

FEHA.004 c.2
CRBIB# 000509
377/134331

THE STAMP ACT CONGRESS;
Supplementary Research Study
for
Exhibit # 14, Federal Hall National Memorial

Alfred Mongin
Historian

Federal Hall National Memorial

May 1964

DIVISION OF HISTORY
N.P.S.
FILE COPY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | <u>Page</u> |
|---|-------------|
| Introduction | 111 |
| A Suspended Instant of Time | 1 |
| Members of the Stamp Act Congress | 7 |
| The Scene of the Stamp Act Congress | 25 |
| Footnotes to the Text | 29 |
| Bibliography | 35 |
| Illustrations | 145 |

INTRODUCTION

The story of the Stamp Act Congress was narrated in a research report submitted by this writer March 24, 1963.¹

Chief, Branch of Museums, WASO, in a memorandum of April 11, 1963, to Superintendent, Statue of Liberty, subject: Historical Report on the Stamp Act Congress, Federal Hall, File: H2215-CRIM, raised questions as to whether more specific descriptive material might be available for design of a diorama representing the Stamp Act Congress, or whether the exhibit should be designed in some other form. Superintendent Foster, Statue of Liberty, replied to this with his memorandum of June 3, 1963, bearing the same subject and file number, writing:

. . . It is now planned to have Historian Kongin undertake a further study looking toward alternative exhibit possibilities. All the known material relating to the room in which the Congress was held will be assembled, from his own report, from Mr. Torres's report on City Hall, and from a further combing of personal papers of the period, together with biographical data relating to the participants.

. . . From the results, it may be possible to determine whether the material for a diorama exists; alternatively, it may serve as the basis for the substitute exhibit proposed by Mr. Lewis.

It is suggested that decision on the type of exhibit at this point be delayed until this further exploration has been made.

The writer was subsequently directed to prepare this supplementary study on completion of research then underway for Hamilton Grange.

The purpose of the present report is to supply physical details of a suspended instant of time illustrating some climactic scene or event during the deliberations of the Congress which can be captured by the dioramist or painter and to provide the basis for administrative decision as to the form of exhibit to be designed -- whether a painting, diorama, or other treatment of the Stamp Act Congress.

In course of preparing this report contact was made by the writer with every major historical society -- and many smaller ones -- in each of the nine states represented in the Congress. Officers, librarians and archivists of these societies -- and numerous authorities to whom they referred the inquirer -- were queried concerning likenesses and descriptions of the men who represented their respective states as commissioners in the Stamp Act Congress. All of those queried for this purpose have been most responsive. Sources for likenesses and physical description of the members of the Stamp Act Congress have been exhausted. Descriptions of the room in which the Congress met describing its 1765 appearance appear to be non-existent. This latter problem is one common to studies of the general assembly chambers of that day, for the sessions of the general assembly of none of the Colonies was open to the public: those in attendance at the sessions as members of the body were not likely to describe their surroundings and others rarely saw them who were in

a position or equipped to communicate a description. Only the historical searcher's never ceasing confidence, that one day a page of such description will come to light in a yet undiscovered diary, remains to keep the record open. Historian Louis Torres having narrated all the documentary evidence known about the 18th century physical features of the room in which the Stamp Act Congress deliberated, the 3d section of this report restates Mr. Torres' evidence, which is the best that can be offered at this time.

1. A SUSPENDED INSTANT OF TIME

1. A Suspended Instant of Time

The Congress convened on Monday, October 7, 1765, in the General Assembly Room of the old New York City Hall.² General Thomas Gage, the highest ranking British military officer in the American colonies, described clearly the temper of the Stamp Act Congress commissioners when they assembled, but underestimated the strength which their acting in congress would impart to each of them. Gage wrote that

There are some moderate men amongst the Commissioners, from whence well meaning people hope that the meeting will end in the drawing up a modest decent & proper address, tho' there wants not those, who would spirit them up, to the most violent, insolent & haughty remonstrance.³

Massachusetts having sent the invitation to the other colonies to assemble, one of her commissioners, Timothy Ruggles, became temporary chairman.⁴ To elect the permanent chairman the commissioners voted by ballot as individuals, Ruggles triumphing in that contest by a single vote over James Otis.⁵

The contest for the permanent chairmanship presented the first of a series of decision-making situations which suggested the direction of the deliberations. Both aspirants to the chairmanship represented Massachusetts.⁶ James Otis' views already were considered radical by His Majesty's colonial officials, while Timothy Ruggles was a staunch and loyal official in the colonial government, whose views were quite

as well known to be on the other side of the aisle from those of Otis.

Even though this was ". . . the first Instance of any General Congress appointed by the Assemblies of the Colonies without the Authority of the Crown . . .",⁷ the members were experienced and astute in the conduct of legislative politics. The congress having organized as a legislative body, the contest for the chairmanship indicated the choice to be made by each commissioner seventeen days later, when all had been said and the deed was to be done by each man — the deed of affixing his signature to the handiwork of the Stamp Act Congress.⁸ During the first hour of the first day of the Congress the decision weighed upon each man and each lived with this problem for seventeen days — to follow the course of Ruggles or to follow the course of Otis, between whom stood men of all shades of political conviction on the most pressing problem of the day.

As chairman of the Congress, Ruggles was in a good position to carry out the instructions that Governor Bernard of Massachusetts had given him in approving his participation. These instructions were to recommend submission by the colonists to the Stamp Act until Parliament could be persuaded to repeal it. Despite Ruggles' efforts, the commissioners who assumed floor command as the meetings progressed revealed themselves to be less than ready to follow this lead. The

papers produced and provision made for their presentation to His Majesty's Government and to the Houses of Parliament, brought the Congress to the day of inexorable decision for each of the commissioners authorized to act for his colony.⁹

Following election of officers the unit rule had been adopted for voting, so that the papers produced by the Congress were accepted unanimously. The signature of each of the members authorized to act for his respective legislature was to be affixed to the documents on Thursday, October 24.¹⁰ At this "moment of truth," the exchange between Timothy Ruggles of Massachusetts and Thomas McKean of Delaware, is the single incident which itself symbolizes the major elements of the crisis in the affairs of the colonies and offers the best opportunity for representation of what the Stamp Act Congress was all about. A biographer of Thomas McKean has described the scene as follows:

A few of the members were suspected of being irridical to its designs, or of wishing to ingratiate themselves with the British ministry; and on the last day of the session, when the business was concluded, the president and three or four third members refused to sign the proceedings. Mr. McKean then rose and addressing himself personally to the president, stated that as he had made no objections to the proceedings, he should now state his reasons for refusing to sign the petition. The president replied that he did not consider himself bound to state his objections; but upon being pressed by Mr. McKean and others for an explanation, he finally stated that "It was against his conscience." Mr. McKean now rang the changes on the word conscience so long and so loud, that a plain challenge was given and accepted in presence of the whole congress; but the president . . . departed from New York the next morning before dawn of day. . . . 11

A biographer of John Dickinson wrote that

... the debate on the nature of the resistance to be offered lasted eleven days; that it was at times very violent; that the presiding officer of the Congress was Mr. Timothy Ruggles, a Tory of the Tories, who refused to sign the report of its proceedings, and who became a brigadier-general in the armies of the King during the Revolution. . .¹²

A biographer of William Samuel Johnson claims that Otis intervened to forestall the Massachusetts General Assembly's acting vindictively against Ruggles in its hour of anger over his refusal to endorse the papers produced by the Congress.¹³ "... The President of the Congress," he wrote

would not sign the document; and James Otis, a colleague of his, writing to Johnson after reaching his home in Boston, spoke of the attempt of the Massachusetts Assembly to censure him for his refusal, which he himself prevented, and then added: "The people of this Province, however, will never forgive him."¹⁴

Otis, in this same letter, wrote that "... 'tis much to be feared the Parliament will charge the Colonies with presenting petitions in one hand and a dagger in the other."¹⁵ Even in the heat of such controversy, of whose import he was well aware, Otis judiciously examined in depth that measure of justice due Ruggles as his right to believe otherwise than the majority, and also was keenly aware of the delicacy of making a show of force when persuasion would better achieve the object.

It is recommended that the confrontation of Chairman Ruggles by commissioner Thomas McKean, October 24, 1765, be the subject of the

Stamp Act Congress diorama, if this exhibit form is decided upon.

The copies of the minutes of the Congress which are available for study list the members.¹⁶ In none of the secondary published material dealing with the Congress and in none of the published correspondence of the commissioners who served in the Congress is mention made of any member being absent from any of the sessions. The duration of the Congress was, in relation to other colonial group activities, so brief, the situation in New York City was so turbulent, and accounts of the actual deliberations so well kept a secret, that there is no evidence but that every member of the Congress attended every session held, and the punctuality of reporting on their respective assignments by the committees indicates that all members so appointed were faithful to their obligations. We must, therefore, assume that those present in the chamber at the moment of the confrontation were the twenty-seven commissioners and the Clerk of the Congress, one John Cotton.¹⁷

McKean's biographer described the situation of another commissioner reluctant to commit himself to the pronouncements of the Congress:

Mr. Ogden, speaker of the house of Assembly of New Jersey, also refused to sign, although solicited by Mr. McKean and others in private. He at the same time desired to conceal his action from the people of New Jersey, who were zealous for the cause of

America; Mr. McKean however would promise nothing more than not to mention the matter as he passed through New Jersey, unless the question was put to him. The question was asked in several different towns, and Mr. McKean stated the matter without hesitation. The speaker was burned in effigy in his town, and at the next meeting of the Assembly was removed from the office of speaker.¹⁸

No violence came to either of these two men at that time. To their peers they were entitled to their honest difference of opinion, so long as they spoke only for themselves and did not act to prevent the majority from acting out its will. As the situation of the colonies in relation to the mother country worsened, control would of necessity pass to the hands of men less attuned to the niceties of legislative deliberation and Crown petitions as the final and ultimate means of appeal from decisions of the home government inimical to the welfare of the American colonies.

2. MEMBERS OF THE STAMP ACT CONGRESS

2. Members of the Stamp Act Congress

Physical Descriptions

Listed by colony, the commissioners to the Stamp Act Congress were:

CONNECTICUT: Eliphalet Dyer, William Samuel Johnson and David Rowland.

DELAWARE: Thomas McKean and Caesar Rodney

MARYLAND: William Burdock, Thomas Ringgold and Edward Tilghman

MASSACHUSETTS: James Otis, Oliver Partridge and Timothy Ruggles

NEW JERSEY: Robert Ogden, Hendrick Fisher and Joseph Borden

NEW YORK: William Bayard, John Cruger, Leonard Lispenard, Philip Livingston and Robert R. Livingston.

PENNSYLVANIA: George Bryan, John Dickinson and John Morton

RHODE ISLAND: Metcalf Bowler and Henry Ward

SOUTH CAROLINA: Christopher Gadsden, Thomas Lynch and John Rutledge

CLERK TO THE CONGRESS: John Cotton

Listed in alphabetical order, the names read as follows:

| | |
|----------------|-------------------------|
| William Bayard | (N.Y.) |
| Joseph Borden | (N.J.) |
| Metcalf Bowler | (R.I.) |
| George Bryan | (Pa.) |
| John Cotton | (Clerk to the Congress) |
| John Cruger | (N.Y.) |
| John Dickinson | (Penn.) |

| | |
|------------------------|---------|
| Eliphalet Dyer | (Conn.) |
| Hendrick Fisher | (N.J.) |
| Christopher Gadsden | (S.C.) |
| William Samuel Johnson | (Conn.) |
| Leonard Lispenard | (N.Y.) |
| Philip Livingston | (N.Y.) |
| Robert R. Livingston | (N.Y.) |
| Thomas Lynch | (S.C.) |
| Thomas McKean | (Del.) |
| John Morton | (Pa.) |
| William Mardock | (Md.) |
| Robert Ogden | (N.J.) |
| James Otis | (Mass.) |
| Oliver Partridge | (Mass.) |
| Thomas Ringgold | (Md.) |
| Caesar Rodney | (Del.) |
| David Rowland | (Conn.) |
| Timothy Tammes | (Mass.) |
| John Rutledge | (S.C.) |
| Edward Tilghman | (Md.) |
| Henry Ward | (N.Y.) |

In describing the evidence of physical appearance of these men on the following pages the alphabetical order is followed.

1. William Bayard (N.Y.)

No portrait has been discovered of William Bayard, the Stamp Act Congress commissioner. A son, born in 1761, also known as William Bayard, became prominent in activities of the city and state of New York in his own generation, serving 1819-1826 as the thirteenth president of the New York State Chamber of Commerce. For whatever aid familial likeness might offer, a photograph of his portrait as President of the Chamber of Commerce is reproduced below as illustration #1. Age in 1765: unknown, probably 25-35.

2. Joseph Borden (N.J.)

In common with results of our search concerning Hendrick Fisher and Robert Ogden, the other Stamp Act Congress commissioners from New Jersey, no likeness and no description has been found relating to Joseph Borden. Age in 1765: unknown.

3. Metcalf Bowler (R.I.)

In common with results of our search concerning Henry Ward, the other Stamp Act Congress commissioner from Rhode Island, no likeness and no description has been found relating to Metcalf Bowler.

Born: 1726; died: 1789.¹⁹

4. George Bryan (Pa.)

In 1765, George Bryan, who was born in 1731, was 34 years of age. The earliest portrait of him located shows him as he appeared approximately 15 years later, dated by the copy of a Pennsylvania legislative Act of 1760 held in his right hand. A photograph of this portrait is reproduced below as illustration #2.

5. John Cotton (Clerk to the Stamp Act Congress)

John Cotton remains unidentified.

6. John Cruger (N.Y.)

In 1765, John Cruger, who was born in 1710, was 55 years of age. ". . . through his efforts", reads his official New York State Chamber of Commerce biography, "the revolt engendered by the Stamp Act did not result in bloodshed. . ."²⁰ An important official in the government of

New York City, he was a key organizer of the Stamp Act Congress as Speaker of the New York General Assembly, and became in 1768 the first president of the New York State Chamber of Commerce.²¹ Though his portrait has been published repeatedly through the years since his activities, all printings appear to be reproductions or modifications of the portrait of him which hangs in the Chamber gallery, reproduced below as illustration #3.

7. John Dickinson (Pa.)

In 1765, John Dickinson, who was born in 1732, was 32 years of age. Contemporary verbal descriptions of his appearance are few and illuminate little about him. (The earliest, nine years past our year of interest, in in John Adams' diary entry for August 31, 1774:

Mr. Dickenson [sic] has been Subject to Nectic Complaints. He is a Shadow—tall, but slender as a Reed—pale as ashes. One would think at first Sight that he could not live a Month. Yet upon a more attentive Inspection, he looks as if the Springs of Life were strong enough to last many Years.²²

Two weeks more than a year later Adams compared the manner of Dickinson to another gentleman, saying in his entry for September 15, 1775, that

Sherran's Air is the Reverse of Grace. There cannot be a more striking Contrast to beautiful Action, than the Motion of his Hands. . . . It is Stiffness, and Awkwardness itself. Rigid as Starched Linen or Buckram. Awkward as a junior Bachelor, or a Sophomore.

Mr. Dickenson [sic] Air, Gait, and Action are not much more elegant.²³

One Dickinson authority, Delaware State Archivist Leon deValinger, Jr., noted recently that reminiscences of Dickinson published in the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania,²⁴ "recall Dickinson's personality in old age. He is then described as tall, 'spare' and graceful, characteristics that were doubtless also in his young manhood."²⁵

The earliest likeness found of Dickinson is an engraved portrait published about 1768,²⁶ which is illustration #4 below. A 1770 likeness of Dickinson is reproduced below as illustration #5.

The 1770 likeness, an engraving taken from a Charles Willson Peale portrait, is described by Peale's biographer, Charles Coleman Sellers, as "... an unusually graceful and poetic composition."²⁷ For an extended period of time after completing this portrait, comments biographer Sellers, Peale

[kept] it in his painting room for exhibition as an outstanding example of his work. And such it indeed is. He had given to it all that his London training had taught him, and all the poetic fervor that London had awakened in him. . . . had made a poem of this picture. The composition is in rhyme and metre. The white shirt ruffle and lapel echo the white waterfall and river. The tree trunk has its pleasant and suggestive harmony with the straight, slender body. In other of his early pictures, Peale rhymes the face with an oval frame or panel, and may have fancied the hat at the lower left as playing a similar chord. The rocky promontory on the left and the tree's foliage to the right of it, replace the conventional column and curtain, symbolic of the eternal and the transient elements in human life and endeavor.

But the painter passes beyond conventions and poetic forms, catching an imaginative theme in the pensive, half-resigned, half-wistful smile. In it is the whole character of this thoughtful, modest, conscientious man, whose gentle and conciliatory spirit formed so strange a harmony with his firmness and patriotism, made him a restraining influence in the tide of revolution, and yet brought him, as gentle and as firm as ever, to the field of battle. In it the symbolism of rock and tree has suddenly a new reality. Peale, no less than Dickinson, was aware of the growing conflict, was filled with the sense of great events approaching in which each must play a part. Drawing this face with such insight and sensitivity, he has given it a poetic counterpart in the scene of the river, flowing down from a distant wilderness, breaking over the last fall line between it and the sea, under a gray sky and a flight of birds.²⁸

8. Eliphalet Dyer (Conn.)

In 1765, Eliphalet Dyer, who was born in 1721, was 44 years of age. A portrait done in England in 1763²⁹ or in 1764,³⁰ and, if at the latter date, possibly in Windham or Hartford, Connecticut,³¹ is reproduced below as illustration #6.

9. Hendrick Fisher (N.J.)

In common with results of our search concerning Joseph Borden and Robert Ogden, the other Stamp Act Congress commissioners from New Jersey, no likeness and no description has been found relating to Hendrick Fisher. Age in 1765, unknown.

10. Christopher Gadsden (S.C.)

In 1765, Christopher Gadsden, who was born in 1724, was 41 years of age. The Frick A.R.L. portrait index lists five portraits of Gadsden, four of which appear to be Gadsden much later in life. The

fifth portrait indexed in the Frick portrait index appears to be quite right for Gadsden at the time of the Congress. This is reproduced below as illustration #7.

11. William Samuel Johnson (Conn.)

In 1765, William Samuel Johnson, who was born in 1727, was 38 years of age. A portrait done in 1761³² or 1763³³ is reproduced below as illustration #8.

12. Leonard Lispenard (N.Y.)

No biographical information, no verbal description and no likeness of Leonard Lispenard has been found.

13. Philip Livingston (N.Y.)

In 1765, Philip Livingston, who was born in 1716, was 49 years of age. The only verbal description of him discovered is that in the Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence:

In his temper, Mr. Livingston was somewhat irritable, yet exceedingly mild, tender and affectionate to his family and friends. There was a dignity, with a mixture of austerity, in his deportment, which rendered it difficult for strangers to approach him, and which made him a terror to those who swerved from the line, or faltered in the path, of personal virtue and patriotic duty. He was silent and reserved, and seldom indulged with much freedom in conversation. . . .³⁴

A portrait done in 1764 at Livingston Manor or in 1766 at New York City,³⁵ is reproduced below as illustration #9.

14. Robert R. Livingston (N.Y.)

In 1765, Robert R. Livingston, who was born in 1718, was 47 years of age. This Livingston, usually referred to as Judge Livingston, is often confused with his son of the same name, whose life encompassed the years 1746-1813, and is usually referred to as Chancellor Livingston. A portrait of Judge Livingston, undated, but apparently a likeness taken at about the period of our interest in his life, is reproduced below as illustration #10.

15. Thomas Lynch (S.C.)

In 1765, Thomas Lynch, who was born in 1727, was 38 years of age. No likeness of him has been found and verbal descriptions that have been found date from 1773 and later, including the two that follow:

In his diary entry for August 23, 1773, John Adams described Lynch as ". . . a solid, sensible, tho a plain Man--. . ."36

Silas Deane, in a letter to his wife, described Lynch as he appeared in the Continental Congress:

He wears the manufacture of this country, is plain, sensible, above ceremony, and carries with him more force in his very appearance than most powdered fellows in their conversation. He wears his hair strait, his clothes in the plainest order, and is highly esteemed.³⁷

16. Thomas McKean (Del.)

In 1765, Thomas McKean, who was born in 1735, was 30 years of age. He is one of the two principals in the moment of decision in the Stamp Act Congress on October 24, 1765, suggested for the subject of the Stamp Act Congress diorama.

The earliest verbal description of him describes him in the Continental Congress, eleven years after 1765:

In person, Mr. McKean was tall, erect, and well proportioned. His countenance displayed, in a remarkable manner, the firmness and intelligence for which he was distinguished. His manners were impressive and dignified. . . .

The earliest portrait known to have been done of McKean was painted in 1776 by Charles Willson Peale.³⁹ The whereabouts of this and its existence today are unknown.⁴⁰ The earliest likeness known and located, done ca. 1781-1782, is reproduced below as illustration #11. On July 10, 1781, McKean was elected President of the Continental Congress. Late in that year or early in 1782 Charles Willson Peale added this portrait to his new gallery of Revolutionary personages.⁴¹ Peale's biographer, Charles Coleman Sellers, compares the artist's interpretation of his subject in this portrait with another Peale portrait of McKean, which is, therefore, reproduced below as illustration #12, even though this latter portrait is dated 1797.

17. John Morton (Pa.)

In 1765, John Morton, who was born ca. 1724, was approximately 41 years of age. The first of the commissioners to die, a deathbed statement attributed to him, "that posterity would proclaim his labors for secession as the crowning glory of his life",⁴² has not been borne

out, and he remains in undeserved obscurity. Although he was a signer of the Declaration of Independence, as well as a member of the Stamp Act Congress, no verbal description and no contemporary likeness of him has been found. The only likeness known is a nineteenth century engraving, which might possibly be based upon a contemporary likeness. This engraving is reproduced below as illustration #13.

18. William Murdock (Md.)

No biographical information concerning William Murdock has been found. As this text is being prepared for submission the Maryland Historical Society transmits the information that it has located a portrait of him,⁴³ and that will be reproduced below as illustration #14.

19. Robert Ogden (N.J.)

In common with results of our search concerning Joseph Borden and Hendrick Fisher, the other Stamp Act Congress commissioners from New Jersey, no likeness and no description has been found relating to Robert Ogden. Age in 1765: unknown.

20. James Otis (Mass.)

In 1765, James Otis, who was born in 1735, was 30 years of age. Though it was Thomas McKean who raised his voice in anger at Timothy Ruggles' refusal to sign the documents written and voted approval by

the unit vote rule of the Congress, James Otis had at the outset lost the permanent chair of the Congress by only one vote, and had already voiced arguments looking toward greater independence and autonomy for the colonies. He was, wrote one biographer, Evert A. Duyckinck, "the herald of the Revolution. . . the flame of fire . . ." ⁴⁴
 A fellow Bay Stater, John Adams, described Otis as early as 1759 as . . . extremely [sic] quick and elastic. His apprehension is as quick as his Temper. He springs, and twitches his Muscles about in thinking. . . ⁴⁵

Another biographer, John C. Ridpath, quoting an unnamed source, wrote that

One who knew him well has recorded, that "he was finely formed, and had an intelligent countenance: his eye, voice, and manner were very impressive...." ⁴⁶

Otis was in advance of his brethren in his deep feeling for the autonomous destiny he foresaw for the American colonies. The descriptions of him antedated the Stamp Act Congress, as did the portraits and other likenesses painted of him. Though he was one of those who moved the Revolution in its formative stages, his star early reached its zenith and fell rapidly, due to mental illness which was manifest even in 1765.

As James Otis sparked the beginnings of the Revolutionary period, his youngest brother, Samuel Ailsyne Otis (1740-1814), saw the era through the moment of its culminating achievement: on assuming office as Secretary of the U.S. Senate (1789-1814), he held the Bible on which George Washington took the oath of office as President on the balcony of Federal Hall. ⁴⁷

The most important portrait of James Otis, done in 1755, is reproduced as illustration #15 below.

21. Oliver Partridge (Mass.)

In 1765, Oliver Partridge, who was born in 1712, was 53 years of age. No verbal descriptions and no portraits of him have been found. The only likeness known is on his tombstone, which presumably depicts him as he appeared in later years (d. 1792), reproduced below as illustration #16.

22. Thomas Ringgold (Md.)

In 1765, Thomas Ringgold, who was born ca. 1715-1716, was approximately 49 or 50 years of age.⁴⁸ He tends to be confused with his son of the same name who died in 1776, aged 32.⁴⁹ No verbal descriptions of Thomas Ringgold, the Stamp Act Congress commissioner, have been found as yet, though such material is being sought by a searcher for the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, and might become available at any time.⁵⁰ He died in 1772.⁵¹ The present existence and location of the only known portrait of him, done in 1790 by Charles Willson Peale, are unknown.⁵²

23. Caesar Rodney (Del.)

In 1765, Caesar Rodney, who was born in 1723, was 37 years of age. The refusal of Timothy Ruggles to endorse the pronouncements of the Stamp Act Congress became so indelibly impressed upon Rodney's mind, that his biographer remarks upon his bringing the matter up again in

Philadelphia during the meeting of the First Continental Congress.

"He made himself very merry," comments George Herbert Ryden, "with Ruggles and his pretended scruples and timidities at the last Congress."⁵³

The only verbal description found of Rodney is John Adams' diary entry for September 3, 1774:

Caesar Rodney is the oddest looking Man in the World. He is tall — thin and slender as a Reed — pale — his Face is not bigger than a large Apple. Yet there is Sense and Fire, and Spirit, wit and Humour in his Countenance. 54

No portrait of Caesar Rodney, from life, has been found, and it is probable that none was made. Whether he was disfigured in 1765 is not established, but in 1768 he underwent surgery for a facial cancer, which may be taken as the principal reason for lack of contemporary likenesses of him.⁵⁵ A statue of Caesar Rodney, based upon conjectural quite romanticized familial likeness, which stands in Statuary Hall in the Capitol Building, Washington, D.C., is reproduced below as illustration #17.

24. David Rowland (Conn.)

No verbal description, no likeness and no biographical data have been found concerning David Rowland.

25. Timothy Ruggles (Mass.)

In 1765, Timothy Ruggles, who was born in 1711, was 54 years of age. So significant to the development of factions early in the Revolutionary era of American history was Ruggles' refusal to sign

the Stamp Act Congress pronouncements that the matter would be recalled publicly in 1774 at the convening of the Continental Congress.⁵⁶

In a diary entry of April 8, 1759, John Adams noted that

Ruggles's Grandeur consists in the quickness of his apprehension, Steadiness of his attention, the boldness and Strength of his Thoughts and Expressions, his strict Honour, conscious Superiority, Contempt of Riches &c. . . .
Ruggles is . . . proud, . . . lordly . . . popular . . .
Tis an Advantage to Ruggles's Character, 57

In the summer of 1759 Adams commented further in his diary:

. . . Ruggles has the most constant Presence of Mind.
He never makes Blunders thro Inattention. . . . 58

In Sibley's Harvard Graduates appears a somewhat more physical description:

. . . he was a respected and impressive man. He was well over six feet tall, dark, handsome, with a strong and commanding face. He dressed carefully, but not elegantly; he was social, witty, wise about human nature, and quick to drop ceremony and convention when they ceased to be of social value. . . . 59

Charles Fairman wrote that

. . . He was very tall, dark, bold of countenance, given to no silly talk; his speech was blunt, often witty, sometimes profane. . . . 60

Henry Stoddard Ruggles wrote that

. . . As a lawyer he was an impressive pleader, his eloquence enhanced by his majestic presence, being above six feet and magnificently proportioned, with a noble head grandly poised on stalwart shoulders. . . . 61

Timothy Ruggles' most recent and most sympathetic biographer, Ivan Sandrof, characterizes him as

. . . a storzy, stubborn giant with a wry, sensitive mouth, flashing hard eyes and a swarthy complexion. . . 62

Richard Barry wrote in his biography of John Rutledge that

[Ruggles] was chief of the Boston bar; he was six feet six inches in height, lean and hard. . . . Ruggles had the room adjoining that of Rutledge at the Kings Arms [during the Stamp Act Congress] As he talked to Rutledge he had to bend over for the South Carolinian was nearly a foot shorter. . . . 63

The only likeness found of Timothy Ruggles is reproduced below as illustration #12.

26. John Rutledge (S.C.)

In 1765, John Rutledge, who was born in 1739, was 26 years of age.

A modern description of him as he is supposed to have appeared in 1760, probably drawing as much upon imagination as upon factual records, says that he was

a thin young man, not very tall, about five feet eight. 64
The reddish tinge in his light brown hair was concealed by a copious dusting of powder. He wore no wig, but his own plentiful hair was tied in the back with a black silk ribbon. His nostrils were very highly arched and were excessively delicate, yet the bridge of the nose was high. His ears were small and leaned against his head.

Despite his youth his body seemed set; he seldom moved it, but his head moved sidtly and his eyes darted rapidly, and always inquiringly. His mouth was mobile; his chin square. The frontal lobes over his eyes protruded; his combed-up hair accentuated the naturally high brow.

The wide-set eyes were blue-gray -- sharpshooter's eyes. They always held the eyes of the person to whom he talked. He had one quality, repeatedly remarked upon, which grew more noticeable later: he knew what one was saying before all was said (he seemed to read it with his eyes) and he would often answer before one was through speaking. . . . 65

Much more sophisticated than this description of John Rutledge the man was this same biographer's note on the physical differences between Charleston, South Carolina, and little old New York of 1765, as they brought sharply into focus for Rutledge more than surface differences between the two ports and between the sections of the colonies:

Negro beggars accosted Rutledge in front of his inn, and this was a novel experience. . . .

Other customs were also reversed. In New York most men chewed tobacco and spat anywhere; in the South the only tobacco chewers were Negro field hands. After dark, lower Broadway and the Battery swarmed with street-walkers; one never saw a prostitute on the streets of Charles Town. A man who ventured on Corlear's Hook or along South Street, after sundown, took his life in his hands; the waterfront in Charles Town was as safe as church. . . .

In Chapel Street, where Rutledge went to the theatre, he was warmly greeted by his friend, David Douglass, manager of the Hallam Company, who confided that they were living perilously. . . .66

At the Continental Congress in 1774, John Adams would remark that Rutledge's

. . . Appearance is not very promising. There is no Keenness in his Eye. No Depth in his Countenance. Nothing of the profound, sagacious, brilliant, or sparkling in his first Appearance, 67

that Rutledge was, in sum, a man with an

. . . air of reserve, design, and cunning....68

By that date Rutledge, realizing the hard facts with which Southern politicians would live for many generations

. . . impressed conservative Joseph Galloway as an "amiable" gentleman who examined both sides of arguments and understood the danger of "rash and imprudent measures." Patrick Henry feared that the Rutledges, along with conservative John Jay and Galloway, would "ruin the cause of America." 69

As James Otis and his brother, Samuel Alleyne Otis, had played roles on the stage of the Revolutionary era marking its beginnings and its fortunate conclusion, so John Rutledge and his brother Edward were the second pair of brothers to star in major events of the drama, sharing the honor of signing the two great American state papers of the era: Edward, the Declaration of Independence, and John, who had served in the Stamp Act Congress, the Constitution.

An undated portrait of John Rutledge, apparently done a few years after 1765, is reproduced in the portrait index of the Frick A.R.L., catalogued as John Rutledge, American School (18th Cent.) S.C. (1751-1800), catalog #121-6/a. Permission to reproduce is required from the present owner of the original portrait, whose identity is at present unknown. The search for the present owner, initiated several months ago, appears close to a successful conclusion, and the photograph will be submitted at such time as the necessary permission is obtained for its reproduction by the Frick A.R.L. 70

As an unsatisfactory alternate, a portrait done at a much later date is reproduced as illustration #19 below.

27. Edward Tilghman (Md.)

In 1765, Edward Tilghman, who was born in 1713, was 52 years of age. No verbal description has been found of the appearance of Edward Tilghman. A miniature portrait of him, done ca. 1774-1790 by Charles Willson Peale, is reproduced as illustration #20 below.

28. Henry Ward (R.I.)

Henry Ward remains an obscure figure. Though he was the son of Governor Richard Ward, and his brother, Samuel, was Governor of Rhode Island in 1765, no biographical information, no verbal description and no portraits of him have been found.

3. THE SCENE OF THE STAMP ACT CONGRESS

3. The Scene of the Stamp Act Congress

The Stamp Act Congress assembled and held all of its sessions in the General Assembly room of the old New York City Hall.⁷¹ In his construction history of the old New York City Hall, 1699-1788,⁷² Historian Louis Torres has summarized all of the documentary evidence known to date about the building and its use through that period of time. Extensive research since that time has brought considerable information to members of the congress but nothing further on their meeting place. At page 10 that report informs us that

The room where the General Assembly met was completed with all its furnishings in 1704. An interesting thing about this room was that it was constructed and furnished from funds raised by the cities and counties throughout the colony. More than 143 Pounds were raised for this purpose out of which New York City's share consisted of more than 31 Pounds.

Another reference to the chamber, documented by Mr. Torres, is in 1756, when

. . . a closet "Opposite to the one lately made in the Common Council Chamber" was constructed for the purpose of storing arms. ⁷³

In 1758

the room where the General Assembly met was decorated with sashes and ornaments. ⁷⁴

At other places this report also provides excellent corroborating documentation for the location of the General Assembly Room.⁷⁵ The

addition of a third floor to the structure in 1763 appears to have resulted in no alterations to most of the structure, and none to the General Assembly chamber worth mentioning.⁷⁶ A clear description of the room and its furnishings, therefore, done at anytime during the several decades preceding 1765, could reasonably be acceptable as an accurate description of the chamber at the time of the meeting of the Stamp Act Congress. The only extant description of such character is the

Plan and Elevation of the Old-City Hall formerly standing in Wall Street in the City of New York as it was in the years 1745-1746 & 1747, made by D. . . d G. . n (No. 30 Cedar Street) in the 82d Year of his age who has at present a correct Idea of the same.
New York October 1818 '77

David Grim, 82 years of age in 1818, detailed this plan and elevation from his memory of 71-74 years earlier.⁷⁸ While possibly of sufficient accuracy for other details of the structure, the drawing must be discarded for its representation of the internal layout of the General Assembly chamber in 1745, and also, consequently, for the layout of the chamber in 1765. In the Grim drawing 20% of the space in the chamber is allotted to "spectators", who are segregated from the main floor of the chamber by what appears to be a courtroom type of bar rail. At that early date, and until several years after the Stamp Act Congress, no provision was made in any of the colonial assemblies for the admission or seating of spectators or others than members of the assembly, excepting on occasions of State or on matters of official business.

It appears that the drawing by David Grim, supposedly of the General Assembly chamber in 1745-47, contains a combination of the features of the chamber over a period of years beyond that of interest for the description of the Stamp Act Congress. In the absence of further details of documentation, it is not possible to delineate which of the details shown are of the appropriate period.

In view of the lack of descriptive evidence it is not possible at this time to describe the scene of the Stamp Act Congress beyond knowing the general dimensions of the room in relation to dimensions of the structure, where the windows were, and what most of the men looked like.

We do not know whether the members met about a large table, whether they sat, rank and file, before the desk of their presiding officer, or occupied parallel benches as in the English parliamentary manner, or sat in a modification of this pattern as in the Virginia House of Burgesses.

The exclusion of spectators from the chambers of the American colonial assemblies, eliminating from the scene of activity all those not directly involved in the proceedings, is at the root of our lack of accounts of the appearance of the chambers. To the members the scene was too familiar to comment upon and describe in detail, and no one else was present to comment or to describe.

This is the state of our present knowledge of the appearance of the New York General Assembly chamber in which were conducted the sessions of the Stamp Act Congress.

FOOTNOTES TO THE TEXT

Footnotes to the Text

- 1 Alfred Mongin, "The Stamp Act Congress," NP3 report, March 1963.
- 2 Ibid., 48-49.
- 3 Quoted in ibid., 52.
- 4 Ibid., 49.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 Ibid., 45.
- 7 Quoted in ibid., 44.
- 8 See a retrospective valuation of these papers by Moses Coit Tyler, quoted in ibid., 56.
- 9 See analysis by Professor and Mrs. Morgan, quoted in ibid., 51.
- 10 The authority reposed in or assumed by the individual commissioners depended upon the conditions under which they became spokesmen for their home assembly. See ibid., 31-33. The point here is that all except two commissioners appeared ready and willing — even if not able — to sign the papers and proceedings of the Congress at its conclusion.
- 11 Robert deau Buchanan, Life of the Hon. Thomas McKean, 18-19.
- 12 Charles J. Stille, The Life and Times of John Dickinson 1732-1800, 73.
- 13 E. Edwards Boardisley, Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D., 300.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Ibid.

- 16 Mongin, "The Stamp Act Congress," 45, 48.
- 17 Ibid., 49.
- 18 Buchanan, Thomas McKean, 19.
- 19 Who Was Who: Historical Volume, 67.
- 20 N.Y. Chamber of Commerce, Catalog of Portraits, 77.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, L.H. Butterfield et al., eds., II, 117.
- 23 Ibid., 172.
- 24 XIII, 333-335.
- 25 Ltr to A. Mongin, April 10, 1964, in H2215 file, Federal Hall National Memorial.
- 26 Ltr, John Sweeney, Curator, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Del., to A. Mongin, March 24, 1964.
- 27 Charles Coleman Sellers, Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale, 63.
- 28 Ibid., 62-69.
- 29 Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut, is cited as source for 1763 in the Frick A.R.L. See Eliphalet Dyer by William Johnston, Frick, A.R.L. catalog #121-6/D.
- 30 Frick A.R.L. catalog, loc. cit., cites New-York Historical Society Quarterly, Jan. 1955, vol. 39, p. 89 (33).
- 31 Ibid.

- 32 Date ascribed by present owner, Smith College Museum of Art.
- 33 " . . . about 1763 . . ." Ltr, Ralph W. Thomas, Curator and Librarian, New Haven Colony Hist. Soc., to A. Mongin, March 11, 1964.
- 34 Robert Waln, Jr., Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence, III, 194-195.
- 35 S. Sawitzky, "Thomas Mollworth," New-York Hist. Soc. Quarterly, XXXV (April 1951), p. 138.
- 36 L.H. Butterfield et al, eds., Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, II, 85.
- 37 John G. Van Deusen, "Thomas Lynch," D.A.B., XI, 523, citing Edmund D. Burnett, Letters of Members of the Continental Congress, I (1921), 18.
- 38 Waln, Biography of the Signers, VI, 349-350.
- 39 Sellers, Portraits and Signatures, 136.
- 40 Ibid.
- 41 Ibid.
- 42 Amandus Johnson, "John Morton," Friends Hist. Assoc. Bulletin, XXI, No. 2 (Autumn 1932), 86-87.
- 43 Ltr, John D. Kilbourne, Assistant to the Director, Md. Hist. Soc., to A. Mongin, May 11, 1964.
- 44 Evert A. Duyckinck, National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Americans, I, 45.
- 45 Butterfield et al, eds., Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, I, 84.
- 46 John C. Ridpath, James Otis, 97.

47 Ibid., 14.

48 Rough Notes re Thomas Ringgold from John Frazer, Jr., National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Received May 6, 1964; Sellers, Portraits and Miniatures, 121.

49 Sellers, loc. cit.

50 Frazer's Notes, q.v., f.n. 48, above.

51 See f.n. 48, above.

52 Sellers, loc. cit.

53 G.H. Ryden, "Caesar Rodney, A Biographical Sketch", Letters to and From Caesar Rodney, 7.

54 Butterfield et al. eds, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, II, 121; see also G.H. Ryden, Letters to and From Caesar Rodney, 7, and G.H. Ryden, "Caesar Rodney," D.A.B., XVI, 81.

55 See f.n. #53, above.

56 Ibid.

57 Butterfield et al. eds, Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, I, 83.

58 Ibid., 107.

59 Shiley's Harvard Graduates, IX (1731-1735), 201.

60 Charles Fairman, "Timothy Ruggles," D.A.B., XVI, 221.

61 Henry Stoddard Ruggles, General Timothy Ruggles, 9.

62 Ivan Sandrof, "Forgotten Giant. . ." Worcester Hist. Soc. Publication, n.s. Vol. II, no. 6 (April 1952), 16-28, 16.

63 Richard Barry, Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina, 111.

64 "Tuggles . . . was six feet six inches in height. . . . As he talked to Rutledge he had to bend over, for the South Carolinian was nearly a foot shorter. . . ." Barry, Mr. Rutledge, 111.

65 Ibid., 22-23.

66 Ibid., 104.

67 Butterfield et al, eds., Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, II, 119.

68 Quoted in Frank W. Ryan, "The Role of South Carolina in the First Continental Congress," The South Carolina Historical Magazine, LX, no. 2 (April 1959), 147-153, 149.

69 Ibid.

70 Ltr, Miss Mildred Steinbach, Assistant Librarian, Frick A.R.L., to A. Mongin, April 6, 1964; ltr, Mrs. Henry W. Howell, Librarian, Frick A.R.L., to A. Mongin, April 24, 1964.

71 Mongin, "Stamp Act Congress", 36, 38-39.

72 Louis Torres, "A Construction History of the City Hall on Wall Street and the Building's Historic Associations 1699-1726," N.P.S. Report, November 1962.

73 Ibid., 29.

74 Ibid.

75 Ibid., 31, 42, 55-57; see also, Mongin, "The Stamp Act Congress," 35.

76 Torres, ibid., 48.

77 New-York Historical Society, Neg. No. 27567, reproduced in Torres, ibid., Appendix B.

78 Ibid., 33.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. PRIMARY SOURCES

A. Published Documents

Beardsley, Eben Edwards, Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson, D.D. (N.Y.: Ward and Houghton, 1874).

Butterfield, L. H. et al., eds., Diary and Autobiography of John Adams, volumes I & II (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard Univ. Press, 1961).

Carter, Clarence Edwin, comp. & ed., The Correspondence of General Thomas Case with the Secretaries of State 1763-1775, volume I (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1931).

Ryden, George Herbert, ed., Letters to and from Caesar Rodney 1756-1781 (Phila.: Publ. for the Historical Soc. of Del. by the Univ. of Penna. Press, 1933).

Ward, Samuel, Correspondence, ed. by Bernhard Knollenberg (Providence: R.I. Historical Society, 1952).

II. SECONDARY WORKS

A. Books

Barry, Richard, Mr. Rutledge of South Carolina (N.Y.: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, [1942]).

Beardsley, Eben Edwards, Life and Times of William Samuel Johnson, LL.D. (N.Y.: Hurd and Houghton, 1876).

Bishop, Joseph Bucklin, A Chronicle of One Hundred and Fifty Years of the Chamber of Commerce (N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918).

Bowen, Clarence Winthrop, ed., The History of the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington as First President of the United States (N.Y.: D. Appleton & Co., 1892).

Buchanan, Roberdeau, Life of the Hon. Thomas McKean, L.L.D. (Lancaster, Pa.: Inquirer Printing Co., 1890).

Croce, George C., Jr., "Eliphalet Dyer: Connecticut Revolutionist", The Era of the American Revolution: Studies Inscribed to Evans Boutell Greene, ed. by Richard B. Morris (N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press, 1939), pp. 290-304.

Fairman, Charles, "Timothy Ruggles", D.A.B. XVI, 221-222.

McClellan, Elizabeth, Historic Dress in America, 1607-1800 (Phila.: Jacobs & Co., 1904).

Peeling, J.H., "Thomas McKean", D.A.B., XII, 79-81.

Ridpath, John Clark, James Otis: The Pre-Revolutionist
(Milwaukee: H.C. Campbell Publishing Co., 1898).

Ruggles, Henry Stoddard, General Timothy Ruggles. 1711-1795
(Wakefield, Mass.: Priv. Pr., 1897).

Ryden, George Herbert, "Caesar Rodney", D.A.B., XVI, 81-82.

Sabine, Lorenzo, The American Loyalists (Boston: Little & Brown, 1847).

Sanderson, John, Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence, volume III (Phila.: R.W. Pomeroy, 1823).

Schneider, Herbert Wallace and Carol Schneider, eds., Samuel Johnson. President of King's College: His Career and Writings,
volumes I-IV, (N.Y.: Columbia Univ. Press, 1929).

Shipton, Clifford K., "Timothy Ruggles", Sibley's Harvard Graduates,
IX (1731-1735) (Boston: Mass. Historical Soc., 1956), 199-223.

Stark, James H., The Loyalists of Massachusetts (Boston: James H. Stark, 1910).

Stille, Charles J., The Life and Times of John Dickinson 1732-1808
(Phila.: Hist. Soc. of Penna., 1891). Historical Society of Pennsylvania,
Memoria, volume XLII.

Tudor, William, The Life of James Otis of Massachusetts. . . 1760 to 1775 (Boston: Wells and Lilly—Court Street, 1823).

Van Deusen, John G., "Thomas Lynch", D.A.B., XI, p. 523.

Wain, Robert, Jr., Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence (Phila.: R.W. Foneroy, volume III, 1823; V, 1824; VI, 1824, VIII, 1827).

Wilson, James Grant, ed., The Memorial History of the City of New York, volume II (N.Y.: New-York History Company, 1892).

Winsor, Justin, ed., The Memorial History of Boston, volume III (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1881).

B. Catalogs and Directories

Corcoran Gallery of Art, Loan Exhibition of Portraits of the Signers and Deputies to the Convention of 1787 and Signers of the Declaration of Independence. . . . The Corcoran Gallery of Art, City of Washington, November 27, 1937 to February 1, 1938 (n.p., n.d.).

Lane, W.C. and H.E. Browne, A.L.A. Portrait Index (Wash., D.C.: C.P.O., 1906).

New York Chamber of Commerce, Catalog of Portraits in the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York 1763-1924 (N.Y.: New York Chamber of Commerce, 1924).

Sellers, Charles Coleman, Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale (Phila.: The American Philosophical Society, June 1952).

Who Was Who in America: Historical Volume 1607-1896 (Chicago: Marquis, 1963).

C. Pamphlets

Burdge, Franklin, "A Notice of John Haring, a patriotic Statesman of the Revolution", (n.p., n.d.).

——, "Simon Boorum" (n.p., n.d.).

D. Periodicals

Forbes, Harriette M., "Early Portrait Sculpture in New England", Old-Time New England, XIX, no. 4 (April 1929), 159-173.

Greene, Everts Boutell, "William Samuel Johnson and the American Revolution", Columbia University Quarterly, XXII, no. 2 (June 1930), 157-178.

Johnson, Amandus, "John Norton", Friends Historical Association Bulletin, XXI, no. 2 (Autumn 1932), 86-87.

Ryan, Frank M., Jr., "The Role of South Carolina in the First Continental Congress", South Carolina Historical Magazine, volume 60 (1959), 147-153.

Sandref, Ivan, "Forgotten Giant of the Revolution: The Story of Brigadier-General Timothy Ruggles of Hardwick", The Worcester Historical Society Publications, n.s. volume III, no. 6 (April 1952), 16-23.

Sargent, Irene, "Robert Reid's Mural Paintings in the Massachusetts State House", The Craftsman, VII, no. 6 (March 1905), 699-712.

Sawitzky, Susan, "Thomas McIlworth", New-York Historical Society Quarterly, XXV, no. 2 (April 1951), 116-139.

E. N.P.S. Staff Reports

Mongin, Alfred, "The Stamp Act Congress", N.P.S. Report, March 1963.

Torres, Louis, "Construction History of the City Hall on Wall Street and the Building's Historic Associations 1699-1788", N.P.S. Report, November 1962.

III. CORRESPONDENCE

In addition to the sources cited above, information was made available to the writer through extensive correspondence with individual authorities on this period of American history and with officials and staff members of historical societies and museums in all of the states represented in the Stamp Act Congress.

Among those of most direct aid in this work have been the following:

Mr. Thompson R. Harlow, Director, The Connecticut Historical Society; Mr. R.W. Thomas, Curator and Librarian, New Haven Colony Historical Society; Professor Edmund S. Morgan, Yale University; Miss Dorothy W. Bridgwater, Reference Department, Yale University Library; Mr. Leon deValinger, Jr., Delaware State Archivist; Mr. John Sweeney, Curator, The Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum; Mr. J. George Stewart, Architect of the Capitol of the United States; Mr. Richard Walsh, Department of History, Georgetown University; Mr. David C. Mearns, Chief, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress; Mr. John Frazer, Jr., National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution; Dr. Morris L. Radoff, Archivist, and Mrs. Lois Green Carr, Junior Archivist, Maryland Hall of Records Commission; Mr. John D. Kilbourne, Assistant to the Director, Maryland Historical Society; Miss Margaret Hackett, The Library of The Boston Athenaeum; Mr. Thomas N. Maytham, Assistant in the Department of Paintings, Boston Museum of Fine Arts; Miss Ellen

N. Oldham, Curator of Classical Literature, Boston Public Library;
 Mr. Benjamin C. Tilghman, Boston, Mass.; Mrs. Margaret Scott, Fogg
 Art Museum of Harvard University; Mrs. Violet S. Durgin, Forbes
 Library, Northampton, Mass.; Mrs. Anne R. Mannarino, Museum Secretary,
 Smith College Museum of Art; Superintendent Arthur L. Sullivan,
 Salem Maritime N.H.S.; Miss Edna L. Jacobson, Albany Institute of
 History and Art; Miss Ida M. Cohen, Senior Reference Librarian, The
 New York State Library; Miss Juliet Wolohan, Senior Librarian, The
 New York State Education Department; Mrs. H. Stryker-Rodda, Acting
 Archivist, The Long Island Historical Society; Mr. Bryant Baker, New
 York City; Mrs. Henry W. Howell, Jr., Librarian, and Miss Mildred
 Steinbach, Assistant Librarian, Frick Art Reference Library; Mrs.
 Carlos A. Kepp, New York City; Mr. John Guinne, Executive Director,
 New York State Chamber of Commerce; Miss Betty Ezequille, Print Depart-
 ment, New-York Historical Society; Mr. Charles Coleman Sellers, Librarian,
 Dickinson College; Dr. Richard H. Shryock, Librarian, and Miss Gertrude
 D. Hess, Assistant Librarian, American Philosophical Society; Mr. R.
 Norris Williams, 2d, Director, Historical Society of Pennsylvania;
 Dr. David H. Wallace, Curator, Independence National Historical Park;
 Mr. Thomas R. Adams, Librarian, The John Carter Brown Library; Mr.
 Clifford P. Monahan, Director, and Mr. Clarkson A. Collins 3d, Librarian,
 Rhode Island Historical Society; Miss Mary T. Quinn, Assistant for Archives,
 Rhode Island Department of State; and Mr. George D. Shore, Jr., Esq.,
 Sumter, S.C.

Also helpful through correspondence concerning this report have been Mrs. Silvio Turner, Archivist, Connecticut State Library; Mr. C.C. Cunningham, Director, Wadsworth Athenaeum; Mr. Dale Fields, Executive Director, Historical Society of Delaware; Mr. William P. Campbell, Assistant Chief Curator, National Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution; Mr. Howard B. Gotlieb, Chief of Reference, Boston University Libraries; Mrs. Kopes Cabot, Curator of Collections, Bostonian Society; Mr. Stephen T. Riley, Director, Massachusetts Historical Society; Mr. I. Albert Mathov, Massachusetts State Librarian; Mr. Thomas Elliot Andrews, Archivist, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities; Mr. W.H. Bond, Curator of Manuscripts, The Houghton Library of Harvard College Library; Mr. Arthur Cory Dardwall, Hatfield, Massachusetts; Mr. David R. Proper, Associate Librarian, Essex Institute; Miss Juliette Tomlinson, Director, Connecticut Valley Historical Museum; Mr. Clifford K. Shipton, Director, American Antiquarian Society; Mrs. Elizabeth T. Cassidy, Director, Worcester Historical Society; Mr. William S. Ewing, Curator of Manuscripts, William L. Clements Library; Mrs. Edith O. Fay, Librarian, The New Jersey Historical Society,* Mr. William H. Gerds, Curator, Painting and Sculpture, The Newark Museum; Mr. Edward C. Rice, Jr., Assistant Librarian for Rare Books & Special Collections, Princeton University Library; Mr. Kenneth W. Richards, Head, Bureau of Archives and History, New Jersey Department of Education; Miss Edna L. Jacobson, Albany

Institute of History and Art; Mr. Harry H. Smith, Curator, Coshen, N.Y., Library and Historical Society; Dr. Donald H. Kent, Director, Bureau of Research, Publications, and Records, Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission; Miss Neda M. Westlake, Curator, Rare Book Collection, University of Pennsylvania Library; Mrs. Christine D. Hathaway, Special Collections Librarian, Brown University Library; Mr. Harold E. Talbot, Executive Director, The Preservation Society of Newport County; Mr. Donald T. Gibbs, Librarian, Redwood Library and Athenaeum; Mr. E. Milby Burton, Director, The Charleston Museum; Mrs. Mary E. Prior, Secretary, South Carolina Historical Society; Mr. Charles E. Lee, Director, South Carolina Archives Department; and Mr. E.L. Inabinett, Director, The South Caroliniana Library, University of South Carolina.

ILLUSTRATIONS

ILLUSTRATION #1

WILLIAM BAYARD (1761-1826)

Son of the William Bayard who was a New York commissioner to the Stamp Act Congress. Formal portrait as Thirteenth President, New York State Chamber of Commerce, 1819-1827, painted in 1895 by Daniel Huntington after an original by Wesley Jarvis. Reproduction, Courtesy, New York State Chamber of Commerce. For other reproduction see Catalogue of Portraits in the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, p. 13.

ILLUSTRATION #2

GEORGE BRYAN (1731-1791)

From a painting by Albert Rosenthal in the Governor's Room, Pennsylvania State Capitol, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, after original in possession of George B. Logan, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In subject's hand is the Pennsylvania Act of 1780, emancipating slaves, which approximately dates the painting.

This reproduction appears to be a photograph from a book print: beneath the caption is written:

"From George Bryan and the Constitution of Pennsylvania
by Burton Alvin Henkle 1923".

Reproduction, Courtesy, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

ILLUSTRATION #3

JOHN CRUGER (1710-1791)

Represented as 1st President of New York State Chamber of Commerce, 1768-1770. Painted by Thomas Hicks, 1865, after an original miniature. Reproduction from Catalogue of Portraits in the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, page 10.

Reproduction, Courtesy, New York State Chamber of Commerce.

ILLUSTRATION #1

JOHN DICKINSON (1732-1808)

Engraved portrait of John Dickinson published in Philadelphia about 1768 by R. Bell, a bookseller. Reproduction, Courtesy, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum. See also illus. #5.

ILLUSTRATION #5

JOHN DICKINSON (1732-1808)

From an engraving by J.B. Forrest from a portrait painted in 1770 by Charles Willson Peale. The original portrait, which is in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, is described by Charles Coleman Sellers as follows:

Canvas, 49 x 39. Three-quarter length. Hair powdered and dressed. Blue-gray eyes. Brown-suit, the coat lined with white fleecy material, the waist-coat with white silk. Black three cornered hat. Gold-headed cane. Background, at left a steep rocky bank, at right view of the falls of Schuylkill.*

This description appears also in the portrait index of the Frick Art Reference Library.**

This likeness is reproduced in the volume by Elizabeth McClellan, Historic Dress in America 1607-1800, figure 33, page 325, "showing the plain but handsome costume of a gentleman in Pennsylvania at the outbreak of the Revolution".***

Reproduction, Courtesy, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, from engraving in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case I, Box 1.

* Charles Coleman Sellers, Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale, 69.

** John Dickinson by C.W. Peale, Frick A.R.L. catalog #121-10.

*** Caption of the illustration.

ILLUSTRATION #6

ELIPHALET DYER (1721-1807)

Portrait, 1763 or 1764, attributed to William Johnson (1732-1772), in the collection of The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford. Measures 49 7/8" x 41".

Reproduction, Courtesy, The Connecticut Historical Society.

ILLUSTRATION #7

CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN (1724-1805)

Portrait, undated, attributed to Jeremiah Theus, in the collection of George D. Shore, Esq., Sumter, S.C. The Frick A.R.L. portrait index describes the portrait as follows:

This picture has been wrongly attributed to Sir Joshua Reynolds by everyone in the South.

Dark brown eyes and hair tied with a black queue bow. White neckcloth and small ruffled ruffles. Dark greenish blue coat, white satin waistcoat. Black cocked hat under left arm. Right hand resting on head of long slender cane. Plain reddish background.*

Reproduction, Courtesy, Frick A.R.L., from their photograph of the original, by Permission of Mr. Shore.

* General Christopher Gadsden by Jeremiah Theus, Frick A.R.L. catalog #121-7.

ILLUSTRATION #8

WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON (1727-1819)

Portrait, 1761 or 1763, by Thomas McIlworth* (active 1758-1769), in collection of Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts. Reproduction, Courtesy, Smith College Museum of Art.

* See S. Sawitzky, "Thomas McIlworth", New-York Hist. Soc. Quarterly, XXIV, No. 2 (April 1951), p. 138.

ILLUSTRATION #9

PHILIP LIVINGSTON (1716-1778)

Portrait, 38" x 25", 1764 or 1766, by Thomas McIlworth,*
in the collection of the Long Island Historical Society.

Described in the Frick A.R.L. portrait index as follows:

Gray eyes, white wig. Brown coat and dark
waist-coat. Tanpe background. Size of canvas
as given: 29½" x 24½".**

Reproduction, Courtesy, Frick A.R.L., by permission,
Long Island Historical Society.

* S. Sawitzky, "Thomas McIlworth", New-York Hist. Soc.
Quarterly, Vol. XXXV (April 1951), p. 138.

** Philip Livingston by Thomas McIlworth, Frick A.R.L.
portrait index catalog #121.15.

ILLUSTRATION #10

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON (1718-1775)

Portrait, contemporary to the Stamp Act Congress but undated, attributed to John Wollaston, the younger. Original is located by the Frick A.R.L. in the collection or the family of Mrs. Robert E. Livingston, "Clermont", Tivoli-on-Hudson, New York, but this has not been corroborated at this time. The painting is described as follows:

. . . measuring 49½" x 39".

Light brown eyes, powdered wig, russet brown coat, white satin waistcoat, white cravat and waist ruffles. Dark brown wall in the background. Dark blue sky with white clouds can be seen through a window at the left.*

Reproduction from Clarence Winthrop Bowen, ed., The History of the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington as First President of the United States, opp. p. 256.

* Judge Robert R. Livingston by John Wollaston, Frick A.R.L. portrait index, Catalog #121-6/o2.

ILLUSTRATION #11THOMAS MCKEAN (1735-1817)

Portrait, 1761-1762, by Charles Willson Peale, first recorded by Peale in the Freeman's Journal, Oct. 13, 1764,* now in the collection of the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Peale's biographer describes the painting in these words:

Its size and the subject's costume indicate that this is the splendid portrait now at the Fogg Museum. The neat collar is of the simple, old-fashioned cut which McKean was still wearing in the formal portrait of 1767.** His last portrait of McKean*** must have been substituted for this earlier and more pleasant piece in an effort to please the family.

. . . Canvas, 22½ x 10¾. Bust. (Museum)
White wig tied with black ribbon. Black eyebrows.
Hazel eyes. Rather high complexion. Coat and
cloth-covered buttons very dark gray. Background
dark olive-green. Unfinished at corners.****

Reproduction, Courtesy, Fogg Museum of Art.

* Charles Coleman Sellers, Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale, 136.

** Ibid.

*** See Illus. #12, below.

**** Sellers, loc.cit.

ILLUSTRATION #12

THOMAS MCKEAN (1735-1817)

Portrait, painted from life in 1797 for Peale's Museum, now in the collection of the Independence National Historical Park, on permanent loan from the City of Philadelphia.* Peale's biographer, Charles Coleman Sellers, writes that this, "his last portrait of McKean must have been substituted for [an] earlier and more pleasant piece** in an effort to please the family. This last likeness," continues Sellers, "shows a conservative version of the high standing collar of the 1790's.***"

Reproduction, Courtesy, Independence National Historical Park Collection.

* Ltr, David H. Wallace, Curator, Independence National Historical Park, to A. Mongin, April 27, 1964.

** See illus. #11, above.

*** Charles Coleman Sellers, Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale, 136.

ILLUSTRATION #13

JOHN MORTON (ca. 1724-1777)

Engraving by Stephen J. Ferris (1835-1915).* "It is not unlikely," notes the Frick A.R.L. portrait index sheet for this engraving, "that he was the artist who painted this picture of Morton."**

Reproduction, Courtesy, Frick A.R.L.

* Inscription on engraving; John Morton, an engraving, American School (1751-1800), Frick A.R.L. portrait index, citing Fentle Fielding, Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers, 1926, p. 118.

** Frick A.R.L. (MC), June 1933.

ILLUSTRATION #14

WILLIAM MURDOCK (? - ?)

Contemporary portrait supplied by The Maryland
Historical Society.*

* Ltr, John D. Kilbourne, Assistant to the Director, Md.
Hist. Soc., to A. Mongin, May 11, 1964.

ILLUSTRATION #15**JAMES OTIS (1725-1783)**

Portrait, 1755, signed and dated by Joseph Blackburn, now in the collection of Mrs. Carlos A. Hepp, New York City.* It is described in the portrait index of the Frick A.R.L. as follows:

23 & 5/8" x 23 1/2", signed on lower left spandrel
date: 1755

DESCRIPTION:**Dark eyes, powdered wig. He wears a very dark blue coat, a yellowish white satin waistcoat and a white neckcloth and ruffles. The background is of a brownish olive tone. There is a brown spandrel in each corner. . . . ***

Reproduction, Courtesy, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, by Permission of Mrs. Carlos A. Hepp, New York City.

* Ltr, Thomas N. Maytham, Assistant in the Department of Paintings, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, to A. Mongin, March 10, 1964; ltr, Mrs. Carlos A. Hepp, 1020 Fifth Avenue, New York City, to A. Mongin, April 8, 1964.

** See f.n. *** below, citing A.L.A. Portrait Index, 1906, 1104.

*** James Otis by Joseph Blackburn, Frick A.R.L. portrait index catalog #121-15/c.

ILLUSTRATION #16**OLIVER PARTRIDGE (1712-1792)**

Tombstone portrait of white marble, attributed to his kinsman, Solomon Ashley, the potter and stone cutter of Deerfield, Massachusetts.*

Tombstone portrait, ca. 1792, of white marble, over the grave of Oliver Partridge in Hill Burying Ground, Hatfield, Massachusetts, attributed to his kinsman, Solomon Ashley, Deerfield, Massachusetts. A W.P.A. Historical Records Survey editor described this tombstone portrait as follows:

Coat, turned collar, stock, eyes closed, expression demure and humble; wig.**

Reproduction by New York Public Library from Old-Time New England, XIX, no. 4 (April 1929), 173.

* Ltr, Miss Margaret Hackett, Library of the Boston Athenaeum, to A. Mongin, Feb. 18, 1964; Ltr, Mrs. Violet S. Durgin, Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass., to A. Mongin, March 12, 1964; Harriette M. Forbes, "Early Portrait Sculpture in New England", Old-Time New England, XIX, no. 4 (April 1929), 159-173, 173.

** Ltr from Mrs. Durgin, Forbes Library, quoting from Historical Records Survey, W.P.A., American Portraits, 1620-1825. Found in Massachusetts (Boston, Mass. 1939), 302.

ILLUSTRATION #17**CAESAR RODNEY (1728-1784)**

Statue, ca. 1934, by Bryant Baker in Statuary Hall, U.S. Capitol Building, a hypothetical representation of Rodney. Reproduction, Courtesy of Mr. Baker. Close-up views of the head of the statue, face, back and both sides, are available in the File, Federal Hall National Memorial, Courtesy of Hon. J. George Stewart, Architect of the Capitol.

ILLUSTRATION #18TIMOTHY RUGGLES (1711-1795)

Photograph of a lost portrait.* An anonymous genealogy of the likeness relates that "The portrait of Genl. Ruggles is copied from an engraving printed in Canada. The original, it is claimed, was painted by Wanthrop Chandler."** The editors of the latest edition of the Diary and Autobiography of John Adams rate this". . . a brilliantly lifelike portrait, painted con amore.***

Reproduction is from Sibley's Harvard Graduates, IX, between pp. 200-201, by the Mass. State Library.

Courtesy, Massachusetts Historical Society.

* Ltr, Margaret Hackett, Boston Athenaeum, to A. Mongin, Feb. 18, 1964.

** Note on the fly-leaf of Henry Stoddard Ruggles, General Timothy Ruggles 1711-1795 (priv. printed, 1897), in the Rare Book Department, Boston Public Library, described in ltr, Ellen M. Oldham, Curator of Classical Literature, Boston Public Library, to A. Mongin, March 24, 1964.

*** Butterfield et al. eds., I, 83.

ILLUSTRATION #19

JOHN RUTLEDGE (1739-1800)

Engraving by G.F. Stora from a Drawing by James Herring
after the original by Col. Trumbull, ca. 1791. Reproduction,
Courtesy, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, from the
Simon Gratz Autograph Collection, Case 1, Box 1.

ILLUSTRATION #20**EDWARD TILGHMAN (1713-1785)**

Miniature attributed to Charles Willson Peale. Peale's biographer comments upon the portrait as follows:

The subject of this unusual miniature is believed to be Edward Tilghman, son of Col. Richard Tilghman (1672-1738) of the "Hermitage," Queen Anne Co., Md. He was born July 3, 1713, and died Oct. 9, 1785. A series of inscriptions on the back records its family ownership, the earliest being, "Painted by C.W. Peale about 1760 and presented by him to Mrs. Elizabeth Tilghman, 1820." Another notes that the subject was a member of the Stamp Act Congress to 1763 [sic], and chairman of the committee on the address to the King. Family ownership is traced to 1872, and was restored with the purchase of the picture at the Heskins Hewitt sale, 1938.

The date, 1760, is of course too early. The costume indicates an earlier date than the painting or size of the ivory. It is the only Peale miniature in profile and the only one shown wearing a hat, both points weakening that sense of intimate association which is the essence of the miniatureist's art, and suggesting that the work may be a copy of an earlier piece or intended as a portrait record only. . . .

c. 1774-1790. Miniature Ivory, 2" x 1 3/4".
Light brown hair. Blue eyes. Black hat. Blue coat.
Blue tint in white ruffie. Greenish background.*

Reproduction, Courtesy, Frick A.M.L., by permission of Benjamin C. Tilghman, Boston, Mass. the present owner of the portrait.

* Charles Coleman Sellers, Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale, 209. See also, Edward Tilghman by C.W. Peale, Frick A.M.L. catalog #175-10/q2.