

## *Four Late Eighteenth Century Anglo-American Landscape Painters*

BY J. HALL PLEASANTS

THERE is nothing more hazardous than to attempt to fix with certainty the label of priority upon any early American artist or craftsman and to proclaim him as the first to have practiced his special art or craft in what is now the United States. As a glaring example of such an ill-advised claim one need but recall that a well-known writer on early American painting, the late Charles Henry Hart, some thirty-eight years ago, in a paper which appeared in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* in 1905, presented a Swedish-American painter, who had not arrived in the colonies until 1712, as "Gustavus Hesselius, the Earliest Painter and Organ Builder in America."<sup>1</sup> Time has shown that he was neither. We now know of some half dozen or more painters in the colonies who antedated Hesselius in the practice of their art and one or two earlier organ builders! One must indeed be wary of making claims such as this when students of early American art are constantly bringing to light, by the study of old canvases and records, the names of early practitioners long forgotten.

He who would dare, in the light of our present knowledge, to attempt to answer the questions as to who was the first American landscape painter, would indeed be rash. But this question, although now unanswerable with certainty, is historically nevertheless an interesting one. And to avoid further complicating its answer one must also decide

<sup>1</sup> *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. 29, pp. 129-32.

whether a portrait with an extensive scenic background should be classed as a landscape or a portrait. Certainly if the human figure is the outstanding feature of the painting it falls into the portrait group, irrespective of the background. Justus Engelhardt Kühn, who painted in Annapolis from 1707 to 1717, is to be classed as a portrait painter from his work which has been preserved, although his three large full-length portraits of children, circa 1710—those of Ignatius Digges, Henry Darnall, and Eleanor Darnall—all show elaborate backgrounds depicting formal gardens, architectural details, and other landscape features.<sup>2</sup> But there is also a somewhat shadowy claim that Kühn was possibly the first American landscape painter, or at least the first of whom at present we have a record, because of an item in the inventory of his estate, dated 1717, which lists as among his possessions, "14 pictures & Landskips" appraised at 2*l* 8*s* *od*; this same inventory also listing sundry "unfinished pictures" and "coats-of-arms," and also "several parcells of paint & all other things belonging to painting," valued at 7*l* 3*s* *od*. We cannot assert, however, that these "14 pictures & Landskips," of an average appraised value of three shillings sixpence, were certainly the work of his own hand. The obituary of the Boston limner, Nathaniel Emmons, who died in 1740, says of him that "some of his pieces are such admirable imitations of nature, both in faces, River Banks, and Rural Scenes that the pleased Eye cannot easily leave them." John Smibert at his death in 1751 left thirteen "landskips" appraised at 2*l* 13*s* *od*, or about four shillings each. As in the case of Kühn, we cannot be sure that these landscapes were painted by their late owners. As far as one knows no paintings to be classed as landscapes by Kühn, Emmons, or Smibert have been preserved.

<sup>2</sup> J. Hall Pleasants, "Justus Engelhardt Kühn, An Early Eighteenth Century Maryland Portrait Painter," *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, vol. 46, pp. 243-380.



Portrait backgrounds revealing, through open windows or casements, landscapes or water views, were constantly made use of by eighteenth-century American portrait painters. Gustavus Hesselius frequently used such views in his backgrounds; and in the two companion allegorical paintings with mythological figures attributed to him—"Pluto and Persephone" and the "Bacchannalian Revel"—probably based on old engravings, he employed elaborate landscape backgrounds. Casements and open windows were also used as background features by such pre-Revolutionary portrait painters as John Hesselius, John Wollaston, Joseph Blackburn, Robert Feke, Joseph Badger, and William Williams, but no landscapes, in the more restricted sense, by any of them are known. At a somewhat later period in the eighteenth century, Charles Willson Peale, James Peale, Robert Edge Pine, and Ralph Earl employed elaborate landscapes as backgrounds. Earl is the only one of these four painters who is known with certainty to have painted landscapes except as backgrounds, as we find in his "Looking East from Leicester Hills," 1800, in the Worcester Museum, and the "View of Litchfield, Connecticut," in the Yale University Art Gallery. John Trumbull's "View of Niagara Falls," in the Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, is another instance of a portraitist wandering from his field. It may be added that there is also a question as to whether two or three landscapes—views of gentlemen's country seats in Maryland—may not be, as the owners believe, the work of Charles Willson Peale.

The reason that landscape painting in America in the eighteenth century was neglected was certainly due to the fact that it was an unprofitable occupation, and on this account few, if any, painters followed it exclusively and with success until after the close of the century. Even at this later date the struggles of the four English landscape

painters, whose fortunes in America will now be followed, show that it was a most unremunerative calling even as late as the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century.

For some reason not easily explained, four Englishmen, who all arrived in the United States about the years 1792-1795, devoted themselves exclusively, or for some time at least, to landscape painting, and practiced their profession variously in Baltimore, Brooklyn, New York, Philadelphia, or Washington at the close of the eighteenth century and in the opening years of the nineteenth. These were George Beck, a native of Ellford, Staffordshire, William Groombridge of Tunbridge, Kent, Francis Guy of Burton-in-Kendall, Westmorlandshire, and William Winstanley, probably of London. Beck, Guy, and Groombridge, however, had all been living in London before coming to America. All were landscape painters of some ability. Both Beck and Groombridge, and doubtless Winstanley also, had academic training; the first two named had previously been frequent exhibitors in London at the National Academy and the Society of Artists, and the last exhibited at the National Institution after his return to England. Guy was largely self-taught, and this by a most original method which he devised. Why three of them should have selected Baltimore as the scene of their activities we do not know, for certainly, except in the case of Guy, it proved to be an unprofitable field.

It may be wondered why Thomas Birch (1779-1851), the well-known Philadelphia landscape and marine painter, who was born in England, is not included in this group of late eighteenth-century Anglo-American landscapists. Birch at the age of fifteen was brought to America in 1795 by his father, William Birch, the English enamel painter and engraver. This was the time that Beck, Groombridge, and



Guy came to the United States. Brought up in his father's house in Philadelphia, Thomas Birch received his training in this country and is therefore to be regarded as an American, not as an Anglo-American, painter. Nor does he seem to have devoted himself to landscape and marine painting until the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century, before this having been principally a painter of portraits. Birch and his work are so well known that further notice of him here does not seem necessary.

From the evidence before us, the four Englishmen, Beck, Groombridge, Guy, and Winstanley, seem to have been the first painters in what is now the United States, of whom we as yet have definite knowledge, who may be said to have devoted themselves either exclusively, or for a time at least, largely, to landscape painting. A record of them and of their work certainly deserves its place in the history of American painting. Before considering each of these four Anglo-American landscapists individually at some length, they will be briefly introduced to the reader.

George Beck, recently arrived from England by way of Norfolk, Virginia, came to Baltimore in 1795 and seems to have remained there about two years, going thence to Philadelphia for a six years' stay. He later emigrated to the west to spend his latter years in Lexington, Kentucky. His wife, Mary Beck, was also a painter. William Groombridge, of London, was in the United States as early as 1794, the year before the arrival of Beck and Guy, appearing in Philadelphia on New Year's Day, 1795, as one of the founders of the "Columbianum," or "Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, and Engraving." He came to Baltimore in 1804, and lived there until his death in 1811. He seems not only to have practiced his profession in Philadelphia and Baltimore, but also for a short time in New York. His wife, Catherine Groombridge, was an amateur landscapist.

Francis Guy, a silk dyer and calenderer from London, came to the United States in 1795, and after ill success in New York and Philadelphia as a dyer, settled in Baltimore about 1798, and soon afterwards blossomed forth as a prolific landscape painter. After some twenty years residence in Baltimore, he moved in 1817 to Brooklyn, Long Island, dying there three years later. William Winstanley apparently came from England to New York in 1791 or 1792, removing in 1800 to Washington, the new Federal capital. He was in Boston in 1801 just before his return to England, and was also in Philadelphia for a short time perhaps in this same year.

Of these four landscapists, Guy, an eccentric egoist, was certainly the most picturesque figure, and more of his work has been preserved. As a showman and self-advertiser he was unrivalled. As will be seen, much that we know of the Baltimore careers of both Groombridge and Guy is learned from a rather amusing mud-slinging newspaper campaign carried on by the partisans of each as to their respective merits and demerits. Winstanley had the bright light of publicity thrown upon him as the result of charges, possibly unfounded, brought against him as a forger of Gilbert Stuart portraits of Washington, which Stuart said he sold as originals.

As painters, Beck, Groombridge, and Winstanley followed the traditional academic English schools of painting of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, although Beck also showed an Italian influence. Guy a painter of both landscapes and marines, and more vigorous and original than Beck, Groombridge, and Winstanley, reproduced actual landscapes that are enlivened with little figures of people and domestic animals, paintings which seem to reflect their creator's own vivid personality and the America of that day into which he fitted himself so well, rather than any



academic tradition. To paraphrase the words of a capable critic (Goodrich) who will be quoted more fully later, Guy's paintings, while somewhat naïve, have a natural elegance, a precision and delicacy in details, and a loveliness in the little figures, which reveal that this artist had a conception of nature as a setting for human figures. The writer of this sketch feels that as time passes Guy's better paintings will be more and more appreciated as naturalistic visual expressions of the independent American spirit of the early republic, as recorded by one, who, little influenced by scholastic traditions, actually painted nature as he saw it.

The writer is indebted to a recognized and competent art critic, who prefers, however, to remain anonymous, a man especially well qualified to evaluate British and Continental landscape paintings of this period, for a critical appraisal of the work of these four Anglo-American landscapists. These appraisals will be found under the several sections devoted to each painter.

It is the author's hope that with reproductions of examples of the work of these four landscapists before the eyes of students of early American paintings, and with the clues presented in this paper as to the painters themselves and the several localities where their work was done, additional paintings by them and new facts about their careers will be brought to light.

The writer is under obligations to many persons for assistance in the preparation of this paper. Only a few can be mentioned here. His debt of gratitude is especially great to the Frick Art Reference Library, and particularly to Miss Ethelwyn Manning and Miss Hope Mathewson for their untiring help and patience. Mr. Edward S. King, curator of paintings of the Walters Art Gallery, has been most helpful in questions involving painting technique, stylistic idiosyncrasies, and school influences, as exhibited by the four

painters. Thanks are due to Mr. John I. Baur of the Brooklyn Museum for his help in clearing up obscure points in regard to the various versions of Guy's Summer and Winter Views of Brooklyn. Mr. John O'Connor, Jr., of the Carnegie Institute of Pittsburgh, Mr. Ludie J. Kinkead of the Filson Club, Louisville, Kentucky, Mr. Joseph T. Fraser, Jr., of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia, Mr. John Wilson Townsend of Lexington, Kentucky, Mr. Ruel P. Tolman of the Smithsonian Institution, Washington, and Mr. Walter Muir Whitehill of the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts, have been of much help to the writer in efforts to trace "lost" paintings. The staffs of the Maryland Historical Society, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and the New York Historical Society, have assisted in many ways. The late Mrs. Horace Mann Towner and Mr. Charles C. Wall of the Mount Vernon Ladies Association were untiring in securing data about the Beck and Winstanley landscapes at Mount Vernon. Without the constant help of Mr. Louis H. Dielman, Librarian of the Peabody Institute, Mr. Ferdinand C. Latrobe of Baltimore, and Mr. Harold E. Gillingham of Philadelphia, much that is recorded in these sketches would be missing.



*George and Mary Beck*

## GEORGE BECK

George Beck, an English landscape painter of considerable ability and with an academic background, arrived at Norfolk, Virginia, in the year 1795. After spending a very brief time there, we find him during the remainder of his life living successively in Baltimore, Philadelphia, and Lexington, Kentucky. That he was a well trained painter is attested to by the fact that before coming to America he had shown some fifteen paintings and drawings in London at the exhibitions held at the Royal Academy and at the Society of Artists in the 1790-1793 period. What we know of his career in England and America is in a large part derived from a sketch of him, overlooked by students of American art until very recently, by an anonymous Baltimore author, "A Biographical Memoir of the Late George Beck, Esq.," which appeared in *The Port Folio* for August, 1813, a magazine that flourished in the first two decades of the last century.<sup>3</sup> The substance of this "Memoir" was doubtless furnished to the author by Beck's widow, Mary Beck. The present writer contributed a short sketch of Beck, based largely on this "Memoir," to the *Maryland Historical Magazine* for September, 1940, with a reproduction of his painting, "Baltimore from Howard's Park 1796."

From the "Memoir" it is learned that Beck was born at Ellford, England, in 1748 or 1749, and was the youngest son of a Staffordshire farmer. His education, until he reached his tenth year, was at the village school, which he is said to have left because the teacher had taught him all he knew. It appears, however, that he continued to live on his father's farm, but we are not told where he received the further education which enabled him in his late teens to

<sup>3</sup> *The Port Folio*, 3rd series, vol. 2 (1813), no. 2, pp. 117-22.

secure a teaching position at the nearby town of Tamworth, doubtless at the free grammar school there. Bad health, unquestionably pulmonary tuberculosis in view of his subsequent history, interrupted his studies for holy orders which he had begun in 1770. It is said that he was promised in 1776 a "mathematical Professorship in the Royal [Military] Academy of Woolwich" by George Townshend (1724-1808), Fourth Viscount Townshend, and later First Marquess Townshend, a Field Marshal and prominent in army affairs, who besides being a Privy Counsellor was High Steward of Tamworth. But a change in the Ministry, unfavorable to Townshend, interfered with this appointment, and resulted in Beck receiving a less important appointment to the Corps of Engineers, with an assignment to the Towers of London to draw military plans and maps. It was apparently at this time he became seriously interested in painting.

We are told that he married in 1786 a young lady, whose name is not disclosed by the "Memoir," but whose Christian name from other sources we learn was Mary, "in whose accomplished mind he inspired reciprocity of taste and sentiment." It may be added that she became, like her husband, a landscape painter and an exhibitor at the Royal Academy. In 1787, "on account of declining health," Beck resigned his government position, and for two years taught the daughters of the Marchioness Townshend. These were doubtless the children of George Townshend by his second wife, Ann Montgomery, whom he had married in 1773.

It was in the year 1790, when he first exhibited at the Royal Academy, that we find him referred to as then of Knightsbridge, London. He showed this year two landscape views of "Windsor Great Park." In 1791, the "Memoir" says, he was engaged to complete Grose's *Antiquities of Ireland*, but that the sudden death of its publisher, Hooper,



put an end to the project. At the London exhibitions of 1790, 1791, 1792, and 1793, among the thirteen landscapes which he showed at the Royal Academy and at the Society of Artists, were three views of the Marquess Townshend's seat, Rainham Hall, Fakenham, Norfolk. He is entered, in the exhibition catalogues, reprinted by Graves, as of London, and with a changing street address there for each of the four years: 6 Park Row, Knightsbridge (1790); 8 Panton Street (1791); 5 Park Row (1792); and 4 Portland Road (1793).<sup>4</sup> The "Memoir" goes on to say that in 1790 Beck made a tour through the western counties of England and Wales, sketching and painting, and it was then that his thoughts turned to America as a field for his brush. The subjects of the landscapes exhibited reveal some of the places visited on this tour. We will now quote more fully from the "Memoir":

The spirited productions which were the result of this [Welsh] tour, gained him many admirers, who suggested that in America he would find a theatre for the exercise of powers that might afterwards enrich his native country. Yielding to their solicitations he embarked for the United States, and landed at Norfolk in the year 1795. After a short residence in that city he visited Baltimore, where he received such flattering marks of approbation as induced him to send for his lady, and relinquished the design of an immediate return to England. He had not been long in this city when he received a visit from Mr. Hamilton of the Woodlands [near Philadelphia], a gentleman whose name is most honourably associated with the history of the fine arts in America. He was so much pleased with the works of Mr. Beck that he engaged him to paint views of his elegant villa, and when there, invited him to settle in Philadelphia.

It would appear from the "Memoir" that Beck's stay in Norfolk, Virginia, was one of only a few days or weeks, and as a matter of fact, no record of him has been found in that place. He doubtless reached Baltimore in 1795, the year of

<sup>4</sup> Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts, 1769-1904* (London, 1905-06), p. 156. Algernon Graves, *The Society of Artists of Great Britain 1760-1791 [and] the Free Society of Artists, 1761-1793* (London, 1907), p. 28.

his arrival in America, and it seems probable that he remained there until 1797, or possibly until the early part of 1798, as his name first occurs in the Philadelphia directory in 1798. The only records of his stay in Baltimore which can be found are those revealed by the titles and provenance of the paintings he must have done while here. It seems likely that the writer of the "Memoir" in *The Port Folio*, an anonymous Baltimorean, was a friend he made during his stay here. It was to Baltimore that his wife Mary came from England to join him, and they were both living here when he later decided to move to Philadelphia. The story, first circulated in Ranck's *History of Lexington*, published in 1872, and since repeated by Collins, Price, and others, that Beck "belonged at one time to a company of scouts under Wayne," does not seem credible.<sup>5</sup> No such service is referred to in the "Memoir." Beck arrived in America in 1795, and "Mad Anthony" Wayne died the following year. That an English greenhorn, a man of indifferent health, should have at once on arrival become a scout in an Indian campaign, certainly taxes one's imagination. This is doubtless an instance of mistaken identity, some other Beck having served as a Wayne scout.

The "flattering marks of attention" received by Beck in Baltimore can mean but one thing—orders for his paintings. Only two Baltimore views by him, however, are known: "Baltimore from Howard's Park" (No. I), which is now owned by the Maryland Historical Society; and the "East View of Baltimore," from which a colored aquatint was made in 1800 for the well-known Atkins & Nightingale series of views of American cities, although the original painting upon which this fine print is based, like others of

<sup>5</sup> George W. Ranck, *History of Lexington, Kentucky, Its Early Annals and Recent Progress* (Cincinnati, 1872), pp. 144-50. Richard H. Collins, *History of Kentucky* (Covington, 1874), vol. 1, p. 621.



this series, cannot be traced. It was unquestionably during his Baltimore period, 1795-1797, that he painted his two Potomac River views—"The Falls of Rivers," now hanging in Mount Vernon (Nos. II, III), for which George Washington made payment, January 30, 1797; and the view of "Georgetown and Federal City," known only from the colored aquatint based on the Atkins & Nightingale series. Beck's name does not appear in the Baltimore directory for 1796 (compiled in 1795), nor in that for 1798, the next one published, perhaps compiled after he had left the city.

Very little is known of Beck's "residence of several years in Philadelphia," to which city the "Memoir" says he had been induced to come by William Hamilton, and where he "enjoyed the esteem of its most respectable inhabitants, and was happy in the acquaintance of Mr. Hamilton, from whom he received many proofs of friendship and respect." This residence probably began late in 1797, or early in the following year. He first appears in the Philadelphia directory of 1798 as a landscape painter at 106 Walnut Street; in 1799 and 1800 on South Fifth Street near Chestnut; in 1801, 1802, 1803, at 51 South Fifth Street; and in 1804 and 1805 as living near 51 South Fifth Street. The "Memoir" says that after a "tour through the western states in the spring of 1804, [when] he spent some time in Kentucky . . . he soon after removed to Lexington" from Philadelphia. This doubtless means that he left Philadelphia late in 1804.

It was in Philadelphia that Mrs. Beck "soon after her arrival established a seminary for the education of young ladies." Although the social backing of William Hamilton of the "Woodlands," near Philadelphia, a man of wealth and prominence as well as a patron of the fine arts, must have been helpful to her in this venture, and the "Memoir" declares that her "assiduity found its reward in seeing many of her pupils among the fairest ornaments of that city," it is

questionable, however, whether the Becks would have abandoned Philadelphia for the frontier town of Lexington, had the school really been a success. Beck, like his contemporary Anglo-American landscape painter and Philadelphia neighbor, William Groombridge, was fortunate in having a wife who helped to support the family by keeping school.

Of the landscapes by Beck painted during his seven years in Philadelphia even less is known than of his output during his two years in Baltimore. No trace has been found of the views of Mr. Hamilton's "elegant villa," "Woodlands," which with three other landscapes, was exhibited in 1812 at the Academy of Fine Arts. Nor has any other original painting of the Philadelphia neighborhood been traced, except the "Scene on the Schuylkill River," which was doubtless taken by Beck to Kentucky where it now is, or perhaps was painted there from sketches which he brought with him. In the series of colored aquatints of American cities, published by Atkins & Nightingale of London, are two Pennsylvania views engraved by Cartwright after George Beck. These are "Philadelphia from the Great Tree at Kensington," published January 1, 1801, and "Wright's Ferry on the Susquehanna," published January 1, 1809. The original paintings or drawings by Beck from which these engravings were made have not been traced. That more of the landscapes, which he must certainly have painted in his Philadelphia career, are not known is remarkable. Possibly landscapes, really by him, are attributed to Thomas Birch. No signed painting by Beck has been found.

The closing chapter of Beck's life begins with his settlement in Lexington, Kentucky, late in 1804, or early in 1805. An advertisement of Mrs. Mary Beck's school appeared in the *Lexington Gazette* for February 1, 1805. "Mr. Beck" is listed in Charless' "Directory of Lexington, 1806,"



as a portrait painter on Main Street.<sup>6</sup> The "Memoir" tells us that in Lexington he spent much of his time in mathematical and astronomical pursuits and in chemical experiments, and "amused his leisure with music," but that his greatest interest was in writing poetry. This does not point to a very active career as a painter. It adds "the remaining years of his life were varied by few incidents; for after his settlement in Kentucky he seldom left his closet," perhaps on account of ill health. It was in Lexington that he translated the Odes of Anacreon, several books of the Iliad, the Georgics, part of Virgil's Aeneid, and some of the odes of Horace, besides composing many original poems. He had planned a class for the instruction of young gentlemen in the higher mathematics and ancient languages, but was greatly disappointed, when, unable to compete with the newly founded Transylvania College, he found his class limited to a few small boys. Nor was his hope of a professorship in one of the eastern colleges realized. In 1811 he was "engaged by Mr. Jervis of Baltimore" to paint a series of pictures which were the last paintings that he did. The writer has been unable to find any trace in Baltimore of a Mr. Jervis.

Beck died December 14, 1812, in the sixty-third year of his age (or, according to a newspaper account, in his sixty-fourth year), of "an inflammation of the lungs, which though it was not at first thought dangerous, soon settled into a consumption." The author of the "Memoir" speaks of his wide knowledge and his abilities as a poet, which the public will be better able to appreciate when his widow, "who is now engaged in preparing the manuscript for the public," publishes his poetry. "Of his talents as a painter it were superfluous to speak; his own pencil has written his monument and eulogy."

<sup>6</sup> Charles R. Staples, *The History of Pioneer Lexington, Kentucky* (Lexington, 1939), p. 255.

The "Memoir" is followed by "A poem composed impromptu by a young lady on hearing of the death of Mr. Beck." These verses, signed A. M. v.P., Nashville, and overflowing with the sentimentality of the age, need not be reproduced here.

The notice of Beck's death on December 14, 1812, which appeared in the *Kentucky Gazette* of Lexington for December 22nd, tells us little that is not learned from the "Memoir." Here he is spoken of as having "died of a long and tedious illness" in the sixty-fourth year of his age, while the "Memoir" says that he was in his sixty-third year. After extolling his eminence in landscape painting, and his contributions to mathematics and literature, and deploring the fact that a new country is not the "proper theatre for profound learning or the high soaring of genius," this newspaper says that "he languished here almost unnoticed . . . [and that] Mr. Beck's last years were embittered by the consciousness of neglected and almost useless talents, confined to the drudgery of a day school."

Not very much can be added to what the "Memoir" tells us of Beck's Kentucky career. Townsend in his *Kentucky in American Letters, 1784-1912*, gives a brief sketch of Beck as an author, and a few extracts from some of his translations in verse contributed to Kentucky newspapers, which are certainly better than the average magazine poetry of that day. That he was a good classical scholar is obvious. His "Fifteenth Ode of Horace" appeared in the *Kentucky Gazette* of Lexington, October 27, 1806; "Anacreon's Fifty Fifth Ode" in the same paper, November 3, 1806; and "Anacreon's First Ode," posthumously in the *Western Review*, Lexington, in March, 1821. He also published "His observations of the comet of 1811."<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> John Wilson Townsend, *Kentucky in American Letters 1784-1912* (Cedar Rapids, 1913), vol. 1, pp. 23-6.



From the "Memoir" it appears that Beck's attempt to establish a school for boys in Lexington was a failure, and that his wife was more successful with her "female seminary," with which Price in his *Old Masters of the Blue Grass*, says her husband helped her.<sup>8</sup> Collins declares that instruction in painting was a prominent feature in their school.<sup>9</sup> Mrs. Beck continued to carry on her school for several years after her husband's death.

In 1818, Mrs. Beck made an unsuccessful attempt to publish a book of her husband's poems, together with a review of the development of the arts in the west. A prospectus of the book was issued in July, 1818. This prospectus is in the form of a broadside, of which only one copy, that in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, is known to have been preserved. A space for the signature of subscribers is to be found at the end of the prospectus. It reads thus:

Proposals | by Mary Beck, | for publishing by subscription, the | Post-  
humous Poetical Works | of the late George Beck, Esq. | Consisting of A  
new translation of Virgil's Georgics and Pastorals; Anacreon and Horace's  
Odes; | together with original pieces, descriptive of the scenery and  
beauty of Kentucky—To | be comprised in one volume, printed from a  
new type, on fine wove paper, and em- | bellished with a portrait of the  
author, painted by Magaven of London; and which | will be | engraved  
in imitation of chalk by Mr. Lewis of Philadelphia, and executed in his |  
best style. | [5 lines] | Lexington, July, 1818.

The circumstances that render this publication most desirable, are, that it will exhibit to the world a proof of Kentucky genius, and the existing and progressive state of the Arts in the western Country. The price to subscribers shall be two dollars, paid at the time of delivery. It will be put to press as soon as sufficient number of subscribers authorize the undertaking.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> General Samuel Woodson Price, *The Old Masters of the Blue Grass* (Louisville, 1902), p. 5. (Filson Club Publications, No. 17.)

<sup>9</sup> Collins, *History of Kentucky*, p. 621.

<sup>10</sup> Douglas C. McMurtrie and Albert H. Allen, *American Imprints Inventory—No. 6 Check List of Kentucky Imprints, 1811-1820* (Louisville, 1939), p. 145.

As it seems certain the book was never published, it is to be assumed that sufficient subscriptions were not obtained. No portrait of Beck by Magaven of London, of whom nothing can be learned, nor by anyone else, can now be traced.

Only three examples of Beck's painting attributable to his Kentucky period have been discovered. These are his view of "Pittsburgh, 1808" (No. IV), and "Kentucky River" (No. VI), the latter a curious picture showing a large pyramid on the banks of a Kentucky stream. The third painting, "Scene on the Schuylkill River" (No. V), owned by the same estate which owns "Kentucky River," that of a Lexington gentleman, may well have been painted from sketches made before Beck went to Kentucky.

William Dunlap writing in 1834 of Beck, whose work he does not appear to have seen, says: "Mr. Beck is, I am informed, only entitled to notice as the first painter who penetrated beyond the Alleghanies." This assertion is erroneous as two or three others had preceded him. Dunlap, quoting from a letter written to him by James R. Lambdin, the painter, adds: "Beck may be justly considered the pioneer of art in the West. His landscapes are scattered over the entire Union—He died in 1814"; another error, as he died in 1812. "His widow survived until 1833, and painted many clever pictures from his sketches."<sup>11</sup> Ranck in his *History of Lexington*<sup>12</sup>, says that pictures by him were owned in 1872 by W. Mentelle, S. D. McCullough, John Tilford, Mrs. Thomas Clay, and many others, apparently all residents of Kentucky. None of these, however, have been traced by the writer.

Some appraisal of Beck as a landscape painter may be made from a study of the few examples of his earlier Ameri-

<sup>11</sup> William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of Design in the United States* (2nd ed., Boston, 1918), vol. 2, p. 382.

<sup>12</sup> Ranck, *History of Lexington*, p. 145.



can landscapes which are known, and from the aquatints of other paintings by him. Judging from these he was a well trained landscapist. Under whom he studied and from whom he received his inspiration has not been learned. Over a four-year period not long before he came to America, fifteen landscapes by him were accepted for exhibition by the Royal Academy and the Society of Artists.

The writer of this sketch is indebted to a very competent critic of English and Continental landscape painting for the following appraisal of Beck:

Beck adheres perhaps more closely, and certainly more handsomely, to the tradition of Claude Lorraine than any other of the Anglo-American quartet with which this paper deals. The tradition of Claude is revealed in Beck's large and structurally well-drawn trees placed near to the picture-plane, framing the far-flung landscape and increasing its effect of depth. As in Claude, the source of illumination comes from within the picture; the light of the setting sun in a misted or clouded sky. The view of "Baltimore from Howard's Park" (No. I) also shows clearly the Italian influence back of the Lorraine manner, such as may be seen, among others, in Domenichino's landscape arrangements. In the same way, Beck's view of "Philadelphia, 1800," preserved in colored aquatint, with its dramatic oak, recalls similar effects in the work of the Italianate German, Adam Elsheimer. It may be added that Beck's oak shows a comparable care in the painting of the leafage. In the two views of the "Rapids of the Potomac" (Nos. II, III), one is inevitably reminded of the seventeenth century Dutch painter, Allart van Everdingen, as seen in some of the latter's paintings of Scandinavian waterfalls, "excerpts from nature," which won for him the title of "inventor of cascades." Beck is technically perhaps the best trained, as he is artistically the most vigorous, of our four Anglo-American painters."

#### MARY BECK

It is a question whether Mary Beck, the wife of George, should be, or should not be, classed as a professional artist. That she exhibited in London four landscapes at the 1790 and 1793 exhibitions of the Society of Artists of Great

Britain is, however, certain. She is nowhere referred to as a painter in the "Memoir" of her husband's life, suggesting that she may have been in part responsible for it. From what has been previously said we learn that Mrs. Beck, whose antecedents are unknown, followed her husband to America, joining him in Baltimore c. 1795-1796. In Philadelphia and in Lexington she conducted a girls' school, probably contributing largely to the family support. Drawing and painting were part of the curriculum. Lambdin, as quoted by Dunlap, is authority for the statement that she "painted many clever pictures from his [her husband's] sketches."<sup>13</sup> Nothing further is known of her as a painter, nor have any of her paintings been traced. The following landscapes were exhibited by her in London.

The Society of Artists of Great Britain exhibitions (Graves, p. 28)

Exhibitions of 1790: Beck, Mrs. Mary, Painter (no address)

View from Nature, No. 642

View from Nature, No. 643

Exhibition of 1793: Beck, Mrs. Mary, Painter, 4 Portland Road, London

View from Nature, No. 78

View from Nature, No. 761

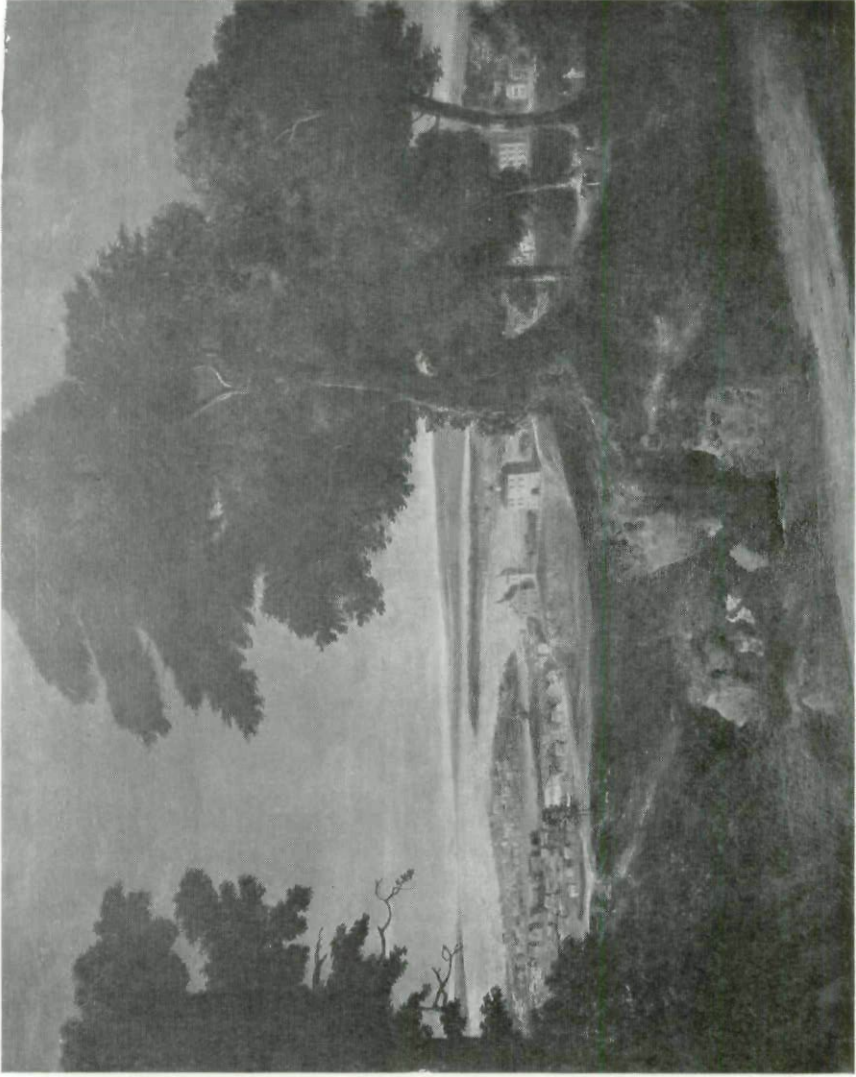
*Existing Traced and Identified Paintings  
by George Beck*

NO. I. BALTIMORE FROM HOWARD'S PARK—1796

DESCRIPTION: A view of Baltimore and the Patapsco River from the north, probably from a point a little to the east of the present site of the Washington Monument, in what was then known as "Howard's Park." This was the southern portion of "Belvedere," the large estate of Gen-

<sup>13</sup> Dunlap, *History of the Arts of Design*, vol. 2, p. 382.





GEORGE BECK — PLATE I BALTIMORE FROM HOWARD'S PARK, 1796

eral John Eager Howard (1752-1827). The foreground is apparently in part what is now East Mount Vernon Place, the beginning of the long steep descent eastward of the valley towards Jones' Falls. In the near foreground to the right is a rough road, and just beyond it several large masses of dark rock. To the right, under a group of four large forest trees are the figures of a man and woman, and three cows; and to the left a single tree. The foliage is of a brown-green color. Between these tree groups is an extensive view over the city of Baltimore, its buildings, its harbor, Whetstone (Locust) Point, the southwest branch of the Patapsco, and beyond to the left the Patapsco itself, and in the far distance the Chesapeake Bay. The Anne Arundel County shore can be seen in the extreme background. The view of the city itself shows Jones' Falls dividing the city proper from Old Town and Fell's Point laying to the east of the Falls. Buildings which can be readily recognized are the old court house with its cupola, straddling the bed of Calvert Street with a tunnel or passageway under it on the ground floor level; just to the left is the First Presbyterian (or "Two-Steepled") Church (built in 1791), located at the northeast corner of Fayette and North streets. The larger buildings are painted in meticulous detail. Through the group of trees to the right can be seen a number of houses on the hills of the western part of the town. Houses can also be seen on Whetstone Point. Numerous sailing ships of all sizes dot the harbor and river. An interesting feature is the windmill, on the near side of the water separating Old Town from Fell's Point, with its brown wooden arms and boxlike housing. This is quite a charming landscape view of the city as it appeared c. 1795-1800. The style of painting has rather an Italian flavor.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 37" x 45½".

DATE: c. 1796-1797. It was doubtless painted when Beck was a resident of Baltimore in these years.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. It was presented to the Society in 1846 by its president, John Spear Smith, as "a painting by Beck of Baltimore between 1786 and 1790"—an obvious antedating as Beck did not arrive in America until 1795!

ATTRIBUTION: Beck, George. This painting was presented to the Maryland Historical Society in 1846 as by *Beck*, and was exhibited in 1858 at the Society at its Sixth Exhibition as by *Bek*, a typographical error in the catalogue. Judging from other known paintings by George Beck, it is a typical example of his work.



EXHIBITIONS: Municipal (Peale) Museum, Baltimore, at the Exhibition of Early Baltimore Views, 1938.

REPRODUCTIONS: "George Beck, an Early Baltimore Landscape Painter," by J. Hall Pleasants, *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. 35, pp. 241-3.

## NO. II LANDSCAPE AND RIVER

(A View of the Passage of the Potomac  
through the Blue Mountains)

DESCRIPTION: Landscape of a small river or stream forming rapids which flow between two rocky banks with rock masses in the current. The stream divides the painting into two equal parts. In the foreground on the left are large dark rocks, and to the right a leaning tree trunk. Branches of trees extend over both banks forming a vista through which are to be seen sky and white clouds. In the extreme background is a rolling country with no mountains or hills visible. The coloring of foliage and ground covering is a dark brownish green.

Early reference to this painting describe it variously as "Landscape and River," and in Washington's memorandum it is called "A View of the Passage of Poto'k through the blew Mountain at the Confluence of that River with the Shan'd." As the Potomac, after its junction with the Shenandoah, breaks through the Blue Ridge at Harper's Ferry and is bordered on both sides by steep mountains, this latter title appears inapplicable.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 42" x 60".

DATE: 1796-1797.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, Mount Vernon, Virginia. This and its companion painting (No. III) have an interesting history. In Washington's Household Accounts is the following entry under date of January 30, 1797: "P'd Sam'l Salter in full for two paintings by Beck—framing sundry pictures, etc. 158.75 [dollars]." In a list in Washington's handwriting of furnishings in the Executive Mansion in Philadelphia at the close of his second term, 1797, there appears: "In the Green drawing Room . . . 2 Landscapes—1 Representing a view of the Passage of Poto'k thro' the blew mountain at the confluence of that River with the Shan'h—the other at the F[ederal] City—cost me with the frames 30 guineas £52-10-0." These two paintings were listed with other



GEORGE BECK — PLATE II  
POTOMAC RIVER BREAKING THROUGH THE BLUE RIDGE  
*Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association*



GEORGE BECK — PLATE III FALLS OF THE POTOMAC  
*Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association*



“articles in the room which may be purchased although the sale of them is not desired.” In the inventory of Washington’s household belongings at Mount Vernon, filed after his death in 1799, there are listed as in the “New Room” (now called the Banquet Hall) “2 large Gilt framed Pictures representing Falls of Rivers”—valued at \$160.00. These are unquestionably the two Beck paintings Washington had bought some three years earlier through Salter of Philadelphia. When Washington purchased these companion paintings in 1796–1797, Beck was then living in Baltimore. The first-named painting, “Passage of the Potomac through the Blue Mountain,” was acquired by a member of the Washington family apparently soon after the death of Mrs. Washington in 1802, and descended to Mrs. Louisa Washington, who presented it to Mount Vernon. The last-named painting, “Falls of the Potomac at the Federal City,” was purchased soon after Mrs. Washington’s death by a Boston gentleman, and was presented to Mount Vernon in 1886 by Theodore Lyman.

ATTRIBUTION: Beck, George (see note above).

REPRODUCTIONS: Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association photograph.

EXHIBITIONS: On permanent exhibition at Mount Vernon.

### NO. III GREAT FALLS OF THE POTOMAC

(“A View of the Passage of the Potomac at the Federal City”)

DESCRIPTION: Landscape showing the falls of a river, which perhaps bear sufficient resemblance to the Great Falls of the Potomac to justify this title, although in the inventory of Washington’s belongings at Mount Vernon this painting is variously listed as “Passage of the Potomac at the Federal City,” and as one of two pictures merely designated as “Falls of Rivers.” This view, looking upstream, represents the falls of a rushing river, which divides the landscape in half, flowing between dark rocky banks, and with large rocks and rapids in mid-stream. In the near foreground to the left are the dark green overhanging branches of a large tree. Smaller trees are to be seen on both banks further up stream. In the background there is a rolling dark green countryside.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 42" x 60".

DATE: 1796–1797.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, The Mount Vernon Ladies’ Association of the Union, Mount Vernon, Virginia. See note under No. II.

ATTRIBUTION: Beck, George (see note above).

REPRODUCTIONS: Mount Vernon Ladies' Association photograph.

EXHIBITIONS: On permanent exhibition at Mount Vernon.

#### NO. IV PITTSBURGH: 1806

DESCRIPTION: This painting of Pittsburgh shows a view of the city from the south side of the Monongahela River. It cannot now be traced. It was exhibited at the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, October–November, 1916, at the "City Charter Centennial Exhibition of Portraits, Views of Early Pittsburgh, and Historical Records, 1816–1916." The catalogue (p. 40) says that it was by Beck and was "Painted in 1806 for General John Wilkins from a point on the South Side of the Monongahela River, that it was exhibited at the Sanitary Fair, Pittsburgh, 1876, by Charles W. Earnest," and that it was lent for the 1916 exhibition by Miss Mary O'Hara Darlington and Mrs. Samuel A. Ammon. All efforts to trace its present whereabouts, or to secure a photograph of it, have been unsuccessful.

MEDIUM: Oil, canvas.

DATE: c. 1806.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owners, (1916), Miss Mary O'Hara Darlington and Mrs. Samuel A. Ammon. For provenance see note above.

ATTRIBUTION: Beck, George (see note above).

EXHIBITIONS: Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, 1916. (see note above) Sanitary Fair, Pittsburgh, 1876.

#### NO. V SCENE ON THE SCHUYLKILL RIVER

DESCRIPTION: The central portion of this painting is occupied by a bridge with two arches over the river. The arches rest on a small island, covered with brush, in the middle of the stream. At the left of the bridge the water flows over a dam and at the right, occupying the entire right side of the painting, is a tree. There are several figures on the bridge. A woman stands at the highest part of the bridge facing a man, who is sitting on the right parapet of the bridge. There is a shadowy figure, not very fully executed, at the woman's left. A woman and a little boy are walking down the slope of the bridge toward the spectator. The road over the bridge leads into the left background, through trees which occupy the upper left corner of the picture. A house can be seen in the distance at the upper left. Another house is shown on the rising ground



on the far side of the river in the right central background. Greens, browns, and the suggestion of sunset in the clouds dominate the landscape.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 16½" x 22½".

DATE: c. 1800 (owner's date); but this may be too early.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, the estate of Dr. Robert Peter, of "Winton," Lexington, Kentucky (1934).

ATTRIBUTION: Beck, George (owner's attribution). Only the photograph has been seen by the writer. It is doubtless by George Beck.

There is a companion landscape of the same size, by Beck, owned by the estate of Dr. Peter (No. VI).

REPRODUCTIONS: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 18433.

#### NO. VI KENTUCKY RIVER

DESCRIPTION: The title and the scene seem incongruous. On the banks of a very small river stands what appears to be a man-built pyramid (can it be an Indian mound!) about four times the height of a small house at the right. The foliage is a rather dark dull green; the sky is blue with white clouds.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 16½" x 22½".

DATE: c. 1800 (owner's date), but this may be too early.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, the estate of Dr. Robert Peter, of "Winton," Lexington, Kentucky (1934). This is a companion painting of No. V.

ATTRIBUTION: Beck, George (owner's attribution). Only the photograph has been seen by the writer. It is doubtless by George Beck.

EXHIBITIONS:

REPRODUCTIONS: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 18434.

### *Listings of Traced and Untraced Recorded Paintings by George Beck*

These lists, arranged chronologically, are culled from various contemporary newspaper advertisements and announcements, exhibition catalogues, auction catalogues, and other sources. Doubtless some of the entries are repetitious.

## A—LONDON EXHIBITIONS 1790—1793

The following is a list of fifteen paintings and drawings by George Beck, and four by his wife Mrs. Mary Beck, exhibited in London between the years 1790 and 1793 at the Royal Academy of Arts and at the Society of Artists of Great Britain, as listed in two books by Algernon Graves viz., *The Society of Artists of Great Britain (1760-1791)* [and] *the Free Society of Artists (1761-1783)*, London, 1907, and the same author's *The Royal Academy of Arts Exhibitors (1769-1804)*, London. The painter's address for each year is given.

## Royal Academy of Arts (Graves, p. 156).

Exhibition of 1790: Beck, G., Painter, 6 Park Row, Knightsbridge, London.

Windsor Great Park, No. 627

Windsor Great Park, No. 631

Exhibition of 1791: Beck, G., Painter, 8 Panton Street, London.

Marquess Townshend's Seat at Rainham, No. 239

Exhibition of 1792: Beck, G., Painter, 5 Park Row, London.

On the Rumney, Monmouthshire, No. 26

Cardiff, Glamorganshire, No. 224

On the Wye from Piercefield, No. 607

View near Cardiff, No. 616

Exhibition of 1793: Beck, G., Painter, 4 Portland Road, London.

On the Rumney, Glamorganshire, No. 300

## Society of Artists of Great Britain (Graves, p. 28).

Exhibition of 1791: Beck, G., 8 Panton Street, Haymarket, London.

A View of the Marquess Townshend's seat at Rainham, in Norfolk, No. 19

A View of the Marquess Townshend's seat at Rainham, in Norfolk, No. 20

A landscape from nature, No. 21

A landscape composition, No. 22

A landscape, small, No. 23

Views in Devonshire, drawings, No. 258

Views in Devonshire, drawings, No. 259



## B—PAINTINGS IDENTIFIED AND PREVIOUSLY DESCRIBED

- Baltimore from Howard's Park, See No. I  
 Landscape and River (Potomac), See No. II  
 Great Falls of the Potomac, See No. III  
 Pittsburgh 1806, See No. IV  
 Scene on the Schuylkill River, See No. V  
 Kentucky River, See No. VI

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## C—PHILADELPHIA, EXHIBITIONS

Exhibition of 1811:

Landscape

Exhibition of 1812:

Cottage (No. 124)

View of Mr. Hood's Place near Robin Hood Tavern on the Ridge  
Road (No. 144)

The Woodlands, seat of William Hamilton, Esq. (No. 165)

View of the Steep Rocks on North River near Wihawk Ferry,  
New York (No. 168)

Exhibition of 1813:

A View of Kentucky

A View of Kentucky

A View of Kentucky

A View of Kentucky

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## D—PAINTINGS UNTRACED, AND WITH TITLES UNKNOWN

Mentioned in Ranck's *History of Lexington* (p. 145)  
 as owned in 1872 by the following Kentuckians:

William Mentelle    S. D. McCullough    Mrs. Thomas Clay  
    John Tilford                    "Many others"                    6+

*Colored Aquatints from "Drawings"*  
*by George Beck*

Colored aquatint engravings from "drawings" by George Beck,  
 engraved by T. Cartwright, London, and published 1801-1809

by Atkins & Nightingale, London and Philadelphia. These aquatints are known as the Atkins & Nightingale series of American cities and are all c. 22" to 24" x 16½". See I. N. Phelps Stokes and Daniel C. Haskell, *American Historical Prints* (New York, 1933) for notes on these aquatints.

There are five of these colored aquatints listed as drawn by Beck. The original paintings cannot be traced. As one cannot be certain whether the colors as they appear in the aquatints are based on Beck's own coloring, or whether the engraver has followed uncolored drawings, using his own imagination in coloring, descriptions of the aquatints are therefore omitted. The page references which follow refer to Stokes and Haskell, *American Historical Prints*. Three of these prints were also used as decorative scenic designs on Staffordshire china. See Ellouise Barker Larsen, *American Historical Views on Staffordshire China* (New York, 1939). Page references to this book are also given below.

1800. Philadelphia, from the great tree at Kensington, under which Penn made his treaty with the Indians. Drawn by G. Beck, Philadelphia. Published January 1, 1801. (Stokes and Haskell, p. 46.) This view of Philadelphia was also used as a decorative scenic design for Staffordshire china (Larsen, p. 191).

1801. George Town and Federal City, or City of Washington. Drawn by G. Beck. Published June 1, 1801. (Stokes and Haskell, plate 37, p. 36.) This view of Georgetown and Federal City was also used as a decoration for Staffordshire china (Larsen, p. 187).

1802. East View of Baltimore, Md. Drawn by G. Beck. Published January 1, 1802. (Stokes and Haskell, plate 37, p. 47.)

1802. Great Falls of the Potomac. Drawn by G. Beck. Published January 1, 1802. (Stokes and Haskell, p. 48.)

1804. The Falls of Niagara. Drawn by G. Beck. Published November 1, 1805. (Stokes and Haskell, p. 48.)

1809. Wright's Ferry on the Susquehanna, Pennsylvania. Drawn by G. Beck. Published January 1, 1809. (Stokes and Haskell, p. 51.) This view of Wright's Ferry was also used as a decorative scenic design for Staffordshire china (Larsen, p. 192).



*William Groombridge*

William Groombridge, the landscape painter, a native of Tunbridge, Kent, England, came to the United States about 1794 at the age of twenty-five. Little is known of his life in England except that he was born in Tunbridge in 1748, that he was a pupil of James Lambert of Lewes, the English landscape painter, and that between the years 1773 and 1790 he exhibited in London not less than fifty landscapes, portraits, and miniatures at the Royal Academy of Arts, the Society of Artists of Great Britain, and the Society of Free Artists. Nothing has previously been written about his career in England and practically nothing about his life in America or his paintings. His residences (or rather addresses) in England as given in the exhibition catalogues which have been reprinted by Graves,<sup>14</sup> are, for the 1773-1790 period: 1773, Goodhurst, Kent; 1774, Bramley, Kent; 1775, 11 Poppin's Court, Fleet Street, London; 1776, 4 James Street, Covent Garden, London; 1777, 14 Church Street, St. Ann's, London; 1779, 69 Charlotte Street, London; 1780, 85 London Wall, London; 1781, (no address); 1782, 31 Coleman Street, Cheapside, London; 1783, 117 Newgate Street, London; 1784 (no address); 1785, Canterbury; 1786 (no address); 1788 (no address); 1789 (no address); 1790 (no address). The catalogues do not show whether he was living in Canterbury or London during the 1786-1790 period. He is not listed thereafter.

Robert Gilmore, the Baltimore art collector of the first quarter of the last century, wrote William Dunlap that Groombridge "was a pupil of Lambert's." This unquestionably was James Lambert (1725-1788) of Lewes in the heart of the South Downs of Sussex, a well known English land-

<sup>14</sup> Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts, 1769-1904*, vol. 3, p. 331. Algernon Graves, *The Society of Artists of Great Britain, 1760-1791*, [and] *the Free Society of Artists, 1761-1793*, p. 108.

scape painter and musician, and a frequent exhibitor at the Society of Artists in London. Lambert also made several hundred water color drawings, now in the British Museum, to illustrate Sir William Burrell's projected, but never published, work on the Antiquities of Sussex. It is of interest that views of the South Downs and Lewes, where Groombridge must have studied under Lambert, and which were not far distant from his native place in Kent, were favorite subjects for his landscapes. In the newspaper controversy to be presently referred to, Francis Guy, the Baltimore rival of Groombridge as a landscape painter, says of Groombridge that he had been "taught in the Royal Academies of London, Paris and Rome."<sup>15</sup> While the writer has found records of many of his paintings exhibited in London, he has been unable to find mention of anything exhibited by him in Paris or Rome. It may well be, however, that between 1790, the last year he exhibited in London, and 1794, when he is known to have been in Philadelphia, he was on the Continent. It is also possible that during this period he may have been in Jamaica and married there, as after his death his widow spent her latter years on that island. That Groombridge had academic training is also obvious from the few paintings and drawings by him that have been preserved.

Why, or just when, Groombridge left England is not known. That he was in Philadelphia as early as 1794 is certain, as he appears on January 1, 1795, with Charles Willson Peale, Robert Field, and other "Associate Artists of Philadelphia" as one of the founders of the "Columbianum," the short-lived "American Academy" or "National College of Painting, Sculpture and Engraving," as it was variously called. Its early meetings were held "at Mr. Groombridge's house, adjoining the Bank of Pennsyl-

<sup>15</sup> Page 255, *post*.



vania."<sup>16</sup> Rembrandt Peale in his "Reminiscences" which appeared in *The Crayon* in 1855<sup>17</sup>, writing of the organization of the "Columbianum," says that among other paintings exhibited were "landscapes by Louthembourg and Groombridge," but fails to say anything of their exhibits. As it was about the year 1794 that his wife, Catherine Groombridge, opened her school for girls in Philadelphia, which she conducted there until 1804, it is likely that he did not go to that city until 1794.

The Groombridges first appear in the Philadelphia directory in 1800; he as a landscape and portrait painter on Walnut Street near Fifth, and his wife Catherine at the corner of Spruce and Eleventh streets, where she doubtless had her school. His next listing, 1804, is as a miniature painter on "Eleventh Street below Lombard," and as his wife is then listed at 8 Lombard Street, his painting room was probably at that time in his wife's school. The fact that Groombridge's own name does not appear in the Philadelphia directories from 1794 to 1799, although that city was unquestionably then his home, may indicate that he was more or less an itinerant, as Dunlap states that he was painting in New York late in the eighteenth century. His name, however, does not appear in any New York directory of this period. Nor is he listed in the Baltimore directories during his seven years residence there, although his wife is!

Dunlap, who knew Groombridge personally, in his *History of the Arts of Design in the United States*,<sup>18</sup> published in 1834, only speaks of him as having lived in New York and Baltimore, making no mention of Philadelphia. He

<sup>16</sup> Alfred Coxe Prime, *The Arts & Crafts in Philadelphia Maryland and South Carolina 1786-1800, Series Two* (The Walpole Society, 1932), pp. 55-6.

<sup>17</sup>*The Crayon*, vol. I (1855), p. 290.

<sup>18</sup> William Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, vol. I, p. 321; vol. 2, pp. 176-7.

describes him as "W. Groomrich," "an English landscape painter of some merit, [who] painted in New York about this time [the last year or two of the eighteenth century]. I knew him personally. There was a good deal of spriteliness and oddity about him. . . . He removed to Baltimore from New York, and Mrs. Groomrich opened a school for young ladies with some success."

The Groombridges seem to have moved to Baltimore in the summer of 1804. In the Baltimore *American and Commercial Daily Advertiser* for September 25, 1804, appears the following advertisement: "Mrs. Groombridge, having opened a Boarding & Day School for the reception of young ladies, flatters herself the reputation and experience she has acquired during ten years residence in Philadelphia" speaks for itself. After enumerating the various subjects to be taught, which include drawing and music, the charge of tuition is stated to be two hundred dollars a year. The location of the school as given in the directory for 1804 was at "16 Calvert Street cross East." This was at the northeast corner of Calvert and what is now Fayette Street, afterwards the site of Guy's Hotel, which is now occupied by the southwest portion of the present Post Office Building. The school was called the Columbia Academy. Groombridge's painting room was doubtless at the same place, or he would have been separately listed. Mrs. Groombridge's name appears in both the Philadelphia and Baltimore directories for the year 1804. It is not known whether they were married in England, or soon after his arrival in the United States. It is of interest that Mrs. Groombridge also painted, and was an exhibitor, as an amateur, in 1812 at the Academy of Fine Arts of Philadelphia.

For some unexplained reason Groombridge himself was not listed in any Baltimore directory during the 1804-1811 period when he made Baltimore his home, although Mrs.



Catherine Groombridge continued to appear in the directories until 1815, as conducting a young ladies' academy on Calvert Street opposite the Court House at the location just described; and after her husband's death in 1811, successively at 18 Bank Street, and at 24 North Gay. One suspects that she was not only the "householder" of the directory, but in great part the breadwinner of the family. The settlement of her husband's estate does not indicate that they had children. In the *American* for August 27, 1812, the year after Groombridge's death, is to be found the following notice: "The Columbia Academy for the education of young ladies as Boarders or Day Scholars is removed to that large and convenient house No. 18 Bank street and will resume on Monday, 31st of August. C. Groombridge." Bank Street, or Bank Lane as it was usually called, ran east and west from Calvert to Light Street, between Baltimore and Water streets.

Unlike his landscapist rival Francis Guy, who kept himself constantly before the public, no newspaper advertisements, or notices emanating from Groombridge himself, have been found describing his prowess with the brush. Even less than the little we know of his Baltimore career would have come to light had he not been brought by others into a controversy which raged in the public press as to the relative merits as painters of Groombridge and Guy. A clever Baltimore woman, Eliza Anderson, editor of *The Observer* of Baltimore, a weekly magazine devoted to literature, poetry, the arts, and the sciences, in 1807 berated her fellow citizens for their bad taste and their indifference to everything pertaining to music, poetry, and painting; and to emphasize her assertions, pointed to the public's neglect of that talented landscape painter, Groombridge, and its better support of that wretched painter, Guy. Eliza, then the widow of Henry Anderson, was the daughter of Dr. John

Crawford, a distinguished Irish physician, formerly in the employ of the East India Company, who had settled in Baltimore, and whose speculations and observations on the spread of insects of certain infections such as yellow fever, and whose early employment of vaccination against small-pox, give him a prominent position in the history of American medicine. Eliza, who, at the time she made use of her vitriolic pen to provoke this controversy, was about to become the wife of the distinguished French architect and painter, Maximilian Godefroy, who was then following his profession as architect in Baltimore with marked success. She was the pseudo-anonymous editor and publisher of *The Observer*, under the soubriquet, "Beatrice Ironsides." This weekly had been established by her father, Dr. Crawford, as the vehicle for the expression of his revolutionary theories on the spread of infections by insects, views which no orthodox medical journal of the day in America or England would publish. An interesting sketch of Eliza Godefroy and her subsequent tragic career will be found in the *Maryland Historical Magazine*<sup>19</sup> for March 1934.

In *The Observer* for June 20, 1807, after referring to Baltimore as the "Siberia of the arts" and vilifying Guy, whom she ridiculed as a tailor and more recently as a painter of tavern signs, "Beatrice Ironsides" advised him to abandon his attempts at "exercising his talents in perspective . . . [and to pursue] his soul inspiring avocation of making pantaloons." Then deploring the neglect by the public of her protégé and favorite Groombridge, she continues: "Real connoisseurs will say, that as for Mr. Groombridge, he views nature with an artist's eye; that he is familiar with good schools; that he has a great deal of facility; and that to produce paintings really fine, he needs only to meet with

<sup>19</sup> Caroline V. Davidson, "Maximilian and Eliza Godefroy," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. 29, pp. 1-20. *The Observer*, vol. 1 (1807), pp. 389-91.



persons sufficiently generous and discerning, to indemnify him for the time and expence the necessary studies would cost him." The immediate cause of this outburst by Eliza Godefroy was a recent exhibition and sale of landscape paintings by Groombridge and Guy at Cole & Bonsal's Book-Shop and Auction Room on Market Street, at which Guy had sold many of his paintings, and Groombridge none. In later numbers of *The Observer*<sup>20</sup> she quotes the writer of a letter, which had appeared in the *Federal Gazette* for June 23, 1823, signed by "An American," who also deplored the public's indifference to Mr. Groombridge's paintings lately on exhibition, "while the sensibility of this gentleman was wounded by neglect, and his works valued only for their frames, or admired as six-penny pictures." She again rails against the bad treatment of her protégé, saying that "Mr. Groombridge obtains no more employment than before, notwithstanding his distinguished talent for landscape painting, which might be so well employed in decorating the Mansions and Villas of our Patricians and Grandees." Groombridge had the good sense not to take part in this temperamental mud slinging, but Guy's reply in his own defence to the attacks of "Beatrice Ironsides," a defense which did not appear until five months later in the *Federal Gazette*, is set forth in the sketch of the latter which follows. As will be seen, Guy seems to have resented less the lady's aspersions upon his abilities as a painter, than her charge, which he completely refutes, that he had been unable to sell his paintings. The kindly, if patronizing, words that Guy has to say of his rival Groombridge, will, however, be quoted here:

Mr. Groombridge, she [Beatrice Ironsides] likewise informs you, has not encouragement in his art. How true or false that may be, I cannot say; but if it is a fact, I am sorry for it; his abilities merit a better fate.

<sup>20</sup> *Maryland Historical Magazine*, vol. 1, pp. 413-6; vol. 2, pp. 302-5.

He is an excellent landscape painter—a friendly, ingenious and honest man—and if he is really neglected by the publick, he may ascribe it to the friendship of the Observer; and never had man more reason than he has, to exclaim with Philip of Macedon—"O! ye Gods what have I done that this person should speak well of me." For my own part I freely confess, that the Observer has rendered me essential service; and whilst my unsuspecting rival was gratefully bowing to the flattering ecomiums of his friendly female Critic, I was reaping all the advantage of her scurrilous and witless opposition. The Connoisseurs of Baltimore will not be dictated to by insolence and abuse.

The next mention we find of Groombridge is the notice of his death on May 24, 1811, which appeared in the *Federal Gazette* two days later: "Died in this city on the 24th inst. in the 63rd year of his age, Mr. *William Groombridge*, a native of Tunbridge, Great Britain. In Mr. Groombridge the fine arts have lost a zealous and skilful connoisseur, and society is deprived of an honest and benevolent man." Groombridge left no will and his estate was administered upon by his widow Catherine, who filed an inventory, but no account. This suggests that she was the only heir. The inventory of his estate, in which he is referred to as "Mr. Groombridge," on record in the Baltimore County Court, is of considerable interest, showing as it does the large number of paintings, drawings, and engravings, the studio equipment, and the library which he owned.<sup>21</sup> The total valuation of his estate was given as \$2359.00. Included in the inventory were a number of items which are listed for the "use of the school." Of the musical instruments enumerated, there were three violins, a violincello, two clarinets, and three "old pianofortes," and music, valued \$235.00. We cannot conclude, however, from this that the artist was a musician, since these instruments were doubtless for school use.

Among the large number of paintings listed, the appraisers distinguished between those "by Mr. Groombridge," and

<sup>21</sup> Baltimore Inventories (MSS.) Liber W. B., No. 27, pp. 60-4.



those we must infer were by other hands. Four lots of paintings by him are thus listed:

Lot of 8 paintings in oil by Mr. Groombridge	\$60.00
Lot of 11 portraits by Mr. Groombridge	80.00
Lot containing 9 Land Scapes by Mr. Groombridge	100.00
Lot containing 9 Land Scapes and a head by Mr. Groombridge	50.00

One inventory lot containing magnifiers, miniature glasses, ivory, and four pairs of spectacles, with a valuation of \$80.00, is of special interest, since we know, from his early work shown at exhibitions in England, and his Philadelphia directory listing in 1804, that he painted miniatures as well as landscapes and portraits. It is to be noted that in addition to the eight undescribed paintings and the eighteen landscapes, there were eleven "portraits" listed as by him. Perhaps some of these eleven "portraits" were miniatures.

In addition to the paintings listed as by Groombridge himself, there were also others without attribution, viz. "six paintings in oil," "six old paintings in oil," several lots of "old pictures in frames," as well as "portfolios" of large prints and drawings, "small portfolios" of prints and small paintings, "three books of drawings," and one "lot of drawings for the use of the school"—all valued at a total of \$550.00. Birch's *Views of Philadelphia* was valued at only \$5.00. He had a library of several hundred volumes, including fourteen books on "nature and art," twenty-nine "books on painting," thirty-six books of poetry, and twenty-seven plays. He was the owner of a watch and four rings valued at \$72.00. We can only conjecture why he should have owned

four swords and two pairs of pistols, valued at \$50.00. Wearing apparel, household effects, and school benches and stools, are also included in the inventory.

Whether or not the Groombridges had children is not known with certainty. As already stated, Mrs. Groombridge continued to conduct her school in Baltimore for some three or four years after her husband's death. Doubtless she then left Baltimore, but where she first went from there is uncertain. The next mention of her that has been found was a notice of her death in Jamaica more than twenty years later, suggesting that she may have gone directly from Baltimore to that island. Her obituary thus appeared in the *Baltimore Sun* for January 1, 1838: "Died in Kingston, Jamaica, 20 November, 1837, Mrs. Catherine Groombridge, formerly of this city, at the advanced age of seventy-seven years." One cannot help speculating what was her association with this island. Was she a Jamaica woman whom Groombridge had met and married there in the early nineties before coming to the United States? That she also tried her hand at painting is disclosed by the fact that in 1812, as an "associate amateur," she showed a "Landscape" (catalogue No. 45) at the Second Exhibition at the Philadelphia Academy of Fine Arts. No other record of her as a painter has been found.

We have a record of over a hundred and twenty-three paintings and drawings by Groombridge. He exhibited fifty paintings in England between 1773 and 1790; an unstated number at the Columbianum Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1795; and twenty paintings by him shown at the 1811, 1812, and 1818 exhibitions held at the Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia. After his death, the inventory of his estate lists thirty-eight paintings specified as having been done by him. Four paintings were shown at the First and Second Peale Museum Exhibitions, Baltimore, held in 1822 and 1823;



and three in 1849 at the Second Maryland Historical Society Exhibition. It is of course possible that certain of these paintings may have been shown at more than one exhibition, and that some of those exhibited were also included in his inventory, which would cut down the number recorded below a hundred and twenty-three. There are also three of his drawings, once in the Robert Gilmore Collection and now owned by the Peabody Institute, which are on deposit at the Baltimore Museum of Art. This total of some one hundred and twenty-three examples of his work, comprising landscapes, portraits, miniatures, still life, and drawings, of which we have a record, is probably, however, but a fraction of the output of his brush between the years 1773 and 1811, the thirty-eight year period during which he is known to have painted.

Notwithstanding the fact that there is a record of some hundred and twenty-three paintings and drawings by Groombridge done in England and in the United States, the writer has been able to locate and identify only three paintings, all landscapes, and three drawings by him. The oils are typical examples of the academic English school of landscape painting of the period. All three are signed and dated. The three pencil sketches which came from the collection of Robert Gilmore, the Baltimore art collector, are signed.

A few references to Groombridge by his contemporaries or near-contemporaries, have been found. These are by William Dunlap, John H. B. Latrobe, Robert Gilmore, and a mere mention, without comment, by Rembrandt Peale. Dunlap, writing in 1834, thus speaks of him and his paintings in his *History of the Arts of Design in the United States*:<sup>22</sup> "Groomrich [as he spelled the name] was painting in Baltimore [January, 1806], and besides his own landscapes showed me some clever pictures to which he had affixed great names.

<sup>22</sup> Dunlap's *History of the Arts of Design*, vol. 1, p. 321; vol. 2, pp. 176-7.

I now first heard the name of Guy, of Baltimore"; and in another reference to Groombridge, Dunlap adds, that "he attempted to paint some portraits, but they could not be recognized. Many of his landscapes were got off by raffling. I remember a landscape in which he endeavored, without success, to introduce the brilliant and gorgeous tints which nature displays in our autumnal scenery, but the blending of nature was not found in Groomrich's imitations, nor that harmony which she always throws over her most vivid coloring. Groomrich looked at his hard and discordant coloring, and cried, '*There are tints! There is effect! there is distance!*—they could not understand this coloring in England.' He painted a view from Harlem Heights, with really a good distance. 'What shall I do for a foreground?' said he; 'I will dash a watermelon to pieces, and make a foreground of it.' No bad thought. He removed to Baltimore from New York, and Mrs. Groomrich opened a boarding school for young ladies with some success. Robert Gilmore, Esq. of Baltimore, speaking of Groomrich, says, 'He painted here several good landscapes. He was a pupil of Lambert's.'" Can one of those "clever pictures to which he [Groombridge] had affixed great names," of which Dunlap wrote, be the "head of William Coke, chamberlain of George I . . . brought to America by Groombridge the artist," which is thus listed in the 1823 manuscript catalogue of the collection of Robert Gilmore of Baltimore (No. 109), signed "G. K.," and attributed by the owner to Sir Godfrey Kneller?

John H. B. Latrobe (1800-1891), the well known Baltimore lawyer and literateur, and an amateur painter of considerable ability, then a young man in his early twenties, contributed to the Baltimore newspapers for the years 1822 and 1823 a series of papers criticizing the paintings shown at the First and Second Exhibitions of Paintings, held at the Peale Museum in these years respectively. In the *American*



for October 2, 1822, he wrote, anonymously, at length, and on the whole rather favorably, of a landscape, "Autumn Scene," (Peale Museum Catalogue, No. 82) by Groombridge. Of this he says that no other country except America can show such glorious and beautiful autumnal coloring, and that foreign artists would certainly regard the colors in this painting as monstrous, although there is great truth in it. Latrobe advises American artists to persevere and paint nature as it is here and not as it is in Rome. This was doubtless the same painting shown in 1812 at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts as an "American Autumnal Scene," and also the one unfavorably criticized by Dunlap. In a series of reviews of the exhibition which appeared in the *Federal Gazette* in October, 1823, now writing under the soubriquet "An Old Brush," Latrobe says of the landscape "Frost Piece" (catalogue No. 2), owned by Mrs. R. Steuart, a scene with snow on the ground and the trees in full leaf, that although such a scene may occasionally exist, painters should adhere to the general appearance of nature rather than to affect the bizarre. He criticizes favorably, however, the sky and distance as good, but feels that the bow of the boat and the chimney-fire are too conspicuous "spots," and that the house is badly drawn. Of the "Cascade," (catalogue No. 7) he declares "it is an excellent sketch . . . much better than anything we have seen from his brush. The colors are laid on very thick, and the effect produced is pleasing and natural."

It is obvious from the work of Groombridge which has been preserved, and the exhibitions in England at which it was shown, that he had an academic training. He appears from 1773 to 1790 as a constant exhibitor at the Free Society of Artists, the Society of Artists of Great Britain, and the Royal Academy of Arts. At his first exhibitions at the Free Society of Artists, 1773-1775, he exhibited two

portraits, four portrait miniatures, and five landscapes. In 1776, at the Society of Artists of Great Britain, he exhibited one portrait, four miniature portraits, and three landscapes. Between the years 1777 and 1790, at the Annual Exhibitions of the Royal Academy, he exhibited twenty-eight landscapes. These paintings by Groombridge exhibited in London, will be found listed on page 234.

These fifty paintings by Groombridge listed as shown in London at the various exhibitions held there between 1773 and 1790, disclose the fact that he painted not only landscapes, of which thirty-six were shown, but that especially in his earlier years, he also tried his hand at portrait and miniature painting. In the years 1775 and 1776 he exhibited eight miniatures, and in each of the years 1773, 1774, and 1776, a single portrait in the large. That he continued to paint miniatures during his early years in the United States is shown by his listing as a miniature painter in the Philadelphia directory for 1804. It will also be recalled that at the time of his death he owned magnifiers, miniature glasses, ivory, and four pairs of spectacles, the equipment for miniature painting. Whether the "11 portraits by Mr. Groombridge" listed in his inventory may have included miniatures as well as portraits in the large, we can only conjecture. Curiously, Dunlap does not refer to him as a miniature painter, although his statement may be recalled that Groombridge "attempted to paint some portraits, but they could not be recognized." It may be added that no miniatures or portraits in the large by Groombridge have been found and recognized.

In the inventory of his studio are listed as "by Mr. Groombridge" eighteen landscapes, twelve portraits and eight paintings in oil, which are not classified, so that the proportion of landscapes to other paintings is not revealed.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Page 223, *supra*.



The inventoried paintings thus total thirty-eight. Of the twenty-one paintings by him shown in the four early exhibitions at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1811, 1812, 1818, and 1819, there were thirteen landscapes and five still life (fruits); and two portraits—a "Warden," and the full length "Portrait of an Old Peasant." This last was presented by Mrs. Groombridge, described as an "Associate Amateur," to the Society of Artists of the United States, as shown by the catalogue of the exhibition of the Academy of Fine Arts for 1812.<sup>24</sup> In the Baltimore exhibitions only landscapes by him were exhibited. At Peale's Baltimore Museum in 1822 and 1823, and at an exhibition held at the Maryland Historical Society in 1849, nine Groombridge landscapes were shown.<sup>25</sup> To the above listing of a hundred and twenty-three paintings, must be added three paintings and three drawings which will be presently described,<sup>26</sup> bringing the total number of Groombridge's paintings, of which there is a record, up to one hundred and twenty-nine. Although there are doubtless some duplications in these listings, the listed paintings are probably but a fraction of the work which he produced in the thirty-eight years which his known painting period covered.

Of much interest is the following appraisal of Groombridge as a landscape painter by the competent anonymous critic who has kindly evaluated for the writer the work of the four Anglo-American landscapists with whom this paper concerns itself. This criticism is based upon the three oils and the three drawings by him which have been traced and are available for study. Of Groombridge, he says: "One of these oils is of his English period; the other two were done after he came to America. His 'English Landscape' (No. III),

<sup>24</sup> Page 237, *post.*

<sup>25</sup> Pages 238-9, *post.*

<sup>26</sup> Pages 230-3, *post.*

the most pretentious example of his work, was painted in America in the last year of his life, and while reminiscent of John Crome, reflects more especially the softer and more idyllic treatment of sky and countryside of the Norwich School generally. In rendering foliage, Groombridge did not paint the leaves with the precision of Beck; rather he followed the style of Gainsborough in merely indicating the leaf clusters with broad turns of the brush. No special influence of any school is to be seen in his 'Fairmount and Schuylkill River' (No. II), where we have merely a direct but graceful rendering of a view, through a screen of trees, of a villa on a wooded river bank. The drawing, a 'Landscape' (No. IV), is a particularly strong and fluent piece, again suggestive of the Claude tradition, and the 'Tree Sketches' (No. VI) exhibit an easy surety of touch."

*Existing Traced and Identified Paintings and  
Drawings by William Groombridge*

PAINTINGS

NO. I VIEW OF MAIDSTONE, KENT, ENGLAND

**DESCRIPTION:** A landscape, or pastoral scene, with a town seen rather hazily in the distance. The town is divided in two parts by a river, with a bridge connecting them. On the river in mid-distance are two rowboats. A man driving cows appears in the left foreground.

**MEDIUM AND SIZE:** Oil, canvas 24" x 39½".

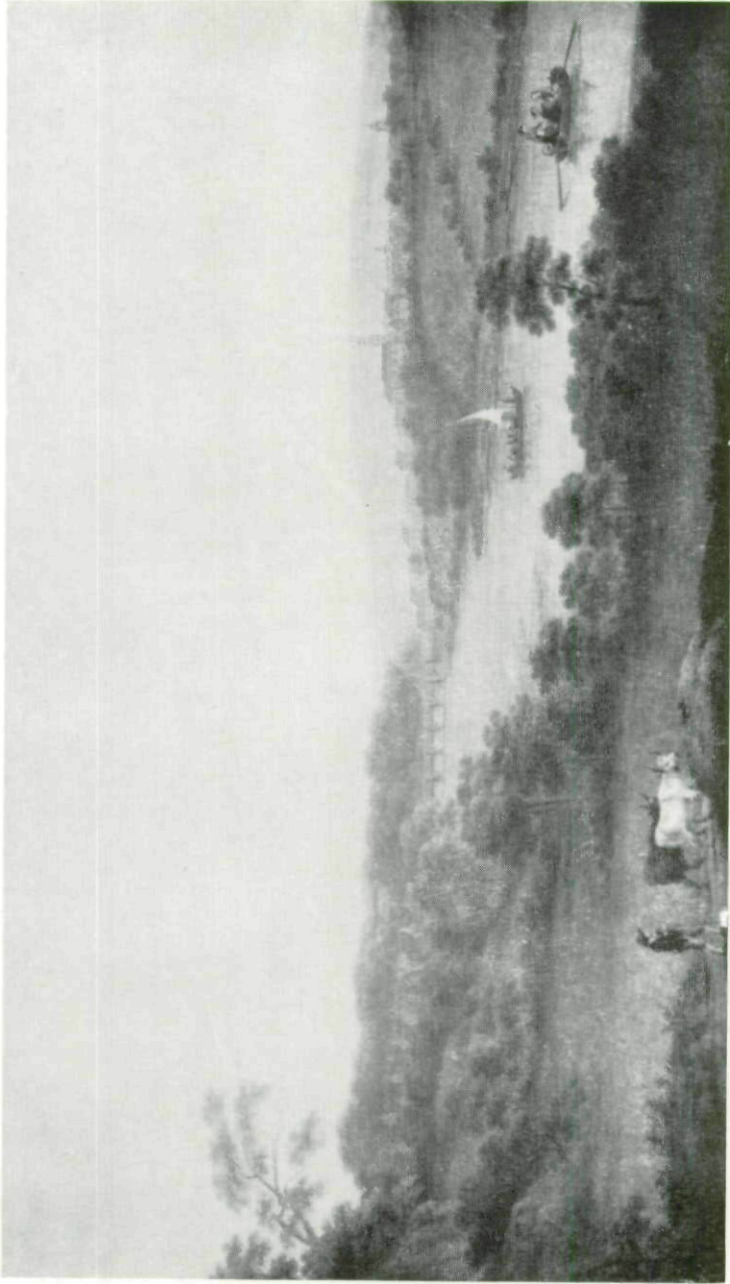
**DATE:** c. 1780.

**OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE:** This painting was disposed of at the "Sale of the Collections of Miss Johnston and Others," by Puttick & Simpson, London, February 15, 1928, Catalogue No. 121. Its later ownership has not been traced.

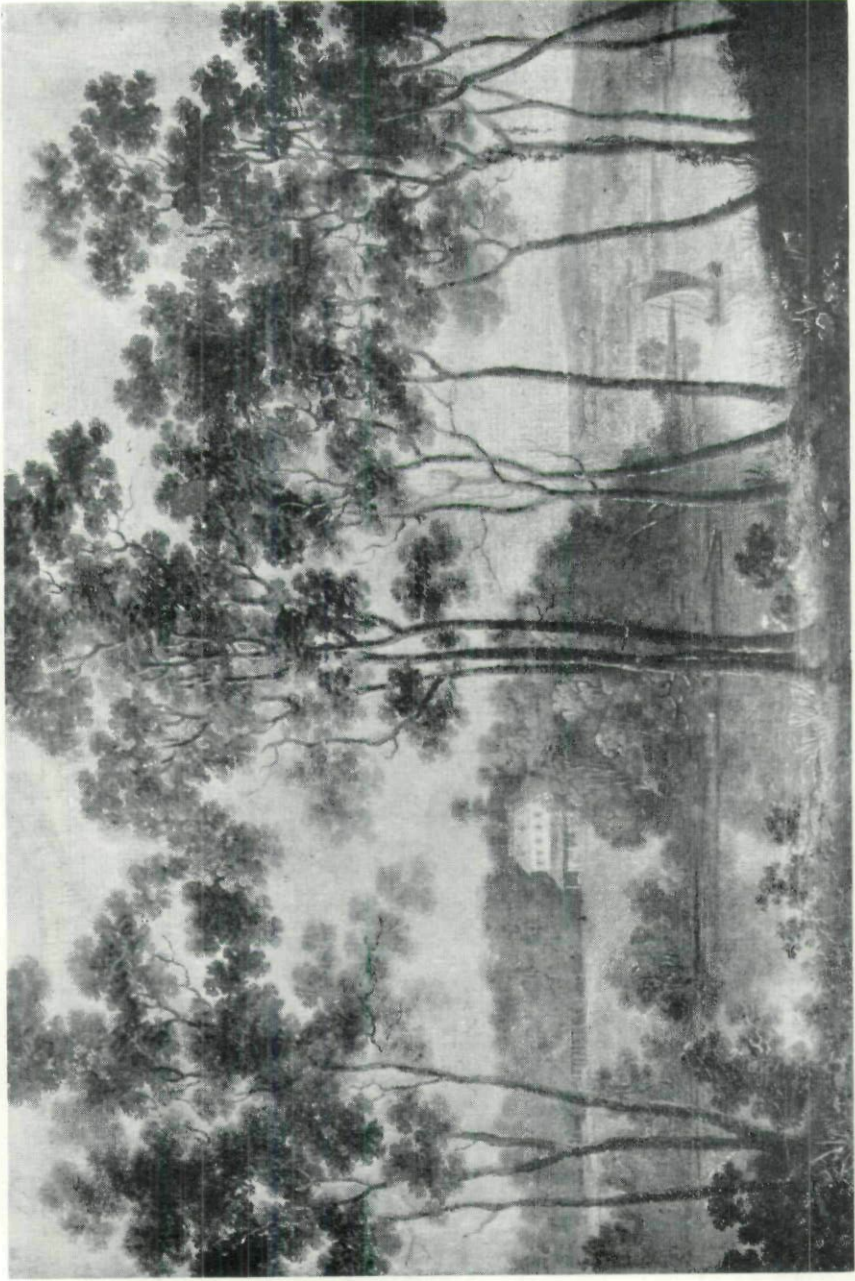
**ATTRIBUTION:** Signed "William Groombridge."

**REPRODUCTIONS:** Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 35,215.





WILLIAM GROOMBRIDGE — PLATE I VIEW OF MAIDSTONE, KENT  
*Courtesy of the Frick Art Reference Library*



WILLIAM GROOMBRIDGE — PLATE II FAIRMOUNT AND SCHUYLKILL RIVER, PHILADELPHIA  
*Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*



NO. II FAIRMOUNT AND SCHUYLKILL RIVER,  
PHILADELPHIA  
STRAWBERRY MANSION

DESCRIPTION: A landscape with a river, and a gentleman's house on a hill in the background. On the river which crosses the painting in the foreground is a small sailboat. On the near bank are a number of tall scraggly trees with long bare trunks. On the opposite bank are trees, shrubbery, and a lawn, with the house against a woodland background. The house, apparently of white stucco, is two stories high with dormers, five windows in width, and with a covered one-story porch supported by columns. Looking up the river to the right, the background is hazy, with scattered buildings in the remote distance. There is some uncertainty as to the identity of the estate depicted in this landscape. I am indebted to Mr. Philip B. Wallace, the well known authority on all things pertaining to old Philadelphia, for an opinion that this is, in all probability, "Strawberry Mansion," built on the east bank of the Schuylkill River by Judge William Davis in 1798. "Strawberry Mansion," in what is now Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, is located at the northern end of the Park adjoining Laurel Hill Cemetery.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 24" x 34".

DATE: c. 1800.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. This painting was purchased July 28, 1913, by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

ATTRIBUTION: Signed, "W. Groombridge/pinxt 1800."

REPRODUCTIONS: Historical Society of Pennsylvania photograph.

NO. III ENGLISH LANDSCAPE

DESCRIPTION: A typical English landscape. In the foreground is a river with large trees on both banks. On the further bank is a thatched English cottage with a fence and gate, which are reflected in the water, and just in front of the cottage is a punt with two figures in it. On the three-arched stone bridge crossing the stream beyond the cottage is to be seen a cowherd driving cattle over it. In the distant rolling and rather hazy background a few scattered buildings are indistinctly shown. In the foreground on the near bank of the river are stones, grasses, and shrubbery. The dominant tones of the trees and shrubbery are brownish green. The thatched cottage is a somber gray. The distant background

is gray. The sky shows sunlit white cumulus clouds and blue sky, at the upper left.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 36½" x 49½".

DATE: 1811.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Dr. Michael A. Abrams, Baltimore, Maryland. It is now on deposit at the Maryland Historical Society. The provenance of this painting is not definitely known. The present owner bought it from a Baltimore dealer. As this landscape was painted at least fifteen years after Groombridge had left England, it seems probable that it was based upon English sketches which he had brought with him. At the Second Annual Exhibition of Paintings at the Maryland Historical Society held in 1849, there were exhibited three paintings by Groombridge, all then owned by a Baltimore merchant, Joseph King. Two of these were described as views of "South Downs, England," and a "Fall Scene."

ATTRIBUTION: Signed in paint, lower left: "Wm Groombridge/Pinx 1811."

EXHIBITIONS: Century of Baltimore Collecting, Baltimore Museum of Art, June-September, 1941.

REPRODUCTIONS: Maryland Historical Society photograph.

## DRAWINGS

### NO. IV LANDSCAPE

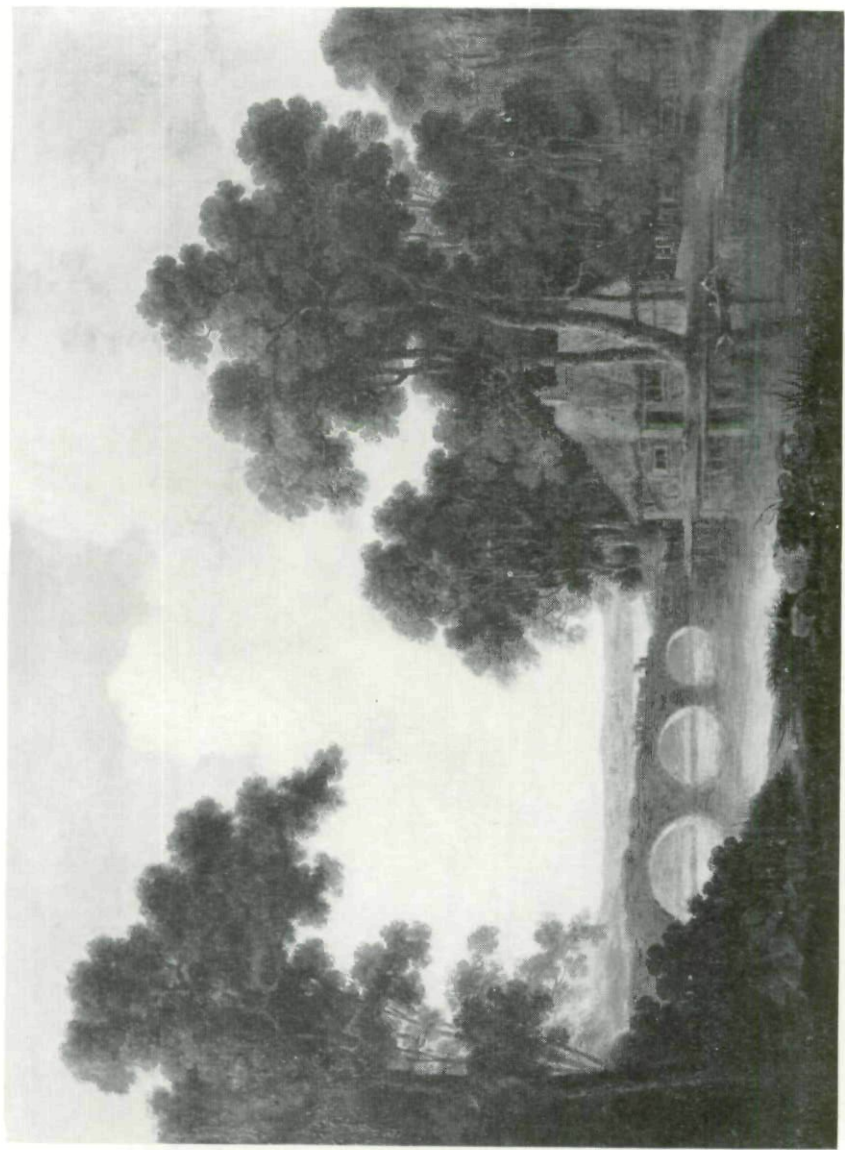
DESCRIPTION: A landscape with a small river and several large trees. From the arrangement of foreground, water, and trees this drawing may be a study for the oil "English Landscape," owned by Dr. Michael A. Abrams (No. III), although it lacks the bridge, cottage, and punt.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Pencil drawing on paper, 9" x 12".

DATE: 1796-1810.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Maryland (on deposit with the Baltimore Museum of Art). This and two other pencil drawings (Nos. V, VI), were formerly in the Collection of Robert Gilmor, the Baltimore art collector, and all three are marked at the lower margin "Baltimore 1845-60 R.G.," probably so marked after they had passed into the collection of the late Charles J. M. Eaton of Baltimore, by whose nieces, the Misses Eaton, they were presented to





WILLIAM GROOMBRIDGE — PLATE III ENGLISH LANDSCAPE



WILLIAM GROOMBRIDGE — PLATE IV LANDSCAPE DRAWING



the Peabody Institute in 1893. The Robert Gilmor Collection notation is at the lower right margin of this drawing.

ATTRIBUTION: William Groombridge. Inscribed on lower left margin "Groombridge 1796-1810" obviously not by the artist, doubtless by Robert Gilmor or Charles J. M. Eaton, its former owners.

REPRODUCTIONS: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 34,442.

#### NO. V SOUTH DOWNS, SUSSEX

DESCRIPTION: A landscape with a line of trees in the mid-distance, and with rolling downs, or low hills, in the distance. The title in large script "South Downs Sussex," at center in the foreground, may be in the artist's own handwriting.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Pencil drawing on paper  $5\frac{3}{4}$ " x  $12\frac{3}{8}$ ".

DATE: 1796-1810.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, The Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Maryland (on deposit with the Baltimore Museum of Art). See No. IV for note on the provenance of this and two other pencil drawings (Nos. IV, VI). The Robert Gilmor Collection notation is at the lower right margin.

ATTRIBUTION: William Groombridge. Inscribed on lower left margin "Groombridge 1796-1810," obviously not by the artist but by Robert Gilmor or Charles J. M. Eaton, its former owners.

REPRODUCTIONS: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 34,441.

#### NO. VI TREE SKETCHES

DESCRIPTION: Rough unfinished sketches or studies for some eighteen trees.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Pencil drawing on paper  $10\frac{3}{8}$ " x  $14\frac{3}{4}$ ".

DATE: 1796-1810.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, the Peabody Institute, Baltimore, Maryland (on deposit with the Baltimore Museum of Art). See No. IV for note on Provenance of this and two other pencil drawings (Nos. IV, V). The Robert Gilmor Collection notation is at the lower left margin.

ATTRIBUTION: William Groombridge. Inscribed on lower right margin "Groombridge 1796-1810" obviously not by the artist but doubtless by Robert Gilmor or Charles J. M. Eaton, its former owners.

REPRODUCTIONS: Frick Art Reference Library photograph No. 34,443.

*Listings of Traced and Untraced Recorded  
Paintings by William Groombridge*

These lists, arranged chronologically, are culled from various contemporary newspaper advertisements and announcements, exhibition catalogues, auction catalogues, and other sources. Doubtless some of the entries are repetitious.

1773-1790 LONDON EXHIBITIONS

The following is a list of fifty paintings, exhibited by William Groombridge in London between the years 1773 and 1790 inclusive, at exhibitions held at the Free Society of Artists, the Society of Artists of Great Britain, and the Royal Academy of Arts. The paintings exhibited will be found listed in two books by Algernon Graves, viz: *The Society of Artists of Great Britain (1760-1791)* [and] *the Free Society of Artists, (1761-1793)*, p. 108; and the same author's *The Royal Academy of Arts Exhibitors, (1769-1904)*, vol. 3, pp. 330-1. Graves gives for each exhibition the names and addresses of the artists, and the catalogue number which designates each painting at the exhibition for that year.

Free Society of Artists London (Graves, p. 108)

Exhibition of 1773: Groombridge, Goodhurst, Kent.

Portrait of an artist, No. 79

A landscape, No. 297

A landscape, No. 298

A landscape, No. 299

Exhibition of 1774: Groombridge, Bromley, Kent.

An old mill, from nature, No. 114

A barn, from nature, No. 115

An old man's head, from nature, No. 116

Exhibition of 1775: Groombridge, 11, Poppin's Court, Fleet Street, London.

A portrait, in miniature, No. 110

A portrait, in miniature, No. 111

A portrait, in miniature, No. 112

A portrait, in miniature, No. 113



## Society of Artists of Great Britain.

Exhibition of 1776: Groombridge, Miniature Painter, etc. 4 James Street, Covent Garden, London.

A landscape and figures, No. 39

A landscape and figures, No. 40

A small landscape and figures, No. 41

Portrait of a lady; miniature, No. 157

Portrait of a lady; miniature, No. 158

Portrait of a gentleman; miniature, No. 159

Portrait of a gentleman; miniature, No. 160

Portrait of Vandyke, No. 161

## Royal Academy of Arts (Graves, pp. 330-331).

Exhibition of 1777: Groombridge, 14 Church Street, St. Ann's, London.

Three landscapes, No. 158

A moonlight, No. 159

Exhibition of 1779: William Groombridge, 69 Charlotte Street, London.

Two small landscapes, No. 120

Exhibition of 1780: Groombridge, 85 London Wall, London.

Landscape, with figures and cattle, No. 66

Exhibition of 1781 (no address).

A wood scene after sunset, No. 37

View of Yalding-lees, with part of Twyford Bridge, in Kent, No. 135

View of Tunbridge Castle and its vicinity, Kent, No. 412

Exhibition of 1782: Groombridge, 31 Coleman Street, Cheapside, London.

Sunset, No. 7

View in Plasket Park, near Lewes, Sussex, No. 8

Snow piece, No. 24

A ruined barn at Goodhurst, in Kent, No. 62

A haystack from nature, No. 88

Snow piece, with a house on fire, No. 190

Landscape, No. 249

Exhibition of 1783: Groombridge, 11 Newgate Street, London.

A study after nature, No. 8

Landscape, with ruined castle, near Dieppe in Normandy—  
sunset, No. 92

Exhibition of 1784 (no address).

Landscape, No. 60

Part of Lewes Castle, Sussex Sunset, No. 124

Canterbury Castle, from the mount, No. 131

Framlingham Castle, Suffolk, No. 144

Exhibition of 1785: Groombridge, Canterbury.

Landscape, with Canterbury Cathedral introduced, as seen from Harble Downs, No. 43

Exhibition of 1786 (no address).

The remains of St. Augustin's monastery, with a view of the Cathedral at Canterbury, No. 32

Moonlight, No. 33

View of Canterbury Castle, with the Sessions house and buildings adjacent, No. 186

Squall at sea, with lightning, No. 234

Exhibition of 1787 (no address).

View of Canterbury, from a wood in the road leading to Chatham, No. 391

Exhibition of 1789 (no address).

Landscape, No. 388

Exhibition of 1790 (no address).

Rocks after nature, No. 205

50

1811, May 6. First Annual Exhibition of the Society of Artists of the United States, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia. He appears in the catalogue as Wm. Groombridge A.A. (Associate Artist) landscape painter, Baltimore. The Catalogue number follows the title. Of the nine Groombridge paintings, those marked with an asterisk\* were for sale.

View from a public road near Germantown, time, sunset; season, the approach of autumn. (2)\*

Dover Cliff by Moonlight (4)

Peaches (21)

A Landscape (53)

The Woodlands, the seat of William Hamilton, Esq. (55)

View of Middle Creek Falls in Pennsylvania (98)

A Melon (119)\*

A Melon and Grapes (121)\*

Peaches (125)\*

9



1812. Second Annual Exhibition of the Society of Artists of the United States, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia. Groombridge had died the year before, nine of his paintings were exhibited. His wife, Mrs. C. Groombridge, as an Associate Amateur, exhibited one landscape (45).

- Sketch from nature (26)
- Sketch from Nature (27)
- View on the Thames (34)
- View of the Schuylkill (36)
- American Autumnal Scene (60)
- Landscape (64)
- Full Length Portrait of an Old Peasant (71)
- An English Cottage (105)
- Landscape (106) 10

Full Length Portrait of an Old Peasant (see above No. 71) was presented to the Society of Artists by the artist's widow, Mrs. C. Groombridge, Associate Amateur.

1818. Seventh Annual Exhibition of The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia; one painting was shown.

- Woodman 1

1819. Eighth Annual Exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia; one painting was exhibited, apparently that shown the year before.

- Woodman 1

1811. Inventory of William Groombridge's estate shows the following "lots" listed as painted by him, totaling thirty-seven paintings.

- (1) Lot of eight paintings in oil by Mr. Groombridge
- (2) Lot of eleven portraits by Mr. Groombridge
- (3) Lot of nine landscapes by Mr. Groombridge
- (4) Lot of nine landscapes and a head by Mr. Groombridge 37

1822, First Annual Exhibition, Peale's Baltimore Museum.

- Autumnal Scene (No. 82) 1

1823. Second Annual Exhibition, Peale's Baltimore Museum.

- A Frost Piece (No. 2) Owner Mr. R. Stuart
- Cascade (No. 88) Owner F[ielding] Lucas 4

1823. Catalogue of paintings in the possession of Robert Gilmore (No. 109), 1823, includes as by Groombridge:

Hollingsworth Mill near Baltimore (No. 60) 1

1849. Second Annual Exhibition, Maryland Historical Society. Three oils by Groombridge all owned in 1849 by Joseph King of Baltimore, were shown.

View of South Downs (395)

View of South Downs (396)

Fall scene (397) 3

Six paintings and drawings traced by the writer and previously described (pp. ).

Three oil paintings

View of Maidstone Kent (See No. I)

Fairmount and Schuylkill, Philadelphia (See No. II)

English Landscape (See No. III)

Three pencil drawings

Landscape (See No. IV)

South Downs, Sussex (See No. V)

Tree Sketches (See No. VI) 6



*Francis Guy*

What we know of Francis Guy's life in England before coming to America in 1795, and for the first few years thereafter, is in great part derived from extracts from a manuscript autobiography, which in its entirety does not seem to have ever found its way into print. This was at one time in the hands of the author of the sketch of Guy which appeared in 1869 in Stiles' *History of Brooklyn*.<sup>27</sup> Chance references to his early life are also gleaned from his numerous letters, announcements, and advertisements in the Baltimore papers during Guy's residence in this city. Stiles, quoting from the autobiography in the third person, says of Guy that he was born in the year 1760 at Burton-in-Kendall, Westmorlandshire. In a Baltimore newspaper statement, however, Guy declares that his "native place" was Lorton in the vicinity of Keswick, Cumberlandshire. Both of these places, not far distant from each other, are in the picturesque Lake District of England. Stiles goes on to say that "his father was a farmer, and his mother a daughter of John Lolly of Kirkby Lonsdale, Westmorlandshire, an eminent glass painter and stainer, reputed to be in his day the only person living in England or Europe who possessed the ancient secret of glass staining." This smacks of Guy's bombast. "At an early age he developed a strong taste for the beautiful in art and nature; but his father was very unwilling to have him become an artist; and finally by force and much against the lad's will, apprenticed him to a tailor of Burton." He then describes the boy's suffering as an apprentice, from hunger and from "the pangs of unrequited affection, [and] the disappointment which he felt at being unable to follow those nobler pursuits towards which all his aspirations tended." He finally "cut loose from this bondage," which probably

<sup>27</sup> Henry R. Stiles, *A History of the City of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1869), vol. 2, pp. 88-9 (plates), 99-105.

means that he ran away from his master, supported himself as a travelling tailor, until in November, 1778, "he entered London, tired, hungry, and utterly friendless." Here he became a foreman in a tailoring establishment, and accumulating "a slender capital," established himself in business. About this time he married "a most excellent woman," who died not long afterward. "Being of an inventive turn of mind, he devised machinery for callendering or glazing silks and calico, which secured him a large trade in London." This brought him to the notice of "Lady Mary Howe, by whom he was introduced to the patronage of the Queen, and he was shortly afterward appointed callender and dyer to Her Majesty." In later accounts of himself he says that he was dyer, callender, and orris-cleaner at No. 10 Saint James Street, Golden Square, London, not only to the Queen but to the Royal Princesses and her Royal Highness the Duchess of York as well. "Getting into trouble with a gang of swindlers who intruded themselves upon his confidence and finally threatened his life, he left England and came to New York in December 1795." One rather suspects that creditors were after him. He appears to have crossed on the ship *Hercules*, Captain Cleghorn of Boston, master.<sup>28</sup>

The account in Stiles' *History of Brooklyn* goes on to say that soon after his arrival in New York "he was seized with symptoms resembling yellow fever (then prevailing in that city) and, ill and forlorn, strolled through Brooklyn and Flatbush, vainly seeking shelter and repose," and that he was finally befriended by a kind tavern keeper and his wife named Ailesworth (Ellsworth) living near the toll gate, who notwithstanding the protest of neighbors, took him in and nursed him back to health. In November, 1796, he formed a partnership with a certain John Harmer, who erected a factory in Brooklyn, using Guy's machinery to carry on the silk

<sup>28</sup> Page 254, *supra*.



dyeing, scouring, and callendering business; "but failing to receive expected funds from England, from a lawyer employed to settle up his affairs, he was obliged to dissolve the partnership and remove to Philadelphia." Again it looks as if creditors were upon his trail. It is of interest that Guy's name does not occur in the New York directories of this period.

Stiles says that after going to Philadelphia Guy painted the well-known picture of the Tontine Coffee House, New York, which he tried unsuccessfully to dispose of by raffle. From Philadelphia, where his stay must have been short, he "went to Baltimore, where he resided for several years, enduring much hardship and many misfortunes." It is also said that "during his whole life he worked at intervals at landscape painting, which was the subject of his bent and genius, and which claimed his undying devotion." Stiles declares "his dye works in Baltimore were burned, leaving him penniless, but that he contrived to establish his wife in a small business." No record of this fire on Gay Street, where the 1799 directory locates his dyeing establishment, has been found, nor has his wife, as a business woman, been traced. Thereafter "he gave his attention exclusively to his darling pursuit." Stiles, now quoting in the first person from the autobiography, tells us in Guy's own words, what the painter, about the year 1808, wrote of himself: "the principle connoisseurs of America approve and recommend my pictures. . . . For several years past, I have labored to imitate the ancients in their method of coloring and effect, and I hope I have not labored in vain. Many of my pictures, which have been recently finished, have been taken by the best judges to be one hundred years of age." One cannot help wondering whether the gentle art of faking the age of new paintings was not then being cultivated by Guy. The autobiography has little further to say of his life in Baltimore.

Guy's Baltimore career as a painter, dyer, minister and religious controversialist, versifyer, dentist, oilcloth and patent paper-carpet manufacturer, will now be traced from references to him in contemporary Baltimore newspapers, periodicals, and directories. From the newspapers we will also hear, after he was well established as a landscape painter, of his facetious threat to revert to his original trade of tailor. He apparently arrived in Baltimore in 1798, as he is first listed in the 1799 directory, and in this as a silk dyer. In the next directory, that for 1800, he appears as a landscape painter, and as such thereafter. Although it is probable that he advertised as a painter before 1803, the first newspaper notice of him in this role that the writer has found appeared in the *Federal Gazette and Baltimore Daily Advertiser* of July 29, 1803. This announced that there were "To be seen at Mr. Bryden's Coffee House [Fountain Inn] six paintings by F. Guy," to be disposed of on terms to be learned where they were exhibited. These were listed as six landscapes (three of which were local Baltimore views), that were to be disposed of by lottery or raffle. They included "a large view of the city," believed to be the one now in the Brooklyn Museum (No. II); "a view of the Basin and Federal Hill," apparently the one now owned by Mr. Riggin Buckler (No. III); and "a view up Gay and Holliday streets," as yet untraced.

A few months earlier, in the *Federal Gazette* for April 9, 1803, there had appeared a two-column letter by Guy, declaring his views on certain controversial religious questions, and a denunciation of Deism. In this letter, referring to the London period of his career, he takes occasion to remind the public, that while there, he had been dyer, callender, and orris-cleaner to the Queen and Princesses of England. Again on May 22, 1804, in an advertisement in the *Federal Gazette*, he announced an exhibition at Mr. Bryden's



[Fountain Inn] Assembly Room of fourteen large oil paintings, to be disposed of "by subscription," meaning of course by lottery or raffle. Although the advertisement ran for some time, it appears that the lottery tickets were not rapidly sold, as the raffling did not actually take place until four months later. Although the paintings to be disposed of are fully listed later<sup>29</sup>, twelve of them were "views," of which six can be identified as still in existence. These six are: (1) "View of Gen. Washington's Present Tomb," (No. VII); this painting is now owned by the Maryland Historical Society, and as far as the writer can learn, is the only picture in existence of the tomb of Washington at Mt. Vernon as it appeared as early as 1804. (2) "View of the Basin"; possibly a copy, or a re-offering, of the Buckler painting raffled the year before (No. III). (3) "View of the Bay from Mr. Gilmor's House"; this is doubtless the painting in the Maryland Historical Society, now known as the "View of Baltimore from Beech Hill" (No. VI), the name of the estate in the western "precincts" owned by Robert Gilmor, Sr., and his son of the same name, the art collector. (4) "Mr. Hollingsworth's Mill"; this is possibly the painting with this title now owned by Mr. John Schwarz, but the attribution is too uncertain to include it here. (5) "View of Mr. Taggart's House and Mr. Pennington's mill from the new bridge"; this is unquestionably the painting, now generally known as "The Pennington Mills, Jones Falls Valley—looking up stream," recently bequeathed by its late owner, Pleasants Pennington, to the Peabody Institute, Baltimore; and its companion painting, (6) "View down the Falls under Mr. Pennington's Footbridge"; this is also unquestionably the companion painting of the last named, also bequeathed to the Peabody Institute, known as "The Pennington Mills, Jones Falls Valley—looking down stream."

<sup>29</sup> Page 254, *supra*.

Perhaps because the lottery tickets had been going off rather badly, and to stir up the interest of the public, Guy in the *Federal Gazette* for July 17, 1804, inserted an advertisement of a facetious and sarcastic nature, doubtless to nail a malicious rumor that was being spread about, in which he announced to the public that he would be "much obliged to any of you, if you will inform me of a convenient little house for rent, in any of the public streets of this city, any time between now and October next [the time fixed for the lottery of his paintings], as at that period I intend to commence my threatened attack upon the cloth, and, if possible, to gain your patronage—by which, alone, I should be enabled to steer my leaky barque, with my crew and cargo, through the otherwise insurmountable difficulties of so hazardous an enterprise—where the whirlpools of prejudice, the rocks of ignorance, contrary winds, dead calms, pirates, lee shores and breakers, are amongst the least of those alarming dangers that await the TAILOR on his passage from port Low-Beginning to the haven of Affluence and Ease." He then facetiously referred to his acquirements in the art and mystery of a tailor, but feared if he exhibited himself in the role of a phoenix of the cross-legged fraternity, he would be branded by the trade as an impudent quack and humbug. The advertisement ends with a lengthy doggerel expressing the fear that if he were to attempt to pursue again his old trade, this would result in war among the tailors—with dire results. From these verses four lines may be quoted:

Hence fierce disputes and fiery jars  
Brew thunder for sad tailors' wars  
When hostile yardsticks clashing break  
And shop-boards to their centres shake.

This newspaper notice, and subsequent events, show that rumors had reached Baltimore that Guy had once been a tailor, and that his enemies were using this against him. As



we see, he meets the taunt jocosely. It is to be noted, however, that Rembrandt Peale, in his reminiscences written some fifty years later, declares "it is an error to say that Francis Guy was a tailor," referring obviously to his American career.

It was not until October 22, 1804, that Guy finally, in an advertisement in the *Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, announced to "subscribers," that as the lottery tickets had now all been sold, the wheel of fortune to dispose of his paintings "would be turned precisely at four o'clock tomorrow in the painted room at Mr. Bryden's [Fountain Inn]." We learn later that the artist realized at least fifteen hundred dollars from this lottery. The reference to the "painted room" at the Fountain Inn is of interest, because "Beatrice Ironsides" (Eliza Godefroy) in her scurrilous attacks on Guy in her literary weekly, the *Observer*, a few years later, referred contemptuously to "the pretty frescoes he [Guy] had painted at the Fountain Inn."

Guy seems to have now disappeared from the public prints for some three years, until in 1807, as shall see, he became the centre of a heated controversy, precipitated by "Beatrice Ironsides," as to the relative merits of Guy and William Groombridge as landscape painters. If he is to be taken at his own word, during this interval he enjoyed great success as a landscape painter. No city views or historical pictures, known with certainty to have been painted at this period, have been found by the writer, but a number of paintings of gentlemen's estates near Baltimore, which may possibly have been done at this time, are known. Among such undated paintings are three different views of "Bolton," the country seat of George Grundy, which stood on the site of the present Fifth Regiment Armory; two of these are owned now by Grundy's descendants, and one by the Maryland Historical Society. There are also two views of "Mount

Deposit" (later "Surrey"), in northeast Baltimore, the home of David Harris, and later of General Joseph Sterett; one picture is now owned by a descendant, and the other by the Maryland Historical Society; and two of "Perry Hall," the "seat" of Harry Dorsey Gough on Gunpowder Falls which have come down in the Gough-Carroll family.

Why Eliza Godefroy, writing under the soubriquet of "Beatrice Ironsides," should have been moved to fire her ill-natured editorial broadsides at Guy in her weekly *Observer* is not known. Perhaps she had been stirred up by a recent exhibition and sale of landscapes by Guy and Groombridge at the book-shop and auction rooms of Cole & Bonsal, on Market Street, at which Guy's paintings had won more popular favor, and sold better, than those of her favorite, Groombridge. Something has already been said of this clever and bitter-tongued Baltimore woman and her weekly literary and scientific magazine, the *Observer*, in the sketch of William Groombridge. An ardent admirer and partisan of Groombridge and his academic productions, she first poured out her gratuitous insults upon Guy in *The Observer* of June 20, 1807. After deploring the failure of the Baltimore public to buy paintings at the exhibit, or to appreciate the really fine paintings of Groombridge, an artist trained in good schools, she then declared that real connoisseurs of painting have this low opinion of Guy and his artistic productions: "They will say then, that the genius of Mr. Guy is a wild plant; that nature had intended him for a landscape painter, as is evident by the pretty fresco's that he has painted at the Fountain Inn; but they will also say, that he has not studied, that from want of encouragement reduced to the necessity of making coats and pantaloons, he has not had it in his power to cultivate his talent, nor has he made a single striking step in the art. . . . They will say, that his compositions, very far from being original, are only a sort of



Mosaic, drawn from compositions well known and even engraved, of several celebrated painters of landscapes and sea-views. . . . In a word, that if Mr. Guy's genius is a diamond, it is one without polish, and which the want of encouragement must ever continue such."

A little later, in the November 17, 1807, *Observer*, "Beatrice Ironsides" asserted that neither Groombridge nor Guy had really had any encouragement in Baltimore to exercise, the former his great, and the latter his poor talents, and that it was a city which was to be described as the "Siberia of the arts." "We will therefore repeat, that with the exception of some tavern signs, our Amateurs have afforded Mr. Guy no other opportunity of exercising his talents in perspective, but in continuing the soul-inspiring avocation of making pantaloons."

Guy made no immediate reply to the attack of "Beatrice Ironsides" in the *Observer*, but in the *Federal Gazette* for July 1, 1807, he announced under the title "Fine Arts," that at a future and more convenient, but not distant time, he would issue a statment to the public "in defense of characters implicated, and explanatory of proceedings adopted by others, relative to the late exhibitions of Guy's Paintings at Cole & Bonsal's Book-Store." However, this reply, as will be persently seen, did not actually appear, until some five months later.

On July 8, 1807, Guy announced in the *American*, that there had been on exhibition at Wharfe's Tavern since the Fourth of July, his great historical painting, representing the late atrocious attack of the *Leopard* upon the *Chesapeake*. This of course refers to the attack of the British man-of-war *Leopard* upon the American frigate *Chesapeake* off Hampton Roads, when after an exchange of shots, the *Chesapeake* was searched and three seamen were forcibly seized by Captain Humphreys of the *Leopard*, an episode which very nearly

resulted in war between the United States and Great Britain, some five years before the outbreak of the War of 1812. Public feeling ran high at the moment, and such a painting doubtless found a ready sale. Unfortunately it has not been traced. This is the second reference to Guy as the painter of marine views, or "sea pieces," as among the fourteen paintings disposed of by lottery at the Fountain Inn in 1804, was a "View of a British Ship of War at Sunrise."<sup>30</sup>

Guy next appears in a new role—that of dentist. In the *American* for August 11, 1807, he announced, in a sworn statement, his discovery of "Essence of Sulphur—An Infallible Cure for the Tooth Ache," with which he had cured some hundred sufferers, at the trifling charge of only one dollar and fifty cents to those who could afford to pay that much. Testimonials of cures were filed by three victims who had been miraculously relieved. His address was given as 212 Market (Baltimore) Street, nearly opposite "The Indian Queen" Inn. After Guy's death, thirteen years later, Niles' *Weekly Register* for December 16, 1820, announced the late Mr. Guy's recipe for curing toothache to be a mixture of spirits, vinegar, and salt.<sup>31</sup> One wonders whether this was the same formula sold in 1807 as his wonderful "Essence of Sulphur."

In the *Federal Gazette* for November 17, 1807, Guy at last published his promised reply to the scurrilous attacks upon him as a painter made by "Beatrice Ironsides" in *The Observer* a few months before. His reply thus opens: "What do you think the *Observer* means by playing shuttlecock with my poor name at every full and change of the moon?" He then quotes the previously cited remarks of the lady which had hurt most—that for lack of patronage as a painter he would have to continue "the soul-inspiring avocation of

<sup>30</sup> Page 245, *post*.

<sup>31</sup> Niles *Weekly Register*, Baltimore, 1820, p. 263.



making pantaloons." Of this slander as to lack of patronage he says: "Had the above not come from the pen of a lady, I should have bluntly stamped the lie upon it without further ceremony; but as the author is really a lady, I must, for the sake of decency content myself with proving it altogether and entirely false. Last spring I disposed of paintings in Baltimore, to the amount of fifteen hundred dollars, and in the course of the last summer, I refused orders in landscape painting that would have occupied me above six months. I have now as many landscapes and sea-pieces bespoke, as will employ me all the winter; here then is a picture of the *Observer's* veracity." He then goes on to say of Groombridge, with whom "Beatrice Ironsides" had so unfavorably contrasted him as a painter, that this gentleman is "an excellent landscape painter—a friendly, ingenious and honest man—and if he is really neglected by the publick, he may ascribe it to the friendship of the *Observer*." Guy declares that the attacks of the lady have really "rendered me essential service," and that her praises of Groombridge have actually done him much harm. He concludes by saying that "the connoisseurs of Baltimore will not be dictated to by insolence and abuse."

For nearly two years following this controversy Guy seems to have kept out of the public prints, but he broke out again in the July 9, 1809, issue of the *Whig* of Baltimore, with a prospectus of an autobiography. This prospectus is reproduced here in full as an example of Guy's bombastic style of composition:

FRANCIS GUY—1809

"PROPOSALS,

By G. M. Jefferis, S. Jefferis  
and J. Robinson, Of Baltimore  
for publishing by subscription  
The Life of Francis Guy,  
Landscape Painter in America,

Late Dyer, Callenderer, & Orris cleaner  
To the Queen and Princesses  
Of England  
Written by Himself

---

Here, dull narrative is enlivened by numerous anecdotes:—here, Reason peeps into the dark abodes of infidelity, where unbelief “breeds perverse all monstrous and abominable Things, worse than ever Fancy Feigned or Fear conceived—Mark all the covered pits, and show Careless wanderers the paths of Peace: Paint Vice and Virtue; both exhibited That Contrast, by her convincing powers: May charm or terrify vain mortals from The deleterious ways of Sin.”

#### CONDITIONS

The above work is now in preparation and will be put to press in a short time.

It will be printed neatly, on good paper, and delivered to subscribers, bound and lettered, at ONE DOLLAR.

A few years after the prospectus of his life was issued, which for lack of subscriptions does not seem to have been published, Guy in a letter to the old *Baltimore Sun*, which was reprinted in the *American* for August 17, 1811, made a violent attack upon an anonymous art critic, who about the middle of June, 1811, in Poulson's *American Daily Advertiser* of Philadelphia, had had no kind things to say of his paintings recently shown in Philadelphia at the First Exhibition of the Society of Artists at the Academy of Fine Arts. Guy declared that only the work of Philadelphia painters received praise, and that the critic had sneeringly declared that his pictures were obviously copies from foreign engravings, citing especially his views of the Lake of Keswick and of Ull Water. Guy vehemently denied that he ever used engravings to copy in paintings, and declared that these two landscapes were unfortunate choices by his traducer, as his native place was Lorton in Keswick in the Lake District of England, and that for many years he had often sketched there; first when he was nine years of age, and the last time only a short while before he came to America in 1795, when



he had returned to the Lake country for a six months' stay, and had made sketches in the neighborhood where Ull Water was located. He added: "This, perhaps, may satisfy the insolent reviewer that I can paint views of English scenery without having recourse to foreign engraving." It will be recalled that "Beatrice Ironsides" had made a similar charge against him. He offered five hundred dollars to anyone who could show a single painting of his that was a copy of any painting, drawing, or engraving. He declared that the Philadelphia critic had also disparaged the paintings of poor Groombridge, now in his grave, and had praised only the works of Philadelphia artists, whose best were poorer than Groombridge's worst. Nor did he propose to change his style of painting to suit the Philadelphia reviewer, exclaiming: "The lion cannot be terrified and driven out by the braying of an Ass." He asserted that no painter in Philadelphia had had as good a sale of his paintings at the Exhibition as he, Guy, had had; in fact no American landscapist had ever sold as many paintings as he. Later he said that his sales had amounted to six hundred dollars at the Philadelphia exhibition. The catalogue of the exhibition shows that he exhibited twenty-three landscapes, which will be found listed later in this paper.<sup>32</sup>

Near the close of the year 1811, in the *American* for December 5, Guy announced to "the Baltimore Patrons of Painting, the Disposal, at Mr. Wood's Auction Room on Water Street, of Seventy Paintings in Handsome Frames for \$1500," adding that four years before (1807) there had been \$860 "subscribed" at the sale of sixteen of his paintings, all very indifferently framed. He concluded by repeating that at the late exhibition in Philadelphia "the Connoisseurs of that place did not purchase a single painting of any kind but my own . . . yet from a consideration of your past

<sup>32</sup> Pages 298-9, *supra*.

favours I do hereby promise never to send one of my paintings out of Baltimore to be sold that you have not first rejected." Nor do later catalogues of the Philadelphia Academy show that he ever exhibited there again.

A somewhat later notice in *Niles' Weekly Register* of December 14, 1811, states that *sixty-five* small paintings by Guy were disposed of, on December 11, 1811, for \$1600, a figure somewhat larger than Guy himself gives, and that "It is thought the artist might have received nearly double the amount had he not been disposed to make a compliment to his patrons in Baltimore by putting them on auction on such moderate terms." One suspects that the writer in *Niles* should have said *by lottery* and not *on auction*. It was only a few weeks after this, in the *American* for January 2, 1812, that Guy advertised, extolling the merits of a paper carpet for which he had applied for a patent in 1806, concluding with the statement, "I am now busy in painting a number of pictures that must be finished with the utmost dispatch."

In 1812 Guy was engaged by Archbishop John Carroll to paint a view of the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Baltimore, then under construction, of which Benjamin Henry Latrobe was the architect. Latrobe, the distinguished architect and engineer, designed many important public buildings in Baltimore, Philadelphia, Richmond, and Washington, and was the architect of the Capitol in Washington. His letter books, owned by a great-grandson, Mr. Ferdinand C. Latrobe of Baltimore, shows that on December 27, 1812, he wrote two letters about the proposed painting of the Cathedral. One of these was to Francis Guy, in which he enclosed a detailed architectural sketch of the building, as it would appear when completed. In this letter he writes, "I have now put my drawing of the Cathedral into outline and have shadowed in the general masses," Guy was to use this as a central feature of his view. Latrobe gave detailed advice as to the



exact placing of the building in the proposed landscape painting, and said that he had "studied to give the church the effect of being on the summit of the city." Guy was to closely follow the architectural details sent him, but the surrounding landscape effects were left entirely to the painter's discretion. That Latrobe, who was himself a painter of considerable distinction, thought well of Guy as a landscapist is evidenced by the following: "I have not the slightest doubt but that your painting will do honor to my design, and am ambitious that the public should become acquainted with it arranged in the effect of nature in which you know so well to clothe the productions of your pencil."

Under the same date Latrobe wrote a letter to Archbishop Carroll which shows that the suggestion to employ Guy had come from the Archbishop: "Mr. Robert Brent communicated to me a short time ago your wish that I would furnish to Mr. Guy the means of making a correct picture of your Cathedral as ultimately to be executed." Latrobe said that he at first thought that it was Guy's intention "to put a panorama of the environs of Baltimore showing the Cathedral in the distance and made a drawing accordingly, but Mr. Guy since called upon me himself and explained the object of his painting to be principally the building itself, and I have therefore very carefully made a drawing in perspective which he has but to copy." This was to be the central feature of the "landscape from nature." There can be little question that Guy completed the painting, but every effort to trace it has been unsuccessful.

Our painter now again assumed the role of a theological controversialist in the *American* for February 25, 1813. In a lengthy letter, in which he took issue with that eccentric Methodist evangelist, the Reverend Lorenzo Dow, then preaching at the Light Street Methodist Church, he invited Dow to debate with him at the Pantheon on the doctrine of

Universalism *versus* Restitutionism. Guy, who was sympathetic with the Universalistic belief that punishment after death was not perpetual, took Dow severely to task for saying, that there was no hope for the once damned because "they would so stink of brimstone that the angels could not come near them." The Pantheon, on Courtland Street just back of the City Spring, originally built as a theatre, had about this date become the Pantheon Hotel. Evidence is lacking that this theological debate took place.

The patriotic fervor excited by American naval victories in the War of 1812 was taken advantage of by Guy to offer to the public paintings of historic "sea-fights." In a letter which appeared in the *American* for January 21, 1813, addressed "To the brave commanders of our public and private ships of war," and signed "Your devoted marine painter—Francis Guy," he describes himself as a marine and landscape painter. He said that the gallant captain, Isaac Hull, of the frigate *Constitution*, who had lately captured the frigate *Guerriere*, had promised, through a Baltimore gentleman, to send him "a drawing of the *Guerriere* which he found on board the captured ship, and other sketches & instructions to enable me to paint accurately 4 views of the chase and capture of the *Guerriere*." He requested that other victorious commanders, and especially Commodores Decatur and Jones, send him similar information about the vessels engaged in the sea-fights in which they had so gloriously figured, to enable him to paint accurate pictures of them. In a long-winded, facetious and mock-heroic close, he declared that he had left England in the ship *Hercules*, Captain Cleghorn of Boston, "because vermin were gnawing at her [England's] vitals," and in due time landed in New York. He added that he was now "a midship marine painter on board that staunch old fast-sailing man-of-war, the world." It is not revealed whether or not he was



flooded with inside information by these heroes, or whether he actually painted any of the sea-fights in which they had been engaged.

The last Baltimore newspaper notice of Guy, in his Baltimore period, which has been found, appeared in the *American* for December 3, 1813, addressed "To the Baltimore Patrons of Painting." This is the notice of an exhibition of twelve paintings by him, to be held at the "Old Exchange" on December 3. The principal one of these paintings is described as "a representation of the late Glorious Victory gained by our tars upon Lake Erie." The subjects of the others are not given, but they may all have been "sea-pieces." In this announcement he again reminds the public that "about seven years ago [1807] you gave me about eight hundred & sixty dollars for a few small Paintings, and totally rejected the productions [exhibited at Cole & Bonsal's at the same time] of a pencil which had been taught the art of imitating nature in the Royal Academies of London, Rome and Paris." Obviously this reference is to William Groombridge, and is of interest, in that it is the only intimation we have from any source that that artist studied on the Continent as well as in England. Guy once again repeats that at his last sale (1811) his paintings brought fifteen hundred dollars, and that he is asking a thousand dollars for these twelve now offered; and that at this last sale some of the ten dollar chances had, before the drawing, resold for twenty and even thirty dollars each.

Of Guy in Baltimore during the years 1814 to 1816 nothing has been learned, except that he is continuously listed as a landscape painter in the directories of this period. It seems probable that a page by page search of the eight newspapers published in Baltimore during this period would reveal references to him, as it is difficult to believe that such a publicity hound, as he was, could have kept out of the public prints for as long a time as three years.

Why Guy left Baltimore about the year 1817 is not disclosed, but it seems likely that it was because he had exhausted his field of activities in this city, and that the public had tired of his pictures. Doubtless as the result of wholesale output and of drink, the quality of his work had also deteriorated. Although no examples of his painting during the last few years of his Baltimore period have been recognized, his style of painting in his latter years, as seen in his view of Brooklyn, is quite different from that of his recognizable earlier Baltimore work.

The Baltimore directories show various changes in Guy's residence during the twenty years he lived here. Appearing first in the 1799 directory, he is listed as a silk dyer at 49 North Gay Street. Thereafter he appears, as a landscape painter only, as follows: in 1800-1801 on Camden Street; in 1803 on Hollins Street; in 1807 and 1808 on High Street, Old Town; in 1810 to 1815 at 212 Baltimore [Market] Street, although his newspaper advertisements show that he was living at 212 Baltimore Street as early as 1807; and finally in 1816 on Saratoga near Liberty Street. Stiles<sup>33</sup> says that Guy removed from Baltimore to Brooklyn about the year 1817, which tallies with his last listing in the Baltimore directory in 1816.

Guy in 1819 revived the plan, which he had first proposed in 1809, to publish his autobiography. While on a visit to Baltimore, where he was staying on Second Street, he published a "communication" to this effect in the *Baltimore American* of February 6, 1819. His life, he said, was to be incorporated in a treatise by him on landscape painting, dyeing, and scouring. The purpose of this "communication" in the *American*, addressed to the "Friends of Learning" in Baltimore, was to request those who had in their possession examples of certain of his literary "works, either in verse or in

<sup>33</sup> Henry R. Stiles, *A History of the City of Brooklyn*, vol. 2, pp. 88-9 (plates), 99-105.



prose," which had appeared in print, to send them to him for incorporation in the autobiography. The list which then followed enumerates eleven such contributions by him of which he had lost trace. These include two "ballads," showing that he had not infrequently broken into verse. A pamphlet by him is also mentioned. Evidently the author had not kept a scrapbook of his literary effusions. It is also surprising to find that he sometimes wrote anonymously, or under a pseudonym. Comments on some of the contributions enumerated have already been made in this paper. Guy's announcement of the proposed autobiography and his queries follow:

COMMUNICATION  
TO THE FRIENDS OF LITERATURE

The life of Mr. Francis Guy, landscape painter, late dyer to the Queen and Princess of England, is preparing for the press. This work will include a brief treatise on the art of Landscape Paintings, or, in the author's own words; "to pitch the key to young beginners, that natural taste and genius, if any they have, may play the tune." It will also contain a number of valuable receipts for dyeing and scouring, so simplified as to be easily reduced to practice in every family, and will give the American families a pleasant and profitable amusement, by teaching them how to dye and dress their bonnets, ribbons, veils, shawls, satins, silks, dresses, furniture, &c.

The above is published at this time to induce those who may have any of his works, either in verse or prose, in their possession, to forward them to the author as speedy as possible, as the work cannot go to press without them, they being connected with, and are to be attached to the narrative of the times when they were written.

The works missing, are as follows, viz:

- 1st. "The Battle in Congress, or pretty work for six dollars a day."
- 2d. An affecting ballad on the death of Jonathan Robbins, first line, "Hark thro' the gloom an awful cry."
- 3rd. His Recantation of Deism; this pamphlet may be found in New York, as we understand it was published there by Horatio Spafford, A.M. about the year 1806; also in several almanacs to the east.
- 4th. His publication in the *Baltimore Sun*, about seven years ago, recommending to government the use of Scotch snuff as a substitute in war, by land and sea, for murderous ball, Congreve rockets, bomb shells and every other instrument of destruction,

- that the enemy might be blinded by the snuff, rendered incapable of resistance, thrown into confusion, and taken all alive.
- 5th. A ballad called "The Exiled Patriot," first line not recollected; supposed to be in some of the song books.
- 6th. His letters to the Rev. Mr. Shinn.
- 8th. His answer to the reviewer of the pictures in the Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia—This may be found in the files of any of the Baltimore newspapers, in the year 1811.
- 9th. A piece on theatrical amusements, published in the *Baltimore Sun*, time not recollected, signature also forgotten, but may be known by "and there was perhaps as much difference between the first and last works of Dr. Young, as the spirit in which St. Paul went on the business of persecution to Damascus, and that in which he preached the gospel of Ephesus."
- 10th. An allegorical letter to the brave commanders of our public and private ships of war—published in the *Baltimore Sun*, in time of last war.
- 11th. The Devil and Tom Paine, a satirical ballad. Whoever is the first to forward any of the above to the author, Second street, Baltimore, will confer a favor, and if they require it, a copy of the work in boards, when published.

All editors friendly to the above useful and entertaining publication, will please give the above one insertion.

For light on Guy's Brooklyn days we must rely almost entirely upon Stiles, who sketches this period of his life in his *History of Brooklyn*. This author's account of the 1817-1820 Brooklyn period seems to have been obtained first hand from Thomas W. Birdsall of Brooklyn, a neighbor of Guy, who appears to have known him well and to have been responsible for the entertaining record of the last few years of his life. From Stiles we learn more of this second attempt of Guy to publish this autobiography and treatise on landscape painting and dyeing. Here it is said that Guy had not long before his death announced in the *New York Star* of March 8 and April 12, 1820, the forthcoming publication, as soon as sufficient subscriptions were received, of "The Domestic Dyer," this to include a treatise on landscape painting and an account of the author's life. The book, he said, would be found "abounding with uncommon variety of amusing



facts." He again deplored "the sad effects of Deism, and the lives and awful deaths of its professors." Then, referring to his painting activities, he declared that in July, 1819, he had opened to public view a collection of one hundred and twenty "Landscapes, Sea and Harbor Paintings" at number 68 William Street, New York. The merits of his "Patent Paper Carpet" were also extolled. The *Life* was to be published at not more than one dollar and fifty cents a copy. There is no reason to think that it ever actually appeared. Elsewhere, on June 19, 1820, a few weeks before his death, he refers to himself as the painter, during the War of 1812, of a series of naval battles of the United States.

As to the Brooklyn period of Guy's life, it seems best to quote verbatim from Stiles, who thus wrote of him in the stilted language of the sixties:

Guy returned to Brooklyn about the year 1817, took the Fisher House (No. 11 Front street) and devoted himself mainly to his chief work, which undoubtedly is the "Brooklyn Snow Scene." Previously to this it is known that he indulged, at intervals, in the habit of drinking, even to excess; although against his full and clear knowledge of the results of such practice, and despite the deep repentance and remorse which always followed such indulgence. Yet, we learn, that while engaged upon this picture, he was abstemious and sober, the excitement of his work being sufficient for him. Mr. Thomas W. Birdsall relates that Guy, as he painted, would sometimes call out of the window, to his subjects, as he caught sight of them on their customary ground, to stand still, while he put in the characteristic strokes. Mr. Birdsall was in the daily habit of riding on horseback and kept his horse in a stable on James Street. So, also, Jacob Hicks, whose house is just visible on the corner of Main Street, was "brought to a halt" goose in hand; and after he had been sketched, politely sent the goose as a present to the painter, that he might "sketch the fowl more deliberately, and eat him afterward."

Mrs. Guy, a second wife, and some ten years older than her husband, was a good religious woman, and a member of the Methodist Church. They had no children, and her husband was much attached to her, and did much to secure her good opinion; while she, at times, was obliged to submit to his foibles and humor his faults.

The picture ["Brooklyn Snow Scene"] was, at length, completed and exposed to public view, visited by all, and much admired. The scene then stood precisely as represented upon the canvas, and every actor in it was then alive. With the completion of his work, however, the strictness of his resolution of abstinence was relaxed, and he began to send his wife out for brandy. On the morning of the 12th of August, 1820, he had been out, and on his return home sent her to a neighboring store for the desired stimulant, which she procured, and of which he continued to drink freely, until some extraordinary demonstration on his part led her to rush into the street and call in the neighbors. Ralph Malbone, Thos. W. Birdsall, Jerome Schenck, and others were present when it became evident that he was near his end. He was entirely wild, babbled confusedly, and quoted Shakespeare. Guy was of medium size, with a sallow complexion and black eyes. He possessed an ardent temperament and a social and convivial disposition. His talents were of a high order, and with little elementary instruction he had much improved his mind by general reading. Shakespeare was his favorite author, and constantly quoted by him. He was, like many of his profession, reckless of money, and it is told of him by one who knew him well, that on one occasion having, after some persuasion, succeeded in borrowing \$5 of his friend John Harmer (who had come to distrust him in money matters), he met a boy on the street carrying a canary bird in its cage. He straightway purchased the bird and cage, with the just borrowed money, and shortly after meeting Mr. Ralph Malbone, presented them to him. Mr. Birdsall says of him that Guy was inclined to be disputatious, but generally in good temper. When not able to agree with Mr. B. in discussion, he would say, "Well, you differ and I differ, and that's all the difference between us."

Stiles adds, "After his death Mrs. Guy disposed in 1824, of sixty-two of his landscape paintings, by auction, in Wall street, New York, the proceeds amounting to \$1,295.50, an average of nearly \$21 a piece. The (Brooklyn) 'Snow Scene' (No. XVI) had, however, been previously bought (1823) at private sale by Mr. James Parshall of New York, from whom it was subsequently obtained for \$200 by contributions of friends of the Brooklyn Institute where it can now be seen by those of our citizens who are curious in such matters. At the sale of Guy's pictures we find mentioned on the catalogue



'No. 39, Winter Scene in Brooklyn [No. XVIII],' and 'No. 40, Summer View of Brooklyn [No. XIX],' both of which were purchased, the former for \$30 and the latter for \$26, by Mr. Henry. 'No. 39,' we presume is the one now [1869] hanging in Phil. Grogan's New Bank Oyster House in Fulton street, Brooklyn, and was undoubtedly, the first sketch of the scene, being entirely without figures." These numbers show that there was a catalogue, doubtless a printed one, of the sale. No mention is made here of the Brooklyn Club painting (No. XVII), which may have been sold prior to the 1823 auction.

Brief announcements of the death of Guy in Brooklyn on August 12, 1820, giving his age as sixty-one, appeared in the New York, Brooklyn, and Baltimore papers. The obituary in the *Baltimore American* for Thursday, August 17, 1820, seems worth reprinting in full. It is of especial interest as it tells us, that with the exception of his wife, he had no relatives in the United States: "Extract of a letter from New York, dated 14th August, 1820. 'I embrace the first mail offering to apprise you of the death [on August 12th] of our friend Francis Guy, who expired on Saturday evening last at ten o'clock. This is a great stroke to his aged and afflicted wife, who is the only relative on these shores to mourn his loss. He was decently interred in the Methodist Burying Ground yesterday in the afternoon, attended by a large concourse of the inhabitants of Brooklyn (his late residence) and several acquaintances in this City.'" Neither the family name of his second wife Elizabeth, nor whether he married her in England or in America, has been learned. There is no license for this marriage to be found in Baltimore.

In his brief will, dated August 5, 1820, just a week before his death, and recorded in Brooklyn, he left everything to his wife as his "sole heir," and made her his executrix. Soon after his death Elizabeth Guy, as executrix, advertised in the

Baltimore *American* for September 27, 1820, requesting that all persons indebted to the estate of her husband make immediate payment, and that those having claims against his estate present them for settlement.

Of Guy's development as an artist and for contemporary opinions of him, we must rely upon a few statements by the painter himself, the account by Stiles of his early years taken from the manuscript autobiography, the recollections of Rembrandt Peale, jotted down nearly half a century after Guy's death, the contemporary opinions of William Dunlap, Benjamin Henry Latrobe, John H. B. Latrobe, Robert Gilmore, and John Neal, his numerous announcements in the Baltimore newspapers, and finally upon the evidence as presented by the paintings themselves. As showing his lifelong interest in art, Guy says that he was making sketches of scenery in the Lake District of England at the age of nine, and that two or three years before coming to America he had spent six months sketching in this same beautiful country. If it is true, as Stiles says, that he painted the "Tontine Coffee House," of New York (No. I) (obviously from sketches) soon after his removal from New York to Philadelphia, which occurred about 1796-1797, this is the earliest important landscape painting by him of which there is a record. After he came to Baltimore in 1797 or 1798, he appeared in the beginning only as a silk dyer; in the 1800 directory he is for the first time listed as a landscape painter.

The professional opinions held by contemporary painters and art connoisseurs of one another are always interesting, and are also revealing as to artists' prejudices, personal jealousies, and likes or dislikes. The estimates of Guy by Peale, Dunlap, the Latrobes, Gilmore, and Neal therefore seem worth noting.

Rembrandt Peale's amusing description of Guy's early efforts at landscape painting, which appeared under the title,



“Reminiscences—Desultory” in *The Crayon*, in 1856, throws interesting light upon the remarkable way in which he taught himself to paint landscapes and upon his personal idiosyncrasies, and also reveals Peale’s favorable opinion of him as a painter.<sup>34</sup> They are here quoted in full:

It is an error to say that Francis Guy was a tailor, and first developed a talent for painting by copying pictures lent him by Robert Gilmor. He was a silk-dyer in England, but finding no employment in his profession in Baltimore, he boldly undertook to become an artist, though he did not know how to draw. His wife encouraged the idea, and by her industry and frugality maintained themselves, whilst he prosecuted his studies, which he accomplished in a novel and ingenious manner. He constructed a tent, which he could erect at pleasure, wherever a scene of interest offered itself to his fancy. A window was contrived, the size of his intended pictures—this was filled up with a frame, having stretched on it a piece of black gauze. Regulating his eyesight by a fixed notch, a little distance from the gauze, he drew with chalk all the objects as seen through the medium, with perfect perspective accuracy. This drawing being conveyed to his canvas, by simple pressure from the back of his hand, he painted the scene from Nature, with a rapidly-improving eye, so that in a few days his landscape was finished, and his tent conveyed in a cart to some other inviting locality. In this manner he continued his studies, till he produced four pictures of extraordinary merit, as rough transcripts from Nature. They were exhibited in the ballroom of Bryden’s Hotel, and soon found purchasers at twenty-five dollars each. Whilst he continued this mode of study, his pictures were really good—but, excited by the reputation he was gaining, he afterwards *manufactured* landscapes with such vigor that I have known him to display in the *sunshine*, on a log contiguous to his residence near the city, forty large landscapes, which were promptly disposed of by raffle. He painted standing, stepping frequently back to study the general effect, and taking a *huge* pinch of snuff from a large open jar—perhaps in emulation of Mr. Stuart—then advancing with dramatic energy to his picture, first flourishing his pencil in the air, executed the leaves of his trees, with flat brushes and cut quill-feathers, as he imagined no one had ever done before. He afterwards removed to Brooklyn, but failed to surprise the amateurs of New York.

<sup>34</sup> *The Crayon*, vol. 3 (1856), p. 5.

John Wesley Jarvis, who knew Guy, painted a portrait of him; it is greatly to be regretted that Jarvis has left no record of his impressions of him, since in some respects, as in their eccentricities and intemperance, they were not unlike. Jarvis was an annual visitor to Baltimore at this period, and in 1808 was a householder with a studio here. At the Second Annual Exhibition at the Peale Museum, held in 1823, a portrait by Jarvis of "F. Guy, Esq. Landscape Painter," owned by T. Morgan, was exhibited, and was thus criticized by John H. B. Latrobe, under his soubriquet, "An Old Brush," in the *Federal Gazette*: "Here one artist has painted another;—not as successfully as he might have done—not sufficient relief—too flat—the background not good—the attitude good." All trace of this painting has unfortunately been lost.

John H. B. Latrobe, the well known Baltimore lawyer and litterateur of the last century, and himself an amateur painter of very considerable ability, contributed to the Baltimore newspapers, either anonymously, as in 1822, or as in 1823, under the soubriquet "An Old Brush," a series of criticisms of the paintings exhibited at the First and Second Annual Exhibitions of Paintings held at the Peale Museum. Writing anonymously in the *American* for October 11, 1822, of four landscapes by Guy, who had died two years before, which were on exhibition but which cannot now be identified, Latrobe says of the "Landscape" (Catalogue No. 27), "Fine water—beautiful mist—false architectural perspective at the right—admirable foggy distance—a picture on the whole with some charming parts—some detestable ones in it. Would that our limits would permit us to speak of the artist with discrimination; but they will not, and we have only to lament that he is gone. He was one of the people of Baltimore." Would that he had spoken of him at length! The other three paintings by Guy (Nos. 35, 68, and 154), La-



trobe dismissed each in turn with scant notice as, "painted with bad material"; "not presumptuous enough to pass judgment on this"; and "dull, faded, and hardly worth noticing." Of the four landscapes shown at the 1823 exhibition (Nos. 23, 42, 44, and 54), Latrobe, in his running criticisms in the *Federal Gazette*, during October, 1823, says of "Landscape" (No. 42)—"one of the best we have ever seen for this reason, the trees are less minced than usual and have not the impervious appearance which we generally see in the foliage of this artist"; of the "Landscape" (No. 54), "as good and perhaps a little better than usual, Guy painted too much by the square yard"; of the "Landscape" (No. 23), "old, not good"; and of the "Lake of Killarney" (No. 44), "one of Guy's favorite subjects—we do not think that practice in drawing it has rendered him more perfect than usual." Latrobe, usually a rather captious critic, here both praises and condemns.

Benjamin Henry Latrobe, architect, engineer, and water colorist, the father of John H. B. Latrobe and a contemporary of Guy, also had a good opinion of the latter as a landscape painter. This is shown in his correspondence with Guy, cited on page 252, when he sent an architect's sketch of the Roman Catholic Cathedral in Baltimore that Guy was to incorporate in a landscape painting, which Archbishop John Carroll had ordered.

William Dunlap in his *History of the Arts of Design in the United States*,<sup>35</sup> published in 1834, dismisses Guy, whom he had met in 1806 on a visit to Baltimore, with scant consideration: "He was originally a tailor of Baltimore. He attracted some attention by his attempts at landscape painting, and finally made it his profession and found employers. Robert Gilmor, Esq., of Baltimore in a letter to me says, 'He began

<sup>35</sup> William Dunlap, *A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*, vol. 1, p. 321; vol. 2, pp. 292-3.

by copying my pictures and drawings, which are his best works. I have several of them. His blue he made of common coal-cinder.'” Dunlap then continues, “Coal-cinder makes a blue-black, but is not sufficient for the blue of the painter. His style was crude and harsh, with little to recommend his efforts, which now would not be tolerated.” In passing it may be said, however, that if it was with coal cinder that he produced the contrasting blue sky and fleecy white clouds to be seen in certain of his landscapes now in the Maryland Historical Society, the effect is most pleasing. The old story that Guy was a tailor in Baltimore, repeated by Dunlap, and already shown not to be true, need not be further labored here. Nor does Gilmore in saying that he began his art studies by copying pictures and drawings refute Guy’s denial that he ever introduced such copies in his own landscapes.

Still another contemporary estimate of Guy’s painting, which has been found, and that a most unfavorable one, is called to our attention by Guy himself in his indignant reply to the scathing criticism of his paintings, made by an anonymous critic in Poulson’s *American Daily Advertiser* of Philadelphia, of the exhibition of pictures, already referred to, held in 1811 at the Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia. Guy says, and apparently with truth, that this writer excoriated all paintings not done by local artists, and that notwithstanding the unfair criticisms of him, he was the only landscape painter exhibiting, who had been able to sell the products of his brush at the exhibition. Unfortunately the writer has been unable to consult a file of Poulson’s newspaper.

John Neal, the well known American newspaper editor, novelist, and discriminating art critic, writing anonymously of early nineteenth-century American Art in *Blackwood’s Magazine* of Edinburgh for October, 1824, (p. 419), declares that there are only three landscape painters of note—Shaw,



Guy, and Doughty. Criticizing these, he says of our painter, "Guy is middling; steals very judiciously; almost always from the same source—Claude, in his water, sea mist, and vapour."

These contemporary criticisms are of considerable interest. Both Peale and Latrobe emphasize the unevenness of Guy's work, which both felt at its best was very good, although much of it was bad. Peale points out that the earlier paintings, which were first outlined on transparent gauze stretched over a window-like opening in a tent, were painted with "perfect perspective accuracy," and that four paintings thus produced, which he had seen on exhibition at the Fountain Inn (doubtless in 1803 or 1804), were "pictures of extraordinary merit"—really high praise by a competent artist. We know that among these four paintings were some of the Baltimore views which have been preserved, and will be severally commented upon later.

Nearly a century was now to pass before Guy was again to be brought, and now by a competent art critic, to the attention of those interested in the development of early American landscape painting. At the exhibiton, "A Century of American Landscape Painting 1800-1900," held in New York in 1938, at the Whitney Museum of American Art, the two views by Guy of "Pennington Mills-Jones Falls, Baltimore" (Nos. IV, V), were shown. Lloyd Goodrich, the director of the Whitney Museum, reviewing in the introduction to the catalogue of the exhibition the history of American landscape painting, has this to say of Guy: "Probably the first landscape painter in this country, in the sense of an artist who painted chiefly landscapes, was Francis Guy, an eccentric Englishman." After briefly referring to Guy's use of chalk tracings on transparent gauze to secure accuracy of outline, Goodrich continues with what seems to the writer to be a very fair appraisal of his work. "He specialized particularly in painting country estates around Baltimore,

probably commissioned by the gentry as other artists were commissioned to paint their portraits. His pictures featured the owner's mansion, shown at some distance, surrounded by lawn and trees and fields, with the owner himself promenading with his family. Although somewhat naïve, these works had a natural elegance, a preciseness and delicacy in the details, a liveliness in the little figures. Guy had the eighteenth-century conception of nature as a setting for the human being, and his masterpiece, the "Brooklyn Snow Scene," in the Brooklyn Museum, is Bruegel-like in its crowding of townspeople engaged in all kinds of activities." Whether or not the "Brooklyn Snow Scene" is to be regarded as Guy's masterpiece, the criticism as a whole is very fair.

When one considers the very large number of paintings which Guy produced during a period of some twenty years, for we have a count of some three hundred and seventy-three listings, a surprisingly small portion of these, that can be definitely attributed to him, have been preserved. The writer, who has examined nearly all of the nineteen that are unquestionably by him and will be here described, has found only one signed painting (No. XVI), and none dated. A few of his earlier and better landscapes, however, which have either come down from old collections with a definite attribution to him by former owners, or by attribution notations in old exhibition catalogues, make easy the recognition of other examples of his better work. His later and poorer paintings, which he seems to have "manufactured," or "painted by the square yard," to quote Peale and Latrobe, present a very different problem in attribution.

When this study of Guy was first begun by the writer some fifteen years ago, his very existence as a Baltimore painter had been long forgotten. Nor did his New York painting, the "Tontine Coffee House" (No. I), nor his several summer and winter views of Brooklyn help very



much in identifying his better Baltimore landscapes. The key painting which first gave the clue to his stylistic peculiarities was the "View from Beech Hill" (No. VI), the home of Robert Gilmore, Sr., in what is now the Negro section of west Baltimore. This is a view to the southeast over the city and the Patapsco River towards the Chesapeake Bay. This painting, which has been long owned by the Maryland Historical Society, had been shown, at the Sixth Exhibition of the Society held in 1858, as by Guy. Contemporary newspaper advertisements, which have come to light, show it to have been painted by Guy about the year 1803. It is entirely typical of a considerable group of similar landscapes of this period which can now be definitely attributed to Guy.

Although this key painting, "View from Beech Hill," bears neither the name nor initials of the painter, in addition to Guy's characteristic treatment of background, buildings, and trees, it does bear his sign-manual—the small paired human figures, in this case two young women in white Empire dresses, shown in the foreground. These characteristic paired figures, varying in height on the canvases from one to three inches depending upon their position in the painting, are to be seen as accessories in practically all the landscapes of his early Baltimore period. Usually two men or two women are to be found, or occasionally a pair with the sexes mixed; often more than two pairs are found, and, as in the case of the view of "Washington's Present Tomb," Mount Vernon, five paired figures. The subjects are painted in characteristic Guy poses—the figures side by side, or in the case of men, the subjects may stand facing each other in animated conversation. The women usually wear very similar large hats and white Empire dresses, the characteristic costume of the first decade of the nineteenth century; the men, often rotund and Pickwickian in figure, in long coats and small-clothes, frequently wear beaver hats

and carry long canes. In the views of gentlemen's country seats these figures represent the owners and their families or friends. These characteristic paired figures when present virtually sign Guy's paintings of his earlier period. But whether he used them as accessories in his later, or wholesale production period, is not known. A "View of Hollingsworth's Mill," which may possibly be by Guy, does not show accessory figures. In the Brooklyn landscapes (Nos. XIV, XV, XVI, XVII), 1817-1820, the figures, when present, play an even more important part in the composition. The identity of many of the subjects in this painting is known.

Among these characteristic Baltimore landscapes are seven paintings of gentlemen's country seats. There are two views of "Mount Deposit" (or "Surrey") (Nos. XI, XII), showing the owner, David Harris, with his friend and neighbor, Daniel Bowly. In the family of the latter old Baltimore worthy there has been handed down a small canvas,  $7\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6", showing the portraits of Harris and Bowly (No. XIII), which looks as if it had been cut out of a larger Guy canvas. This is obviously an enlargement (in reverse) of the figures of these same two old Baltimore merchants as seen in the landscapes of "Mount Deposit" ("Surrey") (Nos. XI, XII). It has a great deal of character and charm combined with not a little amusing caricature.

Nor does the attribution to Guy of some six Baltimore landscapes depend only upon the stylistic clue given by the "Beech Hill" painting. The recent discovery in the Baltimore newspapers of the 1803-1804 period of lists of Guy's landscapes to be disposed of by raffle, or lottery, at the Fountain Inn, confirms beyond question the attribution to Guy of some six landscapes given to him by the writer on stylistic grounds alone, before these newspaper notices had come to light. Among these thus doubly attributed are: the view of "Washington's Present Tomb" (No. VII), the



"Large View of Baltimore" (No. II) now in the Brooklyn Museum, the Baltimore "View from Beech Hill" (No. VI) in the Maryland Historical Society, the "View of the Baltimore Basin and Federal Hill" (No. III) owned by Mr. Riggin Buckler, and the two "Views of Jones' Falls" (up and down stream) "from the Pennington Mills," "Baltimore" (Nos. IV, V), now owned by the Peabody Institute, Baltimore. Three views of "Bolton" (Nos. VIII, IX, X), the home of George Grundy, which stood on the site of the present Fifth Regiment Armory, and two views of "Mount Deposit" (or "Surrey") (Nos. XI, XII), the Harris-Sterett estate in northeast Baltimore, while naturally not mentioned in any of the newspaper lists of paintings for raffle, as they were doubtlessly painted to order for Grundy and Harris, can be definitely attributed to Guy on stylistic grounds alone. The same is to be said of two views of the magnificent estate "Perry Hall," passed down in the families of Harry Dorsey Gough and James Carroll, the former owners, in which not only paired human figures, but horses, cows, sheep, and dogs as well, are introduced in the foreground.

Probably all of these twelve landscape paintings of the Baltimore period, painted with meticulous accuracy of detail, were doubtless executed by the window-transparency method of painting so interestingly described by Rembrandt Peale as characteristic of Guy's best work. Of the poor to bad pictures which Guy later turned out "wholesale" or by the "square yard," the writer has nothing by which he can judge, for with one or two possible exceptions, not a single one of his paintings of this class which can be recognized by any of the stylistic peculiarities of his earlier period, have come under observation. One of these exceptions may be the view of "Hollingsworth's Mill on Jones's Falls," a small muddy-looking painting, with the "impervious foliage," said by Latrobe to be characteristic of his poorer work. The only

reason for attributing this painting to Guy, even tentatively, is that he lists in 1804 a painting with this title, to be sold by raffle. But one with the same title by William Groombridge appears in a list of paintings owned in 1823 by Robert Gilmore, so the problem of attribution becomes involved.

If Stiles' sketch of Guy's Brooklyn career is to be taken at its face value, the only pictures that he painted after his removal there, the city in which he spent the last few years of his life, were the several Brooklyn views of the neighborhood at the intersection of Front and James streets, which exist in some four variations (Nos. XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX). This statement, however, must be taken with more than a grain of salt, for after his death his widow sold in 1824 sixty-two paintings at auction. Certainly not all of these were productions of his earlier Baltimore period which he had taken with him to Brooklyn!

The competent critic of British and Continental landscape painting, who has already been referred to in this paper, has been good enough to give the writer his impressions of Francis Guy as a painter, and thus summarizes his opinion of his work. "Of the four landscape painters, Guy was the least affected by European tradition. He belongs rather with such contemporary Americans as Ralph Earl and Alvan Fisher in that he portrays the scene before him for the most part without benefit of the conventions of the long established models. The fact that he used transparencies upon which he traced the local topography automatically qualified the resultant painting as a more or less literal copy of nature. This practice may also explain the fuzzy character of his tree foliage. Yet one cannot escape the impression that his white clouds and blue skies (now in some of his paintings darkened by old varnish), and his peaceful evening effects of lighting and subdued tonalities, derive from the French handling of the Italian tradition. In certain in-



stances, such as his large "View of Baltimore from Chapel Hill" (No. II), one is reminded of the similarly extended panorama of Joseph Vernet's "Toulon Harbor" in the Louvre. The two views of Baltimore looking up and down Jones Falls Valley (Nos. IV and V), with their sentinel-like trees to right and left, find a more formal counterpart in the Elder Moreau's view from the Park of St. Cloud, likewise in the Louvre. Perhaps there is no particular model for Guy's winter view of Brooklyn (No. XVI), but one cannot avoid being reminded of winter scenes by the Dutch painters, particularly Beerstraten, who was also fond of showing strolling pairs of figures."

*Existing Traced and Identified Paintings  
by Francis Guy*

NO. I TONTINE COFFEE HOUSE: WALL AND WATER  
STREETS, NEW YORK

DESCRIPTION: This is a street scene, showing great activity. The three-storey stone and brick building to the left, on the northwest corner of Wall and Water streets, of which about one-half of the front elevation can be seen in this painting, is the Tontine Coffee House, erected in 1792-1793 by five New York merchants who formed a group interested in the tontine form of life insurance; it remained standing until 1855. The small two-storey and dormer frame corner building, in the center at the northeast street corner, appears to be a furniture shop with furniture and trunks displayed on the brick walk and in the shop windows. At the extreme right, at the southeast street corner, there is visible the end of a three-storey brick building, the Merchants' Coffee House, built in 1777. The active street scene shows innumerable figures of men and women crowding sidewalks, porches, and balconies. Horse-drawn drays, barrels, bales, ropes, and other merchandise fill the streets. Many of the fifty or more human figures in the picture are grouped in pairs, as is characteristic of Guy's later paintings. The women are dressed in long skirts, usually in white with the high waists of the period, and wear white hats. The men wear long coats and rather low-crowned wide-brimmed beaver hats, and

generally light jabots, waistcoats and breeches. Many of them carry canes. Over the Tontine Coffee House floats an American flag in which only ten stars can be counted.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 43" x 65".

DATE: According to Stiles *History of Brooklyn*, this painting was finished after Guy had left New York for Philadelphia, which was about 1797-1798.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: New York Historical Society, New York City. This painting was acquired in 1907 from Miss Margaret A. Ingram, who states that the picture was originally the property of her grandfather, John Salmon, and was finished in 1797.

ATTRIBUTION: Stiles in his *History of Brooklyn*, apparently quoting from the Guy manuscript autobiography, speaking of his Philadelphia period, circa 1797, quotes "Here he painted a picture of the Tontine Coffee House, New York, which won the admiration of President John Adams and others, none of whom, however, purchased it; and it was finally disposed of by raffle which yielded barely sufficient to pay for paints and canvas." Its history between the raffle and its acquisition by Salmon has not been learned. There can be no question about the attribution of this painting to Guy. The figures, most of which are paired in characteristic Guy style, alone would "sign" the painting were its history not known. The women's costume also date it.

EXHIBITIONS: New York Historical Society.

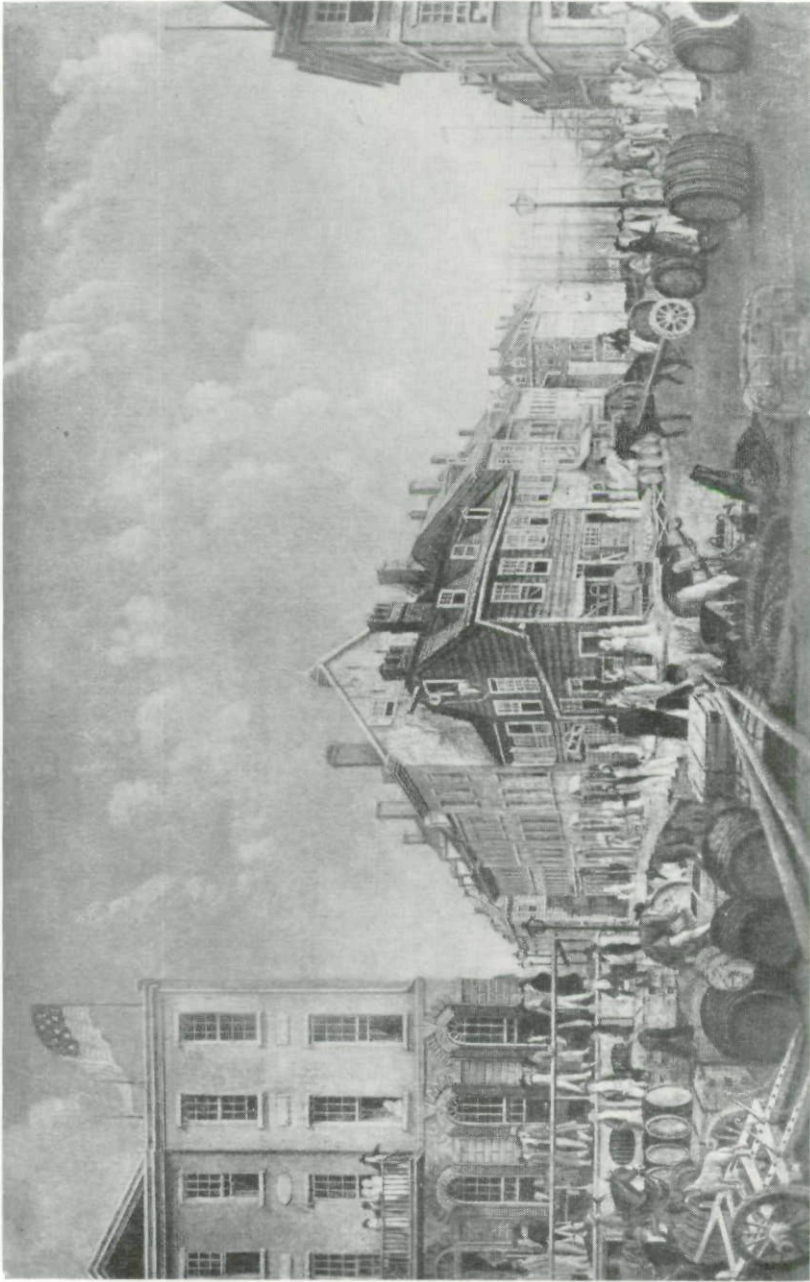
REPRODUCTIONS: I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, vol. 1, plate 69; Frank Monaghan and Marvin Lowenthal, *This was New York in 1789*, plate facing p. 69.

Engraved 1910 by W. M. Aikmen for the Society of Iconophiles: "The Tontine Coffee House, Wall and Water Streets, about 1797."

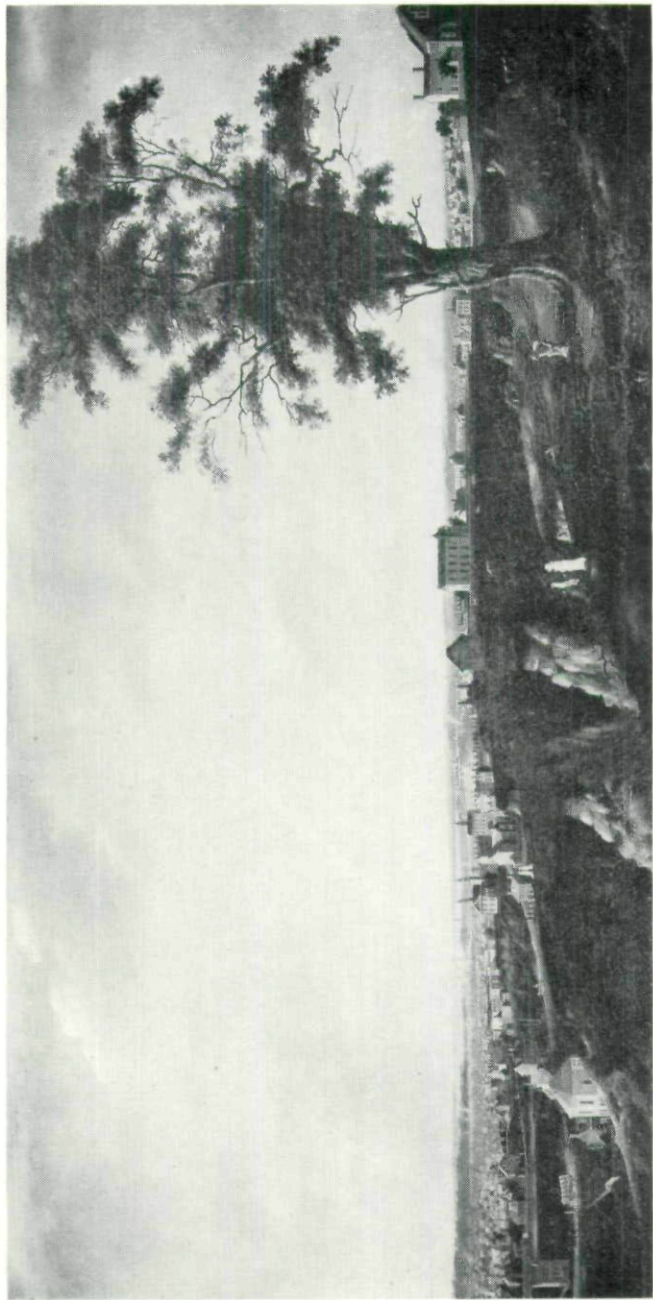
## NO. II LARGE VIEW OF BALTIMORE FROM CHAPEL HILL—1803

DESCRIPTION: This very large landscape painting, over seven feet in length, is a view of Baltimore from the northeast, probably as seen from the western slope of the Jones' Falls Valley just to the east of what is now the intersection of Pleasant and Charles streets, known about 1800 as "Chapel Hill," looking over the city lying to the west and to the south towards the Patapsco River and beyond. Various buildings of the 1800-1804 period can be recognized. Just to the right of center is old St. Paul's Episcopal Church at the northeast corner of Charles and Lexington





FRANCIS GUY—PLATE I TONTINE COFFEE HOUSE, 1797, WALL AND WATER STREETS, NEW YORK  
*Courtesy of the New York Historical Society*



FRANCIS GUY — PLATE II BALTIMORE FROM CHAPEL HILL, 1803

*Courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum*



streets, with its detached bell tower; to the left of the church is the old Court House, which straddled the bed of Calvert Street, between Fayette and Lexington streets, with its cupola or tower; a little further to the left the First Presbyterian ("Two-Steepled") Church at the northwest corner of Fayette and North streets. The large building to the extreme right is doubtless old St. Peter's Roman Catholic Church and rectory, which then stood to the north of Saratoga Street, between Charles and Liberty streets. In the foreground there is a large tree; under it a laborer is cutting turf and loading it in a wheelbarrow, and cows graze on the nearby slope. On the road to the left are to be seen a covered wagon drawn by five horses and a one-horse gig. There are two typical Guy paired figures to be seen. In the central foreground is a gentleman in light breeches and vest, long dark coat and beaver hat, and with him a woman in white Empire dress and hat; to the left and in the far distance is another pair—two women in white dresses and hats. On the harbor in the background are numerous ships and sailboats. Almost all of the houses appear to be red brick with slate-colored roofs, with the chief exceptions as follows: in the left foreground, partly hidden by the hills, is a putty-colored octagonal building with white trim, and near the center of the picture a small log cabin, and in the extreme right foreground a red brick house with a white clapboard wing. The light masses in the foreground are the raw earth sides of a deep ravine which cuts into the hill, with the figures of a man and woman standing at the edge.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 45" x 90".

DATE: c. 1803.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn, New York. This painting of Baltimore, c. 1802-1803, passed down in the family of George Dobbin, one of the publishers of the *Baltimore American* in the early part of the last century, to his descendant George Dobbin Brown of Baltimore, from whom it passed about 1941 to the Brooklyn Museum.

ATTRIBUTION: This painting was attributed by the former owner, Mr. George Dobbin Brown, to Charles Willson Peale, which attribution is of course ridiculous. The writer has never seen a more typical Guy landscape, both in style and coloring; and it is also "signed" with Guy's characteristic paired figures. This painting is doubtless one of the six oil paintings advertised by Francis Guy in the *Federal Gazette* for July 29, 1803, as on exhibition at Bryden's Coffee House (Fountain Inn), which were later disposed of by lottery. See page 297.

EXHIBITIONS: Maryland in the American Tradition: Baltimore Museum of Art, October–November 1938.

Brooklyn Museum.

REPRODUCTIONS: Frick Art Reference Library photograph (before restoration).

Brooklyn Museum photograph (after restoration).

### NO. III VIEW OF BALTIMORE: THE BASIN AND FEDERAL HILL FROM THE BRICKYARDS—1803.

DESCRIPTION: A view of the Basin, or inner harbor, of Baltimore, taken from the foot of Federal Hill at the brick-yards, with Old Town and Fells Point in the distance. Federal Hill is on the right with its high precipitous dark golden brown slopes, cut here and there by red clay gullies, and with red clay flats below extending to the water's edge. On the summit of the hill is a house with a group of cedars nearby; and to the left the maritime "Observatory" from which watchers sighted incoming ships, and nearby four flagpoles displaying ship-owners' pennants. At the foot of the hill to the left is a frame building with a tall brick chimney, possibly used in connection with brickmaking, and to the right at the base of the hill a red brick house and a fence. In the left center there is a wharf with two warehouses on it and two ships anchored nearby. In the foreground is another wharf with pilings, and lying on it an anchor and two cannon. In the gray-blue water of the basin, which reflects the various buildings, is to be seen to the right the skeleton of an old wreck, and to the left a scow with two water-men in it. In the distance looking down the harbor is to be seen east Baltimore, or Old Town, and in the further distance Fells Point, then the shipping center of Baltimore. The prevailing colors of the painting are the dark golden brown slopes of the hill, cut here and there with red clay gullies, and the red clay flats at the foot of the hill, and the red brick house; the warehouses, ships, and distant buildings of the city are painted in grays of varying tones; the sky is pale blue with light fleecy clouds above. In this painting are to be seen four typical groups of Guy paired figures; at the top of the hill to the left are the small silhouettes of two gentlemen wearing dark hats and coats and light breeches and waistcoats; and just back of them the paired figures of two ladies; a third group of small paired figures, two gentlemen standing side by side on the wharf between a ship and a warehouse; and the two less characteristic figures of watermen in the scow. Much of the Federal Hill neighborhood was at this time owned by



Christopher Hughes, Sr. (1744-1823), the noted Baltimore silversmith, who at this period operated extensive brickyards there.

Examination of the canvas indicates that a portion of it has been cut off along the left border.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas  $24\frac{1}{2}$ " x  $29\frac{1}{5}$ ".

DATE: 1803.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, Mr. Riggim Buckler, of Baltimore. The provenance of this view of Baltimore seems to be: William Buckler (1763-1835), a prominent Baltimore shipping merchant; to his son, Dr. Thomas Buckler; to his son, William H. Buckler, who gave it to his first cousin, Riggim Buckler, the present owner. It seems certain from the layout that this is one of the six landscapes which Guy advertised in the *Federal Gazette* for July 29, 1803, to be disposed of by lottery at the Bryden's Fountain Inn, and which is described in this newspaper as "A Large View of the Basin and Federal Hill from the Brickyards." See p. 242.

ATTRIBUTION: There is no tradition in the owner's family as to the painter of this view. The writer is certain that in style and coloring this is a typical Guy painting; moreover it is "signed" with several characteristic Guy paired figures. See note under Provenance showing that this is doubtless one of the paintings disposed of by Guy in 1803 by lottery.

REPRODUCTIONS: Owner's photograph.

#### NO. IV PENNINGTON MILLS, JONES' FALLS VALLEY, BALTIMORE—1804; VIEW UP STREAM

DESCRIPTION: Landscape view of Jones' Falls Valley looking up the winding gray-blue stream from a point near what is now the intersection of Eager Street and the Fallsway, in the heart of Baltimore. The winding falls (now a covered sewer) with its mill dam and with roads on both banks, nearly bisects the view. The large pale pink (brick?) Hanson-Pennington flour mill is on the left bank. Standing by the mill is a five-horse farm wagon loaded with flour barrels, and nearby typical Guy paired figures—a girl, apparently a milkmaid, in white hat, bodice, and stockings, and black skirt, carrying a pail, talking to a workman in light clothes and leather apron with his left hand on a flour barrel. In the foreground are a number of flour barrels, bundles of long poles, and a cow standing on the bank of the falls. On the right bank in the background is a white building, doubtless the John Taggart house, encircled by white picket fences; and in the foreground, a small gray stone mill with its mill race and wheel, and grouped with it two small gray stone buildings.

Large trees with dull green and russet foliage are in the foreground on both sides of the falls. In the distant background are a few houses and trees. In the right foreground the single figure of a man is seen crossing the footbridge over the falls and nearby a laborer carrying a load on his back. In the right near background is a typical Guy pair—two women in white hats and dresses walking on the road leading up stream. The sky is pale blue, thinly veiled with white clouds, becoming very dark above. This is a companion landscape of No. V, the view looking down stream.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 26½" x 31¾".

DATE: 1804.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Peabody Institute, Baltimore. This and its companion landscape (No. V) descended from Josias Pennington (1731-1810), the owner of the Hanson-Pennington Mills, who about this time also acquired the John Taggart Mills; to his grandson, the late William Pennington of Baltimore, who left them by will to his nephew, Josias Pennington of Baltimore, from whom they passed to his son, Hall Pleasants Pennington of Baltimore and New York, who dying in April, 1942, bequeathed them to the Peabody Institute, Baltimore.

This is certainly one of the fourteen oil paintings advertised by Francis Guy in the *Federal Gazette* for May 22, 1804, to be "disposed of by subscription" (lottery) at Bryden's Fountain Inn, and which is described in the notice as "one [view] of Mr. Taggart's House and Mr. Pennington's Mills from the new bridge." The companion painting (No. V) was advertised at the same time. These are among the best paintings by Guy.

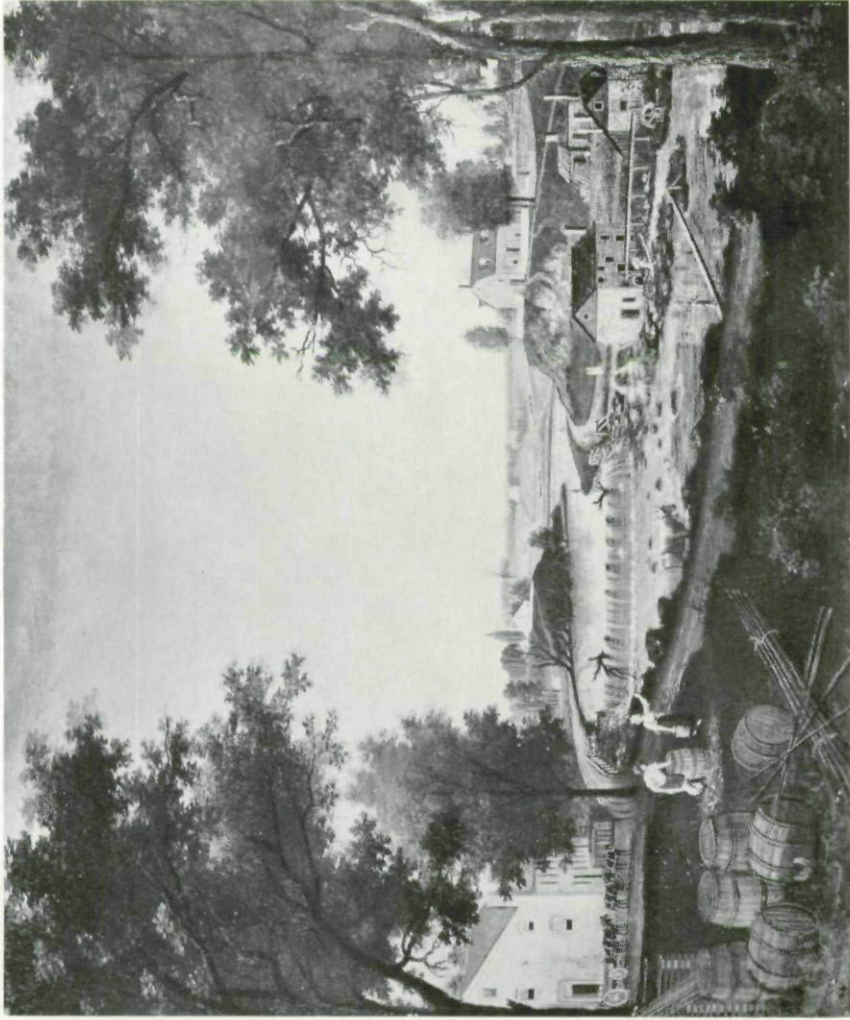
ATTRIBUTIONS: One of the recent owners, the late Josias Pennington, did not know by whom this and its companion view (No. V) of the Pennington Mills were painted. The writer is certain that in style and coloring it is a typical Guy painting; it is "signed" with several characteristic paired figures. See note under Provenance showing that this painting was offered for sale by Guy in 1804.

EXHIBITIONS: This and its companion painting were exhibited under the title "Old Baltimore" (No. 4) and "Old Baltimore" (No. 5) as by Francis Guy, at the "A Century of American Landscape Painting, 1800-1900," held in the year 1938 at the Whitney Museum of Art, New York.

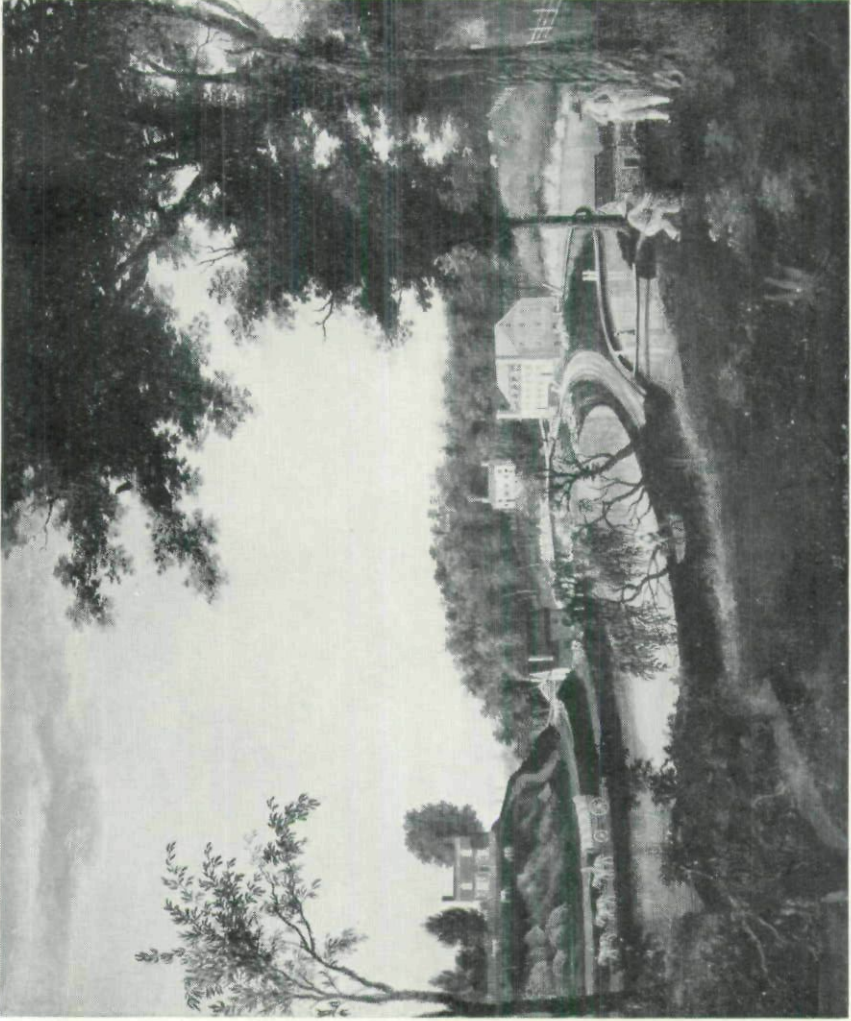
REPRODUCTIONS: *Green Mountain Cemetery—One Hundredth Anniversary—1838-1938* (Baltimore, 1938), pp. 84, 85.

Frick Art Reference Library photograph (before restoration), No. 3298. Walters Art Gallery photograph (after restoration).





FRANCIS GUY — PLATE IV PENNINGTON MILLS, 1864, UPSTREAM, JONES FALLS VALLEY, BALTIMORE



FRANCIS GUY — PLATE V  
PENNINGTON MILLS, 1804, DOWNSTREAM, JONES FALLS VALLEY, BALTIMORE



NO. V PENNINGTON MILLS, JONES' FALLS VALLEY,  
BALTIMORE—1804; VIEW DOWN STREAM

DESCRIPTION: Landscape view of Jones' Falls Valley, looking down stream, as seen from a point a little further up the valley than is shown in the companion painting (No. IV), apparently near the intersection of what is now the Fallsway and Preston Street. The curving blue stream, now a covered sewer, divides the painting into two parts and there are roads on both banks. In the brownish-green foreground there are two large dull-green trees to the right and smaller trees on the left bank. In the right foreground is the mill race supplying the Pennington flour mill on the right bank, and beyond it a light stone building, doubtless the Josias Pennington house. On the hill on the left bank is the gray stone John Taggart house and below it the Taggart mill. On the road along the left bank is a covered wagon drawn by five horses, and cows graze on the slope above the road. On the right bank are three typical Guy paired groups—a man, possibly Pennington, the mill owner, dressed in light breeches, waistcoat, and coat, wearing a wide-brimmed beaver hat, watches a laborer at work; on a narrow footbridge over the mill race, single file, in typical Guy costumes, are two women crossing the race; and in the background two women in white dresses and hats, walking side by side along the mill race path. In the foreground at the center is to be seen a woman on horseback. In the background to the right is a dull green wooded hill and to the left, down the valley of the falls are to be seen the distant spires of city buildings. The blue sky is in part veiled with white clouds. This is a companion landscape of No. IV, looking up stream.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 25½" x 31¾".

DATE: 1804.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Peabody Institute, Baltimore. This, and its companion landscape (No. IV), descended from Josias Pennington (1731-1810), the owner of the Hanson-Pennington Mills, who about this time also acquired the John Taggart Mills; to his grandson, the late William Pennington of Baltimore, who left them by will to his nephew, Josias Pennington of Baltimore, from whom they passed to his son, Hall Pleasants Pennington of Baltimore and New York, who, dying in April, 1942, bequeathed them to the Peabody Institute, Baltimore.

This is certainly one of the fourteen oil paintings advertised by Francis Guy in the *Federal Gazette* for May 22, 1804, to be "disposed of by subscription" (lottery) at Bryden's Fountain Inn, and described in

the notice as "view down the Falls, under Mr. Pennington's footbridge." The companion painting (No. IV) was advertised at the same time. These are about the best paintings by Guy.

ATTRIBUTIONS: One of the recent owners, the late Josias Pennington, did not know by whom this and its companion view (No. IV) of the Pennington mills were painted. The writer is certain that in style and coloring it is a typical Guy painting; it is "signed" with several characteristic Guy paired figures. See note under Provenance showing that this painting was offered for sale by Guy in 1804.

EXHIBITIONS: This and its companion painting were exhibited under the title "Old Baltimore" (No. 4) and "Old Baltimore" (No. 5) as by Francis Guy, at the "A Century of American Landscape Painting, 1800-1900," held in the year 1938 at the Whitney Museum of Art, New York.

REPRODUCTIONS: *Green Mount Cemetery—One Hundredth Anniversary—1838-1938*, pp. 84, 85.

Frick Art Reference Library photograph (before restoration), No. 3297.  
Walters Art Gallery photograph (after restoration).

NO. VI VIEW OF BALTIMORE FROM BEECH HILL—  
1804: THE ESTATE OF ROBERT GILMOR, SR.

DESCRIPTION: Landscape view from "Beech Hill," Baltimore, the home of Robert Gilmore, Sr. (1748-1822), father of the art collector of this name, whose house stood on what is now the city block bounded by Fulton Avenue, and Saratoga, Mount, and Mulberry streets; with a view to the southeastward over Baltimore City and the harbor, with the Patapsco River and the Chesapeake Bay in the distance. It is uncertain whether or not the house shown in light stucco to the right is the "Beech Hill" house itself. In the foreground are a number of large forest trees, and to the left a meadow with cows grazing. On the road cut off from the grounds by a post and (four) rail fence, is a closed carriage drawn by two horses in tandem, with the driver on the rear horse; and in the distance is to be seen a typical Guy pair—two women in white Empire dresses and hats. In the right foreground under the forest trees is another Guy pair—two women standing side by side, one in a white Empire dress with a white hat and veil, and the other in a dark red Empire dress and light hat. The reflected sunlight on the distant milky white harbor and river, upon which are many boats under full sail, is striking. The fields and the foliage of the trees are brownish-green in color. The sky is blue with fleecy white clouds.





FRANCIS GUY — PLATE VI BALTIMORE FROM BEECH HILL, 1804, ESTATE OF ROBERT GILMOR, SR.



FRANCIS GUY—PLATE VII WASHINGTON'S TOMB, MOUNT VERNON, 1804



MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 30½" x 48½".

DATE: 1804.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: The owner, the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland. This view of Baltimore from Beech Hill was exhibited at the Sixth Exhibition of the Maryland Historical Society, held in 1858, as by F. Guy. It was then owned by "Mr. Kimmel." It was deposited in the Historical Society, November, 1850, by Anthony Kimmel of Linganore, Frederick County, who acquired it when it was painted. Since that time it has remained in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society. This is unquestionably the same painting which was exhibited at the Fountain Inn by Guy in May, 1804, as a "view of the Bay from near Mr. Gilmor's," one of the paintings which was disposed of by lottery on October 23, 1804. See p. 245.

ATTRIBUTIONS: This is a typical Guy landscape with his characteristic paired figures in the foreground. The distant view of the Chesapeake Bay identifies it without question as the painting disposed of "by raffle" by Guy in 1804.

EXHIBITIONS: Maryland Historical Society. Exhibition of Early Baltimore Views, October 1938—April 1939. Municipal (Peale) Museum, Baltimore.

REPRODUCTIONS: Frick Art Reference Library photograph, No. 19700.

#### NO. VII WASHINGTON'S PRESENT TOMB, MOUNT VERNON—1804

DESCRIPTION: This landscape is a view of Washington's tomb, Mount Vernon, and its surroundings, as it appeared in 1804. The Potomac River is in the left background. The entrance to the vault, which is on the slope of the embankment, is overhung with the dense foliage of large forest trees. Overhanging the river on the left is a weeping willow, and on the brilliantly sunlit water are two sailboats and a rowboat. The entrance to the vault itself is flanked by two heavy red brick columns surmounted by a semicircular brick pediment. The bases and the capitals of the columns seem to be separated from the columns themselves by narrow courses of light stone or brick, as are the capitals from the semicircular pediment which they support. The opening of the vault is protected by a wooden grill door. In the foreground are several typical Guy paired figures which are quite charming. To the right of the vault entrance stand side by side two girls in long white Empire dresses and large white hats; nearby is an older woman, apparently a nurse, in black,

with a white cap and collar, leading by the hand a little girl in white; in front of the tomb stand in earnest conversation two middle-aged gentlemen, hands resting on long canes—one dressed in boots, small clothes, a long military coat trimmed with gold lace, and wearing a gold trimmed cocked hat, the other in dark breeches and coat, wearing a dark cocked hat; to the left is a girl in a white Empire dress and hat, holding a parasol, walking with a man companion; on the bank of the river are three figures, a woman and two men, and a dog. Over the river is to be seen blue sky and banks of fleecy white clouds, with the reflected rosy colors of the sunset upon clouds and water to the extreme left. There are flowers in bloom in the near foreground. The foliage of the trees is of a brownish-green color.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 25" x 40".

DATE: 1804.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. The records of the Society do not seem to disclose when this painting passed into its possession, but it has been there for a great many years.

ATTRIBUTIONS: There is no data in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society which shows by whom this landscape was painted. The writer is certain that from its style and coloring it is a typical Guy painting; it is "signed" with several typical Guy paired figures. Confirmatory of this attribution is the fact that Guy in May, 1804, advertised for the disposal at lottery of twelve landscapes, then on exhibition at the Fountain Inn, among them "Two views of Mount Vernon," and one of "gen. Washington's present Tomb." It seems certain that this last painting which was exhibited in May, 1804, and disposed of by lottery on May 23, 1804, is the painting now recorded. See p. 297.

EXHIBITIONS: Maryland Historical Society.

REPRODUCTIONS: Maryland Historical Society photograph.

#### NO. VIII "BOLTON"—BALTIMORE, c 1805: THE ESTATE OF GEORGE GRUNDY

Front view from the north.

DESCRIPTION: A front view (oval in spandrels) from the north, of "Bolton," Baltimore, the estate of George Grundy (1755-1825). The country is rolling and wooded. In the foreground to the right a post and rail fence cuts off "Bolton" from the public road. Tall cedars, or Lombardy poplars, form a continuous fence row. The large two-storey man-



sion, with its ample grounds and woodland backgrounds, is enclosed in a series of ornamental white picket fences with two elaborate gateways. The house itself, seven windows in width, has a central bay (three windows in width) surmounted by a pediment, and a small porticoed entrance. To the right of the house is the domed roof of a summer house. In the background to the right is a distant view of the city buildings and in the background to the left villas and farmhouses. In the road in the right foreground under a large forest tree, stand, in conversation, typical Guy paired figures—two women in white Empire dresses and hats and with them a small white dog. The house, owned by George Grundy (1755-1825), the wealthy Baltimore shipping merchant, stood in the bed of Bolton Street, the site now occupied by the Fifth Regiment Armory.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas c. 24" x 34".

DATE: 1800-1805.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Mr. Clapham Murray, Jr., Baltimore. This painting and the companion landscape (No. X) have come down by direct descent from George Grundy, the former owner, to his great grandson, Mr. Murray.

ATTRIBUTIONS: The owner has no knowledge as to who painted these landscapes. The writer is certain that in style and coloring they are both typical Guy landscapes; both are "signed" with characteristic paired figures. A third view of "Bolton," owned by the Maryland Historical Society, is also a typical Guy landscape (No. IX).

EXHIBITIONS: Exhibition of Early Baltimore Views, October 1938—April 1939. Municipal (Peale) Museum, Baltimore.

REPRODUCTIONS: Frick Art Reference Library photograph, No. 3217.

#### NO. IX "BOLTON"—BALTIMORE c. 1805: THE ESTATE OF GEORGE GRUNDY

Near rear view from the south.

DESCRIPTION: A near view (oval) of "Bolton," Baltimore, the estate of George Grundy (1755-1825), a wealthy shipping merchant and builder of "Bolton," showing the rear view of the house as seen from the south. The park-like grounds in the foreground are extensive, and are enclosed by a series of post and rail fences and elaborate white picket fences. In the center of the background, which is planted with small trees, is the large two-storey gray mansion house with a width of seven windows on each floor and a central wide bay two storeys high and three

windows in width, and surmounted by a balustrade at the roof line. There is in the distance to the left a large mansion, possibly that on the Gibson estate, "Rose Hill," at the intersection of what is now Eutaw Place and Lanvale Street. The grounds in the foreground are planted with cedars or Lombardy poplars. In the near foreground to the right, under a large forest tree, stand typical paired Guy figures, doubtless Mr. and Mrs. Grundy, the master and mistress of "Bolton"—the woman in a white Empire dress and white hat, the man in light breeches and vest with dark coat, pointing with his cane at a child and young girl in white nearby. In the more remote background are two other typical paired Guy figures—women in white dresses and hats, the more distant pair walking under a raised parasol. In the right foreground is to be seen a small house, doubtless the gardener's, and near it a group of cold-frames. Dark green trees. Pale blue sky with light clouds.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 23½" x 32".

DATE: 1800-1805.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. This painting was presented, September 30, 1902, to the Society by the late W. E. Alcock, whose wife was a direct descendant of George Grundy, the builder of "Bolton."

ATTRIBUTIONS: The Maryland Historical Society has no data as to the painter of this view of "Bolton." The writer is certain, however, that in style and coloring it is a typical Guy landscape; it is "signed" by three characteristic paired Guy figures. Two other paintings of "Bolton" (Nos. VIII and X) by Guy are owned by Mr. Clapham Murray, Jr. of Baltimore.

EXHIBITIONS: Maryland Historical Society. Exhibition of Early Baltimore Views, October 1938—April 1939. Municipal (Peale) Museum, Baltimore.

REPRODUCTIONS: Frick Art Reference Library photograph, No. 19690.

#### NO. X "BOLTON"—BALTIMORE c. 1805: THE ESTATE OF GEORGE GRUNDY

Distant rear view from the south.

DESCRIPTION: A distant landscape (oval in spandrels) view of "Bolton," Baltimore, the estate of George Grundy (1755-1825), as seen from the north, with the mansion on the slope of a hill in the extreme background. This is a similar, but more distant view of "Bolton," to



that seen in No. VIII, but embraces a more extensive countryside, with fields, lawns, and woodland on either side and in the foreground. This view of the house, brick stuccoed or painted in a light color, shows it to be two storeys in height and seven windows in width, with a central bay (three windows wide) surmounted at the roof line with a balustrade. In addition to the mansion itself, the gardener's house, and the white picket fencing as seen in the nearer view from the south, we have here the "Bolton" barns and stables to the right; and in the background to the left numerous distant villas and houses of Baltimore's northern suburbs. In the foreground, moving over the long public road extending across the painting, and half-buried in a cloud of dust, is to be seen a loaded five-horse farm wagon, the driver riding the rear left horse. Four large trees, one dead, are in the foreground. The road is cut off from "Bolton" by a post and (four) rail fence, with trees bordering the road to the right. None of the distant small Guy figures, as seen in other similar paintings by him, are shown in this, but in the extreme foreground to the right are four larger characteristic Guy figures arranged in two pairs and engaged in conversation, each couple under a large parasol. One of these two paired groups doubtless depicts Mr. and Mrs. Grundy, the master and mistress of "Bolton," he in light breeches and vest with dark coat and beaver hat, holding the parasol over his wife, she in a dark Empire dress and bonnet. They are talking to two ladies, neighbors who have stopped for a chat—one in a white Empire dress and hat and holding a parasol, the other in a dark dress and bonnet. Predominant colors, dull browns and dark greens.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 24" x 34".

DATE: 1800-1805.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Mr. Clapham Murray, Jr., Baltimore. This painting and its companion landscape (No. VIII) have come down by direct descent from George Grundy, the former owner, to his great grandson, the present owner.

ATTRIBUTIONS: The owner has no knowledge as to who painted these companion landscapes. The writer is certain that in style and coloring they are both typical Guy paintings; both are "signed" with the characteristic paired figures. A third view of "Bolton" (No. IX), owned by the Maryland Historical Society, is also a typical Guy landscape.

EXHIBITIONS: Exhibition of Early Baltimore Views October 1938—April 1939. Municipal (Peale) Museum, Baltimore.

REPRODUCTIONS: Frick Art Reference Library photograph, No. 3278.

NO. XI "MOUNT DESPOSIT" ("SURREY") BALTIMORE c. 1805  
DAVID HARRIS-JOSEPH STERETT ESTATE

Front view from the south.

DESCRIPTION: Landscape view from the south of "Mount Deposit" ("Surrey") in east Baltimore, located to the northwest of what is now the intersection of Erdman Avenue and Mason Street (Dungan's Lane). The house, as seen from the front against a wooded background, stands above terraced gardens (still in existence), sloping down to a meadow and to a small stream, and is enclosed in white picket fences; to the right of the house are outbuildings, doubtless barns and stables. To the left in the background four small buildings or cabins, one perhaps a spring house, are to be seen. The house itself, two storeys high with dormers, and five windows in width, has an entrance portico surmounted by a pediment at the roof line. A road, enclosed on both sides by post and (four) rail fences, runs from the lower left of the painting transversely to the right of the house, and on it is to be seen a carriage drawn by two horses. In the center foreground are three rather large trees, and standing near one of these are the paired Pickwickian figures of two rotund gentlemen in typical Guy costumes and pose. They stand conversing, facing the observer, and are dressed in pale buff breeches, boots and dark coats, with one in a light, the other in a dark waistcoat. Both wear dark beaver hats and carry long canes. Tradition asserts that one of these worthies, the figure to the left, is David Harris (c. 1752-1809), a wealthy Baltimore shipping merchant and Cashier of the Office of Discount and Deposit, who built c. 1792 the house to be seen in the painting, and who named it for his bank. The other figure to the right is believed to be Daniel Bowly (1745-1807), also a prominent merchant, Harris' neighbor and crony. There is also a small canvas by Guy, perhaps cut from a large landscape painting, which shows these two worthies painted in reverse and enlarged as compared with the way they are shown in this painting. After Harris' death, his son-in-law, General Joseph Sterett, changed the name of the estate from "Mount Deposit" to "Surrey." The house was burned to the ground about 1827, and a smaller house was then built which now occupies the site. This painting is in very bad condition, and sadly in need of restoration. The colors of the foliage and meadows is a dull brownish green. The sky is a pale blue with clouds.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas c. 31" x 51".

DATE: c. 1800-1805.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: The owner, Mr. H. Cavendish Darrell,



Baltimore, Maryland, is a direct descent of David Harris and General Joseph Sterett. This painting passed from David Harris (c. 1752-1809), the builder of "Mount Deposit," to his daughter, Molly Harris (1782-1838), who married General Joseph Sterett; then to her daughter, Mary Sterett (Mrs. Charles H. Winder); to her daughter, Josephine Sterett Winder (Mrs. Stewart Darrell); to her son, H. Cavendish Darrell, the owner.

**ATTRIBUTION:** The owner does not know who painted this landscape. The writer feels that it is a typical example of Guy's work both in the general style and details. The paired figures of the owner, David Harris, and of his friend and neighbor, Daniel Bowly, "sign" the painting. Apart from this, however, the view of "Mount Deposit" from the north, with similar paired figures of Harris and Bowly, owned by the Maryland Historical Society, (No. XII) deposited by Sterett with the Maryland Historical Society nearly a century ago and attributed by him to Guy, makes the attribution absolutely certain.

**EXHIBITIONS:** Exhibition of Early Baltimore Views, October 1938—April 1939. Municipal (Peale) Museum, Baltimore.

**REPRODUCTIONS:** Author's photograph.

NO. XII "MOUNT DEPOSIT" ("SURREY") BALTIMORE  
c 1805: DAVID HARRIS-JOSEPH STERETT ESTATE

Rear view from the north.

**DESCRIPTION:** Landscape view, from the north, of "Mount Deposit" ("Surrey") in northeast Baltimore near what is now the intersection of Erdman Avenue and Mason Street (Dungan's Lane). The house, here seen from the back, is white in color, two storeys high with dormers, and five windows in width; there is a two-storey porch the full width of the house and extending to the roof line, with steps leading from the ground to its second floor. White picket fences surround the house and grounds. Just to the right of the house is a stable, and to the extreme right of the painting stands a large neighboring unidentified mansion on a hill. To the left in the distant background is a view over the city, probably that portion then known as Fell's Point, which was the shipping section. In the nearer background to the extreme left is a large unidentified house. In the foreground, separated from the house and grounds by post and (four) rail fences, are a number of large and medium sized trees, two out-

buildings to the left of the house, and to its right what appears to be a stable. In the foreground in the meadow where cows are grazing, stand two typical Guy paired figures; the nearest pair are two rather rotund gentlemen, surveying the scene with hands in pockets, the one to the right, the taller of the two, dressed in light buff breeches and white waistcoat, with dark coat and black beaver hat, the figure to the left similarly dressed except the breeches are light gray. These Pickwickian figures are believed to represent the owner, David Harris, and his friend and neighbor, Daniel Bowly. Back of them is another pair—two ladies in Empire costume, one in white dress and hat, the other in dark dress and light hat. The colors of foliage and meadows are dull green. The sky is blue with fleecy white clouds, in places rosy and yellow.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 31" x 51".

DATE: c. 1800-1805.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore, Maryland. This painting was exhibited in 1853 by Joseph Sterett, Jr., at the Fifth Exhibition of Paintings held at the Maryland Historical Society as a "View of Mr. Sterett's Country Residence by Guy." This Joseph Sterett, Jr., was the son of General Joseph Sterett, the former owner of "Mount Deposit" ("Surrey"), who married Molly Harris, the daughter of David Harris (c. 1752-1809), its builder. It was General Sterett who changed the name of the estate to "Surrey." The place passed out of the possession of the Sterett family in the twenties, and was burned to the ground about 1827.

ATTRIBUTION: As stated above, this painting was exhibited in 1853 at the Maryland Historical Society as by Guy. It is therefore one of the key paintings which enables us to identify the works of this artist. The paired figures of the owner, David Harris (c. 1752-1809), and of his friend and neighbor, Daniel Bowly (1745-1807), which virtually "sign" these paintings, should be especially noticed. The paired figures of Harris and Bowly, considerably enlarged, as seen in a small painting now owned by the Maryland Historical Society (No. XIII), have apparently at some time been cut out of a larger canvas, and are also a typical Guy paired group.

EXHIBITIONS: Maryland Historical Society. Exhibition of Early Baltimore Views, October 1938—April 1939, Municipal (Peale) Museum, Baltimore.

REPRODUCTIONS: Maryland Historical Society photograph.



## NO. XIII

1. DANIEL BOWLY (1745-1807)  
(figure to the left)
2. DAVID HARRIS (c. 1752-1809)  
(figure to the right)

Part of larger canvas c. 1805.

SUBJECTS: 1. Daniel Bowly of "Furley Hall," northeast Baltimore. He died November 12, 1807. He was a prominent, wealthy, and public spirited citizen of Baltimore; a member of the Baltimore County Revolutionary Committee of Observation, 1775; one of the Commissioners of Baltimore Town, 1771-1778; Warden of the Port of Baltimore; ensign in Sterett's Company of Independent Militia in the Revolution; and State Senator, 1786, 1789, 1791. He was the builder of "Furley Hall." He married Ann Stewart (1759-1793) and left numerous descendants.

2. David Harris (c. 1752-Nov. 16, 1809). Of "Mount Deposit," northeast Baltimore. He was the son of John Harris, the founder of Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. David Harris settled in Baltimore c. 1775, and joined Washington's army before Boston in 1776. He spent much time in Paris in the eighties. He was a prominent and wealthy Baltimore merchant and Cashier of the Office of Discount and Deposit, Baltimore. He married first, Sarah Crockett (d. 1785), and secondly, in 1788, Frances Holton Chase (1745-1815). Molly Harris, a daughter by his first wife, who married General Joseph Sterett, inherited "Mount Deposit."

DESCRIPTION: It seems most probable to the writer that these Pickwickian figures of Bowly and Harris have been cut out of a larger landscape canvas by Guy, very probably a view of "Furley Hall," the estate of Daniel Bowly to the northeast of Baltimore, between the Belair and Harford roads, where Bowly's Lane crosses Herring Run. They have been positively identified as Bowly and Harris by the late owner of the painting, H. Oliver Thompson, a descendant of Bowly. In two companion landscape views of "Mount Deposit" ("Surrey"), built and owned by David Harris, the figures of two old worthies, also believed to be Harris and Bowly, appear in the foreground of those paintings. Harris and Bowly lived on neighboring estates and were intimate friends.

Bowly (to the left) is shown as a rather rotund figure, standing three-quarters to the left, with his right hand outstretched and with a long cane in his left hand. He wears a black beaver hat, a white jabot, light waistcoat and pale buff breeches, and high boots. He is conversing with Harris (to the right), also a rotund figure, seen in profile to the left, with

his left hand in hip pocket, and right hand not visible; his white powdered hair is seen below his black beaver hat; his costume is the same as that of his companion except that his breeches are pale buff and his coat is unbuttoned. These two cronies stand under trees with brownish green foliage and against a dark green hill. Two parallel post and rail fences cross the painting back of the figures. These are the largest Guy figures, used as accessories to his landscapes, which the writer has seen. They stand about three and a half inches high. They also reveal that Guy had a well developed streak of the caricaturist in his make-up, as is also to be seen in many of his smaller figures, notably in his Brooklyn view (No. XIV).

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas  $7\frac{3}{4}$ " x 6".

DATE: c. 1800-1805.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore (H. Oliver Thompson Collection). This painting was given in 1938 by H. Oliver Thompson, a great-grandson of Daniel Bowly.

ATTRIBUTION: The late owner did not know the name of the painter. The writer is certain that these are typical Guy figures, probably cut from a larger canvas.

EXHIBITIONS: Maryland Historical Society.

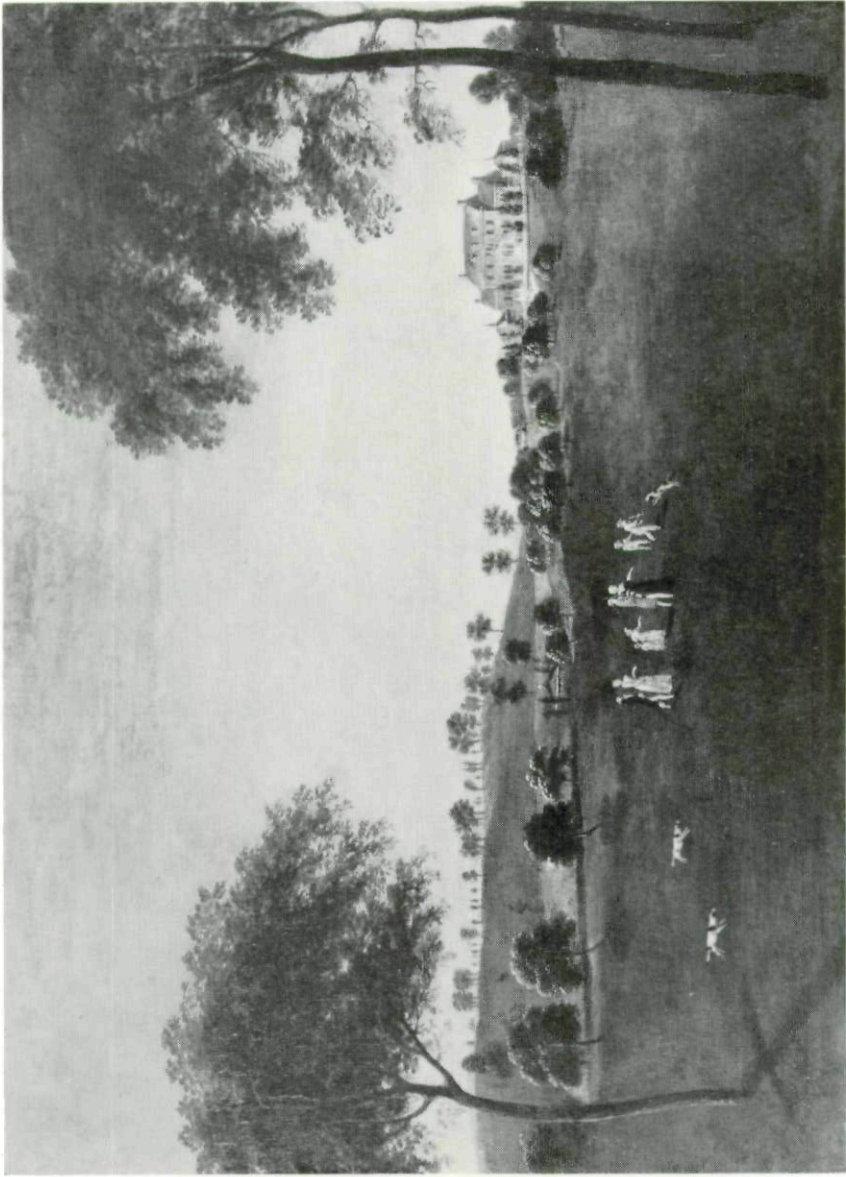
REPRODUCTIONS: Maryland Historical Society photograph.

NO. XIV "PERRY HALL" BALTIMORE COUNTY c. 1803  
HARRY DORSEY GOUGH ESTATE

Front view from the northeast.

DESCRIPTION: This is a front view from the northeast of "Perry Hall," the notable country estate of Harry Dorsey Gough (1745-1808), the wealthy Baltimore merchant, located some ten miles northeast of Baltimore on the south side of Gunpowder Falls, between the Belair and Harford roads. On the crest of the hill in the background is seen the large family mansion. It is a two-storey and dormer Georgian red brick house with wings, which are flanked on either side by "offices" connected with the wings, the whole with a frontage of some hundred and fifty feet or more. The roof is red. The pointed roof of each of the two "offices" is surmounted by a tall white finial. The house begun in the early seventeen eighties by Corbin Lee was finished by Gough; it was destroyed by fire c. 1820. To the extreme right are extensive stables and barns; and towards the foreground is a fenced-in sheepfold with its red roof surmounted by a white finial; and to the left in the background several out-





FRANCIS GUY — PLATE XIV PERRY HALL NEAR BALTIMORE, GOUGH — CARROLL ESTATE

buildings. On the lawns and meadows sloping down from the house there is to be seen in the foreground a family group in lively pose—two ladies, two gentlemen, two small children, and a Negro nurse. One of the gentlemen, doubtless Mr. Gough, in long dark coat, breeches, and beaver hat, is on horseback, with a frolicking dog nearby. The rest are on foot. The other gentleman (doubtless his son-in-law, James Carroll), in dark coat and hat and light breeches, waves his hand to the rider. Near him to the right are the two ladies, one in dark dress and light hat (doubtless Mrs. Gough), and with her a younger lady in white (doubtless her daughter, Mrs. Carroll), the latter playing with a child dressed in white of perhaps five or six years of age; and nearby a Negro nurse is leading a little child in white of perhaps two or three years. In the foreground near the family group are to be seen a large rock, two cows, and a suckling calf, and four sheep; and to the extreme right a plowman guiding a two-horse plow. There are trees dotting the entire scene. The grass and foliage are of a dark brownish green color.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas c. 22" x 30".

DATE: c. 1802-1803. See note on No. XV.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, Mr. Henry F. duPont. This painting passed from Harry Dorsey Gough (1745-1808) to his daughter Sophia Gough (Mrs. James Carroll); to her son Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll, Sr.; to his son, Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll, Jr.; to his first cousin, Ida B. Winn (Mrs. E. S. Beall); to her daughter, Mrs. Arthur B. Keating; to Henry F. duPont.

ATTRIBUTIONS: The owner knows of no tradition as to the painter of this landscape. The writer feels that it and its companion portrait are characteristic Guy landscapes.

REPRODUCTIONS: Frick Art Reference Library photograph, No. 3601.

NO. XV "PERRY HALL," BALTIMORE COUNTY c 1803  
HARRY DORSEY GOUGH ESTATE

Front view from the east.

DESCRIPTION: This is a front view from the east of "Perry Hall," the country estate of Harry Dorsey Gough (1745-1808), the wealthy Baltimore merchant, already described in greater detail as to the house, grounds, provenance and ownership in the companion view of it (No. XIV), where is to be seen a more extensive view to the right. The large two-storey and dormer red brick house with two wings is situated on the crest of the hill in the background, and is flanked on each end by two



connected square "office" annexes with roofs surmounted by steeple-like finials. The house is surrounded by a low white picket fence with an ornate gateway. Large trees with long bare trunks and dark green foliage are to be seen on either side of the picture in the near foreground. Smaller trees dot the meadows and lawns and surround the house. There is, as in the companion picture, a lively family group, in this case numbering eight, in the foreground. These are doubtless Mr. and Mrs. Gough; she in plum color dress and light hat, he in light blue coat, buff breeches and grey hat, holding a dark parasol over her. To their left is another couple, doubtless James Carroll and his wife, Sophia Gough, who later inherited "Perry Hall;" she in light dress and hat, he in plum color coat, dark grey hat, and buff breeches, holding a dark parasol over her. Between these two paired groups there are two children, a little girl in white dress and hat, of perhaps six or seven years who holds by the hand a child of two or three, also in white. To the right of these groups are two small boys dressed in pale buff, one of perhaps ten holding a stick and playing with a black and white pointer dog, the other child about eight years old. In the left foreground are two other black and white pointers. The color of trees, shrubbery and grass is a dull green. The afternoon sun illuminates the foliage of the trees and shrubbery to the west. The sky above is blue, below the fleecy clouds show the rosy and golden reflections of the afternoon sun.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 22" x 30".

DATE: c. 1802-1803.

The ages of the four children, born 1792-1800, fix the date of this painting as 1802-1803.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Owner, Mrs. F. Nelson Bolton. This painting passed from Harry Dorsey Gough (1745-1808), to his daughter, Sophia Gough (Mrs. James Carroll); to her son, Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll, Sr.; to his son, Harry Dorsey Gough Carroll, Jr.; to his first cousin, Mary Wethered Carroll (Mrs. J. Holmes Whitely); to her cousin, Mary Harrison Thompson (Mrs. F. Nelson Bolton).

ATTRIBUTION: The owner knows of no tradition as to the painter of this landscape. The writer feels that it and its companion portrait (No. XIV) are characteristic Guy landscapes.

EXHIBITIONS: Exhibition of Early Baltimore Views. Municipal (Peale) Museum, Baltimore (1938).

REPRODUCTIONS: Frick Art Reference Library photograph (before restoration), No. 3648. Walters Art Gallery photograph (after restoration).

## NO. XVI WINTER SCENE IN BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

1817-1820

DESCRIPTION: A snow scene in Brooklyn at Front and James streets with Fulton Street at the extreme right. There are numerous small frame houses, some of them the rears of buildings fronting on Fulton Street, with smoke issuing from brick chimneys and roofs covered with snow. The foreground, Front Street, crossed by James Street, is covered with snow and presents a lively village scene. Some twenty-five or more men, women, and children can be counted; these are seen walking, driving carts or sleighs, on horseback, pushing wheelbarrows, sawing wood, pumping water, feeding chickens, or falling on the ice. Horses, cows, dogs, and chickens help enliven the scene. Leafless Lombardy poplars and other trees line the streets. Stiles in his *History of Brooklyn* reproduces this painting in an engraving, with additional houses to the left shown on it before the left end of the canvas was damaged by fire and cut away in 1884. With this engraving will be found a key giving the names of the occupants of many of the houses and identifying by name a number of the men and women seen in miniature in the painting, which he says, considering the small size, are wonderful likenesses. The figure to be seen in the left foreground, just back of the wood-sawer, is Thomas W. Birdsall, one of a paired group, living when Stiles wrote (1869), and a friend of Guy from whom much of this detail was obtained. Among the figures not now to be seen in this Brooklyn Museum painting, but introduced in the engraving, is the stout figure of Mrs. Guy. The dominant colors of the buildings are gray, brown, and white. Snow covers the ground and roofs. The clothes of the men and women are dark in color. The sky shows a bright glow to the left in contrast with cold, dark, towering clouds to the right. The light from the morning sun illuminates the buildings. Stiles, quoting from a contemporary notice of the painting in the New York *Columbian*, describes in detail the individuals, buildings, and streets depicted, to which the interested enquirer is referred.

On the fence at the center is a white sign upon which is lettered "TO BE SEEN | A VIEW | WINTER SCENE | BY GUY | OF BROOKLYN." Guy could not avoid a play on words. The white sign on the building to the right reads: "POST OFFICE | THOs. W. BIRDSALLs | HARDWARE STORE."

This painting was damaged by fire in 1881, and was restored by Thomas Freeman of Brooklyn in 1884. A very similar snow scene painting (No. XVII) is owned by the Brooklyn Club, and one without figures (No. XVIII) by the New York Public Library.



MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 55 $\frac{5}{8}$ " x 75".

DATE: 1817-1820.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Brooklyn Museum (Brooklyn Institute), Brooklyn, New York. Stiles says that this painting was purchased at private sale in 1823 by James Parshall of New York, doubtless from the painter's widow. Later a group of friends of the Brooklyn Institute bought it for two hundred dollars from Parshall and gave it to the Institute, by which it was turned over in 1894 to the Brooklyn Museum.

ATTRIBUTION: Apart from Guy's signed inscription on the fence (see above), the established history of the painting makes the attribution to him unquestionable. Several of the characteristic Guy paired figures also "sign" the painting. There are certain stylistic differences to be noted between this and Guy's Baltimore period paintings, notably the sharper outlines of the buildings to be seen here. The Freeman restoration may possibly account in part for this.

EXHIBITIONS: Brooklyn Museum.

REPRODUCTIONS: Henry E. Stiles *History of Brooklyn*, vol. 2, p. 89. Ostrander, *History of Brooklyn* (Brooklyn, 1894), vol. 2, p. 70. Lithograph by G. Hayward, 171 Pearl Street, New York. View of Front St., Brooklyn, L. I. 1820. From a painting by Francis Guy. Lithographed for Henry McCloskys Manual 1865. II Saml. Foster. Alan Burroughs, *Limners and Likenesses* (Cambridge, 1936), plate 114.

## NO. XVII WINTER SCENE IN BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

1817-1820

DESCRIPTION: A snow scene in Brooklyn at Front and James streets, with Fulton Street at the extreme right. This painting is in a general way very similar to the Brooklyn Museum painting (No. XVI), although varying in many ways, especially in the figures. The writer, who has not seen the painting, is greatly indebted to Mr. John I. H. Baur, Curator of Paintings at the Brooklyn Museum, for a critical examination and comments upon this painting. It, like the Brooklyn Museum painting, seems to have suffered from the canvas having been cut away at one margin, in this case at the lower edge. An old photograph at the Museum, which seems to be one of this painting before it was tampered with, shows a long balustrade in the near foreground. The lower margin seems to have been cut down just below the top of the balustrade, and the balustrade itself painted out, thus altering various figures and other details of the picture at its lower edge. There are other slight differences



FRANCIS GUY — PLATE XVI  
WINTER SCENE, BROOKLYN, NEW YORK, 1817-1820, FIRST AND JAMES STREETS  
*Courtesy of the Brooklyn Museum*



between the photograph, doubtless taken before "restoration," and the painting as now seen.

A comparison between this and the Museum painting shows the houses essentially the same in both, but with a more extensive view up James Street to the left and additional houses to the extreme right, than are seen in the latter. The chief differences, however, are in the human figures which are much more numerous in this painting and quite differently arranged. This, like the Museum painting, is an attractive and lively winter scene with even more persons and livestock shown in it.

**MEDIUM AND SIZE:** Oil, canvas, about the size of No. XVI, c. 55" x 75".

**DATE:** 1817-1820.

**OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE:** Brooklyn Club, Brooklyn, New York. The provenance of this painting has not been learned.

**ATTRIBUTIONS:** This is a typical Guy. There is no reason to question the owner's attribution, nor is there the least reason to think that it is a copy of another painting and not a Guy original.

**REPRODUCED:** Woodcut "Brooklyn in 1816," Petri & Pels (Engravers, New York), published by E. M. Smith, 114 Livingston Street, New York, from an original painting by F. Guy. Brooklyn Museum photograph.

**REMARKS:** Mr. Baur feels that this painting is "certainly of equal quality," as compared with the Museum painting.

#### NO. XVIII WINTER SCENE IN BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

1817-1820

**DESCRIPTION:** This snow scene in Brooklyn at Front and James streets is a variant, without the human figures and animals, of Nos. XVI, XVII. It shows a less extended view to the right than No. XVI, where there are depicted some three or four houses not visible in this painting, but it shows to the left a part of the brick house (Augustus Graham's residence), enclosed by an iron railing, and the view up James Street, which were cut off from No. XVI when its canvas at the left was injured by fire. Various other slight differences between the paintings can be made out.

**MEDIUM AND SIZE:** Oil, canvas 64" x 40".

**DATE:** 1817-1820.

**OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE:** New York Public Library (Ford Collection), New York City. This may have been a study for the Brooklyn Museum's picture. It is believed to be the painting, bought by "Mr. Henry for \$30.00" at the auction sale (Catalogue No. 39) of Guy's

paintings, 1824, which was hanging in 1869 (when Stiles *History of Brooklyn* was published) in Phil. Grogan's New Bank Oyster House, Fulton Street, Brooklyn, and which later became a part of the Ford Collection.<sup>36</sup> Two similar paintings, but *with* figures, are owned by the Brooklyn Museum (No. XVI), and the Brooklyn Club (No. XVII).

ATtribution: The history of this painting alone seems to establish its attribution to Guy. This seems to be fully confirmed by Guy's stylistic peculiarities as found in this painting. Recent cleaning brings out sharply the outlines of the painting and numerous details. The sign on the fence with Guy's inscription and signature is, however, lacking.

EXHIBITION: New York Public Library.

REPRODUCTIONS: New York Public Library photograph.

#### NO. XIX SUMMER SCENE IN BROOKLYN, NEW YORK

1817-1820

DESCRIPTION: A summer scene in Brooklyn at Front and James streets, showing the same neighborhood and buildings described under Nos. XVI, XVII, XVIII—Winter Scene in Brooklyn. Like No. XVIII it is without human figures and animals to be seen in Nos. XVI, XVII. To the left it shows the end of the Augustus Graham brick house as seen in No. XVII but to the right less of the Birdsall white frame house is to be seen than in No. XVI. Three trees are shown in the foreground of this painting, not to be seen in the various Brooklyn winter views. These trees are in full leaf, as are the numerous trees in the background. Green grass and shrubbery also are to be seen. This painting is of course a variant of the three winter snow views of the same Brooklyn neighborhood. It is in very bad condition.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 47" x 77".

DATE: 1817-1820.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: Long Island Historical Society, Brooklyn, New York. This painting was presented to the Long Island Historical Society in 1877 by Benjamin M. Stillwell and was described in the minutes of the Society as "The original Study for Guy's picture of Brooklyn, as it was fifty years or more ago." A similar note about it will be found in the published annual report for that year. Three similar paintings of *Winter* scenes in Brooklyn are Nos. XVI, XVII, XVIII.

ATtribution: There seems no reason whatever to question the owner's attribution of this painting, made in 1877, to Guy. The stylistic pecu-

<sup>36</sup> Stiles, *History of Brooklyn*, vol. 2, p. 104.



liarities are present in the painting especially as found in the outlines of the buildings and his painting of trees and foliage.

EXHIBITIONS: Long Island Historical Society.

REPRODUCTIONS: Long Island Historical Society photograph.

### *Listings of 372 Traced and Untraced Recorded Paintings by Guy*

These lists, arranged chronologically, are culled from various contemporary newspaper advertisements and announcements, exhibition catalogues, auction catalogues, and other sources. Doubtless some of the entries are repetitious.

1797. Painting of Tontine Coffee House, New York [See No. I] 1

1803, July 29. Exhibition at Bryden's Coffee House (Fountain Inn), Baltimore, of six paintings by Guy, to be disposed of [by lottery?] *Federal Gazette*; July 29, 1803.

- (1) Large View of Baltimore from Chapel Hill [See No. II]
- (2) Large View of the Basin and Federal Hill from the Brick yards [See No. III]
- (3) View up Gay and Frederick streets.
- (4) Figure Piece
- (5) View of Ruins at Sunset
- (6) View of Mountains at Sunrise 6

1804, May 22. Exhibition at Bryden's Assembly Room (Fountain Inn), Baltimore, of fourteen large oil paintings by F. Guy, to be disposed of by subscription [lottery] *Federal Gazette*, May 22, 1804.

- (1) View of Mt. Vernon
- (2) View of Mt. Vernon
- (3) View of Gen. Washington's Present Tomb [Mt. Vernon. See No. VII]
- (4) View of Georgetown, [D. C.]
- (5) View of the Basin [Baltimore]
- (6) View of the Bay from near Mr. Gilmor's [Baltimore. See No. VI]
- (7) View of the Observatory and Glass house [Federal Hill, Baltimore]

- (8) View of Gay-street Bridge from near Mr. M'Causland's Brewery [Baltimore]
- (9) View of the Presbyterian Church and all the buildings as they appear from the meadow [Baltimore]
- (10) View of Mr. Hollingsworth's Mill [Jones Falls, Baltimore]
- (11) View of Mr. Taggart's house and Mr. Pennington's Mill from the new bridge [Pennington's Mills, Jones Falls, Baltimore, looking up stream. See No. IV]
- (12) View down the Falls under Mr. Pennington's footbridge [Pennington's Mills, Jones Falls, Baltimore, looking down stream. See No. V]
- (13) One large Composition Piece
- (14) View of a British Ship of War at sunrise 14

1807, July 4-8. Exhibition—Wharfe's Tavern, Baltimore.

Capture of the frigate *Chesapeake* by the *Leopard*

1800-1807. Six views of gentlemen's country estates of somewhat uncertain date, but probably c. 1800-1805 not previously noted.

- (1) "Bolton," Baltimore, (front view) Seat of George Grundy [See No. VIII]
- (2) "Bolton," Baltimore, (near rear view) Seat of George Grundy [See No. IX]
- (3) "Bolton," Baltimore, (distant rear view) Seat of George Grundy [See No. X]
- (4) "Mount Deposit," Baltimore, Seat of David Harris [See No. XI]
- (5) "Mount Deposit," Baltimore, Seat of David Harris [See No. XII]
- (6) Perry Hall, Baltimore County, Seat of Harry Dorsey Gough [See No. XIV]
- (7) Perry Hall, Baltimore County, Seat of Harry Dorsey Gough [See No. XV]
- (8) Daniel Bowley and David Harris—Figures of, cut from a landscape—probably of "Furley," Baltimore, Seat of Daniel Bowly. [See No. XIII] 8

1811, May 6. First Annual Exhibition of the Society of Artists of the United States, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia. He appears in the Catalogue as F. Guy A. A. (Associate Artist), landscape painter, Baltimore. The catalogue number follows the title. All the Guy paintings, numbering twenty-three, were marked as for sale.



- View of Jones' Falls, near Baltimore (13)  
 Summer (15)  
 Winter (16)  
 Storm and Shipwreck (48)  
 Winter Piece (57)  
 View of Seat of Col. Rogers, near Baltimore (59)  
 A View on Ulswater Lake (60)  
 Kewsick Lake, England (65)  
 A View of Fredericktown, Maryland (66)  
 View in England (67)  
 Moonlight (68)  
 A Calm (69)  
 Fancy Piece (70)  
 An English Cottage (72)  
 A Land Storm (74)  
 View in Alps (75)  
 An American Frigate in the West Indies (77)  
 A German Cottage (78)  
 View on the Potomac (79)  
 A Dutch Sea Piece (80)  
 A Gust (81)  
 Winter (83)  
 Distant View of Federal Hill from Near Seat of Robert Gilmor,  
 Esq. (116) 23

1811, December 5-11. Disposal of *seventy* landscape paintings by Guy at Mr. Wood's Auction Room, Baltimore. No list of these paintings is known to exist. Guy advertises that landscapes to the number of seventy would be disposed of. A writer in *Niles' Register* gives the number as sixty-five. 70

1813, January 21. Announcement by Guy that he was painting a number of "sea fights." He lists four different views of the engagement between the *Constitution* and the *Guerriere*. He also announces the painting of sea fights in which Decatur and Jones figured. The number is uncertain but this announcement implies at least six paintings. 6

c. 1810-1817. Rembrandt Peale writing of Guy's later Baltimore, or "manufactured landscape," period, says that he had seen Guy "display on a log contiguous to his residence near the city, forty large landscapes which were promptly disposed of by raffle." Neither the date nor the residence is disclosed (p. 35). 40

1813, December 3. Announcement by Guy "to the Baltimore patrons of painting" of an exhibition of twelve paintings at the "Old Exchange." Apparently all are "sea-pieces" although the title of only one is given as "a representation of the late Glorious Victory gained by our tars upon Lake Erie." 12

1817-1820.

Winter Scene in Brooklyn with figures (Brooklyn Museum. See No. XVI)

Winter Scene in Brooklyn with figures (Brooklyn Club. See No. XVIII)

Winter Scene in Brooklyn without figures (New York Public Library. No. XVII)

Summer Scene in Brooklyn (Long Island Historical Society. See No. XIX) 4

1819, July. Exhibition at 68 William Street, New York, of a *hundred and twenty* "Landscapes, Sea and Harbor Paintings" by Guy. No list or catalogue has been found. 120

1822, October. First Annual Exhibition Peale's Baltimore Museum. Four paintings by Guy were exhibited. No catalogue of this exhibition is known. The catalogue numbers which follow are taken from a newspaper review of the exhibition.

(1) Landscape (27)

(2) Moonlight Water Scene (35)

(3) Winter Scenery (68)

(4) Landscape (154) 4

1823, October. Second Annual Exhibition Peale's Baltimore Museum. Four paintings by Guy were exhibited. Numbers following are taken from the catalogue of the exhibition.

(1) Landscape (23). Owner, Mrs. G. Smith

(2) A Landscape (42). Owner, W. O. Niles

(3) Lake Killarney (44). Owner, H. Schroeder

(4) Landscape (54). Owner, Dr. [Ashton] Alexander 4

1824. Auction sale by catalogue in Wall Street, New York, by Mrs. Elizabeth Guy, executrix, of *sixty-two* landscape paintings by her husband. No copy of the catalogue has been traced. Some of these were doubtless paintings exhibited by Guy in 1819 in New York. 62



*William Winstanley*

William Winstanley, who has been variously styled "a very superior genius," "a celebrated landskip painter," "an artist of genius and reputation," "an artist adventurer," and a "swindling genius," is a somewhat nebulous figure who came from England to the United States in the early seven-teen nineties. Originally a landscape painter, he later took up portrait painting and making copies of Gilbert Stuart portraits, but, after his return to England early in the next century, he reverted to landscape painting, exhibiting in London at the Royal Institution in 1806. In America his most conspicuous patron was George Washington. He lived successively in New York and Washington, and probably also for a short time in Philadelphia and Boston. As a landscape painter almost nothing has been written about him; as a portrait painter and copyist his name has been handed down, possibly unjustly, as an unscrupulous forger, who sold, as originals, copies by him of Gilbert Stuart's portraits of Washington. He also appears in the role of playwright.

The exact date of Winstanley's arrival in America has not been learned, but as it was on April 6, 1793, that Washington paid him thirty guineas apiece for two large landscape views on the Hudson, or North, River, it seems likely that he was here in 1792, or even a year or two earlier. Nothing has been learned of his English background, nor the date of his birth, but as a clue to his age and appearance, we find Gilbert Stuart describing him in the mid-nineties as "a little pert young man."

We must now turn to Dunlap, writing in 1834, in his *History of the Arts of Design in the United States*, for light upon Winstanley's career in America, although one cannot feel that Dunlap, a man with violent personal prejudices and dislikes, is always to be relied upon, especially in his estimates of other contemporary painters. He thus describes

Winstanley:<sup>37</sup> "This young man was understood to have come to New York on some business connected with the Episcopal Church. He was of good family in England, and had received a gentlemanly education. At his first arrival he was well received among our first and best citizens, and was intimate at the house of Bishop Benjamin Moore. He became well known to the public in 1795, by painting and exhibiting a panorama of London, as seen from the Albion Mills, Blackfriar's Bridge. This was the first picture of the kind ever seen in America, and was exhibited in Greenwich Street, New York."

It was through Washington's purchase, when he was President and living in Philadelphia, of the Winstanley landscapes, that we are able to trace four unquestionable examples of his landscape painting, as well as fix the earliest record, 1793, of him in America. Washington also appears in this purchase in a new role—that of a patron of the arts. In the Washington Household Account Book<sup>38</sup> will be found these entries:

April 6, 1793	
p'd Mr. Winstanley for two paintings of Views on the North River—	
30 Guineas	140
April 28, 1794	
p'd Wm. Winstanley for 2 large paintings	93.33

The final figures to the right would seem to be the actual payments to the painter in dollars. This represents a surprisingly large investment by Washington at this time for works of art.

From the date of their purchase it was obviously the first two of these four paintings which hung in Washington's house in Philadelphia, and which were seen and thus enthusiastically praised by Alexander Hamilton in a letter

<sup>37</sup> Dunlap, *History of the Arts of Design*, vol. 2, pp. 77-8.

<sup>38</sup> Manuscript Household Account Book of George Washington in the Library of Congress; photostats are at Mount Vernon.



from Philadelphia to his wife, dated April 10, 1793, in which further mention of the painter is made:

Mr. Winstanley brought me a letter of introduction from Chief Justice Jay. . . . There are two views of situations on Hudson's River painted by Mr. Winstanley in the drawing room of Mrs. Washington, which have great intrinsic merit—and considered with reference to his opportunities, as related, announce a very supreme genius in the branch of painting, worthy of encouragement.<sup>39</sup>

Every effort to trace Jay's letter of introduction has been fruitless.

So pleased was Washington with the two Hudson River views which he had purchased from Winstanley early in 1793, that we find him five months later thus highly recommending the painter in a letter from Philadelphia, dated September 5, 1793, addressed to the Commissioners of the District of Columbia:

Gentlemen: Mr. Winstanley, a celebrated Landskip Painter, is disposed to take a view of the Federal City, or of the grounds in the vicinity of it. As you will be there about the time he may arrive, I take the liberty of giving him this letter of introduction to you.

His designs are more extensive and I have suggested the Great and little Falls; the passage of the River Potomac through the Blue Mountains, the Natural bridge, &c. as grand objects. I am etc.<sup>40</sup>

When Washington's executors filed in 1800 the inventory of the "Contents of Mount Vernon," there can be no question that it was the above four paintings which were listed as then hanging in the "New Room," the present "Banquet Hall," and described as "4 do [large gilt framed pictures] representing water scenes—[value] 240 [dollars]." In the "New Room" there were also listed as hanging two large landscapes, Potomac River views, known to be by George Beck, already described elsewhere (pages 208-210). The presence at Mount Vernon of these two Beck landscapes of river

<sup>39</sup> Letter of Alexander Hamilton to his wife Elizabeth Hamilton, dated Philadelphia, April 10, 1793; see Catalogue of the John Gribbel Sale, held at the Parke-Bernet Galleries, October 30-31, 1940.

<sup>40</sup> *The Writings of George Washington* (John C. Fitzpatrick, Ed. Washington, 1931-), vol. 33, p. 83.

views doubtless explains in part Lossing's erroneous statement made in 1859, that Winstanley had been commissioned by Washington to paint *six* "Hudson River Views" for him.

Lossing, whose account of Mount Vernon, obtained from members of the Washington, Custis, and Lewis families, is in general remarkably accurate, in this instance, we will see, made a very natural mistake. He also made an error in the date of the painter's arrival. Of Winstanley, whose landscapes at Mount Vernon he reproduces, he thus writes:<sup>41</sup>

While residing in Philadelphia, Washington became acquainted with the merits of William Winstanley, an Englishman, and landscape painter who came to America in 1796 [sic]. He was spoken of as "an artist of genius and reputation, whose landscapes in oil are greatly admired by the connoisseurs." Washington, pleased with some specimens of his skill which were brought to his notice, gave him a commission to paint six [sic] medium-sized pictures, representing scenery on the Hudson River. These were afterwards taken to Mount Vernon, and adorned the walls of the drawing-room there. Two of these, called respectively Morning and Evening, are now at the Arlington House. Two others are in the possession of the late Mrs. Lewis (Nelly Custis); of the remaining two we have no intelligence.

The two Hudson [North] River paintings, "Morning" (No. I) and "Evening" (No. II), which were bought by Washington in 1793 for 30 guineas, or 140 dollars, passed into the possession of Mrs. Washington's descendants, the Custis-Lee family, and hung in 1859 at Arlington House, then the home of General Robert E. Lee. They passed down in the Lee family and were in 1940 acquired by the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association from Mrs. W. Hunter De Butts and Mrs. Hanson E. Ely, Jr., granddaughters of General Lee, and now once again hang in Mount Vernon. The story of these landscapes and some important new facts about Winstanley will be found in the 1941 report of the Mount

<sup>41</sup> Benson J. Lossing, *Mount Vernon and its Associations* (New York, 1859), pp. 305-6, and plate.



Vernon Ladies' Association where the paintings themselves are reproduced.<sup>42</sup>

The "2 Large Paintings" bought by Washington from Winstanley in 1794 for 93.33 dollars, the titles of which are not revealed by Lossing or by the Washington Account Books, are described in the Mount Vernon inventory merely as "water scenes." These, which Lossing tells us belonged in 1859 to the descendants of Washington's sister, Betty Lewis, and of his stepson, Colonel John Parke Custis, have been recently traced through the kind offices of Mr. R. P. Tolman, Director of the National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution. They are part of the collection of Washington relics purchased in 1878 by the Smithsonian Institution from Lewis-Custis descendants. Stored for sixty-five years in the vaults of the Smithsonian, they were both in bad condition, but have now been cleaned and restored. Their Mount Vernon origin is well documented. One of them, a large canvas, 40" x 50", is listed as a view of the "Genesee Falls," New York (No. III), and the other, a smaller canvas, 30<sup>7</sup>/<sub>8</sub>" x 44<sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>", as a "Moonlight Scene from a Cave or Grotto" (No. IV). This "grotto" scene is obviously a foreign view, possibly from one of the seashore caves on the island of Capri or elsewhere along the Italian coast. In "Genesee Falls" the painting of the human figures, trees, sky, and sunset cloud effects, closely resembles in style the two Hudson River paintings (Nos. I, II). The grotto scene with a view over the moonlit ocean, to be described more fully later, which differs widely from the other three Winstanley landscapes, shows a versatility in the artist.

Washington's letter shows that Winstanley was in Philadelphia in the autumn of 1793 and was then about to visit Washington, the new capital, and doubtless other places on

<sup>42</sup> *The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, Annual Report 1941* (Mount Vernon, 1941), pp. 32-3.

the way as well. About this date he had been painting in northern New York, as his view of the Genesee Falls, sold in the spring of 1794, shows.

Winstanley had doubtless been in New York City for a few years before his name first appeared in the directory in 1795. He is then simply listed as the "keeper of the panorama," at 220 Greenwich Street, but not as a painter. This panorama of London had doubtless been painted from sketches made by him a few years earlier, or from engravings, as it is most unlikely, as has been asserted, that he had returned to London in 1795 to paint it. His name does not appear in the 1796 or 1797 directories. He is listed as a *portrait* painter "on Beekman street" in 1798, and at 20 Beekman Street again in 1799. The latter is his last listing in New York. This was doubtless about the time when he gave up landscape painting for the more profitable occupation of copying Stuart's paintings of celebrities. Although Winstanley is not listed in any Philadelphia directory, nor has any record of him been found there, except in the 1793 Hamilton and Washington letters of introduction, Gilbert Stuart is quoted by Dunlap as authority for the statement, that Winstanley was in that city when Stuart "lived in Germantown," Stuart's place of residence from 1797 to 1803.

Winstanley followed the Federal government when it removed to Washington in 1800. What we know of his life in the new capital is in great part learned from the Diary of Mrs. William Thornton, a prominent resident of Washington. This lady, who was Anna Maria Brodeau of Philadelphia, was the wife of Dr. William Thornton of Washington. Thornton, a native of the Virgin Islands, studied medicine at Edinburgh and received his degree at Aberdeen. He was a versatile man—a practicing physician and scientific investigator, a commissioner of the District of Columbia, the architect of the first Capitol. He and his wife were both



amateur painters. Mrs. Thornton's Diary, the manuscript of which is now in the Library of Congress, begins in January, 1800, and extends to 1863. For the opening year of the century it contains nearly fifty references to Winstanley, who was on intimate terms with Thornton and his wife, until a quarrel over a business transaction put an end to the friendship. It is not possible to do more than summarize a few of these references to Winstanley in her Diary, which at times, as when he was staying in the Thornton household, had almost daily entries about him. The reader is referred for further details to the Thornton Diary, which for the year 1800 has been published in full by the Columbia Historical Society of Washington.<sup>43</sup>

Mention of Winstanley in the Diary extends over the period from January 6 to December 15, 1800, the latter the day following the break between him and Thornton. On January 6, Mrs. Thornton wrote to Winstanley about a velvet suit belonging to George Washington (who had recently died), which the artist wished to use in painting a full length portrait of him.<sup>44</sup> On June 29th Winstanley appeared on the scene in person, removing his baggage a day or two later from the Tuncliffe Tavern to the Thornton home,<sup>45</sup> where, except for brief visits to Alexandria and Georgetown, he remained until August 21st. On July 5th Winstanley's boxes arrived, containing, according to Mrs. Thornton, an original Stuart portrait of Washington, which our diarist felt was not "an agreeable likeness," a small full length copy by Winstanley after Stuart, and several copies of the Stuart bust of Washington, as well as three water color landscapes by Noël, a French artist, and "a good many prints."<sup>46</sup> On the

<sup>43</sup> Diary of Mrs. Thornton, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, vol. 10, pp. 88-226.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 92.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 160, 162.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 163-4.

following day we are told that Thornton and Winstanley were reading a manuscript by the latter,<sup>47</sup> doubtless his play, "The Hypocrite Unmask'd," which will be referred to later. On July 9th and 10th Winstanley began to get ready a canvas for a portrait of his host, prepared after the manner of Stuart by painting his linen twice over with whiting and size mixed, and then covering this over with a lead-colored paint.<sup>48</sup> For several days thereafter the artist seems to have spent much time painting, but there is no entry in the journal to show whether Thornton's portrait was ever finished. A later entry in this connection is perhaps significant, when Mrs. Thornton makes a note of Winstanley's promise to a visiting company of actors "to paint them a scene," and adds "I do not believe he will do it."<sup>49</sup>

During Winstanley's two months stay in the Thornton household, where he had a painting room, he was, through his host, in frequent contact with various prominent personages, such as Munroe, Pickering, Stoddert, and Law, as well as others too numerous to mention by name. Another artist intimate with the Thornton family at this time was Robert Field, the noted English miniature painter, who saw much of Winstanley. Also mentioned in the Diary was John Vaughan, of Philadelphia, to be remembered in connection with the full-length standing portrait of Washington by Stuart, many times reproduced by him, which is known as the "Vaughan type Washington."

On July 21st Winstanley spent the greater part of the day in his room reading Italian<sup>50</sup>. This leads one to wonder whether he had learned the language as an art student in Italy. On August 21st Winstanley, with all of his pictures and baggage, went to Alexandria. Nor do we hear about

<sup>47</sup> Diary of Mrs. Thornton, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, vol. 10, p. 164.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 165.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 180.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 170.



him again in the Diary until six weeks later when he was back in Washington; and on October 3rd he is recorded as a visitor at the Thorntons with Mr. and Mrs. Ray, with whom his name is often associated. He is thereafter noted as a frequent guest at the Thorntons for tea. On November 10th he again became a member of the Thornton household. On November 12th he and Field spent the day at Georgetown. The next day he is recorded as copying a play that he had written, which we find him reading to Field on the 22nd. On the 15th, he is making preparations to paint a landscape for Dr. Thornton.<sup>51</sup> The intimacy continued until December 14th when the break between Winstanley and Thornton occurred. It is thus recorded by the diarist: "Just as we were going to breakfast Mr. Winstanley went away offended with Dr. T. he had made a bargain last Wednesday for a lot [of land] &c—would not stand to it—Dr. T. thought himself ill used & said it was not honourable &c—& he went off. Mr. Field & Blodget went after breakfast."<sup>52</sup> Both of these, however, continued on intimate terms with the Thorntons. On the day following Winstanley's departure the following entry in the Dairy occurs: "Mr. Field called & left his miniature of Genl W. here—Bought Winstanley's horse saddle & bridle, for which he is to send him two miniatures, one @ 50 the other @ 40\$—He [Winstanley] went in the Stage this morning."<sup>53</sup>

The play referred to in the Diary as written by Winstanley and which he read to Thornton and to Field, was certainly the comedy, "The Hypocrite Unmask't," which was published under his name in New York in 1801, a rather remarkable title to have been selected by an author who was charged with having "forged" the work of a brother painter!

<sup>51</sup> Diary of Mrs. Thornton, *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, vol. 10, pp. 210-2, 214.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 221.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*

It is a comedy in five acts, was printed for the author as a pamphlet of ninety-six pages, and bears the imprint of George F. Hopkins, New York, 1801. The best and the worst that can be said for it as a play, is that it ranks about at the level of the average production of numerous amateur playwrights of the day, who sought to emulate Sheridan. A printed end-note following the text shows that the prologue and a scene has been "added in consequence of its being refused stage representation." No record has been found of its having been later produced on any American stage.<sup>54</sup>

The last we hear of Winstanley in Mrs. Thornton's journal was when he drove off in the stage. Where the stage carried him from Washington is not disclosed. It should be added that the Diary contains interesting details about Field and his painting the well known miniatures of Washington, based on the original Stuart portrait lent him by Winstanley. Mrs. Thornton, who was herself an amateur painter, thought the miniature "a beautiful picture" and began a copy of it.

The association of Winstanley, when in Washington in 1800, with an "original" Gilbert Stuart of Washington, then in Winstanley's possession, makes this the proper point to re-tell Dunlap's story<sup>55</sup> of the substitution by "that swindling genius" Winstanley of the "copy" by him, now hanging in the White House, for the original Stuart, which Dunlap says, Winstanley retained. It appears that Gardner Baker, who had a museum in New York, purchased from Stuart, for exhibition purposes, a full length portrait of his "Vaughan type" Washington, and that, upon Baker's sudden death from yellow fever soon afterward, the painting was turned over to William Laing as payment of a debt of five hundred dollars owed to the latter by Baker. Dunlap,

<sup>54</sup> *The Hypocrite Unmask'd: A Comedy in five acts. By W. Winstanley, of New York. New York Printed for the author, by George F. Hopkins. 1801.* Octave pamphlet; 96 pages. Copies in the American Antiquarian Society and the Peabody Library, Baltimore.

<sup>55</sup> Dunlap, *History of the Arts of Design*, vol. 2, pp. 77-8.



writing in 1834 of this painting, says that Laing "having sold to General Henry Lee ["Light-Horse Harry" Lee] an original full length of Washington, by Stuart, he sent it to Winstanley as understanding the best mode of packing it, as it was purchased for the president's house at the seat of government. Winstanley immediately copied it, and sent the copy to General Lee, keeping the original; by and from which to manufacture more Stuarts, and finally Mr Laing lost the amount of the original picture." This is Dunlap's version of the story.

Rembrandt Peale, when an old man, writing in 1857 in *The Crayon*, is authority for the statement that Stuart himself made five copies of this painting and sold the original to Winstanley, who took it to England with him.<sup>56</sup> The Dunlap-Stuart story of the substitution of the Winstanley copy for the original Stuart, bought to be hung in the White House, is repeated in 1879 with some further details by George C. Mason in his *Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart*. Here it is said that Laing refunded the money paid for the portrait.<sup>57</sup> Morgan and Fielding in their *Life Portraits of Washington*, writing in 1931, say that it is this picture which still hangs in the White House, and repeat the story that when Stuart saw it in 1803 he promptly disclaimed it. Morgan and Fielding class the painting among those *attributed by others* to Stuart; they say that it was restored and partly repainted by J. N. Barlow in 1862, but they refuse, owing to the lighting conditions where it hangs in the White House, to pass upon its authenticity as an original Stuart.<sup>58</sup> Elizabeth Bryant Johnston in her *Original Portraits of Washington*, cites documents in the Treasury Department, dated July 5, 1800, which show: "one portrait full length of the late Genl. Washington

<sup>56</sup> *The Crayon*, vol. 3 (1855), p. 207.

<sup>57</sup> George C. Mason, *Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart* (New York, 1879), pp. 101-2.

<sup>58</sup> J. H. Morgan and M. Fielding, *Life Portraits of Washington* (Philadelphia, 1931), pp. 318-20.

by Stewart [sic] with frame bought from Thos. Lang [sic] for eight hundred dollars," with the receipt signed by H. Lee. This is followed by the entry: "Genl. Marshal, Mr. Dexter and myself [Stoddert] agreed that Genl. Washington's Picture should be bought—Picture & Frame—at \$800.00. Genl. Lee now wants the money for it, which I am willing he should receive. The Secy of the Treasury, I presume, will take order in it. [signed] Ben Stodert [sic]." It is thus seen that the committee in charge of the purchase consisted of John Marshall, Secretary of State, Samuel Dexter, Secretary of War, and Benjamin Stoddert, Secretary of the Navy, and that General "Light-Horse Harry" Lee acted as agent for the seller in the transaction. A notation on the receipted bill, signed by Lee, directs that the money be paid to Daniel Brent.<sup>59</sup>

The actual purchase of the painting for the White House took place when Winstanley was living with the Thorntons and had a painting room in their house. If the transaction was a crooked one, of course his hosts were ignorant of it, but it is interesting that there is an entry, perhaps significant in Mrs. Thornton's Diary, that on September 5, 1800: "Dr. T[hornton] went to the Treasury-office to see the full length picture of Genl. Washington done by Stuart & intended for the President's house, he does not like it." Mason,<sup>60</sup> quoting Rembrandt Peale, says that Dr. Thornton told him that Stuart sold the original to Winstanley for two hundred dollars, a statement which if true, contradicts the Dunlap-Stuart story. It is difficult to reconcile Dunlap's and Mason's statements that Laing was the loser after Stuart denounced the forgery, a substitution, which his daughter Jane Stuart says, he recognized in 1803, as Laing certainly received his eight hundred dollars, and there seems to be no official

<sup>59</sup> Elizabeth Bryant Johnston, *Original Portraits of Washington* (Boston, 1882), p. 88.

<sup>60</sup> George C. Mason, *Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart*, p. 88.



record that this was refunded by Laing, even in part. Certainly the painting was not returned to Laing, as it still hangs in the White House!

A graphic account of the rescue and removal by Dolly Madison, wife of President Madison, of this Washington painting from the White House, just before the city of Washington was captured by the British on August 24, 1814, and the White House and other public buildings burned, is told in detail by this lady in a letter to her sister dated August 23, 1814.<sup>61</sup> Morgan and Fielding give an account of the painting's subsequent wanderings until it was again safely restored to Mrs. Madison's hands.<sup>62</sup> This painting is said to be in every way inferior, especially in the flesh tints, to Stuart's work, but as it has been restored and repainted, a definite opinion in its present condition as to its authenticity, would seem to be impossible.

We now come to the amusing description of an encounter said to have taken place between Stuart and Winstanley, as related in detail by Dunlap. This meeting probably took place, if it ever did occur, after Winstanley left Washington late in the year 1800, as it was there that he was engaged in making copies of Stuart's paintings. The exact date cannot be fixed, however, as Stuart merely says that it took place when he lived in Germantown, Pennsylvania, which was his residence from 1797 to 1803. One doubts whether the dialogue took place just as Dunlap records it, for both he and Stuart were rather noted for coloring the rose. It seems best, however, to record the conversation verbatim as reported by Dunlap.<sup>63</sup>

With a knowledge of such feelings and opinions, the reader may judge of the painter's reception of a proposal made in the following manner:

<sup>61</sup> G. A. Duychinck, *Portrait Gallery of Eminent Men and Women* (New York, 1873), vol. 4, p. 491.

<sup>62</sup> Morgan and Fielding, *Life Portraits of Washington*, pp. 318-9.

<sup>63</sup> Dunlap, *History of the Arts of Design*, vol. 1, pp. 234-5.

"When I lived at Germantown," said Stuart, "a little, pert young man called on me, and addressed me thus,—'You are Mr. Stuart, sir, the great painter!' 'My name is Stuart, sir.'" Those who remember Mr. Stuart's athletic figure, quiet manner, sarcastic humor, and uncommon face, can alone imagine the picture he would have made as the intruder proceeded:—"My name is Winstanley, sir; you must have heard of me.' 'Not that I recollect, sir.' 'No! Well, Mr. Stuart, I have been copying your full length of Washington; I have made a number of copies; I have now six that I have brought on to Philadelphia; I have got a room in the State House, and I have put them up; but before I show them to the public, and offer them for sale, I have a proposal to make to you, sir.' 'Go on, sir.' 'It would enhance their value, you know, if I could say that you had given them the last touch. Now, sir, all you have to do is to ride to town, and give each of them a tap, you know, with your riding switch—just thus, you know.'"

Stuart, who had been feeding his capacious nostrils with Scotch snuff, shut the box, and deliberately placed it on the table. Winstanley proceeded, "And we will share the amount of the sale." "Did you ever hear that I was a swindler?" "Sir!—Oh, you mistake. You know—" The painter rose to his full height. "You will please to walk downstairs, sir, very quickly, or I shall throw you out at the window." The genius would have added another "you know"; but seeing that the action was likely to be suited to the word, he took the hint, and preferred the stairs.

When Winstanley, after his quarrel with Dr. Thornton, left Washington by stage on December 15, 1800, we do not know his destination. Possibly it was Germantown for the encounter with Gilbert Stuart which has just been narrated. But it appears not unlikely that before very long he found his way to New York and Boston. It was at Boston that the paths of these two painters seem to have crossed again. Once more we quote Gilbert Stuart as reported by Dunlap, who, however, speaks of what follows as "a Stuart story. All we vouch for is he told it without reserve." The setting of the story is Boston:

One of these full-length Washingtons, which only wanted a magic touch from my finger, my maul-stick, or my riding whip, was brought to Boston by the manufacturer, who likewise brought letters of introduction



to our great men, and among others to Mr. —, a rich merchant and devoted Federalist, it being then warm party times. In this gentleman's family and society the little Englishman made himself agreeable to such a degree, that he borrowed five hundred dollars of the merchant, offering as security my full-length portrait of Washington painted by himself, as you may suppose; but that could not be seen by the connoisseur of the counting house. The money was lent, the picture received as security, and the swindler never seen more. After a time the precious deposit was offered for sale, as Stuart's "Washington." The real connoisseurs laughed, and the merchant found he was bit. It would not do for the Boston market.<sup>64</sup>

Stuart goes on to say at length that the Boston merchant, after numerous unsuccessful attempts to sell his painting as a Stuart in other places, some time later brought it back to Boston, and hanging it in Faneuil Hall, offered it to the town. Local politics became injected into the matter, and after Stuart had repudiated it as his painting, the merchant became a subject of ridicule and ended by giving Stuart six hundred dollars to paint another portrait of Washington for the town. The Boston merchant referred to, we learn from other sources, was Samuel Parkman, and the noted portrait, "Washington at Dorchester Heights," which Stuart painted for him, hung in Faneuil Hall until it was placed, many years later, in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. What became of the so-called Winstanley copy is not disclosed.

It is difficult to decide how much of these stories by Stuart are to be believed. It seems at least thinkable that either the White House painting, or the Faneuil Hall painting, or possibly both, were really painted by Stuart himself, but were such poor examples of his work that he later repudiated them, and sought, by the use of a smoke screen, to cast undeserved odium upon Winstanley, who was no longer in the country to defend himself. But against this supposition is the fact that Winstanley, even though in England

<sup>64</sup> Dunlap, *History of the Arts of Design*, vol 1, pp. 236-7.

must have heard rumors of Stuart's charges of forgery against him, but appears to have made no attempt to refute them.

It seems likely that Winstanley was in Boston, or had recently been there, when the following advertisement, dated November 24, 1801, appeared in the *Boston Mercury and New England Palladium* of the same day. This was the prospectus of the publication of a series of American views in aquatint from eight original paintings by Winstanley. The statement that he proposed to publish them, because "the picturesque scenery which everywhere presents itself in the vicinity of this metropolis, first led the subscriber to contemplate the plan which he now offers," shows that he knew Boston. Probably Winstanley hoped that his proposed publication of colored aquatints of American views, based on paintings by him, would have the same success as had the series of colored aquatints of American scenes, then being published by Atkins & Nightingale of London, after paintings by George Beck and others. If so, he was to be disappointed. The announcement was reproduced in *The Port Folio* of Philadelphia for December 5, 1801. The following is copied from *The Port Folio*, together with the laudatory first paragraph, which is not to be found in the Boston newspaper notice:<sup>65</sup>

#### THE FINE ARTS FOR THE PORT FOLIO.

In this early number of our department for intelligence, respecting the fine arts, we are happy to have occasion to announce the publication of a series of views, taken from American scenery by Mr. Winstanley, an artist of genius and reputation, whose landscapes in oil are greatly admired by the connoisseurs. The following information is derived from one of the Boston Journals; and, as the reputation of Mr. Winstanley, as a painter, is high, and the views described as remarkably beautiful, we think the result of his subscriptions will accurately test the degree of public encouragement; and determine the much agitated question, whether or not our system of commonwealths is propitious to the liberal and elegant, rather than to the gainful arts.

<sup>65</sup> *The Port Folio*, vol. 1, p. 388.



Proposals for publishing, by subscription, Eight Select Views, from original paintings, by W. Winstanley, to be done in coloured aqua tinta, and executed by the most eminent artist, or artists, now in London.

#### CONDITIONS

- 1st. The dimensions of each plate, 25 inches by 19.
- 2d. The price to subscribers, forty dollars, for the set, which entitles them to the first impressions.
- 3d. The prints to be given to subscribers, as soon as they are received from London, and payment expected, in proportion to the number delivered.
- 4th. Subscribers will have their prints delivered, in the order their names are received.
- 5th. Subscribers, not residing in or near Boston, are expected to appoint an agent in town, to insert their names on the subscription list, and thereby become responsible for the amount.

#### PROSPECTUS

The picturesque scenery which every where presents itself in the vicinity of this metropolis, first led the subscriber to contemplate the plan which he now offers to the notice and patronage of a generous and discerning public; convinced that the utility, entertainment, and instruction to be derived from a work of this importance, will be apparent to every enlightened mind. . . .

With respect to the style and elegance of the engravings, Mr. Winstanley's own interest is a sufficient security, that they will be equal, if not superior, to anything of the kind, ever yet offered to the public. Under this impression, he hopes, therefore, for that support, which may indemnify the expense, while it affords the patronizers of this work, the means of transmitting to posterity, a proof of the taste, and genius, and liberality of the present times.

W. Winstanley

N.B. The first of the eight original paintings proposed for engraving is now finished, and may be viewed at the Fire and Marine Insurance Office, State-street.

This prospectus of November 24, 1801, is the last notice of Winstanley in America which the writer has been able to find. Eisen in his *Portraits of Washington*<sup>66</sup> gives Dunlap as authority for the statement that Winstanley was in Berlin in 1801, but as nothing to this effect can be found in the reference to Dunlap which Eisen gives, nor elsewhere in his

<sup>66</sup> Gustavus A. Eisen, *Portraits of Washington* (New York, [1932]), vol. 2, pp. 574-7.

writings, the Berlin story must be regarded as apocryphal. It may be added that Eisen refuses to credit the Dunlap-Stuart stories of Winstanley's misdeeds, even saying that Stuart himself in his latter years admitted he had never seen Winstanley, but no authority is given for these statements as to Stuart's change of heart about him. The title page of his play "The Hypocrite Unmask't," published in New York in 1801, gives the author as "W. Winstanley, of New York," but the exact time of the printing in 1801 has not been learned.

It seems likely that Winstanley returned to England soon after leaving the United States. The only record we have found of him in England, or elsewhere, after this, is when, in 1806, he exhibited in London, at the British Institution,<sup>67</sup> five paintings; three of these are Virginia views, doubtless painted when he was in Washington, one "on the Shenendoah," one "on the Potomac," the third "a woods scene." One wonders whether "An artist in his Study by Candlelight," exhibited at the same time, was a self-portrait. These five paintings will be found listed on page 321.

Four examples of Winstanley's paintings have been traced by which his ability as a landscapist may be judged. These are the two large Hudson River views now at Mount Vernon (Nos. I, II), the "Genesee Falls" and the moonlight grotto scene in the National Collection of Fine Arts (Smithsonian Institution) (Nos. III, IV), all of which were purchased by Washington from the painter. The "Genesee Falls" in its style of painting, especially in the treatment of trees, background, sky, and sunlight effects and in the drawing of the human figures, conforms closely to that of the Hudson River views. The moonlight grotto scene differs, however, so much in stylistic treatment from the three landscapes just mentioned, that were it not documented as

<sup>67</sup> Algernon Graves, *British Institution 1806-1867* (London, 1909). p. 600.



by Winstanley, it would not be even tentatively attributed to him. This painting will be more fully discussed later. The very competent authority on English painting of this period who has been previously quoted, speaking of the two Hudson views, says "these landscapes fix Winstanley as the most conventionalized painter of our four Anglo-American landscapists. In the Hudson River paintings we find him following the picturesque tradition of the Richard Wilson school. Here the tree masses and the dark river bank in the foreground push back in characteristic fashion the remainder of the picture with its brilliant sky effects. These paintings show Winstanley to have been a well trained and competent painter of the Wilson school."

It is not the purpose of the writer in this paper to discuss, technically or in detail, Winstanley's work as a portrait painter. As no signed portraits by him have been traced, the attribution of such paintings to him is largely a matter of tradition in the subject's family. It may be said, however, that copies by him of Gilbert Stuart's portraits of Washington are better paintings than are any original portraits of other subjects by him which have been traced. Two original portraits which may fairly be attributed to Winstanley, viz., those of John Adams, a full length, and Abraham Mortimer Walton, are but indifferent paintings—perhaps third, rather than second, class work. With his copies of Stuart Washingtons, or rather portraits based on Stuart, he was more successful, judging from the few known examples, which may, with a fair degree of certainty, be attributed to him. In this group is the Washington, owned by Mrs. E. Henry H. Simmons, and probably the White House portrait which has already been discussed. Into this uncertain twilight zone of differentiation between original Stuart Washingtons and copies after Stuart by good painters, the writer has neither the technical knowledge nor the hardi-

hood to venture, but must refer the interested reader to those experts who feel themselves better qualified, than does the writer, to pass judgment. A list of portraits attributed to Winstanley will be found on this page.

*Listings of Traced and Untraced Recorded  
Paintings by William Winstanley*

- 1793-1794. Water Views owned by George Washington, See p. 302  
 Morning, Hudson River, See No. I, p. 321  
 Evening, Hudson River, See No. II, p. 322  
 Genesee Falls, See No. III, p. 322  
 Grotto Scene by Moonlight, See No. IV
1795. Panorama of London, See p. 302
- c. 1800. Copies after Gilbert Stuart of portraits of Washington.  
 White House painting, See p. 312  
 Mrs. E. Henry H. Simmons, New York City, FARL No. 20828  
 Faneuil Hall painting, See p. 315  
 Burlingham Collection, New York City, FARL No. 9960 (perhaps not by Winstanley)  
 Unknown number of additional copies
- c. 1795-1800. Portraits by Winstanley (other than of Washington) recorded in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York City, with names of owners.
- President John Adams, John Adams Memorial Society, Quincy, Mass.
- President John Adams, American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, New York City, FARL No. 694 (Perhaps a copy of last)
- Abraham Mortimer Walton, New York Historical Society, New York City
1800. Landscape painted for Dr. William Thornton, See p. 309.
1801. Eight paintings of American scenery advertised to be reproduced in colored aquatints, See pp. 316-7
1806. Exhibition at the British Institution. W. Winstanley, Painter, 57 Queen Street, London. Exhibited in 1806 at the British Institution—5 landscapes.



- An Artist in his Study by Candlelight (Middle Room)  
 View on the Shenandoah in Virginia (South Room)  
 View from a sketch taken on the Potomac in Virginia, North  
 America (South Room)  
 A Wood Scene in Virginia (South Room)  
 A Landscape and figures (a composition) (South Room)

*Existing Traced and Identified Landscapes  
 by William Winstanley*

NO. I MORNING ON THE HUDSON RIVER

DESCRIPTION: Landscape with a view along a river. The river is seen at the right of the canvas. In the background on the far side of the water are wooded banks and distant hills. In the foreground on the near bank to the left are two or more large trees with dense foliage; to the right a tall bare tree trunk with scanty foliage at the top. On the near bank is to be seen the figure of a man with uplifted whip trying to lead a reluctant horse. The foreground is brownish green; the large trees to the left are very dark green; the sunlit trees to the right and in the background are much lighter in color; the sky below shows the bright pink tints of early morning which are reflected on the water; the sky above is bluish gray. The distinctive ornamented gilt frames to be seen on this and the companion painting are apparently the original framing.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 35½" x 59".

DATE: 1792-1793.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, Mount Vernon, Virginia. This and the companion painting (No. II) were purchased in 1940 by Mount Vernon from great-grandchildren of George Washington Parke Custis, who had inherited them from the Washingtons. A full history of these paintings from their purchase by Washington in 1793-1794 will be found on pages 301-06, 318.

ATTRIBUTION: William Winstanley. This and the companion landscape (No. II) are two of the four paintings, viz. "Views on the North [Hudson] River" purchased from the painter for thirty guineas—\$140.00—and paid for on April 6, 1793, and two Water Views purchased in the same way for \$93.33 and paid for on April 28, 1794. These two companion paintings (Nos. I, II) represent the purchase of 1793. They were described and reproduced by Lossing in 1859, under the respective

titles, *Morning* and *Evening*, when they hung at Arlington, the Custis-Lee home, as by Winstanley.

REPRODUCTIONS: Benson J. Lossing, *Mount Vernon and its Associations* (New York, 1859), p. 305. *The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association . . . Annual Report* for 1941, pp. 32-3.

EXHIBITIONS: Permanent exhibition in the "Banquet Hall," Mount Vernon, Virginia.

## NO. II EVENING ON THE HUDSON RIVER

DESCRIPTION: Landscape with a view of the river, the water occupying much of the center of the painting. In the foreground on the near shore to the right is a tall tree with bare trunk and scanty foliage at the top; and to the extreme left a mass of dense foliage; in the central grassy foreground are to be seen the backs of five men and women fishing from the banks. In the background on the sloping far bank to the right is a house surrounded by low trees, and in the distance to the left, low wooded hills. The ground and foliage of the trees in the foreground are dark green in color; the wooded background is of a lighter green; the sky shows the bright tints of sunset which are reflected in the water and on the dark clouds above. For notes on the frame see No. I.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas, 35½" x 59".

DATE: 1792-1793.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE: See note on companion landscape, No. I.

ATTRIBUTION: See note on companion landscape, No. I.

REPRODUCTIONS: Benson J. Lossing, *Mount Vernon and its Associations*, p. 305. *The Mount Vernon Ladies' Association . . . Annual Report* for 1941, pp. 32-3.

EXHIBITIONS: Permanent exhibition in the "Banquet Hall," Mount Vernon, Virginia.

## NO. III GENESEE FALLS, NEW YORK

DESCRIPTION: Landscape with a river falls occupying the greater part of the center of the painting. In the foreground the rapids below the falls are flanked on the left by dark precipitous rocky banks and a tall tree with dark greenish brown foliage. To the right the rocky banks, foliage, water, and sky are lighted up by the setting sun. The V-shaped water fall is divided in the center by a large rock, with the falls and trees to the

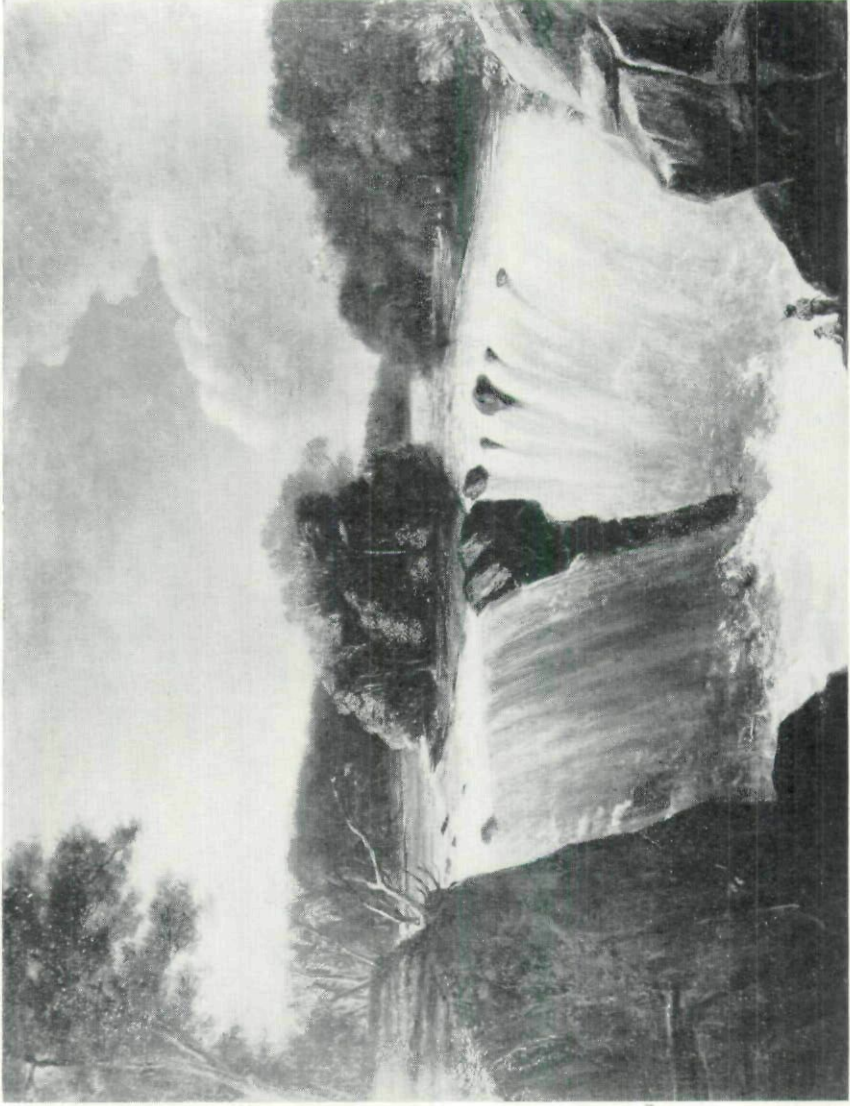




WILLIAM WINSTANLEY — PLATE I MORNING, HUDSON RIVER  
*Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association*



WILLIAM WINSTANLEY — PLATE II EVENING, HUDSON RIVER  
*Courtesy of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association*



WILLIAM WINSTANLEY — PLATE III GENESSEE FALLS, NEW YORK  
*Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institute*



right lit up by the setting sun. In the extreme foreground to the right two men, one seated and one standing on the bank, are fishing. The figure to the left wears a red shirt, that to the right dark clothes. There is a dark forest background in the distance. The pale blue sky shows rosy cloud masses reflecting the brilliant sunset lights. The light effects are very similar to those seen in Nos. I and II. The simple gilt frame is apparently the original framing.

This painting is thus listed in the Smithsonian Collection; "Painting representing Falls, supposed to be Genesee Falls, New York." Jenny March Parker in her *Rochester, A Story Historical* (Rochester, 1884), p. 4 reproduces an old drawing of the Lower Genesee Falls, which strikingly resembles the falls of this painting.

MEDIUM AND SIZE: Oil, canvas 40" x 49½"; the canvas is English twill, which in a recent restoration has been mounted on composition board.

DATE: 1793-1794. Sold to Washington in 1794.

OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE of this and its companion landscape (No. IV): George Washington to his wife, Mrs. Washington; to her son Colonel John Parke Custis; and from him to his Custis-Lewis descendants (also descended from Washington's sister Betty, Mrs. Fielding Lewis), who sold it in 1878 to the Smithsonian Institution, its present owner. See note on page 305.

ATTRIBUTION: William Winstanley. See notes on pages 302-6.

REPRODUCTIONS: Not previously reproduced.

COMMENT: This painting in its general treatment, especially in the handling of trees, sunlit clouds and human figures, bears considerable resemblance to the Hudson River views (Nos. I, II).

#### NO. IV MOONLIGHT SCENE FROM A GROTTA

DESCRIPTION: This is a most unusual painting. It depicts a moonlight water view as seen from the dark interior of a cave or grotto, looking over the water beyond. The water view is framed on either side by the black rocky walls of the cave and above by its overhanging roof. The full moon, seen in the dark blue-black sky just above the distant horizon, is reflected on the water. The reflections of the moonlight on the ripples are represented by innumerable parallel, slightly elevated, thread-like, white lines arranged in a series of loops. In the foreground to the right of and above the opening of the cave the branches of trees are silhouetted. Just outside the cave and tied up at a rock at the left is a small sailboat

with a man in it, and two men standing on a rock nearby. In the left foreground within the cave opening two men are to be seen standing, and just outside the entrance at the foot of the cliff two men tending a fire. These figures are dressed in brightly colored clothes, reds and blues predominating. The paint is laid on the canvas with a fairly heavy brush. This is certainly a Continental scene. One wonders whether one of the seashore grottos along the Italian coast was not in the painter's eye.

**MEDIUM AND SIZE:** Oil, canvas  $30\frac{7}{8}$ " x  $44\frac{1}{8}$ ". The painting has recently been cleaned and restored; the twill canvas, which did not require relining, is well preserved.

**DATE:** Sold by the painter to Washington in 1794.

**OWNERSHIP AND PROVENANCE** of this and its companion landscape (No. III): George Washington to his wife, Mrs. Washington; to her son Colonel John Parke Custis; and from him to his Custis-Lewis descendants (also descended from Washington's sister Betty, Mrs. Fielding Lewis), who sold it in 1878 to the Smithsonian Institution, its present owner. See note on page 305.

**ATTRIBUTION:** William Winstanley. See notes on pages 302-6.

**REPRODUCTIONS:** No reproduction is known.

**COMMENT:** This painting depicts a scene so entirely different from the three other Winstanley landscapes (Nos. I, II, III) described, that it cannot well be compared stylistically with them. The similar treatment of the human figures in all four is, however, to be noted. It is included as probably by Winstanley, more on its documentation than on its style.



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