

Robert Fulton As An Artist

By ELEANORE J. FULTON

"A child of Lancaster, upon this land,
Here was he born, by Conowingo's shade;
Along these banks our youthful Fulton strayed,
Dreaming of Art. Then Science touched his hand,
Leading him onward, when, beneath her wand,
Wonders appeared that now shall never fade:
He triumphed o'er the Winds, and swiftly made
The giant, Steam, subservient to command."¹

Thus wrote Lloyd Mifflin, a distinguished Lancaster Countian, artist, and "America's Greatest Sonneteer," of Robert Fulton, Lancaster County's most famous son.²

Robert Fulton, artist, civil engineer, and inventor, was born in Little Britain, now Fulton, Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, November 14, 1765.³ The next year, the family returned to the town of Lancaster, where they had formerly resided, and where his father had been a useful and important citizen.⁴ He was a founder of the First Presbyterian Church, leading the singing when the congregation occasionally met in the old Court House which stood in Center Square (and lies buried in its churchyard);⁵ a charter member and secretary of the Union Fire Company, along with Adam

¹ Lloyd Mifflin, "Robert Fulton." (Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc. Pub., Vol. 13, p. 216).

² E. H. Sneath, Ph.D., LL.D., "America's Greatest Sonneteer." (Columbia, Pa., Clover Press, 1928).

³ Carl W. Mitman in "Dictionary of American Biography," American Council of Learned Societies, Vol. 7, pp. 68-72. (N. Y.: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1931).

⁴ Alice Crary Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and The Clermont," p. 4 et seq. (N. Y.: The Century Co., 1909).

⁵ Letter of Edw. Burd, Esq. to Wm. Rawle, Esq., Philad. 17 Dec. 1825. In Penna. Magazine, Vol. 23, p. 204. (Phila.: Hist. Soc. of Penna., 1899). Cadwallader D. Colden, "The Life of Robert Fulton," p. 7. (N. Y.: Kirk & Mercein, No. 22 Wall Street, 1817). J. Franklin Reigart, "The Life of Robert Fulton," p. 30. (Phila.: C. G. Henderson & Co., 1856).

Reigart, Edward Shippen, William A. Atlee and other men of prominence;⁶ a charter member of the Lancaster Library Company, the third subscription library in the American Colonies, organized in November, 1759, and incorporated on October 22, 1763, under the name of the Juliana Library;⁷ and an assistant Burgess of the borough of Lancaster in the years 1762 and 1763.⁸

The Fultons were of Saxon origin, and were in England as early as 1205, in which year a member of the family was granted a royal charter by King John to supply the royal table with game. In time, some of them migrated up the east coast, eventually settling in Ayrshire, and gradually spreading out over the adjoining counties. The original Crest of the Fultons of Ayrshire was a buck couchant, regardant, on a hillock, in all proper. Their Coat of Arms bore Azure diapered or, semee of Fleurs de Lys of the last, on a Fess Argent a boar's Head erased of the Field, armed and langued gules. The legend, "Quae Fecimus Ipse" (Things which we ourselves have done), and the motto, "Parta Labore Quies" (Rest is attained by labor). One member of the family was the Reverend Doctor Fulton of Scotland who was appointed by the Privy Council, September 8, 1614, to serve as chaplain to the Lady Arabella Stuart, first cousin of King James the First of England. He was selected as a "person of gravity and learning" to "give her such spiritual and fitting comfort and advice as you shall see cause." In the 17th century, along with many other Scotch Presbyterians, some of the Fultons crossed over to Ulster, Ireland. It is said that the father of the inventor came from Kilkenny, Ireland, to Pennsylvania.⁹

The mother of the inventor was Mary Smith, of Oxford Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania, a daughter of Joseph and Isabel Smith, and a sister of Colonel Robert Smith of the Revolution. This Smith family also came from Ireland, and was also of Scotch ancestry. The story is related that prior to the battle of the Boyne in 1690, the name of the family was MacDonnell, derived from one of the oldest and most famous of the Scottish clans. When King William the Third was reconnoitering in the northeastern part of Ireland, his horse cast a shoe, and there being no farrier in attendance, a Mr. MacDonnell volunteered his services, shod the horse, and so enabled the King to proceed. For this act, he was dubbed, "MacDonnell, the Smith." Within a short time, Smith replaced their original name.¹⁰

⁶ Alfred Sanderson, "Hist. Sketch of the Union Fire Company, No. 1, of the City of Lancaster from 1760 to 1879," pp. 10, 143. (Lanc., Pa., 1879). Ellis & Evans, "History of Lancaster County," p. 386. (Phila.: Everts & Peck, 1883).

⁷ Ellis & Evans, "History of Lancaster County," p. 428. Judge Charles I. Landis, "The Juliana Library Company in Lancaster." (Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc. Pub., Vol. 33, p. 213).

⁸ Ellis & Evans, "History of Lancaster County," p. 373.

⁹ "Memoirs of the Fultons of Lisburn," pp. 9, 12, 17, by Sir Theodore C. Hope. (London & Bungay: Clay & Sons, Ltd., 1903). Colden, p. 6.

¹⁰ Alice Crary Sutcliffe, "The Early Life of Robert Fulton." In Century Magazine, Vol. 76, p. 780.

There are extant two interesting portraits of Robert Fulton the elder and his wife, Mary Smith Fulton, in the possession of their great-great-granddaughter, Mrs. Alice Crary Sutcliffe of New York City. They were found many years ago in an attic of an old house in Lancaster County, signed "B. West 175-," the last figure being indistinct.¹¹ It is well known that the Wests and the Fultons were intimate friends.¹² It is also said that they were distantly related. Later, Mary Fulton, sister of the inventor, married David Morris, a nephew of Benjamin West.¹³ Also, the land which William Fulton took up by warrant, dated July 21, 1734, and later purchased by Robert Fulton, Sr., and where Robert the inventor was born, was afterwards owned by William West and Joseph Swift.¹⁴ It is natural to suppose that the West family of Chester County and members of the Fulton family frequently met on this farm.

Certainly the presence of these portraits in the home, and news of the success of Benjamin West, encouraged an interest in art in young Fulton. Early he showed keen powers of observation, a decided talent for drawing, and a natural delight in form and color. His hours of recreation were spent, not in aimless play, but usefully, mostly in the use of his pencil, and in the shops of mechanics.¹⁵

An interesting story is told of Robert by one of his schoolmates, who had an older brother who was learning to paint and prepare and mix colors, for which he used mussel shells. In time, this painting outfit fell into the hands of the younger brother, who carried it to school and proudly displayed it before Robert. Eagerly, Robert bespoke for a share, and used it with such superior results that ultimately the entire outfit came into his possession.¹⁶

Robert was a lad in Lancaster during the time of the Revolutionary War. Lancaster was notably a center of war activities. Here were garrisoned thousands of British prisoners. Among the officers held here was Major André, who was granted a certain freedom, and permitted to live in the home of Caleb Cope, becoming tutor to his son, John. At the same time he gave lessons in drawing to several boys of the town. It is quite possible that Robert Fulton, who had already shown considerable talent in drawing, would be among the group to avail himself of this unusual opportunity.¹⁷

¹¹ Alice Crary Sutcliffe, "The Early Life of Robert Fulton." In *Century Magazine*, Vol. 76, pp. 782, 783.

¹² J. Franklin Reigart, "The Life of Robert Fulton," p. 30.

¹³ Albert Rosenthal, in "Antiquarian," July, 1929, p. 43. The *Compendium of American Genealogy*, Ed. by F. A. Virkus, Vol. 4, 1930. David Morris (1766-1834) m. 1790 Mary Fulton (1768-1806), dau. of Robert and Mary Smith Fulton. David Morris was a son of Jonathan Morris (ca 1722-ca 1790) who m. 1747 Mary West (ca 1722-1807). She was dau. of John West who m. Sarah, dau. of Thomas Pearson, who m. Margery Smith.

¹⁴ Land Bureau, Dept. of Internal Affairs, Harrisburg, Pa. Survey of William Fulton warrant. J. F. Reigart, "The Life of Robert Fulton," p. 30.

¹⁵ Colden, p. 8; Reigart, p. 31.

¹⁶ Alice Crary Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and The Clermont," pp. 20, 21.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 19, 20.

Others of the prisoners were hundreds of Hessians, quartered in barracks, square huts of mud and sod, located on Duke Street at Walnut. Some of them had their wives with them. So grotesque were the appearance and conduct of these Germans, that Robert found much material for caricaturing. The place was a great attraction for the boys of the town, especially at the close of the day, when often there was a sham battle between the rebels, as they were called, and the tories. Robert made a sketch of the battlefield, representing the rebel boys jumping over the dividing rope and beyond, giving the tories a sound thrashing. No sooner had he exhibited this caricature than the boys put it into effect, until the town authorities stepped in to interfere. It is said that Robert did not engage in any of these battles, but that he took keen delight in caricaturing anything that he considered anti-American.¹⁸

Lancaster has been called "The Arsenal of Colonial America."¹⁹ It was the pioneer seat of rifle-making in the colonies. Especially during the Revolution were the gunsmiths busy. Robert Fulton often frequented their shops, and was a welcome visitor because of his valuable suggestions as to the alteration of a gun and his designs for its ornamentation. He would make sketches of the size and shapes of guns, giving calculations of the force, size of the bore and balls, and the distance they would fire, and then accompany the men to the open field to prove his calculations by shooting at a mark.²⁰ This characteristic of giving careful and serious attention to detail was a determining factor in attaining success in whatever he undertook to do.

In 1782, at the age of seventeen, he went to Philadelphia to make his living by his art. He painted signs for taverns and shops, as did his famous predecessor, Benjamin West. He drew plans for machinery, and designed carriages and buildings. He made maps. He painted portraits and landscapes. He worked indefatigably at whatever he could get people to pay him for. By 1785, White's Directory of the City of Philadelphia had this entry: "Fulton, Robert: Miniature Painter. Corner of 2nd and Walnut Streets." His success during these four years in Philadelphia was, in large measure, due to his indomitable perseverance, aided by the charms of an attractive personality. These traits won for him many friends, who were glad to open doors for further accomplishments.²¹ Here he "enjoyed the acquaintance and company of Benjamin Franklin, by whom he was much noticed."²² At his suggestion, and with a letter of introduction from him, he went to John Ross, a successful merchant of Philadelphia, who proposed his taking crayon likenesses of the young ladies in society, and immediately commissioned him to do portraits of

¹⁸ Reigart, pp. 37, 38.

¹⁹ Dr. H. M. J. Klein, "Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, A History," p. 522. (N. Y. and Chicago: Lewis Historical Pub. Co., Inc., 1924).

²⁰ Reigart, pp. 34, 35.

²¹ Sutcliffe, "Early Life of Robert Fulton," Century Magazine, Vol. 76, pp. 786-7.

²² Colden, p. 8; Reigart, p. 39.

his daughters, Margaret and Clementina.²³ Soon he was painting miniatures of Mr. and Mrs. John Wilkes Kittera, Samuel Beach and other persons of prominence. During this period, he painted his earliest oil portraits, those of Benjamin Franklin and Joseph Bringham.²⁴

Charles Willson Peale, the great master of style and technique, was the leading painter in Philadelphia during these years, and it is thought that Fulton was greatly influenced by his work, if not actually instructed by him.²⁵ The fact that Peale had studied in England under Benjamin West, and had been befriended by him when his money ran low,²⁶ may have been known by young Fulton and furnished the basis for dreams that soon were to be realized.

At the end of four years, Fulton had accumulated sufficient funds from his profession to purchase a farm for his mother and sisters in Hopewell Township, Washington County, Pennsylvania, to which place he took them from Lancaster County to be near his mother's brother, the Reverend Joseph Smith, the Presbyterian minister of that place. He purchased also four lots in the growing town of Washington, for his three sisters and brother, and in the year 1793 wrote from London conveying deeds for three of these lots to his sisters, Mrs. Mary Morris, Mrs. Isabella Cook, and Mrs. Peggy (Elizabeth) Scott.²⁷

Because of the condition of his health, he was advised by friends to make a voyage to Europe. Being assured of the patronage of West, who was now attaining great fame in London, he started off. In New York, before sailing, it is said he utilized his time in painting miniatures,²⁸ his habit of industry being well established, and his energy apparently inexhaustible, and no doubt glad of the opportunity to replenish his depleted resources.

Two years after his arrival, in a letter to his mother dated April 14, 1789, he wrote that his pictures had been admitted to the Royal Academy.²⁹ Mr. West had more than fulfilled the expectations anticipated of him. So pleased was this distinguished American with the promising and enterprising genius of young Fulton, that he helped him in every way possible, and an attachment was formed between them that lasted until death. As tokens of this friendship, West presented Fulton with two paintings, one of himself painting Mrs. West, and the other the well known portrait of Fulton, painted while the

²³ "Memoir of John Ross, Merchant of Philadelphia." Pa. Magazine of History & Biography, Vol. 23, pp. 83, 84. (Phila.: Historical Society of Penna., 1899.)

²⁴ Cuthbert Lee, "Early American Portrait Painters," pp. 299, 300, 307. (New Haven, Yale Univ. Press, 1929.)

²⁵ Lee, p. 299.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 105.

²⁷ Reigart, pp. 39-43; Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," pp. 29, 30.

²⁸ Lee, p. 300.

²⁹ H. W. Dickinson, "Robert Fulton, Engineer and Artist, His Life and Works," pp. 13, 14. (London, John Lane, the Bodley Head. MCMXIII.)

inventor was a pupil of the great artist.³⁰ This friendship founded on a distant family relationship and ripened by kindred tastes and talents was a fine influence in the life of Fulton and his art. It was characteristic of West to want to help others along the road to success. Rosenthal says of him, "No artist of any land at any time so completely and so unconsciously influenced and dominated the art of his country as did Benjamin West. Kindly, courteous, helpful, hospitable, his London studio and home was the abiding place of every young talented American abroad. Matthew Pratt, Joseph Wright, John Singleton Copley, Charles Willson Peale, Gilbert Stuart, John Trumbull, Rembrandt Peale, Samuel L. Waldo, Thomas Sully, Robert Fulton, Washington Allston, Edward Malbone, S. F. B. Morse, Ralph Earle—a galaxy of artists who made our early artistic history—came under his splendid influence and reflected his artistic honesty and high character." This was the Benjamin West who rose "from painting portraits in Philadelphia for a mere subsistence to become painter to the King of England, standing with Reynolds and Lawrence in his profession; one of the founders of the Royal Academy and its second president, succeeding Reynolds. . . . In an atmosphere where the imitation of classic art was a fixed standard, his painting of the "Death of Wolfe," followed by his many other historical compositions, struck a new and true note in depicting historical events."³¹ West considered historical painting superior to portraiture, and it is undoubtedly due to this influence that Fulton painted his "Mary Queen of Scots under confinement," "Lady Jane Grey the night before her execution," and "Louis XVI in prison, taking leave of his family."

While in England, Fulton made an interesting tour among the castles and country places of the British nobility for the study of their artistic treasures, among which were many of the finest specimens of the pictorial art. He remained for two years in Devonshire, where his intelligence and ability obtained for him many useful and interesting acquaintances. In 1792, he met Viscount Courtenay, late Earl of Devon, who commissioned him to paint his portrait at his country-seat near Exeter. Pleased with the results, he introduced Fulton to many of his friends among the neighboring aristocracy. In their magnificent and spacious homes, Fulton studied the works of the masters, and received commissions from their owners for portraits and copies of old portraits. It is known that he also did some landscapes in this beautiful part of old England. Here also he won the personal interest of two influential peers of the realm, the Duke of Bridgewater, the father of the vast system of canal transportation, and the Earl of Stanhope, a nobleman celebrated for his love of science and particularly for his attachment to the mechanic arts. From this time on, art took a secondary place in Fulton's life, civil engineering becoming his chief concern.³²

³⁰ Colden, p. 10; Albert Rosenthal, "Two American Painters: West and Fulton," "Antiquarian," p. 43, July, 1929.

³¹ Rosenthal, p. 43.

³² James Renwick, LL.D., "Life of Robert Fulton." In the Library of American Biography, conducted by Jared Sparks, Vol. 10, pp. 14-22. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co. London: Richard James Kennett, 1839.)

After about five years in England, he left for France for study and experimentation. Previous to this, he had met Joel Barlow, a wealthy American who had been minister to Algiers, and had settled in Paris. Barlow and his wife became very much attached to the brilliant young artist-inventor, and took him into their household, where he remained for seven years. Barlow had bought some land in the central part of Paris, and on this Fulton induced him to build a high circular building in which to exhibit a panorama. Here he hung a huge canvas on which he painted a lively scene of "The Burning of Moscow." In April, 1799, he was granted a patent by the French government for exhibiting this, and in 1801, a second patent was granted. This was a new form of entertainment for the Parisians, and quite a novelty, attracting crowds, and affording him a substantial income. He was thus enabled to pursue his engineering experiments, and the study of higher mathematics, physics, chemistry and perspective, thereby acquiring "that science, which when united with his uncommon natural genius, gave him so great a superiority over many of those who with some talents, but without any sort of science, have pretended to be his rivals."³³

While in Paris, he was sought out by great artists. At this time, Houdon, the great French sculptor, executed the well-known bust of Fulton.³⁴ Also, Robert LeFevre, painter to the King and a member of the Legion of Honor, made sketches of him, from which he reproduced a portrait in 1826.

In 1806, having returned to England, Fulton wound up his contract with the British government, which gave them an option on his torpedo. In 1805, he had purchased the paintings by Benjamin West of "Ophelia" and "King Lear," and two other subjects, and sent them to Philadelphia for the future Pennsylvania Academy Gallery³⁵ In October, 1806, he embarked at Falmouth, arriving in New York, via Halifax, December 13, 1806. Upon his arrival in New York, he wrote to his friend, Trumbull, that "as fortune has been so kind as to make me independent, I have now time to devote to the promotion of the polite and useful arts. And I hope that you and all Americans who have been in Europe, and who have seen how much the arts tend to polish nations, will combine to awaken the public mind to their utility and to make them a public pride." He then set out for Philadelphia, to see his friend, Barlow, about the publication of his historic poem, "Columbiad." Fulton had designed the pictures for the illustrations, had them engraved by leading London engravers, and bore the entire expense of publishing the work. He did this as a contribution to artistic achievement in America. Of these pictures, he said: "They are the best executed things of the size I ever saw. The poem will be forever quoted as a proof of American genius. The printing will show our perfection in that art, and the manner in which it is gotten up, or rather embellished, will, I hope, show the Europeans that there is more taste in America,

³³ Lee, p. 302. Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton in France," *Century Magazine*, Vol. 76, pp. 931, 932. Colden, p. 27.

³⁴ Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 66.

³⁵ Colden, p. 71.

and will be more.”³⁶ While Fulton did not himself paint the pictures, the designing of them showed his very great ability as “an elegant and accurate draughtsman; . . . This gave him great facility in causing his designs to be executed, and a great advantage over most who have engaged in similar pursuits. There is dignity of character, fine expression, delicate design, correct drawing, and beautiful conception, in all Mr. Fulton’s paintings. All which qualities can only spring from an elevated mind—such a mind that could only be benefited by the works of the great Benjamin West, who was one of the most celebrated classical painters the world ever produced.”³⁷

Regarding these illustrations, Colden says, “The elegant plates which adorn that work, were executed under the superintendence and advice of Mr. Fulton. He paid about \$5000 for the paintings, the plates and letter-press; which gave him a property in the publication. He relinquished, by his will, all his right to the widow of Mr. Barlow, with the reservation of fifty of the proof embellished copies of the work. It was printed in Philadelphia, in quarto, and published in 1807; it is dedicated by Mr. Barlow to Mr. Fulton, in such terms as evince the strong attachment which subsisted between these men of genius. The original paintings, from which the prints of the ‘Columbiad’ were engraved, form a part of the handsome collection which Mr. Fulton has left to his family.”³⁸

As might be supposed, Robert Fulton made good use of his talent in art for the purpose of illustrating and advancing his mechanical projects. The New York Historical Society owns a “Portfolio of twelve detailed Water-color Drawings (by Robert Fulton) of Steamships and Steamship Mechanism—with accompanying text and explanatory ‘Definitions, Tables and Calculations in the words of the said Robert Fulton himself, of his Discoveries, Inventions and Improvements on Steamboats,’ with the seal of the United States and the signature of James Monroe. Dated: City of Washington, the 24th day of January, A. D. 1816.” There has also found its way back into this country and into the New York Historical Society’s collection a “Portfolio of Original Washdrawing plans and details, presented to M. Augustin de Betancourt, Paris, by Robert Fulton, ‘For the Construction of Canals on cheap principles,’” with the revolutionary date: Vendemaire 18, An 7.³⁹

“After his attention became directed to mechanics,” says Colden, “he seems not to have used his pencil as a painter, till a short time before his death, when he resumed it to paint some portraits of his own family. These remain evidences of his high attainments in this branch of the fine arts, and in times to come, they will not only be valued as the works of an artist, but as the production of a man so celebrated. Mr. Fulton was himself much pleased with his success in making these pictures, and has mentioned it as a

³⁶ Lee, p. 303.

³⁷ Reigart, pp. 45, 46.

³⁸ Colden, pp. 49, 50.

³⁹ Lee, pp. 308, 309.

proof of the advantage to be derived from studying the performances of the great masters. He found, he said, that though he had not attempted to paint for many years, these amateur productions were better than anything he had formerly done; and he imputed this superiority to the knowledge he had acquired during his residence in Paris, from the celebrated pieces which were assembled in the Louvre."⁴⁰

The comments of recognized art critics are always of value, even though they may not be particularly generous in praise of efforts, however sincere they may be. Mr. Harry B. Wehle, Curator of Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, says of the Kittera miniatures, they "are attractive though inaccurately drawn, and modelled, if one looks too closely, with clumsy long brush strokes, somewhat like the thatch on a roof." Of Fulton's later miniatures, Mr. Wehle writes, they are "entirely different from the miniatures Fulton had painted some twenty-two years before in Philadelphia," but adds that they show "hard and artificial drawing of the hair and eyes."⁴¹

As for Fulton's technique and attainments as an artist, Dickinson quotes the eminent art critic, Mr. Charles Henry Hart, as follows: "Apart from a curious flatness that he gave his miniatures, which can be recognized even in the reproductions, they are good, yes, remarkably good, for so young a man with so little instruction. They are well drawn, good in design, delicately coloured, as miniatures should be, and well executed technically. From some of the qualities that they possess, I should not be surprised if he had had some instruction or help from Charles Willson Peale, who, at Fulton's time, was at the top of the profession here." As to his larger paintings, Mr. Hart says, "Fulton's work showed strong characterization and breadth, a firm brush and good color sense. He had not yet developed a style of his own, and while he gave some promise, it is doubtful whether he would ever have equalled Benjamin West; decidedly he would not have attained to the stature of John Singleton Copley, Gilbert Stuart, and John Trumbull, to mention only those who were his contemporaries and compatriots."⁴²

When we consider the vast amount of time and labor Fulton put into his inventions, and that he died at the early age of forty-nine years (February 23, 1815),⁴³ we feel that his output in the field of art was quite an achievement. As to the merit of his work, recognition by the Royal Academy and by the Royal Society of British Artists and a distinguished clientele would be sufficient recommendation for most artists. As for his recognition here in America, Cuthbert Lee in "Early American Portrait Painters," considers Robert

⁴⁰ Colden, p. 18.

⁴¹ Harry B. Wehle, "American Miniatures—1730-1850," pp. 21, 22. (Garden City Publishing Company, Inc., Garden City, New York, 1937).

⁴² Dickinson, pp. 19, 20.

⁴³ The date of Fulton's death is sometimes given as the 23rd and sometimes the 24th of February, 1815. The 23rd is unquestionably right as quoted by Fulton's physician, Dr. David Hosack to Cadwallader D. Colden, p. 268 in Colden's "Life of Fulton."

Fulton one of the fourteen principal earliest native-born painters, "generally accepted as those of whom we can be most proud. . . . They thought little about art and produced portraits which as a group cannot be excelled for faithfulness, not merely of likeness, but of spirit."⁴⁴

To Fulton himself, his art was chiefly a means to an end. When a youth, it afforded him a livelihood and a way of providing for his widowed mother and his sisters. As opportunities for invention and experimentation opened up before him, he gave himself completely over to projects which would render a greater service to his country and mankind.

As evidence of his appreciation by his fellow-countrymen, Colden tells us that "very soon after his arrival in this country, he was elected a director of the American Academy of Fine Arts, a member of the New York Historical and of the United States Military Philosophical Societies, and upon the organization of the Literary and Philosophical Society of New York, he was chosen one of its original fellows."⁴⁵

Upon his death, "extraordinary demonstrations of public esteem, glowing eulogies, sermons and orations were pronounced in his honor." He was buried from Trinity Church on February 25, and his body placed in its historic ground in the vault of the Livingston family, into which family he married.⁴⁶

"From Indian waters of melodious name—
From Conowingo and great Susquehanna,
From Octorara's wild, romantic stream,
And Conestoga, where he first essayed
The art that was to make his name renowned—
From these and from old Lancaster County's farms
And woods and wayside smithies and old mills,
No less than from yon neighboring city's shops,
Her forges and her foundries, did he build
His lore, his craft, his high-aspiring art,
This Heaven-gifted boy; and when the hour
Was ripe for harvesting his spirit's fruit,
How noble his achievement, how superb
His victory, how splendid his account
Of gifts wherewith he had been dowered from heaven!"⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Lee. Foreword and p. 3.

⁴⁵ Colden, p. 113.

⁴⁶ "Hudson-Fulton Celebration," Sept. 25-Oct. 9, 1909, a brochure for the use of the schools of the State compiled and edited by Harlan Hoyt Horner (Albany, N. Y., State Education Dept., 1909).

⁴⁷ John Russel Hayes, "The Heaven-Gifted Boy." (Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc. Pub., Vol. 13, p. 213.)

Paintings by Robert Fulton

1. BALDWIN, Abraham Sketch, c. 1810. Whereabouts unknown in 1913.

Copied by Emanuel G. Leutze and engraved by J. B. Forrest.

Reproduced in the Centennial volume of Washington's Inauguration.

A copy by a modern artist (Albert Rosenthal) hangs in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

Description: Half-length, directed and facing left, looking front; seated; left hand on arm of chair.

Abraham Baldwin (1754-1807); graduated from Yale, 1772. Chaplain in Army from 1777 to close of Revolution. Then settled in Savannah, Georgia; elected to State Legislature, 1784. Delegate to Continental Congress, 1785-1788, and member of the Federal Constitutional Convention. Member of Congress 1789-1799; United States Senator 1799-1807, and president pro-tempore of the Senate 1801-1802. Abraham Baldwin died a Senator in Congress from Georgia, March 4, 1807, aged 52 years. Was a brother of Mrs. Joel Barlow.

Bibliography: Alice Crary Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 356.

H. W. Dickinson, "Robert Fulton," p. 281.

Cuthbert Lee, "Early American Portrait Painters," pp. 307, 308.

Catalogue of Portraits in Independence Hall, Phila., p. 26.

2. BARLOW, Joel. Oil portrait, c. 1797. Size 15¼" x 12¾". On panel.

Description by Frick Art Reference Library, New York City: Brown or dark blue eyes, powdered hair. Dark blue coat with brass button, white waistcoat, stock and shirt ruffle. Very dark brown background.

On a piece of paper fastened to the back of canvas is written: "I purchased a portrait of Joel Barlow painted by Robert Fulton at a sale of the estate of Montgomery Livingston at Clermont about the year 1857. Montgomery Livingston was a grandson of Chancellor Livingston and inherited his library and furniture. I gave the paint-

NOTE—In gathering my material on the art of Robert Fulton, I am deeply indebted to the Frick Art Reference Library of New York City, who very generously and graciously answered my numerous inquiries, traced the whereabouts of unlocated paintings, furnished me with many photographs, and, when in New York, placed at my disposal all their Fulton material.

I also wish to express here my gratitude to Mrs. Sutcliffe, great-granddaughter of Robert Fulton and his biographer, for carefully looking over my manuscript, adding considerable data, correcting errors, giving me permission to reproduce family paintings, and expressing her candid opinion on the authenticity of the paintings here listed.

The writer of this paper makes no claim to evaluate the paintings enumerated. She merely compiles all the material on the subject to which she has had access, hoping that from a full discussion, the researcher will be the better able to distinguish between the genuine, those *attributed* to Fulton's brush, and those unquestionably spurious.—E. J. F.

ing to the Adams Express who gave it to S. L. M. Barlow, N. Y. April 21, 1907.

(Signed) J. Thurston Livingston."

Cuthbert Lee, in "Early American Portrait Painters," p. 310, has this additional description: "Seated at a table looking up from a letter or paper which he holds in his hand. The picture was engraved on steel by Asher B. Durand."

Joel Barlow was a distinguished philanthropist, scholar, author, poet and man of affairs. Consul at Algiers, 1795. Minister to France, 1811. Born in Redding, Conn., 1754. Lies buried in Zwarniwica, Poland, where he died Dec. 24, 1812, aged 58 years.

Reproductions: F. A. R. L. (IWM) 17503; Sutcliffe, *Century Magazine*, v. 76, p. 932.

Lee, "Early American Portrait Painters," 1929, facing p. 299.

Catalogue, Exhibition of American Paintings, Furniture, Silver, and other Objects of Art, Hudson-Fulton Celebration, Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y., Sept.-Nov., 1909, v. 12, opp. p. 10.

Bulletin des Musées de France, July, 1931, v. 3, no. 7, p. 154.

Exhibitions: Loan Exhibition of Hist. Portraits & Relics, Metropolitan Opera House, N. Y., April 18-May 8, 1889 (lent by S. L. M. Barlow, N. Y.); World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893 (lent by Peter Barlow).

Exhibition of American Paintings, etc., Hudson-Fulton Celebration, Metropolitan Mus. of Art, N. Y., Sept.-Nov., 1909.

American Wing, Metrop. Mus. of Art, N. Y., 1925.

Exposition de Souvenirs de Joel Barlow, Musée de Blérancourt, 1931 (lent by Samuel Barlow, N. Y.)

S. L. M. Barlow, N. Y., still owned it in 1892; Judge Peter T. Barlow, in 1909; Samuel L. M. Barlow owned it in 1929.

Bibliography: Alice Crary Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 355.

H. W. Dickinson, "Robert Fulton," p. 281.

Cuthbert Lee, "Early American Portrait Painters," p. 310.

Bowen, ed., "History of the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington," 1892, v. 2, pp. 142-143, 144 (61).

3. BARLOW, Joel. Oil. Date, 1805. Large portrait.

Owned by Robert Fulton Ludlow, Claverack, N. Y.

Reproduced in "Harper's Weekly," 1895, p. 87, representing the "Hon. Joel Barlow, U. S. Minister to France, poet, diplomat and soldier."

Bibliography: Frick Art Reference Library, New York City.

Alice Crary Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 355.

H. W. Dickinson, "Robert Fulton," p. 281.

4. BARLOW, Ruth (Mrs. Joel). Oil. 1800. Whereabouts unknown.

Mentioned in letter of Barlow to Fulton (1800).

Ruth Barlow died May 29, 1818, aged 62 years. Both Mrs. Barlow and

her brother, Senator Baldwin, are buried in the S. W. corner of the grounds of Joel Barlow's country-place, "Kalorama," near Washington, D. C.

Bibliography: Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 356. Dickinson, p. 281.

5. BEACH, Samuel. Miniature. Water-color on ivory, $1\frac{5}{8}$ " x $1\frac{3}{8}$ ". Painted in 1785.

Description by F. A. R. L., N. Y. C.: Powdered hair, gray eyes. Very dark plum-colored coat, white metal buttons, white waistcoat, stock and frill. Light gray background.

"Samuel Beach was born in 1761, served in the Revolutionary War, and after the peace, resumed his studies at Princeton College, where he was graduated. He was a member of the American Whig Society and the American Philosophical Society. Later he became a Commissioner of Currency in South Carolina. He died there in 1793." Sutcliffe, *Century Magazine*, v. 76, p. 785.

Reproductions: Worcester Art Museum Catalogue, 1922, p. 112.

Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 27; and "Early Life of Robert Fulton," *Century Magazine*, v. 76, p. 785.

Bolton, "Early American Portrait Painters in Miniature," 1921, p. 26.

Exhibited in Exhibition of Miniatures, Metrop. Mus. of Art, N. Y., March 14-April 24, 1927 (Museum of Art, Worcester, Mass.).

Additional references: "Art in America," August, 1922, v. 10, p. 221: Register of Portraits by Robert Fulton.

Official Catalogue, Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., Sept.-Oct., 1909, (73).

Lee, in "Early American Portrait Painters," p. 307, says: "The painting is of extreme delicacy and the details of dress are minutely drawn. The face is not a handsome one, but was evidently an uncompromising and probably successful effort at correct likeness."

Owned in 1913 by H. A. Boardman, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Now in Art Museum, Worcester, Mass.

6. BLOODGOOD, Miss. Miniature on ivory. $2\frac{5}{8}$ " x $2\frac{1}{8}$ ".

Description by F. A. R. L., N. Y. C.:

White dress, caught on shoulder with pearls. Pearls at edge of sleeve. Golden girdle set with pearls. Pink and yellow cloak.

Blue sky background with white clouds. ("Wind-blown" hair, curls—E. J. F.)

Reproductions: Copley Gallery, Boston, Mass.

Erskine Hewitt Collection, N. Y.

7. BRINGHURST, Joseph. Oil painting done in 1786.

"The portrait shows young Bringhurst (age 19) with dark, earnest eyes and flowing brown locks, plainly dressed in Quaker drab, sketching at the river side." Catalogue, Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., Sept. 27-Oct. 30, 1909, No. 11.

One of Fulton's earliest oil paintings, as it was labeled "Second portrait in oils." Lee, p. 299.

Other references: Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 356.

Dickinson, "Robert Fulton," p. 280.

Owned by Edward Bringham, Wilmington, Delaware.

8. BROWN, John. Miniature about 1½" x 2".

Owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y. City.

Morris K. Jesup Fund, 1936.

Photographed by Metrop. Mus. of Art (neg. no. 102819—1010).

9. CARTWRIGHT, Rev. Edmund, D.D., F.R.S. Oil, c. 1796. Whereabouts unknown.

Engraved by T. O. Barlow, 1862. Dickinson, p. 281.

"Edmund Cartwright, an English clergyman and graduate of Oxford, had in 1785 obtained the first patent for a power-loom for the weaving of cotton cloth. Two years later he invented a wool-carding machine; and, in 1797, a steam-engine in which alcohol was used. It is asserted that he 'assisted Robert Fulton in his experiments with steam-boats.' Joel Barlow also mentions him, in a letter to Fulton in 1802, when, after an interview with Mr. Livingston, he says that he has heard unfavorable reports about Cartwright's engine, and doubts whether it will do for the proposed steam-boat. 'If you recur to Watts,' he adds, 'it is probably best to lay it horizontal, his fears with regard to the strain on the boat from the up-and-down stroke are not without foundation.'" From Sutcliffe's "Robert Fulton in France," Century Magazine, v. 76, p. 935-936.

Reproduced: International Exhibition of economic history. Amsterdam, 1929. Pl. 33.

10. CONYNGHAM, Mary West (Mrs. David H.) Miniature on ivory, set in ring.

Relative of Mrs. J. L. Atlee, Jr., Lancaster, Pa.

Listed by F. F. Sherman in "Register of Portraits by Robert Fulton," in "Art in America," v. 10, p. 221, August, 1922.

11. CONYNGHAM, Ruth Ann Butler. Portrait on shingle.

Daughter-in-law of above.

The family say this was done by an itinerant artist, name unknown.

Listed by Dickinson in "Robert Fulton," p. 280.

12. COURTENAY, Viscount William, ninth Earl of Devon. Oil, 1791.

Painted at Powderham Castle, near Exeter, Devonshire, England. .

Whereabouts unknown. Dickinson, p. 280 and p. 15.

13. DICKERSON, Mahlon. Painted in 1814.

"Half-length portrait, showing one hand with a finger keeping the place between the pages of a closed book."

Mahlon Dickerson was born before the Revolutionary War and died 1853. He was Governor of New Jersey, U. S. Senator, and Secretary of the Navy.

Exhibited in 1926 at the Century Association, New York; and in 1928, shown in the loan exhibition of the complete Clarke collection of "Portraits by Early American Artists," as the main feature at the opening of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Reproduced in Sherman, Frederick Fairchild, "Early American Portraiture," N. Y. Privately printed. 1930.

Bibliography: Lee, "Early American Portrait Painters," p. 310. Sherman, "Register of Portraits by Robert Fulton," in "Art in America," August, 1922, v. 10, p. 221.

Formerly in the Thomas B. Clarke Collection, most of which are now the property of the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust of Pittsburgh, Penna., located at 716 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

14. ECKFORD, Henry (1775-1832), and also one of his wife, Marian Bedell Eckford (1779-1840) and child, Henrietta Eckford (1808-1828). Full length, life size. Two companion pictures, each 5'x 3' 4". Painted in New York in 1809, when the artist and Henry Eckford were associated in the shipbuilding business. Frederick Fairchild Sherman, in "Art in America," v. 10, no. 5, August, 1922, pp. 217-222, says: "These portraits besides being the largest are perhaps the best of his works other than his miniatures (size 60"x 41"). Both signed and dated. What little of color there is in either canvas is a part of the setting—in the former a dull red curtain against a bluish wall and a flowered carpet; in the latter a brown curtain and a glimpse of landscape seen through the window at the right. Both sitters are represented in black, the child in a white dress. . . . Both are sincere and dignified works of real merit. They are a fitting memorial of the friendship of two outstanding figures in the history of naval development in America, the inventor of the steamboat and the father of naval architecture in this country. Eckford worked together with Fulton on various schemes and built the steamer, "Chancellor Livingston," from his plans. . . . Henry Eckford, during the War of 1812, constructed the squadrons on the Great Lakes and completed in an incredibly short time considering that the timber was all cut in the neighboring forests and transported to the seaboard when there were neither canals or railways in New York. In 1820, he was appointed Naval Constructor at the Brooklyn Navy Yard and while there designed the lines of the battleship "Ohio," and the frigate "Hudson." In 1822, he built the steamer "Robert Fulton," which made the first successful run from New Orleans to Havana. He was a prominent figure in New York in the early 20's; a banker and a man of affairs as well as a naval architect. In 1833, he built a sloop

of war for the Sultan Mahmond, and became his naval constructor, taking up his residence in Constantinople. There he organized a navy-yard and laid the keel of a battleship, which, however, he did not live to see completed. He died there November 12, 1832."

Exhibited in Union League Club, N. Y., Dec. 8-12, 1921.

Reproduced in "Early American Portraiture," N. Y., privately printed, 1930. By Frederick Fairchild Sherman.

15. FRANKLIN, Benjamin. Painted in oil.

Signed on back: R. Fulton, Pinxt, 1787. (Lee, p. 300.)

Mrs. Sutcliffe, in "The Early Life of Robert Fulton," *Century Magazine*, Vol. 76, p. 787: "Dr. Edward Everett Hale, in his 'Memories of a Hundred Years,' mentions a portrait of Franklin, painted by Robert Fulton during his youth. Dr. Hale writes of it in a personal letter as follows: 'A year or two ago I made a vigorous effort to find the picture, but I am sorry to say that I failed entirely. It was not a very good picture, nor did it give a very favorable idea of Fulton's ability as a portrait painter. . . .' A reference to this portrait is made in the 'Centennial Memorial Volume of the Inauguration of Washington,' edited by Clarence W. Bowen, who quotes the following from the 'Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,' (Vol. XI): 'A portrait of Ben Franklin painted by Robert Fulton, of steamboat celebrity. On the back of the canvas is written 'R. Fulton Pinxt 1787.' The history of this rare picture is distinctly traceable back thirty-three or thirty-four years, at which time it was sold at auction for twenty-five cents. For thirty years it hung without frame in the sitting-room of a farmer in Rhode Island. At another time it was used as a barrel cover in a farmer's garret, and still later ornamented an engine house. The Rev. Henry Baylies found it in a photograph gallery in Fall River, Massachusetts. Mr. Baylies sold the portrait in 1891 to C. F. Gunther of Chicago."

Bibliography: Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 354.

Sutcliffe, "Early Life of Robert Fulton," *Century Magazine*, v. 76, p. 787.

E. E. Hale, "Memories of a Hundred Years," v. 1, p. 28. (N. Y., The MacMillan Co., 1902.)

An early oil portrait of Benjamin Franklin, owned by the University of North Carolina was reported to be by Fulton, but has been found to be by William Dunlap. (Lee, p. 307.)

16. FULTON, Robert Barlow. Unfinished portrait of the only son of Robert Fulton.

Mrs. Sutcliffe says that the "original was directly inherited from her parents, by Mrs. Edward C. Crary (Cornelia Livingston Crary) daughter of Robert Fulton, and by Mrs. Crary bequeathed to her daughter, Mrs. Hermann H. Cammann, who at her death, willed it to her son, H. Schuyler Cammann, its present owner. On the reverse

side of the panel is painted the portrait of Mrs. Robert Fulton's mother, Mrs. Walter Livingston (Cornelia Schuyler)."

Bibliography: Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 356. And comments on this compilation.

17. **FULTON, Harriet Livingston**, wife of Robert Fulton. Married Jan. 7, 1808. Miniature on ivory. $4\frac{1}{8}$ " x 3".

Daughter of Walter Livingston, of "Teviotdale," Livingston Manor, N. Y., and second cousin of Chancellor Livingston.

Description by F. A. R. L.: "Brownish black hair, blue eyes. White dress. Sleeves caught up with pins consisting of a yellow stone encircled by pearls. Golden girdle set with blue stones and pearls. White scarf over her right arm. Seated in a gray chair. Pale pinkish curtain at upper right. Bit of dark gray wall shows at right side below the curtain and behind the chair. Dark gray cloud background with spots of blue sky showing through." "Empire costume." Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, No. 72.

Reproduced in "American Miniatures," 1927, pl. VII, by H. B. Wehle; N. Y. Historical Society (Peter A. Juley) Bulletin, 1923-27. Jan., 1925, p. 111.

Exhibited in the Exhibition of Miniatures, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, March 14-April 24, 1927.

"Owned by the New York Historical Society, New York City, by purchase from Mrs. Ella Still Blight, widow of Robert Fulton Blight."

—Mrs. Sutcliffe in comments on this compilation.

18. **GARRETT, Jacob**. Water-color, 5%" (Diameter); $8\frac{1}{4}$ " x 7" (Size of paper).

Description by F. A. R. L.: Water-color, brown and gray in tone.

Reproduced by Ira W. Martin, F. A. R. L. (17351).

On loan at the Museum of the City of New York.

19. **GUILLOTIN, Dr. Joseph Ignace**. Portrait $6\frac{1}{2}$ " x 6".

Description by F. A. R. L.: Powdered wig, black clothes, very dark red background. On the back of the panel is written: "Doctor Guillotine Robt Fulton Pinxt Paris, 1st of March, 1802."

"Joseph Ignace Guillotin, French doctor, was born in 1738 and died in 1814. It was he who asked that a machine be used for decapitation to lessen the suffering of the condemned. And for him the famous guillotine was named." (F. A. R. L.)

Reproduced by Ira W. Martin, F. A. R. L., N. Y. C. (17140).

On loan at the Museum of the City of New York.

20. **HEYWARD, Susan Hayne Simons (Mrs. William Manigault)**. "Fancy Portrait." Miniature on ivory. $3\frac{3}{8}$ " x $2\frac{5}{8}$ ".

Description by F. A. R. L.: Brown hair and eyes. Pearl ornaments in hair, pearl earrings. White dress and white scarf around right

shoulder, and left arm. Rope of pearls from right shoulder across breast, to left arm, where it is fastened with a topaz pin with pearl pendant. Gold belt. Blue and white sky background.

Reproduced by H. B. Wehle in "American Miniatures," 1927, pl. VIII. Exhibited at the Exhibition of Miniatures, Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y. C., March 14-April 24, 1927.

Owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. (26874—920) Rogers Fund, 1914.

She married Mr. Heyward in 1813, and is said to have had her miniature painted in Philadelphia on her honeymoon.

21. **KITTERA, John Wilkes.** Miniature on ivory. $1\frac{11}{16}$ "x $1\frac{1}{4}$ ".

Description by F. A. R. L.: Powdered hair, gray eyes. Plum-colored coat, cut steel buttons. Gray waistcoat, white stock and bow. Background dark gray at upper left, light gray at right.

John Wilkes Kittera was born in East Earl Township, Lancaster Co., Pa. Graduated from Princeton; admitted to the bar in 1782; representative in Congress from 1791-1801; appointed U. S. District Attorney for Eastern District of Pennsylvania.

Reproduced by Ira W. Martin, F. A. R. L. (9559b.)

Also by Frank W. Bobb, Historical Society of Penna. (550)

Exhibitions: Annual Water-color & Miniature Exhibition, Penna. Academy of the Fine Arts, Phila., Nov. 7-Dec. 12, 1926. (Hist. Soc. of Pa.)

Exhibition of Miniatures, Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y. City, March 14-April 24, 1927. (Hist. Soc. of Pa.)

10th Annual Miniature Exhibition, Pa. Academy of the Fine Arts, Phila., Nov. 13-Dec. 17, 1911 (83). (Hist. Soc. of Pa.)

Collection of Historical Society of Penna., Philadelphia, Pa.

Bibliography: Wehle, "American Miniatures," 1927, p. 21.

Reproductions: Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 27, and "Early Life of Robert Fulton," Century Magazine, v. 76, p. 786.

22. **KITTERA, Mrs. John Wilkes.** Miniature on ivory. $1\frac{7}{8}$ "x $1\frac{3}{8}$ ".

Description by F. A. R. L.: Powdered hair, gray eyes. White flowers in hair. Gray dress with lace frill around neck. Red roses tucked in front of gown. Gray background.

Reproductions: F. A. R. L. (9559a). Burroughs, Alan. Limners and likenesses. 1936, pl. 111a.

All other references same as for her husband. Both painted c. 1786.

23. **LIVINGSTON, John Walter.** Portrait in oil, c. 1810.

"A son of Walter Livingston and his wife, Cornelia Schuyler, and therefore a brother of Mrs. Robert Fulton, to whose miniature this portrait bears striking resemblance. He died unmarried.

"Painted on a wooden panel, $35\frac{1}{2}$ "x $27\frac{3}{4}$ ". Half-length figure, showing three-quarters face, distinguished and interesting. The left hand is

shown on the lapel of the dark coat and a draped white kerchief collar accents the fine poise of the head." . . .

Was owned by Robert Fulton Ludlow, Claverack, N. Y. After his death Mrs. Ludlow presented it to Alice Crary Sutcliffe, its present owner. Listed by Mrs. Sutcliffe, in "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 356; and by Dickinson, in "Robert Fulton," p. 281.

24. **LIVINGSTON, Cornelia Schuyler (Mrs. Walter).**

Medallion portrait in oil, on a panel. Painted c. 1808.

Description by Mrs. Sutcliffe: "She was a daughter of Peter Schuyler and his wife, Gertrude Schuyler (daughter of John Schuyler and his wife, Cornelia Van Cortlandt). She was the mother of Mrs. Robert Fulton. Her husband, Walter Livingston, was First Custodian of the U. S. Treasury, and she was a granddaughter of Peter Schuyler, known as "Quidor," the Indians' friend, who escorted a group of Indians to visit Queen Anne at the British Court.

"The portrait, oval in shape, was directly inherited by Mrs. Hermann H. Cammann (granddaughter of Robert Fulton) and willed by her to her son, H. Schuyler Cammann, present owner.

"Strong and aristocratic features and pleasant expression denoting fine character. A costume of simplicity, a white shawl gathered in folds from the shoulders, and at the neck fastened by two or three tiny white flowers. She wore a white lace-trimmed cap of ample dimensions, with a broad ribbon encircling it and passing under her chin. A portrait of great beauty. On the reverse side of the panel appears the unfinished portrait of her grandson, Robert Barlow Fulton (previously noted)."

Reproduced by Mrs. Sutcliffe in "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 215. See Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., Sept. 27-Oct. 30, 1909, by the N. Y. Historical Society and the Colonial Dames of America, No. 40.

25. **McCURDY, Colonel Michael. Miniature.**

Owned by Mrs. George McHenry, Philadelphia, in 1913.

Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., 1909, No. 68.

Listed by Mrs. Sutcliffe, in "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 356; and by H. W. Dickinson, in "Robert Fulton," p. 280.

26. **MURRAY, Mrs. Portrait in oil. Whereabouts unknown.**

Exhibited as "Portrait of a Lady" in the Royal Academy, London, 1793.

Listed by Mrs. Sutcliffe, p. 355; and H. W. Dickinson, p. 281.

27. **ROSS, Clementina, later wife of John Mifflin. A crayon likeness, by Robert Fulton. From the crayon likeness, a miniature was painted, which has been attributed to Robert Fulton by the Penna. Academy of the Fine Arts.**

Bibliography: Mrs. Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 27, and "Early Life of Robert Fulton," *Century Magazine*, v. 76, p. 787; H. W. Dickinson, p. 280; Lee, "Early American Portrait Painters," pp. 299, 307.

We doubt that the miniature was painted by Robert Fulton, as we read the following abstracted from "Memoir of John Ross, Merchant, of Phila.," *Pennsylvania Magazine*, Vol. 23, pp. 83, 84: "Robert Fulton, when a young man and poor, brought a letter from Dr. Franklin to my grandfather (John Ross). He was soon found to be a man of genius, and, to find him some present employment, my grandfather proposed his taking crayon likenesses of the young ladies in society. He took my mother (Clementina Ross) in 1786, then seventeen years old. In my father's frequent trips to Paris on government business he wished to take my mother, his eldest and best-beloved child. This was objected to by my grandmother, who feared that she might fall into the hands of privateersmen, who then infested the ocean. Mr. Ross took the crayon picture and had it copied on ivory by an admirable artist. The same artist took my grandfather's, which we have in a bracelet. Both are exquisite specimens of art. These were painted in Paris about 1787, but we have not been able to learn the name of the artist. . . . In 1808 or 1809 at a birth-night ball at the Mansion House Hotel, Mr. Fulton asked my sister whether she had any likeness of her mother. He said, 'When I was unknown and friendless, I took a likeness in crayon of her; a beautiful young girl.'" Certainly, if he had painted the miniature, he would have said so at that time.

The miniature is owned by the Penna. Academy of the Fine Arts, Phila.

28. ROSS, Margaret. Pastel done in 1787. Only known pastel portrait by Fulton. Oval, size $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$ ". Owned by Mrs. C. S. Bradford, Phila., in 1913.

Description in Catalogue of Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., 1909, No. 49: "This charming example of Fulton's early art, shows Miss Ross (at sixteen) as she was entering the social coterie of her native Philadelphia. She wears on her head a high-piled turban of lace, flowers and pearls; she is dressed in a simple, low-cut white bodice and full, flowered skirt; in one hand she holds an opening rose."

Reproduced by Mrs. Sutcliffe, in "Early Life of Robert Fulton," *Century Magazine*, v. 76, p. 787.

References: Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 354; H. W. Dickinson, p. 280; Lee, p. 299.

29. STANHOPE, Charles, third Earl of. Portrait in oil, c. 1795. 26×36 ". Description in Catalogue of Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., 1909, No. 12: "The Statesman sits at a crimson-draped open window overlooking the entrance to the English Channel. In his hand he

holds a plan which deeply engrosses him. The view-point selected is singularly suggestive."

Reproduced by Mrs. Sutcliffe, in "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 43.
Owned by Hermann Livingston, (in 1913), Catskill Station, New York.

30. VAN RENSSELAER, III, Cornelia Patterson (Mrs. Stephen). Miniature. $2\frac{7}{8}$ " x $2\frac{3}{8}$ ".

Daughter of William Patterson, Governor of N. J., and a justice of the Supreme Court. She was married in 1802. Lee, p. 307.

Description: Dark brown hair, brown eyes. Curls over front and top of head, rest of hair, plain. Pearl band around head with circular ornament in front. White empire dress with high standing collar and open throat, trimmed with bands of pearls. Golden girdle. Pearl earrings.

Owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y. (55396—1010.)
Bequest of Cornelia Cruger, of Cruger's Island, Hudson River, 1923.
Reproduced by LaFollette, S., in "Art in America." 1929, p. 74; also, H. B. Wehle, "American Miniatures," pl. VIII.

31. VILLETTE, Charlotte. Oil, 1802. Whereabouts unknown.

Mentioned in "Life and Letters of Joel Barlow," by C. B. Todd.

Listed by Mrs. Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 355., and H. W. Dickinson, "Robert Fulton," p. 281.

32. WOODWORTH, Samuel. Miniature. $2\frac{9}{16}$ " x $2\frac{1}{5}$ " (Sight).

Description by F. A. R. L.: Brown hair, gray eyes. Black coat, white waistcoat. Dark gray background.

Samuel Woodworth, American poet, b. in Scituate, Mass., Jan. 13, 1785, and died N. Y., Dec. 9, 1842. His poems, the best known of which is "The Old Oaken Bucket," were published in 1861.

Reproduced by Ira W. Martin, F. A. R. L. (19985).

Exhibited at the N. Y. Historical Society, Jan.-Feb., 1934 (lent by Erskine Hewitt).

Erskine Hewitt Collection, N. Y.

"Robert Fulton's miniature of Samuel Woodworth was painted in New York, in 1810, the year of Woodworth's marriage, and it is said to have been done as a wedding present for the bride. Woodworth was one of the founders of the N. Y. "Mirror," a famous periodical in its day, and an editor, printer, publisher, and poet as well . . . and became a leading figure in metropolitan literary and artistic circles." From "Art in America," v. XI, p. 162.

33. "PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN." Attributed to Robert Fulton. $10\frac{1}{2}$ " x $12\frac{1}{2}$ ".
Loaned by E. Bringham, Jr., Wilmington, Del., to R. F. Exhib., N. Y. 1909. (Cat. No. 13).

34. **MINIATURE OF A "YOUNG LADY."** Done about 1810. Attributed to Fulton. In Museum of the City of New York. Lent by the Cone-Ansbacher Collection.
Owned by Mr. Bernard H. Cone, New York City.
35. **"PORTRAIT OF A LADY."** Miniature. 4¼"x 3½". Attributed to Fulton. Description: Pretty face. Flowers on top of head scarf. Low-cut dress. Edwin Bacon Conway Collection, Washington, D. C. Exhibited at the James B. Speed Memorial Museum, Louisville, Ky., 1935.
36. **"PORTRAIT OF A LADY."** Oil.
37. **"PORTRAIT OF A GENTLEMAN."** Oil.
38. **"ELISHA RAISING THE WIDOW'S SON."** Oil.
39. **"PRISCILLA AND ALLADINE FROM SPENSER'S 'FAERIE QUEENE'."** Oil. These four paintings were exhibited at the Royal Society of British Artists, 1791; whereabouts unknown. H. W. Dickinson, "Robert Fulton," p. 280.
40. **"PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG GENTLEMAN."**
41. **"PORTRAIT OF TWO YOUNG GENTLEMEN."** These two paintings were mentioned in Royal Academy Catalogue, 1791. Alice Cray Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 354.
42. **"MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS UNDER CONFINEMENT."** Oil. Reproduced by H. W. Dickinson, "Robert Fulton," opposite p. 18.
43. **"LADY JANE GREY THE NIGHT BEFORE HER EXECUTION."** Oil. Whereabouts unknown. Reproduced by H. W. Dickinson, "Robert Fulton," opposite p. 20. These two paintings both engraved in mezzotint by William Ward, Jan., 1793. British Museum, 1878, 7, 13; 151 and 152. "Lady Jane Grey," mentioned in Smith's "Catalogue of Portraits"; Mrs. Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 355.
44. **"LOUIS XVI IN PRISON, TAKING LEAVE OF HIS FAMILY."** Oil. Whereabouts unknown. Known also as "The Last Interview of Louis XVI—King of France—and Family." Engraved by J. K. Sherman, 1793, and published by "R. Wilkinson No. 58 Cornhill" in the same year. "This print is exceedingly rare; of it, in the 1834 issue of his 'History of the Arts of Design, William Dunlap, Vice-President of the National Academy of Design, wrote: 'the only copy I have seen is possessed by my friend, Dr. Francis; it is now a curiosity.' Under the title of the engraving Fulton dedicated the Plate, as follows: 'To the Right Honorable Lady Elizabeth Palk this plate is inscribed by her Ladyship's most obedient and humble servant'." From Catalogue of

the Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., 1909, No. 14. Mrs. Sutcliffe, p. 355, said in 1909 that "only three prints are known to exist."

45. "L'INCENDIE DE MOSCOW." A Panorama in oil. 1800.

Painted on a huge canvas in a high circular building which he induced Joel Barlow to erect on a section of land which he had bought in the center of Paris. In April, 1799, Fulton applied for a patent for a panorama, which was granted by the French government for ten years. He probably got the idea from Robert Barker, a portrait painter of Edinburgh, who patented the invention in Great Britain in 1787, and exhibited several in Edinburgh and London, and found them very remunerative. "The Burning of Moscow" was the first scene presented. It proved very attractive to the entertainment-loving Parisians, who flocked to see it at an admission fee of one and a half francs. This building, 14 m. (46 feet) in diameter, was on the south side of the Boulevard Montmartre, the site now indicated by the "Passage des Panorames." In 1801, he was granted a second patent on improvements, and it is said that a second building was erected for additional scenes.

References: Mrs. Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," pp. 63-65.

H. W. Dickinson, "Robert Fulton," pp. 95-97.

Cuthbert Lee, "Early American Portrait Painters," p. 302.

ILLUSTRATIONS FOR JOEL BARLOW'S EPIC POEM, "THE COLUMBIAD."

Designed by Robert Fulton, but painted by Robert Smirke, R. A. This historic poem, the "Columbiad" or "Vision of Columbus," in quarto form, of 450 pages, was published in 1807 by Fry & Kammerer, Philadelphia.

"Extra Illustrated Edition de luxe of "The Columbiad" by Joel Barlow . . . (was) dedicated to Robert Fulton, to whom was due 'the elegant selection' of the copious, rare and beautiful steel and wood engravings and color prints of classic and historic scenes and personages that adorn this work." Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, Sept. 27-Oct. 30, 1909, No. 84. Frontispiece, a steel engraving of Fulton's Portrait of Joel Barlow. Following are steel engravings of the portraits of Fulton painted by Benjamin West and Miss Emmet.

In the preface, "the work is dedicated in such terms as evince the strong attachment which subsisted between these men of genius" (Reigart).

TO ROBERT FULTON

"My dear Friend: This poem is your property. I present it to you in manuscript, that you may bring it before the public in the manner you think proper. This letter will explain to them my motives for offering you such a testimony of my attachment—an attachment which certainly comprises all the good affections that the virtues and talents of one man can inspire in the breast of another.

"Our friendship has been uncommonly useful to us both. Yet, in no instance, has that delicious bond of union been more disinterested than between you and me. . . .

"My poem, having grown up under your eye, much benefited by your observations, as well as by those of my excellent wife, is to come forward, I find, *ornamented by your taste*. You designated the subjects to be painted for engravings; and, unable to convince me that the work could merit such expensive and splendid decorations, you ordered them to be executed in my absence, and at your own expense; so that the whole work, as committed to the publisher and estimated by its cost, is chiefly yours, already; for my proportion has cost me nothing but that leisurely and exhilarating labour in which I always delight.

"Take it then to yourself, and let it live, as long as it is to live, a monument of our friendship: you cannot need it as a monument of your fame. Your inventions and discoveries in the useful arts, the precision and extension of your views in the physical sciences, and in their application to the advancement of society and morals, will render it proper that the lines you have selected and written under my portrait should be transferred to yours. Posterity will vindicate the right, and fix them in their place.

"Continue to be happy, my Fulton, as your various merit entitles you to be. Continue to enhance that merit by well-directed labours for the good of mankind; and since this address will not outlast the poem to which it is prefixed, I leave you to take some other method to unite my memory more durably with your own.

Philadelphia, May 1, 1807.

"Joel Barlow."

Reigart in his "Life of Fulton," reproduces seven colored prints. In the original, there are eleven color prints, one for each book, and are as follows:

"HESPER APPEARING TO COLUMBUS IN PRISON."

Painted by Smirke

Engraved by Anker Smith.

"CAPAC AND OELLA INSTRUCTING THE PERUVIANS IN AGRICULTURE AND SPINNING."

Painted by Smirke

Engraved by Bromley

"ZAMOR KILLED BY CAPAC."

Painted by Smirke

Engraved by Parker & Goulding

"INQUISITION"

Painted by Smirke

Engraved by Schiavonetti.

"CAESAR PASSING THE RUBICON"

Painted by Smirke

Engraved by Oomek

"CRUELTY PRESIDING OVER THE PRISON SHIP"

Painted by Smirke

Engraved by Neagle

"THE MURDER OF LUCINDA"

Painted by Smirke

Engraved by Anker Smith

"CORNWALLIS RESIGNING HIS SWORD"

Painted by Smirke

Engraved by Heath

"THE RAPE OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE"

Painted by Smirke

Engraved by Reimbach

"INITIATION TO THE MYSTERIES OF ISIS"

Painted by Smirke

Engraved by Reimbach

"THE FINAL RESIGNATION OF PREJUDICES"

Painted by Smirke

Engraved by Goulding

Besides these are numerous other engravings from original paintings of illustrious men of Europe and America.

Robert Fulton "Self - Portraits"

1. **MINIATURE PORTRAIT OF ROBERT FULTON, on ivory. 4 $\frac{7}{8}$ " x 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".**

Painted by himself after the Benjamin West portrait.

Owned by the New York Historical Society, New York City.

Reproduced in the N. Y. His. Soc. Bulletin, Jan., 1925, p. 109; Catalogue, Exhibition of Miniatures, Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y. C., March 14-April 24, 1927.

Photographed by the N. Y. Hist. Soc. (neg. no. 1140—Cat. 555).

Description by Frick Art Reference Library, N. Y. City: "Brown hair and eyes. Black coat, light tan trousers, white stock, frill and standing collar. Gold watch fob. Red handkerchief either in pocket or held in his left hand. Red curtain in background which is draped back and shows blue sky and water and a ship exploding. He is seated in a gold chair, with seat of gold and cream striped material."

Mrs. Sutcliffe vouches for its authenticity, stating that it "was purchased from Mrs. Ella Still Blight who had inherited it, and several other Fulton material, from her husband, Robert Fulton Blight, son of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Blight (Julia Fulton Blight), he having inherited it from his mother's estate."

2. **SELF-PORTRAIT. Miniature on ivory.**

Mrs. Sutcliffe vouches for its authenticity, stating that it was "inherited by Cornelia Livingston Crary, daughter of Robert Fulton and his wife, Harriet Livingston: together with its companion-miniature of Mrs. Robert Fulton, and a third miniature depicting the two oldest children of Robert and Harriet Livingston Fulton, Julia Fulton and Robert Barlow Fulton. My grandmother, Mrs. Cornelia Livingston Crary willed these three miniatures to her son, Charles Franklin Crary, who, at his death in 1926, willed them to his nephew, Edward Crary Cammann (a great grandson of Robert Fulton). He died in 1936, and willed them to his son, Robert Livingston Cammann, the present owner."

Reproduced as Frontispiece in "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," by Alice Crary Sutcliffe, great granddaughter of Robert Fulton. Resembles strongly the miniature owned by the N. Y. Historical Society.

3. **MINIATURE ON IVORY.** 2½"x 2¼". Painted in Paris.

Owned by Sarah Penrose (Mrs. Andrew) Van Pelt, Radnor, Pa.

Description by Frick Art Reference Library and R. W. G. Vail, Librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, Oct., 1935, in Proceedings, p. 191: Head and shoulders only, curly hair, plain background. Dark brown hair, light brown eyes. Dark brown coat with brass buttons, white waistcoat, stock and shirt ruffle. Face resembles Antiquarian Society portrait (said to have been painted by Miss Elizabeth Emmet), costume identical with that of the Society's portrait. Attributed to Robert Fulton, who may have copied it from the Society's portrait while still in the possession of Miss Emmet, who received instruction on this portrait from Robert Fulton. Exhibited at the New York Historical Society during the Hudson-Fulton Celebration in 1909, and then owned by the late Mrs. Lucy Walton Drexel of Penryn, Pa., by whom it was bequeathed to her granddaughter, Mrs. Andrew Van Pelt, who lent it for exhibition at the New York Historical Society where it still (1935) is.

Reproduced in Dr. Emmet's "Memoir," v. 2, p. 527; Hart, Catalogue of the Drexel Collection, 1911; Ira W. Martin, F. A. R. L., in 1929 (neg. No. 11312).

Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., Sept. 27-Oct. 30, 1909, No. 71.

Collections: Henri Doniol, Paris; Mrs. Joseph Drexel (Lucy Wharton), Penryn, Pa.; Mrs. Andrew Van Pelt, Radnor, Pa.

4. **PENCIL DRAWING OF ROBERT FULTON,** by himself. 8½"x 7½".

At the foot of the drawing is written: "To Henry Eckford with my friendship this portrait of myself. Rob. Fulton." At the lower right side the picture is signed: R. F., in script.

Description by Cuthbert Lee, in "Early American Portrait Painters" (p. 309): "It is a very life-like picture, though the short upper lip and rather irregular mouth make it not very handsome. The hair is parted in the middle and tousled as was customary, and Fulton wears side whiskers extending down below the ears. The face is a sensitive and intelligent one, with large eyes. It agrees perfectly with the oil portrait of Fulton by West."

Exhibited at Union League Club, N. Y. C., Jan., 1923 (No. 10). Loaned by Thomas B. Clarke.

Catalogued in T. B. Clarke Collection, prior to 1928.

Drawing later sold to Robert Fulton Cutting, now deceased.

Now in possession of the R. Fulton Cutting Estate, 20 Pine St., N. Y. C. (Letter to E. J. F., dated Feb. 23, 1938, from M. Knoedler & Co., Inc., N. Y. C.)

5. ROBERT FULTON. Reproduced in "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 54, by Alice Crary Sutcliffe, and in "Robert Fulton in France," Century Magazine, v. 76, p. 933. With the caption: "From the original painted by himself in 1795, now (1909) owned by Mrs. Robert Fulton Blight. This portrait was purchased from the authorities of Fulton Hall, Lancaster, Penna., by Robert Fulton Blight. It was exhibited at the World's Fair in Chicago, and at the request of the German Consul was copied by Thomas Anshutz for the Postal Museum at Berlin."

Relative to this picture has come to the Lancaster County Historical Society a printed letter from Buchhandlung Gustav Foch, Gesellschaft mit beschr. Haftung, Leipzig C1, Schlossgasse 7-9, Markgrafenstr. 4-6. It is as follows:

Dear Sir,

We herewith beg to offer the Portrait of

ROBERT FULTON

painted by himself, in 1795, and a contemporary Caricature of his Torpedo Boat.

(1) Original Oilpainting on canvas, half-length-picture, (60x71 cm.) in a gilt wooden frame. Good condition.

An authentic portrait of Fulton, the famous inventor of the steamboat, the seamine, and a submarine, or plunging boat, called torpedo, painted by himself in 1795 at London, where he studied painting as a pupil of Benjamin West. Fulton has painted this portrait of himself for his mother and has sent it to her in America. After Fulton's death the portrait has been given by his sister to the "Fulton Hall" at Lancaster, the native country of Fulton. Several years later it has passed into the possession of a granddaughter of Fulton, Mrs. Ella S. Fulton-Blight, New York. This lady sold the portrait in 1912 to Generaldirector Wilhelm Kestranek in Vienna, one of the leading men of the Austrian Industry. We have it directly from Generaldirector Kestranek's inheritance.

It was exhibited at the World's Fair, in Chicago, in 1893, where it has already caused general sensation, and at the request of the German Consul Meyer was copied by Thomas Anschutz for the Postal Museum at Berlin.

On the occasion of the Hudson-Fulton-Festival in Sept.-Oct. 1909 our portrait has been loaned by Mrs. Fulton-Blight to the R. Fulton-Exhibition of the New York Historical Society. To the Committee of this exhibition have belonged A. Carnegie and Pierpont Morgan and others. The portrait has been catalogued under Nr. 8 in the official Catalogue of this exhibition as "Portrait-sketch of Robert Fulton, painted by himself. Loaned by Mrs. Robert Fulton-Blight."

Many newspapers have devoted articles to the portrait (with reproduction) e. g., "The Century" (Robert Fulton and the Clermont).

At the occasion of the purchase of the picture by Generaldirector

Kestranek the authenticity has been stated by Charles Bitter, Sculptor, New York, and his brother-in-law, Prof. Schevill, who have seen the picture in the Exhibition 1909 and the curator of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, Mr. Burroughs, has given an attestation of the genuineness, which reads as follows:

"Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Octobre 21rst 1912.

Department of Paintings,

Dear Mr. Bitter:

The Portrait of Robert Fulton by himself has never been lent to the Museum. It formed part of the Robert Fulton Exhibition at the New York Historical Society in September-October 1909 where it was catalogued as a portrait sketch of Robert Fulton by himself. It appears in the list of Fulton's works compiled from records by Mrs. Alice Crary Sutcliffe, a great-grand-Daughter of Fulton, and there can be no doubt from its pedigree that it is an authentic painting by him.

Very sincerely yours

Brepon Burroughs m.p."

The original attestation is enclosed, also an autograph letter by Ella S. Blight, Fulton's granddaughter, from whom Kestranek has bought the portrait.

(2) "A contemporary Caricature of Fulton's Torpedo Boat."

(This is described in detail, but does not pertain to our subject, and is therefore omitted).

"A photo of both objects can be had for examination from our New York Office: Buchhandlung Gustav Foch G. m. b. H. 145 West 44th Street, New York.

The price is \$3000.—

expenses for packing, shipping, insurance, customs to the debit of the purchaser.

We shall be pleased to hear from you and remain, dear Sir,

Yours faithfully

Buchhandlung Gustav Foch G. m. b. H."

A picture exactly like the one reproduced in Sutcliffe's "Robert Fulton and the 'Clermont'," p. 54, is one in color used as a frontispiece in the Catalogue of the "Official Robert Fulton Exhibition of the Hudson-Fulton Commission," 27 September-30 October, 1909. Under it is the caption:

ROBERT FULTON

From the Original Painting by Thomas Sully.

Copyright, 1909, by the Fulton Club, N. Y.

How can the two statements be reconciled?

This question was put to Frick Art Reference Library, New York City, and in a letter to E. J. Fulton, dated Feb. 4, 1938, says, concerning the Sully portrait: "It is not listed in Biddle & Fielding's book on Sully, nor in Thomas Sully's Register of Portraits, however, and we cannot trace the Fulton Club."

Perhaps Sully made a copy of the Fulton self-portrait.

To the query "How can the two statements be reconciled?" A. C. S. does not attempt explanation. If by Sully, the portrait should have been listed in his register, but may have been omitted by mistake. The statement of purchase from "Fulton Hall" in Lancaster was told to A. C. S. by the late Robert Fulton Blight, who thought it painted by his grandfather. There was certainly a portrait of 1795 sent to Fulton's mother for it was mentioned in a letter exhibited at the New York Historical Society during the Hudson-Fulton celebration. A. C. S. has a copy of this portrait executed in oil by Samuel Ward Stanton, one time editor of "The Nautical Gazette," an artist of distinction who made the mural paintings for the Hudson River steamboats owned by the Hudson River Day Line, and a friend of Mr. Eben E. Olcott, president of the Line.

The Lancaster County Historical Society is particularly interested in this picture, as it recently purchased from Mrs. Mary Magee Bowman a painting said to be a copy of a Sully portrait of Robert Fulton. It is exactly like the frontispiece just referred to, in color, and exactly like the delineation on page 54 of Mrs. Sutcliffe's book. In a letter to E. J. Fulton, dated Dec. 28, 1937, from Dolores, Colorado, Mrs. Bowman says: "I copied the portrait in question from a very fine reproduction of the original portrait which bore the name of Sully."

Catalogued in the Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, as No. 7, is this portrait of Robert Fulton by Thomas Sully, and there described as follows: The natural animation of Fulton's countenance is mellowed by time; the clustering hair is thinned; the figure turns to the left and the face looks straight to the front.

Loaned by the Fulton Club.

(Size 20x24 inches).

Additional description: Reddish brown background at upper right; lighter background to left. High color to Fulton's cheeks and lips. Brown hair, brown eyes. Dark coat, buff waistcoat, white shirt and stock. Black, perhaps jet, stud in shirtfront. Over the middle finger of his right hand loosely falls a watchfob, set with two or three bright red stones (E. J. F.).

6. A PAINTING said to be "self-portrait" of Robert Fulton. 30"x 25".

Exhibited in the "Loan Exhibition of Historical and Contemporary Portraits Illustrating the Evolution of Portraiture in Lancaster County, Penna." Under the Auspices of the Iris Club and the Lancaster County Historical Society, Nov. 23-Dec. 13, 1912, catalogued as No. 91, size 33x38, and loaned by Dr. Gilbert L. Parker, Philadelphia. Appeared in the Frank Bulkeley Smith Collection Sale, Plaza Hotel, New York, April 22-23, 1920 (133), where it sold for \$1000 to an unnamed buyer.

Description by F. A. R. L.: Blue coat, white waistcoat and stock and choker collar, buff breeches. Conventional landscape background, with

a side-wheel steamer in a river, and in the distance a domed structure resembling St. Peter's at Rome, and also suggesting the Capitol at Washington—and by some thought to be from a design Fulton is known to have made for the Capitol.

On the back the following pasters: "Le 16 Aout 1807, le 'Clermont' bateau à vapeur, inventé par Fulton, citoyen americain, fit son premier voyage sur l'Hudson entre New-York and Albany. Le Clermont mesurait 50 metres de long sur 5 metres de large." "The above writing was pasted on the back of this portrait and was removed by me to reline the canvas. I have replaced it in the same position it occupied on the first linen.

JOHN B. WILKINSON, Phila., May, 1910."

This portrait was at one time the subject of a bitter controversy, particularly on a declaration or a confession of a former holder as to repainting or painting over the background. Charles Henry Hart, in a signed article in the "New Era" of Lancaster, Penna., November 30, 1912, demolished the repainting argument, by announcing that the picture had been submitted for his opinion some years previously, that he had then seen that the entire background had been painted over and a comparatively modern walking-beam steamer introduced (instead of Fulton's paddle-box type), and that the canvas had been cleaned and relined under his direction, revealing the true background. With his usual sledge-hammer blows Hart demonstrated that the picture is of Fulton, and gave his opinion that it is by Fulton. He said: "Shortly before Fulton left France in 1804, his bust was modelled by the greatest of French sculptors, as also one of the foremost sculptors of the world of all time—Jean Antoine Houdon (Vide Memoirs of the Life and Works of Jean Antoine Houdon. By Charles Henry Hart and Edward Biddle, Phila., 1911, p. 262). Place the bust under the portrait under discussion and call in expert sculptors, painters and critics, to say whether they are or are not the same man. There can be but one verdict, and that will give a condign blow to the doubt of 'an occasional visitor.'

I am, my dear Sir,

Faithfully,

Chas. Henry Hart."

Footnotes by F. A. R. L., N. Y. City:

(a) "American Art Annual," 1920, v. 17, p. 298.

(b) Catalogue, Frank Bulkeley Smith Collection Sale, Plaza Hotel, N. Y. C., April 22-23, 1920, n. p. (133).

(c) Catalogue, Loan Exhibition in Lancaster, Pa., Nov. 23-Dec. 13, 1912 (91).

(d) F. A. R. L. (HGJ), February 1937.

(e) Sherman. "Register of Portraits by Robert Fulton," (in "Art in America," August, 1922, v. 10, p. 221).

Reproduced in "Robert Fulton—Engineer and Artist—His Life and Works," by H. W. Dickinson, A.M.I.Mech.E., Assistant Keeper, The

Science Museum, South Kensington (London: John Lane, the Bodley Head, MCMXIII), p. 200, with this caption: "Robert Fulton from the original attributed to himself

In the possession of Dr. Gilbert L. Parker, Philadelphia."

Considerable inquiry has not revealed its present whereabouts (E. J. F.) Mrs. Sutcliffe refuses to credit this as a Fulton portrait.

7. **PORTRAIT OF THE ARTIST.** Robert Fulton. Oil on canvas. 29 $\frac{3}{4}$ "x24 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Owned by the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Mo. Resembles somewhat the Chas. Willson Peale portrait of Robert Fulton, which hangs in Independence Hall, Phila. (Cat. of Portraits, No. 75). It is thought that Fulton studied under Chas. W. Peale in Philadelphia. At any rate, they were well acquainted with one another (H. W. Dickinson in his work on Robert Fulton, pp. 19, 20).

Description: Dark hair, dark eyes. Dark coat, white waistcoat, stock and frill. Seated at table on which is a large inkwell. Holds quill pen in right hand. Architectural column at right side of picture. Through window is seen landscape and clouded sky.

The William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art sent this statement to E. J. F. (March 1, 1938): "This portrait of Fulton was inherited in the family of Captain Benjamin L. Wait of Stamford, Conn. He was ship captain and died in 1874. Letters of administration on his estate were granted by the Probate Court at Stamford that year. From him the portrait passed into the possession of his adopted daughter, Mrs. Sarah Davis Wait Washburn, from whom it was inherited by her sister, the late Mrs. Catherine Davis Smith of New Paltz, N. Y. She married first George Post and second Iva Smith of New Paltz. She died in 1917 and left the portrait to her daughter, Jennie Post, wife of Charles Wolven, formerly of Bloomingdale, Ulster Co., N. Y., but now residing in New Salem, N. Y. She sold this self-portrait of Fulton to Mrs. Staats of Somerville, N. J., in 1927 through whom we (the Ehrich Galleries) acquired it."

"The above statement, with accompanying affidavits, was made by the Ehrich Galleries of New York at the time of the purchase of the painting for the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery."

Painted about 1807.

Reproduced in Catalogue, Exhibition of American Painting, M. H. de Young Memorial Museum & California Palace of the Legion of Honor, San Francisco, June 7-July 7, 1935, Pl. 13; Handbook of the Wm. Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Kansas City, Mo., 1933, p. 126; Photograph by courtesy of the Wm. Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art; "Art News," Dec. 9, 1932, v. 32, p. 107. Burroughs, Alan. *Limners and likenesses.* 1936. pl. 80.

Not known by A. C. S. Considered by her of doubtful authenticity.

8. **SELF-PORTRAIT.** Size 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ "x19 $\frac{5}{8}$ " (Sight).

Erskine Hewitt Collection, N. Y.

Description by F. A. R. L.: "Dark brown hair and eyes. Black coat

& breeches, buff waistcoat, white stocking, blue coat over knee. Mauve curtain, brown furniture, red carpet, gray background. Pale blue sky with grayish clouds, gray water, cliffs and steamboat.

The subject is seated at an open window through which is seen a steamer plying on the river. In the room with him are several objects including an easel on which is resting an unfinished portrait." A piano at right of picture. Some open books on floor at foot of easel. Exhibited at the New York Historical Society, Jan.-Feb., 1934. Reproduced by F. A. R. L. in 1934 (neg. No. 20011).

Not known by A. C. S. Considered by her of doubtful authenticity.

"Nos. 7 and 8—Many early American steamboat captains had a steamboat shown in the background of their portraits. The fact that one is shown does not constitute a certainty unless the delineation of features resembles the known face of Robert Fulton as recognized by study of the aforesaid miniatures, the Benj. West portrait, or the great Houdon Bust." A. C. S.

9. SELF-PORTRAIT—attributed to Robert Fulton.

Owned by the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, New York City.

Description by Cuthbert Lee, in "Early American Portrait Painters"; p. 308: "It is a half-length portrait with part of one hand showing. The background is the usual curtain, and a bit of open space. The face is of chief interest; it is not recognizable as that of the same person shown in Fulton's drawing of himself, being in any case somewhat older but decidedly young looking. If of Fulton the portrait is a bit idealized, one feels sure, the features being a little more regular and the chin a trifle longer than was probably the fact. In the main it is a simple, modest portrait. After it was modeled the bronze bas-relief on the monument to Fulton in Trinity Churchyard, New York."

In a letter to E. J. Fulton, dated Dec. 27, 1937, C. E. Davies, Secretary of the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, says: "Following is the language of the letter received from Mrs. R. Anna Cary, widow of Alanson Cary at the time the portrait was presented to the Society, which establishes the authenticity of it being painted by Fulton himself:

'14 West 77th Street.

'The American Society of Mechanical Engineers,
12 West 31st Street, New York.

Gentlemen.—The portrait of Robert Fulton, painted by himself, which was loaned to you two years ago by Alanson Cary, I now wish to present to the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, in his memory, feeling that it would be his desire to have me do so.

'Hoping that this gift may prove acceptable, I remain,

'Very truly yours,

'R. Anna Cary.

November 30, 1897."

Mrs. Sutcliffe has expressed to E. J. Fulton her personal opinion that this picture is of one of the Livingston family and not of Robert Fulton.

Charles Henry Hart, in a postscript to the letter in the Lancaster New Era of Nov. 30, 1912, referred to above, says: "I may add that the so-called portrait of 'Fulton by himself' owned by the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, N. Y., is *not* a portrait of Robert Fulton. Apart from any other criticism, it has fair hair and blue eyes and is without any authentic history as to its painting."

Photographed by F. A. R. L., 1938.

The opinion of A. C. S. that this represents a member of the Livingston family (whose characteristics it bears) and may have been painted by Robert Fulton was shared by Robert Fulton's grandson and granddaughter, Charles Franklin Cray and his sister, Ella Cornelia Cammann—who expressed to A. C. S. their conviction. Also see "Frauds in Historical Portraiture" by Charles Henry Hart (Annual Report of the American Hist. Ass'n, Vol. I, page 91, as well as the postscript quoted in this compilation.

10. SELF-PORTRAIT OF FULTON. H. T. Chapman Collection.

Loaned by Col. Henry T. Chapman in 1910 for exhibition in the Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.

Lee, in "Early American Portrait Painters," p. 309 says: "It no more closely resembles Fulton's drawing of himself than does the portrait in the American Society of Mechanical Engineers."

Description: Full face. White frilly stock. Side whiskers.

Not known to A. C. S. but, from description, considered spurious.

11. "SELF-PORTRAIT." Attributed to Robert Fulton. 28"x23½". On panel. Photographed by F. A. R. L. (neg. No. 20935)

Exhibited at the Galleries of Mrs. Cornelius J. Sullivan, (now) 460 Park Ave., New York City. Later returned to owner (name unknown).

Description: Dark hair, apparently hazel eyes. Broad face. Dark coat, white waistcoat edged in black, white shirt and high collared stock. Usual curtain in background. Seated at open window with view of a river showing small steamer. Face looks straight to the front. His left wrist over arm or back of chair, showing long, tapering fingers.

Not known to A. C. S., but seems highly improbable.

12. PAINTING which some persons in the art field think may be a self-portrait of Robert Fulton.

Reproduced by the Macbeth Gallery, N. Y. (Eugene Brenwasser, N. Y., photographer).

Not known to A. C. S., but seems highly improbable.

13. In a letter to E. J. Fulton from Alice Crary (Mrs. Arthur T.) Sutcliffe, dated Dec. 2, 1937, she says: "About two years ago I purchased from a dealer a miniature attributed to Robert Fulton's brush—the subject unknown but supposed to be himself. I want some day to submit it to expert criticism to gain more knowledge. It is on a circular porcelain, or ivory, background, 2½ inches wide and on the reverse side bears the initials 'R. F.,' in intertwined monogram, with flourishes and a surrounding wreath in sepia tones (but the miniature is in color). It is framed in a square ebony frame, with a brass inlay surrounding the miniature and has undoubted antiquity and a family look, although the face is long and thin. However, as Fulton suffered in youth with a pulmonary complaint, this delineation might be right. How I wish it might speak! The initials and flouriations look very much like those on several of his writings, with which I am familiar."

14. A PAINTING sold as a "Self-portrait" of Robert Fulton, for \$200, at auction by the National Art Galleries in New York City in February, 1932, from the collection of Dr. George F. Whitney (Cynthia R. Carter of the Brooklyn Museums).

15. A PAINTING on a panel sold to the Lancaster County Historical Society as a "self-portrait" of Robert Fulton, April, 1933, by Jacob Lellinger, of Schwenksville, Pa.

Panel (pieced at top and bottom) 17⅞"x15¼", with "original black frame," 23⅞"x21⅛".

Description by E. J. F.: Head and shoulders. Face turned slightly to his right. Black, closely cut hair, dark skin, dark eyes, close together and not round and full as in the Benjamin West portrait. Narrow brow and thick neck. Light brown coat with brass buttons, buttoned high showing small portions of yellowish waistcoat and white stock and bow, points of white collar extend outward. Background dark greenish showing river, and on upper right side of picture a side-wheeler which looks like the Clermont. Over his shoulder on right side of picture the date 1808.

The statement which accompanied the painting is as follows:

Primitif on Woodpanel dated 1808.

Selfportrait of ROBERT FULTON at an age of 43 years. WITH BACKGROUND "HUDSON and STEAMBOAT 'CLEMENCAU'." Robert Fulton was born in Little BRITAIN near LANCASTER, Pa. in 1765.

He was the interducer of the STEAMBOAT and a primitif painter. See Thomas Scharf and Thompson Westcott "PHILADELPHIA 1609-1884," page 1041. quote "Robert Fulton was not a great artist."

THIS PRIMITIF was discovered round 1870 in the home of Hugh Fulton descent of Rob. Fulton living at Lancaster, Pa.

Valued \$600.—

The painting, which is very crude, and the statement both label it as spurious. The figure and features are utterly unlike those of Fulton

depicted in the well-known portraits of him. Also, there are no descendants of Robert Fulton who bear the name of Fulton.

In evaluating portraits of Robert Fulton, some of which are genuine and some unquestionably spurious, it would be well to keep in mind well-known word pictures of him, his features, his personality, and general characterization, such as the one which follows:

"In person, he was six feet high, slender, but well proportioned, with large dark eyes and a projecting brow. His manners were easy and unaffected. His temper was mild, and his disposition lively. He was fond of society. He expressed himself with energy, fluency and correctness, and as he owed more to experience and reflection than to books, his sentiments were often interesting from their originality. In all his domestic and social relations, he was zealous, kind, generous, liberal and affectionate. He knew of no use for money but as it was subservient to charity, hospitality and the sciences. But what was most conspicuous in his character was his calm constancy, his industry, and that indefatigable patience and perseverance, which always enabled him to overcome difficulties." From a clipping in N. Y. Public Library, Prints Division, clipped from Boston paper, Saturday, Nov. 18, 1854 (Perhaps Gleason's Pictorial).

With regard to the authenticity of so-called "self-portraits," Mrs. Sutcliffe has the following to say:

"*Applicable to all portraits of doubtful origin:* Many leaders have labelled portraits as of Robert Fulton, especially when a steamboat is shown in the background. From time to time, I have personally been asked to pass judgment upon such likeness and have discredited them." She further says: "No alleged likeness of Robert Fulton which fails to resemble the Miniatures of family inheritance (Nos. 1 and 2 in this compilation) and the Benjamin West portrait, fully authenticated: and the superb Bust of Fulton by J. Antoine Houdon, labelled 'R. Fulton' and signed and dated by the great sculptor, *can or should be considered* a likeness of the inventor."

Pen And Pencil Sketches

By Robert Fulton

Fulton's versatility as an artist and his interest in the everyday affairs of life is shown in a number of sketches which have been saved from the ravages of time. Two sketch-books, one in pen and one in pencil, were among the relics in the old homestead of the Ludlows near Claverack, New York. Ref.: Harper's Weekly, Jan. 26, 1895, v. 39, pp. 86-88. Some of these are as follows:

"INDIAN BASKET-MAKER AND HER SON." Sketched in 1806 in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Reproduced in Harper's Weekly, Jan. 26, 1895, v. 39, p. 87.

A NUMBER OF PICTURES OF SAILORS AT WORK; a rescue of a drowning sailor; and "to show that he could enjoy a joke at his own expense a sketch of a man seated at a table hopelessly seasick, while below is the caption: 'Seasickness—Myself,' and in the corner are the initials, 'R. F.'" Sketched on board ship after leaving Halifax. Ibid.

NUMEROUS PENCIL DRAWINGS OF HEADS, some of personal friends, whose names they bear, and others which as caricatures show considerable cleverness are scattered through the sketch-book. Ibid.

REPRODUCTIONS OF TWO HEADS, "Characteristic Heads," (signed) R. Fulton, 1813. Ibid., p. 87.. India-ink sketches.

A SKETCH OF "PRINCE BERNADOTTE OF SWEDEN, from my memory of 1802, at the Baths of Plombières, France. R. Fulton." Ibid.

"PERPETUAL MOTION MANUFACTORY—1812." (signed) Robt. Fulton.

"Redheffer's Perpetual Motion," an Imposition exposed by Fulton. Exhibited in New York, in 1813, and at the International Maritime Exposition in Bordeaux. Reproduced p. 87, Ibid. Nos. 48, 50, Cat. R. F. Exhib., N. Y., 1909. Dickinson, H. W., "Robert Fulton," p. 270.

PENCIL SKETCH of the transverse sections of Fulton's warship, "Fulton the First," built in the shipyard at Corlears Hook, New York City, and launched October 29, 1814.

A SECTIONAL PLAN OF A MODEL DWELLING HOUSE.

"A drawing by Robert Fulton embodying 'Some Thoughts in Colonnade Architecture, A mode of building which should be universal in the cities of America. They are in every respect comfortable and produce a great economy, but in such work we move slow to improvement, and like all mankind follow old habits, rather than contemplate new.'" Reproduced p. 87, Ibid. Appears quite modernistic.

A DRAWING FOR A SUMMER HOUSE.

Referred to in the "Life and Letters of Joel Barlow," p. 217, in description of Mr. Barlow's improvements at "Kalorama," his cuntryseat near Washington, D. C. "Fulton, who had returned (to America) in 1806, lent his genius to the task of embellishing the house and grounds, there being in one of his letters of the period, a drawing for a summer-house, which he intends, he writes, 'for the grounds of our mansion.'" "

"STEERING BY THE WHEEL." Pencil sketch, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ " x 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ".

In sketch-book of Robert Fulton.

Photograph in Prints Division of New York Public Library.

SKETCH OF A LADY, sitting on the bank of a stream, signed "R. Fulton, Delin" Owned by Mrs. Burt Glidden, Lancaster, Pa., a great-great-granddaughter of Joseph Bringhurst, whose portrait Fulton painted in 1786.

"LA BLANCHISEUSE." India-ink sketch. Size of card 11" x 13".

"The date, March 15, 1783, shows this to have been among Fulton's

earliest efforts and therefore is of particular interest."

Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., 1909, No. 47.

Owned by E. Bringhurst, Jr., Wilmington, Del.

"RUSTIC SCENE WITH RIVER AND RUINS." Sketch in India-ink. 11½"x8½".
Signed by Robert Fulton.

Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., 1909, No. 51.

Owned by E. Bringhurst, Jr., Wilmington, Del.

"To show the pliancy of Fulton's mind, and the versatility of his genius. At a time when he was taking a step, which, as he thought, would be decisive of the fate of nations, which put his life at risk, and might determine his own fortune, he amused himself with making sketches from the scenery of Holland, and representations of the manners, figures, and costumes of the Hollanders; some of them are broad caricatures, which cannot but excite a smile. They are found in his portfolio, and though in general they are but sketches, they show that they are from the hand of a **master, guided by wit and genius.**" Cadwallader D. Colden, in "The Life of Robert Fulton," p. 52.

Portraits Of Robert Fulton

H. W. Dickinson, in "Robert Fulton—Engineer and Artist—His Life and Works," Appendix A, p. 277, says concerning the "Portraits of Robert Fulton": "The difficulty very often in the case of an inventor is to discover a portrait of any kind whatever, but as Fulton was himself an artist and cultivated the fine arts, portraits of him are numerous and the difficulty becomes rather that of discriminating amongst them, so great are the differences not only in merit but in actual representation. Making every allowance for the fact that Fulton undoubtedly changed in appearance as the years went by, it is impossible to accept all the attributions. In the case of one of these reputed portraits, the artist is known to have never painted a portrait of Fulton, and in fact the individual portrayed is someone else altogether. Then, again, copies of these spurious portraits have been multiplied, so that further confusion has been created. Quite a number are attributed to Fulton's own brush, but as he was not a vain person it is difficult to believe that he would have painted himself very often. No one portrait has been generally accepted as the best, although if we judge by the number of times it has been reproduced West's portrait may be said to merit this distinction more than any other."

1. BENJAMIN WEST'S PORTRAIT OF ROBERT FULTON. Universally known.

Oil on canvas. Half-length. Painted in London while the inventor was a pupil of the artist.

Description from photograph of the original: Seated at window with conventional curtain as background. At middle left, river or sea with exploding vessel is shown. High collared dark coat, high white stock with ruffle, light trousers, striped sash. Left arm over back of chair, right hand clasped over left. Dark, wavy hair, dark eyes, strong features, pleasant expression.

A different description of this same painting is given by R. W. G. Vail, Librarian, in American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, Oct. 16, 1935, p. 189, as follows: "Face heavier and more forbidding than in our pleasant faced portrait (referring to the one painted by Miss Emmet), hair smooth and orderly and not ruffled and curly as in most of the other portraits. Details of accessories less distinct than in the other portraits and chair arm not shown. Has the exploding brig in background. Reproduced in New York State Education Department. 'Hudson-Fulton Celebration.' Albany, 1909, p. 53 and elsewhere."

Mr. Vail continues with the following history of this painting: "This portrait was purchased by Fulton's son-in-law, Charles Blight, at the sale of the effects of Benjamin West for \$2000.00. He gave it to his wife Julia Fulton Blight from whom it descended to their daughter Mary Blight, the wife of Francis Macrea of Philadelphia. Having no children, she later gave the portrait to her aunt, Fulton's daughter, Cornelia Livingston Fulton (Mrs. Edward Charles Crary) who gave it to her nephew Robert Fulton Ludlow, of Claverack, N. Y., son of her sister Mary Livingston Fulton (Mrs. Robert M. Ludlow). On his death, the portrait passed into the possession of his widow who presumably still has it."

Reproduced by Mrs. Sutcliffe, in "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 229, and in "The Early Life of Robert Fulton," Century Magazine, v. 76, p. 784.

2. "THE ROBERT FULTON CUTTING PORTRAIT" (28"x36") is another oil portrait attributed to Benjamin West. It is similar to "the Robert Fulton Ludlow" portrait. Of this painting, Mr. Vail (*Ibid.*, p. 190) says: "No reproduction known. Supposed to have been owned by Robert Barlow Fulton, only son of Robert Fulton, who died unmarried in early manhood at the home of his aunt, Mrs. William Cutting, sister of Mrs. Robert Fulton. After the death of Robert Barlow Fulton (interred with the Cutting family in the historic Episcopal Churchyard at Hempstead, Long Island, N. Y.), the portrait is supposed to have passed to his aunt, Mrs. Cutting, and from her to her son, the late Robert Fulton Cutting. It is presumably still owned by his estate."

Mr. Vail continues: "Mrs. Sutcliffe, in a recent letter to the writer, says that this portrait accompanied Robert Fulton when he returned to America in 1806 and that the present Ludlow portrait which is supposed to have remained in West's possession, was probably painted as a precaution against the danger of the loss of the first portrait by shipwreck." Mrs. Sutcliffe further says to E. J. F.: "Similar precaution was exercised by Fulton and so explained by him in making duplicate copies of his Plan for Submarine Navigation and Attack. One copy was left with friends in London: and another brought to America—encased in a circular tin case—when he returned in 1806. The copy he brought with him, which contained several further pages

than the copy left in England, became the property by inheritance of his daughter, Cornelia Livingston (Fulton) Crary and is now through presentation of her grandson, Edward Crary Cammann, in The Congressional Library, Washington, D. C. The copy left for safety in London, England, was purchased, many years later in London, by the distinguished American Engineer, William Barclay Parsons, and after his death, presented by his heirs to the New York Public Library. (Several illustrative Plates of this MSS. are owned by the New Jersey Historical Society.)"

Since the "Ludlow" portrait was purchased by the Fulton family at the West sale, the "Robert Fulton Cutting" portrait must have been the one presented by Benjamin West to Robert Fulton, and referred to by Dunlap as follows: "Robert Fulton, at the age of 21 . . . crossed the Atlantic to seek the instruction of Benjamin West. That Mr. West justly appreciated the character of his young countryman, is attested by his presenting him with two pictures: one representing the great painter with his wife's portrait on his easel; and the other, Fulton's own portrait."

Bibliography: Dunlap, v. I, p. 273; Catalogue, Benjamin West Exhibition, Penna., Museum of Art, Phila., 1938, No. 59.

Robert Fulton's own opinion of these paintings is known from a letter, written by him to Mr. Barlow, then in Washington, dated September, 1806, shortly before leaving London for America, in which he says: "Mr. West has been retouching my pictures: they are charming." (Mrs. Sutcliffe in "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 173).

3. A third PORTRAIT OF ROBERT FULTON almost identical to the two just mentioned, in pose, dress, etc., except that the expression is not so serious, and in place of an exploding brig in the background is a floating steam battery, has been attributed to the distinguished American painter, John Wesley Jarvis, and catalogued thus as No. 3, in the Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., 1909, where it is described thus: "The inventor is seated at a balcony overlooking the sea. Dark crimson drapery marks the background. Face and figure are turned to the left; the hands are clasped in front. Size 27 $\frac{3}{4}$ "x36". However, after this portrait was presented to the American Antiquarian Society, by its Vice-President, Mr. Clarence W. Bowen, in the summer of 1935, a careful analysis of the history of the painting was made, with the following result: "The answer is found in Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet's 'Memoir of Thomas Addis and Robert Emmet with their ancestors and immediate family.' New York, 1915, Vol. 2, pp. 523-527. Summarizing this narrative we find that the author's aunt, Miss Elizabeth Emmet (Mrs. William H. Le Roy) was a talented amateur artist. Her father was one of Fulton's attorneys and his intimate friend. Fulton was a constant visitor at their New York home and, finding that she had talent, he 'devoted much of his spare time for several years to perfecting Miss Emmet's skill in portrait painting.' 'During one of Fulton's visits to my grandfather's (Thomas

Addis Emmet I) house, he became engaged in an animated discussion with Colden, or some other gentleman present. My aunt (Elizabeth Emmet) in a moment of inspiration, made a pencil sketch of Fulton. . . . Before it was finished, Fulton seeing her at work, jumped up and seized it. He was so much impressed with the talent shown, that he at once arranged that my aunt should paint his portrait under his direction, and in the position she had sketched him. It was painted without delay, and when nearly finished he took the brush from her hand and painted in the gun boat (floating steam battery) 'Fulton No. 1,' as seen through the open window. This circumstance establishes the fact that the Emmet portrait of Fulton was painted shortly before his death, and after the vessel had been sheathed.

"The keel for this craft was laid on June 29, 1814 . . . Since an entirely different ship appears in the other portraits of this type, it would seem probable that ours is the original painting made by Miss Emmet in her home in the latter half of 1814. . . . Dr. Emmet states that the chair in which Fulton sits . . . is an Emmet family chair . . . When Cadwallader D. Colden published his life of Fulton in 1817 he used as his frontispiece the Emmet portrait showing the floating battery. Beneath it runs the legend: "Miss Emmet (sic) Pinxit. W. S. Leney Sculpsit. Robert Fulton, Esq. Kirk & Mercein Publishers N. York." "This portrait was so highly valued as an authentic likeness of the inventor that it was chosen as the inspiration for the face of Buberl's full length bronze statue of Fulton erected years ago in the Fulton Ferry House in Brooklyn." R. W. G. Vail, Librarian, American Antiquarian Society Proceedings, Oct. 1935, pp. 183-189.

Reproduced opp. p. 183, Ibid.

According to Mrs. Sutcliffe, in *Century*, Oct., 1909, p. 825, this portrait "formerly belonged to Fulton's biographer, Cadwallader D. Colden, and was subsequently given by Mrs. (David) Colden to the late Dr. Vinton." Mr. Vail believes that this was in 1864, and that at his death in 1872, it descended to his daughters who removed it to their home in Pomfret, Connecticut, and upon the death of the second, Miss Gertrude Vinton, was sold by her brother, Mr. Raymond P. Vinton, in July, 1935, to Mr. Clarence W. Bowen, who immediately presented it to the American Antiquarian Society.

Mrs. Sutcliffe further states: "My first personal knowledge of this portrait came through a statement by the late Bishop Henry Codman Potter, Bishop of New York, in the Poughkeepsie Rectory of my father, the late Rev. Robert Fulton Crary. Bishop Potter said he had seen a portrait of my father's grandfather, Robert Fulton, by Jarvis, in the home of the Misses Vinton at Pomfret, Conn. I subsequently learned from one of these ladies that the portrait had been presented to her father, the late Rev. Dr. Vinton, by Mrs. Colden, widow of Cadwallader D. Colden, biographer of Robert Fulton. There is, however, no question about the fact that Miss Emmet,

daughter of the distinguished Robert Emmet—one-time legal adviser to Rob't Fulton—did paint a portrait of Robert Fulton. This fact was told me by the late Dr. Thos. Addis Emmet with whom I lunched in his Madison Avenue home, in 1908. The friendship between the Emmet and Fulton families was close."

4. "THE ERSKINE HEWITT MINIATURE. Head and shoulders only, curly hair, drapery in background, face resembles that of the Delaplaine engraving. Attributed to John Wesley Jarvis. Supposed to have been acquired from a widow of a relative of the Jarvis family by Mrs. Mary H. Sully who sold it to Mr. Erskine Hewitt of New York, May 19, 1933. On exhibition at the New York Historical Society from 1934 to date. The face resembles the so-called Benjamin West (Delaplaine) type rather than the portrait in the possession of this Society, attributed to Jarvis. A very well executed miniature, possibly copied by Jarvis. No reproduction known." R. W. G. Vail, *Ibid.*, p. 191.
5. BLACK AND WHITE MEDALLION, Portrait of Robert Fulton. By John Vanderlyn. Pencil Drawing. Size, 6½"x 8½". Half-length portrait. "Executed at Joel Barlow's house in Paris, 50 rue Vaugirard, where Fulton was living 1797-1804." Owned by Judge Peter T. Barlow, in 1909. Reproduced by Mrs. Sutcliffe, in "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 114. Lancaster County Historical Society Publication, v. XIII, opposite p. 193. Description: Dark coat, high, white stock. "Features much more softened than other likenesses." The hair appears powdered.

Bibliography: H. W. Dickinson, "Robert Fulton," p. 277. Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., 1909, No. 1.

6. PORTRAIT OF ROBERT FULTON. By Charles Willson Peale. c. 1808. Oil Painting. Half-length. Hangs in Independence Hall, Philadelphia. Lost sight of for many years. Identified by Mr. Charles H. Hart in Banqueting Hall of the Old State House of Penna. about 1913.

Description: Dark, curly hair more closely cut than in most of his portraits, with a lock extending halfway down center of forehead. Dark coat, white stock, white waistcoat, and frill. Strong features, pleasant expression. "Aetatis suae 43."

Bibliography: Catalogue of Portraits in Independence Hall, No. 75. H. W. Dickinson, "Robert Fulton," p. 278. Reproduced, Frontispiece, *Ibid.*

Reproduced in Dunlap's "History of the Arts of Design in the U. S.," 1918, v. 1, facing p. 278; Courtesy of Mrs. C. H. Hart.

Collections: Peale Museum Gallery Sale, Thomas & Sons, Phila., Oct. 6, 1854, (53), (\$55) to P. E. Erben, N. Y. National Museum (Independence Hall), Philadelphia, Pa.

7. PORTRAIT OF ROBERT FULTON. By Robert LeFevre, in 1826. Oval 7¼"x 8½". "This eminent French artist met Fulton during his residence in Paris, and was so impressed with his personality and genius, that

he easily reproduced the marked lineaments from former sketches." (Robert LeFevre was painter to the King and a member of the Legion of Honor.) Owned by J. Wyman Drummond in 1909.

Bibliography: Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 66, Note. Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhib., N. Y., 1909, No. 6.

8. **PORTRAIT OF ROBERT FULTON.** Owned by Mrs. Hermann H. Cammann in 1909. Painted while he was in Holland. •

Bibliography: Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., 1909, No. 5.

9. **PORTRAIT OF ROBERT FULTON.** Artist unknown. Size 24"x 29". "This is a younger Fulton than the Fulton of West and Jarvis. The background is softly neutral. The figure turns to the left. The severe black costume is relieved by high white collar and stock with folds and ruffles." Owned by W. Bayard Cutting in 1909.

Bibliography: Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhib., N. Y., 1909, No. 9.

Note by Mrs. Sutcliffe: "The portrait of Robert Fulton in 'severe black costume' owned by the late Bayard Cutting and shown at the Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, 1909—appeared to have been a likeness of young Robert Barlow Fulton, only son of Robert Fulton, who died unmarried in the home of his aunt, Mrs. William Cutting, at Hempstead, L. I."

10. **MINIATURE OF ROBERT FULTON, on ivory, 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ "x 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ ".**

"This miniature formerly attributed to Malbone. Mr. Wehle attributes it to Anson Dickinson."

Description by F. A. R. L.: Brown hair, hazel eyes. Dark blue coat, white waistcoat, collar, stock, tie and frill. Red pin in frill. Grayish blue sky background with touches of dull pink at left. Protected by a convex glass, in black frame, with gilt border inset around portrait.

Reproduced by Hess, Pittsburgh, F. A. R. L. (5242)

Exhibited at Exhibition of Miniatures, Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y. C., March 14-April 24, 1927. (Herbert Du Puy, Pittsburgh.)

Mrs. Herbert Du Puy Collection, Pittsburgh.

Bibliography: Frick Art Reference Library, New York City.

11. **AMERICAN SCHOOL.** Oval miniature on thin ivory.

Reproduced in "Harper's Weekly," 1895, p. 87. Date and artist unknown. Was property of his daughter, Mrs. Ludlow, who left it to her son, Robert Fulton Ludlow, Claverack, New York.

12. **SHARPLESS PAINTINGS of Robert Fulton and his wife.**

"Like all others of Sharpless' oil portraits, excepting the Washingtons, Fulton's and his wife's portraits were left unfinished. Purchased from Mrs. Sharpless in that state, Romney or Bird finished the portrait of Fulton; Maclise finished the portrait of his wife.

"Fulton was an attached friend of Sharpless, a sympathizing friend; the latter desired to paint his portrait, seeing he was a rising man in his newly adopted profession as an engineer. Sharpless was a skilled mechanic and spoke of Fulton as having greatly served him when in America."

Bibliography: "Catalogue, Descriptive and Historical of the Oil Paintings of Mary, the Mother of Washington and Mary Phillipse (Washington's early love), by Middleton; Also the Sharpless Paintings of Washington and Martha, his Wife, and of ROBERT FULTON and HIS WIFE, and of Priestly and Chief-Justice Marshall; Together with numerous beautiful American Women of the Revolutionary Period. Painted by Sharpless between years 1794-1800." (N. Y.: Trow's Printing & Bookbinding Co., 201-213 E. 12th St., 1886.)

Photogravure reproduction (by Annan & Wood) of the medallion portrait of Fulton by Sharpless, showing the inventor with powdered hair and furred top-coat. Signed Artist's Proof. Owned by Henry C. Swords who was president of the Fulton Trust Co., of N. Y. and an interested student of history and a collector of prints. Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhib., N. Y., 1909, No. 1A.

13. **MINIATURE ON PAPER**, of Robert Fulton.
Owned by S. Walter Kagan, Jersey City.
(Wm. H. Richardson, 250 Union St., Jersey City, 13 August, 1927.)
14. **MINIATURE BUST IN SILHOUETTE**, painted in black and white. Facing to right. By Thomas Edwards.
15. **MINIATURE OF ROBERT FULTON**. Painted during Fulton's residence abroad. Artist unnamed. Mrs. Sutcliffe considers this a charming miniature and acceptable likeness.
This miniature was purchased about 1867, by Mr. C. Colles of Copenhagen (an uncle of the present owner) from an art dealer in London, who informed Mr. Colles that it had formerly belonged to Fulton's friend, the Earl of Stanhope.
Owned in 1909, by Mrs. E. Brewster, Newark, N. J.
Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., 1909, No. 69.
16. **AN AMERICAN LITHOGRAPH** entitled, "Fulton and Napoleon in 1804." Showing Fulton and Napoleon in a chamber of the Tuileries. The inventor is detailing his Steamboat plan to the Emperor, who listens with interest. Lithographed by P. S. Duval, Philadelphia.
Owned by Mrs. Hermann H. Cammann in 1909.
Reproduced by Mrs. Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 161. Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., 1909, No. 10.
17. **SILHOUETTE OF ROBERT FULTON**, by Robert Livingston; and a companion silhouette of Harriet Livingston Fulton, *by* Robert Fulton. Both signed and dated 1813, and in their original old frames, 7"x 8¾". In

each case the likeness is designated also as "of R. Fulton," and as "of Harriet Livingston Fulton."

Mrs. Sutcliffe recently acquired these in a collector's shop in lower New York, and says they are "extremely interesting and unquestionably genuine, as they have the respective distinctive and well-known features of both these beloved ancestors, also my great-grandfather's signature and entitling." From letter to E. J. F., dated May 17, 1938.

Engravings Of Robert Fulton

STEEL ENGRAVINGS

By Leney (a); After West's portrait.

By Leney (b); after Benjamin West. c. 36"x 28".

Reproductions: "Harper's Weekly," 1895, p. 87; Catalogue, Hudson-Fulton Celebration, Metropolitan Museum of Art, N. Y., 1909, v. 2, frontispiece.

R. Fulton Ludlow Collection, Claverack, N. Y.

By United States Bureau of Engraving and Printing.

By Murliton.

By Cramp, Paternoster Row, London.

By W. G. Jackman for D. Appleton.

By Parker, from the original painting by Chappel.

By H. B. Hall, Jr., after the portrait by Benjamin West. Reproduced by E. E. Hale, in "Memories of a Hundred Years," p. 22.

OLD WOOD ENGRAVING of Robert Fulton, "Presented to Dr. Crary by the daughter of the Stewardess of The Clermont."

In addition to these engravings there are others, some unsigned. Most of these are mentioned in Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., 1909, Nos. 61, 63, 64, 65.

Robert Fulton In Sculpture

1. A **MARBLE BUST** by Jean Antoine Houdon, signed and dated "Houdon, An XII (1804) R. Fulton, 38 An," "was exhibited in the French Salon of 1802, and is now in the Musee de Marine, the Louvre. The virile face and the strongly marked yet pleasing features agree well with the descriptions, and suggest that this is the best likeness extant. Till the mistake was pointed out by the author (H. W. Dickinson), the bust at the Louvre was thought to be merely a plaster cast of the original. We believe that the authorities there now (1913) contemplate withdrawing the bust from its present position in order to place it in the Salle Houdon along with the other works of that great sculptor." Dickinson, "Robert Fulton," pp. 277-8. Reproduced: *Ibid.*, facing p. 141; Sutcliffe, "Robert Fulton in France," in "Century," v. 76,

p. 934. Also, Mrs. Sutcliffe, in "Robert Fulton and the Clermont," p. 103, has three views of this bust, "from photographs of the cast in the National Academy of Design. . . . At the suggestion of the Colonial Dames of America, and at their expense, it has been recast in bronze for the New York Historical Society." In explanation of this quotation, Mrs. Sutcliffe has this to say: "The location of the Houdon Bust of Robert Fulton was uncertain. Charles Henry Hart, writing the Life of Houdon, came upon a plaster cast of this Bust on an obscure shelf of The National Academy of Design in New York City and telephoned his discovery to Alice Crary Sutcliffe, who suggested to the Colonial Dames of America the suitability of having this rare find cast in bronze as a gift to The New York Historical Society to commemorate the Hudson-Fulton Celebration. Several duplicates were also cast, one for The Metropolitan Museum, one for the Hudson River Day Line steamboat "Robert Fulton," and one is placed in Fulton's Niche in The Hall of Fame. The work was done under the direction of the well-known artist, Quincy-Adams Ward, by the John Williams Bronze Company of New York. The latter company presented to Mrs. Sutcliffe, in recognition of her part in the transaction, a plaster cast of the Bust; and Mrs. Sutcliffe ordered two additional plaster casts, one of which she presented to her father, Rev'd Robert Fulton Crary, and one to Mr. and Mrs. H. Schuyler Carrmann. This Bust constitutes a remarkable and faithful likeness of Robert Fulton, by which all others should be compared."

A plaster copy of this bust by Houdon was presented to the Lancaster County Historical Society by the National Academy of Design of New York, November 1, 1924.

2. A FULL LENGTH BRONZE STATUE of Fulton in the Fulton Ferry House in Brooklyn, by Buberl, with face based on the portrait by Miss Emmet. Both Mrs. Sutcliffe and H. W. Dickinson say it is modeled after the John Wesley Jarvis portrait—however, see notes on 3rd portrait of Robert Fulton by Miss Emmet.

Bibliography: H. W. Dickinson, "Robert Fulton," p. 278; R. W. G. Vail, in American Antiquarian Proceedings, Oct. 16, 1935, p. 184.

Reproduced by Mrs. Sutcliffe in "Robert Fulton and the Clermont, p. 244.

3. MARBLE STATUE of Robert Fulton in Statuary Hall, in the U. S. Capitol, Washington, D. C., presented to the United States Government by Fulton's native state, Pennsylvania, which has the distinction of furnishing the first and only seated statue, that of Fulton, for Statuary Hall. It was executed in 1881, by Howard Roberts, who was born in Philadelphia in 1843 and died in Paris, April 19, 1900.

Reproduced photograph of replica in Lancaster County Historical Society Publication, v. XIII, facing p. 216.

Miniature replicas in plaster are found in many homes in Lancaster and elsewhere.

In an old clipping from the New York Times, we have the following description of the Howard Roberts statue of Robert Fulton which is in Statuary Hall in the Capitol in Washington: "The statue is cut in pure white marble, somewhat more than life-size. Fulton is represented sitting in a large arm chair, studying a model of a steamboat, which is grasped in both hands and resting upon his knee. His coat is off, and he wears the full waistcoat and loose shirt-sleeves, and the knee-breeches and low shoes of his time. The costume, in short, is that of a well-dressed man in his workshop, and some books and tools about the base of the statue carry out this thought. These are the mechanical details. One will notice first the fine head, surmounted by an abundance of curling hair, and the beautifully chiseled face. It recalls the portraits of Fulton, but it is a stronger face than the engravings show us, and the high-bred air is perhaps a little idealized, as is right enough. This is plainly an earnest and capable man who sits here absorbed in thought. He is not posing for his portrait; he is not thinking about his attitude at all, but has allowed his muscles to relax and his body to sink down in his chair while his gaze is fixed upon the model on his knee and his mind upon the possibilities of its improvement. It is a portrait of Fulton, but it might also stand as an ideal personification of the inventor. You do not need a label on this statue to tell you that this man is working out a problem in his mind, and when you look at his face you are sure that he will master the problem. The ability, the energy of purpose, the power of concentrated thought which enabled Fulton to bring his many inventions into successful use, are plainly recognizable in this face and figure, more plainly, it may be, than they could have been in the man himself."

4. A BRONZE STATUE of Robert Fulton by Lewis Potter is located in the gallery of the main reading room of the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C. It is one of sixteen bronze statues surrounding the gallery which represent leaders in great fields of learning and achievement. Commerce is represented by Robert Fulton, holding a model of his first steamboat, the Clermont.

Reference: Chief of the Division of Fine Arts, Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., in letter under date of May 4, 1938.

5. WOODEN STATUE of Robert Fulton on Facade of Fulton Hall, Lancaster, Pa. Mr. Walter C. Hager, in his paper on "Fulton Hall and its Graven Image," in the Lancaster County Historical Society Publication, v. XXII, No. 9, 1918, says: "The files of the 'Intelligencer' revealed, in issue of March 21, 1854, two years after the erection of Fulton Hall, that 'A splendid statue of Robert Fulton was on Thursday placed in its appropriate niche.' It attracted much attention, and was carved by Mr. Cannon, of Philadelphia." Mr. Hager stated that J. Augustus Beck of Harrisburg, but originally of Lancaster County, who was both a sculptor and painter, was particularly interested in this statue, "probably due in part to the fact that he, while a student of sculpture in Rome, about 1856, contemplated the execution of a marble statue of Fulton for Lancaster City." Ibid., p. 148.

This statue, carved in cedar wood, of which figure-heads of ships are made, is described by Mr. Hager as "an interesting and decorative work. There is good characterization and dignity. The pose is somewhat stiff, and the scroll in hand a conventional feature, but the artist's admirable use of a military cloak gives a richness to the composition which is artistic and effective. There is rugged treatment of the head and hair which is strong in effect and is very similar to that used by Howard Roberts in his statue of Fulton which stands under the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington, a companion piece to Miss Blanche Nevin's statue of General Muhlenberg. It would be interesting to know which of the then existing portraits of Fulton was the basis of Cannon's Fulton, for of course it was not done from life, as Fulton died in 1815. There is quite a marked similarity in the likeness as portrayed by Cannon in 1852 and Roberts about 1880, and both probably based their work on the celebrated bust by Jean Houdon (1741-1828), and the oil portrait by Benjamin West, president of the Royal Academy."

Of the artist, Hugh Cannon, Mr. Hager says that he "had marked talent and considerable distinction as a sculptor," "evident from the fact that he is represented in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia by marble busts of Henry Clay, Nicholas Biddle, and of the sculptor himself. Mr. Beck also related that Cannon executed a marble bust of Frederick Groff, engineer, which was placed under a monumental canopy at Fairmount Water Works, Philadelphia."

Reproduced photograph; Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc. Pub., v. XXII, facing p. 146.

6. A MARBLE BUST of Robert Fulton, by Bremond, after the original by Houdon.

Presented to the City Council of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1883, by the late J. H. Mey, Charleston merchant. Stands in City Council Chamber. Said to have cost \$7,000.00, and is a particularly beautiful piece of marble work.

It bears this inscription:

ROBERT FULTON
THE FATHER OF STEAM NAVIGATION

By his Genius and Labor, with the Generous Assistance of
Robert R. Livingston, American Minister to France, He
Contributed Largely to the Progress of Commerce
Throughout the World

Born 1765

Died 1815

The bust itself is approximately 20"x 28", and stands on a marble base which is approximately 13"x 24".

Reference: Letter from A. J. Tamsberg, Clerk of Council, to E. J. F., dated May 19, 1938.

7. THE BRONZE BAS-RELIEF on the monument to Fulton, in Trinity Churchyard in New York City, was modeled after the so-called "Self-portrait" owned by the American Society of Mechanical Engineers, New York.

Bibliography: Lee, p. 308; "Hudson-Fulton Celebration," Sept. 25-Oct. 9, 1909, p. 57, a brochure for the use of the schools of the State, compiled and edited by Harlan Hoyt Horner (Albany, N. Y., State Education Department, 1909).

8. WHITE-METAL MEDAL with relieve portrait of Robert Fulton, and the inscription: "Fulton Institute, Lancaster, Pa. Founded 1858."

Reproduced by Mrs. Sutcliffe, in "Early Life of Robert Fulton," in Century Magazine, v. 76, p. 783.

9. RELIEVO MEDALLION of Robert Fulton.

Modeled for Machinery Hall, Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, N. Y.

A duplicate is owned by Mrs. Sutcliffe, to whom two copies were presented from the Exposition. She gave one to her cousin, Mr. Cammann, who presented it to the Merrick library.

Bibliography: Catalogue, Official Robert Fulton Exhibition, N. Y., 1909, No. 16.

10. MEDAL OF SOLID SILVER, commemorating the Hudson-Fulton celebration. Presented to the Lancaster County Historical Society from the Hudson-Fulton Commission, through the Hon. James M. Beck, a member of the commission. It was one of ten memorial medals of the New York celebration, "presented only to the most notable scientific and historical bodies of the country, such as the Smithsonian Institute, the Stevens Institute, etc." The medal weighs "fourteen ounces. The reverse is devoted to the Fulton observance. It is treated with a classical design, consisting of three seated, draped female figures. The central figure holds in her lap a model of the Clermont. The figure on her right rests one hand on another, representing Commerce, while the figure at her left holds a pen and scroll representing History. Upon a tablet in the central background between two columns is a portrait of Fulton, made after Benjamin West's painting, and surrounded by a wreath. At the bottom of the medal is the legend: 'First use of steam in navigation on the Hudson river, 1807.' The obverse is indicative of the Hudson observance, the main feature being a representation of the sailors of the Half Moon watching the heaving of the lead."

Bibliography: Lanc. Co. Hist. Soc. Pub., v. XIII, p. 232.

Lancaster County and the Swedish Settlement on the Delaware

By GEORGE L. HEIGES¹

When the Swedish ships, "Kalmar Nyckel" and "Fogel Grip" cast anchor at the present site of Wilmington, Delaware, on the 8th day of April in the year 1638, the formation of Lancaster County was not even being dreamed about. Ninety-one years were to elapse before Lancaster County was to come into being.

The Swedish occupancy of the Delaware Valley continued for a period of seventeen years, and during that time, various purchases of land from the Indians included at least part of present Lancaster County. This fact is stated in the History of New Sweden, which Israel Acrelius wrote in 1758. He said, "The land on the west side of the river [Delaware] which the Swedes had purchased of the heathen, first in Minuit's² time and afterward under Governor Printz, or had acquired a right to under agreement, stretched from Cape Hinlopen to the Falls of the Delaware and thence westward to the Great Falls in the Susquehanna, near the mouth of the Conewago Creek."

¹ The Lancaster County Historical Society held a meeting on April 1 with a program commemorating the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of Pennsylvania by the Swedes on the Delaware. The speaker was George L. Heiges, of Manheim, Pa., member of the Marker Committee and an authority on "Baron" Stiegel and Lutheran Church history. During the course of the meeting, recitations were given in the Swedish language by Elaine Johnson, who appeared in native Swedish holiday attire. Her mother, Mrs. Hilmer Johnson, a native of Sweden, also recited, and at the close of the session served Swedish pastry and coffee cakes, which she had prepared. The thanks of the Society were extended to those who aided in making the meeting so interesting.—Ed.

² Peter Minuit—first director of the Colony of New Sweden.

While the Swedes never pioneered within present Lancaster County with a view to establishing settlements, we are told that they did come this far in their traffic with the Susquehanna Indians, whom they knew as Minquas. Acrelius wrote that the tribes of the Minquas "extended twelve Swedish miles [ninety-three English miles] into the interior of the country, on to the Conestoga and the Susquehanna, where they had a fort which was a square surrounded by palisades with some iron pieces on a hill, and some houses within it. But some of them were with the Swedes every day, who, also, once or twice a year, made a journey up into the country among the Minequesses [Minquas], with their wares for sale. The road was very difficult, over sharp gray stones, morasses, brooks, and streams, which can still be very well seen by those who travel between Christina [Wilmington] and Lancaster."

It may be supposed that since the Swedes journeyed this far into the interior to barter with the Indians, the early Swedish missionaries also came hither purposing in their hearts to Christianize the natives. According to a narrative which first appeared in Proud's History of Pennsylvania (1797) and reappeared in Rupp's History of Lancaster County (1845), a Swedish missionary was stationed at the Indian village of Conestoga about 1710.

This is the story as it appears in Proud's history: "In or about the year of our Lord, 1710, a Swedish missionary preached a sermon, at an Indian treaty, held at Conestoga in Pennsylvania; in which sermon he set forth original sin, the necessity of a mediator; and endeavoured by certain arguments to induce the Indians to embrace the Christian religion. After he had ended his discourse, one of the Indian chiefs made a speech in reply to the sermon; and the discourses, on both sides, were made known by interpreters. The missionary, upon his return to Sweden, published his sermon, and the Indian's answer. Having wrote them in Latin, he dedicated them to the University of Upsala,³ and requested them to furnish him with arguments, to confute the strong reasoning of the Indians."

The close of the Indian chief's reply, translated from the Latin, is as follows, "Once more—Are the Christians more virtuous? or rather, are they not more vicious than we are? If so, how came it to pass that they are the objects of God's beneficence, while we are neglected? Does he daily confer His favors without reason, and with so much partiality? In a word: we find the Christians much more depraved in their morals than we are—and we judge from their doctrine by the badness of their lives."

Proud took this story from an earlier Pennsylvania imprint, and apparently made no effort to authenticate it. If he had gone further into the subject he might have discovered the identity of the Swedish missionary. At this day, we can only partly identify him as the Rev. Jonas Auren, who came from Sweden in 1697 and preached at Elk River in Maryland, and Raccoon in New Jersey. This one little note by Dr. Wm. M. Reynolds, translator of the his-

³ A famous university in Sweden, founded in 1477.

tory by Provost Israel Acrelius, would lead us to believe that the missionary in the story might have been Auren. It appears from his letter to his colleague, the Rev. Eric Tob. Björck, that Auren actually engaged in missionary work among the Indians at Conestoga.

Not long after the arrival of Auren in America, the death of Charles XI of Sweden occurred, and Auren then concluded to remain in this country. He became very intimate with the mystics on the Wissahickon, and with the Sabbatarians at Philadelphia and Providence, and was converted to their Seventh-Day views.

Rev. Theodore Emanuel Schmauk, in his "Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania," writes:

"In accordance with the intent of the trust funds which had brought the pastors across the sea, and with the original purpose of Gustavus Adolphus in founding the Swedish settlement, and with the object of Campanius in translating the catechism, five hundred copies of which were now in America awaiting use, it fell to Auren's lot to go into the interior and preach the gospel to the Indians. Auren gives an account of this work in Björck's "Disertatio Gradualis," de Plantatione Eccl. Sved. under date January 13, 1699-1700. He penetrated as far as the Conestoga region in Lancaster County a quarter of a century before the white men settled there, and nearly forty years before the Moravian missionaries made their appearance on the territory of the Red Men. By a strange coincidence he is said to have preached and impressed his Seventh-Day teachings on the Indians in the neighborhood of Ephrata. This was years before the Ephrata Seventh-Day community was founded. In 1700 Auren published his reasons for becoming a Sabbatarian in Leed's Almanac, under the title, 'Noah's Dove.'"

"This publication by Auren stirred up much trouble in the Lutheran congregations on the Delaware, and Björck answered it by publishing another pamphlet, also in English, entitled, 'A Little Olive Branch, put in the mouth of the so-called Noah's Dove. Printed and sold by William Bradford at the sign of the Bible in New York, 1704.' (It was a small quarto, and the only copy known to exist was on exhibition at the Bradford exhibit by the Grolier Club in New York in 1893.) The year after Auren's arrival, and two years before the publication of his erratic views, Auren laid the corner stone of the old Swedes Church of Wilmington (Holy Trinity of Christiana) on the 7th day, Saturday, May 28, 1698. Auren was also present as assistant at the consecration of Gloria Dei Church, July 2, 1700, but he does not seem to have been present at the ordination of Justus Falckner in Gloria Dei, November 24, 1703. He was called as pastor to the Raccoon Church in New Jersey and, as he there preached his Sabbatarian doctrine, Björck cited him to appear before the governor of New York. The governor permitted him to return to Raccoon Church as pastor, with the understanding that he was to preach the orthodox Lutheran doctrine to his congregation on Sunday, while he and his family were at liberty to keep the seventh day. In November, 1710, when

Auren was living near the Susquehanna River, he was married by Rev. Björck to Lydia, daughter of Hans Giostason. He died at the Raccoon Church, February 16, 1713. He was buried there by Lidenius and Sandel."

Any further light on the subject of a Swedish missionary in Lancaster County, as early as 1700, is lacking.⁴ Definitely, it is known that a Swedish Lutheran pastor came to Lancaster in 1739, not however to preach to the Indians, but to minister to the German Lutherans. Indeed, it is only through Swedish pastors who, in the course of their ministerial work or of their travels, came this way, that any connections can be established between the Swedish colony on the Delaware and Lancaster County.

The first house of worship within the present boundaries of Pennsylvania was built by the Swedes on Tincum Island in the Delaware River in 1646. In the steeple of the church was placed an eighty-one pound bell which had been brought from Sweden for the very purpose for which it was used. That bell pealed out many an invitation to divine worship during the years that Tincum Island was first the capital of the colony, and later when it had lost that status but was still an important Swedish community.

Even though the Colony of New Sweden came to an end in 1655, the Swedish population continued to thrive and grow in numbers under the rule first of the Dutch and then of the English. Correspondingly, the Swedish Church prospered and it is remarkable that the nation of Sweden, having lost her colony in the New World, nevertheless continued to send pastors who faithfully served their countrymen in the Delaware Valley for almost two centuries.

By the year 1700, Tincum Island had lost its importance, and in that particular year a new church, named Gloria Dei (Glory to God) was built at the rising Swedish community of Wicaco (now in Philadelphia). In the steeple of the new church was hung the old bell that had pealed out its message from the steeple of the Tincum Island church since 1646. Old Gloria Dei is still standing, and is in an excellent state of preservation—the oldest church building in Pennsylvania and still regularly used Sunday after Sunday.

With the coming of the Germans to Pennsylvania and their subsequent efforts to organize German Lutheran Congregations, the Swedish Lutheran pastors, when called upon to render service, gladly cooperated. In 1739-1740, Rev. John Dylander, pastor of Gloria Dei came to Lancaster and ministered to the Lutherans, who up to that time were without a regular pastor. He was an able man and could preach equally well in Swedish, German and English, and from a contemporary report gave entire satisfaction.

⁴ John Abr. Lidenius, Jr., a Swedish preacher, labored at Little Conestoga about 1752, but "found only a faint greeting, a weary body, and small pay.

Thomas Chalkley, Quaker preacher, paid a religious visit to the Indians at Conestoga in 1705.

In fact, Rev. Dylander made such a very good impression that "the German Lutherans in Lancaster had sent a petition to His Majesty, Frederick I, begging that in view of the confidence which they had in the Swedish clergy, as well as the great edification they had already experienced from their ministrations, His Majesty would be pleased to gratify them by sending a Teacher to their congregation. The matter was referred to the Archbishop and Consistory of Upsala, who thereupon provided and called two clergymen to be sent to America, Mr. Gabriel Naesman of Gestrícia for the Swedish congregation in Philadelphia, and Mr. Hedstrand of East Gothland for the German Lutheran congregation in Lancaster. Both were ordained for this purpose in the Cathedral of Upsala, in the month of May, 1742. But when the question arose in regard to the expenses of the journey for Mr. Hedstrand, nothing could be drawn therefore from the Royal Treasury; neither had the congregation of Lancaster sent such a positive obligation for it, that full confidence could be given to it; nor was there any plan for receiving an advance of one thousand dollars silver for this object, even supposing payment to be made at the minister's arrival. For these reasons, Mr. Hedstrand relinquished the call." Mr. Naesman, who was ordained with Mr. Hedstrand, accepted his call and took up the work at Gloria Dei as successor to the deceased Rev. Dylander. During the years 1745-1747, Rev. Naesman from time to time ministered to the Lancaster Lutherans.

However, after the death of Rev. Dylander, the Swedish Church authorities in Philadelphia had sent Lorentz T. Nyberg, another of their preachers, to the congregation of Trinity Lutheran Church in Lancaster. He came in 1744 and made his home here, thereby becoming the first resident pastor of Trinity Church. Rev. Nyberg immediately became popular, but soon lost that popularity when he threw his congregation into a ferment. Shortly after his arrival, it was learned that he was sympathetic to the teachings of Count Zinzendorf, and as there was very definite antagonism between Lutherans and Zinzendorfiens in that far-off day, it may well be imagined that Nyberg's sympathies made him a suspicious character. Before his first year as pastor was over, he had declared openly in favor of Zinzendorf and the Moravian Church, and gained some followers for his avowed leader. The Lutherans then informed the Governor of the Commonwealth that they were compelled to hear a doctrine which they did not approve or they must resign their church. The Governor kindly informed them that he could not interfere. The church was next closed to Rev. Nyberg, and an unpleasant situation continued for some time. At the height of the excitement, the mighty Henry Melchoir Muhlenberg came to Lancaster and by his good offices brought peace to the congregation. Finally, Nyberg left the Lutheran Church and organized the first Moravian Church of Lancaster. He served as the first pastor of this congregation, and directed the building of their first church edifice on Orange Street in 1746.

Rev. Nyberg's activities extended to the town of Lititz, where he first preached to Lutherans, Reformed, Mennonites and Moravians in the year 1744. The log church in which he preached stood near the road to Lancaster

and was known as St. James Church, having been dedicated by Nyberg on the festival of St. James, July 25, 1744. Here he preached stately once a month for two years, until he left the ministry of the Lutheran Church, when he was then able to hold preaching services in Lititz every Sunday. In the history of the Lititz Moravian Church, the Swedish preacher Nyberg is considered as the third pastor of the congregation. During his pastorate, he laid the corner stone of the first Gemeinhaus (School and Meeting House).

During the years that Nyberg preached at Lititz, various itinerant Moravian ministers visited this section, and for all of them Rev. Nyberg opened his pulpit. Among them was a Swede by the name of Abraham Reinke. Acrelius mentions this man in his history, and from that book as well as other sources, we get the following information about "Abraham Reinke the Herrenhutter."

Abraham Reinke, the son of Peter Reinke, merchant, was born in Stockholm, Sweden, on the 17th of April, 1712. Coming from a devout Lutheran family, he was expected to enter the Lutheran ministry. Instead, early in his young manhood, he cast his lot with the Moravians, and becoming one of their preachers, did missionary work for them in Russia, in England, and at various places throughout Europe. In company with Bishop Spangenberg, he came to America in 1744 and went directly to Bethlehem in Pennsylvania. Leaving there, he itinerated in West Jersey among the descendants of the early Swedish settlers, to whom he preached in their native Swedish tongue. Later, he preached in Lancaster, Lititz, Philadelphia and Nazareth. He is considered as the fourth pastor of the Lancaster Moravian Church and the ninth pastor of the Moravian Congregation at Lititz.

Abraham Reinke had two children, one of whom was Abraham, Jr. Following in his father's footsteps, he became a Moravian preacher, and during a long life, ministered to Moravians at Heidelberg, Hebron, York, Lancaster, Hope and Nazareth. At various times from 1783 to 1833, he served as pastor at Lititz. Abraham Reinke, Jr., was the father of six children, one of whom was Johanna Augusta. She became the wife of John Beck, the illustrious educator of Lititz. His son, Abraham Beck, who was also a well-known educator and churchman, was the father of Dr. Herbert H. Beck, president of the Lancaster County Historical Society. Thus, Lancaster County's connection with the Colony of New Sweden is brought to our very hearth.

There were other Swedes who came to America prior to the Revolutionary War who deserve some little place in Lancaster County annals. One of these was Peter Kalm, eminent Swedish botanist, and associate of Karl Linnaeus. He came to America to collect seeds and plants which might with advantage be transferred to Sweden. Every phase of natural history, and in fact everything and everybody—he even preached for a while at Raccoon, N. J.—interested him, and the many notes which he made during 1749-1751 were the basis of his book, "Travels," which was published in Sweden on his return, and reprinted in the United States in 1937.

In June, 1750, he visited Lancaster County. Concerning the city of Lancaster, he made this one observation, "The Town Hall is located in the center of the town and round about is the market place, almost the same as in Fredricksham [Finland]." He went to Ephrata, and wrote this after his visit: "The doors in the Ephrata Protestant Convent, about thirteen or fourteen miles from Lancaster, are so narrow that only one person can pass through at a time, and if he is fat he cannot get in at all. Our Royal Councillor (Count Cedercreutz) would therefore have to stay out. The doors are made of a single board of *Liriodendron tulipifera* or tulip tree."

Another famous Swede, who visited Ephrata in 1753, was Rev. Israel Acrelius, whose very complete "History of New Sweden" has been referred to several times. Acrelius's History was published in Stockholm, 1758, and ranks as one of the first, if not the first, historical writings relating to the United States, and written by one who lived here. For seven years, from 1749 to 1756 he was pastor of Holy Trinity Swedish Lutheran Church at Wilmington, Delaware, and provost over all the Swedish congregations in Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey and Maryland. Acrelius visited the Ephrata Community in 1753 and has left us in his history, perhaps the best account of life at the Cloisters. That account in full appears at the end of this essay.

Rev. Acrelius arrived in America one year after the German Lutheran preachers, under the leadership of Rev. H. M. Muhlenberg, organized a Synod to which the Swedish pastors were invited. While Acrelius did not attend many of the joint synodical meetings, he became an admirer and friend of Muhlenberg.

Muhlenberg, however, was more closely associated with Rev. Carolus Magnus Wrangel, who was provost of the Swedish churches and pastor of Gloria Dei from 1759 to 1768. Wrangel and Muhlenberg were energetic, earnest men, and their friendship was based on mutual respect for each others talents, education and spiritual insight. It is said that Wrangel never missed a meeting of the joint Synod of the Swedish and German churches. He was in Lancaster at the Synodical meeting of 1761, and took an active part in the proceedings. Synod was held in Lancaster that year, so that all of the ministers could be present at the laying of the corner stone of Trinity Lutheran Church. On the morning of May 18, the members of Synod gathered in the old church building of Trinity congregation, and listened to a discourse by Dr. H. M. Muhlenberg. After the service, they went outside and gathered at the corner where the stone was to be laid. The stone being laid in place, Swedish Provost Wrangel stepped forward and with a mallet struck the stone three times, uttering these words, "In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen." Every member of Synod, as well as every church officer, then approached the stone and struck it three times with the mallet. In such manner was the corner stone of the present Trinity Church edifice laid.

In September, 1772, the Synod again came to Lancaster for its annual meeting, and on the night of September 29, Swedish pastor Goeransson of

Gloria Dei preached in English on Luke 5: 1-11. Rev. Goeransson was pastor during the turbulent days of the Revolutionary War, when churches feared that the bells would be taken from their steeples to be made into cannon balls. The bell of Gloria Dei, which was the same bell that had been brought from Sweden in 1644, was therefore taken from the steeple and hidden. Just where it was hidden is still vague, but it has been said that it was taken to Lancaster by ox-team, and buried in the ground until after the war.

The last pastor to be sent to the Swedish churches on the Delaware was Rev. Nicholas Collin. He arrived at Philadelphia in 1770, and began a remarkable career of ministerial labor and scientific investigation. He frequently came to Lancaster to lecture, and to hunt botanical specimens. In 1786, Rev. Collin succeeded to the rectorship of Gloria Dei parish, and continued there until shortly before his death in 1831.

Years before his end, it was tacitly understood that he would be the last of the Swedish pastors. Nothing was changed until after his death, and then the three Swedish Lutheran Churches in Pennsylvania left the fold of their mother church and became a part of the Episcopalian Diocese of Pennsylvania.⁵

The colony of New Sweden came to an end in 1655, the Swedish Church in Pennsylvania lost its identity in 1831, but the contributions made by the original Swedish settlers before 1700, and by their descendants since 1700, to the religious, cultural and scientific life of Pennsylvania will ever be an important chapter in the history of our Commonwealth.

We suggest
placing here
the "Swedish"
commemorative
stamp issued
June 27, 1938.

⁵ Many years before this, the German Lutherans and Swedish Lutherans severed their relations.

Visit by the Provost Magister, Israel Acrelius¹ to the Ephrata Cloister, August 20, 1753

Taken from "A History of New Sweden," by Israel Acrelius. Published in Stockholm 1759. Reprinted by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1874. Translated from the Swedish by William M. Reynolds, D.D.

Ephrata is a place in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, eleven and a half English miles from the town of Lancaster, in Cocalicoa Township, situate on the Cocalicoa Creek, between two hills. It is a Protestant cloister, having in possession about one hundred and thirty acres of land, well situated, and built with a number of wooden houses at some distance apart, with apple-trees planted in the intervening spaces. There are also grape-vines there of a good quality, but not in any great number.

The people who live here are called by the English, Dumplers, by the Germans, Dunkers, from "duncken" or "tuncken," "to dip," as they are a kind of Anabaptists. From this the town is called by a nickname, but generally Dunkers' Town.

The arrangement of the cloister-life was made by Conrad Beisel, formerly a German burgher, who still lives in Ephrata, or Dunkers' Town, as the Director of the whole community, and he is now about 64 years of age. He is a small, lean man, has gray and bushy hair, is quick in his utterance as well as in his movements. Twenty-two years since he first chose for himself the life of a hermit, building for this purpose a small house on the banks of the Cocalicoa. After some time he took a notion to establish a society of his own, upon principles derived in part from other sects, and in part the product of his own brain. His undertaking prospered, and Germans of both sexes came thither, united with him, and made him their priest, chief man, and director of the whole society, not only of the cloister, but of all the brethren in their faith living in this country. From this time he called himself "Friedsam" (Peaceful); as it is also an established regulation in their society, that all who are admitted among them shall receive a new name in baptism, as a sign that they have come into a new condition, different from that of the great and wicked world. The brethren and sisters call him Father Friedsam, which is also his common name in the country. He calls himself "Friedsam, the elder brother." He preaches among them, and administers the sacraments as a Minister. As a Director, he makes laws and regulations.

Next to him is a chief over the cloister, or, as they call it, the "Community." His name is Eleazar; suggested, undoubtedly, by the office which he exercises in the economy of the cloister, that is, to receive and distribute

¹ Israel Acrelius was a Swedish American Historian, born in Sweden, 1714, Provost of the Swedish Lutheran Churches on the Delaware, and pastor at Fort Christina (Wilmington, Delaware), 1749-56.

the provisions, to purchase clothing according to the wants of the convent, also food and the like. He was now 42 years old, and had lived nineteen years in the fraternity. His father, 60 years of age, was also in the convent, but, as he had come in later, his son was his superior. A similar arrangement also exists among the Nuns.

There was also a brother named Jabez, who, before his rebaptism, was called Peter Müller. He had been a German Calvinistic² Minister, came into the country, according to their custom, as a candidate for the Ministry in the Reformed Church of the country, was afterwards ordained by the Presbyterian Minister, Mr. Andrew, in Philadelphia, and for a long time preached in various parts of the country among the Germans before that, eighteen years since he betook himself to Ephrata. He is a learned man, understands the Oriental languages, speaks Latin, discusses theological controversies as well as other sciences; although, in his present condition, he has forgotten much. He is of a good stature, with a friendly face and friendly manners, on which account strangers always get introduced to him, and seek his society. He is open-hearted towards those to whom he takes a liking, and is modest and genial. The brethren have great respect for him, and not without reason, for he is a prudent man, upon whom their order chiefly depends, although he gives himself no higher name than that of a simple brother. In their Public Worship he reads the Scriptures, and also baptizes when so directed by Father Friedsam.

Father Friedsam lives by himself in a little house between the brothers' and the sisters' cloisters, being waited upon by the brethren, and has his food from their kitchen. He lives in entire solitude, except when messengers go out or in, or he performs his duties in the congregation.

The brethren have their convent below, for the houses stand near to each other, with their rear running back to the stream. It is three stories high, and contains about one hundred rooms. The cells are about four paces long and two broad, and there are usually three cells to each antechamber. There is one man to each cell. One iron stove usually serves to warm two or three rooms. The house has a wing. In the lowest story is the brethren's church, in the next their refectory, in the uppermost their store-rooms for their economical purposes. All their doors are unusually narrow, the stairs steep and narrow, so that other people find difficulty in getting along them. The windows are in like manner small. No chair is seen in their rooms, but only narrow benches; but these as well as the floor are just as clean and bright as though they had been newly scoured. The inside of the house is plastered and whitewashed.

The sisters' convent, standing by itself, is built on the hill above, and arranged in a similar manner, having its own refectory and its own church in a wing of the house. They have also some other small houses for work close by.

² That is, "Reformed," as distinguished from Lutheran.

The business of the brethren outside of the house is to work in the fields, meadows, and woods, as also at their mill. The greater part of them seemed to be brought up to agricultural labors. Others labor inside of the convent at all sorts of handicrafts, such as shoemaking, tailoring, weaving cloth and stockings, and the like, partly for the use of the cloisters and partly for sale, and so as to enable them to purchase other necessaries. Others attend to other domestic duties, such as cooking, baking, housecleaning, washing clothes, etc., for all the work is done by the brethren without any female assistance in the men's cloister.

The sisters also live by themselves in their convent, engaged in spinning, sewing, writing, drawing, singing, and other things. The younger sisters are mostly employed in drawing. A part of them are just now constantly engaged in copying musical note-books for themselves and the brethren. I saw some of these upon which a wonderful amount of labor had been expended.³

The dress of the brethren is a long, close coat, the skirts of which overlap each other, and are fastened with hooks quite down to the feet, with narrow sleeves, and the collar fitted close around the neck; also a girdle around the middle of the coat. When they wish to be well dressed, a habit is also worn over the close coat, like a chasuble in front, which is thrown over the head; but back of the head is a cape or hood to draw over the head in bad weather, and below this a round cape which hangs down over the back. In summer-time the clothes are of linen or cotton, and entirely white; in the winter-time they are of white woollen cloth. On work-days they have coarse coats usually fastened around them by a leather girdle. But upon their Sunday-clothes the girdles are either of embroidered woollen stuff or linen. Members of the congregation living in the country dress like those in the cloisters when they come to their church. However, they have clothes of various colors and of the usual fashion. Some have inserted in front on their hoods a piece of pasteboard, which serves as a guard to the capoch when it is drawn over the head. The brethren of the convent wear no shirts, but have their woollen coats next to their body. In summer-time they go barefooted; if they wear shoes, they are either of the usual sort with strings, or they are of wool above and a leather sole below. Some wear straw hats when they are traveling over the country; but most of them use their cape or hood as a hat or cap.

The sisters' dress was also a long, close coat; but we noticed that they all had linen girdles. The hood which they always had over their heads was sewed on to the coat. Their coats are also of linen or cotton stuff in summer; in winter of wool, without any linen next to their body. They also go barefooted in summer.

This dress makes them look quite thin, which their scanty food aids, as

³ In a visit made to Ephrata in 1860, the translator [of this narrative] also had the pleasure of seeing these remarkable and beautiful musical collections. One of these beautiful books is in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, in Philadelphia.

shall be described hereafter. Hence they are very quick and rapid in their movements, are not troubled by their narrow doors or their steep and narrow stairs. It seemed strange that they could go so thinly clad in the autumn.

Sometimes the brethren and sisters come together, when they invite each other to their love-feast, which, however, are celebrated in a very sparing style. If either party wish to hold a love-feast, it must be first notified to Father Friedsam, who grants permission thereto. If any of the brethren out in the country wish to hold this, he lets Father Friedsam know that his house can hold all the brethren and all the sisters, who are invited at the same time through Father Friedsam. If he informs them that his house can hold only a portion of them, then he has permission both to invite and to select his guests. If any love-feast is made within the convent, the brothers invite any sisters, or the sisters invite any brothers, at their pleasure. Sometimes the invitations are so secret that the others know nothing about it until the meal is prepared. No one goes to a love-feast without an invitation.

They are very hospitable to strangers, friendly, and cheerful. When, on the 7th of September, 1753, I went to visit them in company with Mr. George Ross, we were received and treated as old friends. He had visited them several times before, and was also a man of importance in the country, which had something to do with the matter. We first announced ourselves to Müller, and were heartily welcomed. I informed him that I was a Swedish Minister, and had long been desirous of seeing them. "So," said Müller, "will you also see this poor place? But however poorly we live here, and although we live here, and although we live almost entirely by ourselves, yet we have the advantage of seeing the most distinguished people in the country; for no one comes to the land, without visiting us in our isolated retreat, even though our visitors be the proudest people in the country. We thus get acquaintance enough, though but little advantage therefrom. If any new Lawyer or Advocate comes to Lancaster, it is certain that we shall soon make his acquaintance." He had known almost all the Swedish Ministers who had been in the country.

We requested Mr. Müller to show us the various rooms in the convent, and thereupon went into the brethren's church. In the middle of the church was a broad seat, or place for a chair for Father Friedsam; this was turned towards the congregation; back of this were two others turned towards each other and making a square; this was said to be intended for Eleazar, the Superior of the convent, and the oldest of the brethren. Back of this again was an altar, or a small and high table, and a pulpit to lay a book on. The altar stood somewhat away from the aisle, so that he who ministered there might always turn himself towards the congregation; on the right side of the altar there was also a little room screened by a curtain, within which no one was to enter except their Minister, which was called the Sanctuary. There were also places for benches on both sides of the church, which are used for the brothers and sisters of the congregation. Above, there was a gallery on both sides, so arranged with extending lattice-work that one could look through the openings and see down through the church. Müller said that that was

built for the sisters, so that if they should come to look at the brothers' service, they should, for the sake of modesty, be concealed, as also that the women's place in the temple at Jerusalem was arranged in the same way. "True enough," said I, "for we still see the same thing in the Jewish Synagogues; but why should modesty prevent the men from seeing the women any more than the women from seeing the men? Neither do I understand why they should not see the sisters of the convent just as well as they see the other sisters of the congregation down in the church." "O, well!" he answered, "it is still an old and becoming custom."

We sat ourselves down to rest on a seat in the church, and I asked him whether the Lord's Supper was celebrated at the altar? He answered, "Yes, that is done by Father Friedsam, when one after another goes forward and receives the Sacrament in Bread and Wine; but this must be done on some evening, and with feet-washing afterwards." "That," answered I, "may be as proper as for the Lutherans in some places to use burning lights, although in the middle of the day. But," I asked, "cannot the Lord's Supper be celebrated at any time in the day, although it is not the evening?" Müller answered, "A supper cannot be held at midday; its time is in the evening." I replied, "That which regards time cannot be anything more than an external ceremony. We know that the disciples of Christ, almost immediately after His resurrection, most carefully considered almost every circumstance in the institution of the first Supper, such as to receive the Supper in a sitting posture, to sit reclining against each other, to celebrate the Supper in a house of entertainment, up one flight of stairs, and various other things. But after they understood that the service of the New Testament is not inseparably connected with any church usages, but that these are only to be regarded according to circumstances of convenience and propriety, then one external matter after another was omitted; and it is enough for us Christians to regard the Sacrament as it is in itself." Müller answered, "It is our duty as Christians to regard the primitive state of the church,⁴ and not to make changes therein at our own caprice." I said, "The spirit of the primitive Church⁵ is sufficient for us; everything else that is external is less necessary, as also difficult to ascertain, and we now live in other times. How many Societies give themselves out as still retaining the usages of the primitive Church, which churches are, however, very different from each other?" He answered, "We can prove ourselves to have both the spirit and the state of the primitive Church. We keep our vows of chastity, we have all things in common among us, we observe the washing of feet, and other things." I said, "Each of these things were enough to talk about for half a day; but let us abide by the ceremonies of the Lord's Supper. If you will make any of those necessary which were in the first institution, why not all?" He answered, "It is enough to retain those which contain in them something that is symbolical, and which exhibits the value of the Lord's Supper." I said,

⁴ Orig., "Statum Primitive Ecclesiae."

⁵ "Spiritus Primitive Ecclesiae."

"Take them all together, and the act thus becomes more symbolical. There is none of those just mentioned in which I cannot show something especially notable; yet I regard them all as indifferent.⁶ If, now, you will regard them as absolutely necessary,⁷ then show wherefore this and not the others?" Thereupon I perceived that the man was somewhat changed, and he answered, "The brethren live in the simplicity of their faith, and do not place a high value upon disputations. You must consider that we have learned something from our immediate intercourse with God during that time." "Well," said I, "if that is so, it is more than I know." From that hour I determined not to go any further into controversy than he himself occasioned and took pleasure in, so that I might not make myself a disagreeable guest.

We went into the sisters' convent, and saw their rooms in some parts. The church was arranged in the same manner as that of the brethren above described, with the exception of the gallery. Upon the one side were benches for the brethren of the cloister, when they wished to come thither. The Lord's Supper is administered at the altar in both churches by Father Friedsam, so that they come one by one each time. He is also the Minister in both churches.

Mr. George Ross had a desire to see the sisters and hear them sing. Müller, however, would not go to them to urge this upon them, but said, "You may yourself ask them for this, and perhaps you can effect more with them than I can." We went and knocked at the convent door. Their Prioress came out, and when she heard our request, she bade us remain in the church until the sisters came in the proper order to sing. We received an invitation, and went up a still narrower set of stairs than any that we had before seen, and came into a large room; in that there were long tables, with seats upon both sides of them. Here there were some of the sisters sitting, and writing their notebooks for the hymns—a work wonderful for its ornaments. Six of them sat together and sang a very lovely tune. Both before and after the singing, the sisters talked both with us and with Müller quite freely about one thing and another, and seemed to be quite pleased. Both at our entrance and our departure we shook hands with each of them, and they testified their friendship, according to their custom, by a peculiar position and pressure of the hand.

Mr. Ross returned home and left me alone. A knot of brethren, to the number of ten, met in Müller's white and clean anteroom—I cannot say whether to visit me or to show their respect for Müller. At six o'clock they broke up and went to the sister's convent one by one, after each other, up the hill. I asked what that meant? Müller answered that they were going to a love-feast among the sisters. I said, "Come, I will go along," Müller declined, as he had not been invited, and also said, "I knew nothing of that meeting until they assembled here. You can have your supper with the brethren, which will be just as pleasant to you."

⁶ Orig., "Indifferentia."

⁷ Orig., "Absoluta."

The time came for the cloister brethren to go to their evening meal, and thereupon each one came out of his room immediately, and all went one after another up a pair of stairs into the refectory. This was large enough for one hundred persons, with two long tables; but now they were mostly seated at one table, as the number of the brethren at that time was scarcely twenty. Around the hall in the passages were small cases, each large enough to hold a Bible, for which indeed they were intended, and each had a small white linen curtain before it. The cloth was spread on the table, the food placed in deep stone dishes. The courses were pealed barley boiled in milk, with bread broken into it; another course was pumpkin mush, with slices of soft-crushed bread on a plate. Between these was butter, but only for me, as the brethren for themselves had a kind of cheese-curds on platters⁸ all around the table.

Each one took his place, and I was shown to mine, where the greater part of the brethren were behind my back. After they had sat for some time with downcast eyes, one of the brethren at the table read a passage out of the Bible, after which they sat still for some moments; then each one took out of his pocket a bag in which there were a wooden spoon and a knife. The spoon and knife given to me were taken out of a drawer under the table. We all ate with a good appetite, first of the barley, then of the pumpkin mush, and finally of the butter, in which this economy was observed—that when, at the finishing of the dish, one could no longer use the spoon, the remainder was taken up with pieces of bread. There was no other use for a knife than to take the butter and cut the bread; neither was any plate needed, as, in fact, none was there. I did not see that any piece of bread was broken. At the close, each one licked his knife and spoon, dried them with a cloth which they had in the same bag, and then the knife and spoon were restored to their former place. During the meal not a word was spoken; at its close another chapter was read out of the Bible.

After the meal, Müller and Eleazar remained with me in the refectory, and then Eleazar asked me what I thought of their arrangements? If I knew what I had eaten? And how long I thought I could live upon such a diet? We agreed that nature is satisfied with a small quantity of food; that both moderation in eating and drinking, and food suitable to the human body, preserves from sickness, makes the body active and the mind cheerful; that if all which may properly be called superfluous in meat and drink and clothing should be used for the suffering, there would be no need of so many hospitals in the old countries, and Christianity would have a very different aspect from that which it now presents. Eleazar said that the English, who could not live without flesh at every meal, wonder at our style of meals; but the German taste is different, many peasants in Germany do not taste flesh five times a year. I asked if they regarded the eating of flesh as sinful? Müller answered, "Nay; but the brethren do not incline to the eating of flesh. Our food is usually of vegetables, such as cabbages, roots, greens, also milk,

⁸ These platters are of wood. Two of them are in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.