a little external elegance might be of use to make the government appear in a more respectable light." (*Boswell on the Grand Tour, Italy, Corsica and France, 1765-1766*, ed. Frank Brady and Frederick A. Pottle [New York, 1955], p. 162.)

OWNERSHIP: Commissioned by James Boswell of Auchinleck, this portrait has continued to hang in Auchinleck House, Ayrshire. Lord Talbot de Malahide, great-great-grandson of James Boswell, sold the house to Lieut. Col. John Douglas Boswell, father of John Boswell, owner in October, 1957, when the portrait (on the wall and in poor light) was seen by the present writer. On the history of the house and its ownership see Thomas Hannan, *Famous*

Scottish Houses, The Lowlands (London, 1928), pp. iff., and letter of September 24, 1957, from Robert F. Metzdorf.

EXHIBITED: In the 1769 exhibition of the Free Society of Artists at Mr. Christie's Great Room, near Cumberland House, Pall Mall. No. 258 (among the "omitted" pictures, those which came in after the body of the catalogue was set up), "Pascal Paoli, the General of the Corsicans—a whole length" by "Mr. Bembridge, in Italy" (Roberts, p. 97, quoting from his copy of the catalogue).

REPRODUCTIONS: Photographs, full length and half length detail, from negatives made by George Crawford, Ayr, are in the curatorial file, Worcester Art Museum. In the print room of the British Museum may be seen impressions of the mezzotint, reproducing the portrait, full-length, inscribed below "Henry Bembridge pinxt. 1768. Ca. Bowles excudit./PASCAL PAOLI, General of the Corsicans, Born 6th. April, 1725; Elected 15th. July, 1755./Vincet amor Patriae laudumque immensa cupido./From the Original Picture Painted for James Boswell Esqr. of Auchinleck./Published as the Act directs, May 1th. 1769. Printed for Carington Bowles, No. 69 in St. Pauls Church Yard, London." The name of the engraver is not given but he is believed to have been John Raphael Smith.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: W. Roberts, "An Early American Artist: Henry Bembridge," *Art in America*, VI (February, 1918), 96-101 (On p. 98 he states the portrait is still owned by Boswell's descendants, and on p. 99 he reproduces the mezzotint.); William T. Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends in England 1700-1799*, 2 vols. (London, 1928), I, 187-188; Anna Wells Rutledge, "Henry Benbridge (1743-1812?), American Portrait Painter," *American Collector*, XVII, No. 9 (October, 1948), 8-9; Frederick A. Pottle, *James Boswell, The Earlier Years, 1740-1769*, New York, 1966, pp. 306, 397, 534, 553-554, and repr. of mezzotint at p. 102.

Mr. Pottle, in this volume which was published when the present article was in proof, refers to a notice (for which Boswell was responsible) which appeared in *The London Chronicle*, March 26-28, 1767, stating that an artist was going to Corsica to paint a portrait of Paoli. He also makes clear a point that had troubled Mr. Whitley who, noting that the expenses of the exhibition held by the Free Society of Artists in 1769 included "£130, paid for Paoli's picture," remarked that he could offer no explanation for this item and could not see why this society "should spend half its net income for the year on a portrait of a man with whom it had no concern; a portrait which, apparently, was purchased from Boswell." Mr. Pottle indicates that the society put the portrait of Paoli on view to aid the Corsican cause "with an admission fee of a shilling . . . and provided a box for further contributions." He notes that, according to *The London Chronicle* of June 8-10, 1769, the society had by that time turned over £105 to the fund. It is obvious the society was not purchasing the portrait.

Note: I am very grateful to Mr. and Mrs. John Boswell for permitting me to study and reproduce this picture and for arranging to have it photographed.

Copyright of Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society is the property of American Antiquarian Society and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.