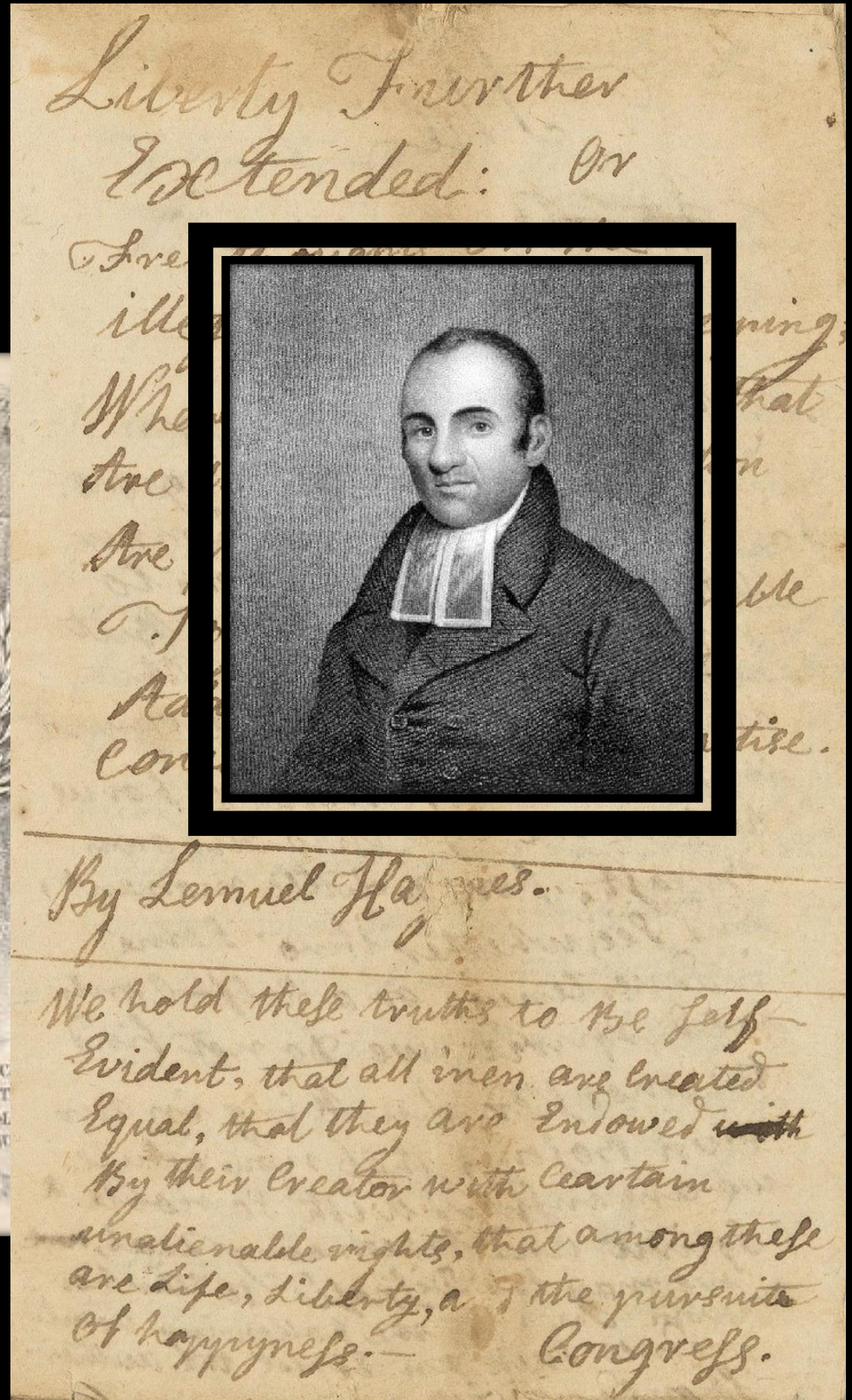


# *Theoria to practica* and Congregational Independency:

From John Singleton Copley's portraiture of 'Liberty,'  
Rev. Jonathan Mayhew identified, to  
Rev. Lemuel Haynes's *Liberty Further Extended*, c. 1776



Corey Phelon Geske



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**Corey Phelon Geske**

Commemorating Juneteenth 2023 and the 270<sup>th</sup> anniversaries of  
the July 18, 1753 birth of Rev. Lemuel Haynes and  
the incorporation of the district of Granville, Massachusetts, January 25, 1754.  
Also recognizing 'America250,' the Nation's Semiquincentennial, July 4, 2026.

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**GRANVILLE, MASSACHUSETTS**

**May 30, 2023  
Granville, Massachusetts**

Cover Illustrations: (Upper Left) West Granville Congregational Church (1778); (Left) Rev. Jonathan Mayhew by John Singleton Copley engraved by Giovanni Battista Cipriani (Private Collection); Rev. Lemuel Haynes, portrait illustration (artist unknown), from Rev. Timothy Mather Cooley, *Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A.M.* (1837), Public Domain, CC; (Right) Rev. Lemuel Haynes's *Liberty Further Extended . . .* MS Am 1907-1907.1 (608), Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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# Abstract

Adding to Jules David Prown's comprehensive study (1966) and illustrated *catalogue raisonné* of America's leading colonial artist John Singleton Copley, this research identifies and publishes for the first time as such, the visual image of Copley's previously considered "destroyed" portrait of Congregationalist minister Rev. Jonathan Mayhew. Considered a leading forerunner of the American Revolution, Mayhew planted the seeds of American independence through influential and controversial sermons spoken at Boston's West Church and later published. This research establishes, too, that Elizabeth Clarke Mayhew, continued her late husband's work with long-overlooked success, and commissioned Copley to paint two pastel portraits of Mayhew, fully appreciating the very high potential, realized within months, for one of the portraits, that she sent to London, to be engraved in London and disseminated in America. Mrs. Mayhew gifted that portrait, previously considered, "unlocated," to Thomas Hollis V, who commissioned Giovanni Battista Cipriani to engrave it.

This discovery adds perspective to a new look at Copley's transatlantic influence in support of 'Liberty' in America and its extension to the abolition of black enslavement, notably through Mayhew's Congregationalist preaching, which marked pivotal points in the American quest for independence and in Copley's own developing oeuvre of 'Liberty.' Mayhew's defense of civil and religious liberties deeply influenced John Adams and the American mindset. What Hollis commissioned Cipriani to inscribe beneath Mayhew's image, describing the minister as an "assertor" of liberties for "mankind," carried weight throughout the colonies for all races, perhaps most notably in western Massachusetts.

To (West) Granville, Massachusetts, the future Rev. Lemuel Haynes was brought as an infant in 1754, by the Congregationalist Deacon David Rose, following, and perhaps in response to Mayhew's sermon *A discourse concerning unlimited submission and non-resistance to the higher powers: with some reflections on the resistance made to King Charles I . . . delivered in a sermon preached in the West Meeting-House in Boston . . . Published at the request of the hearers.* (Boston: D. Fowle, 1750). Mayhew preached, "Britons will not be slaves . . . Let us all learn to be free . . . Let us not profess ourselves vassals . . . of any man on earth," emphasizing 'Liberty,' and in Granville, Haynes very possibly wrote his unpublished essay *Liberty Further Extended . . .*, c. 1776, applying the precepts of the Declaration of Independence to the abolition of enslavement. Haynes was the first to do so. Haynes's lifetime paralleled that of the young nation, bringing to the forefront the hypocrisy of any who supported 'Liberty' without extending it to "mankind" in bondage. Copley's portraiture bears evidence of his effort to do so, as early as Mayhew's influential sermon of August 1765 preceding landmark Stamp Act rioting.

For the first time, Haynes's writings circa 1776, including his unpublished poem, *The Battle of Lexington*, are presented herein as having been composed in Granville, Massachusetts where precepts of 'Liberty' seemingly existed as early as 1754 with Haynes's arrival at five months old, and his subsequent education, fostering his unprecedented life story from his birth outside of marriage to becoming the first Black man ordained a minister in the United States – in the Congregational church, bespeaking that Faith's independency breaking out of the colonial paradigm, as did a new Nation.

# Acknowledgments

My research methodology builds on the research of Frank Sommer (longtime Director, Winterthur Library) concerning Thomas Hollis V and “The Metamorphoses of Britannia” as ‘Liberty’ images; and advances the research of Waldron Phoenix Belknap, examining the reliance upon British prints by portrait artists of colonial America. Mr. Belknap’s papers are at the Winterthur Library (The Downs Collection), which was most helpful to my viewing of rare books and mezzotints by Peter Pelham. I was fortunate to discuss my analyses of print sources that Copley used, with Jules David Prown at the “Symposium: Prints for a New Nation,” in conjunction with the Winterthur exhibition “To Please Every Taste,” held at The Long Island Museum at Stony Brook, January 16, 1993 (see E. McSherry Fowble, “To Please Every Taste: Eighteenth-Century Prints from the Winterthur Museum (Alexandria, Virginia: Art Services International, 1991).

I am grateful to Mrs. Rose Miller, Town Historian of Granville for pointing out to me that a mid-eighteenth-century date for the Daniel Rose House (1741) restored by my late brother William Brian Phelon, was indicated due to structural evidence documented in a report by John O. Curtis (2003), Antique Home Advisory and Consulting Firm, Brimfield, MA, former curator and director, Old Sturbridge Village. This led to my documentation that the Daniel Rose House was built in 1741, on the settlement lot adjacent to, and within sight of the home of Deacon David Rose, where Lemuel Haynes grew up. indicating that Haynes could have written his earliest treatises or spoken his first public sermon in the acoustically effective second-floor ballroom of the Daniel Rose House, within sight of the West Granville Congregational Church where he first preached after it was built in 1778. The West Granville Congregational Church’s enthusiastic interest in my research about Rev. Lemuel Haynes has been most appreciated. My brother Bill Phelon’s belief that Rev. Haynes was personally connected to the Daniel Rose House, by virtue of living nearby in the extended Rose family, has proven correct.

I’m also grateful to the Library Club, Granville Public Library and Noble & Cooley Center for Historic Preservation at Granville, Massachusetts for their support of the Granville History Digital Collection at the Mabel Root Henry Historical Museum. Many thanks to Richard L. Rowley, Volunteer at the Mabel Root Henry Historical Museum. Mr. Rowley, a Rose family descendant, provided extensive bibliographic materials on Lemuel Haynes, and with the West Granville Congregational Church initiated the Rev. Lemuel Haynes Anniversary Project’s archival website on Haynes at Granville. He also provided additional archival details, file information and digitization of the important images of the 1738 Dwight Survey of ‘Bedford Plantation/Granville’ and with the expertise of volunteer archivist Aaron Fraser at the Museum, provided later historic maps of Granville. I’m also grateful to Julie LaCrosse and Isabell LaCrosse, Granville Historical Commission, for Interior Design Staging for 2019 Photography of the Daniel Rose House (1741). William “Bill” Phelon restored the Daniel Rose House, believing it provided a fortified settlement home with niches for artillery in the western facing cellar wall, and represents one of the Rose family ‘chimney corners’ that Lemuel studied in and well it may have, for it appears Lemuel lived within sight of the house and later the West Granville Congregational Church after it was built. His last request to me was to find out more about Lemuel Haynes and some of that research is herein.

Most of all, I want to thank my husband Steve for his encouragement and expertise during our studies of Copley, British print-making, and art history, some of our favorite interests over the course of many wonderful years of marriage.

# About the author's methodology

Corey Phelon Geske earned a M.A. in Public Affairs from Stony Brook University and B.A. in History and Education from Long Island University, C.W. Post. Her unique methodology of thinking 'outside the box' has proven productive while examining art history and conducting historical analyses of paintings and buildings. Her work has included identification of the correct "long lost" title, *View in the Valley of Oberhasle* (1842) by America's leading Hudson River School painter and protégé of Thomas Cole, Asher Brown Durand (illus., <https://www.facebook.com/grartmuseum/photos/a.354268873458/10158352370563459>)

Unrecognized by leading Durand scholars David Lawall, Linda S. Ferber, and Barbara Gallati and at the time Durand's catalog raisonné, *Kindred Spirits*, was published in 2007, Mrs. Geske matched the two-page sketch above the Oberhasle title in Durand's sketchbook at the New-York Historical Society (N-YHS) to this painting hanging at the Grand Rapids Art Museum, Michigan, under another title. Based on her research in 2008, the painting was correctly identified in the Smithsonian Institution Archives of American Art in time for the GRAM's Centennial exhibition and catalog raisonné, *100 Years, 100 Works of Art; Introduction to the Collection of the Grand Rapids Art Museum* (2009) by Richard H. Axsom (p. 24). When exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1842, critics for the *Knickerbocker* valued it as "the most attractive . . . from a sketch made on the spot . . ." elevating Durand to the position of being "now with Cole, the first landscape painter of the country . . . among the best living," and established Durand in the forefront of American landscape painting. For this oil on canvas, Durand masterfully added a 'framing' tree and clouds to his sketch. Mrs. Geske's research indicates *Oberhasle* is one of the most important and influential landscapes of Durand's career expressing his artistic and moral compass.

Mrs. Geske's identification of *Oberhasle* was initiated to prove the incorrect (*Meiringen*) title the GRAM landscape then hung under, actually applied to a previously unidentified oil sketch signed "A Durand," with the topography of Asher Brown Durand's 1840 sketch of the *Vale of Meiringen*, Switzerland, completed on A.B. Durand's same journey to Oberhasle. According to her research, the oil sketch appears to have been adapted from the senior Durand's sketchbook by his great-nephew, Albert G. Durand the younger (1833-1871), listed (1861) as a painter in New York, for Durand family members who were watchmakers, imported European watches, and worked with Swiss watchmakers. Concerning another Durand family landscape, Mrs. Geske's research (2016) titled, "A Proposal for identification of *The Birthplace of Asher B. Durand* by his nephew, Elias Wade Durand (1824-1908) as *The Hunter's Home*, exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1853," matched the painting to an engraving. Her Durand family research is on file at the Maplewood Memorial Library, Maplewood, New Jersey.

In 2009, Mrs. Geske located and matched a landscape, *On Roundout Creek* (Private Collection), by William Rickarby Miller (1818-1893) to one of Miller's sketches (1882) at the N-YHS where her Miller research is on file. That "match" is one of the few instances of a Miller sketch linked to one of his landscape paintings.

During her studies of American and European artists, Mrs. Geske completed an iconographic study of the cinquecento master Luca Cambiaso (1527-1585) in 2010. Titled *Closing the Circle on Conversion: The Iconic Signature of Luca Cambiaso Revealed by a Lost Cinquecento Drawing of Saint Anthony Etched in 1736 by Arthur Pond*, it was graciously read by Professor Emeritus Edward J. Olszewski of Case Western Reserve University before his retirement. He described the methodology and conclusions as "remarkable insight." Mrs. Geske has also completed extensive related research on Rembrandt Harmenz van Rijn (unpublished).

In 2013, Mrs. Geske delivered an extensive paper, "A Research Study based on Print Source Methodology" to the North Carolina Museum of Art advancing Waldron Phoenix Belknap's research to attribution, arguing that the *Portrait of a Man* now still attributed to Nathaniel Dance, is, in fact, American, and if not by Copley, then certainly of the School of Copley, and representing and resembling Jonathan Mountfort (previously painted by Copley) on the occasion of Mountfort's marriage to Mary Boles, December 20, 1772. Points of her analysis are also on file at the Detroit Institute of Arts, owner of the earlier Mountfort portrait by Copley.

In 2016, Mrs. Geske traced a portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds that was cataloged (2000) at Yale as untraced to the Toledo Museum of Art, and presented a 'convincing' specific identification of the sitters. The portrait is now correctly identified as "Mrs. Henrietta Cholmley and Son." Mrs. Geske's research based on her print source methodology, further indicated the child was added to Reynold's portrait of Mrs. Cholmley after he painted her solo c. 1761. Thus, her son Hugh was not "cut" (as previous scholars had claimed) from the composition for the portrait's engraving (no child in it) by James Watson after Reynolds, c. 1767. As a result of Mrs. Geske's conclusions, the portrait was examined in the museum's conservation lab by the Consulting Paintings Conservator who found that indeed, the child was added over the ledge, his mother's dress and blue cloak. According to entries in Reynolds appointment ["Pocket Book"] book, Mrs. Geske believes the child was painted c. early 1764-1765 with his six-year-old face and the tiny body of a three-year-old, to minimize loss of Mrs. Cholmley's original dress and setting, as seen in Watson's engraving. See *Henrietta Catherine Cholmley and Son* [Mrs. Cholmondeley and Child] by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1761. Acc. No. 2011.7, Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. George M. Jones, Jr. at <http://emuseum.toledomuseum.org/objects/57174>

In 2021, Mrs. Geske delivered a research paper to the Detroit Institute of Arts, *Tracing the Iconology of John Singleton Copley . . . Son of Liberty and Abolitionist,* documenting print sources for his major American works with the proposed identification of the subject and earlier date of execution for Copley's *Head of a [Black] Man*, c. 1773; including documentation of a previously unattributed poem by African American poetess Phillis Wheatley.

Documenting forgotten histories of endangered buildings in New York and Massachusetts, Mrs. Geske, a volunteer, has written and prepared with the New York State Office of Historic Preservation (SHPO) successful eligibility reviews and nominations to the National Register for buildings previously unrecognized locally as designed by architects Henry J. McGill, Talbot F. Hamlin, world famous Henry Killam Murphy (mentor of McGill & Hamlin), and Gustav Stickley. Suffolk County, New York recently made an offer of over \$6 million to establish a County Park and Museum at one "old house" scheduled for subdivision that Mrs. Geske documented as by Murphy, one of his earliest designs (1907) in the world. At Yale University, she located his drawings detailing this 'Country' estate of America's foremost early patent attorney, Edmund Wetmore, Esq. [Harvard (A.B. 1860), Columbia University (LL.B. 1863)].

Mrs. Geske's research includes identification of the full name of an unknown Black soldier at the Hauppauge United Methodist Church, documenting his life story from self-emancipation off Mobile, Alabama to his military record as Landsman, U.S. Navy serving in one of the most widely publicized naval battles of the Civil War, to finding his descendants in the community who shared in the resulting Juneteenth weekend 2023 rededication of his new headstone inscribed by Veterans Affairs. Research conducted by Mrs. Geske has also included new points of view on George Washington's April 1790 tour of Long Island, notably to not only thank the spies he knew of, in the famous Culper Spy Ring that helped win the American Revolution, but reflect Washington's sense of place by marking to the day, the

fifteenth Anniversary of the beginning of the American Revolution, at Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775. Additionally, she has pointed out for the first time in publication the personally great interest of American genre artist William Sidney Mount in Washington's tour, based on his maternal grandfather's action as a spy/courier for Washington during the Revolution and Mount's mother seeing the First President on that tour. Mrs. Geske's research has identified and analyzed the print sources used by William Sidney Mount and Thomas Cole (unpublished). Her research also represents the first publication of drawings located at her direction at the New-York Historical Society, depicting the earliest image of the room in which Washington slept on his 1790 tour when stopping at the Roe Tavern; now scheduled to be moved nearer its original East Setauket location. See [News 12](#) and Geske, "Alfred Griffin, Self-Emancipated Civil War Veteran, to be honored at Hauppauge church," (May 21, 2023); "George Washington's Patriots' Day Spy Trail Tour at 230 Years," (May 1, 2020); "Mount and Milne Preserve Spy Trail Perspectives," (May 6, 2021); and "Rediscovering 100-year-old-views of Roe Tavern," (December 19, 2019), TBR News (all six editions Cold Spring Harbor to Wading River, NY) at <https://tbrnewsmedia.com/tag/corey-geske/>

Mrs. Geske also has written articles in *The Smithtown News* about her discoveries and identifications of forgotten building owners, preliminary to obtaining National Register eligibility and nomination for those places. For her rediscovery of Gustav Stickley as architect of the 1912 home of Auto Hall of Famer Fred Wagner, see Preservation Long Island's *Newsletter* (Fall 2017) "Rediscovering Smithtown's Golden Age," and "The Residence of the Starter of Five Vanderbilt Cup Races Rediscovered in Smithtown," at <https://preservationlongisland.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/PN-Fall-2017-for-website-upload.pdf> and <https://www.vanderbiltcupraces.com/blog/article/the-residence-of-the-starter-of-five-vanderbilt-cup-races-rediscovered-in-s> For her research obtaining eligibility for the National Register for the 5-ton 'Smithtown Bull' civic sculpture designed by sculptor Charles Cary Rumsey, cast in Paris, 1926, see the Burchfield Penney Art Center, SUNY Buffalo State University, including her article and unique interpretation of the statue as the secular counterpart of the winged ox, traditionally associated with the European guilds of St. Luke, patron of artists and architects, to promote an Arts and Crafts Revival on the North Shore of Long Island, at <https://burchfieldpenney.org/about/news/article:03-20-2019-12-00am-smithtown-bull-by-charles-cary-rumsey-eligible-for-historic-register/>

At Granville, Massachusetts, her family's hometown, Mrs. Geske, a prospective member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, completed extensive research concerning the Daniel Rose House (1741), West Granville, Massachusetts, restored by her late brother William "Bill" Phelon. Her documentation has included four online works (2019-2021) featuring the house, in the West Granville National Register District, as the home of six Revolutionary War soldiers and two Naval officers of the War of 1812. Additionally, she has presented the Daniel Rose House as possibly fortified on the western frontier settling lot adjacent to the acreage and home of Daniel's brother Deacon David Rose, and therefore an integral part of the extended family where the future Rev. Lemuel Haynes would be educated and live more than half of his life, returning to visit friends, such as Rev. Joel Baker, up until his death. Further, the Daniel Rose-Lt. Jacob Baldwin-Rev. Joel Baker. . . Phelon House was the home of the Nation's first quilt to be exhibited in a period room at an American museum, as annotated in "[Baker Quilt]" *West Granville Needlework at the F.G. Baker House inspires the historic Deerfield Arts and Crafts Movement*, the Granville History Digital Collection, sponsored by the Mabel Root Henry Historical Museum, Granville Public Library, and the Noble & Cooley Center for Historic Preservation, <https://granvillehistory.omeka.net/items/show/1233>. Mrs. Geske is now a Corresponding Fellow, Mabel Root Henry Historical Museum, Granville, Massachusetts.



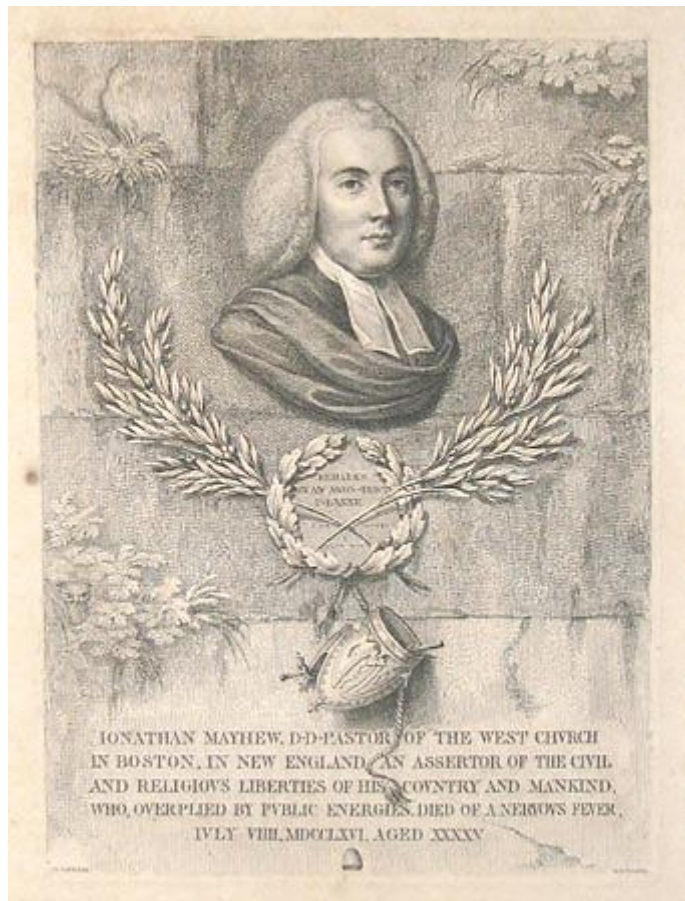
***Theoria to practica* and Congregational Independency:  
From John Singleton Copley's portraiture of 'Liberty,'  
Rev. Jonathan Mayhew identified, to  
Rev. Lemuel Haynes's *Liberty Further Extended*, c. 1776**

# 1 Identifying Copley's lost portrait highlights Congregationalist Independency

*"Inclosed is a proof impression of that [Mayhew] print; it is requested, it may remain for some months unseen by any one . . . this print would make some noise when heard of . . ."*

Thomas Hollis V, Letter to "a confidential friend in England," 1768<sup>1</sup>

The name of the recipient of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew's etched portrait of 1767 was still guarded when the above secretive comment was published in 1780 during the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), the ultimate result of the Whig parson's legacy of 'Liberty' preserved in his correspondence with Thomas Hollis V of Lincoln's Inn, London.<sup>2</sup> This now well circulated print of Mayhew, is compellingly identified herein for the first time in publication, as after his portrait by Boston artist John Singleton Copley (1738-1815), whose knowledgeable involvement in the Mayhew-Hollis interchange offers a new transatlantic perspective on Copley's political



**Fig. 1.** *Jonathan Mayhew, D.D. Pastor of the West Church in Boston, in New England: An assertor of the civil and religious liberties of his country and mankind* by Giovanni Battista Cipriani after John Singleton Copley's portrait owned by Thomas Hollis V. London, 1767. Etching, H. Sheet H. 16 ¾," W. 11." Author's Collection.

<sup>1</sup> The "friend" was likely Archdeacon Francis Blackburne (1705-1787), author of Hollis V's memoirs in which this comment appeared. [Francis Blackburne, ed.], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.* (London: 1780), 380-381.

<sup>2</sup> "Mr. Hollis's "connexions with the colonies . . . particularly his correspondence with Dr. Mayhew . . . has been alledged as evidence of his fomenting that factious spirit in America, which has ended in their declaring themselves independent of the mother country; an idea which as will appear from undoubted testimony, was the most remote from Mr. Hollis's wishes . . ." Ibid., 125. Blackburne's statement defines the purpose of the *Memoirs* to defend his late friend's motivations and exemplify how one person could contribute to society.

beliefs still to be found evidenced in the iconology of his portraiture that when contemporaneously hung in homes or shops, exhibited in London, or engraved, disseminated the revolutionary message expressing the political iconology of 'Liberty.'

Discovering linkages across multiple mediums of material culture, my methodology reveals Copley's authorship and factually-based iconological interpretations viewing "art as evidence."<sup>3</sup> This process of discovery further acknowledges that Mayhew's message of 'Liberty' for "mankind," inscribed in the London etching after Copley's portrait, epitomized and broadcast the independency of Congregationalist churches in New England. This mindset opened the door for theory "*theoria*" becoming practice, "*practica*," in Copley's allegorical portraiture, the preaching of Rev. Mayhew, and the writing and preaching of the future Congregational pastor, Rev. Lemuel Haynes, the first Black man ordained a minister in the United States. As a twenty-three-year-old free Black man anticipating the life of a farmer, Lemuel Haynes's unpublished tract, *Liberty Further Extended*, could have been written c. 1776 in (West) Granville, Massachusetts,<sup>4</sup> and was the first to apply the precepts of the Declaration of Independence to the Black population and extend "Liberty" to the abolition of enslavement, prefiguring his future ministry.

The term 'independency' herein used refers to Rev. Mayhew's sermons opposing the proposed policy of Archbishop Thomas Secker (Section 7) to install bishops of the Anglican Church in America and thereby restrict the freedom of worship enjoyed by other denominations, notably the Congregationalism of his West Church. The term was applied in the earliest sense to the evolution of Puritanism to 'Independency' of thought known as 'Congregationalism.'<sup>5</sup>

## 2 Lost portrait's twin traced to Cipriani

The bust-length portrait by John Singleton Copley of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew (1720-1766), the preeminent revolutionary-era proponent of religious and civil liberties, was lost to the Boston fire of 1872 and its engraved image buried in 1954 under a misattribution of the portrait's artist. However, this portrait was one of two of Mayhew that Copley received payment for in February 1767. Its untraced

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<sup>3</sup> Jules David Prown, *Art as Evidence Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001), passim.

<sup>4</sup> On Haynes writing *Liberty Further Extended*. . ." in the army, see Paul Finkelman, ed., *Encyclopedia of African American History*, 154 cited by Auctioneers, University Archives, [https://auction.universityarchives.com/auction-lot/first-edition-biography-of-rev.-lemuel-haynes-si\\_25D4BCB895](https://auction.universityarchives.com/auction-lot/first-edition-biography-of-rev.-lemuel-haynes-si_25D4BCB895)

<sup>5</sup> According to church histories, the Pastor of the 'Pilgrim Fathers' and a founder of the Congregational Church, "John Robinson (1576-1625), the scholarly and pious leader of this independent movement, must be regarded as the true founder of Independency or Congregationalism. His views as expressed in his later writings show a breadth and liberality and toleration which deeply impressed not only the members of his own church but exercised a wide influence in the religious thought of the time." Notably, "the church was not only divided on matters of practice and dogma, but also was not in complete accord on the issues presented by the Revolutionary War. Mr. [Rev. Chandler] Robbins [pastor of First (and Third congregational society organized 1744, when reunited in 1784) Church, Plymouth, 1760-1799] was a sturdy patriot and served from time to time with the Revolutionary forces at Dorchester as chaplain, but some of the leading citizens of the town were not in sympathy with the demands for independence and separation from the mother country. Deacon Foster was brought before the church charged *inter alia* that his political conduct and practice were just matters of offence, that he "discovers a Willingness to have this Country enslaved," and "is an Advocate for ye Destructive Doctrines of Positive Obedience & Non Resistance." Plymouth Church Records 1620-1859, Part I, Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts (Boston: Published by the Society, The University Press, 1920), Vol. 22 xviii; xxxix accessed at Colonial Society of Massachusetts, <https://www.colonialsociety.org/node/252#intro>

twin, lost to a provenance of pre-revolutionary controversy, is herein documented for the first time as having been sent from Boston with Copley's knowledge, as a gift from Elizabeth Clarke Mayhew (1733-1777) to her late husband's long-time overseas friend and correspondent in London, Thomas Hollis V (1720-1774), champion of British 'Liberty,' particularly in Massachusetts.

So pleased was Hollis with the widow's gift received in May 1767, he immediately commissioned Italian émigré artist Giovanni Battista Cipriani (1727-1785) to etch Copley's portrait of *Rev. Jonathan Mayhew*; and in August, sent 300 impressions (fig 1) to her. They were charged with controversial symbolism that would further Mayhew and Hollis's cause of 'Liberty' after the former's death. And, Hollis ensured 32 impressions of a second etching by Cipriani, featuring a double portrait of himself (fig. 2), accompanied his friend's prints destined for Elizabeth Mayhew as he steadfastly identified himself with Boston's well-known minister whom he'd confidentially corresponded with since 1759, discussing religious-political issues while shepherding gifts of books supporting that cause, to Harvard, Princeton, and Yale.<sup>6</sup>

Hollis advised the late reverend's widow, that, "Not one impression from either etching has been given away to or seen by any Person here; nor probably will be of some time, it may be years, or never: especially from the second, more on either side of the Water [Atlantic]."<sup>7</sup> The one Mayhew impression Hollis did share the following year appears to have been with his 'confidential friend' in England, Archdeacon Francis Blackburne, "*Inclosed is a proof impression of that [Mayhew] print; it is requested, it may remain for some months unseen by any one . . . this print would make some noise when heard of . . .*"<sup>8</sup> The gift of the proof was likely with Mrs. Mayhew's thanks for the latest edition of a book by Blackburne, with comments added, honoring her husband and sent to her by Hollis with thanks for *Rev. Mayhew's* portrait (by Copley).<sup>9</sup> After Hollis's death, his etching, like Mayhew's, would appear in Blackburne's *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.* in 1780.<sup>10</sup>

Hollis's double portrait etched by Cipriani featured him full-face sculpted on the facing side of an obelisk titled, "Thomas Hollis, Fellow of the Royal Society, Member of the Society of Antiquaries 1767, visually corresponding with the quotation, "You have always found me on the best and **justest side**," (emphasis here)<sup>11</sup> spelling out the symbolism of the owl above Hollis's head. An attribute of Minerva, Roman war goddess of 'just causes,' and patroness of institutions of learning and art, the owl was traditionally

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<sup>6</sup> "Most of his benefactions to Harvard College went through Dr. Mayhew's hands," in [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 239, 319.

<sup>7</sup> Thomas Hollis [V] to Elizabeth [Mrs.] Mayhew, palmal [Pall Mall] August 18, 1767. Box 1, Folder 105, Mayhew Family Papers, Bortman Collection of Americana, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University Libraries. Hereafter, Mayhew Family Papers, Boston University Libraries. Published in full for the first time, herein.

<sup>8</sup> See note 1.

<sup>9</sup> Hollis sent Blackburne's *Confessional* (1767); on another occasion, the Archdeacon's "best respects;" and two years later, another book by Blackburne with Mrs. Macaulay's *History*. Hollis to Mrs. Mayhew, May 18, 1767; May 16, 1768. Box 1, Folder 105, Mayhew Family Papers, Boston University Libraries. Hollis to Mrs. Mayhew, December 4, 1769 in [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 429-430. Blackburne corresponded more than once, directly with Mrs. Mayhew. See Blackburne to Mrs. Mayhew, January 1767 in Alden Bradford, *Memoir of the Life and Writings of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., Pastor of the West Church and Society in Boston From June, 1747, to July, 1766* (Boston: C.C. Little & Co., 1838), 443.

<sup>10</sup> Blackburne states, "A few copies [32] of this print [Cipriani's Hollis V] were sent to New England, along with the print of Dr. Mayhew; above mentioned; but was never published in England till after Mr. Hollis's death; nor even then, farther than it was presented to some of Mr. Hollis's particular friends who revered his memory." [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, (Hollis etching) frontispiece; (Mayhew etching) 371; 373.

<sup>11</sup> Translation from David M. Hart, Director (2001-2019), Liberty Fund's Online Library of Liberty, "Thomas Hollis," Images of Liberty and Power Webpage, January 4, 2011 accessed March 14, 2023, <http://davidmhart.com/liberty/Art/FeaturedImages/ThomasHollis/index.html>



placed on a "pile of books" and also appears above Mayhew's name in his etching.<sup>12</sup> The Latin inscription from Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*,<sup>13</sup> was appropriate to the 'parallel' transatlantic efforts of Mayhew and Hollis to support 'Liberty' while corresponding about the latter's gifts to Harvard, where due to Hollis's "affection toward the people of North America, those of Massachusetts and Boston, in particular,"<sup>14</sup> cases ["pile"] of books, focusing on 'Liberty,' arrived.



**Fig. 2.** (Left) Giovanni Battista Cipriani, Monument to Thomas Hollis, the Younger [V], 1767, sponsored by Thomas Hollis V, Etching, Sheet, H. 12 5/16," W. 9 7/16." Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Gift of Mrs. Frederic T. Lewis, in memory of Dr. Frederic T. Lewis, Photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College, M13864.

**Fig. 3.** (Right) "Portrait of Thomas Hollis [V]" by John Greenwood, c. 1767. Graphite, with brown wash, H. 2.91," W. 2.24." © The Trustees of The British Museum, 1866,0714.24, Creative Commons (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) License, <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-sa/4.0/>.

Upon the right-hand base of the obelisk, the seated figure of 'Britannia Libertas' holds a Liberty Cap upon her staff, immediately above Hollis's profile at the lower right, prognosticating placement of her symbol of 'Liberty' upon his head.

On Cipriani's etching, Hollis's second portrait in right profile favored the style of images of political theorist Algernon Sidney (1623-1683) engraved in profile on Hollis sponsored prints testifying to 'Liberty,' and intentionally edges toward the lower right margin, giving a sense of contemporary motion conveying his ongoing political efforts, albeit approaching retirement to the country. Hollis's choice of artist reflected a keen consciousness of his family's ongoing philanthropy to Harvard. The profile was after a sketch (fig. 3) by John Greenwood (1727–1792), whose uncle was the first Hollisian Professor of "Mathematicks," Natural and Experimental Philosophy (Physics), the second Hollis professorship at

<sup>12</sup> James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art*, 2nd ed. (New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1979). 209.

<sup>13</sup> Freeman O'Donoghue, *Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits in the British Museum* (London: Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1910), Vol. 2, 548.

<sup>14</sup> Hollis V to Edmund Quincy, Jr., Pall Mall, October 1, 1766 in [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 339.

Harvard.<sup>15</sup> Artist, engraver, and art dealer in London, Greenwood was Copley's Boston-born friend and London correspondent, meaning two of the three etched 'portraits' Hollis sent Mrs. Mayhew were by New England artists, all the more appropriate, considering that Greenwood is believed to have painted Mayhew's portrait c. 1750 (Section 5) before leaving Boston in 1752.

The prints gifted to Mrs. Mayhew, showed Mayhew and Hollis, each with a dedicated 'Liberty Cap' symbol against backgrounds of stone, apparently inspired by a condolence letter from Bostonian Edmund Quincy, Jr. (1726-1782) to Hollis, belatedly notifying him of Mayhew's death, commiserating, "we doubt not, HE who is able of stones to raise up defenders of our rights, civil and sacred, will send us other Mayhews, as we need them."<sup>16</sup> Hollis V's portrait was long-awaited and had been repeatedly requested of their benefactor, by the President and Fellows of Harvard College. Its arrival was in direct response to Copley's portrait of Mayhew, a timely gift helping offset the double-shocks Hollis received when shelves of books and scientific equipment that his family had given over forty years, along with the portrait of his great-uncle Thomas Hollis III (1659-1730/31) by Joseph Highmore (1692-1780), were lost in the Harvard Hall library fire of 1764; and when he'd learned of Mayhew's death, his most "confidential friend" in America, through the newspapers before any letter from Boston reached him.<sup>17</sup>

Hollis's reasons for limiting circulation of the pair of prints, ranged from modesty regarding his own, to the openly volatile nature of the work he and Mayhew had accomplished furthering 'Liberty.' Hollis had given his word to Mayhew on being his "assured friend," at the height of the Stamp Act crisis when rumors abounded Mayhew would be "ordered here [London] on the stamp act."<sup>18</sup>

Hollis asked Elizabeth Mayhew to be sole distributor of the Cipriani etchings; she chose to send her list of recipients back to Hollis, providing a glimpse of a virtual network of Sons of Liberty in America (see below). She would do the same for recipients of books Hollis sent her in 1768.<sup>19</sup> As painter of Mayhew's portrait, Copley would have been on Elizabeth Mayhew's list.

### **3 Mayhew, Copley and the Stamp Act: August 25, 1765**

Graduate of Harvard (1744) and recipient of the degree Doctor of Divinity from the University of Aberdeen (1749), Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., a dissenting (non-Anglican) minister, was ordained in 1747 to serve at Boston's Congregationalist West Church,<sup>20</sup> where he preached until his death on the morning of July 9, 1766. He was mourned in the next issue of *The Boston-Gazette*, as a "Friend to Liberty . . . and Learning," with whom, "some of the wisest and best men in Britain early sought a literary

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<sup>15</sup> Isaac Greenwood (1702-1745) was studying with natural philosopher Rev. John Theophilus Desaguliers (1683-1744) when he met Hollis III, who established Harvard's professorship (1726/27), the first in science at an American college; Greenwood, the first appointed. Peter Pelham engraved a mezzotint of Desaguliers (1725, passim).

<sup>16</sup> Edmund Quincy, Jr. to Hollis V, Boston, July 25, 1766. [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 338.

<sup>17</sup> [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 337.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 332, 339.

<sup>19</sup> Mrs. Mayhew to Hollis V, November 23, 1767 [specific content not transcribed]; November 17, 1768. [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.*, 380-381; 411. Note, this correspondence and reference to a "list" was published in 1780, three years after Mrs. Mayhew's death and during the American Revolutionary War.

<sup>20</sup> Dr. J. Patrick Mullins has called Mayhew, "the most politically influential clergyman in eighteenth-century America and the intellectual progenitor of the American Revolution in New England." J. Patrick Mullins, *Father of Liberty: Jonathan Mayhew and the Principles of the Revolution* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2017), ix. Copley's portrait of Mayhew is not identified, nor cited as engraved by Cipriani in this 2017 biography.

correspondence,” which brought to his Cambridge Alma Mater, “the bounties of his particular friends, among them the name of HOLLIS.”<sup>21</sup>

Parliament’s passage of the Stamp Act [March 22, 1765] imposing a tax stamp on printed paper used for legal documents and even newspapers and playing cards in the American colonies,<sup>22</sup> resulted in Boston rioting during August 1765, soon followed by riots in Newport, Rhode Island with public unrest spreading to other colonies. After the first riot in Boston, Rev. Mayhew preached a sermon on August 25, 1765, that despite his denial of any such intent, was summarily believed to have set off unprecedented violence the next day.<sup>23</sup> Rioters attacked the homes of the colony’s Comptroller of Customs and Deputy Registrar of the Vice Admiralty Court, before destroying the elegant mansion of Thomas Hutchinson, Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, leaving only walls, floorboards, and the remains of a roof.

The Stamp Act riots resulted in destruction of homes that housed Copley portraits, incentivizing him to get his work out of New World drawing rooms onto the world stage. Within four weeks, he sent his first exhibition piece to London, a portrait (fig. 4) of his half-brother Henry Pelham, *A Boy with a Flying Squirrel* (1765, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) with its sophisticated multi-layered revolutionary messaging that heretofore has never been linked to Mayhew. Focused on a distinctly American species enchained, yet capable of flying, the portrait bespoke the values of all British subjects in America capable of the higher thoughts of ‘Liberty’ expressed by Mayhew as early as 1750, when he preached, “Britons will not be slaves . . . Let us all learn to be free . . . Let us not profess ourselves vassals . . . of any man on earth,”<sup>24</sup> emphasized again in his later sermons.

Although Copley’s conveyance letter sought opinions on his skill as “sufficient inducement to have sent it so soon,” the root cause of his urgency in advance of a mid-February cutoff date to ship paintings overseas to London for spring exhibition at the Society of Artists, appears within his closing: “Capt. Jacobson is just arrived with the stamps which has made so much noise and confusion among us Americans . . . scence which there is a strong Military watch kept every night.”<sup>25</sup> His list of homes looted (Hallowell, Howard, Hutchinson . . .) read like a list of his commissions as the relatively peaceful existence of the Boston he knew, was fast disappearing and he sent London a message to that effect, via oil on canvas.

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<sup>21</sup> *The Boston Gazette, and Country Journal*, July 14, 1766. Friend of liberty . . . memorial attributed to Edmund Quincy, Jr., chosen by Boston ministers to notify Hollis of Mayhew’s death, previously recommended to Hollis by Mayhew, he carried letters from Hollis to Mayhew. Bradford, *Rev. Jonathan Mayhew*, 431, 434-437. [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 120, 607-611.

<sup>22</sup> Taxation of American colonists without their legislatures’ consent, was ostensibly to cover the cost of the French and Indian Wars (1754-1763) and garrisoning 10,000 troops in North America thereafter. Colonists believed they’d already paid war costs.

<sup>23</sup> Tanner Ogle, “If we Clash we break: Religion, Republicanism, and Memories of Stuart Tyranny at the inception of the American Revolution (1760-1766,” M.A. Thesis, University of Akron, May 2020 at [https://etd.ohiolink.edu/apexprod/rws\\_etd/send\\_file/send?accession=akron1554559122305494&disposition=inlinene](https://etd.ohiolink.edu/apexprod/rws_etd/send_file/send?accession=akron1554559122305494&disposition=inlinene) Howard L. Lubert, “Jonathan Mayhew: Conservative Revolutionary,” *History of Political Thought*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Winter 2011), pp. 589-616 at <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26225700>

<sup>24</sup> Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, *A discourse concerning unlimited submission and non-resistance to the higher powers: with some reflections on the resistance made to King Charles I . . . delivered in a sermon preached in the West Meeting-House in Boston . . . Published at the request of the hearers.* (Boston: D. Fowle, 1750), 40, 54.

<sup>25</sup> Copley to [Capt. R. G. Bruce?], September 10, 1765 in Guernsey Jones, ed., *Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham 1739-1776* (1914; repr., New York: Kennedy Graphics, Inc. Da Capo Press, 1970), 35-36.

### Delivering Copley's view of enslavement to Pitt before Reynolds

Parliament's repeal of the Stamp Act in March 1766, resulted in Mayhew's sermon *The Snare Broken*, a "thanksgiving discourse . . .,"<sup>26</sup> cautioning that self-governance was a natural right. Preached on May 23, 1766, six weeks before his death, Mayhew's message was directed to English statesman William Pitt the Elder (1708-1778), soon to become 1st Earl Chatham and Prime Minister, who would receive Mayhew's work from Hollis, as per the reverend's request.<sup>27</sup> That was months after Pitt had studied *A Boy with a Flying Squirrel* and campaigned against the Stamp Act, declaring, on January 14, 1766, "Three million of people so dead to all feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest."<sup>28</sup>

In a letter to Copley, Lord Cardross [David Erskine (1742-1829), future Earl of Buchan], supporter of "[John] Wilkes and Liberty," friend of Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), and future correspondent with George Washington, took credit for showing the portrait to Pitt, long before he sent it on to [Sir] Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), future President of the Royal



**Fig. 4.** John Singleton Copley, *A Boy with a Flying Squirrel (Henry Pelham)*, 1765, Oil on canvas, H. 30 3/8," W. 25 1/8." Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of the artist's great-granddaughter, 1978.297.

<sup>26</sup> Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, *The Snare Broken; a Thanksgiving Discourse [on Ps. Cxxiv. 7, 8] Preached in Boston, N.E., May 23, 1766: Occasioned by the Repeal of the Stamp-Act.* Boston, N. E. (1766).

<sup>27</sup> Hollis to Mrs. Mayhew, October 4, 1766, [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 345.

<sup>28</sup> Edward P. Cheyney, *Readings in English History Drawn from the Original Sources* (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1908), 623.

Academy.<sup>29</sup> Judgment of Copley's unsigned yet unquestionable skill proved secondary to his primary objective, a political affirmation of American 'Liberty,' by a Boston artist somewhat cloaked by the name given for exhibition, 'William Copely.'<sup>30</sup>

### ***Copleyan Allegory*® Extending Liberty to Abolitionism**

Allegories composed by Copley, heretofore unrecognized by scholars, revolved around the names and interests of his sitters to create what I herein label *Copleyan Allegory*®. Interpreted within political and religious spheres, subliminal messaging is spelled out by Copley's search for meaningful print sources to advance painterly ennoblement of subjects through their 'name,' representing family and character. This entailed more than mere borrowing of 'props.' Copley used items of material culture as iconography to develop his moral messaging.

Analyzing print sources provides evidentiary proof of Copley's subliminal iconology expressed via *Copleyan Allegory* representing his preeminent drive to ascertain character through sitters' names. Print selection, based on names, was used to visualize name-based phonetic word associations and etymology in conjunction with Biblical and classical texts or relevant life stories, evidencing sitters' identities. For Copley, this focus upon name iconology became a definer of identity and character in a portrait. Art historians to date, have not made this connection.

In *A Boy with a Flying Squirrel*, Copley portrayed half-brother Henry Pelham seated at a table, thoughtfully looking toward a distant point while holding a gold chain for a distinctly freedom-loving American flying squirrel, to signify a colonial perspective on constitutional rights in North America. Though not exhibited in association with Pelham's name, the portrait's politically messaged composition aspired to the venue of Parliamentary level speech represented by Henry Pelham (1694-1754), former British Prime Minister (1743-1754) whose name was shared by the young Bostonian Copley called "Brother." During the statesman's leadership, London émigré painter and engraver Peter Pelham (1697-1751) married Mary Copley (c. 1710-1789), widow of Richard Copley and mother of then nine-year-old John Singleton Copley; and the Pelhams named their son, born 1749, Henry. In London and Boston, Peter Pelham's skill at engraving newsworthy 'mezzotints' mixed art and politics in a range of tonal values (Sections 9, 10). This legacy, together with young Henry's politically significant name, inspired Copley, beginning in 1765, with the concept that a portrait could 'speak' for the American colonist, even to Houses of Parliament. Ramifications of conveying politics through portraiture, reverberated for years to come in any painting Copley chose to allegorize, and knowledge of his father's effective political dialogue empowered Copley's son John Singleton Copley, Jr. (1772-1863) on his path to becoming Lord High Chancellor of England and 1<sup>st</sup> Baron Lyndhurst.

When Copley completed *A Boy with a Flying Squirrel*, he did not own a single enslaved person in his household.<sup>31</sup> His choice of setting for his half-brother with an American pet enchained and collared, bespoke an extension of the concept of 'Liberty' for American colonists to the Black enslaved

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<sup>29</sup> Capt. Bruce "first sent" the portrait to Cardross. Captain R.G. Bruce to Copley, London, August 4, 1766, *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 42. Mungo Campbell, "Lord Cardross and the 'Boy with a Squirrel'; Sir Joshua Reynolds's First Encounter with the Earl of Buchan and John Singleton Copley," *The Burlington Magazine*, Nov., 1987, Vol. 129, No. 1016, 728-730, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/883218r>

<sup>30</sup> No. 24, Algernon Graves, *The Society of Artists of Great Britain 1760-1791* (1907; repr., Bath: Kingsmead Reprints, 1969), 64.

<sup>31</sup> Marriage to Susanna Farnham Clarke in November 1769, "brought the institution under his roof," as part of her marriage settlement, according to Copley's biographer Jane Kaminsky, who has extensively studied post-1769 enslavement in the Copley household within the broader context of Copley's Boston sitters. Jane Kaminsky, *A Revolution in Color: The World of John Singleton Copley* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 2016), 163.



population.<sup>32</sup> For his portrait, Henry Pelham of Boston is seated behind a highly polished mahogany table that by virtue of its reflection offers the conceptualization of double meanings. Flagged by woody nut shells, its surface reflected plantation culture in Jamaica, the Bahamas and Havana, Cuba where enslaved labor harvested mahogany for the American colonies. Copley's double-entendre was clear.

Copley's intention was to stimulate a dialogue, in London, reflecting upon the self-evident situation of the colonial American, Black and white, perceived as and actually, enslaved, represented by the squirrel on a chain. "Reflection" was pictorially spelled out across the mirror-like tabletop to reinforce the thoughtful Henry Pelham's outlook, eyeing a faraway objective, "across the Pond." In London, the King could view Copley's work, if he should attend the Society's exhibition.

Copley created a unique American iconology relying upon the squirrel<sup>33</sup> as long-time symbol of reflective meditation and conscience.<sup>34</sup> On a chain, the pet represented conscience without visible ability to freely act, nonetheless capable of judgment and sentiment, while projecting a natural state of freedom. While Copley considered he was "tamely submitting"<sup>35</sup> to a familial "Yoke" keeping him in Boston, his portrait's allegory indicated that Americans saw their 'Liberty' abrogated by "taxation without representation" in Parliament that was unacceptable for those following a "Strict Regard to Conscience."<sup>36</sup>

### **Sons of Liberty Appreciate Political Messaging of Fellow 'Son,' Copley**

A few weeks after Copley dispatched *A Boy with a Flying Squirrel* and three months before its London exhibition, Boston's Sons of Liberty were keen to his choice of a gold chain for the portrait's iconology. Per the *Boston News-Letter*, December 26, 1765: "By Capt. Davidson we also received a STAMPED News-Paper of the 2d of November. It being the first Stamp which had shewn its ugly form in this province, in the evening it was exposed to public view at the Coffee-House, and then suspended, *not by a golden, but an iron chain* [author's italics], to which was affixed a pair of hand cuffs," with the hope it "might be the last ever seen in America."<sup>37</sup> The Sons' iron chain associated colonists' 'enslavement' by tyranny with black enslavement and foreboded increasingly violent resistance. After the first shots of the Revolution were exchanged between American Minutemen resisting British troops ordered to capture Boston rebels Samuel Adams and John Hancock at Lexington and munition stores at Concord, April 19, 1775,

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<sup>32</sup> On Copley's likely inspiration for allegory to enslavement when designing *A Boy with a Flying Squirrel*, his source material is discussed in further unpublished research by Geske.

<sup>33</sup> Copley's iconology explains the American emblematic contribution Fleischer detected while citing other (pre-Revolutionary) scuirine iconography of 'patience' and 'diligence' [*Emblems for the Improvement and Entertainment of Youth* (London, 1755)], noting the American popularity of squirrel portraits distinct from European: "it is possible . . . we have here an American contribution to emblematic references in portraiture," see Roland E. Fleischer, "Emblems and Colonial American Paintings," *American Art Journal* 20, No. 3 (1988), 3, 5, 23-27.

<sup>34</sup> The squirrel evolved as eighteenth-century printers' ornaments symbolizing reflection upon text, looking beyond the 'letter' to the meaning as would a squirrel working at a nutshell to get to the meat. Barry J. Anson, [Printers' Ornaments: Head Pieces, Tail Pieces, Initials of Emblematic Significance](#) (Evanston Illinois: Northwestern University, 1945), 155. On squirrel and "meditations," Paris, c. 1500, see Margaret B. Freeman, *The Unicorn Tapestries* (New York: E.P. Dutton, Inc, 1983), 89n68.

<sup>35</sup> Copley's words (also "Bondage," "shackels") described his Boston responsibilities in the same letter discussing successful exhibition of "the portrait of my Brother." Copley to Peter [Captain Peter Traille, not Pelham], Boston, September 12, 1766, *Letters*, 47.

<sup>36</sup> On "taxation," see note 41. "Conscience" was inscribed on Paul Revere's 'Sons of Liberty Bowl' (1768) honoring the "Glorious Ninety-Two" members of the Massachusetts House of Representatives who voted not to rescind a letter to other colonies, protesting the Townshend Acts (1767). No. [49.45](#), Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

<sup>37</sup> Joshua Fogarty Beatty, "The Fatal Year:" Slavery, Violence, and the Stamp Act of 1765 (2014), [156n47](#). *Dissertations, Theses, and Masters Projects*. William & Mary. Paper 1539623642, <https://dx.doi.org/doi:10.21220/s2-96gh-3y07>

Copley wrote his wife Susanna: "You know years ago, I was right in my opinion that this would be the result of the attempt to tax the colony. . . How warmly I expostulated with some of the most violent Sons of Liberty against their proceedings they must remember; and with how little judgment, in their opinion did I then seem to speak!"<sup>38</sup>

In Boston, August 14, 1769, third anniversary of the "enforced resignation of the distributor" of 'the Stamps,' 350 Sons of Liberty dined at Liberty Tree in Dorchester including Copley;<sup>39</sup> whose politics changed little in coming years. On December 20, 1772, brother-in-law Jonathan Clarke wrote Copley, identifying him with, "you Sons of Liberty."<sup>40</sup>

Preceding the Stamp Act Congress (October 1765) in New York,<sup>41</sup> Copley's golden chain opened a back channel via art communicating American sentiment on individual freedom to change policy in London. In profile, placing his ear to the viewer, Bostonian Henry Pelham signaled onlookers to 'hear' Copley's pictorial political message echoing the Society of Artists' mission expressed on their 1765 exhibition catalog title-page, acknowledging that after the Seven Years War (1756-1763), peace "ennobled life through arts discovered [Virgil]."<sup>42</sup> Seeking critiques on his work and motivated to help avoid future protests against taxes to pay off that War's debt load, Copley entrusted Pelham's portrait, with his letter describing Stamp Act rioting, to Captain R.G. Bruce. Having encouraged Copley "to finish the Picture," Bruce was pleased to be, "the first to find out its Merit, since it has had such great universal Applause in this Country."<sup>43</sup> When first receiving it, Bruce acted upon Copley's political messaging, later writing: "You are greatly obliged to Lord Cardross, a Friend of mine, to whom I first sent it. He showed it to the most eminent Conniseurs, then gave it to Mr. Reynolds who sent it with his own Pictures to the Exhibition."<sup>44</sup> Afterward, he advised Copley, it was "universally allowed to be the best Picture of its kind that appeared on that occasion."<sup>45</sup>

### **Copley's symbol of a "Strict regard to conscience"**

With his work shown to a politician, Pitt, before Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792), future President of the Royal Academy, Copley was not judged as "an Artist imploy'd" only in his "profession;" Copley's *Painting/Ars Pictoria* was surpassed by *Statecraft/Ars Politica*.<sup>46</sup> Secretary of State during Newcastle's ministry, Pitt was soon-to-be Prime Minister, having likely seen *A Boy with a Flying Squirrel* before he spoke against the Stamp Act, January 14, 1766. The Act was repealed March 18, 1766, a month before the Society of Artist's Spring Exhibition opened and Pitt was elevated to the House of Lords, becoming 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Chatham (August 1766). Flying on a wind of success, Henry Pelham's well-received portrait debuting in 1766, reappeared in a special exhibition (1768) for the King of Denmark. *A Boy with a Flying Squirrel* empowered colonists sympathetic to Sons of Liberty and opposed to the Stamp Act, from New

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<sup>38</sup> Copley to Susanna Farnham Clarke Copley (1745-1836), Parma, July 22, 1775; possible family oral tradition described the 'Sons' as a "public rather than private organization, though it had its officers;" members assembling under Liberty Tree when signaled by raising "a flag on a staff near it." Amory (1882), 62, 461-462.

<sup>39</sup> See "Copely, John," in Palfrey, *List*, 139-142.

<sup>40</sup> Jonathan Clarke to Copley, London, December 20, 1772. *Letters*, 193.

<sup>41</sup> Attended by nine colonies, members drew up a Declaration of Rights and Grievances, emphasizing "no taxation without representation;" they sent petitions to both Houses of Parliament and King George III.

<sup>42</sup> Algernon Graves, *The Society of Artists of Great Britain 1760-1791* (1907; repr., Bath: Kingsmead Reprints, 1969), 318.

<sup>43</sup> Captain R.G. Bruce to Copley, London, June 25, 1767, *Letters*, 60.

<sup>44</sup> Captain R.G. Bruce to Copley, London, August 4, 1766, 42.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, *Letters*, 41.

<sup>46</sup> Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia* (Augsberg: Johann Georg Hertel, 1758-1760; repr., Edward A. Maser, ed., *Cesare Ripa Baroque and Rococo Pictorial Imagery* (New York: Dover Publications, 1971), Plates 197, 199.

Hampshire to South Carolina,<sup>47</sup> to adopt the squirrel as an ongoing representation of a “Strict Regard to Conscience,” and garnered international attention for the little animal as an American symbol, a fact not heretofore recognized.

#### **Copley’s symbolism extends to abolition: English law did not support enslavement, 1772**

In London (1767), Captain Bruce placed Henry Pelham’s portrait in Benjamin West’s home,<sup>48</sup> and in January 1772, West’s friend, fellow Pennsylvanian Benjamin Franklin acted on Copley’s messaging, giving a pair of American gray squirrels to the family of his friend Jonathan Shipley (1714-1788), Bishop of St. Asaph, a member of the House of Lords and supporter of America. The Shipleys gave one squirrel a new name in the English language, ‘Mungo,’ made famous by the enslaved black servant in *The Padlock* opera that premiered (1768) at London’s Drury Lane Theatre. [Franklin eulogized this freedom-loving squirrel that would run away, identifying it with the colonists’ quest for ‘Liberty.’] By naming the American squirrel ‘Mungo,’ the Shipley’s were urging American colonists to extend ‘Liberty’ to abolition of black enslavement, as did Franklin, former enslaver, later an abolitionist. The bishop’s timing recognized the anti-slavery *Somerset v. Stewart* case had reached the King’s Bench where Lord Chief Justice William Murray (1705-1793), 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Mansfield,<sup>49</sup> would rule (June 1772) English law did not support slavery, paving the way for banning enslavement in the western hemisphere.

## **4 Anonymity ensures romance**

Cipriani’s 1767 etching did not name Mayhew’s portrait painter, possibly at Mrs. Mayhew’s request originating with Copley, or as an unrequested courtesy to the artist, because Hollis expected the print to be controversial. As a result, Copley remained in relative anonymity and his political position favoring the moderate activity of the Sons of Liberty in Boston, paralleling his acceptance of this potentially contentious and useful commission, has not been recognized by recent scholars.

Cipriani’s etching directly links Copley to the Whig politics of Mayhew whose half-sister married into the Braintree branch of the Adams family.<sup>50</sup> John Adams (1735-1826) “often saw” and had listened to Mayhew in the pulpit while growing up in his Braintree/Quincy, Massachusetts birthplace where the

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<sup>47</sup> Copley’s scuirine portraiture included (1) *Mrs. Theodore Atkinson, Jr.* (1765, Crystal Bridges Museum of American Art), née Frances Deering Wentworth of Portsmouth. First cousin to John Nelson II, she was likely aware of Elizabeth Nelson’s portrait; her hands are similarly posed. Although future Loyalist exiles, her cousin (and second husband) John Wentworth, agent (future Governor) for New Hampshire, worked with Charles Watson-Wentworth, Second Marquess of Rockingham, who while Prime Minister won the Stamp Act repeal (1766). (2) *John Bee Holmes* (1765, Dietrich American Foundation on loan to Philadelphia Museum of Art) portrays the six-year-old South Carolinian holding a chained gray squirrel in the Boston-area portrait style of Joseph Badger (c. 1707-1765). Holmes became aide-de-camp to General John Barnwell, South Carolina militia; was imprisoned by the British; and became an attorney, judge, mayor and state senator. (3) On *Daniel Crommelin Verplanck* (1771), see below. Several artists imitated Copley’s scuirine symbolism.

<sup>48</sup> Capt. R.G. Bruce to Copley, London, June 25, 1767. *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 59.

<sup>49</sup> Copley painted a full-length portrait of Mansfield (1783, NPG [172](#)), including him in *The Death of the Earl of Chatham* (1779-1781; Tate, on loan to National Portrait Gallery London; NPG [146](#)).

<sup>50</sup> Jonathan Mayhew’s half-sister (by their father) Reliance Mayhew Adams (1697-1730) married Eliashib Adams (1699-1768/69) great grandson of Henry Adams, founder of the Braintree branch of the Adams family, and the great-great-grandfather of Second President, John Adams.

minister visited his own Mayhew family members. Adams, a friend of the Copleys in London,<sup>51</sup> considered Mayhew one of the five men chiefly responsible for, “The Revolution,” that, “was effected before the War commenced in the Minds and Hearts of the People,” marking, “A Change in their Religious Sentiments of their Duties and Obligations.”<sup>52</sup>

Cipriani’s etching reveals the dangerous depths of revolutionary iconology generated by Copley’s portraiture before the first shots of the American Revolution were fired April 19, 1775. By that time, Copley was in Europe studying the great masters to hone his painterly abilities, and in years to come, Mayhew would be an overlooked chapter in the Boston artist’s internationally acclaimed career. A quarter of a century before Lexington and Concord, the late Mayhew set in motion a revolutionary mindset Copley advanced through his skill set offering allegories to ‘Liberty’ by way of likenesses destined to be placed within engraved contexts for political purposes, as well as uncirculated portraits, such as *Nathaniel Hurd* (c. 1765) and his own *Self-Portrait* (1769), herein discussed.

I posit that a direct furtherance of Mayhew’s message of ‘Liberty’ was what Copley wanted to and did achieve through portraiture, but any publicly recognized printed connection to Mayhew was what Copley, a Son of Liberty, wished to avoid while furthering the cause. His reasons for anonymity, reflected a financial need to protect his future income-producing commissions from Loyalist and Whig alike and his potential future prospects in London where his first commission upon arrival was to paint King George III and Queen Charlotte.<sup>53</sup> But, above all, on a personal note, a non-published connection to the Mayhew portrait, could protect his courtship with his future wife Susanna Farnham Clarke (1745-1836), known to her family as ‘Sukey.’ As historian Jane Kamensky has noted, Copley could have begun their courtship as early as 1762 at Copley’s step-brother Charles Pelham’s school of dancing.<sup>54</sup>

Sukey’s father, merchant Richard Clarke (1711-1795), a steadfast Loyalist, withdrew his family from Mayhew’s church and refused to receive the minister at his home, following the preacher’s anti-Stamp Act sermon of August 25, 1765 and its aftermath, although Mayhew wrote to Clarke, maintaining his sermon on “the importance of Liberty” counseled against violence.<sup>55</sup> Four years after the Mayhew

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<sup>51</sup> Mrs. Adams, “a frequent visitor at George Street [London], would pour her complaints into Mrs. Copley’s sympathetic ear, as stitching on her husband’s shirts . . . she told of . . .” Martha Babcock Amory, *The Domestic and Artistic Life of John Singleton Copley* (1882; repr., New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc. Da Capo Press, 1969), 104. On Adams family portraits, Jules David Prown, *John Singleton Copley in England 1774-1815*, Vol. 2, 300-301. Citations before page 244, reference Vol. 1: *John Singleton Copley in America 1738-1774* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966), Vol. 1.

<sup>52</sup> John Adams to H. [Hezekiah] Niles, February 13, 1818; John Adams to Dr. J. (Jedediah) Morse, Quincy, December 2, 1815, John Adams, *The Works of John Adams Volume 10 Letters 1811-1825, Indexes* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1854) accessed at [https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/adams-the-works-of-john-adams-vol-10-letters-1811-1825-indexes#lf1431-10\\_head\\_120](https://oll.libertyfund.org/title/adams-the-works-of-john-adams-vol-10-letters-1811-1825-indexes#lf1431-10_head_120) “From John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, July 18, 1818,” *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Jefferson/03-13-02-0148> [Original source: *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, Retirement Series, Vol. 13, 22 April 1818 to 31 January 1819, ed. J. Jefferson Looney. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016, pp. 138–139.]

<sup>53</sup> The Commission was from Governor John Wentworth of New Hampshire; Thomas Hutchinson, Governor of the Massachusetts Bay (through May 1774), asked Lord Dartmouth to recommend Copley to the King, Copley to Susanna Copley, London, August 17, 1774; Rome, October 26, 1774 in Amory, *Life of John Singleton Copley*, 30, 37. Amory states the portraits were completed by Copley after his tour and were at Wentworth House, Portsmouth, New Hampshire. I am grateful to Keeper Tom Hardiman, Portsmouth Athenaeum for indicating the present location is unknown; Letter to the author, October 23, 2006.

<sup>54</sup> Jane Kamensky, *A Revolution in Color: The World of John Singleton Copley*, 150-151.

<sup>55</sup> Daniel Dennison Slade, “Jonathan Mayhew to Richard Clarke, Boston, September 3, 1765,” *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, January 1892, [15-20](#).

commission, Copley would marry Sukey.<sup>56</sup> The reaction of Copley's future father-in-law to the events of the summer of 1765, spell out why Copley would not wish to have his name associated with Mayhew, in print on any Boston or London engraver's work in 1766-1767.

## 5 Crayons prove to be clue to overlooked Copley portrait

A year after the Boston fire of 1872, Augustus Thorndike Perkins published a sketch of Copley's life and the first cataloging of his work, thus preserving descriptions of portraits lost to the conflagration, including Copley's pastel of Rev. Mayhew and an earlier three-quarter length in oils of his wife Elizabeth likely painted before, or at the time of, their marriage. These portraits were in the possession of their grandson Peter Wainwright (1790-1878) when destroyed in 1872.<sup>57</sup>

However, in 1966, art historian and comprehensive Copley biographer, Jules David Prown recorded that, "Copley received ten guineas for two pastel portraits of Mayhew on February 25, 1767," the fee representing his price increase that year.<sup>58</sup> Although Prown made no identification of the payor, a receipt (fig. 5) would surface April 3, 2003 at Swann Auction Galleries, New York, and read: "1767 Rec<sup>d</sup> of M<sup>rs</sup>. Eliz<sup>h</sup>: Mayhew the sum of ten guineas in full for two portraits of Doc<sup>r</sup>: Mayhew with frames and glasses. Boston Feb<sup>y</sup>: 25 1767. M<sup>r</sup>: John S. Copley."<sup>59</sup> As Prown noted, the unspecified medium was pastel on paper (requiring the protection of "Glasses"). While 'Portrait 1' of Copley's two remained in America with Mayhew's family until destroyed in 1872, the recipient of the second, 'Portrait 2,' listed by Prown as "Unlocated," was not identified as gifted to Hollis.<sup>60</sup> Neither was counted in Prown's 'Statistical Data' (the most extensive on any colonial American portrait painter) on sitters' politics.<sup>61</sup>

The three letters (1767-1768) to Elizabeth Mayhew from Hollis V, concerning her gift of Copley's portrait and the etchings Hollis sent her, are archived in the Bortman Collection of Americana, at the Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University Libraries; one hasn't previously been published.<sup>62</sup> Nor have they, or Hollis V's *Memoirs*, previously been linked to Copley scholarship. Combined, these sources provide the necessary documentary evidence that by May 10, 1767, Hollis V had received and acknowledged (fig 6) Mrs. Mayhew's gift of a picture of her late husband by Copley. This allowed me to deduce that her fee set his higher price scale, reflecting Copley's knowledge of the pastel portrait's London destination.

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<sup>56</sup> Until his death in 1790, Richard Clarke would live under Copley's London roof.

<sup>57</sup> Perkins described Mayhew's portrait as "a crayon of half size," with the minister, "dressed in robes with a white wig." Augustus Thorndike Perkins (1827-1891), *Sketch of the Life and a List of Some of the Works of John Singleton Copley* (Private Printing, 1873), 84.

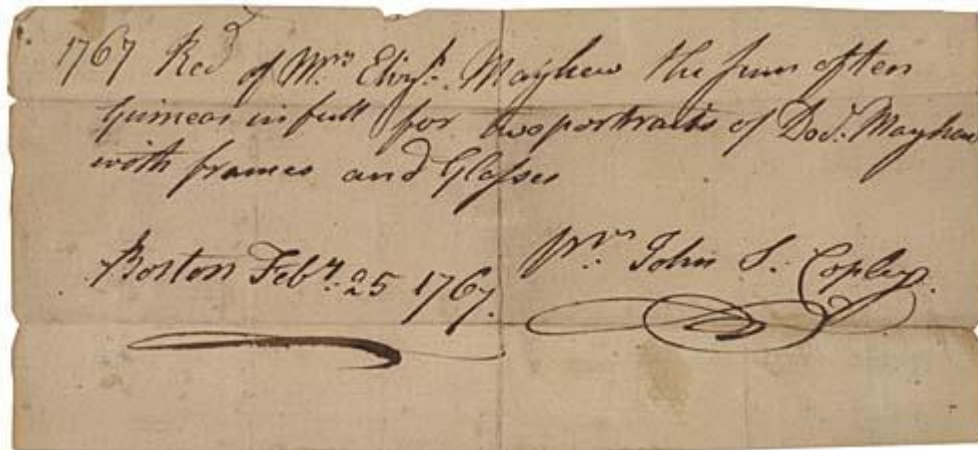
<sup>58</sup> Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 223; 98.

<sup>59</sup> Swann Galleries, Autographs Apr 03, 2003 - Sale 1965, Lot 137.

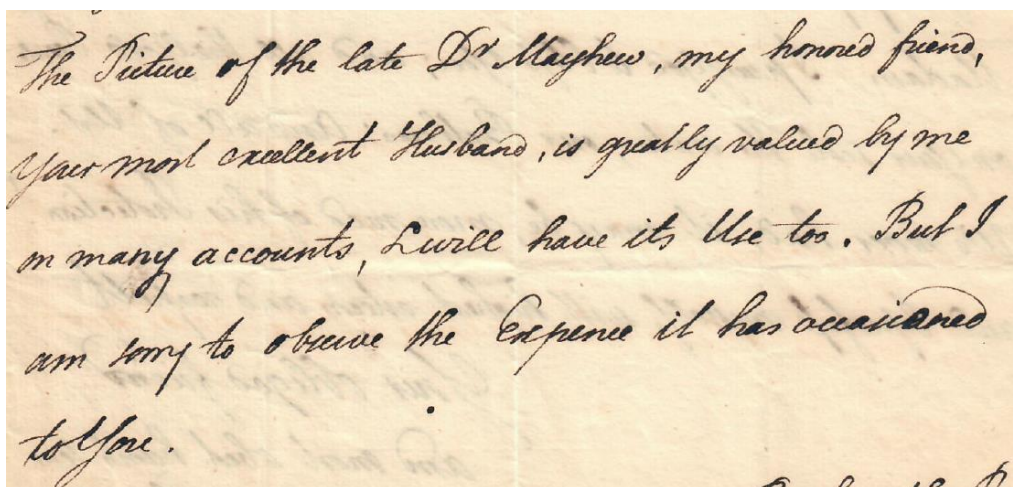
<sup>60</sup> Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 223.

<sup>61</sup> Data for 240 American portraits, lists 52 Whigs, representing 45% of Copley's American sitters versus Tory 64:55%. Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 110, 126.

<sup>62</sup> Hollis to Mrs. Mayhew, May 18, 1767 (acknowledging Mayhew's portrait) reprinted in Bradford, *Rev. Jonathan Mayhew*, 441 (incorrect year 1768); August 18, 1767 (sending 300 etchings of Mayhew's portrait), partly quoted in Clarence E. Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings* (Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society, 1954), 27 (never published in full until herein); May 16, 1768 (discussing etchings) partly reprinted, in [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 380.



**Fig. 5.** Receipt from John Singleton Copley to Mrs. Elizabeth Mayhew, Boston, February 25, 1767. Courtesy of Swann Auction Galleries.



**Fig. 6.** (Detail) Letter from Thomas Hollis V to Mrs. Elizabeth Mayhew, Pall Mall, London, May 18, 1767. (Box 1, Folder 105, Mayhew Family Papers, Bortman Collection of Americana, Howard Gotlieb Archival Research Center, Boston University Libraries. Hereafter, Mayhew Family Papers, Boston University Libraries.

### Medium of crayons indicates Cipriani's source

Hollis V's *Memoirs* indicate he paid Cipriani to work from a portrait of Mayhew "sketched at Boston;" and, importantly, a last-minute asterisked footnote was added before going to press [emphasis here]:

Mr. Hollis settled with Cipriani the design of a print of the late Dr. Mayhew. From a hint in a letter from Mr. H. to the Doctor's widow, we think it probable that the head was engraved, or sketched at Boston\* and the design related to the decorations and emblems (which are extremely elegant and characteristic) exhibited in the print as now published; for which Mr.

Hollis paid Cipriani thirty guineas. [**\*We have since been informed that the head was taken there in crayons.**]<sup>63</sup>

Blackburne's "hint" may be in Hollis's May 16, 1768 letter in which he underlines, "very much like him," suggesting the portrait was by a talented unnamed Boston artist, whose work Cipriani did justice to. Hollis's underlining speaks to Copley's ability to take a likeness: a top criterion of Boston sitters. In 1765, Copley's skill at taking a realistic likeness was praised in a sitters' relation of a family letter from Scotland to him, describing how his fifteen-month-old son tried to "catch hold" of his hand in his portrait by Copley, as "proof of the Painter's skill in taking Your likeness."<sup>64</sup>

Copley's anonymity, in association with Mayhew's portrait, was still maintained even when Blackburne, the likely recipient in 1768 of one proof impression of the controversial print, wrote the *Memoirs* published in 1780. Cipriani, a contributor of plates for the text, was likely the source stating the portrait was taken in Boston "in crayons," suggesting he knew Copley was the artist, but did not divulge his name to maintain the late Hollis's confidence, while validating the likeness was accurate. A founding member of the Royal Academy and designer of the Academy's diploma, Cipriani's specification of the medium of "crayons" was tantamount to an attribution of the artist, implying Copley was the painter. Before the *Memoirs* appeared, Copley's "Portrait of a Lady; in crayons" was exhibited in London by the Society of Artists in 1768,<sup>65</sup> indicating the caliber of his portraiture, which was recognized when he was elected to full membership (1779) in the Royal Academy, soon to become an academician.

Copley completed a large number, more than fifty, particularly fine pastels in the 1760s. His admiration for Swiss artist Jean Etienne Liotard (1702-1789), extended to specifically asking for guidance to obtain, "a sett of the best Swis[s] Crayons for drawing of Portraits . . . [for] liveliness of colour and Justness of tints."<sup>66</sup>

Based on medium alone, it appears Copley was responsible for Mayhew's portrait engraved by Cipriani, a conclusion supported by Prown's description of Copley's oeuvre: "by 1765, Copley had hit his stride in the medium: during the next five years he created a series of pastel portraits that are without equal in American art, and indeed rivaled only by . . . contemporaneous European pastelists . . ."<sup>67</sup>

Copley's correspondence outlines the path he took to attain exhibition of his crayon work in London. Despite the advice of Joshua Reynolds and American born artist Benjamin West, to work in oils not pastels,<sup>68</sup> Copley challenged their opinions. On November 12, 1766, he asked West to be specific, believing his "best portraits done in that way;" existing letters indicate that in February 1767, Copley made the unilateral decision to send a pastel portrait for West's inspection; and would send another in

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<sup>63</sup> [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.*, 371.

<sup>64</sup> In the realist tradition of Greek artist Zeuxis, Thomas Ainslie's story accompanied his invitation to Quebec to paint more portraits. At the heights of his popularity in Boston, Copley responded, "I have a large Room full of Pictures unfinishd, which would engage me these twelve months, if I did not begin any others . . ." Thomas Ainslie to Copley, Quebec, November 12, 1764; Copley to [Thomas Ainslie], February 25, 1765. *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 30-31; 33.

<sup>65</sup> No. 24, Graves, *The Society of Artists of Great Britain*, 64.

<sup>66</sup> "I would fain hope [America] will one Day become the School of fine Arts and Monsieur Liotard[']s Drawing with Justice be set as patterns for our immitation." Copley to Jean Etienne Liotard, Boston, Sept. 30, 1762. *Copley Pelham Letters*, 26.

<sup>67</sup> Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 57-58.

<sup>68</sup> On Reynold's opinion, see Capt. R.G. Bruce to Copley, London, August 4, 1766, *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 41-42; Benjamin West to Copley, London, August 4, 1766, *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 45.

January 1768, one was exhibited in the spring of 1768.<sup>69</sup> It was possibly that of a ‘Mrs. Gray,’ as noted by Prown based on the combined reference to her crayon portrait and *A Boy with a Flying Squirrel* in a letter to Copley from William Carson of Rhode Island.<sup>70</sup> In 1772, Carson largely summed up Copley’s understated political and evident artistic reputation established at Society of Artists’ exhibitions and codified by his Mayhew portrait in crayons, “Your painting of the Squirrel was a modest production, and your picture of Mrs. Gray in Crayons could only testify, that in Boston . . . you, a man of some Genius . . . I doubt much if there is your superiour In Europe.”<sup>71</sup>

In the same November 1766 letter to West, Copley requested the name of a London engraver for the portrait he was then painting of a “Decenting Cleargyman,” who now appears *not* to be Rev. Jonathan Sewall (1688-1769) as heretofore presumed, but Rev. Mayhew painted in pastels, which correlates with Copley’s associated question on crayons,<sup>72</sup> before the Mayhew commission was shipped to Hollis.<sup>73</sup>

A year later, knowing he had ‘a feather in his cap’ thanks to his portrait of Mayhew etched by Cipriani, Copley wrote to West not mentioning the London print, still under wraps of limited circulation, but stating he’d only seen three heads in crayon, thereby indirectly alluding to how a Grand Tour would benefit him, given such an accomplishment (should it come to light).<sup>74</sup> By early January 1768, word of the success of Copley’s Mayhew portrait etched in London, may have increased the popularity of crayons as a less expensive alternative to oils, and encouraged other artists skilled at painting in that medium to advertise in Boston and Salem newspapers.<sup>75</sup>

In 1769, Copley rendered his own and his bride Susanna Farnham Clarke’s portraits in pastel (Winterthur Museum). Continuing to favor the crayon, in 1774, Copley encouraged Henry Pelham to, “practice continually . . . I would have you keep in your Pocket a book and Porto Crayon – as I now do – and where ever you see a butifull form Sketch it in your Book. By this you will habituate your Self to fine formes. I have got through the Dificultys of the Art, I trust, and shall reap a continual Source of pleasure from my past Industry as long as it pleases God . . .”<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>69</sup> Copley to Benjamin West, November 12, 1766; Capt. R. G. Bruce to Copley, London, June 11, 1767; Copley to Benjamin West, January 17, 1768, *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 51-52; 53; 66.

<sup>70</sup> Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 216. “Mrs. Gray” was probably the first sent, because Copley indicates the second crayon portrait was not to be copied, as a promise to the girl’s parents, suggesting she was unmarried. Copley to Benjamin West, January 17, 1768. *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 67-68.

<sup>71</sup> William Carson to Copley, Newport, August 16, 1772. *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 187-188.

<sup>72</sup> Copley to Benjamin West, November 12, 1766. *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 51-52. On Mayhew, not Rev. Joseph Sewall, as long presumed, as ‘Decenting Cleargyman,’ see below.

<sup>73</sup> West’s earliest extant reply concerning an engraver was six months later. West to Copley, London, June 20, 1767 about the time he received the first crayon portrait shipped in late February. *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 58.

<sup>74</sup> Copley to Benjamin West, January 17, 1768, *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 67n2,3-68.

<sup>75</sup> George Mason (c. 1740-d. 1773) advertised portraits in crayons in frames and glass at two guineas, *Boston News-Letter*. January 7, 1768 in George Francis Dow, *The Arts & Crafts in New England 1704–1775* (Topsfield, Massachusetts: The Wayside Press, 1927), 2; also, *Boston Chronicle* of June 7-11, 1768. Benjamin Blyth (1746-1811) then active in the Salem area, advertised his painting room for “Limning in Crayons” in *The Salem Gazette*, May 10-17, 1769. Henry Wilder Foote, “Benjamin Blyth, of Salem: Eighteenth-century Artist,” *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Oct., 1953 - May, 1957, Third Series, Vol. 71. 67, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25080476>.

<sup>76</sup> Copley to Henry Pelham, Paris, September 2, 1774. *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 245.



In 1779, when committed to working in oils, Copley preserved an image of his once preferred medium in his portrait of *Mrs. Clarke Gayton* (1779, Detroit Institute of Arts) posed with a porte-crayon holder in her right hand, her sketchbooks on the floor beside her, [fig. 7a-b (Detail)] as she thoughtfully compasses her chin as if preparing to picture words.<sup>77</sup>

### Mayhew family 1953 attribution

Beginning, in 1767, with Cipriani's etching of Jonathan Mayhew, Copley would provide fellow colonists with a look at well-known 'faces of Liberty,' engraved for widespread dissemination. In contrast to his relative anonymity maintained for Mayhew's portrait, Copley's likenesses of Samuel Adams (1770-1772) and John Hancock (1765) engraved in 1774 by Paul Revere, did not credit Copley's name as painter, but are long remembered as after his work.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, when 300 etchings by Cipriani, first circulated in the autumn of 1767, they were likely recognized by Boston *cognoscenti* as after Copley's picture and understood to have been judged by Thomas Hollis V, Harvard's major benefactor, as worthy of being engraved *gratis* in London.

As art historian Paul Staiti asserts, "Though Copley was intimately linked

with the Loyalist Clarkes, his own position on revolutionary matters is hard to identify. Copley himself was not unsympathetic to dissent;" observing of Copley's Whig sitters, Samuel Adams was the "most radical revolutionary in America."<sup>79</sup> Unknown previously, the minister whose sermons fueled the Adams' family's political positions, was not only painted by Copley, but replicated for revolutionary purposes and disseminated, with caution, when it mattered most.

However, Copley's connection to Mayhew was tenuous, for reasons ranging from the minister's death nearly a decade before the Revolutionary War broke out, to the undesirability to overly associate the



**Fig. 7a-b.** *Mrs. Clark Gayton*, 1779 by John Singleton Copley. Oil on canvas; H. 50," W. 40." Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of Mr. D. J. Healy, 27.556. Detail of porte-crayon.

<sup>77</sup> According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the pastel was a "dry paste made by grinding pigments and compounding them with gum-water, used as a crayon;" held by a porte-crayon, "usually a metal tube split at the end and held by a sliding ring so as to grasp the crayon." For artists' portraits, "the porte-crayon . . . unlike the pen, was so very specifically associated with artists. Just as Sir Joshua Reynolds in his discourse used the porte-crayon to highlight the importance of drawing, so Thomas Gainsborough in his portrait of the amateur artist, Lady Ligonier, and his double portrait of his own daughters, chose to use the porte-crayon as a symbol of their commitment to drawing." Jacob Simon, "[The artist's porte-crayon](#)," National Portrait Gallery, London, Oct. 2012. Sir James A.H. Murray, ed., *A New English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1909), Vol. 7, 540, 1140.

<sup>78</sup> Engraved by Revere after Copley for the *Royal American Magazine*, Vol. 1, spring of 1774 before Copley's departure for London in June. Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 82, 84. Phrase "faces of liberty" is derived from the title of James Thomas Flexner, *The Face of Liberty* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, Inc., 1975), passim (including Copley's portraits of Samuel Adams, Hancock, Hurd, Revere, James and Mercy Otis Warren and Joseph Warren.

<sup>79</sup> Paul Staiti, "Accounting for Copley," in Carrie Reborja et al., *John Singleton Copley in America* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1995), Exhibition catalogue, 44.

Copley name with the Whig parson, for the sake of his London career as painter of Royal family portraits. or that of his son, John Singleton Copley, Jr. (1772-1863), who would become 1<sup>st</sup> Lord Lyndhurst, three-time Lord High Chancellor of England. Understandably cloaked in anonymity, Copley's long-term association to Cipriani's etching of Mayhew stood the test of time in Mayhew family related histories from 1911 to 1953, but thereafter was lost to Copley scholarship.

A search for a family record linking Copley to Cipriani's etching, revealed that in 1953, former Assistant Secretary of War, Colonel Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright (1864-1945), great-great grandson of Rev. Mayhew, Doctor of Divinity, cited Perkins's account about Copley's portrait lost in 1872, and added, "The clear-cut classic features of the Doctor in the well-known engraving by the Italian artist, Cipriani, were taken from the Copley portrait."<sup>80</sup> The colonel was preceded in that opinion by Charles Edward Banks (1854-1931) in *The History of Martha's Vineyard* (c. 1911-1925).<sup>81</sup> Colonel Wainwright's privately printed collection of genealogy-based biographies retained the connection for Mayhew's descendants, albeit Cipriani's source was not preserved in Copley family memoirs.

### Dispelling the Jennys misattribution of 1954

Col. Wainwright's limited edition family history was overshadowed within months by, and likely unknown to, antiquarian and print specialist Clarence S. Brigham in his widely circulated research published in 1954, that maintained Cipriani's engraving was based on a portrait by Salem, Massachusetts artist Richard Jennys, Jr. (active 1766-1801), with no mention of Copley,<sup>82</sup> noting, "Judging from the drawing in the Cipriani print (reproduced in the *Memoirs*, Volume I, page 371), it was based on the 1766 mezzotint by Richard Jennys," (fig. 9).<sup>83</sup> Subsequent scholarship did not identify Cipriani's print as representing Copley's lost 'Portrait 2' of Mayhew (listed by Prown as "Unlocated").<sup>84</sup>

However, Jennys' known work is in oil, not pastel.<sup>85</sup> Brigham's reference to the *Memoirs* recording a portrait taken in Boston in crayon, flagged me to initiate a search for documentation indicating a Boston master of the medium of pastel, Copley, was the actual painter of the quality portrait Cipriani engraved.

On July 17, 1766, a few days after Mayhew's funeral with an impressive procession that included fifty-seven carriages,<sup>86</sup> and precisely three days after Mayhew's obituary was published in the *Boston-Gazette*, the *News-Letter* advertised, "Prints of the late Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., done in Metzotinto

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<sup>80</sup> Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright, *Those who came before us: Wainwrights, Mayhews, Stuyvesants and others* [Milton Point, New York: Publisher not identified], 1953], 91. Wainwright was an army officer, Spanish–American War and World War I; United States Assistant Secretary of War (1921-1923); and United States Congressman, 25<sup>th</sup> District, New York (1923-1931).

<sup>81</sup> Charles Edward Banks, *The History of Martha's Vineyard, Duke's County* (Boston, G.H. Dean, 1911-25), Vol. 2, frontispiece; Vol 3, 312-3.

<sup>82</sup> Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 25-26. World Cat lists seven editions at 700 libraries, <https://www.worldcat.org/title/28378> and three editions of Wainwright's history in twenty libraries, <https://www.worldcat.org/title/1157903689?oclcNum=1157903689>

<sup>83</sup> Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 25-26.

<sup>84</sup> Prown notes Cipriani made a drawing of Copley's *The Death of the Earl of Chatham* (1779-1781) for engraver Francesco Bartolozzi (1727-1815), a choice that now takes on added meaning suggesting Copley was pleased with Cipriani's etching of his Mayhew portrait. Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 290. Copley's family knew Cipriani by sight; the engraver introduced his new wife to Susanna Copley in 1810, at the family church, St. George's, Hanover Square. [Miss Copley to Mrs. Greene], London, August 27, 1809 in Amory, *Life of John Singleton Copley*, 296, 471.

<sup>85</sup> Frederic Fairchild Sherman, *Richard Jennys: New England Portrait Painter* [(Springfield, Massachusetts): Pond-Ekberg, 1941), 73.

<sup>86</sup> John Rowe (1715-1787), Edward Lillie Pierce, and Anne Rowe Cunningham, *Letters and diary of John Rowe, Boston merchant, 1759-1762, 1764-1779* (Boston: W. B. Clarke Company, 1903), 103.

by Richard Jennys, jun. are sold by Nathaniel Hurd, Engraver, near the Exchange." Boston silversmith and "Engraver" Hurd's press, offered prominence to Jennys, who engraved the mezzotint after his own painting, thereby announcing his first published record of activity as an artist.<sup>87</sup>

Copley had jump started his career in similar fashion in May 1754 when the first publicly advertised print after a portrait he painted, appeared in a Boston newspaper. His mezzotint of the recently deceased Rev. William Welsteed (1696-1753), recorded Copley as painter and engraver, testament to his ability to take quality likenesses worthy of engraving.<sup>88</sup> Copley's Welsteed portrait was modeled after the portrait of Rev. William Cooper (1694-1743) by John Smibert (1688-1751), engraved in 1744 by Copley's step-father master mezzotinter Peter Pelham (1697-1751), whose copper plate for Cooper was altered for Welsteed's mezzotint.<sup>89</sup> Copley had learned the timeliness of marking the passing of a minister from Pelham, who shortly after his arrival in Boston resumed his English mezzotinting livelihood, by engraving (1728, Metropolitan Museum of Art) the likeness, he first had to paint, of the late Rev. Cotton Mather (1663-1728). After Mayhew's death in 1766, public demand for a likeness was expected by Copley and the lesson he had learned from Pelham appears to have been communicated to Jennys and Paul Revere.

The rapidity and construction of Jennys's first-time production indicates that although possibly aware of Mayhew's portrait by John Greenwood c. 1750 in an earlier style wig, sharing the resemblance but differing in facial proportions and the turn of the head, he likely worked from a locket miniature by Copley, c. 1754-July 1766,<sup>90</sup> provided by Mrs. Mayhew.<sup>91</sup> She, or Copley, also could have provided Jennys with a mezzotint (fig. 8a) of the late Rev. Benjamin Colman, D.D. (1673-1747) for the design of a minister's robe to accompany the face, knowing Colman was a member of the Harvard College Corporation and a frequent correspondent with Hollis III, as was the late Rev. Mayhew with Hollis V.<sup>92</sup>

In an adaptation reminiscent of Copley's early reliance on Pelham's *Rev. Cooper* (an assistant to Colman), Jennys reversed (fig. 8b) *Rev. Colman's* robe in his portrait by Smibert engraved by Pelham in 1735 (fig. 10 a, b) to produce Mayhew's portrait (fig. 9). A corresponding migration of the buttons to the viewer's right, completed Mayhew's garment. Jennys's mezzotint featured an oval frame, narrower than that in Pelham's *Colman*, above calligraphy in Pelham's style; Jennys's subject (without inscription) was larger than Pelham's (H. 11 7/8," W. 9 3/4" versus H. 8 1/2" x W. 7 3/8"), indicating Pelham's plate was not

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<sup>87</sup> *Boston News-Letter*, July 17, 1766 in Dow, *The Arts & Crafts in New England*, 37; Jennys's inscription reads "Rich. Jennys Junr. pinxt. & Fecit." See Ellen Miles, "Richard Jennys," Richard H. Saunders and Ellen G. Miles, *American Colonial Portraits 1700-1776* (Washington D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, 1987), Exhibition catalogue, 275-276.

<sup>88</sup> Approaching Copley's sixteenth birthday, July 3, 1754, Welsteed's mezzotint first appeared in *the Boston Evening Post*, May 27, 1754 in Dow, *The Arts & Crafts in New England*, 36.

<sup>89</sup> Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 15-16. Also, Karen E. Quinn in Rebera et al., *John Singleton Copley in America*, 162.

<sup>90</sup> On Greenwood, see "Treasures of the Congregational Library [Boston, MA]: Portrait of Jonathan Mayhew," April 27, 2009, <https://www.congregationallibrary.org/blog/treasures-congregational-library-portrait-jonathan-mayhew> Copley's dateline includes Mayhew's May 29<sup>th</sup> 1754 sermon and marriage, September 2, 1756. Copley's portrait of Mrs. Mayhew (Perkins, *John Singleton Copley*, 84) is further reason a portrait of Rev. Mayhew by Copley, already existed in July 1766, and Copley, rather than Jennys, would have been called for a portrait during Mayhew's illness when the minister contemplated, "man's form in the likeness of thy son Jesus Christ, that I may behold thy face in glory . . ." Manuscript unsigned [Rev. Jonathan Mayhew], "A Prayer written in anticipation of his death," c. 1766. MS AM977, Colonial North America at Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

<sup>91</sup> Prown estimated, "the number of Copley paintings now known approximates three-fourths of his actual production." Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 99.

<sup>92</sup> Colman was minister of Boston's Brattle Street Church. On Colman-Hollis III correspondence in Harvard archives, see Josiah Quincy, *The History of Harvard University* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Folsom, Wells and Thurston, 1840), Vol. 1, 527-546, passim.



**Fig. 8a-b.** (Upper Left; Reversed) *The Reverend Benjamin Colman, D.D.*, 1735 engraved by Peter Pelham after John Smibert. Mezzotint, Subject H. 8 ½," W. 7 3/8." Yale University Art Gallery, Mabel Brady Garvan Collection, 1946.9.727.

**Fig. 9.** (Right) *The Rev<sup>d</sup>. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D.*, 1766 painted and engraved by Richard Jennys, Boston. Mezzotint, H. 14 9/16," W. 10 7/8." Yale University Art Gallery, Mabel Brady Garvan Collection, (1946.9.833.

reused.<sup>93</sup> This suggests some input by Copley, who thereby distanced himself from Mayhew as Jennys and Hurd published what proved to be an effective long-term cover story for Copley.

The waters of Copley's potential early authorship were further muddied by Boston silversmith and engraver Paul Revere (1734/35-1818), a member of Mayhew's congregation, who produced a smaller print (5 11/16 x 4 inches) of his pastor and friend with the fullness of face found in Greenwood's front view, but following the turn of the head in Jennys's print imitating the three-quarter view favored by Copley. Nineteenth-century Boston histories identified Revere's engraving as early work, likely due to opinions that it was "perfectly awful," and a "failure."<sup>94</sup> Brigham located only one (fig. 10), at the New York Public Library, which also holds Cipriani's *Mayhew, Britannia Victrix*, and several Hollis prints of Milton, plus the [Mayhew] Wainwright Family Papers, suggesting shared Mayhew family provenance. Signed "P Revere sculp," it's inscribed, "The Rev<sup>d</sup>. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D. Pastor of the West Church.

<sup>93</sup> John Chaloner Smith, *British Mezzotinto Portraits* (London: Henry Sotheran & Co., 1883; repr., Mansfield Centre, Connecticut: Martino Publishing, 2004), [Jennys 1, Mayhew] 729; [Pelham 7, Colman] 967-968; Andrew Oliver, "Peter Pelham (c. 1697-1751) Sometime Printmaker of Boston," in *Boston Prints and Printmakers 1670-1775* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1973), 143.

<sup>94</sup> Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 26. Brigham cites Samuel Gardner Drake's description as "awful" [*History of Boston* (1856)]; his son Samuel Adams Drake, described it as a "failure" in his *Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston* (1872; revised edition, Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, Company, 1971), 118.

Boston. N.E. [New England] OB<sup>t</sup> July 9th 1766. AE<sup>t</sup> 46." Mayhew, born October 8, 1720, died at age 45, three months short of 46, which could mean Revere's engraving was printed after October 8th.

Cipriani's work shows drapery wrapped about Mayhew's bust, just below the tabs of his preaching bands, differing from Jennys's Colman adaptation and Revere's altered gown folds. While Jennys's, Revere's, and Cipriani's renditions each displayed different robes, they all portrayed a similarly turned head, supporting the theory an earlier (locket) face of Mayhew by Copley, was used by Jennys and by Copley for the two Mayhew portraits in crayons that he appears to have been painting in November 1766, and paid for in February 1767. Cipriani used a portrait with the face turned, Mayhew's left eye and temple receding in well managed shadows typical of Copley's work in 1765-1766.<sup>95</sup>

Copley's theoretical portrait of Mayhew would be comparable to Mrs. Thomas Hancock's miniature that Copley completed, c. 1766, to be paired with his earlier oil on copper miniature, c. 1758, of her husband,<sup>96</sup> each a replica of their c. 1766 pastel portraits by Copley.<sup>97</sup> Widows Hancock and Mayhew shared an analogous claim to Copley's brush. Rev. Mayhew's correspondence with Harvard's benefactor Hollis V, identified the minister with Copley's full-length portrait of Hollis III intended to be hung in the new Harvard Hall, near the artist's similarly impressive full-length (c. 1764-1766) of merchant Thomas Hancock (1703-1764), also a benefactor.

## 6 Elizabeth Mayhew's Copley commission for Hollis V's gift

Copley's decision to accept the Mayhew commission, intended as a gift for Thomas Hollis V, proved a delicate balance, weighing the need for presenting the high standard of his own portraiture and the tastes of colonial Boston, against the potential risk of associating with Mayhew and Hollis, whose open support of Whig philosophy, and civil and religious liberty, clearly mixed art and political involvement. There was the high probability Hollis, known for distributing prints associated with 'Liberty,' would use



**Fig. 10.** *The Rev<sup>d</sup>. Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., c. 1766* engraved by Paul Revere, Boston. Engraving; H. 5 11/16," W. 4." New York Public Library, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection, Image No. 1686646.

<sup>95</sup> Mayhew's distinctive rounded wig is seen in Copley's portraiture as early c. 1761. See Jacob Fowle c. 1761; Daniel Hubbard, 1764; Samuel Philips Savage, 1764; and Joseph Greene, c. 1764. Closer to Mayhew's death and after Cipriani's etching of Mayhew reached Boston, Copley painted other subjects preferring Mayhew's wig style: John Gray, 1766; Harrison Gray, c. 1767; Samuel Quincy, c. 1767; Josiah Quincy c. 1767; Isaac Royall, Isaac Smith and Jeremiah Lee, 1769, etc.

<sup>96</sup>The Hancock commissions included two pastel portraits of Thomas, c. 1758 and 1766 (unlocated) and the full-length (1764-1766) for Harvard Hall. Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 217-218.

<sup>97</sup> Barbara Neville Parker and Anne Bolling Wheeler, *John Singleton Copley American Portraits* (Boston: Massachusetts Museum of Fine Arts, 1938), 244-245.

the portrait to that end. To understand Copley's decision, it's important to summarize a chronology of events leading to why Mayhew's family and friends selected him for the Mayhew commission.

**October 4, 1766:** Hollis V responded to Elizabeth Mayhew's letter of July 27, 1766, about her husband's death, with the assurance she would, "take great care of your letters to the Doctor, and whatever papers you desired might be burnt." He requested that "ALL my own letters and notes," be destroyed, the most recent unread by Rev. Mayhew to be read three times at most in her presence, by a trusted friend of "public spirit," and then destroyed, as well as any correspondence of Francis Blackburne (unnamed in the text). He closed, asking, "A few prints from you, madam, of Jonathan Mayhew, D.D., an unswerving magnanimous asserter of truth and liberty, even unto the death, would be truly acceptable to me, and to my friends . . ." Not asking the widow to go to any expense for him, Hollis "enclosed a bank note for one hundred pounds, made out to Mrs. Elizabeth Mayhew, Boston, without any notice [mention] of it. The writer of Hollis's *Memoirs* observed, "this was the act of a sincere friend, and a truly benevolent man," noting Hollis didn't know Mrs. Mayhew's father [Dr. John Clarke] was a "man of property."<sup>98</sup> Nor, did Hollis likely know that in earlier days, Elizabeth Mayhew, née Clarke, was the subject of a three-quarter length portrait by Copley portraying her wearing a "white satin robe, with a blue mantle and hat" holding a basket of flowers in her left hand and a rosebud in her right, with a landscape in the distance.<sup>99</sup> Known for being "very beautiful," family called her, "Aurora Borealis," the Roman goddess of the dawn, which proved symbolic of the revolution and a new day, resulting from her support of her husband's work, even after his death.<sup>100</sup>

Mrs. Mayhew's loss of her husband was described as "very great; for there was never a more happy connexion on earth," and her decision to seek Copley's expertise for the Hollis gift was understandable, in light of her own portrait by Copley.<sup>101</sup> She needed an image better than Jennys's or Revere's then circulating in Boston.<sup>102</sup> If Mrs. Mayhew consulted with Copley and her late husband's friends, particularly at Harvard, they likely advised that Hollis might arrange a better print to be made from a fine portrait, if it were given as a gift, in lieu of prints then circulating. It was incumbent upon the Harvard Corporation to recommend the artist they had chosen to paint the Hollis III portrait, for that of Hollis V's friend, thus placing Boston standards for portraiture associated with the college at a high-level indicative of Harvard's educational values. In correspondence with Rev. Mayhew, Hollis had long believed the arts "would effectively strengthen the university."<sup>103</sup>

**November 12, 1766:** Copley wrote two letters to London, one to Capt. R.G. Bruce, asking that his compliments be given to certain "Gentlemen" [unnamed]; and a second to Benjamin West. Despite

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<sup>98</sup> Hollis to Mrs. Mayhew, October 4, 1766 in [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 343-46; (no entry of gift in his annual ledger) 348.

<sup>99</sup> Perkins, *John Singleton Copley*, 84. Also see Frank W. Bayley, *The Life and Works of John Singleton Copley Founded on the Work of Augustus Thorndike Perkins* [Boston, Massachusetts: The Taylor Press (for Bayley's Copley Gallery), 1915], 175. Prown notes Bayley's additions to Perkins' work need to be reviewed with "caution" as owner of his gallery named after Copley; the Mayhew portraits are not 'additions' and are included in Prown's checklist of Copley's American paintings. Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 223; II, 467.

<sup>100</sup> Inscription (verso) of Cipriani's etching, gifted by a member of the Wainwright family, "With dearest regards," written on recto and signed, suggesting a tradition in which Mrs. Mayhew personalized some etchings she gifted.

<sup>101</sup> Harrison Gray to Thomas Hollis, July 28, 1766. Gray (whose proposal of marriage to the widow, a year and a half later, was refused), described Mrs. Mayhew's loss to Hollis who briefly replied on a card and later discouraged future correspondence as he was retiring to Dorsetshire. [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.*, 342-343; also 381-382, 431. Bradford, *Rev. Jonathan Mayhew*, 438.

<sup>102</sup> Before Hollis's letter of October 4 could have been received in Boston, Elizabeth Mayhew wrote to Hollis (subject unknown) on October 16, 1767, as noted in his of May 18, 1767.

<sup>103</sup> [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 125.

West's earlier admonitions to work solely in oil,<sup>104</sup> Copley pressed the point, asking, "when you write next you will be more explicit on the article of Crayons, and why You dis[ap]prove the use of them, for I think my best portraits done in that way." He asked about engravers' fees and West's recommendation of an engraver, intoning, "I have been painting the head of a Decenting Cleargyman [Mayhew], and his friends are desireous to subscribe for it to be scraped in mezzotinto in the common size of 14 inches by ten, but I cannot give them the terms till I know the price. I shall take it kind if when you see any artist that You approve You menshon it to him, and Let me know."<sup>105</sup> Copley indicated that as soon he had a name, he would send the portrait with the money to London to have it engraved.

Scholars have long thought the unspecified "Decenting Cleargyman," whose portrait Copley was painting in November 1766, was the same Rev. Joseph Sewall, pastor of Old South Church, for whom Copley had prepared proposals for mezzotinting his portrait in 1764.<sup>106</sup> Based on the research herein, this clergyman was Mayhew. Many of the minister's "friends" were likely members of the Harvard Corporation seeking to honor Hollis V's friend and thereby continue Hollis's interest in the college.

Elizabeth Mayhew appears to have sent, or indicated she would send, a portrait of her husband to Hollis V, in a letter (text unknown) of **January 13, 1767**, the date of one of two letters from her that Hollis had received and referenced in his letter of May 18, 1767 acknowledging receipt of the "Picture" she sent. Four days later, **January 17, 1767**, Harvard President Rev. Edward Holyoke (1689-1769) wrote Copley, insisting he return Cipriani's bust-length copy of Hollis III's portrait, loaned since 1764<sup>107</sup> for painting the full-length. The timing, of the two letters, suggests the two Mayhew portraits had left Copley's studio for the frame maker, or Mrs. Mayhew's gift portrait was *enroute* to London, and that Copley's Hollis-related portraiture was completed and the loan extended while Copley worked on the Mayhew commission.

**February 16, 18, 1767:** Copley sent a portrait [name not specified, possibly 'Mrs. Gray,' see above] to Capt. R.G. Bruce, who replied in June (weeks after the Mayhew portrait was received by Hollis V in May), that, "I have not yet seen it, the Box not being opened, as Mr. West has desired it may be sent to him, that he may see your Performance in Crayons."<sup>108</sup> Copley's artistic output in crayons and oils reaching London that spring was reinforced by his full-length *Young Lady with a Bird and Dog* (1767, Toledo Museum of Art), arriving "just in time" for the April 22 opening of the Society of Artists' Spring Exhibition.<sup>109</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Copley to Capt. R.G. Bruce, November 12, 1766 referenced in R.G. Bruce to Copley, London, June 25, 1767; Benjamin West to Copley, London, August 4, 1766, *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 58-59; 45.

<sup>105</sup> Copley to Benjamin West, November 12, 1766. *Copley Pelham Letters*, 51-52. On identity as Mayhew, not Rev. Joseph Sewall, see below.

<sup>106</sup> Copley's November 12, 1766 letter coincides with the c. 1766 dating of his portrait of Dr. Joseph Sewall of Old South Church. Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 56-57, 228, Fig. 196. Copley wanted 300 impressions engraved. Copley to [an English Mezzotinter], January 25, 1764 [year corrected (from 1765) by Museum of Fine Arts Boston], "Proposals for Printing Dr Sewell's Portrait." *Copley Pelham Letters*, 31-32; On Copley's portrait of Sewall engraved (no extant copies) in 1764 by Nathaniel Hurd, see Reborá in Reborá et al., *John Singleton Copley in America*, 210n4.

<sup>107</sup> Copley believed he was to have received the Cipriani portrait as part payment for his Hollis III portrait after communicating with Governor Francis Bernard, whom Holyoke maintained had no jurisdiction over the portrait; Holyoke asked Copley to reconsider any corresponding increased charge. Edward Holyoke to Copley, Cambridge, January 31, 1767; also [Andrew] Eliot to Copley {1767?} *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 75 (out of chronological order); 79.

<sup>108</sup> Copley's two letter dates (content of former non-extant re: disposition of *A Boy with a Flying Squirrel*) are mentioned in a letter from Capt. R.G. Bruce to Copley, London, June 11, 1767. *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 52-53.

<sup>109</sup> Captain R. G. Bruce to Copley, London, June 11, 1767 in *Copley-Pelham Letter*, 53.

**February 25, 1767:** Copley signed a receipt for Mrs. Mayhew's payment (fig. 5) for two pastel portraits of her husband. She appears to have sent one to London, even before paying Copley, based on Hollis V's letter of May 18, 1767, referencing her January 13<sup>th</sup> letter and thanking her for the portrait.

**May 18, 1767:** Hollis sent his thanks (fig. 6) to Mrs. Mayhew, by way of the *Lydia*, Captain Scot,<sup>110</sup> for, "The Picture of the late Dr. Mayhew, my honored friend, your most excellent Husband, is greatly valued by me on many accounts, & will have its Use too," adding, "But I am sorry to observe the Expense it has occasioned to you."<sup>111</sup>Hollis saw its "Use" as being etched for a select group of recipients in Boston. If Hollis had received any Mayhew prints by Jennys or Revere, the etching he commissioned Cipriani to engrave was intended to accomplish more.<sup>112</sup> Hollis V's concern about the expense for Mrs. Mayhew, was likely based on the quality of the portrait he received indicating some expense. By way of thanks, Hollis sent Mrs. Mayhew a copy of Francis Blackburne's (author/title not mentioned) *Confessional*, his major work, that Hollis had (anonymously) initially helped publish (May 1766), asking Blackburne to write a memorial to Rev. Mayhew in the second edition (June 1767).<sup>113</sup>

**August 18, 1767:** About three months after acknowledging Mrs. Mayhew's gift of her husband's portrait, Hollis wrote, "Inclosed in this Box are three hundred impressions from an Etching of the late excellent Dr. Mayhew, your Husband," and asked her to be sole "Distributor." This was the print identified in Hollis's *Memoirs* as from a picture taken in Boston, "in crayons." The timing of Hollis's correspondence indicates the etching wasn't after Jennys's work in print for more than a year, but after Copley's recently sent portrait in crayons. This is the first time this letter is published in full:

Madam, palmal, aug. 18, 1767

I had the honor to write to you, May 18, by the Lydia, Capt. Scot.

Inclosed in this Box are three hundred impressions from an Etching of the late excellent Dr. Mayhew, your Husband, and thirty two impressions from an Etching of another Person, his friend and your friend.

The first Etching was produced through affection to the memory of a good & great public Man.

The second, through the repeated desires of several respectable Gentleman of Boston [^ & Cambridge] in N.E.; and especially of the late Dr. Mayhew, to whom it was in a degree promised, when ideas of more entertainment and use could be shown, from [^ it], than the mere Effigies of a plain, private man.

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<sup>110</sup> Ship and captain referenced in Hollis to Mrs. Mayhew, August 18, 1767. Mayhew Family Papers, Boston University Libraries.

<sup>111</sup> Hollis to Mrs. Mayhew, May 18, 1767. Mayhew Family Papers, Boston University Libraries. Reprinted under incorrect year (1768) in Bradford, *Rev. Jonathan Mayhew*, 441.

<sup>112</sup> Hollis states the written memorials were "not equal to him [Mayhew]" and "extracts from public prints" [newspapers] were "curious," but, there is no specific mention in the *Memoirs* of Hollis receiving prints by other engravers. Hollis to Mrs. Mayhew, October 4, 1766 in [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 345.

<sup>113</sup> Hollis believed it written by, "a Master Writer [Blackburne], an Assertor, like his friend the late D<sup>r</sup>. Mayhew, of Truth and Liberty at all times. You will observe in it a very handsome compliment to the Memory of the Doctor, drawn in sober [the wisest of all] Commendation." Hollis to Mrs. Mayhew, May 18, 1767. Mayhew Family Papers, Boston University Libraries. Neither title or author were named. Hollis gift was [Francis Blackburne], *The Confessional, Or a Full and Free Inquiry Into the Right, Utility, Edification, and Success of Establishing Systematical Confessions of Faith and Doctrine in Protestant Churches* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London: S. Bladon, 1767), xxxviii, passim. This memorial was written at Hollis's request [to an unnamed person, i.e., Blackburne]. Hollis to Mrs. Mayhew, October 4, 1766 in [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 345; also (on *Confessional* facing Cipriani's print of Mayhew), 371-372.



Not one impression from either Etching has been given away to or seen by any Person here; nor probably will be of some time, it may be years, or never: especially from the second, more on either side of the Water.

I have wished, Madam, that you rather should be the Distributor of these impressions, than any other Person, for several reasons; and wherein by so wishing I shall have judged amiss, I hope to be forgiven.

I am, with unfeigned respect, Madam, Your most obedient, humble servant, T. Hollis<sup>114</sup>

**November 23, 1767:** Mrs. Mayhew acknowledged receipt of the prints and indicated who she gave them to. On this potential list of Sons of Liberty, the only recipient listed in Hollis's *Memoirs* was James Bowdoin, Esq. [a Son] who wrote verses about both etchings, that were forwarded to Hollis by West Church member, Harrison Gray, who, therefore was likely one of the recipients.<sup>115</sup>

**May 16, 1768:** Hollis V acknowledged Mrs. Mayhew's letter of November 23, 1767: "It was matter of highest satisfaction to me to observe, by your very obliging Letter, dated nov. 23, 1767, that the Impressions from the Etching of the late excellent Dr. Mayhew [fig.1], Your Husband, went safe, proved acceptable and to be very much like him," the comment suggesting Copley, known for painting likenesses, rendered the portrait etched by Cipriani. Hollis once again modestly explained his own double portrait, "The Impressions from the other Etching [fig. 2] were of far less consequence, and had never, certainly, been produced, but from the reiterated request of some of the Gentlemen in New England; nor have any more Impressions from it seen the Light in this Country, nor, probably will see it, at least of many years."<sup>116</sup>

## **7 Rev. Mayhew's stand against Archbishop Secker and Cipriani's etching: "this print would make some noise when heard of"<sup>117</sup>**

In his letter thanking Mrs. Mayhew for her late husband's portrait, Hollis described his friend as, "an Assertor of Truth and Liberty at all times," it was a phrase inscribed upon Cipriani's etching for Mayhew, "Assertor of the civil and religious liberties of his country and mankind."<sup>118</sup> Hollis also included Mrs. Mayhew's description of the cause of her husband's death being a "nervous" fever:<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>114</sup> Hollis to Mrs. Mayhew [addressed to "Mrs. Mayhew, Widow of (^The Rev.) Dr. Jonathan Mayhew"]], August 18, 1767. Mayhew Family Papers, Boston University Libraries. Brigham cited this letter, which he located at Boston University Library. Brigham, *Paul Revere's Engravings*, 27.

<sup>115</sup> Mrs. Mayhew to Hollis V, November 23, 1767 [specific content not transcribed]; Harrison Gray to Thomas Hollis, December 15, 1767. [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.*; 380-381. James Bowdoin, Esq. (1726-1790) was listed as a Son of Liberty in 1769 [Hon. John G. Palfrey, "List to the Massachusetts Historical Society," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (Boston: The Society, August 1869), 140]. Bowdoin became President of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress executive council (1775-1777); Governor of Massachusetts (1785-1787); founder and first President of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. Bowdoin College, Maine chartered by the Massachusetts State Legislature in 1794, was named in his honor.

<sup>116</sup> Hollis to Mrs. Mayhew, May 16, 1768. Mayhew Family Papers, Boston University Libraries; partly reprinted in [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 380.

<sup>117</sup> [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 380-381 (see full quote, note 1).

<sup>118</sup> Hollis to Mrs. Mayhew, May 18, 1767, p. 2. Mayhew Family Papers, Boston University Libraries.

<sup>119</sup> Mrs. Mayhew to Hollis V, July 27, 1766. [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 344.

Known for liberal views and Stamp Act opposition, Mayhew was shown in Cipriani's print with what Hollis's *Memoirs* called, "extremely elegant and characteristic" emblems.<sup>120</sup> Inscribed "I.B. Cipriani MDCCLXVII [1767], and measuring, 9 ½ x 7 inches (sheet 16 ½ x 11 inches), Cipriani's etching of Mayhew's bust-length portrait emanating from a wall of cut stone, reads:

Jonathan Mayhew D.D. Pastor of the West Church in Boston, in New England, an assertor of the civil and religious liberties of his Country and mankind who, overplied by public energies, died of a nervous fever, July VIII, MDCCLXVI, Aged XXXV.

It was described in the nineteenth-century as "in the best style of the time, with Mayhew's two pens crossed . . . expanding at the feather end into ripened wheat-stalks, and girt with a laurel wreath enclosing the legend . . .,"<sup>121</sup> reading, "Remarks on an Anon. Tract P. LXXXII. I am indeed a 'Poor Man.'" Emphasizing the late minister's humility in the cause of humanity, this phrase is believed to be Mayhew's rhetorical repetition of a disparaging remark directed against him by Archbishop of Canterbury Thomas Secker (1693-1768), who formally published an answer countering Mayhew whose published sermon argued that American churches should remain independent of Parliamentary acts to ensure religious liberty, a concept applying to civil liberty.<sup>122</sup>

The print's highly controversial upturned bishop's miter, revealing a serpent, attacked Secker, whom Mayhew rebutted in a publication opposing the bishop's efforts to establish an episcopacy in America, a move many believed would arouse colonial dissent against the Crown.<sup>123</sup> John Adams would describe Mayhew's stand:

This transcendant . . . threw all the Weight of his great Fame into the Scale of his Country in 1761, and maintained it there with Zeal and Ardour till his death in 1766. In 1763 Appeared the Controversy between him . . . and Archbishop Secker on the Charter and Conduct of the Society for propagating the Gospels in foreign Parts [SPG] . . . If any Gentleman Supposes this Controversy to be nothing . . . , he is grossly mistaken. It Spread an Universal Alarm against the Authority of Parliament. It excited a general and just Apprehension that Bishops . . . were to be imposed upon Us by Parliament. It was known that neither King nor Ministry nor Archbishops could appoint Bishops in America without an Act of Parliament; and if Parliament could Tax Us they could establish the Church of England with all its Creeds . . . and prohibit all other Churches . . .<sup>124</sup>

Mayhew's biographer, J. Patrick Mullins, has observed: "By characterizing the activities of the Church of England as part of a conspiracy against New England's civil and religious liberty, Mayhew successfully raised a clamor among New Englanders sufficient to thwart Archbishop Secker's colonial episcopate without need for violence or disorder, mobilizing public opinion rather than public force."<sup>125</sup>

Upturned, the symbol of the bishop's office showed the import of Mayhew's preaching, contrasting with the upright 'Liberty Cap' at the foot of the print. The ancient Roman liberty, or Phrygian, cap was a

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<sup>120</sup> [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 371.

<sup>121</sup> Andrew P. Peabody, "Our Forerunners," *The Unitarian Review* (Boston: Office of *The Unitarian Review*, March, 1889), Vol. 31, No. 3, 202.

<sup>122</sup> Bradford, *Rev. Jonathan Mayhew*, title page.

<sup>123</sup> Mayhew's pamphlet *Observations on . . . the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts* (1763) resulted in Secker's *An Answer . . .* (1764). Hollis foresaw the upturned miter could be construed as against the Church of England, but claimed it was intended against the policy of "ONE MAN" [Secker]. [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 381.

<sup>124</sup> John Adams to Hezekiah Niles, February 13, 1818, *supra*.

<sup>125</sup> Mullins, *Father of Liberty: Jonathan Mayhew*, 152-153.

favorite symbol of Hollis V's designs imprinted upon books on English liberty written by authors such as John Locke, Algernon Sidney, and John Milton that Hollis had reprinted and distributed to American colleges.<sup>126</sup> These works have been called "the political text-books" before the Revolution.<sup>127</sup>

Small as it was, Mayhew's 'Liberty Cap' served as a metaphor for the Biblical parable of the tiny mustard seed that when scattered would grow,<sup>128</sup> reflecting Mrs. Mayhew's gift of the portrait, "the widow's mite," (Mark 12:41-44; Luke 21:1-4), and in keeping with one of Hollis's favorite mottos, *Ut Spargam*. Translated as "that we may scatter them," his motto appeared in his own handwriting upon more than twenty of the hundreds of books he gave to Harvard, many focused upon 'Liberty.'<sup>129</sup> Hollis appears to have appreciated that the Latin *liber*, for 'book' could be applied to the root meaning 'free' in 'Liberty,' and his motto and actions seeded a 'Liberty Tree' in Boston. Appreciating this symbolism, Copley created similar (banyan) allegories (*passim*) for the 'Liberty Tree.'

## 8 *Theoria to Practica*

In a dedication on the flyleaf of his own Hollis edition of John Locke's *Two Treatises on Government* that he presented to Princeton in 1764, Thomas Hollis V described himself as, "an Englishman, a Lover of Liberty, [and] the principles of the [1688] Revolution."<sup>130</sup> He developed bookbinding devices designed by Cipriani, to feature 'Liberty' symbols on books he distributed around the world from London to Europe to Asia<sup>131</sup> and North America.

According to Frank H. Sommer, longtime Director of Winterthur Library, Hollis became interested in the message of 'Liberty' delivered by Mayhew, in his 1750 sermon in which Hollis, "found inspiration for one of the main themes of his visual propaganda . . ." to create his "first physical icon . . . of British Liberty a seated goddess triumphant over Charles I" [later Cipriani's *Britannia Victrix* (1770, New York Public Library)]. As Sommer observed, Hollis invented the "'Ideas,' 'Images,' or symbols . . . the *theoria*," and Cipriani and other artists supplied the *practica*.<sup>132</sup> Sommer's analysis can be applied to Copley's own

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<sup>126</sup> On Hollis's liberty designs see Frank H. Sommer, "The Metamorphoses of Britannia," Charles F. Montgomery and Patricia E. Kane, eds., *American Art: 1750-1800 Towards Independence* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1976), 40-49.

<sup>127</sup> Caroline Robbins believes Sidney's *Discourses* influenced Mayhew's sermon of 1750. Caroline Robbins, "Algernon Sidney's *Discourses Concerning Government: Textbook of Revolution*," *The William and Mary Quarterly* (Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, July, 1947), Vol. 4, No. 3, 268, 280-281, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1917334>.

<sup>128</sup> "He put another parable before them, 'The kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed that a man took and sowed in his field. It is the smallest of all seeds, but when it has grown it is larger than all the garden plants and becomes a tree.'" Matthew 13:31-32. Verses from Matthew were appropriate for Mayhew due to the similarity/origin of his surname.

<sup>129</sup> On translation, see Rachel Hammersley, "'Ut Spargam' and Other Hollis Marginalia," Blog, 7/14/22, Newcastle University, Newcastle upon Tyne, accessed February 26, 2023 at <http://www.rachelhammersley.com/new-blog/2022/7/14/ut-spargam-and-other-hollis-marginalia>

<sup>130</sup> James Holly Hanford, "Ut Spargam": Thomas Hollis Books at Princeton," *The Princeton University Library Chronicle*. Vol. 20, No. 4 (Summer 1959), 165.

<sup>131</sup> Caroline Robbins, "The Strenuous Whig: Thomas Hollis of Lincoln's Inn," *The William and Mary Quarterly* (Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, July 1950), Vol. 7, No. 3, 408, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/1917230>.

<sup>132</sup> On Lorenz Natter's 'British Liberty Triumphant,' (Houghton Library, Harvard University) showing a woman seated with a hasta (staff) and liberty cap above the date January 30 --, see Frank H. Sommer, "The Metamorphoses of Britannia," 41-42. On Hollis working with artists, Natter (1756) and first gifts to Mayhew (1757-1759), see [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 80-81.

contributions to *theoria* and *practica*, beginning with *A Boy with a Flying Squirrel* and evidenced by his awareness that a controversial engraving could result from his acceptance of the Mayhew commission for Hollis V.

Hollis's inspiration was drawn from Mayhew's sermon titled, "A Discourse . . .," preached on "the Lord's Day after the 30<sup>th</sup> of January, 1749-50," the anniversary of the execution of Charles I one century earlier. Mayhew maintained resistance against tyrannical monarchical power was justified, declaring, "Resistance was absolutely necessary in order to preserve the nation from slavery, misery and ruin."<sup>133</sup> In 1818, John Adams gifted Thomas Jefferson a copy of that sermon, calling it his 'Catechism' and 'Education' at the young age of fourteen. Adams explained to Jefferson, "I read it, till the Substance of it, was incorporated into my Nature and indelibly engraved on my Memory."<sup>134</sup> He long remembered Mayhew's sermons encouraging American colonists to resist tyranny, beginning with his freedom-loving diatribe of 1750, that Adams later claimed was, "read by every Body" at the time.<sup>135</sup>

Mayhew's second rousing call for colonial liberties, "A Sermon Preach'd May 29<sup>th</sup> 1754 . . . Being the Anniversary for the Election of His Majesty's Council for the Province," (Boston 1754) further asserted loyalty to a tyrant was enslavement. The previous year, Hollis had returned to England from two Grand Tours; in 1754, he donated a monetary gift to Princeton (the first of his gifts to an American institution); and in 1755, became an anonymous donor acting through a third party, to send Mayhew a box of prints of statesman Algernon Sidney, for the students at Harvard.<sup>136</sup> His subsequent gifts of books in 1759 initiated their correspondence lasting until Mayhew's death.<sup>137</sup> Valuing the effectiveness of prints and portraits that he had commissioned to be made, Hollis had Mayhew's sermon of 1759<sup>138</sup> printed in London.

Appreciating Hollis's emphasis upon books, the *Boston-Gazette* obituary for Mayhew, praised his published and republished works, "admired both in Europe and America," that had already "furnished out a monument to their author, much more durable than marble or brass."<sup>139</sup> As a Harvard graduate, Mayhew's ideas of 'Liberty,' preached and published, represented fruit borne by Hollis family gifts to Harvard, in the form of books and professorships supporting freedom of learning.

## 9 Dedication to education and 'Liberty'

Copley first learned of the Hollis family's dedication to education and 'Liberty,' at age thirteen when Peter Pelham engraved his last mezzotint (fig. 11) after Harvard's portrait of Thomas Hollis III painted in 1722 by Highmore in London. Thirty years after the death of Hollis III, Pelham encouraged future Hollis family interest in Harvard, when in May 1751, the Harvard Corporation voted, "liberty be given to Mr. Pelham of Boston Painter to take a Mezzotinto Print from Mr. Hollis's Picture now standing in the Hall; Provided All due Care be taken by him that no Injury be done to s'd Picture."<sup>140</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, "A Discourse . . ." (1750), 54.

<sup>134</sup> John Adams to Thomas Jefferson, July 18, 1818, *supra*.

<sup>135</sup> John Adams to Hezekiah Niles, February 13, 1818, *supra*.

<sup>136</sup> On Princeton, see Robbins, "The Strenuous Whig . . .," 430; Hanford, "Ut Spargam," 166.

<sup>137</sup> Bernhard Knollenberg, "Thomas Hollis and Jonathan Mayhew: Their Correspondence 1759-1766," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Third Series, Vol. 69 (Oct., 1947 - May, 1950), 102, 109-110.

<sup>138</sup> Mayhew's *Two discourses on Ps. cxxvi 3. delivered Oct. 25, 1759, being the day appointed by authority to be observed as a day of public thanksgiving, for the success of his Majesty's Arms, more particularly in the reduction of Quebec, the capital of Canada (London, 1760)* in Robbins, "The Strenuous Whig . . .," 411, 434.

<sup>139</sup> *The Boston Gazette, and Country Journal*, July 14, 1766.

<sup>140</sup> Saunders cites Anne Allison, "Notes on the Hollis Portraits, 1937, p. 4 in *American Colonial Portraits*, 142.



**Fig. 11.** *Thomas Hollis [III], Boston, 1751 by Peter Pelham. Mezzotint, H. 14," W. 10 1/8."*  
Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Bequest of Boylston A. Beal, Photo © President and  
Fellows of Harvard College, M13349.

Pelham advertised Hollis III's print in the *Boston Gazette*, September 17, 1751,<sup>141</sup> as after the "curious whole-Length Picture . . . placed in the College Hall at Cambridge,"<sup>142</sup> inscribed, "Thomas Hollis, late of London Mercht a most generous Benefactor/to Harvard College, in N.E. [New England] having founded two Professorships and ten/Scholarships in the said College, given a fine Apparatus for

<sup>141</sup> Oliver, *Boston Prints and Printmakers*, 165.

<sup>142</sup> *Boston Gazette*, September 17, 1751 in Dow, *The Arts & Crafts in New England*, 35.

Experimental/Philosophy & increased the Library with a large Number of valuable Books &c.”<sup>143</sup> Pelham died three months later.

In the brief space of three years following the marriage of Copley’s widowed mother to Pelham in 1748, the latter shared his expertise with Copley, particularly when Hollis III’s portrait was interpreted onto a copperplate. Marjorie Shelley has observed, the “curious connection between mezzotint engravers and pastelists suggests that Copley was probably introduced to the crayon technique in his stepfather’s workshop;” using “black and white chalks or pastels for transferring, or ‘calking,’ an image to the rocked copperplate, or by drawing directly on it. The broad handling of both chalk and pastel provided a model with tonal qualities for engraving the plate that would be translated to subtle gradations of light and dark in the . . . mezzotint . . . to evoke the effects of painting.”<sup>144</sup> For Copley, in 1766, the Harvard Corporation’s commission for a replacement of the Hollis III portrait was personal and interconnected with his ability for portraiture in oils and pastels.

### Hollis III

From 1754, Hollis V followed in the footsteps of his great-uncle Thomas Hollis III, Harvard’s long-time “Eminent Benefactor,” as Mayhew described him in his first letter to Hollis V, pointing out that as a graduate [1744] he owed gratitude to Hollis III and to Hollis V for his recent gifts.<sup>145</sup> On July 9, 1766, the day Mayhew died, Harvard President Rev. Edward Holyoke penned a letter to Hollis V. Reiterating earlier requests that he send a portrait of himself,<sup>146</sup> and focusing on Hollis III’s replacement portrait, Holyoke wrote: “The Carver who hath made a frame for yr excellent Uncle’s Picture (which we have got drawn at Large By a Painter who takes a fine Likeness) hath constructed it so, as to have an Eschucheon for his Arms on the Top of it wherefore if you will please to send us the Blazonry They shall be added.”<sup>147</sup> The unnamed ‘Painter’ was Copley, who received 16 guineas on July 14 for the full-length portrait.<sup>148</sup>

To paint the face of the replacement, Copley relied upon the loan of a half-length portrait of Hollis III. It was a copy painted by Cipriani (fig. 12) after a 1723 portrait owned by Hollis V and sent by him in August 1764 in response to the college’s request for a likeness to replace that lost.<sup>149</sup> Cipriani’s portrait was still in Copley’s studio that July day Mayhew died and would remain for, at least, another six months through January 1767 when Holyoke insisted Copley return it, a few days after Copley’s portrait of Mayhew in

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<sup>143</sup> Print records “Jos. Highmore pinx, 1722;” Hollis’s death “Ob: 1731. AEt 71.,” and “P. Pelham. ab origin: fecit et excudt 1751.” Hollis III was responsible for the first published catalog (1723) of Harvard’s Library intended to be circulated among potential donors in England who could supply missing tomes. Today, the Harvard Library catalog, its major online search interface, is called “HOLLIS.”

<sup>144</sup> Marjorie Shelley, “Painting in Crayon: The Pastels of John Singleton Copley,” in Rebera et al., *John Singleton Copley in America*, 128.

<sup>145</sup> Rev. Jonathan Mayhew to Hollis V, August 16, 1759 in Knollenberg, “Thomas Hollis and Jonathan Mayhew,” 109-110.

<sup>146</sup> Andrew Eliot to Hollis V, Boston, October 26, 1764 in *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.*, 733. Holyoke repeated the request January 5, 1765, May 11, 1765, June 10, 1765, *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.*, 602-603; 735.

<sup>147</sup> *Letterbook of President Edward Holyoke, 1766-1767*, Harvard University Archives cited in Morrison H. Heckscher and Leslie Greene Bowman, *American Rococo, 1750-1775: Elegance in Ornament* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1992), Exhibition catalogue, 138n32.

<sup>148</sup> *Treasurer’s Journal* (1755-1773), 121 cited in Parker and Wheeler, *John Singleton Copley*, 105; Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 98.

<sup>149</sup> [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis, Esq.*, 243. On Hollis’s response April 5, 1764, describing the copy made, “after a portrait taken from the life in my possession,” see Peter J. Gomes, “Thomas Hollis of London and His Gifts: Two Hundred Seventy-Five Years of Piety and Philanthropy at Harvard . . .” (Kirksville, MO: Truman University Press, 2000; repr., Hollis’s Hospital, Yorkshire, UK (after 2002), n.p., <https://www.hollishospital.org/thomas-hollis-of-london-and-his-gifts-two-hundred-and-seventy-five-years-of-piety-and-philanthropy-at-harvard/>

pastels, appears to have left his studio for the frame maker or London. Hollis III's full-length replacement portrait remained in Copley's studio until 1769.<sup>150</sup>

For Hollis III's portrait (fig. 13), Copley reversed Pelham's mezzotint, roughly following its form and mass by moving the print's swagged drapery to the right in the new portrait and translating Highmore's covered table's draped vertical edge as wall corner and highlighted wainscot. Effectively acknowledging the Enlightenment as the architecture set off and paralleled the bold outline of the round topped writing table's post with its urn-shaped turning giving rise to the red urn above it, he thereby extended the symbolic potential of giving and receiving support to the writing surface standing upon its tripod-feet set by its owner's right foot. By association, the letter written upon the table is posted forward into enlightened collegiate thought. The urn's shell base inverts the mezzotint's shell design above Hollis's head, to convey marine imagery conducive to the passage of correspondence across the Atlantic.

Copley added a pen in Hollis III's hand and inkwell to activate the visualization of his welcome correspondence with Harvard, and completed the portrait with a letter detailed, "To the Rev. J. Leveret President of Harvard Colledge in New England."<sup>151</sup> Copley's pen effectively extended Hollis III's correspondence to Hollis V's, particularly with Mayhew.

In Copley's portrait, Hollis's face is at the precise angle set in the mezzotint and the Cipriani copy. Copley's work is, as Rev. Gomes has stated, a "creative composite" of the mezzotint and Cipriani portrait, as noted by Anne Allison, "Obviously Copley didn't copy the mezzotint but I think I can detect influences of it both in details of Hollis's face and incidentals."<sup>152</sup>



**Fig. 12.** Giovanni Battista Cipriani, Thomas Hollis (1659-1731), copy after an original dated 1723, Oil on canvas; H. 29 7/8," W. 25." Harvard University Portrait Collection, Gift of Thomas Hollis V to Harvard College, 1765, Photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College, H83.

<sup>150</sup> Holyoke to Copley, January 31, 1769 in Bayley, *John Singleton Copley*, 144.

<sup>151</sup> Parker and Wheeler, *John Singleton Copley*, 105. Copley portrays a letter addressed to Harvard, whereas in Pelham's print, a letter with a broken seal has been described as to the "personage" (Hollis) in Chaloner Smith, *British Mezzotinto Portrait*, [Pelham 23] 973; the latter agreeing with Gomes's description as a letter of thanks. Gomes, "Thomas Hollis of London," n.p.

<sup>152</sup> Anne Allison letter to Frederick B. Robinson in Gomes, "Thomas Hollis of London," n.p. Rev. Gomes refutes Laura M. Huntsinger's statement [in Alan Burroughs, ed., *Harvard Portraits: A Catalogue of Portrait Paintings at Harvard University*, 1936] that Copley didn't rely on the mezzotint; and Barbara Parker (1938) noted Copley didn't use the print for the face.



**Fig. 13.** John Singleton Copley; Frame by Unidentified American Framemaker, *Thomas Hollis III* (1659-1731), Oil on canvas; H. 93 ¾," W. 58." Harvard University Portrait Collection, Commissioned by the Harvard Corporation, 1765, Photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College, H25.



## 10 Copley's dialogue of 'Liberty' with Hollis and Cipriani

After Copley relied on Cipriani's copy of Hollis III; Cipriani engraved Copley's Mayhew portrait, bringing the skill of the artist responsible for Harvard's Hollis III replacement portrait, directly to Hollis V of Lincoln's Inn. Copley's acumen, evident in the Mayhew portrait, would have assured Hollis of the high level of values for the arts, and, by association, education at Harvard and in New England, expressive of gratitude for Hollis family gifts, thereby encouraging more in future, which immediately occurred with Hollis sending Cipriani's etchings in August 1767 for Mrs. Mayhew to distribute. About 300 recipients of her choosing had no need to subscribe for Mayhew's print (as Copley had inquired of West in November 1766).

This auspicious Hollis-related evolving accomplishment secured Copley's unmatched artistic reputation in America, justifying a prestigious sterling increase in his fee scale in 1767; precipitating the first exhibition of his portraiture in pastels in London at the Society of Artists in 1768; and establishing his politics in Boston as a moderate Whig and Son of Liberty in 1769.<sup>153</sup> Through the Mayhew portrait's transatlantic story, Copley had accomplished what George Livius of Portsmouth, New Hampshire expected for his personal commission of September 14, 1767, anticipating, "as perfect pictures as you can make them for your own honor and the credit of New England," challenging the artist because Copley's fee "considerably" exceeded that of two years previously when Livius was last in Boston.<sup>154</sup>

### 'Liberty' taught in Boston

Copley learned the language of political *double entente* and nature of allegory in portraiture from his two earliest teachers, mezzotinter and schoolmaster Peter Pelham and artist John Smibert. Pelham was a master of that craft of subtle communications in his London engraving work, likely leading to his emigration to Boston, c. 1727, followed in 1728 by Smibert, whose *Notebook* contained an undated verse: "Let lawles power in ye East remain/And never Cros the wide Atlantick main/Here flourish learning trade & wealth increase/The hapy fruits of liberty and peace."<sup>155</sup> Smibert left for the New World with intentions to be an art professor at Bishop George Berkeley's planned college for colonists in Bermuda, but without the anticipated funding, settled in Boston in 1729.

Less than a decade later, Smibert left Old South Church under the conservative Rev. Joseph Sewall, and helped organize, and as architect may have designed, West Church; his pew was next to Mayhew's family.<sup>156</sup> Smibert biographer Henry Wilder Foote has observed, Smibert's transfer to West Church, considered "the most liberal" in Boston, "may indicate the trend of his own thinking in religion and politics;" and before his death (1751), Smibert could have heard Mayhew deliver his early "sermons against arbitrary rule."<sup>157</sup> In 1749, one of Mayhew's sermons called for "liberty and freedom of thought," admonishing "Let us all *stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made us free*; and not

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<sup>153</sup> On August 14, 1769, the third anniversary of the "enforced resignation of the distributor" of 'the Stamps,' 350 Sons of Liberty dined at 'Liberty Tree' in Dorchester including Copley. In 1772, brother-in-law Jonathan Clarke wrote Copley, identifying him with, "you Sons of Liberty." "Copely, John," in Palfrey, "List," 139-142; Jonathan Clarke to Copley, London, December 20, 1772. *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 193. Prown acknowledges these facts while listing Copley as a Moderate Tory. Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 125.

<sup>154</sup> George Livius to Copley, Portsmouth, New Hampshire, September 14, 1767, *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 61.

<sup>155</sup> *The Notebook of John Smibert* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1969), 102.

<sup>156</sup> Richard H. Saunders, *Colonial America's First Portrait Painter* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 109. As architect, see Henry Wilder Foote, *John Smibert, Painter* (New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc. Da Capo Press, 1969; reprint Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1950, 80.

<sup>157</sup> Foote, *John Smibert*, 80.

suffer ourselves to be *intangled with any yoke of bondage*.”<sup>158</sup> Born in Scotland, Smibert favored a pamphlet printed by Andrew Millar (1705-1768) formerly of Edinburgh and later one of Hollis’s London publishers.<sup>159</sup>

In London, Pelham’s family motto ‘*Vincit Amor Patriae*’, meaning ‘Love of country prevails,’ appeared on his mezzotint (1721) of *Robert Lord Molesworth* (1656-1725),<sup>160</sup> an Anglo-Irish political theorist, writer, and social reformist for the working classes. Pelham signed his name beside his own shared family motto on Molesworth’s coat of arms flanked by verse from Lucan (39 AD-65AD) testifying to the patriotic principles of the Roman statesman, Cato the Younger (95 BC-46 BC). In Pelham’s London, Cato’s name had become synonymous with ‘Liberty’ after English playwright Joseph Addison’s *Cato, A Tragedy* was first performed in 1713. Whenever an actor mentioned the word ‘liberty,’ the Whigs in the audience cheered and Tories, resenting the political inuendo, cheered louder.<sup>161</sup> Pelham’s inscription and design expressed a language of reform that continued with his Hollis III engraving. Copley would employ that language in his painting.

Like Pelham, Hollis V favored Molesworth’s writings, attempting to distribute his work as far as Russia. In 1764, he sent Harvard a copy of a book Molesworth translated that defined the values of a Whig.<sup>162</sup> Pelham’s inscription for his Hollis III mezzotint expressed an understanding that books and prints comprised an education that was the basis for ‘Liberty,’ the philosophy of Hollis family gifts of books on government given to Harvard.

## 11 Copley’s Boylston portraits in banyans allegorize ‘Liberty Tree’ and oppose enslavement

For Copley, Highmore’s portrait of Hollis III seated at a table holding an opened letter as a successful hardware merchant was signified by his robe patterned with ‘flourishing’ flowers. The floral motif allegorized a Biblical ‘Tree of Knowledge’ that denoted the education, professorships and books given by Hollis III. The Latin *liber* meaning ‘book,’ was also the root meaning ‘free’ and ‘independent,’ in the word (and image of) ‘Liberty,’ thus extending to the later books given by Hollis V, focusing on ‘Liberty.’ This etymological confluence allowed Copley to equate the robe, called a ‘banyan,’ to a ‘Liberty Tree.’ For Hollis III’s replacement portrait, however, he exchanged the banyan in Pelham’s mezzotint for contemporary clothing that Hollis V preferred for his great-uncle’s portrait as copied by Cipriani.

By the mid-eighteenth-century, the word *banian* or *banyan*, chiefly signified the banyan-tree growing in Persian Gulf cities and giving its name to actual merchants, or traders of Asia. This ‘fig tree of India’ was often covered by streamers of taffeta, linking it to rich, luxuriant fabrics. To date, ‘fabric’ has been the sole aspect of banyan use discussed in scholarship to emphasize personal interest in self-fashioning, aristocratic and materialistic motives as the rationale behind the banyans Copley painted. I posit that the banyan conveyed a more significant meaning based on Copley’s strong appreciation for the power of

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<sup>158</sup> Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, *Seven Sermons* (Boston, N.E., Rogers and Fowle, 1749), 53, 85.

<sup>159</sup> John Smibert to Arthur Pond, Boston, July 1, 1743 in Saunders, *John Smibert*, 257.

<sup>160</sup> Engraved *cum privilegio Regis* after Thomas Gibson (c. 1680-1751), a founder of Sir Godfrey Kneller’s Academy in London. Chaloner Smith, *British Mezzotinto Portraits*, [Pelham 27] 975.

<sup>161</sup> “Cato,” *The Encyclopedia Americana* (New York: Americana Corporation, 1963), Vol. 6, 107. George Washington had the play performed at Valley Forge more than twenty times during the winter of 1777-1778.

<sup>162</sup> According to Caroline Robbins, Molesworth’s *An Account of Denmark* (4th ed., London, 1738), “later became an important Whig ‘classic.’ Hollis sent twenty copies of it to his friends. It may have been among the books rejected by the Russians . . .” and in 1764, presented Harvard with “Molesworth’s translation of Francis Hotman’s *Franco-Gallia* (London, 1721), with its famous definition of a Whig.” Robbins, “Algernon Sidney’s Discourses,” 286n52.

allegory communicating reform. In the Persian Gulf, perpetually growing banyan branches dropping shoots to the ground lending support and becoming intertwining aerial roots, formed arcades beneath which thriving markets were held and ‘banian’ traders met. *Banians* (the traders) abstained from meat, hence aboard ship, ‘banian days’ meant no meat for a ship’s company,<sup>163</sup> which allowed Copley, who grew up on Boston’s Long Wharf, to apply the garment’s nomenclature to Boston merchants whether prospering or experiencing meager profits, some meeting, as he did, with Sons of Liberty under the elm branches of Boston’s ‘Liberty Tree.’<sup>164</sup>

To this arboreal point, the “Boylstones Garden” seen by John Adams in 1773, was “a large, beautiful and agreeable one,” including various fruits, “a figg Tree, &c.,”<sup>165</sup> possibly furthering Copley’s development of political messaging for portraits analogizing the dressing robes of Boston merchants (and others) to banyan (fig) trees and their turbans to ‘Liberty Caps.’ His symbolism evolved by color, green for thriving and brown/gold for withering, relevant to the sitter’s politics. Relying on the banyan motif in Pelham’s mezzotint of beneficent hardware merchant Hollis III to make a political point supporting ‘Liberty,’ Copley’s portrait c. 1767 of Boston hardware merchant Joseph Sherburne (Metropolitan Museum of Art), a High Tory, portrayed the sitter in a brown banyan with a blue turban and table cover connoting a frigid lack of verdancy.

Copley’s combined use of banyans with a turbaned ‘Liberty Cap’ motif is notable in his three portraits of merchant Nicholas Boylston (1716-1771) to convey the benefit of uniting against Parliamentary duties on imports. In the earliest portrait (1767), Boylston, a Moderate Whig,<sup>166</sup> wears a blue-green banyan (fig. 14) with a ship in the background (Harvard University). In its virtual replica (fig. 15) attitude, he wears a deep brownish gold banyan, *sans* ship c. 1769 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), corresponding with the impounding of his brig in October. Seizure of its cargo was due to his repudiation of the Boston merchants’ Non-Importation Agreement of August 1768,<sup>167</sup> responding to taxes under the Townshend Acts (1767), repealed (except for tea) in April 1770, after effective colonial boycotts (1768).

In 1773, Copley also would use the banyan in his commission from Harvard for the full-length portrait *Nicholas Boylston* (fig. 16). Intended to mark Boylston’s bequest for a Professorship of Rhetoric and Oratory, the portrait was to be placed in the philosophy room with Copley’s full-length portraits of benefactors Thomas Hancock and Hollis III. For Copley, this presented a conflict of values over the full extent of human ‘Liberty.’ Hollis’s neighboring portrait commemorated his professorship of Divinity established as “free from bigotry,”<sup>168</sup> widely associated with Hollis V’s gifts of ‘Liberty’-related books to Harvard, but Boylston didn’t back the Sons of Liberty and non-importation in 1769, and was engaged in the Atlantic slave trade.

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<sup>163</sup> James A. H. Murray, ed., *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1888), Vol. 1, [652](#); s.v. “banian.”

<sup>164</sup> Palfrey, “List,” 140; Amory, *Life of John Singleton Copley*, 461-462.

<sup>165</sup> John Adams [23 August 1773], Diary 19, 16 December 1772 - 18 December 1773 [electronic edition]. *Adams Family Papers: An Electronic Archive*. Massachusetts Historical Society, <https://www.masshist.org/digitaladams/archive/doc?id=D19> transcript, L.H. Butterfield, ed., *Diary and Autobiography of John Adams* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961), Vol. 2.

<sup>166</sup> Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 125.

<sup>167</sup> On Boylston’s brigantine, see Carol Troyen in Reborá et al., *John Singleton Copley in America*, 228.

<sup>168</sup> Parker and Wheeler, *John Singleton Copley*, 44-45; 105.



**Fig. 14.** (Left) John Singleton Copley, *Nicholas Boylston (1716-1771)*, Oil on canvas; H. 50 1/8," W. 39 13/16." Harvard University Portrait Collection, Bequest of Ward Nicholas Boylston to Harvard College, 1828, Photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College, H90.

**Fig. 15.** (Right) John Singleton Copley, *Nicholas Boylston*, ca. 1769. Oil on canvas H. 50 1/8," W. 40." Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bequest of David P. Kimball, 23.504.



**Fig. 16.** John Singleton Copley; Frame by John Welch, *Nicholas Boylston (1716-1771)*, Oil on canvas; H. 94," W. 57," Harvard University Portrait Collection, Painted at the request of the Harvard Corporation, 1773, Photo © President and Fellows of Harvard College, H20.

Copley was aware that the inscription on Mayhew's etching, sponsored by Hollis V, included the word "Mankind," which could be seen as extending religious and civil 'Liberty' to Black enslavement. Boston lawyer, John Adams presented Massachusetts as a bulwark of liberty against tyranny in "A Dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Law," published by Hollis as *True Sentiments of America*, London, 1768.<sup>169</sup> Adams, who never owned an enslaved Black person, recognized Mayhew, the friend of Boston

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<sup>169</sup> First attributed to Jeremiah Gridley, then corrected to Adams. See Founders Online at <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-01-02-0052-0001> On Adams's debt to Mayhew's 'Dudleian Lecture,' May 8, 1765, influencing the *Dissertation* and Adams's statement: "Knowledge monopolized, or in the Possession of a few, is a Curse to Mankind. We should dispense it among all Ranks. We should educate our children. Equality should be preserved in knowledge," see "Fragmentary Notes for 'A Dissertation on the Canon and the Feudal Law,'" May–August 1765, "Papers of John Adams," Volume 1, Editorial Notes, Massachusetts Historical Society, <https://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/index.php/view/PJA01d064>

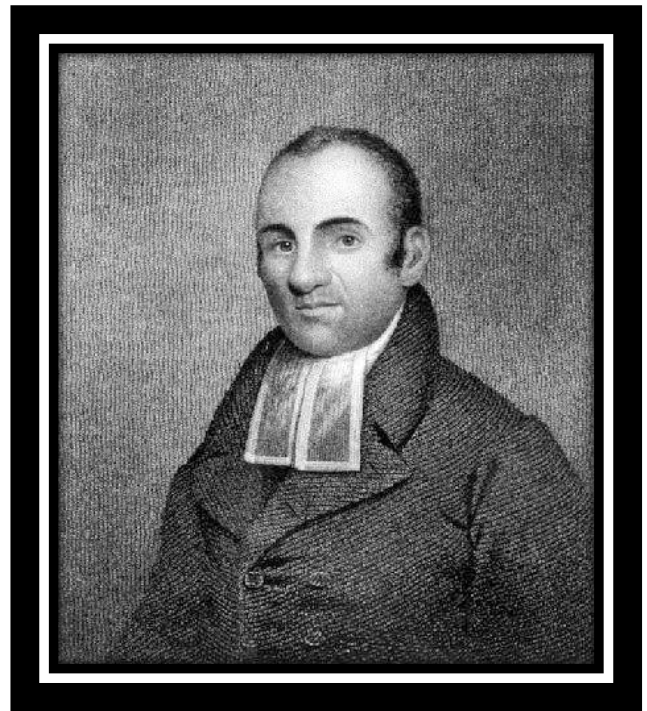
revolutionaries Samuel Adams and James Otis, for his determined resistance to tyranny, seeking ". . . at the same time to destroy . . . bigotry, fanaticism, and inconsistency."<sup>170</sup> One "inconsistency" applied to those professing American liberty without extending it to Black enslavement. The need to extend 'Liberty' to the abolition of enslavement would be expressed in Granville, Massachusetts c. 1776 by the first Black man who would be ordained a minister in the United States, Rev. Lemuel Haynes, writing the first tract to apply the precepts of the Declaration of Independence to abolition (see Section 12).

Copley chose to paint Boylston's banyan in deep blue, the color representing the combination of cyan (bluish-green) and magenta (purplish-red), suggesting a memorial portrait symbolic of more than the late Nicholas Boylston; broadly extending to those Black people whom his 'trade' enslaved. Blue was the antithesis of a living 'Liberty Tree' expressed by the green and withering brown banyans in the Boylston portraits of 1767 and c. 1769. The crimson turbans in Nicholas Boylston's three portraits appear to have been an optimistic representation of the red wool Phrygian cap worn by freed Roman slaves, also known as the *pileus*, an attribute of the goddess of Liberty, as developed by Thomas Hollis V and included upon the obelisk immediately above his profile (fig. 2). Setting a high bar for Boylston, the cap appears to have been placed by Copley upon the head of a Loyalist and an enslaver, to bespeak the need to strive for 'Liberty' that once assured, could bring peace to all men.

## 12 *Theoria to Practica*: Rev. Lemuel Haynes extends 'Liberty' to abolition of enslavement

Copley's extension of the 'Liberty' concept to a rebuttal of enslavement in the 1773 Boylston portrait commissioned by Harvard, exhibited a full appreciation of the necessity of education in the achievement of 'Liberty' for all. In western Massachusetts, that concept appears to be evidenced twenty years earlier in 1754.

On January 1, 1754, the five months old unwanted child born July 18, 1753 in West Hartford, Connecticut, to unmarried African American and white parents, was brought by Congregational Deacon David Rose (1709-1793) to his home in a Massachusetts settlement first called Bedford 'Plantation'. With the understanding that he would be educated by Deacon Rose, the infant, Lemuel Haynes (1753-1833) was indentured until he reached his legal majority at the age of twenty-one, when he became free of his



**Fig. 17.** Unknown artist, Rev. Lemuel Haynes, Timothy Mather Cooley, *Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A.M.* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1837). Public Domain, CC.

<sup>170</sup> Adams cited by Frank Dean Gifford, "The Influence of the Clergy on American Politics from 1763 to 1776." *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 10, no. 2 (1941): 111n32, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42968831>.

indenture.<sup>171</sup> Rev. Lemuel Haynes received his early education at Granville, Massachusetts, leading to his ordination as the first black man ordained a minister (Congregational) in the United States.

The infant Haynes's arrival New Year's Day heralded legislation, passed on January 8, 1754 by the House of Representatives of the province of Massachusetts Bay, to incorporate the settlement of Bedford Plantation as the district of Granville, Massachusetts. Enacted January 25, 1754, incorporation, officially marked by consent of King George II two years later, would allow the settlers, who had long petitioned for that recognition, to receive the rights of townsmen to levy taxes and move beyond "the uncertainty of the 'Plantation' stage."<sup>172</sup> The timing of Deacon Rose's gesture has not previously been considered as a declaration that all men in Granville were given the opportunity to be free.<sup>173</sup> David Rose, his brother Daniel Rose (1716-1790) and his wife Achsah 'Achsey' Rose (1725-1818), and Lemuel Haynes numbered among the founders of the Second Church of Christ [Congregational] in [West] Granville. There, the meetinghouse, built in 1778, was where Lemuel would be the first preacher in the pulpit from 1781 to 1785; before it was built, he may even have preached before that in the high-ceilinged acoustically advantageous second-floor ballroom where the walls were lined with benches in Daniel Rose's home within sight of the church and Lemuel's nearby home at Deacon David Rose's house.<sup>174</sup>

In contrast, at the congregational church at Hadley, Massachusetts, where Rev. Samuel Hopkins was pastor from 1754-1811, African-American slaves were admitted to membership between 1765-1776 and "evidence suggests" black congregants were "fully included" in the spiritual worship, yet "physically marginalized" in the back seats or corners of the meetinghouse from the mid-eighteenth century.<sup>175</sup> Unlike other towns in New England, not one enslaved person was listed in Granville, Massachusetts' 1790 census, which included Black people who were free.<sup>176</sup>

In conjunction with the establishment of Granville as a district, Lemuel Haynes's arrival in January 1754, also suggests Deacon Rose was making a statement against the fact that Bedford's Boston proprietors included the wealthy Boylston family (figs. 14-16), known for having "amassed a fortune sending enslaved Africans and foreign goods to the Americas."<sup>177</sup> Deacon Rose and his brother Daniel Rose

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<sup>171</sup> Rev. Lemuel Haynes indentured his own son to David Rose, [Jr.]. Citing Rutland City records, 1799, see Gregor Hileman, "The Remarkable Life of . . ." [Lemuel Haynes, Master of Arts, 1804], *Middlebury College Newsletter*, No. 4 (Spring, 1973), 5-6. I am indebted to Richard L. Rowley at the Mabel Root Henry Historical Museum for pointing out this resource to me.

<sup>172</sup> Albion B. Wilson, *History of Granville, Massachusetts* (Hartford: Connecticut Printers Inc, 1954), 48-50.

<sup>173</sup> First mooted in Corey Phelon Geske, "The Daniel Rose House (1741): Home of Six Revolutionary War Soldiers and the Nation's First Quilt Exhibited at an American Museum," *Granville's Country Caller*, March 2021, 2-3 at Granville History Digital Collection, sponsored by the Mabel Root Henry Historical Museum, Granville Public Library and the Noble & Cooley Center for Historic Preservation, <https://granvillehistory.omeka.net/items/show/1493>.

<sup>174</sup> Wilson, *History of Granville, Massachusetts*, 191-193.

<sup>175</sup> Karen Parsons, "'We owe something more than prayers': Elizabeth Porter Phelps's Gift of Church Silver . . .," in Jean Falino and Gerald W. R. Ward, *New England Silver & Silversmithing 1620-1815* (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2001), 99.

<sup>176</sup> According to the census description, thirteen "other free persons," included eight members of the family of Thomas Hull [Hall?] Black, his surname suggesting his race; and five individuals listed in four other households. Granville, Massachusetts, 1790 United States Federal Census, National Archives and Record Administration. Thomas Black's family may have included 'Albert Black' who marched in April 1775, with Lemuel Haynes and the Granville company commanded by Capt. Lebbeus Ball. Militia roll, Wilson, *History of Granville, Massachusetts* 64.

<sup>177</sup> Gallery Text, Nicholas Boylston (1716-1771), H90. Harvard University Portrait Collection, Bequest of Ward Nicholas Boylston to Harvard College, 1828 <https://harvardartmuseums.org/collections/object/299949?position=1>

signed their bonds for settlement with different proprietors on the same day, May 22, 1741, to ensure adjacent holdings from different landowners, yet the Boylston name appears, even for bonds with other proprietors.<sup>178</sup> Bringing the young Haynes to Granville, infers a declaration on the part of the Rose family that although enslavers signed bonds with settlers, enslavers could not dictate Granville's recognition of equality among all men regardless of race. Such a statement of 'Liberty' put into practice, would have been in keeping with Rev. Mayhew's sermon, preaching "Britons will not be slaves . . . Let us all learn to be free . . . Let us not profess ourselves vassals . . . of any man on earth," in *A discourse concerning unlimited submission and non-resistance to the higher powers . . . delivered in a sermon preached in the West Meeting-House in Boston . . . Published at the request of the hearers.* (Boston: D. Fowle, 1750).

The name of Granville chosen by the Bedford plantation's settlers for their district recognized John Carteret, Earl of Granville (1690-1763), Secretary of State (1742-1744), "who was said to be the most brilliant scholar in England."<sup>179</sup> Thus, the choice of town name could have reinforced the educational requirement in Lemuel Haynes's indentureship when he arrived in Bedford within days of the settlement being incorporated and named as Granville. On the frontier, the Deacon's educational resources focused on the Bible as noted in Haynes biography;<sup>180</sup> and additionally, the Deacon brought to Bedford/Granville his "1 Right of Books in a Library"<sup>181</sup> that was the Book Company of Durham, established in 1733, "the second oldest proprietary library founded in America, the first in New England," believed to be the first

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<sup>178</sup> Daniel Rose's bond of May 22, 1741 was with the Bedford plantation proprietors, John Dolbeare (1669-1740), pewterer and merchant and Thomas Boylston (d. 1739). Daniel signed with Dolbeare's widow, Sarah Dolbeare, settling Dolbeare's mapped lot. Deacon David Rose's bond was signed the same day with Boston merchant and shopkeeper John Wendell and Josias Byles. Daniel's brother John Rose, signed his bond on February 23, 1743/44; for 100 acres from Thomas Boylston's widow, Sarah Morecock Boylston (1696-1774) and her son Nicholas Boylston (figs. 14-16), whose portraits were painted by Copley. Like Daniel and David, John Rose agreed to build a house within one year. It appears that inclusion of the Boylston name on the Dolbeare bond was intended to represent the full weight of the Boylstons, one of the most powerful merchant families in the province, as one of the Bedford proprietors. The Boylston name offered security of title to settlers in the effort to meet the General Court's conditions of 1738, for settlement of seventy families within three years at Bedford. Corey Phelon Geske, "*The Daniel Rose Family was There . . . Lived Here: Main Road 1442, c. 1741: Daniel Rose, Lt. Jacob Baldwin, Rev. Joel Baker . . . Phelon Place, 8-9, 10, Figs. 2, 3.* Granville History Digital Collection sponsored by the Mabel Root Henry Historical Museum, Granville Public Library, and Noble & Cooley Center for Historic Preservation, Granville, Massachusetts, <https://granvillehistory.omeka.net/items/show/1233>. David Rose probably lived in Daniel Rose's adjacent home while the brothers built David's home; his deed was recorded in 1743 after Daniel's. Phelon Geske, "*The Daniel Rose Family was There . . . Lived Here, 12, 47.*"

<sup>179</sup> From Varney's revision of Nason's *Gazetteer of Massachusetts* cited in Wilson, *History of Granville, MA*, 51.

<sup>180</sup> Timothy Mather Cooley, *Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A.M.* (Harper & Brothers, New York, 1837), 38, 137-138. Note, when Rev. Cooley notes, "thence he remarks," referring to Haynes, his wording strongly suggests that his *Sketches* was written from a biography or notes, written by Haynes.

<sup>181</sup> See Inventory of the Personal Estate of David Rose, August 25, 1793; 125-2:14; p. 2 of 4 at <https://www.americanancestors.org/databases/hampshire-county-ma-probate-file-papers-1660-1889/image?volumeld=39986&pageName=125-2:14&rid=60662356#> Hampshire County, MA: Probate File Papers, 1660-1889. Online database. AmericanAncestors.org. New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2016, 2017. (From records supplied by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Archives and the Hampshire County Court. Digitized images provided by FamilySearch.org. For identification as the Durham library, see mention of Daniel Rose's neighbor, Ezra Baldwin (1706-1782), a Deacon in Durham and one of the original subscribers in 'Baldwin Family Folder, Part 1', page image 6, with notes possibly by Helena Duris. Granville History Digital Collection sponsored by the Mabel Root Henry Historical Museum and Noble & Cooley Center for Historic Preservation, Granville, Massachusetts, <https://granvillehistory.omeka.net/items/show/577>



town library in the colony of Connecticut.<sup>182</sup> Deacon Rose had brought twenty-six families from Durham to settle Bedford.<sup>183</sup>

Although Haynes's biography by Rev. Timothy Mather Cooley of Granville, Massachusetts, notes a scarcity of books, Durham's social library was open to those in Granville who owned a share in the 'Durham Book Company', housed, at various times, in the homes of Durham ministers.<sup>184</sup> Rev. Elizur Goodrich (1734-1797), ordained in the Congregational church was pastor at Durham (1756-1797), a fellow of Yale College (1770-1797), once a "candidate for governor of Connecticut, and in 1777 his name was proposed for the presidency of Yale;" he viewed resistance to tyranny as a religious duty and was sent by Connecticut's general association to attend conventions from 1766-1777. Goodrich was known for accumulating "a library which was regarded as the largest and most complete ever brought into the colonies on private account."<sup>185</sup> Rev. Goodrich's affiliation with Yale corresponded with the college's intense period of patriotism during the tenure of Rev. Naphtali Daggett when President pro tempore (see Section 14).

In Granville, Massachusetts, Deacon Rose's 'Right' in the Durham social library was maintained until the end of his life, suggesting that he may have had access, facilitated by Granville families visiting friends and family remaining in Durham, to a few books and pamphlets from that town, that could be read by members of his household, including Lemuel Haynes.<sup>186</sup> By 1821, Granville's "Third Social Library" was in existence,<sup>187</sup> and with the particulars of its first two social libraries unknown, perhaps a share in the

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<sup>182</sup> The Library grew from its initial eight subscribers, paying 21 shillings apiece, extending to shareholders outside Durham, including the President of Yale College in 1793, the year of David Rose's death and estate inventory recording his share. In 1788, the subscribers voted to purchase more books to "especially promote the true principles of Christian piety, virtue and good manners among all;" and a recent history of the Company further notes: In Fowler's History of Durham, the author states that "it was this Library that helped to make the voice of Durham potent in the legislature for sixty years. It was this Library that helped to refine the manners of the people, and which gave their high character to the emigrants from Durham." Edward N. Hinman, "The Book Company: Durham's First Library," The Middletown Press, August 12, 1983, 7, at the Durham Public Library, [https://durhamlibrary.org/durhams-first-library/?fbclid=IwAR02S0Mk8-s3N7JgDx7FpVOOriqxn17DC-8xNeQbpjdT\\_KxSwrQ\\_sJMEXBg](https://durhamlibrary.org/durhams-first-library/?fbclid=IwAR02S0Mk8-s3N7JgDx7FpVOOriqxn17DC-8xNeQbpjdT_KxSwrQ_sJMEXBg)

<sup>183</sup> Wilson, *History of Granville, Massachusetts*, 27

<sup>184</sup> The Rose and Baldwin families of Granville, owned shares, and were among the original subscribers, in the Durham library. Emigrating from Durham, their shares were held through the 1790s, presumably from their time of settlement c. 1741. Rev. Elizur Goodrich became 'clerk' of the Durham social library in 1782 and although no records exist from the Revolution, the library was traditionally in the minister's study. See Corey Phelon Geske, "Rose family brings to Bedford/ Granville their 'Right to Books' in the first town library in the colony of Connecticut at Durham," in *The Daniel Rose-Baldwin-Baker-Phelon House, 1741: The Abner Rose Tavern, 1784: Becomes the Lieutenant Jacob Baldwin Tavern 1794-1799* (September 21, 2020), 52-53, <https://granvillehistory.omeka.net/items/show/1233>. Also see, Hinman, ". . . Durham's First Library," 7.

<sup>185</sup> "Elizur Goodrich studied the right of resistance with President Clap [Rev. Thomas Clap (1703-1767) of Yale], had later studied Cumberland's *Law of Nature*, Grotius, Puffendorf, etc., and grew passionate, in the pulpit only, on the religious duty of resistance to Great Britain." Baldwin, *The New England Clergy and the Revolution*, 102, 125n11, 171n1, 189. On library, see "Elizur Goodrich, *Appleton's Cyclopaedia*, 1900 at [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Appletons%27\\_Cyclop%C3%A6dia\\_of\\_American\\_Biography/Goodrich,\\_Elizur](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Appletons%27_Cyclop%C3%A6dia_of_American_Biography/Goodrich,_Elizur)

<sup>186</sup> Phelon Geske, *The Daniel Rose Family was There . . . Lived Here*, 38n128, accessed at <https://granvillehistory.omeka.net/items/show/1233>.

<sup>187</sup> Wilson, *History of Granville, Massachusetts*, 269.

Durham library such as that owned by David Rose at the time of his estate inventory in 1793, constitutes a clue to the identity of the first of those libraries.

When a library was being founded at Rev. Haynes's former church, under the pastorship of a friend of Haynes, Rev. Joel Baker (1768-1833), who also established an academy, in 1823, a letter was sent from Granville to John Adams (1735-1826), requesting a copy from Adams' library of his magnum opus *Defense of the American Constitutions* (1787), for one of the town's two libraries, affiliated with the ministers of the First and Second Congregational Churches.<sup>188</sup> In their letter, the town's library committee referred to Adams as "one of the greatest and most venerable characters of the Age" and within a week, from Adams' home in Quincy, MA, two volumes arrived from John Adams' personal library with his "sincere wishes" for the growth of the Dickinson Library Company of Granville.<sup>189</sup>

In his sermon *Liberty Further Extended*, Lemuel Haynes mentioned a pamphlet from Philadelphia that he had read that inspired some of his thoughts. "Some Historical Account of Guinea," published in 1771, was by Quaker, Anthony Benezet (1713-1784), an abolitionist in Philadelphia, who founded one of the world's first anti-enslavement societies. Although the source of Haynes obtaining the pamphlet is unknown, it could have been borrowed through David Rose's 'Right' in the Durham Library.

Of like mind to Rev. Goodrich, the twenty-six settling families of Granville who came from Durham with Deacon Rose, followed the minister's patriotic inclinations, notably occurring when a Liberty Pole was erected, c. 1776, on the subsequently named Liberty Hill, which appears to have been on his property. In 1774, the district of Granville, Massachusetts, close to the Connecticut line, voted to unite and communicate with other committees of correspondence in the province as well as stipulating other colonies.<sup>190</sup> This inter-colony effort throughout the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as recommended by Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, was extended by Granville to other colonies, and in that spirit of 'extended' applications, Haynes wrote, *Liberty Further Extended: Or Free Thoughts on the Illegality of Slave-keeping*,

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<sup>188</sup> For full title, see Volume 1 of John Adams' *A Defence of the Constitutions of Government of the United States of America*: Editorial Note," *Founders Online*, National Archives,

<https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/06-18-02-0290> [Original source: *The Adams Papers*, Papers of John Adams, vol. 18, *December 1785–January 1787*, ed. Gregg L. Lint, Sara Martin, C. James Taylor, Sara Georgini, Hobson Woodward, Sara B. Sikes, Amanda M. Norton. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2016, 544–550.]

<sup>189</sup> On "Granville correspondence with Adams, see Phelon Geske, [*Baker Quilt*], *West Granville Needlework at the F.G. Baker House inspires the historic Deerfield Arts and Crafts Movement*, 26-28 at the Granville History Digital Collection sponsored by the Mabel Root Henry Historical Museum, the Granville Public Library, and the Noble & Cooley Center for Historic Preservation, accessed at <https://granvillehistory.omeka.net/items/show/1233>. The Granville letter of January 9, 1823 noted, "In making this request, permit us to express to you our desire more particularly to become the beneficiaries of the Pride of our Commonwealth, and to receive somewhat of a literary nature; and to hold the same as a relick of one of the greatest and most venerable characters of the Age." See "To John Adams from Timothy M. Cooley, 9 January 1823," *Founders Online*, National Archives at <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-7745> from The Adams Papers. Adams responded January 14, 1823: "Gentlemen. I am honoured . . . I send you the second and third Volume of my Defence, of the first volume I have but one Copy . . . With my sincere wishes for the increase of your library, and the prosperity of your Society. . ." From John Adams to Timothy M. Cooley, 14 January 1823," *Founders Online*, National Archives, <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Adams/99-02-02-7748>

<sup>190</sup> Carolyn D. Hertz, "The committees of correspondence, inspection and safety in old Hampshire County, Massachusetts, during the American Revolution/" (1993), 55-56. Masters Theses 1911 - February 2014. 1605. Retrieved from <https://scholarworks.umass.edu/theses/1605>

c. 1776, (fig. 19) an unpublished manuscript housed in the Wendell Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University.<sup>191</sup>

Also, archived with the Haynes's manuscript is Haynes's poem, *The Battle of Lexington* (fig. 18), the two works c. 1776, representing Haynes's earliest manuscripts.<sup>192</sup> Archived with these manuscripts is a letter (1745) from Daniel Rose to John Wendell of Boston,<sup>193</sup> concerning Rose's property deed, stating that he had lived a long time "in Bedford" fulfilling the bond he made in 1741.<sup>194</sup> The presence of these documents together, virtually from two individuals living within sight of each other in Granville, without any further explanation as to relativity, raises the likelihood of a grouping of papers from the Rose households, connected to the Bedford proprietors (of which Wendell was one) and preserved by the Wendell family in Boston, perhaps to show the results of the colony's broadminded views of 'Liberty' as early as 1754 with the virtual 'adoption' of Haynes at Bedford.

To understand the high likelihood that Haynes's wrote both *The Battle of Lexington* and *Liberty Further Extended* in Granville, Massachusetts, new research has revealed the physical proximity of Haynes's extended family in western [then Middle Parish] Granville. Deacon David Rose and his brother Daniel Rose built their homes within sight of each other, meaning Lemuel Haynes could have visited Daniel Rose's home, read and studied in that chimney corner, as well as Deacon Rose's, which was recounted by Rev. Cooley in his biography of Haynes.

Haynes served as a Minuteman in 1774 and from the neighboring home of Deacon David Rose marched out to Lexington and Concord in April 1775 with Daniel Rose and his sons. Haynes served in the Roxbury, Massachusetts camp during the siege of Boston for three weeks.<sup>195</sup> If returning to Granville in May 1775, Lemuel likely was responsible for spring planting and harvests on the adjacent farms of both David and Daniel Rose while Daniel and his sons were in Roxbury, enlisted for the long Siege of Boston through the winter to March 1776, or perhaps he had embarked on Ethan Allen's campaign to Fort Ticonderoga.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>191</sup> Rev. Lemuel Haynes, *Liberty Further Extended* . . . autograph manuscript (signed); [no place, undated]. Wendell family papers, MS Am 1907-1907.1, MS Am 1907, (608), Box: 12. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, <https://id.lib.harvard.edu/ead/c/hou01421c00624/catalog>.

<sup>192</sup> Ruth Bogin, "'The Battle of Lexington;' A Patriotic ballad by Lemuel Haynes," *The William and Mary Quarterly* [Third Series, Vol. 42, No. 4 (October, 1985)], 499-506. See *The battle of Lexington*: autograph manuscript (unsigned); [Roxbury [herein ? and placed at Granville, MA], Massachusetts, 1775 April]. Wendell Family Papers, MS Am 1907-1907.1, MS Am 1907, (601a), Box: 11. Houghton Library, Harvard University at <https://id.lib.harvard.edu/ead/c/hou01421c00616/catalog>.

<sup>193</sup> In the Wendell Family Papers, presumably, John Wendell (1703-1762) a Boston merchant), father of John Wendell (1731-1808); the senior Wendell was a member of the committee of four, along with Dr. Belcher Noyes (brother-in-law to artist John Smibert) who reviewed the 1738 survey of Bedford plantation and prepared a petition to settle the lines and rights of title for the proprietors of lands that would become Granville, MA, setting forth criteria for building homes and a meeting house with a settled minister. On this settlement plan approved by the Massachusetts House of Representatives, see Wilson, *History of Granville, Massachusetts*, 20-23.

<sup>194</sup> Daniel Rose to John Wendell, Bedford, Mass., March 25, 1745. B MS Am1907, no. 608, Wendell Family Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts at <https://id.lib.harvard.edu/ead/c/hou01421c00013/catalog>. A second letter in the papers is from Oliver Phelps, Lemuel's commanding officer in 1776.

<sup>195</sup> *Massachusetts Soldiers and Sailors of the Revolutionary War* (Boston: Wright and Potter Printing Company, 1900), 7:39, 227.

<sup>196</sup> For Haynes serving on Ethan Allen's campaign to Fort Ticonderoga, see Mia Bay, "See Your Declaration Americans!!! Abolitionism, Americanism, and the Revolutionary Tradition in Free Black Politics," North Carolina Scholarship Online (April 2006), <https://academic.oup.com/north-carolina-scholarship->

Haynes's unpublished poem *The Battle of Lexington*, resounded with the colonial effort to achieve liberty from the mother country, extending the concept from the white to black population, claiming, "For Liberty, each Freeman Strives/As it's a Gift of God/And for it willing yield their Lives/And Seal it with their Blood," inferring each man fought for 'Liberty.' Haynes wording, "The Nineteenth Day of April last/We ever shall retain/As monumental of the past . . ." implies, the poem was written sometime after he left Roxbury in May 1775 and close to and before April 1776, meaning *The Battle of Lexington* could have been penned in Granville, not necessarily (as now indexed) at Roxbury, where Haynes was stationed for only three weeks after the battle, returning to Granville, and later fighting in other campaigns when Black men were finally accepted in the Continental Army.

Apparently at about, or after the death of his foster mother Elizabeth Rose in September 1775; which deeply saddened Haynes, according to his biographer Rev. Cooley, Lemuel wrote an anti-slavery sermon c. 1776, "Liberty Further Extended: Or Free Thoughts on the Illegality of Slave-keeping," that was among the first tracts to apply the intent of the Declaration of Independence to the abolition of slavery.<sup>197</sup> Haynes believed: "Liberty is equally as precious to a black man, as it is to a white one, and bondage is equally as intolerable to the one as it is to the other."<sup>198</sup> Haynes penned, but did not publish, the tract on the extension of the concept of liberty to the condition of the enslaved black man, claiming:

Liberty is a jewel which was handed Down to man from the cabinet of heaven, and is Coeval with his Existence. And as it proceed from the Supreme Legislature of the univers, so it is he which hath a sole right to take away: therefore, he that would take away a mans liberty assumes a prerogative that belongs to another, and acts out of his own domain.<sup>199</sup>

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[online/book/13198/chapter-abstract/166492675?redirectedFrom=fulltext](https://online/book/13198/chapter-abstract/166492675?redirectedFrom=fulltext) cited in catalog for "First Edition Biography of Rev. Lemuel Haynes by Rev. Timothy Mather Cooley, *Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A.M.* (1837), signed by John Brown," at Auctioneers, University Archives,

[https://auction.universityarchives.com/auction-lot/first-edition-biography-of-rev.-lemuel-haynes-si\\_25D4BCB895](https://auction.universityarchives.com/auction-lot/first-edition-biography-of-rev.-lemuel-haynes-si_25D4BCB895)

<sup>197</sup> Christopher Cameron, "The Puritan Origins of Black Abolitionism in Massachusetts," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts* (Institute for Massachusetts Studies, Westfield State University) Summer 2011, Vol. 39 (1 & 2), 90.

<sup>198</sup> *Ibid.*, 90n18, 93 at <http://www.westfield.ma.edu/historical-journal/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Puritan-Origins-of-Black-Abolitionism.pdf>. Cameron cites Richard Newman, ed., *Black Preacher in White America: The Collected Writings of Lemuel Haynes, 1774-1833* (Brooklyn, NY: Carlson Publishing Inc., 1990), xix-xxv, 12, 15.

<sup>199</sup> This passage evidences Haynes's comparison of two texts, possibly available in Granville, MA via Deacon Rose's "Right" in Durham's Library. Haynes tapped words (underlined here) from Mayhew's *Discourses* (1750) and William Blackstone's subsequent *Commentaries on the Laws of England* (1765-1769) when each defined the Higher Law supporting equality. Mayhew stated: "all commands running counter to . . . the supreme legislator of heaven and earth, are null and void . . ." preceding Blackstone: "the law of nature, being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God . . ." On Mayhew/Blackstone, see William M. Wiecek, "Latimer: The Problem of Unjust Laws," in Lewis Perry and Michael Fellman, eds., *Antislavery Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Abolitionists* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979), 120. On Haynes's text, see Ruth Bogin, "'Liberty Further Extended': A 1776 Antislavery Manuscript by Lemuel Haynes," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 40, No. 1 (Jan. 1983): 85-105. On Haynes referring to a Philadelphia pamphlet (Benezet), 95-96; Bogin notes (90) the top of the front sheet of Haynes's manuscript was cut, leaving, "a partly legible letter . . . probably a G," possibly a notation as to where "Liberty . . ." was "composed." This offers a suggestion of Granville, MA. Excerpt from Megan VanGorder, "'Liberty Further Extended': Or Free Thoughts on the Illegality of Slave-Keeping, Lemuel Haynes, 1776," *Amazing Grace How Writers Helped End Slavery*, 2014 at <http://slavenarrativeanthology.weebly.com/free-thoughts-on-the-illegality-of-slave-keeping.html> Also see David Guidone, "'Liberty Further Extended': The Federalist Identity of Lemuel Haynes, America's First Biracial Minister," *Channels* 2019, Vol. 4, No. 1: 31 at [https://digitalcommons.cedarville.edu/channels/vol4/iss1/2/?utm\\_source=digitalcommons.cedarville.edu%2Fchannels%2Fvol4%2Fiss1%2F2&utm\\_medium=PDF&utm\\_campaign=PDFCoverPages](https://digitalcommons.cedarville.edu/channels/vol4/iss1/2/?utm_source=digitalcommons.cedarville.edu%2Fchannels%2Fvol4%2Fiss1%2F2&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages)

The Battle of Lexington

A Poem on the inhuman Tragedy perpetrated on the 19<sup>th</sup> of April 1775 by a Number of the ~~Militia~~ British Troops under the Command of Thomas Gage, which Parricides and Ravages are shocking Displays of ministerial & tyrannic Vengeance composed by Lemuel a young ~~Man~~ <sup>Man</sup> who obtained what little Knowledge he possesses, by his own Application to Letters

1 Some Seraph, now my Breast inspire Whilst my Urania sings Whilst she would try her solemn deep Upon poetic Strings.	2 Some gloomy Vale or gloomy Seat Where sable veils the Sky Become that Tongue that w <sup>d</sup> . repeat The dreadful Tragedy	3 The nineteenth Day of April last We ever shall retain As monumental of the first most bloody shocking Scene Then Tyrants fill'd w <sup>th</sup> hoar'd Rage A fatal Journey went Unprovoked to engage And slay the innocent	4 Then did we see old Bonner ripe And, covering Spite from Hell They stride along, with eagle Eyes Whire, Sons of Freedom dwell	5 At Lexington they did appear Array'd in hostile Form And tho' our Friends, that peaceful Yet on them fell the Storm	6 Eight most unhappy Victims fell Into the Arms of Death Unpitied by those Graces of Hell Who curst them w <sup>th</sup> their Breath	7 The Savage Band still march along For Concord they were bound While Oaths & curses from their Tongue Accent with hellish Sound	8 To prosecute their fell Desire At Concord they unite Two hours of Freedom there expire By their tyrannic Spite	9 Thus did our Friends, endure their Rage Without a murmuring Word Dill die they must or else engage and join with one Record	10 Such Pity did their Breasts inspire That long they bore the Rod And with Reluctance they conspire to shed the human Blood	11 But Pity could no longer sway Tho' 't is a pow'rfull Band For Liberty now bleeding lay and call'd them to withstand with Swords, <del>begun</del> <sup>they</sup> began The Conflict, <del>to decide</del> and blood in great Effusion run And ed w <sup>th</sup> <del>run</del> <sup>hid</sup>	12 The awfull Conflict now begun To rage with furious Pride And Blood in great Effusion run From many a wounded Side	13 How did our Men w <sup>th</sup> valiant mind, <del>Oppose tyrannic Power</del> For Liberty, each Freeman strives As it, a Gift of God And for it, willing, yield their Lives and seal it with their Blood	14 Whire happy they <del>into</del> <sup>who</sup> thus repose Into the peaceful Grave Must better there, in Deaths Confines Than a surviving Slave	15 This Motto may <del>decore</del> <sup>adorn</sup> their Tombs (Let tyrants come and view) "We rather seek these silent Rooms Than live or Slaves to You"	16 Now let us view our Foes awhile Who thus for Blood did thirst See! Stately Buildings fall a Spoil To their unstorick Left
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Fig. 18a. Rev. Lemuel Haynes, *The Battle of Lexington*: autograph manuscript (unsigned); [Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1775 April]. Wendell family papers, MS Am 1907-1907.1, MS Am 1907, (601a), Box: 11. Houghton Library, Harvard University. Herein proposed as written in Granville, Massachusetts, c. 1776.

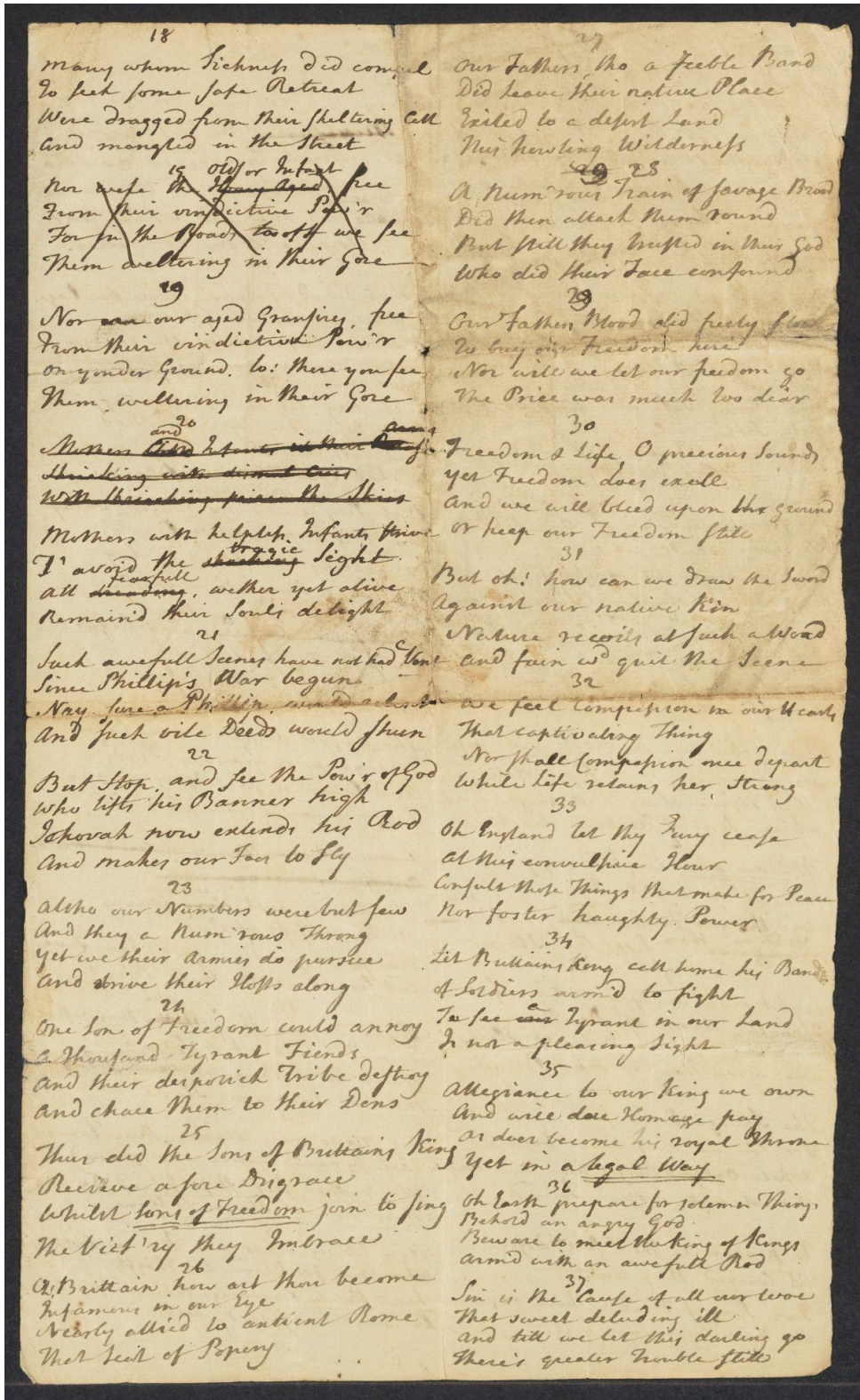


Fig. 18b. Rev. Lemuel Haynes, *The Battle of Lexington*: autograph manuscript (unsigned); [Roxbury, Massachusetts, 1775 April]. Wendell family papers, MS Am 1907-1907.1, MS Am 1907, (601a), Box: 11. Houghton Library, Harvard University. Herein proposed as written in Granville, Massachusetts, c. 1776.

Liberty Further  
Extended: Or  
Free thoughts on the  
illegality of Slave-keeping,  
Wherein those arguments that  
are used in its vindication  
are plainly confuted.  
Together with an humble  
Address to such as are  
concerned in the practise.

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By Lemuel Haynes.

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We hold these truths to be self-  
evident, that all men are created  
equal, that they are endowed with  
by their Creator with certain  
unalienable rights, that among these  
are life, liberty, and the pursuit  
of happiness. — Congress.

**Fig. 19.** Rev. Lemuel Haynes, *Liberty Further Extended* . . . autograph manuscript (signed); [no place, undated]. Wendell family papers, MS Am 1907-1907.1, MS Am 1907, (608), Box: 12. Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Herein proposed as written in Granville, MA, c. 1776.

In *Liberty Further Extended*, Haynes insisted that the black man has an “undeniable right to his Liberty” and noted that in the American Revolution, “Men seem to manifest the most sanguine resolution not to Let their natural rights go without their Lives go with them.” Again, this may have been a response to

the injury of Daniel Rose's third eldest son, Abner Rose (1751-1829). Haynes witnessed Rose in recovery at Granville.<sup>200</sup> A letter arriving in late summer 1776, from Abner Rose, then in a patriot hospital, indicates Haynes was personally aware of the life-threatening injury suffered by Abner, an artilleryman defending the Hudson River with Continental forces under the command of Brig. General Henry Knox, in July 1776, when a discharging gun carriage rolled over his foot and split the leg to the calf, leaving him lame for life, but alive. This Rose family experience may have helped shape Haynes's thoughts on the sanguine cost of 'Liberty.' In 1782. Despite his injury, Abner Rose would continue to serve as an artilleryman, meeting with John Hancock, in Boston to discuss his own discharge papers.<sup>201</sup>

It appears highly likely Lemuel Haynes wrote poetry and his anti-slavery tract at Granville at times of trouble and conflict during the first two years of the American Revolution, in 1775 and 1776. Although Lemuel was a free man following twenty-one years as an indentured servant, his periods of writing at Granville can be compared to the observations of abolitionist and statesman, Frederick Douglass (c. 1817/18-1895), who escaped enslavement and wrote in his biography that, "slaves sing most when they are most unhappy. The songs of the slave represent the sorrows of his heart; and he is relieved by them, only as an aching heart is relieved by its tears. At least, such is my experience."<sup>202</sup> Douglass believed, "I have sometimes thought that the mere hearing of those songs would do more to impress some minds with the horrible character of slavery, than the reading of whole volumes of philosophy on the subject could do . . . Every tone was a testimony against slavery, and a prayer to God for deliverance from chains."<sup>203</sup>

Based on the wording of "April last," and Douglass's observation, Lemuel Haynes's *The Battle of Lexington*, appears to have been written not at Roxbury as presently cataloged at Harvard University, but in Granville, Massachusetts, notably when he may have responded with poetry to his great personal grief at the loss of his 'adoptive mother' Elizabeth Rose. Haynes's anti-slavery tract *Liberty Further Extended*. . . appears then to have been written at Granville when Haynes returned to recuperate from typhus contracted during the Fort Ticonderoga campaign,<sup>204</sup> and he may have done so at the Daniel Rose House, as the Deacon became blind, requiring care himself. By 1779, Haynes had regained his health and traveled twenty-five miles southwest to study theology for one year in Canaan, Connecticut from the Rev. Daniel Farrand (1719-1803), pastor (1752-1803) of the First Ecclesiastical Society.

Haynes wrote his poem *The Battle of Lexington* in 1775 after his own attainment of freedom at age twenty-one paralleled the colonial fight for liberty and as the child that was a colony matured to

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<sup>200</sup> John Saillant, "Lemuel Haynes and the Revolutionary Origins of Black Theology, 1776-1801" (Center for the Study of Religion and American Culture: Cambridge University Press (1992) Online, 18 June 2018, Vol. 2, Issue 1, winter 1992), 16n35.

<sup>201</sup> It is possible Lemuel asked Abner Rose to deliver his work to an advocate of Liberty in Boston, with hopes of publication.

<sup>202</sup> Kaitlin Greenidge, "Black Spirituals as Poetry and Resistance," *The New York Times Style Magazine*, March 5, 2021 at <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/03/05/t-magazine/black-spirituals-poetry-resistance.html>

<sup>203</sup> Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass An American Slave Written by Himself* (Boston: Published at the Anti-Slavery Office, 1845), 13-14.

<sup>204</sup> Saillant, "Lemuel Haynes and the Revolutionary Origins of Black Theology, 1776-1801, 79-102. For Haynes on Ethan Allen's campaign to Fort Ticonderoga, see Mia Bay, "See Your Declaration Americans!!! Abolitionism, Americanism, and the Revolutionary Tradition in Free Black Politics," North Carolina Scholarship Online (April 2006), <https://academic.oup.com/north-carolina-scholarship-online/book/13198/chapter-abstract/166492675?redirectedFrom=fulltext> cited in catalog for "First Edition Biography of Rev. Lemuel Haynes by Rev. Timothy Mather Cooley, *Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A.M.* (1837), signed by John Brown," at Auctioneers, University Archives, [https://auction.universityarchives.com/auction-lot/first-edition-biography-of-rev.-lemuel-haynes-si\\_25D4BCB895](https://auction.universityarchives.com/auction-lot/first-edition-biography-of-rev.-lemuel-haynes-si_25D4BCB895)



become a nation, Haynes charged himself with the role of observer, commentator, soldier and preacher as he watched a nation's lifespan parallel his own. He applied the concepts of the Declaration of Independence to the condition of slavery in his *Liberty Further Extended*, written while Haynes's extended family that he grew up with, lived in Granville near their Liberty Hill where a Liberty Pole was raised in 1776 near the adjacent homes of Daniel and David Rose. Today, the Daniel Rose House offers one of the strongest associations possible to the nationally significant days of the American Revolution that established the groundwork for the anti-slavery movement and, ultimately, the Civil War.<sup>205</sup>

Being indentured, Lemuel was taught how to earn a livelihood by farming and given guidance for his education, the Deacon having a share in the Book Company of Durham, Connecticut, the first proprietary library in New England; in 1793, its members including the President of Yale College.<sup>206</sup> Haynes was a free man upon reaching his 'majority' at twenty-one. Having learned farming and received an education, he chose to remain in Granville for the first half of his life; and became the first Black man ordained a minister in the United States. He would return to preach up until his death in 1833 and later wrote that the Deacon's family treated him like their own son.<sup>207</sup>

## 13 Education and 'Liberty'

Copley's portrait of Boston goldsmith, silversmith and engraver Nathaniel Hurd (1730-1777), c. 1765, marked his first to employ Hollis III's banyan adapted to a Sons of Liberty allegory built on Hurd's commission (1765) from Harvard to engrave bookplates in black (loanable) and red ("too precious for loan") for Hollis V's gifts, a sample sent to Hollis by College President Holyoke (Librarian at Harvard 1709-1712) in his July 9, 1766 letter, the day Mayhew died.<sup>208</sup> For Copley, books signifying the Latin *liber*, etymological and allegorical root of 'Liberty,' as in the 'Tree,' introduced that allegory to the first banyan he painted, worn by Hurd, the engraver of bookplates, posed with books before him.

For Hurd's portrait (fig. 21), Copley turned to a mezzotint of a teacher, a rabbi, wearing a robe and a turban, *A Jew Rabbi* (fig. 20) by William Pether (1731-1821) after Rembrandt Harmenz van Rijn (1606-1669). The theme of the print applied to the Hebrew meaning of Hurd's first name, Nathaniel, meaning "gift of God," (John 1: 45), interpreted as 'instruction.' Copley praised this print in his November 12, 1766 letter to West, in which he asked about the use of crayons, and the name of an engraver for the portrait of a "Decenting Cleargyman" (Mayhew in crayons) that he was painting: "I have seen a well executed print by Mr. Pether of a Jew Rabbi. if You think him a good hand, be kind enough to desire him to let me know by a few lines (as soon as convenient) his terms, as the portrait weits only for that in my hands and I shall send it immediately with the money to defray the expence."<sup>209</sup> *A Jew Rabbi* was the only specific print Copley admired in a surviving letter to West. The mezzotint was first published in London, March 1, 1764, "From one of the most Capital Pictures ever Painted by Rembrandt,"<sup>210</sup> Taken

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<sup>205</sup> Phelon Geske, *The Daniel Rose Family was There. . . Lived Here*, 51 accessed at <https://granvillehistory.omeka.net/items/show/1233>.

<sup>206</sup> *Ibid.*, 52-53.

<sup>207</sup> Cooley, *Sketches of the Life . . .*, 40.

<sup>208</sup> Walter M. Whitehill and Sinclair H. Hitchings in *Boston Prints and Printmakers*, ix-x.

<sup>209</sup> Copley to Benjamin West, November 12, 1766. *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 52.

<sup>210</sup> Published with arms and motto of the Garter at center and inscribed as "In the Collection of his Grace the Duke of Devonshire; To Whom this Plate is most humbly Dedicated" by publisher John Boydell. Chaloner Smith, *British Mezzotinto Portraits*, [Pether 39] 991.

after what has come to be considered as Rembrandt's best 'head,' Pether's *A Jew Rabbi* has been described as the finest British print ever published.<sup>211</sup>



**Fig. 20.** *A Jew Rabbi*, 1764 engraved by William Pether, London after Rembrandt Harmenz van Rijn. Mezzotint proof; H. 20 1/8," W. 14." Author's Collection.

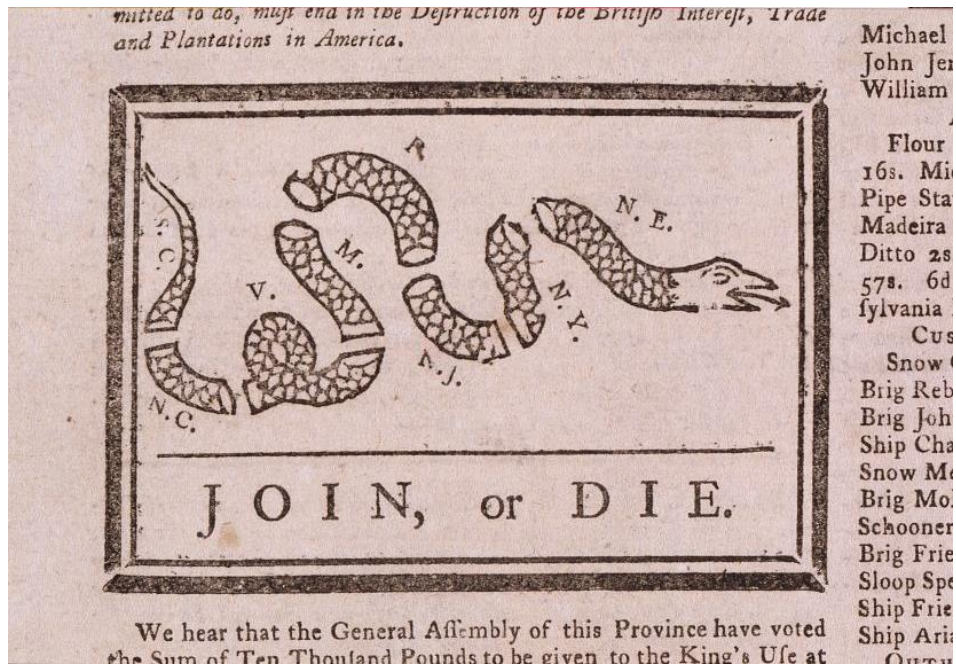
**Fig. 21.** *Nathaniel Hurd*, c. 1765 by John Singleton Copley, signifying colonial unity portending a future nation. Oil on canvas; H. 30," W. 25 1/2." Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust, 1915.534. Creative Commons, CC.

Copley relied upon etchings and *mezzotinto* prints so-called from the Italian *mezzo*, 'middle' allowing rich gradations in ink tonalities favorable to reproducing effects of *chiaroscuro* ('light-dark'), highlighting and shadowing. Art historians studying use of mezzotints as print sources, appreciate the "Prototype Discovery" identifying the compositional influence of British prints upon American painters, put forward in expansive detail by Waldron Phoenix Belknap (1899-1949) and published in 1959. His notes are in The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Winterthur Library.<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> David Alexander, "Rembrandt and the Reproductive Print in Eighteenth Century England," in Christopher White, David Alexander; Ellen D'Oench, *Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England* (Great Britain: Yale Center for British Art, 1983), Exhibition catalogue, 51-52.

<sup>212</sup> An investment banker and architect, Belknap graduated (1933) Harvard School of Architecture and served in U.S. Eighth Air Force Intelligence (1944) in England during World War II. Waldron Phoenix Belknap, *American Colonial Painting Materials for a History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959), xv. See Belknap Research Notes and Family Papers, [Col. 130](#), [Mic. 2453](#), The Winterthur Library.



**Fig. 22.** Benjamin Franklin, "Join or Die," May 9, 1754, *The Pennsylvania Gazette*. Woodcut. Library of Congress, Washington D.C.



**Fig. 23.** Detail of serpentine design on banyan sleeve and lining. *Nathaniel Hurd*, c. 1765 by John Singleton Copley, signifying colonial unity portending a future nation. Oil on canvas; H. 30," W. 25 ½." Cleveland Museum of Art, Gift of the John Huntington Art and Polytechnic Trust, 1915.534.

Advancing Belknap's research to allegorical interpretation, reveals that Copley's use of mezzotints as source material can be applied to decoding political allegories in his paintings, herein studied at the time of the Stamp Act crisis in which Mayhew was a leading figure. In the fall of 1765, Copley directly referenced *A Jew Rabbi* as prototype for his portrait of Nathaniel Hurd, to communicate colonial unity against the Stamp Act. Small wonder that when he wrote West while painting Rev. Mayhew's two portraits in November 1766 after the Act's repeal, Pether's rabbi came to mind. Opposed to the Act, Mayhew is credited with encouraging colonial unity in defense of natural law and 'Liberty,' and giving the idea for the establishment of committees of correspondence to James Otis (1725-1783).<sup>213</sup>

Paraphrasing Rembrandt's emblems of learning, the open book and lamp, defining 'rabbi' meaning 'my teacher' in Hebrew, Copley placed two books at Hurd's right arm: Samuel Sympson's *A New Book of Cyphers* (1726)<sup>214</sup> atop John Guillim's *A Display of Heraldry* (1724), constructing a didactic stairway to greater knowledge as in lessons conveyed by an engraver, be he Hurd or Peter Pelham, who was listed in *Cyphers* as one of many London engravers joining together to support publication, a fact not heretofore recognized. While *Cyphers* illustrated interwoven family initials, *Heraldry* delineated surname identification of Great Britain's noble families united in loyalty via coats of arms preserved by the College of Arms.

Inspired by the rabbi's mantle clasp and brazen serpent entwined about the pillar in his study, connoting that sight of the serpent would heal/redeem Moses' people (Numbers 21, 4-9, AV),<sup>215</sup> Copley rendered a semi-continuous serpentine design to the viewer's left, on the rose-colored lining of Hurd's banyan (fig. 23) versus a shadowy replica on Hurd's left 'sinister' (Latin *sinestra*) lapel. His design approximated Benjamin Franklin's 1754 cartoon (fig. 22) of a segmented snake signifying the potential strength of colonies united. Franklin's emblem resurfaced with the motto "Join or Die," in late September 1765, in the *Constitutional Courant*, Boston.<sup>216</sup> Demonstrated by a continuous serpentine fold in the banyan sleeve along Hurd's right arm, Copley's allegory prognosticated that the colonial situation would improve with unity of the colonies. Because merchants and citizens in New York, Philadelphia. and Boston united to ban British imports during 1765, by mid-January, London merchants, some bankrupt from loss of income, petitioned for the Act's repeal.

For Hurd's so-called 'unfinished' portrait (fig. 24), Copley reversed *A Jew Rabbi* with Hurd's bared chest aligning with the reversed rabbi's highlighted sleeve hems/cloak edge and the engraver's right hand, approximating the rabbi's, but with Hurd's forefinger 'pointing' as an 'instructor.'<sup>217</sup> This alteration of Copley's *Prototype* indicates he regarded the engraver as educator, and, by implication, engravings as educational tools intrinsic to portraiture and public expression of politics. Hurd's unfinished hand reveals when Copley reevaluated his allegory, to emphasize political 'unity.' In the finished portrait, he closely following the rabbi's pose, moving Hurd's right arm to the viewer's right and uniting his hands.

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<sup>213</sup> Frank Dean Gifford, "The Influence of the Clergy on American Politics from 1763 to 1776." *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 10, no. 2 (1941): 111n31, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42968831>.

<sup>214</sup> *Cyphers* binding identified by Rebora in Rebora et al., *John Singleton Copley in America*, 210.

<sup>215</sup> The serpent's curative effect is pertinent to the portrait's alternate identification as King Uzziah struck by leprosy (2 Chronicles 26:16-21 AV); now titled *A Man in Oriental Costume*, Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, England.

<sup>216</sup> "The Snake Devices, 1754-1776 . . .," (Boston: The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, December 1907), 420-421, 437-438. For later version, "Unite or Die," see *The Pennsylvania Journal* . . ., Philadelphia, December 28, 1774 (American Philosophical Society). Also see fig. 22 herein, retrieved from the Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2002695523/>

<sup>217</sup> Copley's model for an instructional pose is typified by Pelham's *John Theophilus Desaguliers* (1725), a source for *Paul Revere* (1768, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).



**Fig. 24.** (Left) *Unfinished Portrait of Nathaniel Hurd*, c. 1765 by John Singleton Copley signifying incomplete unity of colonies. Oil on canvas; H. 29 3/8," W. 24 5/8." Memorial Art Gallery of the University of Rochester, New York: Marion Stratton Gould Fund, 1944.2.

**Fig. 25.** (Right) *Nathaniel Hurd*. Frontispiece, *The New-England Magazine*, July 1832; Pendleton Lithography, Boston, after 'Jennings' [Richard Jennys, Jr.], c. 1777. Stauffer 1482; Bulletin of The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, 1928, Vol. 32, 42; EM4723, The New York Public Library, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Print Collection.

Provenance indicates the unmarried Hurd owned both portraits, suggesting they were viewed as a bachelor's allegorical pendants in his home or workplace, the 'unfinished' considered as 'finished' because it signified the incomplete unity of the colonies contrasting with the finished portrait indicating the potential of a thriving nation of united colonies, prompting an enigmatic smile from Hurd. Richard Jennys's mezzotint (fig. 24) likely executed c. 1777 as a memorial to Hurd who died that year during the war, was taken after Copley's 'unfinished' portrait of an unsmiling Hurd. Small roughly three inches

square, it displayed Jennys’s improved skill set while copying a Copley portrait face, as he likely did for Mayhew a decade earlier.<sup>218</sup>

Copley paired books and united hands to support foreseeable ‘unity’ across the chest of Hurd, a Moderate Whig.<sup>219</sup> The rabbi’s turban translated as Hurd’s turbaned ‘Liberty Cap.’ Hurd’s portrait represented an iconological advancement upon an anonymous caricature sold by Hurd, protesting the Stamp Act (1765), *The Deplorable State of America* (fig. 25), Library Company of Philadelphia), generally attributed to Copley.<sup>220</sup> The print’s inscription, “November 1, 1765,” marked the day the Stamp Act became effective and American business became virtually suspended, but (by ignoring the stamps) would pick up by year’s end, indicating the economic and calendrical season for Hurd’s brown banyan and his portrait’s timing.



**Fig. 25.** *The Deplorable State of America* inscribed “The Original Print done in Boston by J° S. Copley,” by Eugene Du Simitiere; attributed to John Singleton Copley, *Pennsylvania Gazette*, November 21, 1765, Boston. Etching. Courtesy, The Library Company of Philadelphia at [www.librarycompany.org](http://www.librarycompany.org), Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere Collection. Purchase 1785.

<sup>218</sup> Described as an “exact copy” when published by Pendleton Lithography, Boston in *The New-England Magazine*, July 1832, frontispiece, 7; wherein the artist copied is listed as ‘Jennings’ identified as Jennys by Daniel McNeely Stauffer, *American Engravers upon Copper and Steel* (New York, 1907, Vol. 2, 248; Stauffer attributes only two prints to Jennys: (Hurd) Stauffer 1482; (Mayhew), Stauffer 1483. Jennys’s *Hurd* mezzotint [H. 3.14”, W. 3.1”] was exhibited and described in the *Bulletin of The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations*, 1928, Vol. 32, 42.

<sup>219</sup> Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 109, 126.

<sup>220</sup> American Revolution memorabilia collector, Pierre Eugene Du Simitiere (1737-1784), annotated the cartoon as Copley’s; Paul Staiti believed it was not. Staiti in Reborna et al., *John Singleton Copley in America*, 46n69.

The cartoon's striped 'Viper' stinging *Liberty* personified as a shirtless Native American with a 'Liberty Cap,' compares to Hurd's serpentine allegory (finished portrait) and bared arm/chest ('unfinished' portrait) and 'Liberty Cap.' After Hurd advertised the cartoon with a description of its complex iconology, he may have displayed Copley's allegorical pair of portraits in his shop during sales to simplify the message and focus on colonial 'unity.'<sup>221</sup> This debut of Copley's banyan allegory tested the depths of public opinion presaging Copley's future 'banyan' portraiture.

### Self-Portrait of a Son of Liberty

Copley chose to wear a green banyan with bluish green lapels, in his *Self-Portrait*, a pendant to that of his bride, Susanna 'Sukey' Farnham Clarke close to the time of their marriage, Thanksgiving Day, 1769. Copley's green banyan allegory alluding to a 'tree,' cast him as progenitor for their future family, and can be seen as extending to the 'Liberty Tree' where he and other 'Sons' gathered August 14, 1769, about the time he completed the wedding portraits.<sup>222</sup> In Copley's seventeen banyan portraits, he was alone among men listed as Tories in Prown's political categorization,<sup>223</sup> to wear a green banyan (otherwise only worn in portraits of Whig sitters), evidencing that in this *Self-Portrait* the artist saw himself as a Moderate Whig and Son of Liberty.

Listening with her family to Mayhew in his West Church pulpit while growing up, Sukey would have understood her future husband's commitment to 'Liberty.' It is suggested by the turn of his head, paraphrasing engravings in oval frames, after a crayon drawing by William Faithorne (1616-1691) of John Milton (1608-1674), poet, political pamphleteer, and author of *Paradise Lost* (1667); Copley owned the epic poem's 1778 edition.<sup>224</sup> Their daughter, who lived in her old age at Hampton Court, maintained it was her father's "favourite book."<sup>225</sup> For the gift of a gold locket portrait to Sukey, its oval shape reminiscent of the oval frames in Milton's engravings, Copley repeats his Miltonesque pose and wears a blue banyan distancing himself from the political allegory of the green banyan in his crayon portrait in the public space of their home.<sup>226</sup>

Copley paraphrased Milton's white collar by wearing an open collar, approximating that mode of dress in Hurd's portraits, to indicate his work ethic that earned his leisure, the latter previously emphasized by scholarship.<sup>227</sup> For his portrait in crayons, Copley appears to have been inspired by an engraving (1725) of Milton (fig. 26) by Smibert's London acquaintance, George Vertue (1684-1756) after Faithorne's portrait in crayons. Inscribed poetic lines by John Dryden honoring the poet, compare to Copley's horizontal hieroglyphic scoring of filigreed gold on his waistcoat. He thereby analogized his artistic ability translating words as painted allegory to the stanzas of Milton, known for his belief in freedom of the press and values of 'Liberty,' presaging the Declaration of Independence.<sup>228</sup> In Copley's *Self-Portrait* after

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<sup>221</sup> *Boston Gazette*, November 11, 1765 in Dow, *The Arts & Crafts in New England*, 8. On portrait as payment for engraving Copley's *Rev. Jonathan Sewall* in 1764, see Rebera in Rebera et al., *John Singleton Copley in America*, 210n4.

<sup>222</sup> "Copley, John," in Palfrey, "List," 140.

<sup>223</sup> Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 125-126.

<sup>224</sup> *Paradise Lost* with notes by Bishop Newton, two volumes (1778), sold in the Lyndhurst Sale (1864), was listed in Prown, *John Singleton Copley*, 398.

<sup>225</sup> Allan Cunningham (1784-1842). *The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters And Sculptors*. (London: G. Bell and sons, 1879-1880), Vol. 2, 242 at

<https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=coo1.ark:/13960/t4qj80b1x&view=1up&seq=264&q1=Copley>

<sup>226</sup> Cat. No. 49 (illus.), Gloria Manney Collection, Rebera et al., *John Singleton Copley in America*.

<sup>227</sup> Staiti in Rebera et al., *John Singleton Copley in America*, 37.

<sup>228</sup> John Milton, *Areopagitica; a Speech for the Liberty of Unlicenc'd Printing, to the Parliament of England* (1644); Robbins, "The Strenuous Whig," 415, 449.

Milton, poetry and painting merged to express Copley's granddaughter's description of his work as a "speaking canvas,"<sup>229</sup> echoing the maxim of Greek poet Simonides of Ceos, "Painting is mute Poetry, and Poetry speaking Painting."<sup>230</sup>

Milton also was admired by Hollis V for whom Cipriani engraved the poet's image (fig. 27) in an oval after "a portrait in crayons," [by Faithorne], for John Toland's *Life of Milton* (1761), sponsored by Hollis V, with an inscription from *Paradise Lost*, Book VII, verses 24-28.<sup>231</sup> The drapery wrapped about Milton is reminiscent of that in Mayhew's portrait engraved by Cipriani (fig. 1), and appearing either at Hollis's direction, or as originally rendered by Copley, who could have known of Hollis's print.

Cipriani's etching calls for a reassessment of Copley's Boston correspondence with Benjamin West. The highly controversial engraved outcome of Mayhew's portrait then seen in Boston, is one reason Copley declared to West in 1770, that he was "not sure" he should be considered only as "an Artist employ'd in the way of my profession" when it came to mixing politics and art.<sup>232</sup> That statement made within months of completing his *Self-Portrait* in pastels, speaks to its political, as well as personal meaning, for Copley, who therein set forth his beliefs as head of his own family, not adapting the Loyalist politics of his father-in-law. If not responsible for the anti-Stamp Act caricature (1765, fig. 25), Copley was nonetheless aware of its verse, "Arms and the Man I sing," (Virgil's *Aeneid*, Book 1, Line 1) that may well have completed the missing words from *Paradise Lost* (Book VII, verse 24), omitted on Hollis's engraving of Milton, "---- I sing with mortal voice." Copley's *Self-Portrait* is the picture of a painter whose "mortal voice," via porte-crayon and brush, was capable of allegory, even to the choice of drapery upon an arm, that led a future nation to take up arms for 'Liberty.'

'Liberty' allegories, beginning with *A Boy with a Flying Squirrel* sent for London exhibition in September 1765, paralleling that in Hurd's personal portraits c. October 1765, illustrate Copley's efforts on both sides of the Atlantic, to establish an artistic language of diplomatic communication. It was based on his belief that the strength of Americans uniting to defend their civil and religious liberties, could lead to war and independence. In 1775, he wrote to Sukey:

the war has begun, and if I am not mistaken, the country, which was once the happiest on the globe, will be deluged with blood for many years to come. It seems as if no plan of reconciliation could now be formed, as the sword is drawn, all must be finally settled by the sword. I cannot think that the power of Great Britain will subdue the country, if the people are **united** [emphasis here], as they appear to be at present . . . it is very evident to me that America will have the power of resistance until grown strong to conquer, and that victory and independence will go hand in hand.<sup>233</sup>

Chiefly identified with portraits of 'Founding Fathers' John Hancock, Samuel Adams, and John Adams, signers of the Declaration of Independence, Copley's authorship of the portrait of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, the man who backed their cause of 'Liberty' with well-educated religious fervor, merits this reappraisal of Copley's own politics expressed by his *Self-Portrait*.

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<sup>229</sup> Amory, *Life of John Singleton Copley*, 100.

<sup>230</sup> Charles-Alphonse Du Fresnoy, *De arte graphica. The Art of Painting . . . containing A Parallel betwixt Painting and Poetry by Mr. Dryden* (London: W. Rogers, 1695) cited in Jakub Lipski, *Painting the Novel: Pictorial Discourse in Eighteenth-Century English Fiction* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 5. See 'Fresnoy' consulted, in Henry Pelham to Copley, Boston, October 22, 1771. *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 170.

<sup>231</sup> [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 363-371 (including the plate of Mayhew's print, facing 371); 620; 729.

<sup>232</sup> Copley to [Benjamin West], November 24, 1770. *Copley-Pelham Letters*, 98.

<sup>233</sup> Copley to Susanna Copley, Parma, July 2, 1775. Amory, *Life of John Singleton Copley*, 57-58.



## 14 Advancement of print source analysis to attribution

American independency, supporting civil and religious “Liberty,” espoused by Rev. Jonathan Mayhew was echoed in the portraiture of other religious denominations at other colleges, notably at Yale.

### Mayhew’s head emulated in New Haven

Identification of Copley as the painter responsible for the Mayhew portrait, brings to light, the portrait of Rev. Naphtali Daggett (1727-1780), herein dated c. 1766-1767, (fig. 28), taken about the time of the thirty-nine-year-old Daggett’s appointment as President of Yale College in December 1766. Daggett, a Yale graduate of 1748, was ordained Pastor of the Presbyterian Church in Smithtown, New York in 1751, and inducted as Livingstonian Professor of Divinity at Yale in March 1756. He served as president (pro tempore at his request) from 1766 to 1777 for the revolutionary decade leading up to and during the Revolution. Presently considered as by an “Unknown Artist,” this portrait is herein recommended for consideration as by Copley based on compositional and stylistic similarities to his herein proven portrait of Mayhew engraved by Cipriani.

Daggett’s portrait closely follows the composition of Mayhew’s likeness by Copley. The shading of the left side of the subject’s face and wig style are like that of the Mayhew portrait. Similar modeling of the face, is so close as to suggest a resemblance that actually may be due to the fact Mayhew and Daggett were related. Naphtali was the great grandson of Thomas Daggett (1630-1692) and Hannah (*Mayhew*) Daggett (1635-1723), the daughter of Thomas Mayhew, Sr. (1593-1682), first Governor of Martha’s Vineyard.<sup>234</sup> Jonathan Mayhew also descended from Governor Mayhew.<sup>235</sup>

The spill of powder upon Rev. Daggett’s right shoulder was a realistic detail found in Copley’s *Epes Sargent* (1759-1761), and also in his work c. 1766-1767.<sup>236</sup> The slight smile upon the lips of Daggett is similar to Hollis III’s in the Cipriani bust copy (fig. 14), suggesting Copley could have relied upon it while it was retained in his studio from 1764 (until 1767) for executing the face of Hollis III’s full-length (fig. 15) portrait for Harvard. Similarities to both the composition of the Mayhew etching and the Cipriani bust, further support Copley’s responsibility for Daggett’s portrait.

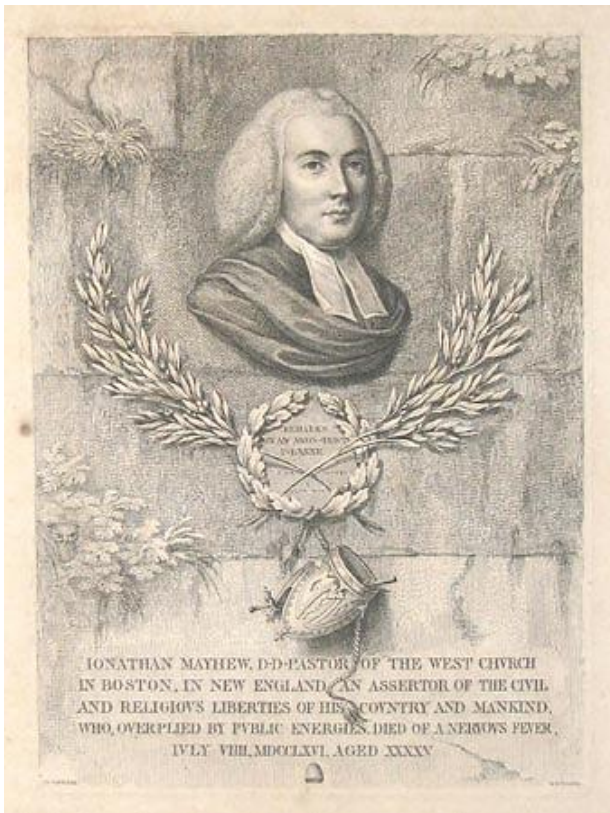
As a relation of Mayhew, Daggett had cause to be in Boston on that July day that Mayhew’s funeral was held and attended by an extensive funeral procession, which meant Daggett had opportunity to sit for the portrait in Copley’s studio. Or, after he was appointed to Yale’s Presidency in December, he may have returned to Boston, given that his family lived at his birthplace of Atteborough, Massachusetts, en route from Yale at New Haven, Connecticut.

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<sup>234</sup> Naphtali Daggett was the son of Ebenezer Daggett (1690-1740) and Mary (Blackinton) (1698-1772); son of Deacon John Daggett (1662-1724) and Sarah (Pease) Capron (1661-1735); son of Thomas Daggett (abt. 1630-abt. 1692) and Hannah Mayhew Daggett (1635-1723), daughter of the Governor.

<sup>235</sup> Jonathan Mayhew was the son of Experience Mayhew (1673-1758) and Remembrance (Bourne) (1684-1722), son of Rev. John Mayhew (1651-1688) and Elizabeth (Hilliard) (1653-1746), son of Thomas Mayhew, Jr. (bef. 1620-abt. 1657) and unknown; son of the Governor.

<sup>236</sup> Wig powder is also seen on the shoulders of Copley’s portraits of Hugh Hall (1758), John Erving, Jr. (1757-1759), John Murray (c. 1763), Peter Chardon (c. 1766), Samuel Quincy (c. 1767), and Robert Hooper (1767).



**Fig. 28.** (Left) Comparison of *Jonathan Mayhew, D.D. Pastor of the West Church in Boston, in New England: An assertor of the civil and religious liberties of his country and mankind* by Giovanni Battista Cipriani after John Singleton Copley's portrait owned by Thomas Hollis V. London, 1767. Etching, H. Sheet H. 16 ¾," W. 11." Author's Collection and (Right) *Rev. Naphtali Daggett*, Artist Unknown, c. 1750-1760; herein attributed to John Singleton Copley, c. 1766-1767. Oil on canvas, H. 29 ½," W. 24 ½." Yale University Art Gallery, 1938.7.

### **"I cried because he looked like my grandfather," 2022**

In Smithtown, New York, where he was ordained Pastor in 1751 and married, a descendant of Rev. Daggett shared with me, her amazement when she first saw his portrait: "I cried because he looked like my grandfather" (who was a sixth-generation descendant).<sup>237</sup> Copley's ability to capture a likeness, often expressed by his sitters (see Thomas Ainslie's letter, 1764), is repeated by this descendant's description (2022) of a likeness spanning two-hundred years and, pending formal attribution of the Daggett portrait, may be the first such documented compliment to Copley's Zeuxis-like skill seen through the centuries.

### **"Defenders of our rights . . . other Mayhews"**

Daggett also shared Mayhew's political outlook, fighting for the American cause. Edmund Quincy, Jr.'s letter of 1766 to Hollis V stating "HE who is able of stones to raise up defenders of our rights, civil and sacred, will send us other Mayhews, as we need them,"<sup>238</sup> applied to the portrait of Rev. Daggett, president at Yale from 1766 to 1777. A Yale University timeline summarizes the political atmosphere at

<sup>237</sup> Conversations of author with WLM, October 7, 2022, April 17, 2023.

<sup>238</sup> Edmund Quincy, Jr. (1726-1782) to Hollis V, Boston, July 25, 1766. [Blackburne], *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, 338.

the college when Daggett was professor of divinity and during his presidency; the first year of 1767 marked by his democratic policy of inclusion, listing students alphabetically and according to merit, not social status:

September 20, 1765, General Thomas Gage writing to Sir William Johnson, referred to a group of Yale graduates as “the pretended patriots, educated in a seminary of democracy;” April 22, 1766, The Corporation deliberated on insubordination of students and decided that disorders had “arisen very much from the Spirit of the Times . . .;” September 10, 1766, Resignation of President Thomas Clap; December 17, 1767, David Avery (B.A. 1769) wrote to Eleazar Wheelock (B.A. 1733): “It is not he that has got the finest coat or largest ruffles that is esteemed here at present. And as the class hence forward are to be placed alphabetically, the students may expect marks of distinction put upon the best scholars and speakers;” 1769, The Senior Class agreed to appear at Commencement “wholly dressed in the manufactures of our own Country;” October 16, 1770, The General Assembly paid the outstanding debt of the College (216 pounds) and the Corporation then established the professorship of “Mathematicks and natural Philosophy” [following the example of the Hollis professorship at Harvard]; June 28, 1775, Student military company drilled for General George Washington and escorted him as far as Mill River on his way to Cambridge . . .; October 23, 1776, Permission given to the Senior Class for instruction in rhetoric, history, and the *belles lettres*, “provided it may be done with the Approbation of the Parents or Guardians of said Class;” . . . July 5, 1779, Yale students assisted in checking the advance of British troops under Gen. William Tryon. James Hillhouse (BA,1773) “commanded on that day the 2d Company of the Governor’s Foot Guards” and the volunteers included former President Daggett “who fought, was wounded, taken prisoner, and maltreated.”<sup>239</sup>

Yale patriots and Rev. Daggett’s students included Nathan Hale (1755-1776), who volunteered to gather intelligence in New York for General Washington, answering the request of his classmate and fellow graduate of the Class of 1773, future Major Benjamin Tallmadge (1754-1835), who became head of intelligence-gathering in New York. After Hale was captured by the British and hung as a spy, Tallmadge was responsible for establishing and operating the Culper Spy Ring responsible for securing intelligence in New York that prevented West Point and Washington himself from capture by the British in 1780, and spared the French Navy from British attack at Newport, RI, so it could sail south to Yorktown, VA, resulting in the American victory October 19, 1781, eventually ending the American Revolution.

Rev. Daggett would die after the bayonet wounds received in the defense of New Haven. His life story answers to the highly political and controversial print source that appears to have influenced the composition of his portrait, evidencing the connectivity of print sources chosen according to the political persuasion and interests of the subject, which was a chief *modus operandi* of Copley’s prescient compositions. The similar attitude of the subject and rendering of the composition for the ministerial portraits of both Rev. Daggett and his relation Rev. Mayhew, evidence the skill of John Singleton Copley in the characterization of Yale’s sixth President (pro tempore).

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<sup>239</sup> ‘Yale History Timeline,’ Yale University Library, 1760-1769, <https://guides.library.yale.edu/c.php?g=296074&p=1976325> and 1770-1779, <https://guides.library.yale.edu/c.php?g=296074&p=1976326>

## 15 'Liberty Further Extended' by Copley into the future: Abolition on the eve of the Civil War

Copley's American patriotism was noted by Elkanah Watson (1758-1842), Massachusetts born businessman and diplomatic courier for Benjamin Franklin during the American Revolution. Watson described Copley's ceremonial addition, in London, of an American flag to his portrait (fig. 29a), an event Copley's granddaughter, Martha Babcock Amory (1812-1880), included in her book of family letters:

Copley and I designed [the background] to represent a ship, bearing to America the intelligence of the acknowledgement of Independence, with a sun just rising upon the stripes of the union, streaming from her gaff. All was complete save the flag, which Copley did not deem prudent to hoist under present circumstances, as his gallery is a constant resort of the royal family and the nobility. I dined with the artist, on the glorious 5<sup>th</sup> of December, 1782, after listening with him to the speech of the King, formally recognizing the United States of America as in the rank of nations . . . immediately after our return from the House of Lords, he invited me into his studio, and there with a bold hand, a master's touch, and I believe an American heart, attached to the ship the *stars and stripes*. This was I imagine, *the first American flag hoisted in old England*.<sup>240</sup>

While the colors flown by Copley's ship carried overt iconology indicative of a new national identity, he also included allegory against the Black Atlantic slave trade conducted under that flag, with the intent of messaging for America to extend 'Liberty' to the abolition of Black enslavement. His allegory below the flag, hinted of the horrific forced Middle Passage voyage of the enslaved from Africa, as directly below the ship's decks, he detailed a black inkwell with a gold ring or 'chain-link' analogous to a slave collar symbolizing not only the relatively free colonist 'enslaved' by Parliamentary tyranny [symbolism seen in Copley's first exhibition work *A Boy with a Flying Squirrel* (1765)], but also the enslaved Black population.

To fight in the Revolution, Watson unsuccessfully tried to break indentured service (age sixteen to twenty-one), made by his father, with Providence merchant John Brown (1736-1803), leading Providence, Rhode Island merchant and a Son of Liberty who did not extend 'Liberty' to the enslaved. Brown owned and traded enslaved persons, and the name of the slave trader, was on the portrait's appropriately lowermost letter. With Brown in mind, Watson, an anti-slavery proponent, believed, "the instincts that revolt at slavery, and . . . its . . . atrocities . . . should consider . . . How many of the princely fortunes of New England had their basis in the slave trade!"<sup>241</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> Winslow C. Watson, ed., *Men and Times of the Revolution; or Memoirs of Elkanah Watson* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1861), [202](#)-203. Amory (1882), 463.

<sup>241</sup> Watson, *Memoirs of Elkanah Watson*, 66.



**Fig. 29a.** *Elkanah Watson*, 1782 by John Singleton Copley, 1738–1815, Oil on canvas, H. 58 11/16," W. 47 5/8." Princeton University Art Museum. Gift of the estate of Josephine Thomson Swann, y1964-181.

### ***Copleyan Allegory* supports abolition of enslavement of Black people**

Watson's revulsion to slavery's "atrocities,"<sup>242</sup> written in 1821, the year he loaned the portrait for long-term exhibition at the American Academy of Fine Art in New York City, is reiterated in Copley's iconology. Through his *Copleyan Allegory*, Copley pointed out the need to abolish enslavement, basing the iconology on Elkanah's name as found in the Bible. Translated from the Hebrew, it meant, "whom God possessed/purchased," (Exodus 6:24 AV) from the chapter freeing "the children of Israel, whom the Egyptians keep in bondage" (Exodus 6:5), through admonishing signs to 'let the children of Israel go' (Exodus 6:11).

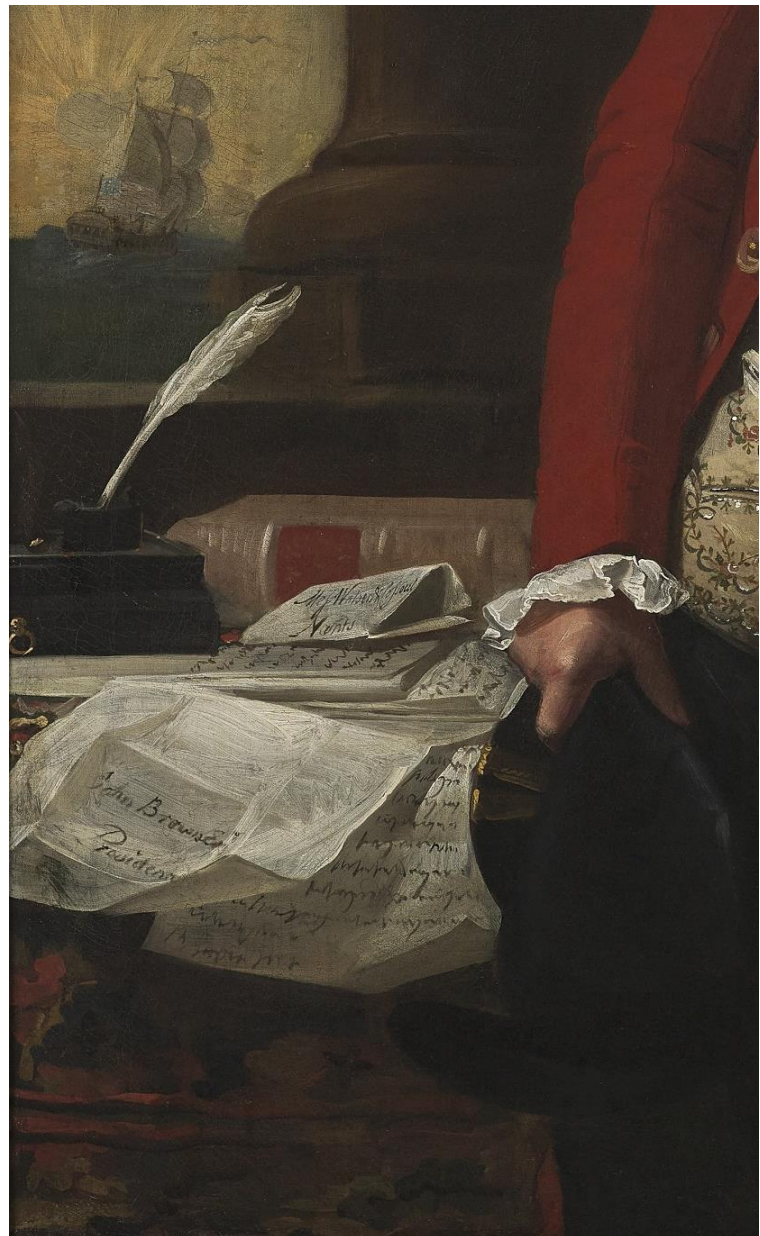
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<sup>242</sup> Ibid., 66.

Applicable to the colonial American facing distressing Parliamentary taxation, the chain-link allegory also reflected Copley's first-hand exposure to the slave trade having grown up on Boston's Long Wharf, which explains family memories of his earliest "coarse drawings" on nursery walls and in school books, wherein he "persisted" in "the 'realistic' school of coloring . . . painting the sea crossed by the Israelites of the deepest and most brilliant shade of red!"<sup>243</sup> That scene (Exodus 14:21-27), secured the freedom of formerly enslaved people led by Moses crossing the Red Sea (Exodus 15:4 AV), demonstrating Copley's long-term drive to picture freedom from 'enslavement.' Watson advised Academy President John Trumbull, "this painting can never be replaced . . . Copley assured me it was his "Chief [Chef] d'oeuvre."<sup>244</sup>

Copley's compositional details (fig. 29b) aligned beneath the ship, the meaningfully 'black' inkstand with a gold ring just above the lower left corner of the most easily read letter addressed to "John BrownEs[qr]/ Providenc[e]," i.e., slave trader John Brown of Providence, Rhode Island to whom Watson was indentured. Copley thereby built in a redemptive reminder of Exodus, even omitting spacing in "BrownEs," (with the top half of the cursive 'E' barely visible, to form a plural noun for enslaved "brown-skinned" people. He traced "Providenc" with the 'c' (phonetic equivalent to 'see') on the cusp of the paper, isolating the root *providens* of the Latin *Providentia* meaning "precaution," warning a new nation against continuing to buy and sell human beings, but rather provide for them.

This reading of the portrait adds new meaning to Watson's correspondence with John Trumbull (1756-1843),



**Fig. 29b.** Detail, *Elkanah Watson*, 1782 by John Singleton Copley, 1738–1815, Oil on canvas, 58 11/16 × 47 5/8 in. Princeton University Art Museum. Gift of the estate of Josephine Thomson Swann, y1964-181. Detail of *Copleyan Allegory* offering abolitionist symbology, 1782-1862.

<sup>243</sup> Amory, *Life of John Singleton Copley*, 10.

<sup>244</sup> On typescript of Watson's letter, see Princeton University object files including Carrie Rebora's correspondence reconstructing the loan, cited in Emily Ballew Neff, *John Singleton Copley in England* (London: The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston and Merrell Holberton, 1995), 122n6.

veteran of the American Revolution known as the ‘Painter of the Revolution’ and appointed President (1816-1836) of the American Academy of Fine Arts, concerning the loan and exhibition (1822-1829) of his portrait at the Academy in New York City. Watson’s portrait was again exhibited at the New-York Historical Society c. 1858-1862 just before and during the Civil War. The letter containing the name of John Brown, Providence slave trader took on added significance following the raid led by abolitionist John Brown (1800-1859) upon Harper’s Ferry, (West) Virginia, on October 17-18, 1859. Watson’s *Memoirs* (1856) furthered Civil War era abolitionism; the second edition (1862) coinciding with his portrait’s exhibition at the New-York Historical Society.<sup>245</sup>

### **Abolitionist John Brown’s family in Rev. Lemuel Haynes’s congregation, Torrington, Connecticut**

Abolitionist John Brown’s parents numbered among the Torrington, Connecticut congregation of Rev. Lemuel Haynes church for three years following his ordination in 1785, and John Brown, born in Torrington, appears to have owned and signed a copy of Rev. Cooley’s book on Haynes.<sup>246</sup> This concurrence further suggests that when Rev. Haynes briefly returned to Granville, Massachusetts following his Torrington posting and before proceeding to his pastorate in Rutland, Vermont, he began to formulate an ‘Underground Railroad’ in his adopted hometown to points northward;. This was followed by Haynes traveling as a missionary based with his congregation at Rutland.

## **16 Conclusion**

‘Congregational Independency’ in Massachusetts provided the *theoria* of ‘Liberty’ that guided the oeuvre of John Singleton Copley, an Anglican, who put theory into practice, compassing his portraiture with subliminal messaging of ‘Liberty.’ From Rev. Jonathan Mayhew to Rev. Lemuel Haynes, the *theoria* of ‘Liberty’ evolved from considering the rights of white American colonists to the Black enslaved population, all “mankind,” as Thomas Hollis V had inscribed upon Mayhew’s etching. This extension of theory into practice and ‘Liberty’ to the abolition of enslavement, as proposed by Rev. Lemuel Haynes was rooted in the Independency of the Congregational church.

Providing education for all, regardless of religious or racial affiliation, was demonstrated by the Hollis family’s textbooks of ‘Liberty’ gifted to Harvard, Princeton and Yale, and books written by and gifted by John Adams to Granville, Massachusetts for the district’s Congregational library. That is why a young Granville, Massachusetts farmer named Lemuel Haynes became the first Black man to receive a Master’s of Arts – at Middlebury College, Vermont, in 1804, and preached against enslavement. His lifetime of education begun in Granville and focusing upon the Bible chapter and verse, created a chain of events that led to the Civil War and the emancipation of the enslaved.

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<sup>245</sup> Watson, *Memoirs of Elkanah Watson*, 66, passim.

<sup>246</sup> “At Torrington, where Brown was born, ‘among those in his congregation, were the parents of John Brown,’ (Aseng, *African-American Religious Leaders*, 99-100). Two years before this was published, Brown vowed: ‘from this time, I consecrate my life to the destruction of slavery.’ The year this appeared, the same year as the Amistad slave rebellion, Brown began considering plans for leading a slave revolt. Two decades later he was executed for leading the attack on Harpers Ferry.” Quotation from catalog for “First Edition Biography of Rev. Lemuel Haynes by Rev. Timothy Mather Cooley, *Sketches of the Life and Character of the Rev. Lemuel Haynes, A.M.* (1837), signed by John Brown,” at Auctioneers, University Archives, [https://auction.universityarchives.com/auction-lot/first-edition-biography-of-rev.-lemuel-haynes-si\\_25D4BCB895](https://auction.universityarchives.com/auction-lot/first-edition-biography-of-rev.-lemuel-haynes-si_25D4BCB895)