

Some Quaker Portraits

Certain and Uncertain

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PLATES

Between pages 8 and 9.

- I. WILLIAM DILLWYN
2. JAMES NAYLER—Pagitt
3. —Rembrandt
4. —Place
5. WILLEM SEWEL
6. GEORGE FOX—"Honthorst"
7. —Swarthmore College
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14. —in Armour, Pennsylvania Castle
15. —in Armour, Stuart family. 1957
16. —in Armour, Stuart family. 1900

THIS paper is substantially the address given at Friends House on 5th December, 1957, when it was illustrated with slides, the projector kindly operated by George Edwards, who also took a number of the photographs. I should like also to record my thanks for help received from the National Portrait Gallery, The Royal Library at The Hague, the Netherlands Institute for Art History, and the Rijksmuseum at Amsterdam, also to Bristol City Art Gallery.

Much that is in it is common knowledge, some of it is believed to be new. To bring together as much evidence as possible may help to make clear the true state of our knowledge, and possibly lead to further research. There must certainly be further evidence to be gathered; and no claim is made that these pages are the last word.

Some Quaker Portraits

Certain and Uncertain

WHEN Charles Leslie the painter (1794-1859) was visiting Sir Walter Scott in 1824 to paint his portrait, the conversation turned to Quakers, and Scott was surprised to hear that Leslie had painted several Quaker portraits, for he understood that Friends objected to pictures as well as to music.¹ Sir Walter Scott said "They must have been wet Quakers". Leslie assured him that they were no such thing; upon which Sir Walter would have it that "at least they were damp Quakers".²

Among the Friends whom Charles Leslie painted about this time were William Dillwyn (Plate 1) whose portrait is in the library at Friends House and Joseph and Elizabeth Fry, the latter now in the National Portrait Gallery. Other Quaker portraits made at about this period are Richard Reynolds (1735-1816) by W. Armfield Hobday, Bernard Barton (1784-1849), Samuel Gurney (1786-1856), Amelia Opie (1769-1853) by Henry P. Briggs (Mr. Quintin Gurney of Bawdeswell Hall, Norfolk has a better version of this picture), Edward Smith (1787-1834) and his wife Elizabeth by Benjamin Haydon in "The Quiet Hour", Thomas Pole (1753-1829) a miniature by Nathan Branwhite, all of which are at Friends House. There must be many others in private hands. Of the above probably only the picture of the Smiths was done without the co-operation of the sitters.

Some twenty years earlier than this Rev. Thomas Clarkson also wrote about this matter of Friends and pictures. Clarkson was a clergyman who associated closely with Friends throughout the country for at least twenty years during the

¹ Benjamin Franklin expressed substantially the same view in 1760 in a letter referred to in another connection. See p. 11, note 1.

² *Autobiography of C. R. Leslie*. 1860, p. 92.

struggle against the slave-trade, to which he dedicated himself in 1787. In 1806 he published his *Portraiture of Quakerism*, in three volumes, the fruit of his long acquaintance with members of our society. We may I think accept his statements as representing the prevailing views among well-concerned Friends in his day. He tells us that the first Quakers never had their portraits taken with their knowledge and consent—as being a thing tempting to pride and self conceit—and that Friends generally held that the regard for loved and respected forerunners was best expressed by the preservation of their thoughts and the imitation of their lives, not by the display of their portraits.¹ He also says that he remembered seeing not more than two or three prints on the walls in the houses of Friends, and even these never all in the same house. They were West's picture of Penn's treaty with the Indians, a print of a slave-ship, and a print of Ackworth School. After explaining that these could be justified by philanthropic interests rather than by the desire to embellish a room, he adds that there are some exceptions among Friends; and some who have accidentally come into possession of framed prints may hang them if they are innocent in their subject and lesson. He says that generally speaking ancestral portraits were those from the days before a family became Friends. His book is one of the earliest about the society by an outside writer who is well informed, sympathetic and favourably disposed. In fact he tends I suppose to be too eulogistic. However, his book went through several editions; and it was sufficiently valued in the society to be twice reprinted under Quaker auspices by the publisher of *The British Friend*. The editor of the fifth edition, 1869, long after the death of the author, added a characteristically utilitarian (might one even say philistine?) note to the passage I have summarized, viz, that portrait painting has been almost entirely superseded by photography, which is very generally considered open to less objection. Clarkson also says (1806) that some Friends will collect prints and drawings in portfolios but not frame and hang them.

It seems that Sir Walter Scott's views of the matter were getting a little out of date in 1824. An interest in portraiture was permissible, but not in the opinion of all Friends. *The British Friend* repeatedly objected to portrait

¹ Clarkson: *Portraiture of Quakerism*, 1806, i, 297, Chapter 2.

painting.¹ It was also arguable that portraits were a footnote to history, though evidently purely aesthetic interests were on the whole only very discreetly admitted. The general question of Friends and the fine arts is a wider subject not to be entered upon now.

There were many portraits of Friends drawn or painted, engraved, and published in the first half of the nineteenth century, about which there are no mysteries or puzzles, though there may have been objections. But my attention has been concentrated chiefly on a few early figures in our history. I have assumed that, in these days when we do not hesitate to use illustrations in Quaker publications, we would really like to know what for example George Fox, William Penn and James Nayler looked like and what truth the portraits have that do duty for them. In considering these portraits I have tried to bring together contemporary descriptions, if any, of the subject, evidence from the picture itself and evidence from the history of the picture. I hope there may be some interest in the enquiries that I have had to follow, though not all have so far led to firm conclusions.

James Nayler

James Nayler was I think the earliest Friend to be depicted. By a contemporary writer, in a pamphlet entitled *The Grand Imposter Examined*, published in 1657, Nayler is described as a man of ruddy complexion, indifferent height, brown lank hair hanging a little below his jawbones, not very long visaged nor very round, close shaven, with a sad downlook and a melancholy countenance, a little band close to his collar, his hat hanging over his brows, his nose neither high nor low but rising a little in the middle.

By many of the committee of Parliament which examined him in 1656 on the charges of blasphemy brought against him, it was noticed how the colour of his beard and the fashion of it, and his features and person much resembled the picture usually drawn of our Lord. This notion of what Jesus looked like was based upon a description, now usually considered to be a thirteenth century invention, but purporting to be by a contemporary, Publius Lentulus, reporting to Rome.²

¹ *British Friend*, 1847, pp. 81-128; 1848, p. 78; 1862, p. 16.

² W. C. Braithwaite: *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 243.

It describes Jesus as having hair down to his shoulders and a short forked beard, both hair and beard filbert coloured. This at least tells us something about Nayler. A detractor of Nayler says that he strives to imitate the picture of our Lord sent to Rome by Publius Lentulus. He wears his hair as it were with a seam on the crown of his head and flowing down each side of it.¹ In answer to detractions of Nayler, the Friends who compiled *A True narrative of the examination of James Nayler*, 1657, wrote that Nayler's appearance "was never one of art or contrivance as to head, beard, or feature, but was the work of the Creator". These evidences offer a little guidance in trying to assess the interest and truth of any picture purporting to represent Nayler.

Why should there be any such picture at all? His was a sensational story, and the use of pictures to help to sell a sensational story is of course much older than the modern newspaper and press photography. There are numerous engraved illustrations of Nayler's sufferings in the books and tracts of his own time. Most of these must be the work of jobbing engravers working for printers, and have no claim to be taken seriously as portraits. Two of them however we will look at as samples.

Plate 2 is an illustration from Ephraim Pagitt's *Heresiography*, 6th edition, 1661, a year after Nayler's death, a book describing the errors of contemporary English sectaries. The artist has paid some attention to the popular talk that Nayler looked like the traditional description of Christ; we note the forked beard, the long hair parted in the middle. But the thing is too crude and characterless to be taken very seriously as a portrait.

What a contrast is the next one, Plate 3. It appears on the front of a Dutch leaflet published in 1657.² I first saw it as one of the photographs collected by William Hull for his history of Quakerism in Holland, and published in his volume on *The Rise of Quakerism in Amsterdam*, 1655-1665, p. 246, 1938. There is also a copy of the engraving at Friends House. For years I have thought how satisfactory it would be if this masterly, Rembrandt-ish, study of character in a face could possibly turn out to be Nayler, and I recommended its use

¹ Quoted by M. R. Brailsford: *A Quaker from Cromwell's Army*, p. 44.

² *Klachte der Quakers over haren nieuwen martelaar James Nailor in Englandt*. (The Quakers complaint about their new martyr.)

as an illustration in the lives of Nayler by Mabel Brailsford and by Emilia Fogelklou Norlind. When I began lately a critical investigation, the librarian at the Royal Library at The Hague informed me that this engraving is indeed after a painting by Rembrandt which is now in the museum at Cassel in Germany, an un-named study. This is reproduced as plate 230 in Abraham Bredius, *The Paintings of Rembrandt*, 1942, 2 vols. It was probably painted in 1643 or '44. But Rembrandt is not known to have visited England, nor Nayler Holland. We have here no true portrait, only once more an illustration made to increase the sale of a leaflet about Nayler. One would like to think it was etched by Rembrandt himself, but according to one expert opinion this is not so though it is signed with an R in the top right corner. The etching gives the painting in reverse as usual.

More familiar to us is this much less attractive portrait, the one most commonly reproduced as Nayler, Plate 4. The work is English and more or less contemporary. In some points it corresponds with our knowledge of him, the long lank hair, and the nose rising in the middle, a trait which seems to be exaggerated here, and it is certainly melancholy. The beard is much shorter than we should expect. Nayler's name is engraved beneath. Though unsigned, the best authorities set this down as the work of Francis Place, one who early practised the art of mezzotint engraving in England, of which this is an example. Francis Place was only 13 when Nayler died in 1660, and he did not abandon the law to devote himself altogether to drawing and painting until he was 18, five years after Nayler died. He travelled, did many topographical drawings and engravings as well as many portraits. He belonged to a family in Co. Durham of Parliamentary sympathies. His father held an office under Cromwell, and of course Nayler was once a Cromwellian officer.

This can hardly be an accurate portrait done from life, but the boy may have seen Nayler and even sketched him. Place was only nine when Nayler fell into his error, but if he saw Nayler after his sufferings and imprisonment, that is in the last year of his life, when Place was 13, it would help to account for the absence of the kind of beard so much commented on earlier. Poor James would not be wanting again to draw the accusation, however false, that he cultivated the traditional appearance of Christ. Nayler was in

the North of England in the last year of his life, or he could have been seen by Place in London. But however it originated the portrait as we see it was probably not made until years after Nayler's death, if we are to date the engraved work of the artist after 1665, when he forsook law for art.

Place did not publish his engravings, and his prints are rare. It was however copied, also in mezzotint, by Thomas Preston who worked about 1740, and again, copied from Preston no doubt, by Graves in 1823. Both these were published. Each is in some degree a debasement of the preceding one, enhancing the peculiarities. It is Preston's which is most commonly reproduced. There is an inferior painting, probably copied in the 18th century from Preston's engraving, which has been offered for sale in recent years. Of the three Nayler portraits considered, this by Place has the best claim; but how like it is to Nayler I suppose we shall never know.

Willem Sewel

We can now turn to a portrait of a 17th century Friend, painted when he was 51 and engraved and published in his own lifetime.

Willem Sewel of Amsterdam, author of the first history of Quakerism, born in 1654, was of English ancestry a generation or two earlier. He was well known in his native city as one of its learned men. He wrote a number of books on language and grammar, translated books from Latin, French, Italian, German and English into Dutch besides his history of Quakerism into English, one of his latest works. His Dutch-English dictionary was reprinted long after he died in 1725.

In 1705 he was editor or principal contributor to a periodical called *Boekzaal der Gerleerde Wereld*, the library of the learned world. He does not seem to have had any objection to portraits, and was painted by Gerhard Rademaker, a well-established artist in Amsterdam. Plate 5 shows the engraving as it was published in Sewel's own periodical. It appears also in William Hull's *Willem Sewel of Amsterdam, 1653-1720*, Frontis. 1933. Unfortunately the original painting has been lost sight of. I am indebted for help in this enquiry to the Ryksmuseum, Amsterdam.

George Fox

An undoubted portrait of George Fox would give us more satisfaction than any other. But here we are again in uncertainty. It is difficult to believe he would ever have sat for his portrait. We can imagine his characterizing any such proposal as wordly vanity; but we might be mistaken in that.

As a help in judging any supposed portrait of him we have very little in the way of contemporary verbal description that is of value, and we have to base our judgement chiefly on the history and the internal evidence of the pictures themselves. We have however some contemporary evidence of Fox's appearance. He was of large build, big boned, with bright eyes and a piercing gaze which are often mentioned by both friends and foes. He had long hair, hanging in ringlets, and there is mention of a hat for him "of the largest size". William Penn speaks of his very presence expressing a religious majesty.¹

Plate 6 shows the first portrait, I believe, to be labelled George Fox. It was engraved, and published in 1799 by Thomas Clio Rickman a well-known Friend who then owned the painting. The engraved caption states it to be George Fox as painted by Gerard Honthorst. Some thirty years ago it belonged to a Mrs. Dillwyn Parrish; the present ownership is not known to me. In 1932 the engraving was examined at the National Portrait Gallery and the opinion expressed that the painting from which it was made was probably done in the latter part of the 18th century.² Sixty-five years ago however, Wilfred Whitten wrote enthusiastically of its qualities, and without any question as to its authenticity.³ He speaks of Honthorst seizing the opportunity while he was executing commissions for Charles I, to sketch the young enthusiast whose name was already known at court. But the only year Honthorst was in England was 1628, when Fox was 4 years old, and today few I suppose would think it in character with Fox at all. If it could be found, a critical appraisal of this painting would be interesting.

We now come to the portrait which today most often does duty for George Fox (Plate 7). In 1858 a Friend, John

¹ A. N. Brayshaw: *Personality of George Fox*, pp. 26-34. W. C. Braithwaite: *Beginnings of Quakerism*, p. 83. W. Penn: Preface to *Fox's Journal*.

² Letter in Friends House Library.

³ Whitten: *Quaker Pictures*, 1892, p. 1.

Wethered of Baltimore, bought it in a curiosity shop near Trafalgar Square as a portrait of George Fox by Sir Peter Lely. It was said at the time to be of "undoubted authenticity". The dealer said he had bought it from a Friend in reduced circumstances who gave him its former history and could trace it traditionally to an earlier owner.¹ But none of this, apparently, was on record. After the death of John Wethered it was given to Swarthmore College where it now is. A lithographic drawing of it was published in America, and it has become widely known and used since it was reproduced in the *Journal* of George Fox, Cambridge, 1911, edition. This picture is now pronounced by one of the best authorities to be an 18th century painting, and in any case not the work of Lely.²

This picture may have been inscribed George Fox years before John Wethered bought it, but for any inexpert enthusiast there have always been many pitfalls. Some vendors will look about for a not too dissimilar picture on which to base a plausible identity for a portrait it is desired to sell. The sitter's name and a story if not a history can be added. When this painting was sold as "George Fox" in 1858 there existed two engravings, published some years earlier as portraits of George Fox, which might possibly have suggested an identity to a vendor.

These two prints, though not identical, are similar enough to each other to suggest that one derived from the other, or that they had a common origin. One of them published in 1838 states it is after a painting by Samuel Chinn (Plate 8). He was a portrait painter of the 1830-40 period about whom I have found nothing except that he used to exhibit at the Royal Academy about that time. I know nothing of his sources of information, or his reason for painting a head intended for George Fox; nor do we know whether the painting still exists. The other rather similar portrait is a lithograph drawn by Thomas Fairland. When Wilfred Whitten wrote in 1892 he described the engraving after Chinn as the generally accepted portrait of Fox,³ yet today if there is one such it is the Swarthmore College painting. The last seems to me a much more characterful work and to have been

¹ Whitten: *op. cit.*, pp. 2, 3.

² Letter (1948) in Friends House Library from Swarthmore College, quoting the opinions of H. Collins Baker and others.

³ Whitten: *op. cit.*, p. 4.

PLATE I
William Dillwyn
Page 1

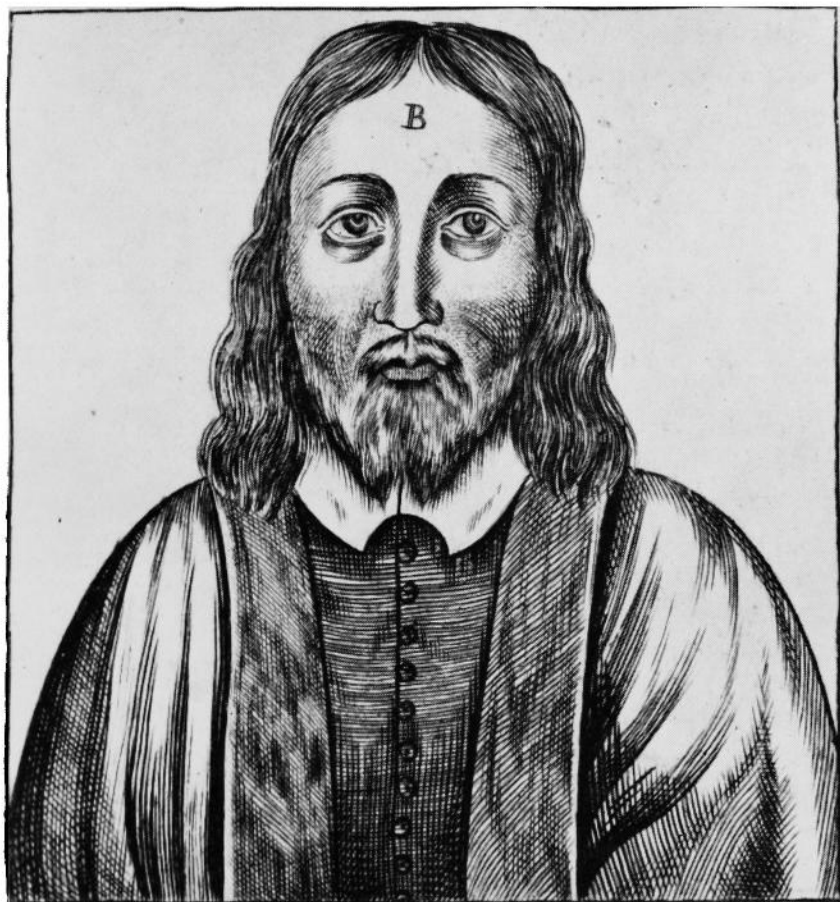


PLATE 2
James Nayler
Page 4



PLATE 3
James Nayler
Page 4

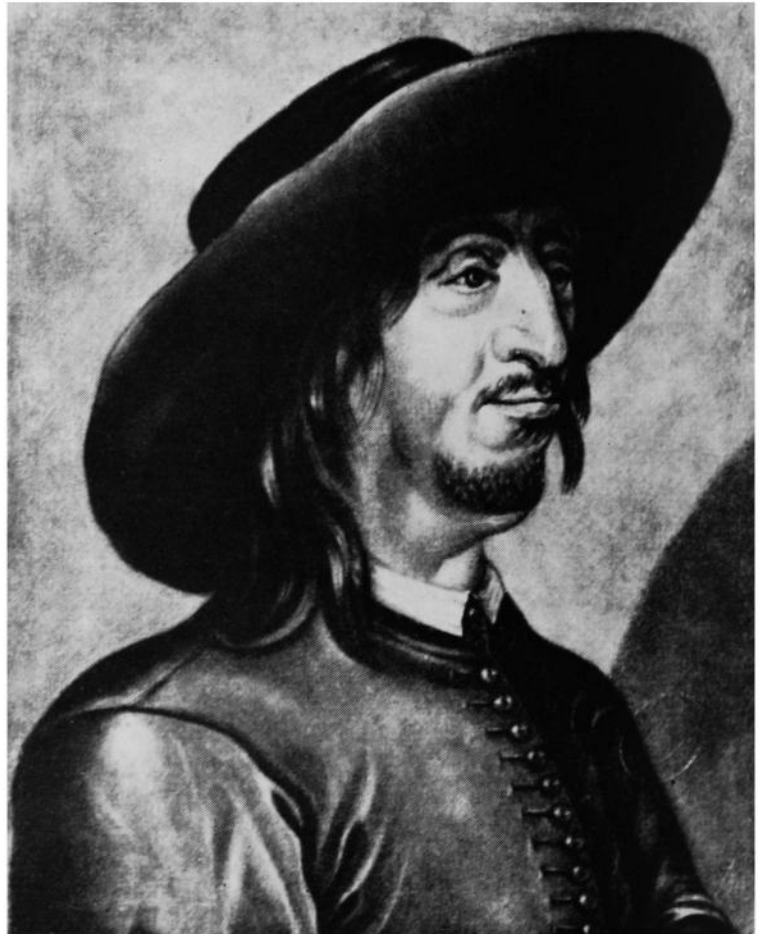


PLATE 4
James Nayler
Page 5

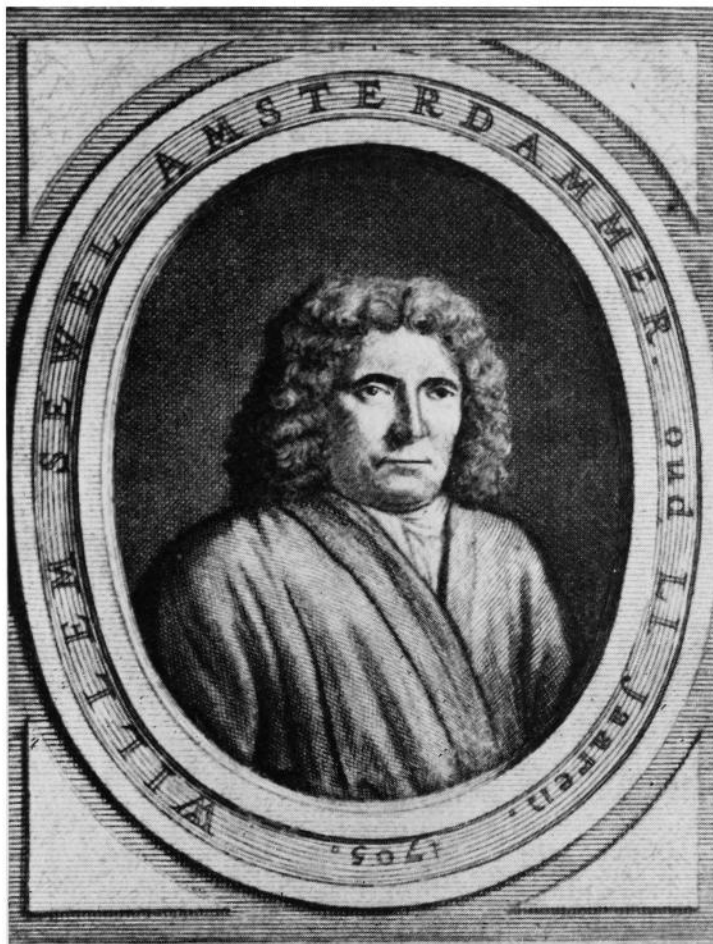


PLATE 5
William Sewel
Page 6



PLATE 6
George Fox
Page 7

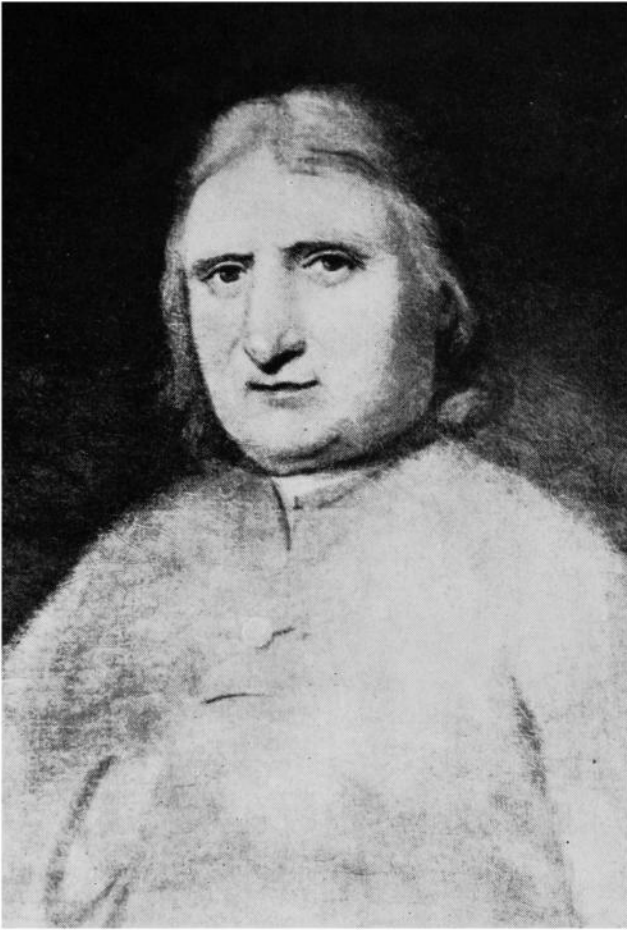


PLATE 7
George Fox
Page 7

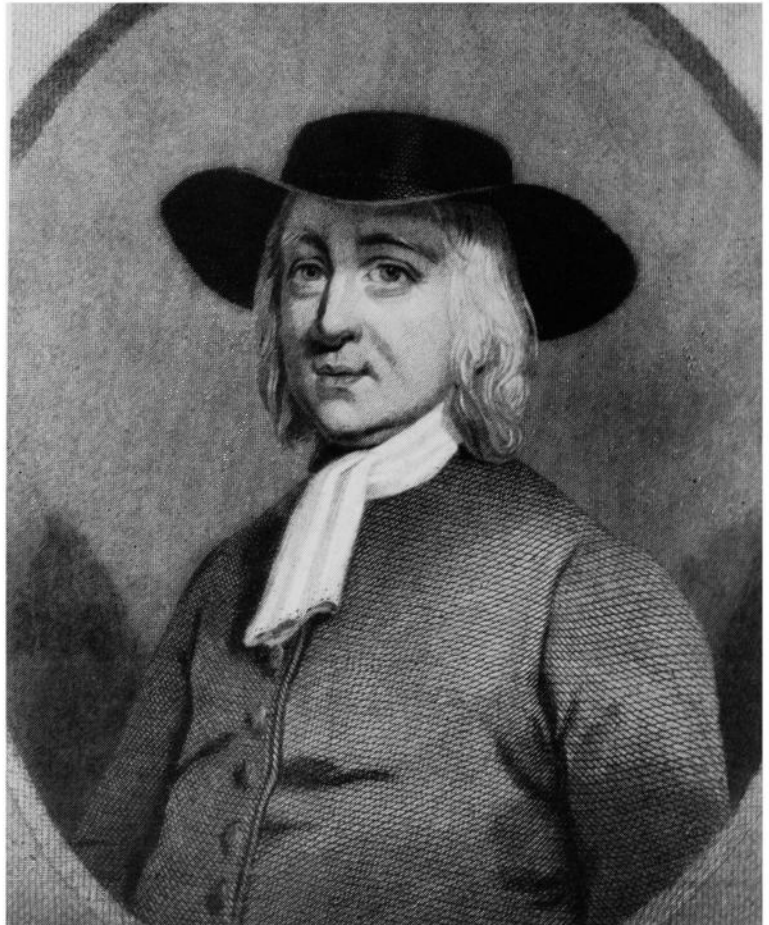


PLATE 8
George Fox
Page 8



PLATE 9
George Fox
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PLATE 10
William Penn
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PLATE II
William Penn
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PLATE I2
William Penn
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PLATE 13
William Penn
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PLATE 14
William Penn
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PLATE 15
William Penn
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PLATE 16
William Penn
Page 16

done from a living model, which Chinn's does not seem to be. But neither of them is anything like old enough to be an authentic life portrait of Fox.

The bronze bust of Fox at Friends House is recent enough for us to know about its origin, and, knowing it makes no claim to be literal, we can respect it simply for the degree of character it shows as an imaginative work. Several illustrations of it have been published in recent years (Plate 9). This bust by Alfred Turner was made about 1901. Its inception was I believe due to Robert Spence whose father commissioned it. Robert Spence gave it to the Society in 1906. Here we have a work, owing something to the Swarthmore College portrait, which had not then had the critical examination it has since received. I understand from Robert Spence that the young sculptor also used a mask of Oliver Cromwell. This I take to mean that he needed a model to help him to represent the anatomy of the head. This portrait I think meets with pretty general approval. I hope people do not think it is a life portrait. It is very much alive, it conveys the strength and dignity of Fox; though less successfully the tender side of his character. See also Appendix, p.19.

It is disappointing not to be able to establish any of these works as an actual portrayal of Fox himself; and the use of any of them as a representation of Fox should I think make clear its standing.

William Penn

No Friend can have been more depicted than William Penn, for he is a character of permanent interest, both in Quaker history and in that of England and America. There has been, as I think William Hull says, "a perennial demand for portraits of Penn". Most of the verbal descriptions of what William Penn looked like are I believe not by his contemporaries, but by biographers looking at one or other of the portraits, often so far from authoritative.

The only approach to a contemporary account that I know is in William Hull's *Topical Life of Penn* (p. 301), where he quotes, but gives no source, "An old woman, who said she saw him in Pennsylvania, declared that he was of rather short stature but the handsomest, best looking,

lively gentleman she had ever seen". We know also that he wore a wig because he lost his hair early in life. It would be interesting to hear of other contemporary descriptions of him. Samuel Pepys's remarks about him on his return from France tell us nothing about his physiognomy. Disregarding all imagined descriptions, though noting that there is evidence he was athletic in youth and portly in later years, let us consider some of the portraits that commonly pass for Penn.

The engraving in Plate 10 is the earliest published portrait of William Penn. It shows him at the portly period, with a somewhat large forehead, a nose rather short and tip-tilted, and a pronounced double chin. The chief attraction of this portrait is its authenticity. It was drawn in 1770 in Philadelphia, some fifty years after Penn's death, was engraved in London, and published in 1773, in the lifetime of William Penn's own son Thomas, and by the order of his grandson Richard, then acting governor of Pennsylvania. This Philadelphia advertisement of the engraving takes us back to the occasion.

An elegant engraving of William Penn first proprietor and founder of Pennsylvania. Designed by Mr. Du Simitière of this city, from a Busto done by Silvanus Bevan (being the only likeness extant of that truly great Man) and engraved by one of the first Artists in London, is to be had only of Mr. Du Simitière at his apartments at Mrs. Robinson's in Chestnut Street, opposite the Fountain Inn, and of the publisher of the Pennsylvania Magazine.¹

There must have been at least a few people then living who remembered William Penn himself.

Another engraving (by Smithers) of the drawing by Du Simitière was published in the *American Universal Magazine* for 2nd January, 1797, with a comment by Richard Penn that it was a good likeness.²

As we have just heard, the source or model for this engraved portrait is a bust by Silvanus Bevan (Plate 11). Bevan was a well-known London Friend, an apothecary, who was skilful in carving in ivory the portraits of his friends. Penn, more than thirty years his senior, knew Bevan and was present at his wedding in 1715.³ The story related by Benjamin Franklin, in a letter to Lord Kames in 1760, is that shortly after Penn's death in 1718 Lord Cobham wanted

¹ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, 1882, p. 115.

² S. G. Fisher: *The True William Penn*, 1900, p. 17.

³ The marriage certificate: photograph in Friends House Library.

to put a statue or bust of him among those of other famous men in his garden, and that, hearing of this, Bevan set himself to recollect Penn's features, made this carved ivory medallion and sent it to Lord Cobham, without any explanation. Lord Cobham recognized it at once, saying "this is Penn himself".¹ Bevan is believed to have carved three busts of Penn, but certainly two, more or less identical. One went to James Logan, Penn's secretary for the colony, one presumably remained with Lord Cobham, and one, from which this photograph was made, has always been and still is in the hands of direct descendants of Silvanus Bevan. It is here illustrated by the kindness of Mr. Michael Waterhouse who now owns it.

James Logan's copy, which was used as a model for the engraving described above, was unfortunately destroyed in a fire in Philadelphia in 1831. Du Simitière's drawing was again engraved as a frontispiece for volume I of Robert Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, 1797. Proud was an English Friend who emigrated to take over a school in Philadelphia. In 1750 he stayed with Silvanus Bevan in London, where he saw the bust, and learned from Bevan and from "other old men in England of the first character in the Society of Friends who had known Penn in their youth that this likeness was a real and a true one."² Several evidences therefore for this likeness come from the witness of Penn's contemporaries, besides the artist:—Lord Cobham, Robert Proud's acquaintances in London in 1750 and Penn's own son Thomas. For no other portrait of Penn than Bevan's is it possible to produce so much good evidence of authenticity, and the compatibility of any other portraits with this one must influence our judgement of them.

Plate 12, published in London by T. Stackhouse in 1824, is one of several engravings in the early 19th century, all of them based directly or indirectly on the Bevan carving. Here the original has been modified to present Penn rather younger and more lively. There is another in Watson's

¹ W. I. Hull: *Eight First Biographies of William Penn*, 1936, pp. 118-9, quoting J. Sparks ed.: *Works of Benjamin Franklin*, Boston, 1836, vol. vii, 187.

² Watson: *Annals of Philadelphia*, 1830 ed., p. 101, who presumably heard it from Proud. For many of the data about this portrait I am indebted to William Hull's *William Penn, a Topical Biography*, 1937. Where I have been able to go back to his sources, or others, they are mentioned in footnotes.

Annals of Philadelphia. It is noteworthy that at that time no other portrait seems to be mentioned in published works.

In the library at Friends House there are notes by Robert Pearsall Smith on the life-size marble bust which he gave to the Pennsylvania Historical Society in 1895. The photographs I have seen show a full-face rendering of the portrait which Bevan made in profile. Illustrations of this marble are sometimes in error labelled as Bevan's ivory; but the ivory, being in deep relief only, has no full-face aspect. This marble sculpture, Robert Pearsall Smith says, was sold about 1820 by a lady with the name of Penn, a great-grand-daughter of William Penn, to William Bryant. From his widow it passed to her second husband Thomas Blundell of Bromley, Kent, who many years later sold it to Robert Pearsall Smith.

I have found little about the sculpture done for Lord Cobham, referred to in Benjamin Franklin's letter. George Vertue, that industrious traveller and annotator on works of art in England, records in his notebooks that, in 1745, the statue of William Penn was in the temple of worthies in Lord Cobham's gardens at Stow.¹ William Penn is called "Sir William", but that was sometimes done after he became famous. Possibly more is known about it in Pennsylvania, but the question comes to mind, as to whether it can be the same that Robert Pearsall Smith gave to the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

The pair of portraits traditionally known as William Penn (Plate 13) and his wife, drawn in crayon by Francis Place (1647-1728), have lately been acquired by the Pennsylvania Historical Society. The artist is of course the maker of one of the Nayler portraits already considered. They are signed by the artist but they have no other identification on them.

Until they were sold at auction in 1957 to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania they had been in the family of Allan of Blackwell near Darlington for about two hundred years, except for one short interval of about twenty years from 1800, when they were in possession of Robert Surtees the Durham historian.

The earliest history of their ownership, which is important, is obscure. When Place died at York in 1728 he left a large collection of his own drawings, paintings and engravings.

¹ Walpole Society Vol. xxii (George Vertue No. iii) p. 133.

These his widow disposed of and, as Place was popular among his neighbours over the whole district, his works would no doubt become widely distributed. The Allan family was related to Place by marriage. George Allan, born in 1736 eight years after Place's death, was known as a collector and antiquary. He was a grandson of Place's first cousin William Pemberton.¹ George Allan owned these drawings through the latter part of the 18th century, and since then the ownership is known. But early corroboration, in record, of the tradition in the Allan family that the pictures represent Penn and his wife is lacking.

It is perfectly possible that William Penn sat to Place, either in York or elsewhere. We know Penn was in the north among Friends in 1676 and probably in 1686,² and his sister Margaret was married to Anthony Lowther of Marske-by-the-Sea, on the Yorkshire coast. Place was also sometimes in London, where he knew well Wenceslas Hollar the artist. George Vertue is the source of most of our information about Place. He mentions a considerable list of his portraits, but not Penn. There is a statement in the Dictionary of National Biography that Place drew Penn, and it probably derives from Surtees.³

What of the internal evidence of the pictures themselves? The man seems to be about fifty, and the woman apparently several years older. Penn and Gulielma Springett were both born in 1644 and she was 49 when she died in 1693. Can this represent her? All one can say is that it is possible. But it has become customary to call these pictures William and Hannah Penn, his second wife, and even to date them 1696, the year they were married. Penn was then 52 and Hannah was only about 26.⁴ It is hard to believe this represents her at that time of life, and one is driven to ask whether the two pictures belong together at all. A pair of painted portraits were copied from these in 1874 and sent to Philadelphia where they were placed in Independence Hall, as William and Hannah Penn.

When we consider whether the man is Penn, we have the help of the Bevan ivory, and it is interesting to see what

¹ Information on the Allan family kindly provided by Amy E. Wallis of Darlington.

² I. Ross: *Margaret Fell*, 1949, pp. 259, 343.

³ Cf. *Penna Mag. of Hist.*, 1957, p. 348.

⁴ *Penna Mag. of Hist.*, 1957, p. 76.

the art critic Roger Fry had to say about them. In a type-written document in Friends House Library are the views he expressed to Robert Pearsall Smith (also published in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, 1895, pp. 270-1).

Roger Fry accepted the Bevan carving as being a good likeness, giving the impression of having been done from life. On this point it may be remarked here that in spite of the tradition emanating from Benjamin Franklin's letter of 1760 (see p. 10), that Bevan did it from memory after Penn's death, to please Lord Cobham, it seems reasonable to suppose that at least one of Bevan's two or three carvings of Penn may have been done during the subject's life. Bevan is known to have made at various times about 30 different portraits in ivory of people he knew, and these remained in the family until the 19th century.

Roger Fry refers to the characteristics of Bevan's carving, the large and prominent forehead, the short protruding nose, with its small bone and large protruding nasal cartilage and the heavy double chin. The Place portrait on the other hand he describes as a totally different type of face—a small and rather retiring forehead, a large and massive nose which would give a straight or slightly aquiline profile, and a comparatively small lower jaw.

It has been suggested that this may be William Penn's father the admiral, but he died in 1670, rather soon to be a likely sitter to Francis Place. And it is noted by Roger Fry that Sir Peter Lely's portrait of Admiral Sir William Penn has features in common with the Bevan carving of his son. This strengthens, if need be, our confidence in Bevan's portrait; but it must I think leave us uncertain that this drawing by Place represents the founder of Pennsylvania. There was not so far as I know any published reproduction of it till J. W. Graham's *William Penn* in 1917. While this paper was nearing completion the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History* published (October 1957) an article by Mr. R. N. Williams describing the Place portraits, with reproductions of both of them, showing the artist's signature, and also of the Philadelphia example of the portrait in armour.

A few years ago a painting was offered for sale in a country antique shop as a portrait of William Penn, taken out of an old manor house in Warwickshire, which the vendor named. The picture was clean and newly varnished and it was stated

that the cleaning had revealed the name of William Penn in the top corner of the canvas along with the name of the supposed artist which was Wollaston. In London the picture was submitted to expert examination. A catalogue of the paintings in the house it came from revealed that in the 19th century there was there a portrait of a clergyman named Wollaston. Moreover this portrait was engraved and published in the 18th century, and it was manifestly the same person as this alleged William Penn. A very minute examination of the picture, aided by photography, revealed that the name William Penn on the canvas was one recently added. There is a full account of the matter by Henry J. Cadbury in *Friends Intelligencer*, Philadelphia, Vol. 104, 1947, pp. 492, 674.

The "Penn in armour" is now the favourite and most reproduced portrait. Do we know it is William Penn? To answer this question requires a careful investigation, for there are several versions. (Plates 14, 15, 16.)

The earliest documentary mention I have found is a very inferior engraving of it by J. Girtin, dated 11 Nov. 1820, copy in the library at Friends House. In 1833 Penn's grandson Granville Penn presented one of the paintings to the Pennsylvania Historical Society, His letter says it was painted when Penn was twenty-two, and he adds that "As we have in our family duplicates of this portrait, I have long been desirous of depositing one of them in the city which owes its origin to him".¹ This painting in Philadelphia is pronounced an 18th century work, and a copy. Two others are known. One probably belonged to Granville's brother John. When John Penn was Governor of the Isle of Portland he built a mansion in 1815 known (at first in jest) as Pennsylvania Castle, and there this painting remained until it was sold in London in 1916. I have not yet traced it later than that. Perhaps it is known in America. There is however a photograph of it in the National Portrait Gallery's files (Plate 14) from which it appears that the Pennsylvania Castle version was not an original painting from life, and may have been made about 1800 or even later. The article referred to above, in the *Pennsylvania Magazine* in October, 1957, quotes an expert view that it is a late 18th century painting.

Another copy, still in the family, belongs to a descendant

¹ *Penna Mag. of Hist.* 1957, p. 347.

of Granville Penn's sister Sophia, who married Rev. William Stuart later Archbishop of Armagh. This was for many years in the Stuart household at Tempsford Hall, Beds. It is reproduced here (Plate 15) by kindness of the owner, Mrs. Wynne. It is now deposited in Bristol City Art Gallery; and it has lately been examined at the National Portrait Gallery in London. In the course of restoration at some period it has been considerably overpainted and, in an expert's view, it does not now have the appearance of a portrait done from life. Would a radical cleaning reveal a 17th century painting underneath, possibly in such poor condition as to lead to much repainting? Only such investigation could give a definite answer. The following gives a hint that this painting may have been altered since 1900. There is a reproduction of a "Penn in armour", stated to be this painting, published in 1900 as the frontispiece in Sidney G. Fisher's book *The True William Penn* (Plate 16). It is different in several particulars from the painting as it is at present. Notably it has no inscription, and it is the inscription of course, giving the date of Penn's birth, which visibly connects the painting with Penn. Also it shows less hair, no rivets in the armour and no surrounding oval. Yet the neck-band, with its free ends in front, seems to be identical in all detail with the painting as it is today. The description may of course be wrong, but if the reproduction is correctly labelled, this suggests a restoration since 1900, a restoration which might also have served to bring it into similarity, in the matter of the inscription etc., with the other copies of the painting, often engraved and published. At all events in 1900 there existed a version without inscription, and the "Stuart" version was reputedly the model for the other two. In 1907 it was again reproduced, appearing as it is now, in Mrs. Grant's *William Penn Quaker and Courtier*. There is a slight discrepancy there in the reproduction of the inscription, but this is accounted for by the negative having been touched up and a mis-spelling introduced. This negative is preserved at the National Portrait Gallery. The inscription which reads "Pax Quaeritur Bello" is the motto of Oliver Cromwell, as Henry Cadbury has pointed out; and this can hardly strengthen the claim that this is Penn painted soon after the Restoration.¹

¹ Friends Intelligencer, 1945, 42.

When we consider the compatibility of this portrait with that by Bevan there is the difficulty of comparing a portrait of a man aged 22 with a portrait of a man aged 70 or more. In such a matter a strict detachment is as important as the critic's technical knowledge, and too many appraisals of this and other portraits have assumed the answer to the question. Roger Fry in his notes on the matter regards the armour portrait as

a very much conventionalized version of a face that might have grown later into the ill-proportioned but characteristic face of the two medallions. [I.e. the Bevan ivory and its successor in marble.] The nose does protrude at the base, but the nasal bone is better marked and less retiring and the double chin has not yet developed. But it would be rash to attach much importance to the actual forms, in a likeness which was clearly done to a fixed formula, as is shown by the meaningless drawing of the eyes and mouth.¹

At least the armour portrait and the Bevan carving are not incompatible. Considering the attraction of presenting Penn as a heroic youth in armour, it is not surprising that this picture superseded the other in popularity. But why did it not do so sooner? The prints derived from the Bevan carving went on for fifty years, from 1773 to 1824.

What is surprising and hard to account for is, if the armour portrait was known to the Penns at an early date which would make its authenticity unquestionable, as the Bevan carving is, how did it come to remain apparently unrecorded and unpublished for so long. It does not seem likely that the Penns were responsible for the very poor engraving referred to on page 15 above. The earliest publication of it connected with the Penns that I know is in Granville Penn's *Life of Admiral Sir William Penn*, 1833. There may be evidence for their earlier ownership but I have not yet found it. Benjamin Franklin's letter to Lord Kames in 1760, recounting Lord Cobham's receipt of Bevan's carving, also says that Lord Cobham had already enquired of the Penn family for a picture of William Penn, but could find none.²

Thomas Clarkson, who wrote a two-volume life of Penn published in 1813, knew about the Bevan carving.³ Clarkson

¹ *Penna. Mag. of Hist.* 1895, pp. 270-1.

² *Supra*, p. 11, n. 1.

³ Clarkson: *William Penn*, Vol. ii, 347-8.

also says there is no portrait of Penn taken during his lifetime. Evidently he had not heard of the armour portrait, which we know was owned in the Penn family twenty years later. One would not expect Clarkson to make his statement without some enquiry. Penn's grandchildren John, Granville and Sophia were all in active life, and each of them was later owner of one of the three armour portraits. The fact that when Penn's son Thomas commissioned Benjamin West to paint the Treaty picture in 1771, the painter refers to Bevan's medallion but not to any armour portrait, again suggests the possibility or even the likelihood that the armour portrait was not then known in the family.¹ A portrait of the founder at the age of twenty-two would surely have been a better guide to what he looked like at thirty-eight in 1682, than Bevan's work done about the time of Penn's death at the age of 74. An unreserved acceptance of the armour portrait seems to me to require a more certain verdict on the date of the earliest version of the painting than we yet have, and further evidence of its early ownership in the Penn family. The possibility cannot at present be dismissed that the earliest example of this picture was acquired by one of the Penns late in the 18th or even in the early 19th century. The version of the armour portrait hanging in distinguished company in the hall at Christ Church, Oxford, is a modern painting copied in 1909 for a commission by Haverford College who presented it to Penn's college.

There is another reputed portrait of William Penn as a boy which hangs at Holker Hall in Lancashire. The probable authorship of the work however (it is in the style of Mary Beale) puts it too late for Penn to have been the sitter, and it is likely to be his nephew William Lowther, who would be of the right age at the picture's probable date.² William Lowther was the son of Penn's sister Margaret and when he grew up he married into the Preston family who owned Holker Hall, and he lived there. I like to think there is a family likeness to his uncle William Penn and there seems to me to be here some resemblance to the boy's grandfather the admiral.

There are a number of portraits supposed to represent

¹ Letter by Benjamin West, see *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association, Penna.* 1941, pp. 114-15.

² National Portrait Gallery opinion, from a photograph.

William Penn which I have heard of but have not included, either because their claims seem so slightly based, or because they are clearly derived from one of the three dealt with above. There may be other portraits or other evidence, and any new information will be welcomed.

APPENDIX

A "FOX" PHYSIOGNOMY

The persistence of facial characteristics through many generations of a family is a fairly common occurrence, and I have come across several instances of faces today closely resembling ancestral portraits from the 16th, 17th or 18th centuries.

The Fox family of Leicestershire is an extensive one. I have known two men named Fox, both traditionally connected with "Fox the Quaker", but unknown to each other. A strong square jaw and broad face with marked cheek-bones are common to both men. In both these families there persists a traditional "Fox" physiognomy having these characteristics.

One of these two men is likely (from such evidence as I have, though incomplete) to be descended from George Fox's brother John. The bronze bust at Friends House has sometimes reminded me of the other, whom I knew when I was a boy, John Fox, farmer, of Lubenham, Leicestershire.