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# Encouragement Exceeding Expectation

## The Lloyd-Cadwalader Patronage of Charles Willson Peale

*Karol A. Schmiegel*

LATE IN THE SPRING of 1769 Charles Willson Peale returned to Annapolis. After two years spent in Benjamin West's London studio, the twenty-eight-year-old artist arrived home with the knowledge that one patron in England already desired a number of paintings. Who else would want his pictures? Would the eleven men who had financed his trip abroad request their portraits? Would they recommend him to their influential friends and relatives? Would he succeed in this, his second career? The aim of this essay is to discuss the patronage of Charles Willson Peale during the first crucial years after his return to Annapolis from England. From a perusal of most histories of colonial American painting, it can be concluded that an artist was selected either because his work was obviously superior to whatever else was available or because he had no competitors. Presumably the subject of a portrait sat—and paid the bill—but did no more. The role of the eighteenth-century patron in America largely has been ignored, primarily because so few of those commissioning works of art functioned as patrons. The usual American customer, in John Singleton Copley's estimation, regarded portrait painting as no more than any other useful trade.<sup>1</sup> Only a few colonists recognized art as distinct from a craft, ordered a number of paintings that included subjects other than portraits, and thereby promoted the career of the professional artist. The activities of these colonial patrons were not on the scale of the Catholic church, contemporary European mercantile families, or nobility, but were the first American manifestations of an interest

in art for its own sake that blossomed into the commissions and collections of the nineteenth century.

Shortly after his return from England, Peale established artist-patron relationships with three men—John Cadwalader (1742–86) of Philadelphia and his two brothers-in-law, Edward Lloyd (1744–96) and Richard Bennett Lloyd (1750–87), both of Talbot County, Maryland. The three commissioned at least sixteen paintings from Peale. A study of these, the reasons why they were ordered, the attitudes of the recipients, and their relationships with the painter and his other patrons should provide insight into the beginnings of Peale's successful career and into the attitudes of affluent Americans toward art and artists.

Peale's was not the only important arrival in Annapolis in the late spring of 1769. Robert Eden, the new royal governor, brought with him to the capital city of the colony clothes and furnishings in the latest English fashion. His additions to, and redecoration of, his house encouraged Marylanders to build their own new and lavish townhouses, many designed by the English-trained architect William Buckland. Eden thought of himself as an art collector, for he owned a portrait of his family's benefactor, Charles I, one of his own patron (and brother-in-law) Frederick Calvert, Lord Baltimore the sixth, some landscapes by Francis Smith, and numerous city views. Eden's "Picture Parlor" may have inspired the wealthy and prominent of Maryland to acquire paintings for their own homes. The governor gained and retained his personal popularity even with those who were growing antagonistic to the royal rule he represented. During his six years in Annapolis, Eden enjoyed much hospitality and soon became a leader among the fashionable party-going, horseracing set. His assistant, William Eddis, recorded that "assem-

<sup>1</sup> Copley to [Benjamin West or Capt. R. J. Bruce], n.d. [1767?], in "Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham," *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* 71 (1914): 65–66.

blies and theatrical representations were the amusements of the evening, at which the company exhibited a fashionable and brilliant appearance." Annapolis was likened to Bath, where the latest styles of London were instantly adopted.<sup>2</sup>

The man who had been responsible for Peale's trip to England was John Beale Bordley (1727–1804), a lawyer and agriculturist who had attended the Chestertown, Maryland, school where Peale's father had taught. In 1767, after studying a painting left for his perusal by the aspiring artist, Bordley decided to help Peale gain some proper training and convinced ten other men, all on the Governor's Council, to join him in contributing the money that financed Peale's studies in London. He also encouraged his half brother, Edmond Jenings, a lawyer with an independent fortune and a former Maryland resident, to look out for Peale as well as for Bordley's own two sons, Thomas and Mathias, who were to attend school in England.<sup>3</sup> During Peale's sojourn Jenings commissioned the portrait of William Pitt, earl of Chatham, as a gift for Richard Henry Lee of Virginia. The painting, whose two versions were completed in 1768 in London, served as the basis for the mezzotints Peale made to sell after he returned to America. It was Jenings who sent Peale home to Annapolis in 1769 with orders for several paintings—portraits of his friends Bordley, John Dickinson, and the Charles Carrolls of Carrollton—and specified that the pictures include views with flora that would proclaim their American origin.

First to be completed but last to be shipped was the 1770 three-quarter-length portrait of Dickinson with the falls of the Schuylkill River in the background. Bordley's portrait, sent to Jenings in April of 1771, showed his house and representations of his agrarian interests in the background. In the foreground, nearer the sitter, were a statue of Justice, legal documents, and the poisonous jimsonweed. The painting of Charles and Mary Carroll and their daughter, although begun, was not completed. Instead Peale substituted a half-length portrait of Mr. Carroll and another of Mrs. Carroll, each of which included dogwood blossoms. In the summer of 1771 Jenings

received these two, as well as an unsolicited painting of Peale's wife, entitled *Rachel Weeping*, and the Bordley portrait.<sup>4</sup>

An enduring patron and friend, Bordley remained Peale's strongest supporter. The two men painted landscapes together, and the professional kept the amateur's paints in order. Bordley had requested two pictures while Peale was in London: a copy of an English portrait and a miniature of his sons, which were done in 1767. In 1770 Bordley's unmarried sister Elizabeth sat for a portrait that included her Annapolis house in the background. Peale executed a picture of Sarah Turner, her companion, as a pendant. In 1771 Peale produced an idealized double portrait of Bordley's sons dressed as archers in a romantic landscape. Mathias was still at Eton, and earlier that year Thomas had died. This painting remained as an exhibition piece in Peale's Annapolis studio until the artist moved to Philadelphia in 1776. Peale also executed a portrait of Bordley's daughter Henrietta Maria (1773), miniatures of the lawyer's stepchildren John and Sarah Mifflin (1776), possibly a miniature of Bordley (1775 or 1776), a portrait of his second wife, Sarah (1789), and a bust of Bordley (1790). Peale later made two replicas of the bust and in 1808 completed a portrait of Bordley's daughter Elizabeth, begun earlier that year by Peale's son Rembrandt.<sup>5</sup>

Of the other ten subscribers to Peale's study trip, five, whose portraits had been executed by John Hesselius earlier, did not commission paintings from Peale. Horatio Sharpe was no longer governor and was living in reduced financial circumstances by the time Peale returned to Maryland. Robert Lloyd, Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, and Thomas Sprigg did not patronize Peale. Benjamin Tasker had died in 1768, and Thomas Ringgold died in 1772. The widow and son of the latter did have their portraits executed by Peale, probably in 1773. In 1770 and 1771 Charles Carroll, Barrister, required a miniature of himself, possibly one of his wife, Margaret Tilghman Carroll, and full-size portraits of each of them, which included views of their home, Mount Clare (near Baltimore). In 1788 for their nephew and heir, Nicholas Carroll, Peale made copies of these two large paintings. He executed at least two landscapes for the barrister in 1775. During the winter of 1770–71 Daniel Dulaney

<sup>2</sup> Rosamund Randall Beirne, "Portrait of a Colonial Governor: Robert Eden," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 45, no. 3 (Sept. 1950): 153–66; William Eddis, *Letters from America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 54–58.

<sup>3</sup> Charles Coleman Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures by Charles Willson Peale* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1952), pp. 36–37; Charles Coleman Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1947), 1: 66–67.

<sup>4</sup> Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures*, pp. 172–73, 37, 49, 68; Charles Coleman Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale with Patron and Populace* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1969), pp. 55–56.

<sup>5</sup> Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures*, pp. 36–38, 87, 141, 213. See also quotations in nn. 11 and 14.

commissioned Peale to make portraits of his daughter Ann and son Benjamin and may have recommended Peale to his half brother Lloyd Dulaney, whose picture Peale also executed that same winter. Benedict Calvert wanted portraits of his children; about 1770 Peale painted Eleanor in her riding costume, and Benedict's portrait was taken about 1773, probably just before his departure for school in England. Charles Carroll of Carrollton ordered a miniature of himself in 1770 and probably a double portrait of his daughters, Elizabeth and Mary in 1775.<sup>6</sup> Thus only sixteen commissions, other than the eleven for Bordley, came from the group of men whom Peale regarded as potential patrons. He had to look elsewhere for additional commissions.

John Cadwalader was not among the group who had funded Peale's study with Benjamin West, but he was a close friend of Bordley and the favorite cousin of John Dickinson. Cadwalader seems to have become acquainted with Peale's work during the summer of 1770 and immediately became interested in the artist. Cadwalader first commissioned a miniature of his wife, Elizabeth, and some landscapes. Subsequently he ordered portraits of his mother, father, sister, brother, a miniature of himself, a group portrait of himself with his wife and his eldest daughter, Anne, and a copy of a portrait of his mother-in-law.<sup>7</sup> With these nine commissions, all occurring within a space of three years, Cadwalader seems to have provided Peale with more orders than any other individual except John Beale Bordley.

John Cadwalader was a man of fashionable tastes and the elder son of a prestigious family. His father, Thomas, was a physician, a founder of the Pennsylvania Hospital, an active member of the American Philosophical Society, and a trustee of the College of Philadelphia.<sup>8</sup> John and his brother Lambert at-

tended the college and furthered their education by a trip abroad. In 1763, shortly after their return, the two established a successful business as importers of dry goods. John Cadwalader's marriage in September 1768 to twenty-six-year-old Elizabeth Lloyd (daughter of Edward Lloyd of Wye, Talbot County, Maryland) added considerably to the merchant's financial resources, for Miss Lloyd had already received property valued at £10,000, including a sizable farm that she managed herself. The couple acquired a house on Second Street in the Society Hill section of Philadelphia and undertook a major redecoration program that made their home one of the most lavish townhouses in the city. Abiding by the nonimportation agreements, the Cadwaladers commissioned woodwork and a large quantity of furniture from local craftsmen who excelled in the elaborately carved Chippendale style. Robert Kennedy, a local merchant, supplied them with prints displaying a variety of subjects from the Bible, classical mythology, the English theater, and romantic peasant scenes.<sup>9</sup> In addition to the engravings Cadwalader wanted paintings—fashionable, to be sure, but of an American family and of American scenes. He saw a potential protégé in Charles Willson Peale: a new and aspiring artist whom Cadwalader could sponsor in Philadelphia. He knew that Peale had acquired the necessary technical competence and a knowledge of current fashions in the London studio of the American-born master Benjamin West and now sought patrons whose commissions would support him and his family. Another bond between the prospective patron and artist was an agreement on the necessity of the colonies attaining relief from the taxes imposed by England. Cadwalader had signed the nonimportation agreement in 1765, and Peale had joined the Sons of Liberty in Maryland in 1764.

In Annapolis and Philadelphia Peale was not without competitors. By 1769 John Hessellius, who in 1762 had given Peale a few lessons in painting, lived near the Maryland capital and still accepted a limited number of commissions. Matthew Pratt, a West pupil, after returning to Pennsylvania in 1768 executed a number of portraits for leading Philadelphians, such as William Hamilton, Samuel Powel, Thomas Willing, and John Dickinson. Although Pratt

<sup>6</sup> Beirne, "Portrait of a Colonial Governor," p. 159; Sellers, *With Patron and Populace*, pp. 76–77, 56; Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures*, pp. 47–50, 60, 71–72; Peale to Charles Carroll, Barrister, Apr. 11, 1775, Peale Letterbook, American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia (hereafter APS), vol. 1, p. 49: "I have been at work on your other Landscape and I hope to have it ready for the figures by next Week, when I shall send them to Annapolis by Mrs. Peale."

<sup>7</sup> Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures*, pp. 44–56, 61–62. The copy of Cadwalader's mother-in-law's portrait is not included in either of the other two books by the same author; Peale mentions it in a letter of November 1772 to John Beale Bordley: "Mr. Cadwalader is a good deal disappointed in your not coming up, he would be glad to see you here. . . . I must copy a piece of Mrs. Cadwallader's Mother" (Peale Letterbook, vol. 1, p. 34, APS).

<sup>8</sup> Allen Johnson, ed., *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. 3 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), p. 400.

<sup>9</sup> Nicholas B. Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur in Philadelphia: The House and Furniture of General John Cadwalader* (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1964), pp. 2–3, 37, 49–50. A list of the titles of these engravings shows the range of the Cadwaladers' taste in pictures.

took a brief trip abroad in the spring of 1770, went to New York City in 1772, and to Virginia in 1773, his residence remained Philadelphia, and he continued to paint portraits. Henry Benbridge, after studying first in Italy and later in West's studio, returned from London in October of 1770. His stay in Philadelphia was brief, and by 1772 he had moved to Charleston, South Carolina, with his wife, the miniature painter Hetty Sage. William Williams, Jr., was painting in Philadelphia from 1767 until 1775, but his weak pictures were based on engravings and did not compare with Peale's elegant likenesses. Pierre Eugene du Simitière, absent from Philadelphia only between 1772 and 1774, remained active until his death in 1784; however, his interest in natural history and the American Philosophical Society may have left him short of time to compete with Peale for portrait commissions. He did execute some miniature drawings and pastel pictures during this period.<sup>10</sup> Thus Peale was not without competitors, two of whom had received their training from the same master as Peale.

Despite the availability of other established artists in Philadelphia, John Cadwalader turned to Peale during the summer of 1770. By early September, Peale had completed the miniature of Elizabeth Cadwalader; however, the artist informed Cadwalader, "Your Landscapes are not begun. Mr Bordley has expected me over to the Island [Wye] some time, and I intend to paint your Landscapes there if I can find views I think will look well in painting. I can then amuse Mr. Bordley with a part of the art which he is exceedingly fond of." The commission of the miniature was not at all extraordinary, but landscapes were not the usual product of American artists in the eighteenth century. Most commonly used for overmantels, landscapes were often ordered from England to fit the space available or purchased from European artists like Alexander Stewart of Edinburgh, who

worked in Philadelphia during 1769. The landscape commission may have presented difficulties to Peale. Seven months later, in 1771 he explained: "I hope you will pardon my great neglect of your Landscapes for really too much diffidence prevented my Attempts after nature had lost her green mantle. The pieces you get from England I hope will be very clever[.] I could not promise myself to paint anything of that way."<sup>11</sup>

Cadwalader's waste book for 1770 shows £110 credited to Peale. This generous payment, made before the commissioned paintings were completed, portended a successful career in Philadelphia and must have been a major impetus in Peale's early decision to move there as soon as he had fulfilled his obligations in Annapolis.<sup>12</sup>

John Cadwalader intended the portraits of the members of his family to hang in his front parlor. Martha Cadwalader (1740-91), later Mrs. John Dagworthy, was shown standing with her right hand holding her drapery and her left arm resting on a carved plinth supporting fruit. Lambert Cadwalader (1743-1823) was depicted standing also with his elbow resting on the elaborately carved crest rail of a side chair owned by his brother, below an oval landscape painting and with an outdoor scene in the right background. Each of the elder Cadwaladers was represented seated, the doctor holding a book and his wife Hannah sitting at a tea table in front of a window. Three of these paintings were probably delivered before March 15, 1771, when Cadwalader

<sup>11</sup> Peale to Cadwalader, Sept. 7, 1770, Peale Letterbook, vol. 1, p. 6, APS; Stewart advertisement, *Pennsylvania Journal* (Philadelphia), July 13, 1769; Peale to Cadwalader, Mar. 22, 1771, Peale Letterbook, vol. 1, p. 10, APS.

<sup>12</sup> Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur*, p. 47; Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale*, 1:95; Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures*, pp. 20-21, illustrates Peale's record of his paintings and their prices. This list reports the price of Dr. Cadwalader's portrait at £12.12.0, his wife Hannah's and their son Lambert's half-lengths together at £25.4.0, and the miniatures of John and his wife together at £21.0.0 for a total of £58.16.0. Assuming Martha Cadwalader's picture (signed and dated 1771) also cost £12.12.0 the £25.14.0 remaining of the £110 was probably meant as payment for the landscapes. If these were not delivered, possibly the portrait of John, Elizabeth, and Anne Cadwalader was executed instead.

Sellers interprets the entry for Lambert's and Hannah's pictures as being of the John Cadwalader family. His assumption seems incorrect for two reasons: (1) other paintings containing more than one figure have the number of subjects written in the margin (e.g., "3" next to the Lloyd group) and (2) the entry, "Son & wife 1/2 lengths," is indented under Thomas Cadwalader's entry and implies the people are the wife and son of the doctor, especially since the next entry, "Mr. J. Do. & wife Mins," is at the margin line and suggests a new person and his wife.

<sup>10</sup> Richard K. Doud, "John Hesselius, Maryland 'Limner,'" *Winterthur Portfolio* 5, ed. Richard K. Doud (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1969), pp. 130-42; George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, *The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 515; National Portrait Gallery, *Henry Benbridge* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1971), p. 18; Edgar P. Richardson, "William Williams: A Dissenting Opinion," *American Art Journal* 4, no. 1 (Spring 1972): 18-21; E. P. Richardson, "James Claypoole, Junior, Re-Discovered," *Art Quarterly* 33, no. 2 (Summer 1970): 159-74; Paul G. Sifton, "Pierre Eugene du Simitière: Collector in Revolutionary America" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1960), pp. 457-61, 582-84.

purchased frames from James Reynolds, but which three is uncertain. Peale finished the group portrait and exhibited in his studio during the summer of 1772.<sup>13</sup>

Although Cadwalader recommended Peale's works to his cousin John Dickinson, it cannot be said that the Philadelphian was solely responsible for his two Lloyd brothers-in-laws' requests for portraits. During the late summer and fall of 1770 Cadwalader and the Lloyds were involved with the settlement of the estate of the senior Edward Lloyd, who had died January 27, 1770, and in the ensuing winter Richard Bennett Lloyd stayed in Philadelphia as a house guest of his sister and brother-in-law, Elizabeth and John Cadwalader. There was ample opportunity for John Cadwalader to urge his wife's brothers to engage Peale. However, the nudge that actually effected a commission was apparently provided by John Bordley. In March 1771 Peale suggested to Bordley that Mrs. Lloyd might want a miniature painted during the artist's impending visit in the neighborhood. Elizabeth Tayloe Lloyd apparently agreed, and, as had been the case with the Cadwaladers, Peale's first work for the Lloyds was a miniature of the wife, which likewise resulted in orders for additional pictures. The relative success in obtaining new commissions surprised even Peale:

Since my return to America the encouragement and patronage I have met with exceed my most sanguine expectation, not only in Maryland, which is my native place but also in Philadelphia I have had considerable business, for which I was very generously rewarded, and my vanity much flattered by the general approbation which my performance hath hitherto met with.

The people here have a growing taste for the arts, and are becoming more and more fond of encouraging their progress amongst them. I fondly flatter myself they will here find patronage, and an Asylum, when oppression and tyranny shall perhaps banish them from seats where they now flourish.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur*, p. 47; Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures*, pp. 45-46, 61-62. The two authors disagree on the dating of the portraits of Dr. and Mrs. Thomas Cadwalader and of their son Lambert. Sellers suggests ca. 1772. Since the portrait of Martha Cadwalader is dated 1771, Reynolds's account is for three frames, and none of these paintings shows the interior of the Cadwalader house, it would seem that the portraits of Martha and her parents were completed by early 1771. Because the paintings of the John Cadwalader family and of Lambert include new furnishings in the house, it is logical that they were executed at approximately the same time, i.e., before July 29, 1772, when the group portrait was on exhibition in Peale's studio.

<sup>14</sup> Peale to Cadwalader, Mar. 22, 1771: "Your kind letter of post came safe to hand wherein you are pleased to offer me your

Edward Lloyd (1744-96) and Richard Bennett Lloyd (1750-87) were members of a family already prominent in Maryland for a hundred years. The first Edward Lloyd (died 1696) arrived from Wales via Virginia before 1650. His grandson served from 1709 to 1714 as governor of the colony. Thus began a two-hundred-year-long tradition by which the eldest son in every generation (invariably named Edward) held political office in Maryland. The Lloyd landholdings were extensive and wealth considerable by the time Edward Lloyd (1711-70) died. His will of 1750 described its writer's intentions for his family. The children—Elizabeth (born 1741), Edward (born 1744), and the baby Richard (born 1750)—under the supervision of a tutor were to learn "such Languages as they are capable of Receiving and that he is Master of." At age twelve the sons were to be sent "home to England to such school as may be most fitting to perfect them in their education." They were to remain abroad to attend the university and then to study law at the Inns of Court. The father intended to support both sons in England until they received degrees or reached the age of twenty-five. Elizabeth was to be sent to the best school in Annapolis or Philadelphia for a few years.<sup>15</sup> It is uncertain whether Edward received part of his education in England, though it is known that Richard clearly did. Neither son chose a legal career. Information about Elizabeth's education is minimal; possibly she did go to boarding school.

By 1771 Edward Lloyd was married to Elizabeth Tayloe, daughter of John Tayloe, of Mount Airy, Richmond County, Virginia, and was the father of a two-year-old daughter, Anne. He had finally settled his own father's estate and agreed on an equal division with his brother, Richard, and his sister's

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Mr. Dickinsons Patronage which I most thankfully receive and shall ever have a gratefull Heart for the Honour you do me, and the favour I have received, and will make what haste I can to take this journey" (Peale Letterbook, vol. 1, p. 10, APS); Wainwright, *Colonial Grandeur*, pp. 56-57, records Richard Bennett Lloyd's presence in the Cadwalader household in January 1771. A receipt in the Cadwalader Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (hereafter HSP), notes that Lloyd's goods and luggage were shipped to Cadwalader in October; Peale to Bordley, Mar. 10, 1771: "I have some thoughts of paying you a Visit in a few Days to put your Paints in order. . . . If Mr. Lloyd should want a Miniature and I have Time and your Permission, or any other small piece that will not prolong my stay more than one week, it will be doing me a service" (Peale Letterbook, vol. 1, pp. 9-10, APS); Peale to Franklin(?), Apr. 2, 1771(?), as cited in Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale*, 1:99.

<sup>15</sup> Lloyd Papers, ms. 2001, Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore (hereafter MHS).

husband, John Cadwalader. Edward Lloyd retained the family home at Wye. Within the year he would be elected to the state legislature, purchase Samuel Chase's scarcely begun Annapolis house, engage William Buckland to complete it, and watch his imported mare win the September Jockey Club purse of 100 guineas. Lloyd's second child, Rebecca, would be born late in October, and this impending event probably prompted the commissioning of his wife's miniature, which in turn led to the painting of one of the most successful and most "English" group portraits by Charles Willson Peale.<sup>16</sup>

Like the John Cadwaladers, the Edward Lloyds insisted upon being up to date. Their tastes may have been influenced by Governor Robert Eden, but they relied on Mathias Gale, a trusted London agent, to keep them apprised of the latest fancy. Even the selection of English-trained William Buckland to complete the building and the elaborate decoration of the Annapolis house indicated Edward Lloyd's intention to be fashionable. The results of Buckland's labors were elaborately carved mantels, interior shutters, volutes, overdoors, and friezes, all as stylish as the architect's talent and collection of English design books could make them. The second-floor hall boasted niches for sculpture. The relatively plain exterior with its central pedimented projection was easily visible, for Lloyd's was the only three-story house in Annapolis.<sup>17</sup> Quite possibly Edward Lloyd saw it not only as the finest house in the capital but also as the rival of his brother-in-law's Philadelphia townhouse.

From such a concern for fashion, the Lloyds made the logical choice of Charles Willson Peale to be their artist. English-trained, like Buckland, he had come from London recently enough to know the current style of painting. His pictures had been exhibited there, but in America he was as yet recognized by only a few connoisseurs. Thus, by engaging Peale, the Lloyds would obtain portraits by an artist worthy of their notice. Who else was there? Lloyds of an earlier generation had patronized John Hesselius (ca. 1728-77), whose portrait of James Hollyday was at Wye and who had executed portraits of Colonel and Mrs. Robert Lloyd, Queen Anne County cousins (ca. 1761).<sup>18</sup> Hesselius's formula recalled the work of

Robert Feke in the 1740s and of John Wollaston in the 1750s. To engage another English-trained artist, the Lloyds would have had to look to Pratt or Benbridge in Philadelphia. Peale was close at hand and beginning to enjoy the attention of prominent Marylanders, friends like Bordley and both of the Carroll families.

The group portrait (Fig. 1) of the Edward Lloyd family was Peale's second-attempted and first successful conversation piece. This characteristically English composition required that the group be depicted informally in familiar surroundings, such as their library, their park, or with their property in the background; that only the family, with the possible inclusion of a few intimate friends, be portrayed; and that each figure be engaged in customary pursuit. After a twenty-year hiatus, the informal family group portrait was revived in England around 1766, at which time the royal family commissioned one by John Zoffany. Peale had studied conversation pieces at the Free Society of Artists' 1768 exhibition in London and would have noted the popular features used to express the overall theme of domestic harmony. The Lloyds probably chose a group portrait because it was the current English fashion. Some years earlier, however, John Wollaston had painted Mrs. Lloyd's mother with a younger sister. The Lloyds saw this painting at the Tayloe home Mount Airy when they visited in the spring of 1771, and it, too, may have prompted them shortly after their return to Wye to commission a portrait that would emphasize the family group.<sup>19</sup>

That Peale's first attempt at a conversation piece—the portrait for Edmond Jenings of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Carroll of Carrollton and their daughter—was not successful and was abandoned was not surprising. American artists rarely produced a composition containing more than one, or at the most, two figures. Before his work on *The Lloyd Family*, Peale had completed only three pictures that included two figures: *Mrs. James Arbuckle and Son* (1766), *Mrs.*

*Eastern Shore of Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1962), p. 101; Doud, "John Hesselius," p. 149.

<sup>19</sup> Sacheverell Sitwell, *Conversation Pieces: A Study of English Domestic Portraits and Their Painters* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1936), p. 9; Alice Winchester, "English Conversation Pieces from the Mellon Collection," *Antiques* 83, no. 4 (Apr. 1963): 444; Ellis Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain 1530-1790* (3d ed., Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1969), p. 219; other examples of the conversation piece that may have influenced Peale can be seen in Mary Webster, *Francis Wheatley* (London: Paul Mellon Foundation for British Art, 1970), figs. 28-30; Wheatley used a studio prop musical instrument. The portrait by Wollaston is still at Mount Airy and is owned by Colonel and Mrs. H. Gwynn Tayloe, Jr.

<sup>16</sup> Lloyd Papers, MHS; Rosamund Randall Beirne, "The Chase House in Annapolis," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 49, no. 3 (Sept. 1954): 180-82.

<sup>17</sup> Rosamund Randall Beirne and John Henry Scharff, *William Buckland: Architect of Virginia and Maryland* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1958), pp. 82-89.

<sup>18</sup> James Bordley, Jr., *The Hollyday and Related Families of the*



Fig. 1. Charles Willson Peale, *The Edward Lloyd Family*. Talbot County, Md., 1771. Oil on canvas; H. 48", W. 57½". (Winterthur 64.124.)

*James Russell and Granddaughter* (1768), and *Matthias and Thomas Bordley* (1768). The last two were miniatures executed while Peale was in England. The artist produced a second double portrait of the Bordley brothers in a landscape, very English in feeling and in composition, painted during the same spring that he completed the Lloyd group.<sup>20</sup>

Peale's group portrait of Edward, Elizabeth, and Anne Lloyd was one of the artist's best paintings of several figures. The composition conformed to the requirements of the type. Edward Lloyd, his body curving into Hogarth's line of beauty, is the most prominent figure. He is depicted as a country

<sup>20</sup> Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures*, pp. 24–25, 38, 188; among the few colonial American conversation pieces were John Smibert's *Bermuda Group* (1729, 1739 versions), John Singleton Copley's *Gore Children* (ca. 1753), Robert Feke's *Isaac Royall Family* (1741), Joseph Blackburn's *Winslow Family* (1757), and Henry Benbridge's *Gorden Family* (ca. 1762).

gentleman with his home (Fig. 2) in the left background. The image of the mansion apparently was taken from a plate in Isaac Ware's *A Complete Body of Architecture*. Anne Lloyd (Fig. 3) stands on a sofa between her parents. Her father's arm encircles her and his large fingers hold her small ones. Her mother is seated to Anne's left with a cittern in her hands. Their closely placed heads are the focal point in the center of the painting. Elizabeth Lloyd's musical instrument served two artistic purposes: it implied domestic harmony by alluding to the theme of "Virtuous Love" from James Thomson's *The Seasons*, an influential poem in the second half of the eighteenth century, and, employing one of the imagery devices of English painting, it proclaimed Mrs. Lloyd (Fig. 4) an accomplished woman. In all probability she had been trained in music and owned the cittern. Since the instrument differs from those shown in Peale's portraits of Mrs. Benjamin



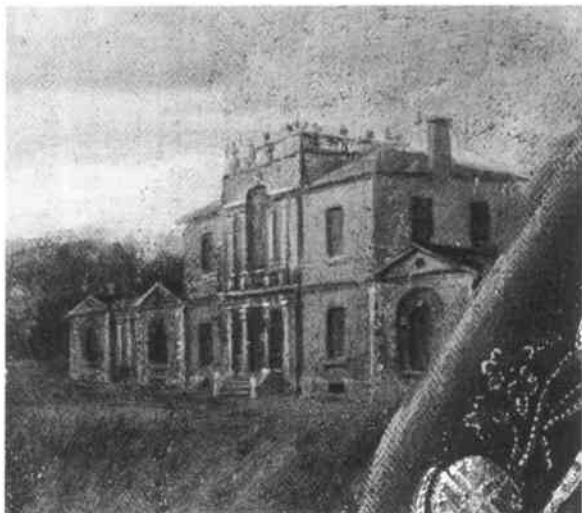


Fig. 2. Detail of left background in figure 1. (Photo, Winterthur.)



Fig. 3. Detail of Anne Lloyd in figure 1. (Photo, Winterthur.)



Fig. 4. Detail of Elizabeth Tayloe Lloyd in figure 1. (Photo, Winterthur.)



Fig. 5. Detail of Edward Lloyd in figure 1. (Photo, Winterthur.)

Rush (1776) and Mrs. Robert Innis (1775), it was not a studio prop. The Lloyds' elegant clothes, including Edward's recently imported English-made suit, and jewelry reinforced their self-image as a family of wealth and position in need of a painting that was in itself fashionable.<sup>21</sup> Peale's result pleased the Lloyds, and he produced a miniature of Edward Lloyd. A close study of the sitter indicates that Peale may have made it by copying Lloyd's head (Fig. 5) from the conversation piece, for the position of the head and the costume are identical in both.

Peale began the conversation piece during the late spring or early summer of 1771. June was the likely month for much of the painting's execution. On July 18 Peale wrote to Edmond Jenings: "[I] was persuaded to do some pieces for Mr. Loyd who intends leaving the country very soon. One of them you will see when he arrives in England, viz. a family piece of three figures."<sup>22</sup>

This tantalizing letter allows several possible interpretations. One is that Peale, knowing Richard Lloyd was returning to London, painted the conversation piece with the hope of sending it for exhibition either at the Society of Artists or in West's studio. A second possibility is that Richard Lloyd was taking the group painting as a memento of his brother's family. In either case, exposure to an English audience would enhance Peale's reputation at home and might encourage Englishmen or expatriate Americans to commission portraits of their friends in the colonies. The references in Peale's list of paintings of 1770–75 to "Mr. Lloyd a conversation" and "Mr. R. Lloyd 1/2 length" suggest that the "Mr. Lloyd" of the letter meant Edward, not Richard.<sup>23</sup> Thus one could infer that the elder brother was planning to accompany the younger on the trip abroad and was obliging Peale by taking the painting to show to Edmond Jenings. Despite any intent to the contrary, both Lloyd portraits apparently remained in Maryland.

<sup>21</sup> Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture* (London: T. Osborne et al., 1756), pl. 39. Whether the building in the painting was Wye House as it existed in 1771 is doubtful. Possibly the painting showed a house Lloyd was considering building in Annapolis later in 1771, but construction did not begin at Wye until after the Revolution; for a discussion of Mrs. Lloyd's probable musical training, see Philip Vickers Fithian, *Journals and Letters* (Princeton: Princeton University Library, 1900), p. 124 (Fithian was the tutor at Nomini Hall, the Carter family seat, not far from the Tayloe home); John Winter, tailor, to Edward Lloyd, Mar. 9, 1771, Lloyd Papers, MHS.

<sup>22</sup> Peale to Jenings, July 18, 1771, Peale Letterbook, vol. 1, p. 17, APS.

<sup>23</sup> Peale Papers, APS.

The commission for the portrait of Richard Bennett Lloyd (Fig. 6) came to Peale the same summer and was completed as the sitter celebrated his twenty-first birthday on August 27, 1771, and prepared to return to England. Peale depicted his subject standing with one arm resting on a pedestal bearing a neoclassical swag, a prevalent motif of the Adamesque style enjoying popularity in England but not well known in America until after the Revolution. Lloyd's pose is the relaxed stance of an Englishman interpreted à la the Vatican Antinous and the Apollo Belvedere. Peale thought "this attitude does admit of good gracefull line if well drawn."<sup>24</sup> Behind Richard Lloyd a stream flows over a rocky cliff into a river, and in the distance a spire rises above the landscape (Fig. 7). Because Peale's contemporary portraits illustrate specific sites and because the artist believed in painting landscapes from nature, the view seen in the background of Lloyd's portrait was assuredly significant. Presumably it represented Richard Lloyd's landholdings and connoted the sitter's status as a wealthy country gentleman. Fashionably and richly attired, young Lloyd looks out of the composition with an air of detachment (Fig. 8). Lloyd sailed from Maryland a few days after August 29, 1771, and temporarily left the management of his estate to his overseer.<sup>25</sup>

The portraits of the Edward Lloyds and of Richard Lloyd gave a definite English impression; with the exception of the portraits of Martha and Lambert Cadwalader, those Peale executed for John Cadwalader were decidedly American in feeling. The difference is most clearly shown by the group pictures. The group picture (Fig. 9) depicting John, Elizabeth, and Anne Cadwalader was completed during the summer of 1772. Peale exhibited it in Philadelphia where it was "greatly admired."<sup>26</sup> Intended to be displayed in the parlor with the other four portraits Peale had executed for Cadwalader, it conformed to them in size and vertically rectangular format. Cadwalader stands at the right of the composition and offers a peach to his daughter, who sits on an elaborately carved Chippendale card table. Elizabeth Cadwalader, also seated, supports Anne in her arms and looks at her husband. The tenderness of

<sup>24</sup> Peale to John Beale Bordley, n.d., 1770, Peale Letterbook, vol. 1, p. 8, APS. Peale is referring to the pose in his portrait of Lloyd Dulaney.

<sup>25</sup> Lloyd to John Cadwalader, Aug. 26, 1771, Cadwalader Papers, HSP.

<sup>26</sup> Peale to Edmond Jenings, June 6, 1772, Peale Letterbook, vol. 1, p. 31, APS.

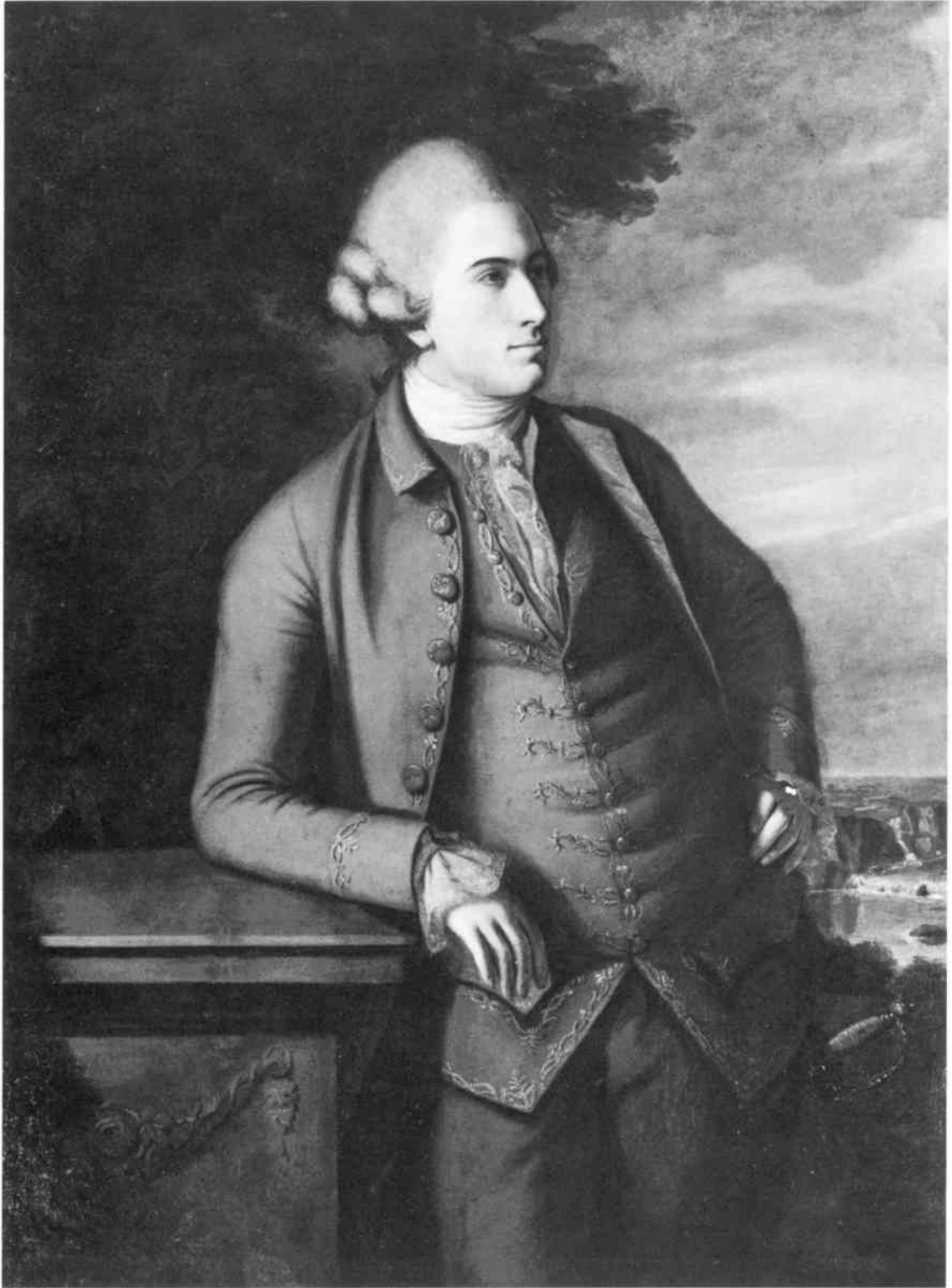


Fig. 6. Charles Willson Peale, *Richard Bennett Lloyd*. Anne Arundel or Talbot County, Md., 1771. Oil on canvas, H. 48", W. 36½". (Winterthur 62.590).



Fig. 8. Detail of Richard Lloyd in figure 6. (Photo, Winterthur.)

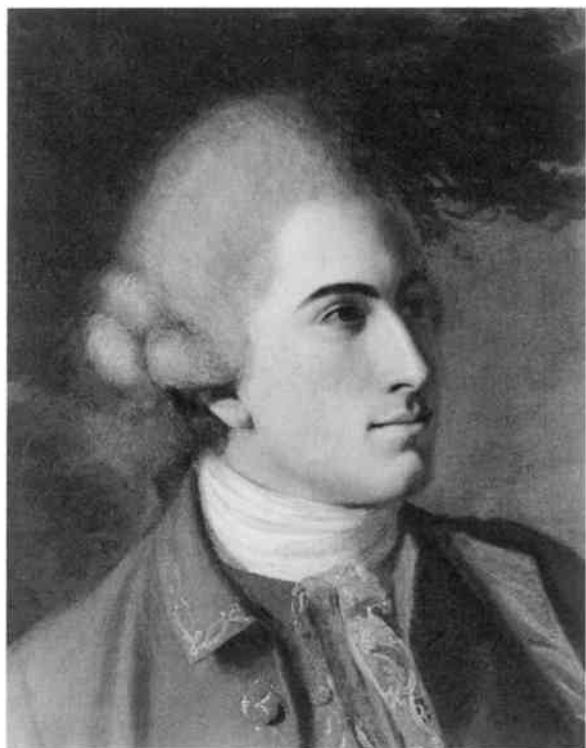


Fig. 7. Detail of right background in figure 6. (Photo, Winterthur.)

facial expressions, the proximity of hands near the fruit, and the unity achieved by the directions of sitters' looks proclaim the theme of domestic harmony with simpler means and as much effectiveness as the symbolism and complex composition of the Lloyd family portrait. The latter, with its landscape setting utilizing an indoor sofa outside, was typical of the English conversation piece. The Cadwalder family picture with its plain background was comparable to the American works of John Singleton Copley. In the Philadelphia picture Peale captured an unmomentous event in his subjects' lives; in the Maryland painting, he depicted three individuals posing for their portraits.

Although Cadwalader had urged Peale to settle in Philadelphia as early as 1770, the latter retained his residence in Annapolis and visited Philadelphia when he felt it expedient. This arrangement worked relatively well and led to another commission from Edward Lloyd. In 1774 Lloyd paid Peale £35 for "a picture of Venus rising from the Sea."<sup>27</sup> This painting, now lost, places Lloyd and Peale among the American cognoscenti. Few colonists understood classical literature, and still fewer appreciated its illustration. Similarly, few American artists could render nudes successfully. By 1774 Peale had seen those of John Smibert, Gustavus Hesselius, and Henry Benbridge. The *Venus* executed for Lloyd is one of two known commissions for mythological subjects that Peale received. Earlier, during 1772 he had painted and retained for exhibition a copy of Benjamin West's *Venus of Urbino* (after Titian, 1538), which was then owned by Chief Justice William Allen of Philadelphia. From this model or from an engraving by R. Strange, Peale painted a version of Titian's *Venus* for Col. William Hamilton in 1776.<sup>28</sup>

Over the years Peale made a number of drawings of European works of art which he kept in his studio.<sup>29</sup> Prospective clients could view these drawings

<sup>27</sup> Lloyd Papers, MHS.

<sup>28</sup> Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale*, 1:61, 52; Roland E. Fleischer, "Gustavus Hesselius: A Study of His Style," *American Painting to 1776: A Reappraisal*, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1971), pp. 139-43; National Portrait Gallery, *Henry Benbridge*, pp. 15-16; Strange's *Venus* was engraved in 1768 after a drawing made at the Medici collection in Florence in 1764, and the print Peale is thought to have owned is now in the collections of the American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia; Sellers, *With Patron and Populace*, p. 13.

<sup>29</sup> Sellers, *With Patron and Populace*, p. 13; John Adams reported: "Yesterday Morning I took a Walk, into Arch Street, to see Mr. Peele's Painters Room. . . . Peele shewed me some Books upon the art of Painting, among the rest one by Sir Joshua Reynolds. . . . Also a Variety of rough Drawings, made by great



Fig. 9. Charles Willson Peale, *The John Cadwalader Family*. Philadelphia, inscribed "C W Peale pinxt 1771." Oil on canvas; H. 51½", W. 41¼". (Capt. John Cadwalader: Photo, courtesy Philadelphia Museum of Art.)

and his copy of West's *Venus*, which demonstrated Peale's ability to render idealized subjects, and could select from them a composition to be translated into an oil painting. Peale's two-year sojourn in London had introduced the aspiring artist to the works by, and collections of, contemporary Englishmen and especially to the paintings of Benjamin West, his teacher, in whose studio Peale observed the painting of mythological subjects. Several antique statues—*The Laocöon*, *Apollo Belvedere*, and *Venus di Medici*—served as models for figures, and Titian's palette was the inspiration for tones of flesh colors. George Ogle's *Antiquities Explained* contained engraved plates that suggested compositions to the artists in West's studio. Many of West's mythological paintings were begun during the 1760s, worked over and retouched during the next thirty years, and exhibited after the artist's reputation was firmly established. In 1800 he exhibited at the Royal Academy *Venus Rising from the Sea* (Fig. 10).<sup>30</sup> Quite possibly this painting with its full-length standing figure was in the studio during the same two years that Peale was in London. If so, it may have served as the model for Peale's 1774 commission. Another possible composition is a standing Venus, attended by Cupid rising from the sea in a chariot drawn by four horses. This also appeared in Ogle's book (Fig. 11), from which Peale could easily have made a drawing while in London and brought it home to Maryland. This particular representation may have appealed to Lloyd who owned and raced horses.

How long the owner enjoyed his picture was not recorded. A relative's account of the pirates' looting of Wye House in 1781 did not refer to its loss. Peale's *Venus* was most likely among the twenty-one paintings

Masters in Italy, which he keeps as Modells" (John Adams to Abigail Adams, Aug. 21, 1776 as quoted in L. H. Butterfield, ed., *The Book of Abigail and John* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975], p. 157).

<sup>30</sup> Peale to John Beale Bordley, n.d., 1767, Peale Letterbook, vol. 1, p. 2, APS; Daniel Webb, *An Inquiry into the Beauties of Painting and into the Merits of the Most Celebrated Painters Ancient and Modern* (London: T. & R. Dodsley, 1760), p. 43; Franzika Forster-Hahn, "The Sources of True Taste: Benjamin West's Instructions to a Young Painter for his Studies in Italy," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 30 (1967): 378; Gross Evans, *Benjamin West and the Taste of his Times* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1959), pl. 16; *The Gallery of Pictures Painted by Benjamin West Esqr., Historical Painter to His Majesty, and President of the Royal Academy, Engraved in Outline by Henry Moses* (London: Joseph Thomas, n.d.), pl. opp. p. 18; West used the plates in Ogle's *Antiquities Explained* (London, 1737) and similar books as sources for some of his mythological paintings.



Fig. 10. Henry Moses (after Benjamin West), *Venus Rising from the Sea*. From *The Gallery of Paintings by Benjamin West Esquire* (London: Joseph Thomas, n.d.), pl. opp. p. 18. (Winterthur Museum Libraries.)



Fig. 11. Plate 21 from George Ogle, *Antiquities Explained* (London, 1737). (Winterthur Museum Libraries.)



not identified by subject or artist in the 1796 inventory of Edward Lloyd's estate and left, like most of the property, to his eldest son. Listed with the books in the library were "1 piece of painting on canvas," a series of Hogarth's prints, and the West portrait of Richard Bennett Lloyd.<sup>31</sup> Quite possibly Lloyd had chosen the more private gentleman's library rather than the drawing room for contemplation of *Venus Rising from the Sea*.

In 1776, when the Revolution was imminent, Peale moved his family to Philadelphia. He served as a lieutenant in the American army, and his great benefactor, John Cadwalader, was a general. The artist recorded wartime meetings of the two in his autobiography, but Peale knew that his political activities as president of the Whig Society and chairman of the Constitutional Society in 1777 had alienated his former patrons, "those whom before he had considered his best friends." These conservative men of wealth and education were merchants who opposed Peale's published liberal views on a unicameral legislature, election procedures, and market manipulation. Many ceased to request his paintings, among them Cadwalader. The last commission Peale had received from him was late in 1772 for a copy of an earlier painting of his late mother-in-law, Elizabeth Rousby Lloyd (died 1769).<sup>32</sup>

With the loss of orders for portraits of politically conservative sitters after 1777, Charles Willson Peale turned his attention to recording for his Gallery of Portraits the faces of those active in the War for Independence. The Revolution had given America its own heroes and history, and he began painting and selling a new type of painting that pictured these men and events. Peale's full-length portrait *George Washington at the Battle of Princeton* (Fig. 12), commissioned by the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania in 1779, became a state picture to be copied for the courts of Europe and for private gentlemen. Richard Bennett Lloyd was one of the latter group, and in 1782 he obtained one of Peale's numerous replicas. Most of the individuals who purchased these paintings had a personal association with the sitter and the ending of the Revolution: Henry Laurens, Joseph Wilson, Hugh Shiell, Thomas Nelson, Elias Boudinot, James Tilghman, and Robert Goldsborough.<sup>33</sup> Lloyd, too, knew

Washington, at least well enough to ask for his assistance on behalf of a relative—and possibly played a minor role in the diplomacy with France, where he had spent two years in the circle of Benjamin Franklin. Lloyd's collection of prints indicated where his political sympathies lay, for it included portraits of America's heroes such as Franklin, Gouverneur Morris, Baron von Steuben, and John Wilkes.<sup>34</sup>

Yet Richard Bennett Lloyd was branded a Tory by historians because he served for a time as an English soldier, married an Englishwoman, and did not fight in the Continental army. Lloyd had served in the second, or Coldstream, Regiment of Foot Guards between early 1773 and the fall of 1775. He had written to his brother-in-law of his intention to settle in America but confessed to "a sad raging passion for the military life."<sup>35</sup> The army was an acceptable career for younger sons of peers and gentlemen; commissions and even promotions were purchased, not awarded on the basis of merit. The Coldstream Regiment was the same prestigious one in which Lloyd's friend and Maryland's royal governor, Robert Eden, had served. Lloyd's marriage to Joanna Leigh, daughter of an English merchant, in July of 1775, as well as the growing enmity between England and America, prompted his resignation. After the birth of their second son in the fall of 1777, the Lloyds moved to France, where they enjoyed the company of Benjamin Franklin. They returned to England for at least several months before embarking for New York, in the fall of 1780. Joanna Lloyd's beauty was widely acclaimed in America. She was fêted with Martha Washington in Philadelphia and aroused her husband's jealousy by flirting with the French officers stationed in Maryland. The Lloyds had had their portraits painted in London—his by Benjamin West (1773), hers by Sir Joshua Reynolds (1775), and their miniatures executed by Richard Crosse (1775, 1780), who, like the other two artists, enjoyed royal patronage. The Lloyds required no portraits of themselves while in America but wanted one of Washington.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> An application to Washington through Lloyd is mentioned in Henry Hollyday to James Hollyday, Feb. 20, 1785, Hollyday Papers, ms. 1327, MHS; Richard Bennett Lloyd to Franklin, July 13, 1778, Franklin Collection, HSP; inventory of R. B. Lloyd's estate, Lloyd Papers, MSH.

<sup>32</sup> Lloyd to John Cadwalader, Nov. 8, 1772, Cadwalader Papers, HSP.

<sup>33</sup> Lloyd to John Cadwalader, Jan. 17, 1775, Cadwalader Papers, HSP, mentions Eden's friendship with the two men; Beirne, "Portrait of a Colonial Governor," p. 155; in America Joanna Lloyd "was soon celebrated as Very Handsome, Very Accomplished, and, in short, it was the general enquiry, 'Have you seen Mrs. Lloyd?'" (Mrs. Shoemaker to [her daughter] Rebecca

<sup>31</sup> Lloyd Papers, MHS.

<sup>32</sup> Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale*, 1:156-69, 193-95. See also n. 7. Elizabeth Cadwalader died on Feb. 16, 1776, and her husband John on Feb. 10, 1786.

<sup>33</sup> Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale*, 1:213, 192-93; Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures*, pp. 226-33.

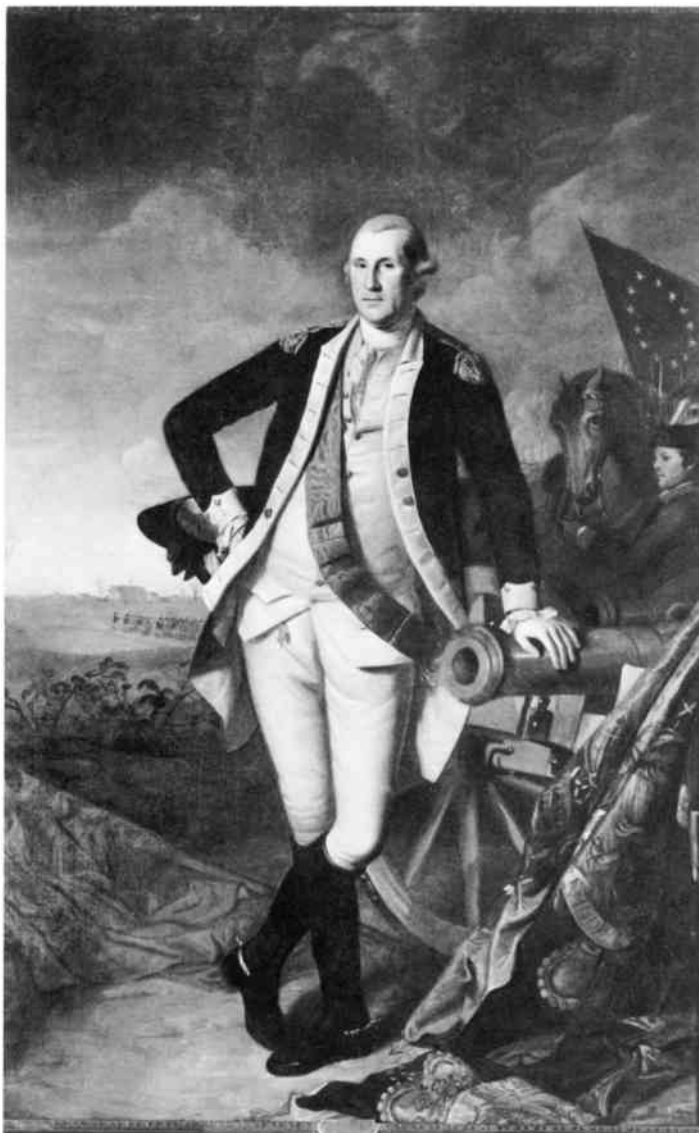


Fig. 12. Charles Willson Peale, *George Washington at the Battle of Princeton*. Philadelphia, 1779. Oil on canvas; H. 93", W. 58½". (Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Gift of Executors of the Elizabeth Wharton McKean Estate.)

The letters from Peale to Richard Lloyd regarding the portrait of Washington dealt with the business at hand and contained no evidence of personal friendship. "I fully intended to have wrote you before this

Rawle, Jan. 18, 1781, Shoemaker Papers, HSP); "I have been to wait on Mrs. Captain Lloyd. I think she looks more beautiful than ever I saw her. . . . Mrs A[llen] made a *small* party for Mrs Washington and Mrs Lloyd the other Evening. The Company consisted only of 31 Ladies and Gentlemen" (John F. Mifflin to Mrs. John Beale Bordley, Feb. 6, 1782, Bordley-Calvert Papers, ms. 82, MHS); Karol A. Schmiegel, "The Patronage of the Lloyd Family of Maryland" (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1975), pp. 32-40.

time, but a hurry of Business prevented me. I have recd the Thirteen Guineas, some of them were light. The Charge which Mr. Reynolds makes for the Frame is 7£ 10 and the packing Case will be 1-2-6. The Picture I will pack up myself and send it as you direct" and "I have sent your whole length Portrait of Genl Washington by the stage before last, directed for you at Annapolis to be left wth Mr. Grant in Baltimore town, for the Carriage of which I have paid 10 shillings. I have to thank you for the money received by Mr. Chew."<sup>37</sup> There was no indication that artist and customer re-

<sup>37</sup> Peale to R. B. Lloyd, Oct. 15, Dec. 24, 1782, Peale Letterbook, vol. 2, pp. 3, 7, APS.



called their meeting of eleven years earlier when Peale had painted Lloyd's portrait.<sup>38</sup>

The artist and the elder Lloyd brother remained on good terms. After 1774 Edward Lloyd commissioned no pictures but was host for several visits. Peale's autobiography for 1790 reported:

He [Peale] expected business here and at Major Kerr in Easttown but is disappointed and goes to Col. Lloyd where he had painted several portraits and always recd a hearty welcome. . . . The Col<sup>d</sup> is possessed of immense property, he had 400 acres of land in a park to keep deer, round which was a fence of 20 rails high. Maise were planted within for sustenance of his deer. He also had on his farm an immense number of wild turkies, the writer has seen 20 of them in a flock. His seat being on the Wye river he had a seine of immense length and breadth, requiring at least 20 men to haul it, of course the quantity of Fish which at times has been taken is wonderfull, at one time. and in winter he fed sheephead so that at all times of the summer season he could have them fresh for his table.<sup>39</sup>

During this 1790 visit to Talbot County, Peale courted but failed to win the hand of Mary Tilghman of Gross Coates, whose family thought her too far above him socially.<sup>40</sup> A year later he married Elizabeth DePeyster of New York and returned to the Eastern Shore with his bride. The new Mrs. Peale apparently was not acceptable to the Lloyds, who failed to extend their usual hospitality. The 1791 trip was the last Peale made for a number of years. Rebuffs from his friends and patrons and the competition of Jean Pierre Henri Elouis encouraged Peale to give up portrait painting in Maryland and turn full time to his natural history museum and gallery of heroes in Philadelphia.<sup>41</sup>

Until the 1830s America had no major art patrons in

<sup>38</sup> Sellers, *Portraits and Miniatures*, pp. 129–30, reports that Peale's autobiography calls Richard Lloyd "Poor Dickey Wye." A careful reading of the original text, however, shows that the nickname belonged to Richard Bennett (died 1749), the relative for whom Lloyd was named. Peale may have confused the two men. See Peale, autobiography, unpub. ms., p. 146, APS.

<sup>39</sup> Peale, autobiography, pp. 144–45, APS.

<sup>40</sup> Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale*, 2: 20–21.

<sup>41</sup> Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale*, 2: 34–35; The artist described the events of the 1791 visit in his autobiography: "Peale goes to Col. Lloyds to thank him for the use he made of his vessel in his passage here, and then makes a perspective drawing of his house, which is a handsome building with wings, one wing for the kitchen and other purposes, the other served as an office for his clerk"; and later: "Col. Lloyd and his family were gone to dine with Col. Hineman, which Peale was glad of, for he did not wish to carry Mrs. Peale to his house, because neither himself or lady had given

the usual sense of the word. A few men owned small groups of paintings, sometimes including copies of old masters; but the seemingly few paintings inherited or ordered by the Lloyd brothers and their Cadwalader brother-in-law placed them among the minority of colonial Americans who collected works of art and hired professional artists. Fewer still were benefactors such as John Beale Bordley and John Cadwalader. The latter's prepayment of £110 for undelivered portraits and landscapes, his recommendations of Peale, and his early encouragement of the artist to relocate in Philadelphia exemplified his role as a patron—one who gave the painter financial support and a chance to demonstrate his ability where it would be observed by others who would offer commissions. John Cadwalader's efforts on Peale's behalf proved that talented artists were indeed welcomed and encouraged on the western side of the Atlantic. Both Edward and Richard Bennett Lloyd utilized Peale's services because he was an artist who could provide the paintings they required. Their desire for fashionable portraits was the same as other colonial American sitters; but because the Lloyds were closely attuned to English fashions and employed an artist "lately from London," they obtained what they sought instead of a limner's product. Unlike the usual colonist, who required only portraits of himself and his family, Edward and Richard Bennett Lloyd commissioned paintings of other subjects. The former's *Venus Rising from the Sea* demonstrated the existence of a connoisseur with a classical education and cosmopolitan taste. The latter's purchase of a full-length portrait of George Washington represented the growing interest in American history, which would support the artist's gallery of heroes' portraits. The pictures Peale executed for the Lloyds and Cadwaladers preserved their images, adorned their homes, commemorated events, and demonstrated their taste and knowledge. The same paintings illustrated the role different types of patronage played in establishing the successful career of Charles Willson Peale.

an invitation since his coming to Wye, which from his long acquaintance with the family he thought he had a Right to expect, wherefore he did not, Peale will not undertake to say, they might have reasons for their conduct and if just they had acted Right, if otherwise, they act foolish and wrong themselves, which being no fault of Peale's ought not to trouble him. If we endeavor to do well and do not gain respect by doing so, the Guilt is not with us" (Peale, autobiography, pp. 171, 175, APS).