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Nathaniel Jocelyn: in the service of art and abolition

Toby Maria Chieffo-Reidway
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NATHANIEL JOCELYN:
IN THE SERVICE OF ART AND ABOLITION

A Dissertation

Presented to

The Faculty of the American Studies Program

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment

Of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

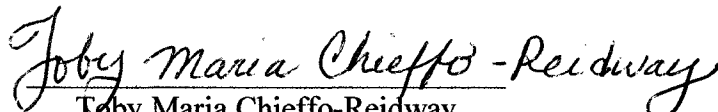
by

Toby Maria Chieffo-Reidway

2005

APPROVAL SHEET

This Dissertation is submitted in partial fulfillment of
The Requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy


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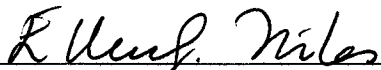
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DEDICATION

To My Father and Mother, Who Taught Me the Beauty of Portraiture.

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ABSTRACT

Through my dissertation, I embark on a biographical, cultural and historical study of artist and abolitionist Nathaniel Jocelyn (1796-1881), primarily known as a nineteenth-century portrait painter and engraver in New Haven, Connecticut. Although Jocelyn received little formal training, he sought to become a preeminent portrait painter. Together with his younger brother, Simeon Smith Jocelyn (1799-1879), he established a successful engraving firm designing banknotes, maps, atlases, and book illustrations.

Jocelyn lived in an age of evangelical revivalism commonly called the Second Great Awakening. He was a devout Congregationalist and saw the various aspects of his life embedded in his religious convictions. Jocelyn's diary chronicles his beliefs, social views, hopes, fears, daily struggles, and his plans to develop and attain artistic acclaim and economic success.

My dissertation reveals an artist not unlike other enterprising men of the New Republic or most portrait painters of his era who struggled to earn a living. Yet Jocelyn was extraordinary because he created the most important portrait of an African in the nineteenth-century, Cinqué (c.1813-1879), leader of the Amistad rebellion of 1839. This portrait challenged Jacksonian-era concepts of portraiture and became one of the most significant icons for the abolitionist movement. For Jocelyn the portrayal of Cinqué was the galvanizing event of his life as an artist, abolitionist, and Christian.

Jocelyn not only challenged the concept of conventional portraiture, but also nineteenth-century racial stereotypes by depicting a black man as a man of dignity. Jocelyn used Cinqué's portrait to dissociate black skin and African-ness from traditional depictions of black men that linked them with slavery. Jocelyn was not afraid to show an African as a man of power, independence, and intelligence—traits portraitists generally associated with white people.

His depiction of Cinqué as an idealized hero was intentional, and it aided the abolitionist cause. Nathaniel Jocelyn created a visual abolitionist language in his portrayal of Cinqué by crossing the boundaries of race and imbuing the portrait with an iconography rich with abolitionist and Christian symbolism.

Jocelyn led a multifaceted life as a Christian, abolitionist, portrait painter, inventor, engraver, and esteemed teacher. He had the confidence, admiration, and respect of his peers and the New Haven notables as he maintained intimate ties with the world of art and abolition.

NATHANIEL JOCELYN:
IN THE SERVICE OF ART AND ABOLITION

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation explores the cultural and intellectual life of Nathaniel Jocelyn (1796-1881), a nineteenth-century New Haven portrait painter and engraver. Chapter One will demonstrate Jocelyn's ambition, despite his lack of formal training, to become a preeminent portrait painter and to be considered the equal of Gilbert Stuart, Washington Allston, Samuel F.B. Morse and John Trumbull. We will see how, in 1813, when Jocelyn was seventeen years old, Eli Whitney helped Jocelyn establish himself as an engraver. Whitney saw great promise in the young student, and recommended him to George Fairman, a Philadelphia engraver, requesting that he take Nathaniel as an apprentice. By 1818, he and his younger brother Simeon Smith Jocelyn established a successful engraving firm, which over the years designed and engraved banknotes, maps, atlases and book illustrations. Additionally, Jocelyn was encouraged by John Trumbull in his early efforts in art and was befriended by Samuel F. B. Morse. This chapter will conclude with an examination of the contrast between the American and English method of learning portraiture.

Chapter Two will recount how in 1821 and 1822 Jocelyn, confident in his native ability, embarked on two consecutive trips to Savannah, Georgia to pursue painting commissions. The diary he kept during this period provides a vivid sense of the time and of his personal struggles to understand his relationship to his Congregationalist beliefs.

After Jocelyn's return to New Haven, he established a successful portrait painting career, depicting sitters of both average and prominent social standing. Through the

1820s, he continually questioned the quality of his work, especially in comparison with that of more accomplished painters. In an effort to enhance his credentials and knowledge as a portrait painter, Jocelyn traveled to Europe in 1829-1830 with his close friend Morse, and New Haven architect Ithiel Town.

Chapter Three will revisit the years 1817 to 1818 and discuss the early development of Jocelyn's character, integrity, and artistic values as revealed through his correspondence with peers. Chapter Four will investigate nineteenth-century Congregationalist history, the evangelical movement called the Second Great Awakening, and evangelicalism's effect on social reform, specifically the antislavery movement in the North. I explore Jocelyn's deepening religious convictions while on his second trip to Savannah. Further, I place the Jocelyns in the context of their time and identify their roles in the antislavery history of New Haven, and Nathaniel's dual role as an abolitionist and painter.

Chapter Five reveals how Nathaniel and Simeon's practice as evangelical Congregationalists in the 1830s led the brothers to the abolitionist stance known as immediatism, a principle that grew out of their contact with African Americans in New Haven. Together, the Jocelyn brothers formed benevolent societies and elaborated a progressive vision of residential integration in New Haven.

Chapters Six and Seven will examine the course of Nathaniel's life from his training as a portrait painter to his greatest challenge: his portrait of Cinqué, the African leader of the Amistad rebellion of 1839. In this period, the Jocelyn brothers both became directly involved in the Amistad case. Nathaniel's portrait of Cinqué helped promote the abolitionist cause. The most significant portrait of an African in the nineteenth-century,

this work challenged Jacksonian-era ideas of portraiture and became an important icon of the abolitionist movement.

I also examine Simeon's role, from the founding of the Amistad Committee to the return of the Africans to Sierra Leone. While the Jocelyn brothers' roles as abolitionists in the decade of the 1830s was my central concern, it is important to recognize that Simeon's efforts – much like those of his compatriots Lewis and Arthur Tappan and William Lloyd Garrison – extended to the Civil War. Simeon Jocelyn, in his own right, deserves a separate study of his life and work. Long dedicated to the abolitionist cause and the pastorate, Simeon had a history too extensive to cover in this study. This project explores Simeon's commitment to immediatism as it influenced Nathaniel's participation, and their work as a team of artists/activists in New Haven.

How did Nathaniel as a portrait painter become an abolitionist, and how did an abolitionist painter make such an important mark in American history? This dissertation chronicles the story of one man in the context of his time, an artist who was swept up in the reform movements of the antebellum period.

In Chapter Eight, I argue that Jocelyn's portrayal of Cinqué was the galvanizing event of his life as an artist, abolitionist, and Christian. Jocelyn not only challenged the concept of conventional portraiture, but also nineteenth-century racial stereotypes by depicting a black man as a person of dignity. Jocelyn used Cinqué's portrait to dissociate black skin and African-ness from traditional depictions of black men that associated them with slavery. Jocelyn was not afraid to show an African as a man of power, independence, and intelligence—traits that portraitists generally associated with white people.

In a world of abundant abolitionist and anti-abolitionist literature, Nathaniel Jocelyn, I posit, created a visual abolitionist language in his portrayal of Cinqué. He accomplished this by crossing the boundaries of race and imbuing the portrait with rich iconography. The portrait was a visual text, which aimed at rallying the public for Cinqué's freedom and the antislavery cause. A powerful image in the nineteenth century, the portrait retains its power to this day. Now more than ever, its brilliance and innovation can be fully recognized, appreciated, and celebrated.

My methodology for this study is to combine critical and empirical/deductive modes of analysis. I integrate art historical data with the larger theoretical, religious, and social pressures that influenced Jocelyn's development. For the most part, the chronological progression of his life provides the framework for my dissertation.

I have compiled material from unpublished primary and secondary sources on Nathaniel Jocelyn, his extant paintings, diary and correspondence, the diaries of his children, and his brother Simeon Smith Jocelyn's correspondence. Nathaniel's immediate family included his wife, Sarah Atwater Plant (1800-1880), his six daughters and one son: Sarah Ann Jocelyn (Mrs. Sarah Ann Wild) (1819-?), Margaret Plant Jocelyn (Mrs. Margaret Plant Hayes) (1820-1883), Elizabeth Hannah Jocelyn (Mrs. Elizabeth Hannah Cleaveland) (1824-?), Frances Marie Jocelyn (Mrs. Frances Marie Peck) (1826-?), Cornelia Dorothea Jocelyn (Mrs. Cornelia Dorothea Foster) (1829-1881), Isaac Plant Jocelyn (1833-1839), and Susan Eleanor Willard Jocelyn (1834-?).¹

¹ An interesting omission is the absence of a diary or letters written by Jocelyn's wife, Sarah Atwater Plant. Because little, if no material about her exists, her role aside from that of mother and wife is left to conjecture. Only an occasional mention of her is found in the writings of Nathaniel and his daughters.

For this dissertation, I was able to draw upon the few studies about Jocelyn that exist, such as the bulletins by Jocelyn's great-grandson, Foster Wild Rice, who cataloged Jocelyn's paintings and offered biographical and genealogical information.² Also useful was Eleanor Alexander's article on Jocelyn, which was one of the first to explore the Cinqué portrait and its relation to the Jocelyn brothers' involvement in the abolitionist movement.³ The most recently published article that focused on the Cinqué portrait within the context of Jacksonian portraiture was Richard J. Powell's, "Cinqué: Antislavery Portraiture and Patronage in Jacksonian America."⁴ However, I was most influenced by the work of historian, Bernard Heinz, who had great enthusiasm for Jocelyn and offered the most personal portrayal of him in his article, "Nathaniel Jocelyn: Puritan, Painter, Inventor."⁵

Until the completion of this dissertation, no complete cultural biography of Nathaniel Jocelyn existed. Each of the above studies has merit, but also limitations. My dissertation reevaluates Jocelyn's life and work within the cultural context of his time, resulting in a complete interdisciplinary study.

The most important materials used to write this dissertation were Nathaniel Jocelyn's letters and early draft notes for his future diary. The collection of Nathaniel

² Foster Wild Rice, "Nathaniel Jocelyn—1796-1881," *The Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin*, Hartford v. 31, n. 4, (October 1966). And Foster Wild Rice, "The Jocelyn Engravers," *The Essay Proof Journal*, n.v. (July & October 1948).

³ Eleanor Alexander, "A Portrait of Cinqué," *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* v.49 no.1 (Winter 1984).

⁴ Richard J. Powell, "Cinqué: Antislavery Portraiture and Patronage in Jacksonian America," *American Art* v.11, no.3 (Fall 1997).

⁵ Bernard Heinz, "Nathaniel Jocelyn: Puritan, Painter, Inventor." *Journal of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, v.29/n.2 (summer 1983).

Jocelyn's notes and letters was a gift from Charles E. Goodspeed to the Connecticut Historical Society in 1935. The extant collection consisted of unpaginated notebook leaves and random scraps of paper. Jocelyn intended to transcribe his notes into a recollection, but never did. In the 1980s, Historian, Peter Malia, transcribed and edited Nathaniel Jocelyn's Savannah notes.⁶ It is Malia's transcription that will henceforth be referred to as Jocelyn's diary. These largely unpublished materials offered a glimpse into the thoughts and activities of a young artist struggling to learn his craft to support his family. His diary shows the role of Christianity in his life and his ardent "born again" Congregational beliefs that eventually led him to evangelical abolition. Unfortunately, his diary and notes are limited; most of the material was written prior to his foray into the abolitionist movement and his involvement with the Amistad case.

My research draws upon the literature of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century portraiture, and the historical events that led Nathaniel and his brother Simeon to become evangelical immediate abolitionists. As a cultural historian working in the field of American Studies, I am interested in the intimate connection between art and abolition, as each influenced the other. Nathaniel Jocelyn's role as artist and abolitionist epitomized this relationship. His painting of Cinqué allows us to see the influence evangelical religion had on this nineteenth-century portrait and how the portrait helped reconfigure ideas of race.

⁶ In transcribing the Jocelyn material, Malia used the *literal* method as outlined in *The Harvard Guide to American History*. Spelling in Jocelyn's diary will remain as it appears in the original manuscript (with only the occasional [*sic*]); illegible words indicated by [. . .]; more than one word [. . . .]; <insertions>.

CHAPTER I
NATHANIEL JOCELYN AND THE PROFESSION OF ART:
LAYING THE FOUNDATION

INTRODUCTION

In 1821, at the age of twenty-five, Nathaniel Jocelyn (1796-1881) made a promise to himself and God:

I have now but to improve well the remainder of my life, letting all misspent time be a beacon to warn me in future and leave the rest to God . . . with his help I propose with diligent practice and unwearied study, the attainment of a reputation as a portrait painter in five years.⁷

In this chapter, I argue that Nathaniel Jocelyn followed a path to professional portrait painting that was typical of other American artists in the New Republic. In the first quarter of the nineteenth-century, the means of gaining proficiency and establishing a career and business as an artist in America were limited. In contrast to Europe, America did not have art academies where artists could receive professional training. Therefore, young artists generally experimented with drawing and painting, studied the masters and art techniques in books and prints, attained an apprenticeship, received mentoring from established artists, practiced the trade as an itinerant painter, participated in discussions and critiques with peer artists, and then made a Grand Tour in Europe for study and

⁷ Nathaniel Jocelyn, 31 January 1821. (Jocelyn Family Papers, Connecticut Historical Society. Hartford, CT.) Gift of Charles E. Goodspeed, 1935. [Hereafter cited as NJ Diary].

status.⁸

I demonstrate how Jocelyn's professional progress was a classic example of these elements. However, it should be noted that not all artists participated in every aspect of this path and undoubtedly, there are other variations and combinations of this protocol.

This route brought Jocelyn into contact with artists and some of the main art institutions at their inception in the first half of the nineteenth-century. I show through Jocelyn's diary his beliefs, social views, hopes, fears and daily struggles as well as his attempt to attain artistic acclaim and economic success. The study of Jocelyn's path provides insights to and informs the greater development of the arts in the United States.

Jocelyn was not born into upper-class society and as a result did not have a college education. The Jocelyn family, "had the ancestry necessary to be considered . . . upper-class New Englander[s]"⁹ and were well respected, but they were not in the financial or social upper tiers. Nathaniel strove to become successful by the virtue of his talent, intellectual curiosity, enterprise, persistence, and sheer cleverness. If one succeeded as an artist, inventor, businessman, or all three, then certainly, in the language of Congregationalism one hoped to be granted a measure of God's grace.

⁸ A brief selection of several artists cited in George C. Groce & David H. Wallace, *The New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957) 196-7, 346, 466 of Jocelyn's generation will attest to following a similar path. For example: Asher B. Durand (1796-1886) apprenticed with engraver Peter Maverick, and made the "customary pilgrimage of study to the art centers of Europe. . . ." John Wesley Jarvis (1780-1840) apprenticed with engraver, Edward Savage and painter, Henry Inman; itinerant painter in the South. John Neagle (1796-1865) received mentoring from Pietro Ancora, Thomas Wilson and Bass Otis, itinerant painter in Kentucky and South.

⁹ Bernard Heinz, "Nathaniel Jocelyn: Puritan, Painter, Inventor." *Journal of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, v.29/n.2 (summer 1983): 11.

On January 31 1821, he began a period of “constant and scrutinizing self examination.” He wrote,

I have now through the grace of God become more settled and more rational in my views and plans twenty-five years of my life are completed this day, an important period, the foundation of the future superstructure morally considered is laid previous to this age in most persons, and doubtly [*sic*] in me, what this is to God is known, to others may be apparent, and by myself is yet to be more completely discovered. . . . This may be promoted by a strict adherence to the abandoned practice of recording my daily occupations, actions and thoughts, and in a religious point of view doubtly [*sic*] be of the greatest utility, and praying for God’s blessing on the undertaking that He will at all times fit me for the judic[i]ous and punctional [*sic*] discharge of task I am now resolved to commence a diary of my future life, Religiously, Socially and Professionally considered.¹⁰

Between 1810 and 1820, during Jocelyn’s formative years, New Haven’s cityscape was transformed. Its population doubled though the economic growth of the city was slower than other cities on the eastern seaboard. A major blow to New Haven’s growth was the decline of its shipping industry. President Jefferson’s Embargo Act, which banned foreign shipping, and the War of 1812 ended the city’s primary economic enterprise. The city nurtured the development of modest manufacturing and by 1818, with the lifting of the embargo, the harbor regained its economic importance. The city

¹⁰ NJ Diary, 31 January 1821. This idea of attaining God’s grace was established in Connecticut with the arrival of the Puritans. It set the moral tone and foundation for Connecticut and remained present in the religious and moral convictions of the nineteenth-century New Haven Congregationalists such as Jocelyn and his family. David M. Roth in *Connecticut: A Bicentennial History* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1979), 38-39 noted, Puritan theology was guided by the notion of “‘the Elect.’ The puritan believed that few residents of this earth would ever achieve a state of grace. This concept is derived from Calvinists theology where God, having some mercy, despite Adam’s downfall and God’s ensuing wrath, picked a few select people to be saved. These few were referred to by Calvinists as ‘the Elect’ would undergo a spiritual rebirth.” The puritans believed “that God had singled them out for His special attention in much the same way He had chosen the Israelites in the time of Abraham.” Puritans were constantly searching for signs that they were chosen for salvation. “As a result the puritan image is of a person turned inward, ever taking his spiritual temperature to discern the condition of his soul.”

according to Rollin Osterweis was “possessed of a driving impulse towards civic improvements and economic progress.”¹¹ Connecticut’s shift towards manufacturing created the climate for thriving banks and insurance companies. “Yankee inventive genius emerged to meet new challenges; better schools arose; and a laboring class began to appear in the towns.”¹² Jocelyn came of age during this critical time in Connecticut history. Connecticut’s shift towards manufacturing proved advantageous to Jocelyn’s future career as a portrait painter and bank note engraver.

EARLY EFFORTS IN DRAWING AND PAINTING

As a young man, Jocelyn formulated plans for a career and livelihood. He was drawn to art from an early age by his precocious ability, creativity, and intuition. In his words, “Soon after entering on my fourteenth year my mind unhesitatingly was fixed on Painting as the pursuit of my life, since which time it has been the ruling object of all my pursuits.”¹³ But his financial situation left him with few options to develop as an artist. In America, the process he followed had not changed nor had other options developed since the eighteenth century.

¹¹ Rollin G. Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven, 1638-1938*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953), 193-4. Interestingly, during the war of 1812, the sixteen-year-old Nathaniel joined the Governor’s Foot Guard. The Foot Guard was a volunteer company in Connecticut, which was to defend the shoreline against British attacks. They also patrolled Long Island Sound to prevent any shipping activity from Connecticut.

¹² *Ibid.*, 206.

¹³ NJ Diary, 31 January 1821.

Jocelyn gave a brief but insightful account of his first efforts in art. The month-by-month notations demonstrated the isolation and rudimentary examples of art available to the autodidact. He was motivated by his desire, determination and other qualities judging by “the account of an aunt, / who by the way/was not so fond of me as to extenuate my faults, I was headstrong, saucy, and as she says full of the old nick.”¹⁴

Jocelyn wrote,

First began to think of painting as a profession in May 1811 at which time I drew a tree to see whether I thought I could succeed in that art. In the same month and immediately after, I drew and painted in Water Colours.

No. 1 Landscape in Water colours, enlarged from one by F.J. Jocelyn and it was the only picture which I had for a long time to copy that was even tolerably good.¹⁵

In June I painted [. . .]made two attempts, but as I had recourse to tracing, they exhibited nothing, but a falling off from a good beginning that of depending on the eye—& I burnt them up.

July No. 2 in Water colours [:] Landscape in a circle 2 3/4 inches in diameter copied from a little drawing book, and the colouring invented by myself.

In August I did little more than read in *Catronarium Polygraphicum*, on the subject of painting.¹⁶

¹⁴ From a group of miscellaneous sheets of paper in Jocelyn’s handwriting that is different than the Diary pages. Possibly notes for “Remembrance of my life,” a title found on one entry numbered page 147.

¹⁵ Frederick “Fred” J. Jocelyn (c.1778–?), possibly a distant relative of Nathaniel, was active in Wilmington, NC in 1798 and Norfolk, VA in 1802. Frederick is the son of A. Jocelin, Esq. of Wilmington, NC, miniature painter, “a young ladies” teacher of drawing, painting landscapes, flowers, etc. “He presumes most people know that Painting constitutes a very important part in a young Ladies Education, therefore thinks it unnecessary to enlarge upon it.” (Norfolk Herald, 21 January 1802, 3-4, Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts).

¹⁶ Art books and journals mentioned (some partially legible) in the Diary included: Alling (?). “Annals of the Fine Arts,” (London: Sherwood, Neely & Jones, 1816). *Catronarium Polygraphicum* (?). Du Fresnoy, Charles Alphonse, *De Arte Graphica: The Art of Painting by C. A. Du Fresnoy*, (J. John Dryoen, Trans.) (London: W. Rogers [by J.

September, No.3 Landscape in water colours one which passed a tint of tobacco juice to make it look warm, but spoilt it. It was compiled from No 2, and the original No. 1. No. 4 A Ballad Singer in water colours about 5 or six inches long, and was my first essay in human figure. Copied from one by W. Stephenson [?-?].

October, No. 6 Landscape in oil old mill from an engraving in a picture Book. 7 inches square. No. 7 Landscape in Indian Ink, Windmill and girl with wood, copied from a drawing by W. Stephenson. No. 8 Battle between two ships off an Island—original by J. Fisher [?-?].¹⁷

Jocelyn continued in this detailed manner in 1812, during the year he was an apprentice in his father's clock and watch manufacturing business. He wrote, "Much of the little time this year which I could spare from my fathers business was spent in beginning to acquire the art of engraving consequently I could draw or paint little."¹⁸

STUDYING THE MASTERS AND ART TECHNIQUES

Jocelyn progressed through 1814 drawing from books to taking an occasional lesson, "A head in profile painted in Mr. Munger's Room, and under his direction."¹⁹ In 1814, Jocelyn painted "a profile in Oil, on a pannel. This was my first attempt to paint a head in Oil, and was begun last winter. It was painted from fancy; or without any

Heptinstall]), 1695. Mengs, *Beauty and Taste in Painting*. (London (?): 1796). Pingry, *Varnishing Guide on Colors*. Pinnock, William, *A Catheism on Practice of Painting in Oil*, (London: G & W. B. Whittaker, 3rd. ed., 1821). Rees, Abraham, *The Cyclopaedia, or, Universal Dictionary of the Arts & Science & Literauture*, (Philadelphia: S. F. Bradford, 41 vols. & 6 vols. plates, n.d.). Sheldrake, *Repertory of the Arts*.

¹⁷ NJ Diary, Miscellaneous Sheets, 137-138.

¹⁸ Ibid., 138.

¹⁹ Ibid., November or December 1813, 140. George Munger (1781-1825) portrait, and miniature painter and engraver taught, practiced, and lived in New Haven.

model.”²⁰ At the end of the entry for 1814, he noted that he completed a landscape in oil and a “Head of Christ in Lead pencil from a drawing book.” In 1815, he mentioned his first miniature; “In June I painted a portrait on Ivory from an unfinished original by A. B. Doolittle.²¹ But wishing to give the Ivory away and being dissatisfied with my performance I washed it off.”²²

Evidence of Jocelyn’s resourcefulness in finding instruction is found in two letters he wrote to artist John Trumbull (1756-1843) in New York City. On November 26, 1817, Jocelyn sent a small study of a head based on

Pictures [engravings] you presented to him [his brother Simeon], I was able to find one of moderate size, combining excellence of engraving, expression of passion, and a picturesque effect. . . . I am aware that it will add little to my credit; and it was nothing but the fear of appearing indifferent to the great and disinterested attention which I have received from you, the wish you have expressed for my welfare, and the offers you have so kindly tendered of assistance and advice, that induced me to send a thing so trifling, and so little calculated to interest you in my future progress in art. Sir, I beg you to suspend your decision of my real capacity for the attainment of excellence in the art, until I can have an opportunity of offering you a specimen of all I am able to perform.²³

Three years later, on January 28, 1820, Jocelyn again apologized for not sending more work to Trumbull in the ensuing years while developing his “Graphic Company” or

²⁰ NJ Diary, Miscellaneous Sheets, May 1814, 140.

²¹ A. B. Doolittle was a Miniature painter, profilist, engraver, etcher on glass and jeweler. Active in Philadelphia 1804 and in 1806 settled in New Haven. There is an unclear familial relationship to Amos Doolittle (1754-1832) engraver active in New Haven.

²² Ibid., May 1814, 141.

²³ NJ to JT letters at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Collection Case 8, Box Z. It is unverified, but Trumbull may have been a distant relative of Jocelyn.

devoting any time to “Historical Engraving.” He did not want to disappoint Trumbull and quickly mentioned

Attending to the fundamental studies of Drawing, Anatomy, etc, that when opportunities should offer, I might go to work in some degree prepared for the undertaking. The anxiety I have felt for these continually protracted opportunities has often worn upon me, and the dread of never realizing the expectations of those who have lent a helping hand to forward me in art, has frequently been intolerable.²⁴

Jocelyn managed to sustain Trumbull’s attention by sending him another “unfinished head” for his review.

Although Nathaniel Jocelyn had already begun painting portraits by 1820, he felt unfocused in his pursuit to be a professional portrait painter and rededicated himself to recording his daily activities. His diary served as a constant reinforcement of his convictions. This rededication occurred eleven years after he finished serving as an apprentice to his father, Simeon Jocelin (1746-1823), a clock and watchmaker and engraver.²⁵ Towards the end of the apprenticeship and after becoming adept at watch repair and engraving, Nathaniel realized that he “could more easily supply [his] wants and be sooner freed from the necessity of devoting [his] time to the business of watchmaking.”²⁶ Around 1813, Jocelyn decided to leave his father’s business and focus his attention on engraving and painting.

²⁴ NJ to JT letters at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Gratz Collection Case 8, Box Z.

²⁵ Jocelin was the original family spelling. Nathaniel and his brother changed Jocelin to Jocelyn when they established their engraving business in 1818.

²⁶ NJ Diary, 31 January 1821.

ATTEMPTS AT APPRENTICESHIPS AND THE ENGRAVING BUSINESS

In 1813, the New Haven inventor Eli Whitney (1765-1825) aided the seventeen-year-old, Nathaniel in his pursuit of engraving as a profession. Whitney operated a factory in New Haven and “became involved in the clock-manufacturing efforts” of Nathaniel’s father, Simeon.²⁷ As a favor to the senior Jocelin and noting Nathaniel’s aptitude for engraving, Whitney wrote to Gideon Fairman (1774-1825) in Philadelphia suggesting an apprenticeship for Nathaniel at Fairman’s bank note engraving firm.²⁸

New Haven 11 November 1813

Dear Sir:

There is a Young man here by the name of Nath. Jocelin who is very solicitous to become an apprentice or pupil of yours to learn the art of engraving. He is of a reputable family and I think has no vicious habits or inclinations. His father is an ingenious clock and watch maker – self taught and uncommonly neat and accurate in his work.

The young man is between 17-18 years of age, has been employed with his father in repairing watches. Is from a child a good mechanic for his age.

He has lately made some small attempts at engraving etc., and I think will exhibit a good share of genius and taste when he shall have had the opportunity to improve. I have no doubt he will be ambitious and persevering in learning.

His father will not be able to afford him much pecuniary assistance and of course he will have nothing to depend upon but his own merits and industry.

²⁷ Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 9. Heinz implies that Whitney may have been interested in the silent movement for grandfather clocks invented by Simeon Jocelin.

²⁸ Born in Connecticut, Fairman was a portrait painter and prominent engraver who established various bank note engraving firms in Philadelphia. Later in 1822-1829, Jocelyn and his brother, Simeon Smith were associated (as agents) with Fairman’s Philadelphia engraving firm of Fairman, Draper, Underwood & Co. See Foster Wild Rice, “The Jocelyn Engravers,” *The Essay Proof Journal*, n.v. (July & October 1948), 4.

Will you have the goodness to inform me as soon as possible if you can take him in as an apprentice and on what terms, provided he should on trial, answer your expectations and your wishes.

With respect and esteem
I am DR Sir
Your friend and OBD Serv

G. Fairman Esq.
Eli Whitney²⁹

There is no evidence that Jocelyn received an offer, and if so, whether or not he accepted the apprenticeship.

In 1815, Whitney wrote another recommendation for Nathaniel, this time, to Abraham Brewster of Hartford.³⁰ A few months later, the Hartford Graphic and Bank Note Engraving Company (The Graphic Company) was established with Jocelyn, Abraham Brewster (? -?) (die sinker), Elkanah Tisdale (1771-?), Moseley (or Mosely) Isaac Danforth (1800-1862) (apprentice), Asaph Willard (1786-1880) and Eleazer Huntington. However, after only seven months, Jocelyn left the firm. In an 1820 letter to his friend Daniel Dickinson (1795-?), he recounted the story of the firm.

The partnership finally requiring my continued absence from home . . . to prevent unfair play from some of the partners, or an abdication of my share of the concern, the latter course was determined and I luckily sold all my rights in about 7 months after establishment of the company and just in time to avoid the difficulties brought upon them [the partners] by Brewster.”³¹

²⁹ As quoted in Rice, “Engravers,” 4.

³⁰ Ibid. See also, William Dunlap, *Diary of William Dunlap (1766-1839)* (New York: Benjamin Blom, Bronx, NY [reissue] v.1, 1969), 811. Information for an 1834 notice given to Dunlap by Nathaniel Jocelyn relating to Elkanah Tisdale, M. I. Danforth, Lucius Munson, (Jocelyn himself), Anson Dickinson and George Munger all for inclusion in William Dunlap’s *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States*. (New York: G. R. Scott & Co. 1834).

³¹ NJ to DD, 4 June 1820(Jocelyn Family Papers, CHS).

According to Jocelyn, the aging Brewster delayed distributing payments from accounts received and withheld money from the other partners for several months. By leaving the partnership, Jocelyn avoided “lawsuits and arbitrations” with Brewster.³² The firm dissolved within two years.

By 1818, Nathaniel and his brother Simeon Smith (known in the family as Smith) established their own bank note engraving firm, *N. & S.S. Jocelyn*. The bank note engraving business thrived upon the burgeoning expansion of state- chartered banks in the United States and Canada, each with its own set of notes and certificates in various denominations. Throughout most of their lives, the Jocelyn brothers continued engraving, expanding into stamp engraving, map and atlas making, and book illustration.

MENTORING FROM ESTABLISHED ARTISTS

The bank note engraving business provided Nathaniel with the financial stability to pursue his ambition to become a professional portrait painter. This desire had been building since he was fourteen years old and was encouraged by his acquaintance with the New Haven engraver, portrait, and miniature painter, George Munger (1781-1825).³³

Several role models and a prevailing notion of self-actualization influenced Jocelyn’s formative years as an artist in New Haven. According to Chandos M. Brown,

³² NJ to DD, 4 June 1820 (Jocelyn Family Papers, CHS).

³³ Munger painted a portrait miniature of Jocelyn signed and dated *August 1817*, when Jocelyn was his student and possible engraving business partner (there is one engraving signed by both artists). Perhaps the miniature was painted as a demonstration of miniature painting technique. (Portrait owned by Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, CT. Mabel Brady Garven Collection), (fig.I.1.).

FIGURE I.1.



“The Revolution effectively extinguished the great Puritan proscription against insubordination, however . . . the young Republic, engendered by rebellion, required of its individual citizens a similarly qualifying gesture of self-assertion.”³⁴ Jocelyn was governed by the Puritan work ethic and was expected to take advantage of every career opportunity that was presented to him. He would have to recognize the opportunities (that God provided) and in effect, invent himself.³⁵

Yale exerted a major influence on all aspects of cultural, political and educational life in New Haven. It attracted young men of high social position and wealth who studied for the ministry, law, or arts and letters. It made New Haven a draw for theologians, intellectuals, and “inquiring minds” even if they were not associated with the College.³⁶ The period between 1750 and 1835 was the city’s “golden age” according to Elizabeth Brown:

Four figures stand out: James Hillhouse, U.S. Senator, . . . Ezra Stiles, president of Yale from 1778 to 1795; Timothy Dwight, his successor from 1795 to 1817; and Eli Whitney, inventor. . . . Under the leadership of these men and their circle,

³⁴ Chandos M. Brown, *Benjamin Silliman: A Life in the Young Republic*. (Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1989), 323. For an example of another artist’s self-actualization, see Alan Wallach, “Thomas Cole and the Aristocracy,” *Arts Magazine* 56, no.3 (Nov 1981): 101; “Cole began his career by defining himself. He had no teachers, no formal education. What technique he possessed he acquired from the study of books and painting, and from a laborious process of trial and error.”

³⁵ “Let God have all the thanks, may he enable me to perceive his hand in all my blessings, and to build my faith on the savior, and O God still farther enable me to perform the duty thou have sent me, and enrich my heart to make a right use of that measure of this worlds goods which thou may put into my hands” (NJ Dairy, 18 February 1821, 30).

³⁶ Noah Webster (1758-1843) left New York City and returned to New Haven in the late eighteenth century, Ithiel Town (1784-1844) returned to New Haven in 1810.

New Haven became the foremost city in Connecticut and Yale became the largest college in America, no longer a regional but now a national institution.³⁷

New Haven proved to be the right place for Jocelyn. He would later be patronized by many of the leading lights at Yale through his engraving and portrait painting business. Almost half of Jocelyn's lifetime output of portraits was of Yale faculty and graduates.³⁸ For example, the N. & S.S. Jocelyn firm provided engravings for Yale Professor Benjamin Silliman's (1779-1864) *American Journal of Science* and books.³⁹

Jocelyn pursued his own course of study in acquiring the expected knowledge of a cultured man and artist. A little self-conscious about not being a Yale graduate, he cultivated relationships with other successful men such as Ithiel Town. Town was the impressive builder of two of the three churches on New Haven's center green and like Jocelyn did not have a college education. Town arrived in New Haven in 1810 and was twelve years older than Jocelyn, but in the ensuing years, the two became friends, and later toured England and Europe together.

In 1820, Jocelyn's artistic growth was accelerated by the arrival of the Morse family in New Haven. Jocelyn became acquainted and developed a strong friendship with Samuel Finley Breese Morse (1791-1872), the artist and later inventor of the telegraph. Samuel was the youngest of three sons of the Reverend Jedidiah Morse and his wife,

³⁷ Brown, Elizabeth Mills, *New Haven: A guide to Architecture and Urban Design*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976), 2.

³⁸ Foster Wild Rice, "Nathaniel Jocelyn – 1796-1881," *The Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin*, Hartford v. 31, n. 4, (October 1966): *passim*.

³⁹ The firm engraved the illustration of Ithiel Town's model truss bridge for Silliman's *American Journal of Science*, c.1820, New Haven. The bridge was built at Eli Whitney's factory site as part of Whitney's sponsorship of Town.

Elisabeth. Jedidiah retired with his family to New Haven after losing a dispute with his congregation in Charlestown, Massachusetts. Jedidiah did not manage his money successfully and was always in debt. Yet, he spent a good deal of money on the education of his sons, sending all three to Yale and spending \$4,000 to have Samuel trained four years in Britain.⁴⁰

Morse was five years older than Jocelyn and already a very successful portrait artist. Morse bided his time and supported his family as a portrait painter until he could achieve success as a history painter like his teacher, Benjamin West (1738-1820) and his friend and mentor Washington Allston (1779-1843). Morse achieved fame and monetary rewards on three sequential trips to paint portraits in the Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia areas. He lived with relatives and participated in genteel society while earning numerous commissions.⁴¹

As the friendship between Jocelyn and Morse grew, it yielded references and connections. The Jocelyn engraving firm expanded into map and atlas engraving to fulfill the needs of S. F. B. Morse's father, Jedidiah. The Reverend Morse was a noted geographer and known for his *Geography Made Easy*, 1784, *The American Geography*, 1789 and *The American Universal Geography*, 1793. These books were a source of significant income for the family.⁴² The Morse family rented their cottage in New Haven from Senator James Hillhouse. Hillhouse's son the poet, James Abraham Hillhouse

⁴⁰ Joseph W. Phillips, *Jedidiah Morse and New England Congregationalism* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press 1983), 217.

⁴¹ William Kloss, *Samuel F. B. Morse*. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers. 1988).

⁴² See Phillips, *Jedidiah Morse* 217.

(1789-1841) was a college friend and companion of S. F. B. Morse and both included Jocelyn in their circle of friends. Jocelyn painted a copy of John Vanderlyn's portrait of the Senator and an original of his son, James A. Hillhouse.

S. F. B. Morse provided more than business and social connections; He proved to be the ideal role model for the younger Jocelyn. Although Jocelyn lacked Morse's education, training and social connections, he set out to emulate Morse's prominent career. Unlike Morse, Jocelyn had not been to Europe nor had he studied with Benjamin West and Washington Allston.⁴³ Yet, to Jocelyn, Morse's career represented an achievable goal. Historian Bernard Heinz recognized the connection between Jocelyn's time line for his professional plan and the level of success Morse had achieved.⁴⁴ Morse had five years of experience beyond Jocelyn; Jocelyn hoped that within five years he would equal Morse's reputation.⁴⁵

Certainly, Morse was the most famous artist of Jocelyn's generation to arrive in New Haven. And, while there is no direct evidence that Jocelyn formally studied with Morse, his artistic ability was most likely enhanced through his contact with him. The most direct reference to Jocelyn receiving some practical painting advice from Morse comes from Jocelyn's diary on May 29, 1821. He noted the difference between two types of millboard (artist's laminated cardboard support for painting) and considered the finish

⁴³ John Trumbull dissuaded Jocelyn from going to Europe earlier. Jocelyn did not have family in England like Morse had and Trumbull feared that the young Jocelyn would be led away from his religious convictions. However, as already demonstrated, Trumbull sufficiently encouraged Jocelyn to study on his own.

⁴⁴ Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 14.

⁴⁵ "I propose with diligent practice and unwearied study, the attainment of a reputation as a portrait painter in *five* years" (NJ Diary, 31 January 1821).

between the hard and soft surface. He wrote, “I think with proper care the hard kind will admit of receiving a finer surface than the softer. The piece on which Morse painted the two Heads in black and white is beautifully smooth, and the board is very hard.”⁴⁶ This relatively brief mention of an observation and likely discussion was obviously the result of an earlier visit to Morse’s studio. In short, Jocelyn set his sights on learning the craft of portrait painting. For him this would be a long journey of trial and error.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth-century, portraiture was the one branch of the arts that provided a sound business foundation. Even though Jocelyn claimed he was not, “fulmost inclined to that department but through this the only hope I have ever of devoting myself to the art.”⁴⁷

In the 1820s, Jocelyn was keenly aware of the ascendancy of landscape painting in America. He also realized through Joshua Reynolds’s *Discourses on Art* that the highest level of artistic attainment could be found through history painting. However, Jocelyn lacked the financial, social, and artistic background to pursue history painting, except that, “should business or easy circumstances ever put it in my power I can turn to it with pleasure.”⁴⁸ At the time, he did not realize he would later blend the portrait and the historical in *Cinqué*, the most important painting of his career. Meanwhile, he maintained

⁴⁶ The portrait study of two heads by Morse was probably an underpainting or a dead-colored study (the application of shadow and light to achieve the structure of the subject) for Jocelyn to use as an example of the first stage in portrait painting. It is not clear whether Jocelyn had Morse’s study with him in Savannah or if he only had the copy he started in New Haven, as noted on 23 February 1821, “Painted on a head I had begun in New Haven from one of Morses in black and white.”

⁴⁷ NJ Diary, 31 January 1821, (occasional NJ pagination) 15.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

his high ideals for “portrait [Painting] must as Reynolds observed derive a higher character, neither are there any disadvantages attending it.”⁴⁹ In his introduction to

Reynolds’s *Discourses* editor Stephen O. Mitchell noted:

Art, then - and portraiture more than any other genre - aims at ethical growth, a growth that is to be achieved by the viewer when he grasps the concept of the ideal, the reality hidden away beyond the accidental imperfections of birth, age, or particularity; art allows us to see the world and human beings as they truly are and hence gives us a standard for our individual lives, an insight which produces the virtue of freedom from the particular and the sensual.⁵⁰

Jocelyn understood and acknowledged the contrast between the trade of art and the higher ideals of art, but he was not in the position to pursue the higher forms.

Similarly, Alan Wallach wrote about Thomas Cole’s (1801-1848) “Faith in Neoplatonic aesthetic theory as well as his belief in the traditional academic hierarchy that placed history painting at the summit of artistic aspiration,” which may have led Cole to some frustration and burdened him with “a set of impracticable values.”⁵¹ Jocelyn took this dichotomy in stride. Perhaps at the time, he lacked the sophistication of Cole and Morse, and did not set his goals as high.

Jocelyn was years of artistic achievement behind his friend and role model Morse. History painting was within Morse’s grasp, not Jocelyn’s. Morse was a successful portrait

⁴⁹ NJ Diary, 31 January 1821, (occasional NJ pagination) 17. Jocelyn gained inspiration from and was referring to Reynolds’s, *Discourse* no.9.

⁵⁰ Stephen O. Mitchell, *Discourses on Art*, (Indianapolis, New York, Kansas City: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., 1965), xxiii.

⁵¹ Wallach, “Cole,” 111.

painter in spite of his distaste for “lowering his art to a trade, ‘painting for money . . . degrading myself and the soul-enlarging art I possess,’ to mere financial gain.”⁵²

Jocelyn had yet to build a successful career as an artist. In pre-1830 United States, there were few options and means for Jocelyn to develop his profession, especially with his late start in gaining technical and painterly skills. Had Jocelyn been born in or around London his opportunities would have been dramatically different. In order to place the American experience in context, it is instructive to look at the contrast between Jocelyn and a young Scottish artist (both 24 years old) acquiring the knowledge to put themselves forth as professional artists.⁵³ The young artist was Andrew Robertson (1777-1845), the youngest brother of Archibald Robertson (1765-1835). Archibald, a miniature painter who emigrated from Scotland to New York in 1791, enjoyed a successful thirty-year career as a painter and teacher.⁵⁴

In 1801, Andrew set off for London from Aberdeen to gain entry into the Royal Academy. In a series of letters exchanged with his family and especially Archibald, Andrew detailed his progress.⁵⁵ Upon hearing of Andrew’s plan, Archibald gave the following advice, “I can say no more than what I have said before, that it is to you as if you were going to school, not but you should make money there, if you can, and as to academical studies, there will be no harm in making as much of them as you can, not that

⁵² Neil Harris, *The Artist in American Society*, (New York: George Braziller, 1966), 65.

⁵³ The artist with whom I am contrasting Jocelyn was practicing earlier in the nineteenth-century (1801) twenty years prior to Jocelyn’s first serious efforts learning portraiture.

⁵⁴ Jocelyn is known to have seen examples of Archibald’s miniatures while in Savannah.

⁵⁵ *Letters and Papers of Andrew Robertson, A.M.*, Emily Robertson, ed., (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1895), *passim*.

you will have a very great occasion for them in common practice.” He continued, “For doing miniatures, or heads of any kind, the Academy will be of little service, unless you were to be a thorough historical painter.” And, “Portraits and you in particular, Miniature is the thing.” He reluctantly concluded, “At any rate, it will be of use to see their mode of study at the Academy.”⁵⁶

Arriving in London on June 2, 1801, Andrew immediately met and networked with senior artists. “I have been employed in attending exhibitions, and making my self aquented [*sic*] with the artists to whom I was introduced, by all of whom I was well received, and by none more cordially than Mr. Shelley, who will be of service to me.”⁵⁷ When not at exhibitions, Andrew copied portraits for his father, mother, and a Mrs. Johnston, perhaps as a way of repaying patronage. His most important objective was to prepare a drawing to submit for admission to the Academy. Mr. William Hamilton, R.A. provided him with a small figure of the “Coiter or Discobolos” [The Discus Thrower] which he recommends as a proper subject for my introductory drawing to the Academy.”⁵⁸

In a letter to his father dated July 8, 1801, Andrew gave a detailed account of his progress at the Academy:

It is a difficult matter to get into the Royal Academy now, they are so strict. However, by letter from an Academician to the keeper I have drawn there ten days. We are allowed some months to make a drawing to present to the council and if it is approved of, the student gets a ticket admitting him to the library, etc. some have waited 18 months before they get the liberty to draw at all. I got it

⁵⁶ Robertson, *Letters*, 39.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 43. Samuel Shelley (1756-1808) was one of London’s leading miniaturists.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

upon showing a figure, drawn on purpose, to Mr. Hamilton and to Mr. Northcote, both Royal Academicians. I am now doing a figure to get my ticket and I have no fear of getting it in a few months making up with those who have drawn there for several years. I hope before I leave London to get admission to the life Academy—that is to draw from the naked life.⁵⁹

A charted pathway was clearly delineated for Andrew Robertson where none existed for Jocelyn. The Royal Academy had established a structured, sequential course of study which included copying from engravings and the collections of connoisseurs, drawing from the antique (plaster casts) and ultimately, life drawing. In theory, this led one along the path to developing into a professional artist. The rank of R.A. after a name would establish an artist's credentials and guarantee patronage. In America, some twenty years after Robertson's Academy days, no such system existed.

Andrew made rapid progress because he, according to a Mr. Wilton "the keeper" at the Academy, "had a desire after the art, and as I have had a good education (for I told him I had a degree from Aberdeen College) there is every prospect of my arriving at something in London, and not to leave it by any means, unless for the continent. . . ." The keeper told him how, "He lamented the prospect for the arts . . . already on the decline . . . for the young artists who had come through his hands . . . shewed no desire for the arts . . . came there merely . . . to gain money." And, "The mass of students now drawing were an illiterate, trifling, mean set of beggars, many of whom could scarcely write their names."⁶⁰ Clearly, Andrew established an elitist posture to advance his program, a posture that Jocelyn would have likely resented.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 45.

⁶⁰ Robertson, *Letters*, 47.

Access to the Academy provided important contact with the major artists of the day. Andrew recounted his meeting with “the *greatest man in the world*,” Benjamin West. Andrew showed West a copy in miniature of a Van Dyck painting. West, who was impressed or at least being kind and generous to the young student said, “You have felt this, and given it the spirit of the original . . . [that has] none of the trifling insignificance of miniatures, [the miniature is] so large as to admit all the character and minute marking of portrait . . . and sir, if you are industrious, you must become a second Cooper.”⁶¹ Andrew was ecstatic, “He [West] makes a stride over the moderns, to talk of Shelley would have been too much, and Cosway presumption—but thus to set me down by the side of Cooper!”⁶² Andrew “blushed” and said he was “afraid he [West] said more than my picture deserved.” West was “displeased, and said he believed no man had ever heard him say what he did not think . . . and said he would *sit to[for] me*.” Andrew felt the experience was like “magic—delirium” and he continued in this letter to his brother Archibald, “Nobody would believe me—it is so much like romance that I who only a few months ago was drudging away in Aberdeen—a slave to the caprice of every old woman who should employ me and do a satin piece for 2/6!”⁶³

⁶¹ Samuel Cooper (1608 [?]-1672) the pre-eminent English miniaturist.

⁶² Richard Cosway, R.A. (1742-1821) “Made Academician in 1771, a rare honor for a miniaturist of the period and a testament to his talents both as a painter and a politician.” And, comparing Cosway’s portraits to Gainsborough’s the authors stated, “They shared comparable aesthetic viewpoints, and it is the ‘undetermined manner’ [from Reynolds’s 14th Discourse] of Gainsborough’s later portraits, with its appeal to the viewer’s imagination in perceiving the likeness within the freely treated features, that best serves as a point of reference for Cosway’s mature style.” (John Murdoch, Jim Murrell, Patrick J. Noon and Roy Strong, *The English Miniature*, [New Haven, Yale University Press: 1981], 184-185).

⁶³ Robertson, *Letters*, 66-67.

Suffice it to say, the contrast between the experiences of the two young artists is great. Like Jocelyn, Andrew Robertson while in London sought portrait commissions to help pay his expenses, but unlike Jocelyn, Robertson's father helped support his education, as did Morse's. Jocelyn did not have the opportunity to write home as did Andrew to discuss finances, "I received the fish, you need not mind the whiskey till we have more money . . . I have two months' board and lodging due, I owe money to my tailor, frame maker, etc., but I have a good many pictures in hand, which will soon, I hope, enable me to send you more [money]. . . ." ⁶⁴

While both Robertson and Jocelyn lived modestly away from home, Robertson had the advantage of working and studying in a major center of art. In one year in London, he built on his formal art education and met and discussed art with the most illustrious artists of the period, heard lectures, painted and drew at the Royal Academy, and exhibited with the contemporary masters. During Robertson's year in London, he set his sights on Paris as his next goal.

Meanwhile, recognizing the limitations of artistic training in America, Jocelyn prepared his own plan. By the time he focused his attention on becoming an artist in 1820, he was too far along in his family life and engraving business to leave home for the sole purpose of studying drawing from plaster casts at the American Academy's school in New York City. ⁶⁵ He was also too early to be part of the yet to be established National Academy of Design.

⁶⁴ Robertson, *Letters*, 70-71.

⁶⁵ The school was started in 1815 as a part of the American Academy of Arts established in 1802 for exhibition purposes only.

Jocelyn's formation as an artist was fashioned by his circumstances in New Haven. The city afforded him certain unique opportunities both as a theological and intellectual center. In the earlier phase of his development, Jocelyn may have been most influenced by the New Haven "Yankee" inquisitiveness and inventiveness of men like Morse and Whitney. He began with early mechanical training and engraving skills in his father's clock shop; from there he enlisted the support of the quintessential inventor, Eli Whitney, to obtain an engraving apprenticeship. As he matured, so did his religious self-fashioning and greater dependence on the Yale faculty for business opportunities and for the intellectual climate. Although he was not a student, the proximity to a college environment may have sharpened Jocelyn's ambition.

By the end of his formative stage, Jocelyn acted quickly to make up for lost time in order to achieve artistic, professional and economic growth. At this point in his career, New Haven could not afford him the opportunity to broaden his clientele and hone his artistic skills. Therefore, he followed the only path with which he was familiar, Morse's example of traveling south to seek commissions and learn as much as possible about the business of portrait painting.

CHAPTER II

JOCELYN: ITINERANT PAINTER IN SAVANNAH AND PILGRIM ON THE GRAND TOUR

INTRODUCTION

In 1820, Jocelyn worked as an itinerant portrait painter and businessman in Savannah, Georgia. The twenty-four year old left his pregnant wife and child at home to make up for lost career time. Jocelyn's diary offers a rare look at how professional artists sought to establish themselves, given the complications involved in gaining and completing commissions. He used his diary to record crucial aspects of painting techniques that he learned from peer artists. His Savannah experience led Jocelyn to embark on the ultimate opportunity for the study of art, his Grand Tour of Europe.

Spurred by Morse's account of financial success, Jocelyn embarked on the first of two trips to Savannah, Georgia.⁶⁶ He was convinced that a southern trip would put him on the path to artistic success. When he arrived in Savannah in late November, 1820, the city was recovering from a devastating fire that destroyed four hundred and sixty-three

⁶⁶ Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 18. After Morse's second trip to Charleston (1818-1819) he "was said to have cleared over \$9,000."

buildings and was in the midst of a building renewal. In the first decade of the nineteenth-century, Savannah was moving from primarily a rice and lumber export economy to a cotton economy. The resultant economic growth was due largely to Eli Whitney's invention of the cotton gin in 1793.⁶⁷ The fact that a fellow New Havener had so transformed the city of Savannah may have given some encouragement to Jocelyn.

Savannah, a city comparable to New Haven in size, was not as advanced in patronizing the arts as Morse's Charleston, South Carolina.⁶⁸ Yet, this was the city where Jocelyn had the support of relatives. Jocelyn sailed to Savannah with Captain Laban Smith on the sloop *Adeline*. Laban's mother was a relative of Jocelyn's wife Sarah. While in Savannah, Jocelyn lived with Laban's maternal uncle, Samuel Smith and Jocelyn also rented a separate painting room.⁶⁹ Additionally, Morse had complained recently that Charleston "fairly swarms with painters. I am the only one that has as much as he can do; all the rest are complaining."⁷⁰

Although Jocelyn's artistic skill was not fully developed, he was competent enough to practice miniature painting on ivory and small-to-bust size oils on board and

⁶⁷ *Historic Savannah* (Savannah, GA.: Historic Savannah Foundation, 1968,) 10, 6.

⁶⁸ For an overview of the long established cultural and artistic superiority of Charleston see, Anna Wells Rutledge, *Artists in the Life of Charleston: Through Colony and State from Restoration to Reconstruction*, (Columbia, SC. University of South Carolina Press, Reprint, 1980).

⁶⁹ Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 18-19. Jocelyn painted Laban Smith's portrait, perhaps as part payment for his November 28, 1820 passage.

⁷⁰ Samuel F. B. Morse, *His Letters and Journals*, ed. Edward Lind Morse 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1914. Reprint. New York: Kraus press, [2 vols. in 1] 1972), 1:229.

canvas.⁷¹ While in Savannah, he also promoted the N. & S.S. Jocelyn banknote engraving firm in hopes of sending orders back to his brother, Smith. When he first arrived, Jocelyn advertised as a portrait painter and did not include mention of his engraving business.⁷² But he certainly solicited commissions for the bank note engraving business and his bank note specimen book was never far from reach.⁷³ In 1822, Jocelyn placed a separate advertisement for his engraving business and his dual role as a painter and engraver became evident.⁷⁴

Jocelyn began his career by painting portrait miniatures. For an itinerant artist, painting miniatures was financially lucrative because they were affordable and appealed to a wide audience. It also allowed an artist to demonstrate painting skills and promote an

⁷¹ By Jocelyn's own assessment he had devoted the previous five years to having "made some progress; have paid so much attention to anatomy as will make the acquisition of sound anatomical knowledge easy. . . . And as may well be supposed, the observation of ten years devotedly bent on finally reaching the top has given me promiscious [*sic*] knowledge which when attested, and methodism [*sic*] by constant study and practice, ought to make my proficiency rapid and certain." (NJ Diary, 31 January 1821).

⁷² N. JOCELYN, PORTRAIT PAINTER,/HAS his Painting Room at Mrs. Hamilton's on the north side/of Johnson's square, opposite the State Bank; where he will remain during/the winter. *Columbian Museum & Savannah Daily Gazette*. Georgia, 27 December 1820 (Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts).

⁷³ "Went home after my book of Bank Notes, Returned to my [painting] room. . . ." He also checks on his competition, "Mr. McIntire called mentioned a specimen of Bank Note engraving at Shencks [bookstore]. . . . Afterwards I went to Shencks" (NJ Diary, 13 February 1821).

⁷⁴ "Engraving/N. & S.S. Jocelyn, Engravers, New Haven (Conn.)/Will execute any order for Bank Notes and all kinds of fine copper plate engravings, as portrait cards of address, visiting cards etc. They can furnish any quantity of a superior quality of Bank Note paper, manufactured by Hudson & Company a specimen of which, with various specimens of Bank Notes and other engravings may be seen at the painting room of the subscriber who will receive and transmit all orders./ Satisfactory references can be made on the subject of Bank Note engraving./ N. Jocelyn/John Stone's [*sic*] Square (*The Daily Georgian*, March 9, 1822) as quoted in Rice, "Engravers," 6.

oil painting business. In 1820 America, the market for miniature painting was strong.⁷⁵

Using miniature painting as an introduction to portrait painting was not an idea unique to Jocelyn. In America, since the late eighteenth-century, painting miniatures was a proven method of introducing oneself as a portrait painter.

An eighteenth-century example of this sales technique is visible in the life of American artist, Charles Willson Peale (1741-1827). Soon after he arrived in London in 1767 to study with Benjamin West, he quickly seized upon miniature painting as one of the techniques of art to "advance his fortune." He noted in a 1767 letter to his friend and patron John Beale Bordley that under West's introductions, "I have been to see Reynolds [Sir Joshua (1723-1792)] and Cotes [Francis (1726-1770)] who are called the Best Painters and in my Humble Opinion Mr. West's works Exceeds them by far. . . . Mr. West is intimate with the best miniature Painter [and] intends to borrow some miniature pieces for me to copy privately as he does nothing in that way himself."⁷⁶

⁷⁵ A comprehensive history of American miniatures remains unwritten. Published works on American miniature painting focus on biographical aspects of miniaturists with brief historical overviews. However, enough information is available from business directories and published works to determine that miniature painting was a viable business opportunity in 1820. See: Robin Bolton-Smith, *Portrait Miniatures in the National Museum of American Art*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984). Susan Strickler, *American Portrait Miniatures: The Worcester Art Museum Collection (Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum 1989)*. Date T. Johnson, *American Portrait Miniatures in the Manny Collection*. (New York: Abrams, 1990). Martha R. Severens, *The Miniature Portrait Collection of the Carolina Art Association*, (Charleston, SC: Carolina Art Association, 1984). For the most comprehensive work on the antecedents of American miniature painting see, John Murdoch, et al. eds. *The English Miniature*. New Haven, Yale University Press: 1981.

⁷⁶ Lillian B. Miller, ed. *The Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family*, (New Haven: Yale University Press 1983), 1:47-48.

However, another of Peale's patrons, Charles Carroll (The Barrister) upon hearing of Peale's interest in miniature painting wrote a cautionary word, "I observe your inclination leads you much to painting in miniature I would have you consider whether that may be so advantageous to you here or whether it may suit so much the taste of the people with us as larger Portrait Painting which I think would be a branch of the profession that would turn out to greater profit here."⁷⁷

Carroll reflected the prevailing notion that only "larger Portrait Painting" in oils met the personal and civic needs back home. He was correct; in the 1760s America had not experienced the popularity of miniature painting that flourished in England. Of course Peale, upon his return to America continued the profession of painting primarily full-size oil portraits as well as miniatures. Miniature painting was still more suitable for travel and temporary living conditions, an aspect of the art upon which Peale capitalized during his service in the Continental Army.

LEARNING IN THE PAINTING ROOM

Jocelyn immediately set up his painting room in Johnson's Square, and began the trial-and-error process of developing his miniature painting technique without the aid of instruction. In a typical diary entry, Jocelyn wrote, "Think I did not begin the hair of the

⁷⁷ Miller, *Selected Papers of C. W. P.*, 1:70.

miniature with a touch sufficiently broad and free [and] believe I floated in the coat with too thick colour”⁷⁸; he was still in the process of refining the basic techniques.

Jocelyn’s diary revealed his daily struggles and frustrations while painting one of his first miniatures. Jocelyn “began to paint on the back ground of Pooler’s Miniature, and had just begun a sitting for the hair, when we were interrupted for the day by the mason who came to alter the fireplace.”⁷⁹ Two days later after “diordered [*sic*] in my bowels, and physic has not yet stopped it” he returned to the miniature, “Had a sitting from Pooler, finished the hair and worked on the other parts . . . spent the rest of the forenoon working on the back ground.” The next day, “had an early sitting from Pooler, finished up the head and drapery excepting a few touches.” He took a break and “went to Shencks [bookstore], bought a small Miniature Frame.” He returned from the bookstore and, “worked until about 2 . . . went hastily to dinner, almost felt as if I never wished to paint another Miniature.” He “returned [from dinner] soon and he [Pooler] soon came in sat 1/2 an hour when all was done that required his presence.”⁸⁰

His frustration with the miniature subsided in the process of completing it and by “a call from Dr. Randall and fellow boarders . . . [William] Coe and Davis [who] declared the mini[ature] to be a great likeness.” Fortified, Jocelyn then “painted until dark deligently [*sic*] on the last back ground and surrounding parts.” While the miniature dried

⁷⁸ NJ Diary, 31 January 1821. Note: “floated in the coat” refers to the watercolor technique of applying a broad wash of color to the ivory and allowing it to dry with a matte finish.

⁷⁹ Ibid., 1 February 1821. Robert W. Pooler was a friend of Jocelyn’s and the subject of one of Jocelyn’s first miniatures in Savannah.

⁸⁰ Ibid., 3, 4 February 1821.

he went to merchant Joseph “Stone’s to cut out a piece of ivory.” Later with enthusiasm, “put up my Miniature apparatus, as soon as it [miniature] was done [dry] . . . put in [glued it on] a paper. . . . Ready for loved Oil Painting on Monday.”⁸¹

The autodidactic Jocelyn focused his attention on his “loved Oil Painting.” The diary confirmed his drawing and rendering ability by the fact that the subject is rarely mentioned as a problem.⁸² Entries concentrated on mixing colors, achieving the proper skin tones and avoiding “muddy” tones, setting the palette (determining which tints and secondary colors to pre-mix), achieving “chiaroscuro,” “glazing” (transparent color over another color), and “scumbling” (opaque color over a glaze).⁸³

The process of adopting another artist’s palette or choice of colors was the traditional way, short of starting from scratch, to acquire proficiency. Later in the century, these basics were taught in the academies. Throughout this period Jocelyn set his palette using either Washington Allston’s or Gilbert Stuart’s (1755-1828) as a model.⁸⁴

⁸¹ NJ Diary, 1, 3 February 1821. B. Heinz identified William Coe.

⁸² Jocelyn mentioned in several entries, for example, a reference to his “duty to [nightly] drawing” (NJ Diary, 8 January 1822). However, these drawing sessions were often replaced by the study of scriptures, conversation with friends or a new objective such as learning Latin.

⁸³ NJ Diary, 9, 10 February 1821.

⁸⁴ Notes on the palettes are derived from Jocelyn’s observations and discussions with peers about Allston’s and Stuart’s works. In August 1823, Jocelyn visited Stuart’s studio and possibly Allston’s and made a watercolor rendition of each palette with notes. On his second trip to Savannah he also mentioned John Vanderlyn’s palette, “Not expecting to paint flesh I set, only the pure colours like Vandarlyn [*sic*], except Black, I set the tints for this, for linnen” (NJ Diary, 29 May 1822). Four years later he still adjusted and experimented with his palette, “Yesterday & today modified my [palette] with reference to the arrangement of Lawrences & the effect of Stuarts use of colours and am pleased with the result for the last two weeks I have painted with tints like Allston. By those changes I learn the nature & power of colours” (NJ Dairy, 14 March 1826).

Oddly, Jocelyn does not mention Morse's palette, probably because it was based on his friend, Allston's. Typically, Jocelyn's opinions regarding his palette vacillated. On February 7th he noted,

Coe came in and sat from 3 to five in which time I forwarded the chiaroscuro of the face remeided [*sic*]the drawing which inclined the head forward painting up the hair, the colouring is so muddy yet, and this evening a thought struck me that it might be well to use Allstons pallett for a while, from that . . . and the use of Stuarts I think my mind has been led so [as] to reason on the principles [of color] [and] with this knowledge I may find more ample combinations in my old pallett and think for a while I may try it again.⁸⁵

Four days later he continued with his assessment of the two palettes,

After finishing my pallett, began and painted on the face of the female which I advanced some and find or think I find the materials of Allstons pallett more ample than that of Stuart. Whether it is or not I am convinced that the temporary adoption of Stuarts, put me in the track of discovering the principles of colouring. As a general pallett the colours on Allstons appear to be more powerfull.⁸⁶

For Jocelyn, experimenting with paints and the arrangement of his palette was typical of the slow and arduous process of learning portraiture.

DISCUSSIONS AND CRITIQUES WITH PEER ARTISTS

Jocelyn socialized with a small group of artists in order to learn the conduct of his profession.⁸⁷ His fellow artists were approximately in the same stage of professional

⁸⁵ NJ Diary, 7, February 1821.

⁸⁶ Ibid., 7, 11 February 1821.

⁸⁷ Among the artists: Nathan Negus (1801-1825), Henry James William Finn (1787-1840) (comic actor, playwright, miniature painter and co-editor of *The Savannah*

development. Together they argued about what prices to charge, how many portraits the established artists painted in a week (and their prices) as well as the group's opinion of the successful artists' paintings.⁸⁸

Jocelyn's first business objective was to determine a price scale for his works. He gauged the market place by evaluating the experience of other well-known and amateur artists. Jocelyn followed hearsay and rumors: "Friends said a painter there [Natchez, Mississippi] of the name of Parker [?], who painted 14 portraits [oil] about head size, and that his price was 100 dollars." This propelled Jocelyn to think about his price schedule, "I determined while painting the miniature of Pooler that my price thereafter for occasional miniatures of the common 1 1/2 x 3 inches should be the same as for a portrait of the head size [\$30]."⁸⁹

He continued to scribble notes before he lost his thoughts,

I would paint none smaller than 3 inches because less than that [the] length [of the figure] appears . . . [?][and] I would not be able to ask the price of miniatures [that I ask for a small oil]. Three inches is the common size and is about as soon done as one smaller and in appearance is better worth the price. Should I ever paint My miniatures in oil I think 5 inches a better size than 4 which Coln Trumbull used so frequently. It will shew to better advantage when framed. . . . [5 inches] admits of more room for execution—and it is . . . removed from [. . .] comparison with

Georgian), Cornelius Schroeder (act. 1811-1826), miniature painter (from NYC), and supporters, Israel Keech Tefft, *The Savannah Georgian* newspaper owner and editor (from Providence, RI) and Loyal Scranton (1799-1854) (from New Haven) Joseph Stone, merchant (from New Haven).

⁸⁸ In my opinion, judging from extant works of the other artists, Jocelyn developed into the superior painter.

⁸⁹ NJ Diary, 19 May 1821. However, seven months later, he added, "I told Scranton that I would paint his miniature for my New Haven price [\$20], wishing to produce a specimen" (NJ Diary, 31 December 1821).

portraits done on Ivory. They seldom being painted larger than 5 inches though they are sometimes as large as 4 inches.⁹⁰

Jocelyn ended this passage by changing the subject of pricing to aesthetics: “In painting side likenesses [profiles]; I believe it will be best to loose [lose or complete] the body in a sketchy way rather than to terminate it in the regular bust manner, and as a sky or neutral tint back ground is easily worked in the additional effect which it will produce will make it worth while to add it to those I may paint.”⁹¹

Jocelyn and his fellow artists in Savannah were in awe of established artists and how quickly they painted.⁹² The topic frequently appeared in his diary,

Schorder called and in conversation told me that Malborne [*sic*] did paint 5 miniatures a week in Charleston more he could not or would not do. Negus has also told me that at the time when Stuarts price was 100 a head, he painted 6 a week. Now my ambition or facility would never carry me to hope or wish to be able to paint more than two [,] three quarters [3/4] or 3 heads [oils] in a week at most.⁹³

⁹⁰ NJ Diary, 19 May 1821.

⁹¹ Ibid.

⁹² Likewise, Charles Fraser [1782-1860], a miniature painter from Charleston, SC, wrote in his account book, that Hayley said, “[George] Romney [1734-1802] often had 5 sitters a day.” This entry can be found in William Hayley’s [1745-1820] *Life of Romney*. See Martha R. Severens and Charles L. Wyrick, Jr. eds., *Charles Fraser of Charleston*, (Charleston, SC: Carolina Art Association, 1983), 145.

⁹³ NJ Diary, 19 May 1821. Edward Green Malbone (1777-1807), miniature painter from Newport, RI. Also Nathan Negus advertised in the Columbian Museum & Savannah Daily Gazette on the same day, 27 December 1820 as Jocelyn. “N. Negus, / RESPECTFULLY informs the Ladies and Gentlemen of this city and its / vicinity, that he has opened a room in Broughton street, oppositie P. / Dupon’s grocery, where he will be happy to excute any orders in his / profession, viz. Portrait, Miniature, and Transparent PAINTING: / Masonic Florings, Aprons and Diplomas – Military Standards, Sign, Or- / namental and Fancy Painting” (MESDA).

Later, Jocelyn doubted the veracity of Negus's statement:

I do not believe Stuart paints more than 2 heads a week. Neither do I believe that the most eminent painter that ever lived could do more or even as much than that if he painted on the honest principle of making each successive picture best. Which I have always intended and shall always exert myself to do.⁹⁴

Jocelyn's path towards professional portrait painting involved seeing and studying as many paintings as he could find or were brought to his attention by others. Analyzing and evaluating works by other artists not only enhanced his own experimentation, but was an essential tool in the development of his technique. His diary contained lively, candid and detailed discussions of other artists' paintings. "I went over to Negus saw an inferior portrait by Stuart, though it was sufficiently good to be very instructive." Inferior or not, the portrait was worth a second visit: "Went again to Negus to look at the Stuart."⁹⁵

Jocelyn was interested in studying as many examples of portrait painting and miniatures as possible to advance his artistic growth. In particular he was eager to see the works of two well-known miniaturists, Charles Fraser of Charleston, SC and Edward Green Malbone, who also worked in the South.⁹⁶ In his diary, Jocelyn expressed his frustration in trying both to produce his own work and study that of others. He was

⁹⁴ NJ Diary, 17 February 1821.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 23 February 1821.

⁹⁶ In 1821 Charles Fraser (1782-1860) was already well known in Charleston for his artistic, and civic life. He was one of the few artists honored with a retrospective exhibition during his lifetime.

“fatigued [*sic*] in grinding colours, [and] in making a fruitless attempt to see some of Frasers miniatures.”⁹⁷

Eventually, Jocelyn “saw two miniatures by Frazer, the first of his I had seen.” However, since Fraser did not give up his law practice and become a full time professional portrait painter until 1820, Jocelyn only saw his less-polished earlier works. Jocelyn was “a little disappointed, expecting to see them in the style of Portraits, but they did not possess the general depth of effect which we see in oil Painting.”⁹⁸ According to Martha Severens, “Fraser had been weaned on the late eighteenth-century idealized English prototype which he, as a member of Malbone’s generation, had more realistically redefined for his American sitters.”⁹⁹ In effect, after his early essays in miniature painting, Fraser eliminated the tendency to idealize his sitters. His art made no pretense of painting any more than he observed; “And his technique coarsened from the fine, Malbone-like treatment of his early years to a bold stipple.”¹⁰⁰ Jocelyn had a good eye, for he astutely noted in his diary on February 25, 1822, “Placed by the side of Malbones they looked raw and unnatural, while his [Malbone’s] was mellow and glowing.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ NJ Diary, 19 May 1821.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 25 February 1822.

⁹⁹ Severens, *Charles Fraser*, 55.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ His friend in Savannah, the elderly Reverend Doctor Henry Kollock, owned the Malbone miniature that Jocelyn saw. Malbone died in 1807 in Savannah on his way back to Rhode Island in the home of Robert Mackey. Dr Kollock administered to the sick Malbone in Savannah. Kollock was probably the same “Kollock” mentioned in a May 26, 1807 letter from Malbone’s brother-in-law, John G. Whitehorne in Rhode Island to Robert Mackay in Savannah. In the postscript of his letter he writes, “I wish you would sound Dr. Kollock again on his bill.” For the complete letter see Ruel Pardee Tolman,

Jocelyn felt that Fraser “promises well and will rise.”¹⁰²

Fraser’s earlier works were painted on large oval shaped ivory. His later more mature works were painted on large rectangular shaped ivory.¹⁰³ In 1822, Jocelyn looked at “large ovals 4 inches,” the size Fraser used in his early period in 1818. Jocelyn continued his critical assessment of Fraser’s miniatures,

I think the general appearance was without taste - that is the accommodations of the size of the body and head to the Ivory which were large ovals. . . . These large ovals somehow impress me disagreeably. They seem to lose the character of Miniatures while they do not attain the appearance of Nature.

The pictures were worked very much with hatches, particularly the backgrounds, that of the lady is the simplest and by far the best; a plain light grey ground in the lightest parts containing the mixture of Ultramarine—the darker more of an umber grey—the white linnen gown and lace shaded nearly with the same and very richly effective.¹⁰⁴

The Life and Works of Edward Green Malbone, 1777-1807, (New York: The New-York Historical Society 1958), 58.

Jocelyn’s only connection with Malbone is stated in his diary, 28 May 1821, “Saw Mr. Wayne[’]s miniature done by Robertson [probably, Archibald] about 15 years since [earlier], [He] also gave me a letter of introduction to Malbounes [Malbone’s] sister! in Newport whom I hope to visit this summer.” There is no record of a visit with Malbone’s sister.

The use of the word “mellow” in this context is not a random adjective. In Archibald Robertson’s treatise (in the form of a letter to his youngest brother, Andrew dated September 25, 1800) he made a point of describing “*mellowness*” in some detail. “You will find the working of any part of the picture will not be made to look pleasing . . . so much by sharp darkish hatches as by more broad and mellow ones, for on the *mellowness* depends all the beauty of the work, . . . let mellowness be the chief character of the work.” See *Letters and Papers of Andrew Robertson, A.M.*, Emily Robertson, ed., (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1895), 25.

¹⁰² NJ Diary, 25 February 1822.

¹⁰³ See Severens, *Charles Fraser, passim*.

¹⁰⁴ NJ Diary, 25 February 1822.

He shared the viewing with his friend, Cornelius Schroeder the miniature painter. Schroeder remarked, "The light blue shawl . . . was begun with Prussian blue and finished with ultramarine." Jocelyn noted harshly, "Her hair was very tasteless." He continued to write his private review, "The retiring tints were too bright. The man's head though too opaque [*sic*], is the best." He finished with the observation, "In the linnen of both a good deal of opaque white is used and sharply touched." Jocelyn observed that Fraser's miniatures were "prettily set in moricans [Moroccan leather hinged cases] without any locket or edging." He asked himself the question, "will not this do well for me in my common size ones?"¹⁰⁵

Jocelyn rightly assessed the inconsistency in Fraser's earlier work in which he frequently switched painting techniques from one part of the miniature to another. For example, the clothing was painted in a crosshatch and at other times, with broad matte color. When one technique or type of stroke is used for the clothing, head and background in an all-over consistent fashion, the viewer is more likely to accept the painterly illusion. In contrast, if any of the segments of the miniature are rendered in a distinctively different technique, the viewer's eye will be drawn to the technique of that segment. The object of the painterly illusion is to create a small reality or illusion of the sitter without technical interference.

Apparently, Fraser had an intellectual understanding of the painterly illusion, as witnessed in his 1842 review of his old friend Washington Allston's exhibited works: "There is something more than beauty in it; a charm which art itself has hidden, and

¹⁰⁵ NJ Diary, 25 February 1822.

which *makes us forget the pencil [brush] [used] in its creation.*"¹⁰⁶ Perhaps Fraser was too close to his own creations to see their inconsistencies, so easily noted by Jocelyn and so exquisitely avoided in the miniatures of his friend, Malbone.

EVERYDAY STRUGGLES AND CONSIDERATIONS

Jocelyn's discourse of his progress in oil and miniature painting demonstrated his commitment to painting and the pressure that he placed on himself to succeed. These passages illustrated the heart of Jocelyn's conflicts. Which branch of the arts should he pursue, miniature or portrait painting? Which would be more professionally lucrative? Would God lead him to the right course of action?

Several quotes, written in Jocelyn's hand on an undated fragment of paper, possibly May 1821, were found among the diary leaves. Jocelyn was discouraged with oil painting. "Some times when very much troubled by the difficulties of oil painting and the fatigue of daily preparation, I took with half inclination to the practice of Miniature painting." Then, he considered the positive aspects of miniature painting. "It present[s] advantages to the itinerant of easily removing from place to place of commencing at any moment and of leaving the picture as suddenly, and of the comparative ease with which eminence in it may be attained." On the other hand:

Let me not however look at one side only of the picture notwithstanding the prosperous business of Scroder poor painter as he is, I find on recollection that in the long run it [miniature painting] is not half so much demanded or valued [and] that is attended by greater fatigue of the eyes, that it is only at very moderate

¹⁰⁶ As quoted in Severens, *Charles Fraser*, 12.

prices that is encouraged [*sic?*] and that it is a less permanent profession, and requiring more constant travelling.

Jocelyn considered the different business aspects of oil versus miniature painting. “Besides that if I attain celebrity in Oil Painting which has been my ruling desire—I can ask and get higher prices for those occasional [*sic?*] attempts in Miniature, which interest or [. . .] recreation may induce me to make—always making it a rule to dock my prices at the same rate that I charge for portraits of the Head size.” Yet, he cautioned himself, “I must be very careful not to adopt any principle of conduct in moments of dejection and lassitude.” Jocelyn felt more optimistic about his choices and allowed himself some latitude in his goals. “Professing to be a portrait Painter I am [may] easily embrace at any opportunity not only miniatures but even profile likenesses where it may be politic, as I have now a complete set of all the necessary materials, and can do it without any embarrassment of my greater employment.” Still, Jocelyn was not satisfied with his progress in miniature painting, “from the want of experience of Miniature painting—I will paint myself or wife on my return home.” Jocelyn’s final business consideration was to

Tell the man who wishes to be painted in Miniature that I cannot paint it under 40 dollars, though had he decided before yesterday I should have engaged to do it for 30. I cannot think of painting it in the style [in which] I should do it, for the same as Scroder charges for his manufactured head and shoulders. In fact I had better not do it even for 40 dollars, at this time.

Jocelyn was making his first steps along the path to professional portrait painting. He was only able to charge a fraction of the price for his portraits that a professional like Morse could. “Where Morse could command \$600 or more for a three-quarter of full-length oil portrait, Jocelyn had to be content painting smaller pictures for which he could

not anticipate an average return of more than \$30 to \$50 each.”¹⁰⁷ Additionally, he needed to attain a greater speed and rate of completion of his portraits, if he was to be a successful portraitist.¹⁰⁸

Ultimately, Jocelyn in this passage fatigued over his indecision defers to his faith in God:

May God [help me] to pirsue [*sic*] one steady course of principles though every variety of feeling. –I believe if I should look to God more confidently in faith, I should experience fewer of these conflicts of the mind which attend fleshly inclinations. Here of how much avail may reliance on God be in enabling us to endure all things which occur in the line of duty.

THE GRAND TOUR

To further improve his technique, Jocelyn would have turned towards a painting society or a tour of Europe. In the United States, there were few local options. Lois Fink and Joshua Taylor remarked on America’s “urge to organize societies [during the last quarter of the eighteenth century] devoted to learning in all areas [which] began early in the colonies and continued as permanent institutions in the new nation.”¹⁰⁹ Fink and

¹⁰⁷ Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 19.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, Heinz writes that Jocelyn completed no more than twenty paintings during each of the years 1821, 1822, and 1826.

¹⁰⁹ Lois Marie Fink and Joshua C. Taylor, *Academy: The Academic Tradition in America*, (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975), 24. Societies noted include: Philosophical Society in Boston, 1683; American Philosophical Society, 1743; American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1780; Massachusetts Historical Society, 1791; Society for the Promotion of Useful Arts, 1804; and so on.

Taylor continued, “While these organizations of like-minded men were being formed, the practicing artist had few fellows with whom to share his professional concerns and was preoccupied chiefly with earning a living. To do this he was likely to have to lead an itinerant life and devote himself to the most useful aspects of his pursuit, portrait painting and decoration.”¹¹⁰

It is not my objective to review the extensive history of the development of art institutions in the first half of the nineteenth-century. The best comprehensive analyses of the subject remain the books of Lillian Miller and Neil Harris along with the more recent contributions by Alan Wallach.¹¹¹ Most of the early art institutions discussed by these authors were not established to instruct artists, but rather to exhibit works owned by elites and wealthy amateur artists, all with the intention of elevating the public’s appreciation of “High Art.” Wallach summarizes the situation in pre-1840 New York,

New York had only two art organizations of any significance: the American Academy of Fine Arts, founded in 1802, and the National Academy of Design, created in 1825 by artists who were fed up with the American Academy’s habitual indifference to their needs, and who intended to exert greater control over their own market. The American Academy, essentially a patronage organization run by the remnants of New York’s old federalist elite (its last president was the ultra-federalist and highly aristocratic John Trumbull), did not long survive the competition with the National Academy, and by the early 1830s it existed pretty much in name only, its failure symbolic of the decline of the old aristocratic order.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Fink, *Academy*, 25.

¹¹¹ See: Lillian B. Miller, *Patrons and Patriotism: the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States 1790-1860*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966); Neil Harris, *The Artist in American Society*, (New York: George Braziller, 1966); Alan Wallach, *Exhibiting Contradiction: Essays on the Art Museum in the United States* (Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998), *Passim*.

¹¹² Wallach, *Exhibiting Contradiction*, 16.

Jocelyn's friend Morse was an important figure in establishing the National Academy of Design, while "Coln." John Trumbull, an early supporter of Jocelyn's ambitions, was the last president of the American Academy of Fine Arts. Jocelyn was an established artist before the advent of the National Academy of Design. In 1827, he was elected an "artist of the institution," but declined. Probably, he was not pleased with the designation "artist," the lowest level of membership. He wrote to Morse and suggested that because he was from out of town (New Haven) he should have been named as associate or honorary member.¹¹³ Yet, he still maintained his contact with Trumbull. In a letter to Trumbull on May 10, 1828, Jocelyn apologized for being "unable to finish the pictures I intended for the exhibitions [in 1829], which I very much regret, as I had calculated on sending two or three, for some months past." He ends with, "I shall make it a point in the future, to have such pictures, as I intend to exhibit in either Academy, entirely completed long before the time appointed for receiving them."¹¹⁴

Obviously, Jocelyn kept his options for exhibiting his portraits and developing his career open, when in fact he had not maintained the painting momentum he had established in Savannah. After returning to New Haven from Savannah in 1822, he became fully involved in the N. & S.S. Jocelyn engraving enterprise. He and his brother, Smith, in addition to banknote engraving and printing, branched out to map and atlas printing. Nathaniel in particular put forth an effort to invent anti-forgery bank note ink.

¹¹³ Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 36.

¹¹⁴ NJ to JT letters, *The Historical Society of Pennsylvania: Dreer Collection*, v. 84:Z, 109.

Jocelyn's connection with the Morse family extended to business ventures. The map business was a partnership with two of Morse's brothers, Sydney and Richard. Nathaniel and his brother produced the engravings from the drawings of Sydney and Richard while Nathaniel also handled the distribution and sales of the maps through agents.¹¹⁵

In 1825, a series of developments in Samuel F. B. Morse's life: the death of his wife, his lack of success with his major painting, *House of Representatives*, an unsuccessful attempt to gain a diplomatic post, and a commission to paint Lafayette's portrait propelled Morse to move to New York. His move left the portrait painting field open in New Haven. By 1826, Nathaniel filled the void left by Morse's departure and began to accept a growing number of portrait commissions.¹¹⁶

In 1829, by virtue of the earnings from the engraving and portrait business Jocelyn saved enough money to go to London and Europe. John Trumbull discouraged an earlier proposed study tour for the nineteen-year-old in 1815. Heinz surmised, "Trumbull, who had studied under Benjamin West, and who had lived abroad for years had more experience in the world . . . [and] questioned what effect London might have on someone who had never lived outside the religion-orientated New Haven community."¹¹⁷ In 1817 and 1820 to compensate for not going abroad and to begin his education at home, Jocelyn maintained correspondence with Trumbull and sent him small samples of his early

¹¹⁵ *A Map of Greece*, January 31, 1824, *Map of the West Indies and History of Piracies Committed on the American Seamen & Commerce*, 1825 and *The New Universal Atlas of the World*, 1825 (Map Room, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University).

¹¹⁶ Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 34.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

drawings and engravings in an attempt to gain artistic guidance. In turn, as encouragement, Trumbull sent engravings for Jocelyn to copy and study.¹¹⁸

Yet, Jocelyn must have recalled his 1821 conversation in Savannah with his artist friend, Henry James William Finn,

From conversation with him [Finn] my intention of visiting England was revived, and I determined to keep the plan in view so that as soon as I shall be able to leave home under sufficiently prosperous circumstances, I will proceed to London with the intention of/completing my/ acquiring that knowledge and trait which it is impossible to acquire at home [knowledge of the antique and nobility of painting]. Finn thinks that two years spent in Europe now would be better than five some years hence but I cannot hope for those advantages at present. He told me I ought to be encouraged to persevere by all means for that considering how little time [I] had devoted to the practice of the art, I had 'certainly made astonishing progress.'¹¹⁹

In fact, it was more than five years later that Jocelyn made the voyage. This trip would not be a youthful adventure in studying with the illuminati in London, absorbing the European culture and copying the old masters. Jocelyn's Grand Tour would have a slight shift toward expanding the engraving business as well as studying the old masters. And in 1829, he would not have to confront the youthful dilemma he faced in 1821,

If I [was] to part for two or even one year, when my presence will be so much needed at home to train up our beloved children and the enjoyment of domestick [*sic*] happiness . . . and should providence in wisdom call either of us to Himself—the pains of sickness and of death would not be allieviated by the tender amideities [*sic*] of bosom friends. But on the other hand, conscience says that I ought to seize the means of better supporting my family in respectability and comfort which would result from the improvement I should doubtly make, and the additional reputation which I should thereby acquire.¹²⁰

¹¹⁸ See page 14 for Trumbull correspondence.

¹¹⁹ NJ Diary, 21 February 1821.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

THE OLD WORLD: TWO VIEWS

Between 1820 and 1823, Jocelyn's intense study of art coincided with the early stages of the encouragement of the arts in America. Lillian Miller wrote, "The process [of encouragement] was hastened . . . by the intense nationalism that pervaded American thought and life during the first half of the nineteenth-century and by the fact that the philosophical traditions of the British eighteenth-century Enlightenment endowed the fine arts with a social and national value that helped to justify the nationalist cause."¹²¹

References in newspaper advertisements and articles by and about artists who were "self-taught" or had "native genius" were used to build the stature of the American artist. Even if they were trained on the Continent or in London, they were still "one of ours." There was, on the part of the public and artists, a love-hate relationship with the Old World. Segments of the public believed that Europe was in a state of moral and social decay, and artists studying abroad would return with art that would lower the public's values rather than elevate them. Yet, enlightened members of society and artists needed the model of the old masters and ancients in order to become part of, as well as to advance, the continuum of Western Art. Two solutions were typically expressed: the first, to avoid Europe so native genius would be unchallenged and untainted; or the second, to

¹²¹ Miller, *Patrons*, 7.

bring the best of the Old World culture to America and nourish the encouragement of the arts at home.

The first view is typified by “Royall Tyler's Comedy, *The Contrast*, staged in 1787 in New York City, the first American play of passable merit. In it, the foolish fop tells the stable hero: 'Believe me, Colonel . . . when you shall have seen the brilliant exhibitions of Europe, you will learn to despise the amusements of this country as much as I do.' 'Therefore,' says the Colonel sternly, 'I do not wish to see them; for I can never esteem that knowledge valuable, which tends to give me a distaste for my native country.'" Jocelyn's friend, Noah Webster, expressed similar sentiments in the preface to his *Speller*,

Europe is grown old in folly, corruption, and tyranny . . . laws are perverted, manners are licentious, literature is declining, and human nature is debased. For America in her infancy to adopt the present maxims of the old world would be to stamp the wrinkles of decrepit age upon the bloom of youth and to plant the seeds of decay in a vigorous constitution . . . a durable and stately edifice can never be erected upon the moldering pillars of antiquity.¹²²

The second view allowed the artist to study abroad and return with copies and plaster casts of the old masters. These study pieces would be used to recreate the best of the Old World by establishing academies, based on the examples of London, Paris, and Rome. “Many such returning artists—Morse the most prominent—bore an acute sense of professional responsibility in the creation of national art forms which would rival Europe's; they felt a missionary zeal to enhance the role of art in American life.”¹²³ The social status of artists in Europe provided a particularly acute contrast to America. Neil

¹²² As quoted in J. C. Furnas, *The American: A Social History of the United States 1587-1914*. (New York: C. P. Putnam's Sons, 1969), 242.

¹²³ Harris, *The Artist*, 78.

Harris notes that Morse, “was astonished to find such a difference in the encouragement of art between this country [England] and America.” Harris continued, “At home it was ‘thought to be an employment suited to a lower class of people,’ but in England the most fashionable circles attend art exhibitions.”¹²⁴ The “astonishment” that Morse felt in 1811 on his first trip to London resonated, fourteen years later, in the founding of the National Academy of Design with the purpose “of educating a noble class of men in Art, to be an honor and praise to our beloved country. . . .”¹²⁵ Many artists upon their return from Europe were “resentful . . . instead of being asked to do the historical scenes, the scripture lessons or even the landscapes that formed the traditional staples of European art, they had to apply themselves to the most trivial sector of their repertoire: portraiture.”¹²⁶

A DREAM REALIZED: THE TRIP TO EUROPE

Harris states that “most artists did not consider the problems of a national art before 1830, . . . [and] sought merely to produce their art, make a living, and try to approach the standard set by foreign masters.”¹²⁷ Jocelyn was set on the idea of European study. For him, the trip “represented the ambition . . . of a lifetime. . . .”¹²⁸

¹²⁴ Harris, *The Artist*, 78.

¹²⁵ Morse, *Morse*, 43.

¹²⁶ Harris, *The Artist*, 82.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, 79.

By traveling to Europe to study art, Jocelyn joined the ranks of the artists who preceded him. Among the essential Grand Tour destinations for American artists were London, Paris, Rome, Florence, Venice, and Naples. By the eighteenth-century, the Grand Tour was “a well established British tradition” that was embraced by Americans. The original concept of the tour was “to educate [the] minds and taste” of the British aristocracy and “for the training and inspiration” of artists.¹²⁹ The development of the Grand Tour progressed from the early seventeenth-century to the late eighteenth-century from an “aristocratic institution” to its “democratized form.” Nineteenth-century artist travelers on the Tour, like Jocelyn in 1829, were more “self-absorbed” and followed a focused agenda rather than the typical tourist path.¹³⁰

Instead of following one of the Grand Tour guidebooks, which were prevalent since the early eighteenth-century, many artists in the nineteenth-century were encouraged to take “the advice of artists recently returned from the Continent.”¹³¹ In 1827, when Washington Allston was asked by a friend to recommend an itinerary for a young artist interested in landscape painting, he wrote: “I would recommend his going first to England; where I would have him remain at least half the time he proposed to pass

¹²⁹ Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., *The Lure of Italy: American Artists and the Italian Experience 1760-1914*. (New York: Museum of Fine Arts, Boston and Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1992), 31.

¹³⁰ Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, eds., *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*. (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, Ltd., 1996), 18-19.

¹³¹ Thomas Nugent’s *The Grand Tour* (1749), which outlined cities and artworks to be seen, is an example of a typical mid-eighteenth-century guidebook (as mentioned in Stebbins, 33).

abroad. . . . On quitting England, a short time may be spent in France, two or three months in Switzerland, and the remainder of the time in Italy.”¹³²

Allston described and promoted the English Landscape School of “modern artists” particularly “Turner, who, ‘take him all in all,’ has no superior of any age.” The English School would provide the proper “first bias . . . in as much as on this not a little of the future tone of his [the artist’s] mind will depend.” Of course other artists were mentioned for the “Friend . . . to place at the head of the list, Claude, Titian, the two Poussins, Salavatore Rosa, and Francesco Mola together with Turner . . . to study all, and master their principles. . . .”¹³³

Jocelyn had the advantage of having Morse join him in London and serve as his personal guide through Europe. Since no written evidence by Jocelyn has been found for his time in London or on the Continent, his whereabouts and activities are based on the letters and notebooks of Morse and the occasional letters of Ithiel Town.

FIRST STOP, LONDON

On June 14, 1829, Jocelyn sailed on the *Silas Richards* and arrived in Liverpool and two days later, in London. Once in London, Jocelyn first stayed with merchant, Oliver P. Stone, and his family and later resided at the home of his friend, the artist and

¹³² Thomas Cole, *Thomas Cole Papers, 1821-1863*, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (Microfilm Roll ALC 1.), Copy of a letter from Washington Allston to H. Pickering, dated Boston, Nov. 23, 1827.

¹³³ Thomas Cole, *Thomas Cole Papers*, The two Poussins probably refer to Nicolas and his brother-in-law, engraver, Gaspard Dughet (1615-1675) who assumed Poussin’s name.

engraver, Moseley Isaac Danforth.¹³⁴ Danforth had been one of Jocelyn's business partners at the Hartford Graphic Company in 1815. By 1827, Danforth had moved to London to pursue his engraving business. During Jocelyn's stay in London, he diligently tried to sell his patented anti-forgery ink to various banking establishments. In his possession he had a letter of introduction from Gabriel Shaw to Mr. B. Cohan of New Court (London), dated October 19, 1829 that read, "My dear Sir: the bearer Mr. Jocelyn has made several inventions for the prevention of forgery, which have received the countenance of the Government. He is desirous of an opportunity of communicating them to you and Mr. Rothchild."¹³⁵ There are no known journal or diary entries from Jocelyn for this period of his time in London. It is logical to assume that since he was staying with Danforth, the focus of his time was spent learning any new techniques about the printing and engraving trade, and developing leads for possible business for the N. & S.S. Jocelyn firm back home.

Morse and Town sailed from New York on the ship, *Napoleon* for the rough twenty six-day voyage to Dartmouth, England. They stayed at the King's Arms Hotel (Liverpool) just as Morse did on his first trip to England and Professor Benjamin Silliman before him. They were joined by "Miss Leslie, a sister of my friend Leslie of London" and proceeded to London by way of Birmingham and Oxford.¹³⁶ Outside of Birmingham "at Trentham we passed one of the seats of the Marquis of Stafford, Trentham Hall. . . .

¹³⁴ Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 37; Rice, "Engravers," 6.

¹³⁵ As quoted in Rice, "Engravers," 6. Jocelyn had obtained a patent for his anti-forgery material, but it was not until 1862, that he sold his anti-forgery ink to the American Government for \$1,500.00 (as cited in Heinz from Rice, "Engravers").

¹³⁶ Morse, *Morse*, 1:302-03.

The Marquis has a fine gallery of pictures, and among them Allston's famous picture of 'Uriel in the Sun.'¹³⁷

As far as could be determined, it was not until six months after Jocelyn arrived in London on November 21, 1829 that he was joined by his friends from New Haven, Morse and Town, and that his focus turned to the fine arts. Based on Morse's letters after his arrival in London with Town and after joining Jocelyn, Morse was reacquainted with his old London friends.

With Morse and Town, Jocelyn met Charles Robert Leslie (1794-1859), Morse's old friend and fellow pupil at the Royal Academy during Morse's first study trip to London in 1811. Morse and Leslie's rooms were located at "No.82 Great Titchfield Street where they painted in one room, 'he at one window and I at the other,' as Leslie recalled."¹³⁸ Leslie was born in London of American parents, raised in Philadelphia, and returned to London to study under West and Allston when he met Morse. He enjoyed a successful career as a "painter of scenes from English literature and history. . . ."¹³⁹ Jocelyn met another artist who grew up in America, Gilbert Stuart Newton (1794-1835) a good friend of Leslie and the nephew of the artist Gilbert Stuart. Morse writes of an

¹³⁷ Morse, *Morse*, 1: 307. Jocelyn preceded Morse to England but probably followed Morse's directions to London from Liverpool making it likely that he stopped to see the Marquis' collection and Allston's famous painting as well.

¹³⁸ William Kloss, *Samuel F. B. Morse*. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. Publishers. 1988), 22-24.

¹³⁹ See Groce and Wallace, *Dictionary of Artists*. 394.

invitation to meet Sir Thomas Lawrence, but after one failed attempt, it is not clear if he or Jocelyn were successful in meeting him.¹⁴⁰

After the three men were reunited in London, they resided at 14 Southampton Street near the Victoria Embankment and the River Thames during their relatively brief stay in that city.¹⁴¹ According to a letter from Town to his daughter, Ethia on December 22nd the day after their arrival, they visited the Kings Library and the British Museum. Unfortunately, a detailed itinerary for the rest of their month in London is unknown. Morse does mention visiting, perhaps with Town and Jocelyn, the newly founded “as yet but small,” National Gallery of Art and was introduced to Turner, “the best landscape painter living.”¹⁴² It can only be assumed that Jocelyn sought out other notable examples of the English School of painting.

On December 22, 1829, as they set out for the port at Dover to cross the English Channel, they did so with divergent ambitions. While Jocelyn was able to conduct some engraving business during his stay in London, he planned to use the rest of his travels though France and Italy to maximize his study of the old masters. In Jocelyn’s mind, this was the trip of a lifetime and he hoped it would be the determining factor of his future career as a successful painter. Ithiel Town, an accomplished architect in New York, and exponent of the Greek Revival style in America was preparing to build his own home in New Haven with an extensive library (occasionally open to the public) of art, architecture

¹⁴⁰ Morse, *Morse*, 1:308-09.

¹⁴¹ Their residence was about a mile from No.82 Great Titchfield Street where Morse lived with Leslie on Morse’s first trip eleven years earlier.

¹⁴² Morse, *Morse*, 1:309.

and rare books. During this trip to Europe, his goal was to purchase art, books, and manuscripts for his library and to conduct a first hand study of the architectural monuments.¹⁴³

Morse, on the other hand, in 1825 was distraught over the death of his wife, but managed to complete two of his most acclaimed portraits, the *Marquis de Lafayette* and *Benjamin Silliman* of Yale. However, in 1829 he was still smarting from the financial failure of his 1822 painting of the *House of Representatives*, his first attempt at History Painting. Fortified with over three thousand dollars in commission financing, one of his main objectives in France and Italy was to position himself when he returned to win a mural commission for the Capitol Rotunda.¹⁴⁴ His friend, William Cullen Bryant “at the end of December, 1828, . . . had written to Gulian Verplanck, chairman of the Congressional Committee on Public Buildings, recommending artists for four commissions, especially Morse, ‘who is going to abroad next spring—to Rome—who will study it [art] there, and give five years of his life to it.’”¹⁴⁵

On the way to Dover, the three stopped at Canterbury. The next morning, they visited the famous cathedral where they were impressed by the history, music, and the architecture. But Morse, a Calvinist, bemoaned the lack of religious instruction given by the preacher and the apparent lack of devotion on the part of the parishioners.¹⁴⁶ No doubt the experience was equally disappointing for Jocelyn, a New Haven Congregationalist.

¹⁴³ Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 37-8.

¹⁴⁴ Kloss, *Morse*, *passim*.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 118.

¹⁴⁶ Morse, *Morse*, 1:311.

FRANCE AND ITALY

They continued their journey to Dover hoping to take the steamer to France on December 24, 1829 but the departure was delayed. Finally, they crossed the English Channel on the *Sovereign* and arrived in Boulogne-sur-Mer just below Calais, France on December 29, 1829. They set off for Paris and arrived on the first day of January 1830.

Morse was the bookkeeper for the trio. One of his notebooks contained several pages of a detailed accounting of English pounds exchanged for French francs with every “sous” recorded for room, food, snacks, supplies, baggage handlers and museum entrance fees (Louvre, 0.3 sous). In most cases expenses were divided equally among the three travelers.¹⁴⁷

The first “object we visited [January 2,3 and 4] was the Louvre,” spending “three hours in the grand gallery of pictures” and Town recalls, “seeing 1,250 pictures.” Morse was studiously taking notes on which paintings he would copy on his return from Italy. (The return visit to Paris in 1831-1833 would result in his masterpiece, *The Gallery of the Louvre*.) They attended the Exposition des Produits des Manufactures Royal (“porcelain, tapestry, etc.”) also in the Louvre. The three travelers attended the Exposition with more than just tourists’ curiosity—they had a keen interest in the progress of inventions and

¹⁴⁷ *Samuel Finley Breese Morse: A Register of His Papers in the Library of Congress* Prepared by Charles W. Orhvall & Michael J. McElderry Revised and expanded by Margaret McAleer (Manuscript Division Library of Congress, Washington, DC, 1996), microfilm, Box 59 Reel 32.

manufacturing. Jocelyn had already patented his anti-forgery ink, Town had invented the truss bridge and Morse invented a fire engine pump and a marble cutting device; seven years after this trip, Morse would invent the telegraph. They stayed at the Hôtel de Lille for the next two weeks and took in all the major attractions: “the palace of the Tuileries, the Palais Royal, the Bibliothèque Royal, or Royal Library and numerous other places. . . .”¹⁴⁸

On January 13, 1830 after a brief stay of one month, they left Paris for Rome via Dijon, Chalon sur Saône, Macon, Lyon, Avignon, Aix, Marseilles, and Nice (then a part of Italy). The trip though France in January was stark and cold. They were provided a modicum of comfort by their mode of transportation. They traveled on the “Diligence” (a French public carriage) which was comprised of “three carriage-bodies together upon one set of wheels.” The first carriage was called the “coupé” which had a window facing front and seated three passengers. The middle carriage called the “intérieur” held up to six passengers and provided the most room and comfort. The end carriage, the “derrière” was “the cheapest but is generally filled with low people.”¹⁴⁹ Morse contrasts this method

¹⁴⁸ Morse, *Morse*, 1:315-316. Morse’s letters (p. 316) and Town’s papers both indicated that they had an invitation to attend General Lafayette’s “soirée” where they met, the General, his two daughters and his son, plus many Americans. However, Rice in “Nathaniel Jocelyn,” (*CHS Bulletin*, 101) wrote that the General was not at home and they met only the General’s “son and [one] daughter;” he gives no explanation for this statement.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 1:320. In Morse’s ledger pages he mentioned “paid January 13 50 franks in advance on 3 places in the Diligence to Dijon” (*Samuel Finley Breese Morse: A Register of His Papers*, microfilm, Box 59 Reel 32.)

of travel with the smaller and more primitive carriage which was “a little, miserable, jolting vehicle . . .” in which they traveled from Marseilles to Toulon, France.¹⁵⁰

By February 6, 1830 they arrived in Genoa, Italy. They traveled through Carrara, Pisa and Florence and arrived in Rome on February 20 and lodged at “no. 17 Via de Prefetti.”¹⁵¹ While in Rome, Morse started painting his commissions for his patrons in New York. On March 16, Morse wrote, “Mr. Jocelyn leaves me today for Florence.”¹⁵² Having achieved one of his major steps towards becoming a preeminent portrait painter, Jocelyn began his long journey back to New Haven.

With Jocelyn’s trip to Europe, he proved his versatility and intellectual flexibility in his ability to bridge the schism in the American art world that struggled with determining the value of Old Master study. It was part generational—old versus young (the American Academy of Fine Arts versus the National Academy of Design), and part conservative Protestant versus European enlightenment. Jocelyn’s art and religious beliefs were inextricably intertwined. As a cautious man, his capacity to embrace this dichotomy is not unlike evangelical Protestant reformers of his era who balanced traditional beliefs with the introduction of new religious ideas. His early diary entries attested to his insatiable intellectual curiosity tempered and guided by his understanding of his God’s crucial role in his decisions. Perhaps his ability to embrace these two worlds was a reflection of his growing evangelicalism that eventually led him to become a social reformer and active abolitionist.

¹⁵⁰ Morse, *Morse*, 1:326.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 1:337.

¹⁵² *Samuel Finley Breese Morse: A Register of His Papers*, microfilm, Box 59 Reel 32.

CHAPTER III
JOCELYN'S EARLY CAREER, CHARACTER, AND ARTISTIC
DEVELOPMENT

INTRODUCTION

Jocelyn spent approximately twenty-five days in Rome before departing Morse's company on March 16, 1830. He traveled to Florence to continue his study of the history, aesthetics and techniques of the old masters. He apparently returned to New Haven sometime in the spring, so that by the summer of 1830, he was engaged in painting several portraits.

Assuming his voyage was as long as Morse's twenty-six day passage to England, Jocelyn had time to reflect on his Grand Tour, take stock of his accomplishments as a portrait painter, and evaluate his worthiness in the eyes of God. In 1820, when he left New Haven to pursue the development of his painting career in Savannah, he likely had no idea that ten years later he would be on a ship returning from Europe.

This chapter revisits Jocelyn's professional career. I begin with a recapitulation of his growth and standing as an artist, which requires a return to his early years (pre-Europe), the time in which his fundamental concepts about learning and teaching were recorded in his diary. A full description of his painting style and technique will be discussed in Chapter VII.

Insight into Jocelyn's career and character is gained by examining his early correspondence in 1817 & 1818 with a former student, Daniel "Dicky" Dickinson (1795-?), and a friend, Chauncey.¹⁵³ Dicky was the younger brother of the famous Litchfield, Connecticut portrait miniaturist Anson Dickinson (1779-1852). Jocelyn's reevaluation of his standing as an artist may have included memories of the type of exchange that follows.

THE LETTERS

Jocelyn and Dicky were the same age, yet Jocelyn at 22 years old assumed the role of mentor in many aspects of Dickinson's career development. While these fragments from letters written by Jocelyn tell us little about Dicky, they reveal Jocelyn's individual learning process and influences as well as give insight into his personality, work habits, and character. In the first brief letter, Jocelyn touched upon the general education, writing skills, and comportment of an artist.

Jocelyn was always very polite, self-effacing, and deferential to his friends and especially to senior artists whom he held in high esteem, such as Dicky's brother, Anson.

¹⁵³ Jocelyn to Daniel Dickinson (CHS). The extant page fragments were first drafts of letters Jocelyn sent. He was a meticulous writer and often made several revisions, carefully choosing his words before writing the final letter. Previous writers were unable to identify "Dicky" as Daniel Dickinson. With regard to his being a student of Jocelyn, Groce and Wallace note, "He [Daniel Dickinson] is said to have studied for a time in New Haven (c.1812)." Groce and Wallace, *The New York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America: 1564-1860*. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), 179. It is obvious from Jocelyn's letter that Dickinson was under his tutelage while in Jocelyn's New Haven studio. Most likely, "Chauncey" referred to Jerome Chauncey (1793-1868) a clock maker in Jocelyn's circle of friends. Note: the text of the original letters is reproduced as faithfully as possible. Jocelyn's Strikethroughs, amendments, spelling and <insertions> are preserved.

Therefore, he began his letter to Dicky dated, "New Haven ~~July~~-August 3, 1817" and addressed him as, "Dear Friend" and complimented him, "I was much pleased with the account of your progress in ~~present state in~~ painting. . . ." Jocelyn carefully chose his words, striking out any that could be misconstrued as offensive. He immediately apologized for his reply being a month late, but decided against a prolonged apology in order not to offend Dicky for his failure to mention when he would visit New Haven.

I should have written to you immediately. The truth is, I did sketch the rough draft of this, on the same day in which I received yours; ~~but many things of which not the least a habit of procrastination~~ in this case as in many others, a habit of Procrastination has in some measure prevented the reasonable execution [of] that, which my better judgment told me I ought to do. ~~I hope that however the time is not far distant when we can communicate our thoughts to one another by a less difficult medium, verbally, but of this you said nothing. And until that time let us convey in writing what[. . .]~~

Jocelyn continued, "You seem to be still ardent in the pursuit of our favorite Art, as this ~~is a principal requisite, you may have the greater hopes of success~~ joined to the occasional advice and instruction of your brother, will give you the greatest assurance of success." After this courteous beginning and nod of respect to Dicky's brother, Jocelyn drew from Reynolds's *Discourses on Art* and launched into what was really on his mind.

But to become an accomplished artist much general knowledge is required besides what is contained in the point of the pencil; that is, although by indefatigable application you may excel in the mechanical part of your profession, yet 'all that is intellectual or animated in the art, all that depends upon taste or fancy, upon delicacy or dignity of conception, must be nourished by literature, and the habit of contemplating nature with a philosophic – or poetic eye.'

Obviously, Jocelyn was attempting to introduce Dicky to a higher concept of art than mere proficiency in technique as demonstrated in the work samples sent to Jocelyn.

Through Reynolds's examples, Jocelyn sought to broaden his own conception of art. John Steegmann remarks that "the precepts laid down by Reynolds [in the Discourses] are not in accordance with his [Reynolds's] own practice; In that they contain but little instruction and a great deal of generalization."¹⁵⁴ Yet Jocelyn supplied the same sorts of generalizations in his letter to Dicky.

During this time, Jocelyn had just entered the philosophical phase of his career, having moved from technique to a desire to understand the higher meaning of painting. Self-conscious of his limited formal training, Jocelyn almost mentioned it in his letter but, in the end, crossed it out. Presumably the following draft paragraph never made it into the final letter. Perhaps it was too personal to include and would have adversely affected his role as mentor.

~~I have spent much time as you well know in endeavoring to arrange for myself a system of education, in which every object of inquiry should have that attention assigned it in subordination, which I consider as requisite to the formation of an accomplished artist and man. How far I have succeeded, time only will determine; but as far as I can judge, I have already begun to reap the first of my labors. *When you was here* I desired to excel in every thing and at the same time, I made... science and art. And by this...~~

~~Next to the fine arts, I have given my attention to the study of polite Literature....~~

A revision written on a tiny paper fragment stated,

¹⁵⁴ Steegmann's full quote reads as follows, "As to their [*the Discourses*] content, it has often been observed that the precepts laid down by Reynolds therein are not in accordance with his own practice; In that they contain but little instruction and a great deal of generalization; that, while he may help his listeners to learn how to look at pictures, he does not give them the least hint of how to make pictures themselves; and that, while there is much wisdom in all of them, there is little inspiration in any. . . . His business was to impart a knowledge of the principles of the art. . . ." (John Steegmann, *Sir Joshua Reynolds*, [New York: The Macmillan Co., 1933], 121.)

Next to painting therefore, you would be better to apply yourself to the study of polite Literature; for one of your letters to me in blank verse, proves, that your mind only wants cultivating, to enable it to make great advances in an art so intimately connected with your own.

Jocelyn briefly touched on the cultivation of Dicky's mind, but stopped short of a full discussion of Reynolds's edicts regarding "not the industry of the *hands*, but of the mind. He can never be a great artist, who is grossly illiterate." And "reading . . . will improve and enlarge his mind, without retarding his actual industry."¹⁵⁵ Instead, Jocelyn moved from high art to Dicky's more immediate need to learn how to write a clear and proper letter and to improve his professional comportment.

Your letters, however precious to me from their bearing a faithful transcript of your thoughts and feelings, loose [*sic*] much of their force [,] which they would otherwise have ~~from~~ by the apparent haste and carelessness in which they are composed. This you must be sensible, is a serious evil, and an evil, which as it is in your power, you ought to strive to ~~correct~~ avoid. Any person of sense can write correctly and perspicuously, who will give himself the trouble of acquiring the necessary grammatical helps, and facility of composing is to an artist of the greatest importance; as much of his advancement in life may depend on the elegant ~~arrangement and~~ construction of an epistle. Reynolds owes much of his ~~fame~~ celebrity to the classical purity and simplicity of his Discourses and Idlers, they having been often erroneously attributed to Johnson and Burke.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ Quoted in Mitchell, *Discourses on Art*, 92-93. Mitchell commented on Discourse no. 9 in fn. 3, 144 and noted, "Reynolds's moral psychology is based on the thesis that good is dependent on cultivation of the mind, especially its rational faculties. Hence, anything that gives cause for thought tends toward the good." This was an idea that appealed to Jocelyn's self-concept.

¹⁵⁶ Dr. Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) and Edmund Burke (1729-1797) were both friends of Reynolds. Jocelyn was well read regarding the question of the authorship of the Reynolds's discourses. As stated in John Ingamells and John Edgcumbe *The Letters of Reynolds*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 274. "They admired each other greatly: Johnson considered JR a man 'most difficult to abuse,' while JR said that Johnson 'formed my mind, and brushed off from it a deal of rubbish.' The 4th edition of Johnson's *Dictionary* in 1773 included several examples from JR's Fourth Discourse. And, Johnson wrote, *The Idler*, (weekly essays which first appeared in the *Universal Chronicle*, 15 April 1758 to 5 April 1760) which included essays from Reynolds ten

At this point, Jocelyn continued his letter by describing his own method of writing.

To produce a clear forcible, and impressive letter; you ought (until ~~great~~ much practice has made you master of language) first to match your ideas on a loose piece of paper, where by intertwining and erasing, you can alter the arrangement of bad, and bring it into a more perfect form: from this you may write your letter, making it still more correct, as you discover defects unobserved before—.¹⁵⁷

Jocelyn learned and refined his writing skills by studying the works of Hugh Blair, D.D. that he modestly passed on to Dicky.

I would not set myself up as an example for imitation, but my little practice seeming to correspond with the instructions given by Dr. Blair in his 10 lectures, makes me more confident that I am pursuing the right course; he says ‘In the beginning we ought to write slowly, and with much care; let the facility and speed of writing, be the fruit of longer practice.’¹⁵⁸

Jocelyn recommended that “it is not indeed worth while to offend all this time with every trifling billet in my letter on common business . . .” With a simple business letter, “I write and send without any previous planning or sketching.” Which he does, “with considerable facility . . . from my former habits of correctness . . . seldom make any gross or important—~~blunder~~—error.” He complimented Dicky on his promptness, “of writing in return immediately after having received a letter” however he cautioned, “but let this

years before his first discourse. Hence, Jocelyn’s reference to the “Idlers” is another example of his knowledge and understanding of the writings of Reynolds.

¹⁵⁷ Note: Jocelyn followed his own advice with this draft written on five separate sheets and scraps of paper.

¹⁵⁸ Hugh Blair, D.D. & F.R.S. (1718-1800) *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Letters*, (Brooklyn, NY: printed by Thomas Kirk, Main-Street v 1. 1812), *passim*.

be confined to the sketch; here you may give vent to your feelings without fear of mistakes, ~~your mind unrestrained with thoughts of mistakes works at liberty.~~”

Jocelyn considered Dicky’s letters to be too hastily written and urged him to improve the pace and structure to make them more effective.

The ardour [*sic*] of a beginning will not degenerate into tameness or insipidity in approaching the end; but all parts will preserve a uniform tenor of sentiment, which is the perfection of eloquence. Correctness in writing, as in human judgment, ~~proceeds not from the~~ is not the fruit of impulse; ~~of the moment~~; it is only from that middle state of the mind, which subsists between elevation and depression, that we receive the full extent and ~~correctness~~ perfection of your reason.

While addressing letter writing, this passage revealed more of Jocelyn’s personality for this reader than it probably had on its intended reader, Dicky. At this age Jocelyn was very conscious of trying to fit in with the more educated men he was meeting in New Haven. He strove to be reasonable and avoided appearing extreme in any professional situation. Yet, he could not avoid an opportunity to be the teacher and educate Dicky in the “way” of the professional artist.

Perhaps sensing that he might overdo his coaching and risk being a bore and losing touch with his friends, Jocelyn concluded the letter with a more homey approach. “This digression will leave me but little room for the arts,” he continued “but I promised to give you an account of the present state of your old companions and competitors.” He first mentioned his brother Simeon, “whose time and attention are divided between engraving and painting, has gone on with rapid strides, and [set to] distance all rivalship from equal age. He has painted a number of things this winter in Miniature & Indian Ink,

and he is know engaged in copying part of Heath's engraving of Washington, which is in the line manner."¹⁵⁹

Jocelyn continued his summary of Dicky's studio mates noting their progress, but not lavishing them with praise:

Lucius [Munson (1796-1823)] has made a respectable proficiency, and his exertions are constant and unwearied. ~~Exertions do him harm.~~ He has not entirely left off his old habit of covering too much great a surface in too short a time, but his work[s] bear stronger marks of correctness than they formerly did.

Jocelyn discussed the more complex case of "Nelson" whose "apprenticeship expired last August [one year ago]." Apparently, Nelson, "has lately copied a Miniature which bears evident marks of improvement; it is the only picture he has painted since that time, excepting two or three heads on paper." Jocelyn conceded to Dicky that in his opinion, Nelson had the desire to be an artist, but did not possess the skill or persistence necessary to succeed.

Jocelyn wrote, "If I am at liberty to predict, the advice of friends who know nothing of the art, his natural and commendable desire of sitting in the world, together with the difficulties which he will actually have to encounter, will induce him at no very remote [time?]-to renounce all thoughts of the profession, which will not allow its votaries [*sic*] to "*doubt or hesitate, or balance advantages.*" In other words, a person cannot become a professional artist if he is ambivalent and not sufficiently focused—no doubt a lesson that had resonance with Dicky.

¹⁵⁹ James Heath (1757-1834) copperplate engraving after the 1800 Gilbert Stuart, *Lansdowne Portrait of George Washington*, [1800].

Jocelyn deviated from the topic with, "Mr. Munger has lately returned from Maryland where by has spent the winter with much encouragement," but struck it through probably because George Munger was Anson and Daniel "Dicky" Dickinson's cousin. He may have realized that the Dickinson brothers already had knowledge of their cousin's travels.

A more interesting and enigmatic reference was made regarding, "Mr. Deming, who ~~was possessed of~~ has a mind [qualified?] by nature to become an ornament to his country, has been discouraged by the imperative commends of his brother, and is probably doomed 'In life's low vale remote to pine alone / Then to sink into the grave [unfortified?] and unknown.'" ¹⁶⁰

Whoever Deming was, Jocelyn did not think he was capable of achieving his goal of becoming an artist. "Modest and humble to a fault, he [Deming] would have been ill calculated to elbow his way through crowds of ~~pretenders to the torment of celebrity~~ sycophancy to public patronage;" Jocelyn continued with a statement that, although speaking of Deming, I suspect, reflected some of his own frustration with the art world. "And he would often have had the mortification of witnessing the elevation of those, whose arrogance and presumption was their only purport to the station, which he merited." Had Jocelyn suffered the same "mortification"?

This statement by Jocelyn can be read as an expression of his frustration with a late start in establishing himself as an artist. Others around him had the breeding,

¹⁶⁰ I have been unable to trace an artist by the name, Deming. Perhaps he was a member of Julius Deming's (1755-1838) large and famous family. Julius was a Revolutionary War veteran who lived in Litchfield, CT. After the war, he became a wealthy trade merchant and town leader. Daniel and Anson Dickinson lived in Litchfield (at the time called Milton) and Anson painted several miniatures of the Deming family. The phrase "low vale" can be interpreted as "farewell."

education, and public personality to gain recognition more quickly. He was a methodical worker, who slowly extracted the lessons of technique, business, and comportment by virtue of his self-education and native genius.

Jocelyn at the end of this draft letter thanked Dicky, "For the information contained in your letter concerning painting, and hope you will continue in it. . . ."

However, he stressed that he was "fully convinced of the necessity of confining some one branch of painting, I have determined ~~entirely to abandon~~ that my future efforts in painting shall be *exclusively* made in Oil." It took Jocelyn "some self denial to abandon all thoughts of Miniature, for I have a kind of predilection for this art, devoid I suppose from having my ~~attention primarily divided to~~ love for the Fine Arts, primarily excited by the inspection of pictures done in that way. My first attempts were also in Miniature. . . ."

His thoughts and writing drifted into a more poetic frame:

The mind loves to ~~return~~ dwell on the same thoughts and objects which delighted us in our ~~infancy~~ childhood. ~~Those blessed days appear.~~ As we increase in years, those blessed days appear to us still more golden, and the association of ideas insensibly gilds with the same appearance, their accompanying innocents and purity. But these days of joy are past, they exhibit in the mind but as fleeting vision clouds which had not appeared in the morning of life begin to lower as we approach the meridian, and the grave ~~shall~~ will close on the storms of its evening.

Jocelyn ended this long, meandering letter on an inspirational note, invoking Malbone, some morality, high art notions, and religious fervor:

Let us then endeavor to improve in goodness as well as in art, and like the departed Malbone, let our prudence and sobriety ~~and t~~ prove, that dissipation is not necessarily attached to ~~and art~~ the profession of an artist. But above all; as our pencils may become the champions of Religion, Morality and Virtue, and of all the finer emotions of love and tenderness; let us never employ them [in] such a way as to continece vice, or promote infidelity; else the ruin of others will but increase the greatness of our own damnation.

Your affectionate Friend
N. Jocelyn

After nine months of not receiving a response from his letter to Dicky, Jocelyn once again wrote to him. Beginning with, "The free communication of ideas between persons devoted to the arts is ~~the~~ ^{<a>} greatly facilitates their progress toward excellence, and when distance prevents a ~~personal~~ ^{<verbal>} interchange, a generous and uninterrupted correspondence will [. . .] continue to promote ~~an~~ a mutual accession of knowledge."¹⁶¹ He continued with, "it was with these views that I wrote you my letter last summer, hoping that if it did you no good it would at least do you no hurt, and that it might continue to draw from you that information which you in previous letters evidenced such a willingness to give." Jocelyn was upset with Dicky's unresponsiveness since Dicky's "assurances of punctuality" misled Jocelyn after he went to such "[l]engths [in his last letter] without an immediate return." Jocelyn continued in a distressed tone, "What then must be my disappointment that after 9 months of continued expectation I ~~am~~ ^{am} ~~obliged to write~~ has not brought me a token of your remembrance that a letter so well meant should not be deemed worthy ^{<of>} an answer." Concerned that the friendship was faltering Jocelyn applied more pressure with, "Has success in art drowned all ~~the~~ ^{<your>} feelings of friendship ~~you ever had~~ I will do you justice to ~~think~~ ^{<believe>} this is not true." While he gave Dicky every chance to explain his reason for not writing, Jocelyn showed a deep-seated fear that his letter went too far in its criticism. "Did my letter contain any thing which could occasion such neglect; ~~this may be the case~~ I have often

¹⁶¹ NJ to DD. New Haven, April 7, 1818, (CHS).

read a copy of it to see if that ~~was~~ <could be> the cause, but I have never been able to detect in it any thing, which might wound your feelings unless [. . .]”

Also in April of 1818, Jocelyn wrote to Chauncey, a mutual friend, and once again profusely apologized for not writing sooner.¹⁶² Apparently, Chauncey had been to see “Dickinson.” And Jocelyn continued, “I am glad of it and hope you [~~illegible~~] keep up the acquaintance for he is a good fellow and there are few in this world ~~for~~ so near dear to me as he is.” Jocelyn wanted to show Chauncey how close he was to Dicky, perhaps to compensate for Dicky’s recent displeasure with Jocelyn. “~~How often have~~ Devoted to the same pursuits and almost living together ~~we formed~~ <I contracted> a ~~attachment~~ <an> attachment <for him> which neither time nor distance shall diminish.” Jocelyn continued with, “Often after having been assiduously engaged in drawing till 11 or 12 o’clock <we> have [~~illegible~~] turned in, 3 in a bed that we might be on the spot together with the return of light . . . This remembrance of our youthful enjoyments, often tinges my thoughts with melancholy, for the troubles of that day have vanished in the brighter prospect of their contemporary joys pleasures.” He finished his observations of past recollections with, “Perhaps the present time will one day appear <as> ~~the same~~ for it is the same with our blessings ~~that~~ as it is with posthumous merit, it’s [*sic*] value is not duly appreciated until time has put it [~~illegible~~] <beyond> our power to profit by its discovery.”

In the same letter Jocelyn’s mind is captivated by something to which Chauncey referred in his letter. It began, “If your brother engraved the woodcut ~~enlosed in~~ your letter sent me I think he has made rapid advances, ~~the~~ his drawings which ~~your~~ I saw last

¹⁶² NJ to Chauncey. New Haven, 1818, (CHS).

~~summer~~ fall also pleased me very much. . . .” And ever the teacher, “Perhaps chalk would be <a> more usefull as manner of drawing than Indian Ink ~~for there is a~~ as it is less <has> [~~illegible~~] and more boldness and freedom without the <its> washy-flat <aquatint> effect—I wish you to give. . . .”

Here Jocelyn got to the point that he was really interested in, “You say ~~your brother belongs~~ <he> is a member of the Artists Society, is this the ‘Columbian Society of Artists’ who ~~hold their~~ have their exhibitions under the roof of the Pennsylvanian [?]-” He continued, “I wish you would get me send me the constitution of any of these ~~societies~~ If you happen to stumble on ~~one~~ the constitution of any <one> of those societies, I wish you would send it to me by some opportunity, for I want to know all about the arts every thing which relates to the arts of this <our> country, I may perhaps derive <instruction> some hints from it, which often gives me my steps to a more. . . .”¹⁶³

The last portion of this letter switched from Jocelyn the teacher to Jocelyn seeker of all information, as he hoped to accelerate his goal of enhancing his professional standing as an artist. The Connecticut Yankee was ever vigilant to seize an opportunity that could increase his contact with other artists and be introduced into the elite society of fine artists. Jocelyn always tried to build upon any fragment of knowledge like his familiarity with the “‘Columbian Society of Artists.’” There is no evidence that Chauncey provided any further information for Jocelyn about the “‘Pennsylvania society.’”

On June 4, 1820, Jocelyn once again attempted to

¹⁶³ The next page of this draft letter is missing. The “Columbian Society of Artists” in Jocelyn’s letter was probably a reference to Charles Wilson Peale’s 1795 “Columbianum,” predecessor of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, founded in 1805.

contact Dicky: “Perhaps it may be some apology for my long silence to say that this is the fourth letter ~~that~~ I have ~~written~~ <begun for> ~~to~~ you, <and ~~for~~ thought I> ~~and~~ did not send either <of the others> it may [. . .] that I have not forgotten you.”¹⁶⁴ He continued of a half page in the same apologetic tone, “few Sunday mornings have passed ~~over my head~~ in two years in which my conscience did not smite me for neglect of you.”

Jocelyn was anxious to continue his relationship with his friend, but he could not resist placing some responsibility for the lack of communication on Dicky’s brother, Anson Dickinson, the lucrative miniature painter. “But part of the blame you must lay at your brother, [. . .] for when he was here in 1818 I took the pains by Raphael [a Jocelyn household employee] to ~~ea~~ invite him to call on me as I wanted to send you a letter with some specimens of Engraving, but as he remained here 24 hours after, and frequently passed our room with R & Anion [*sic*] and did not call I thought best ~~to wait~~ for some more agreeable opportunity.” Anson may have intimidated Jocelyn, and it likely took considerable courage to recall this account to Dicky.

Jocelyn learned from a mutual friend that, “You had been lately married if this is true I hope you will have every blessing. . . .” And added, “In addition to my wife I have got a daughter 11 months old.” Jocelyn continues, “may [I] expect that you will pay a visit north with your wife I sincerely hope you will, for I had almost given over hoping for such a step, it had as often been professed and deferred.”

After a brief account of business affairs, Jocelyn mentions his visit with “Coln. Trumbull & other artists” in New York. Perhaps to measure his own progress he was always interested in the progress of his peers. He began, “I learn from persons who know

¹⁶⁴ NJ to DD, June 4, 1820 (CHS).

you that you are doing well[;] this is good news and I long to see some specimens of your improvement.” Jocelyn also heard that he was, “painting a fancy subject the rarity of such a circumstance excited my curiosity, and I hope some time to be gratified with a sight of your performance.” Jocelyn himself had never yet attempted a “fancy” piece as he was focused on developing a strategy for earning a living for his young family. Pure artistic expression was a luxury beyond his means in 1820.¹⁶⁵

Ending the letter Jocelyn wrote, somewhat tongue in cheek, “you see I have endeavored to atone in some degree for my part neglect by a long letter as the paper would admit. This is not worth[y] I acknowledge as *shorter* and *oftener* and if you will from the past—overlook by sending me a letter forthwith you may depend on my punctuality ~~in future~~ hereafter.”

From these limited samples of his writings, Jocelyn appears as a bright and clever young man reaching maturity. He balanced his role as a husband, father, peer counselor, teacher, friend, and sometime professional artistic competitor. Insecure about whether he

¹⁶⁵ Jocelyn mentioned in his Savannah diary (beginning on 31 January 1821) that he was working on a female figure, “Innocence.” Which was no doubt an allegorical figure. He wrote, “Began to paint on female picture [. . .] I improved the colouring of the female which was left in a muddy state. I had used blue too freely in the greys & green and pearly tints [. . .] Feb. 5th. Returned and painted on the figure of Innocence untill [*sic*] dinner. Feb. 8 1821. Had no sitter today but untill afternoon painted on the white drapery of the female. Feb. 9th 1821. After finishing my palette began and painted on the face of the female which I advanced some.” [Unlocated] Rice, Nathaniel Jocelyn, 133; Circa 1872 his wife asked him to paint a “fancy piece” and he produced in c.1872-73, “Ocean Breezes” a 10 1/2”x 8 1/2” oil on board of a composite figure derived from his two daughters standing on a windswept cliff overlooking the sea. Jocelyn was 80 years old. “A New Haven newspaper, 1874, date unknown, stated, ‘We had the pleasure yesterday of examining at the studio of Nathaniel Jocelyn a finely executed painting entitled “Ocean Breezes.” It represents a pretty female partly disrobed for bathing, standing upon the sea shore, the ocean breeze sporting with her flowing hair and disengaged garments. This fancy sketch has been placed upon the canvas [*sic*] in a skillful and artistic manner and so as to bear a thorough inspection. It will be placed on exhibition at Mr. Cutler’s art rooms for a few days. . . .” (Rice, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 133.)

met his religious, business, and artistic responsibilities, Jocelyn doubted his ability to maintain relationships with dear friends. He suspected his own character flaws, mostly procrastination, but was not afraid to reprimand or take the moral high ground in dealing with others. During these years he established a provisional plan for his career and vowed to adhere to it.

After Jocelyn's correspondence with Dicky in 1817, he formulated his plan for professional advancement. A major component of this provisional plan was the decision to depart for his first trip to Savannah in November of 1820. Jocelyn had developed the confidence, skill, and financial encouragement to defeat his insecurities and commit to the bold experiment to enter the life of an artist. During the years leading up to his departure to Savannah, he and his brother Simeon were fully engaged and established in the engraving business. Nathaniel made frequent trips to New York City to pursue both the engraving business and promote his artistic career. Obviously, the time spent in the engraving business was more financially lucrative. However, as previously discussed, it was important for Jocelyn to give the business of art a concerted effort—a five-year trial. The November 1820 to July 1821 trip to Savannah afforded him this opportunity. He was intellectually armed with as much as he could glean from Reynolds's *Discourses on Art* and poetic approaches to the art of painting such as those found in Charles Alphonse Du Fresnoy's *The Art of Painting*.¹⁶⁶ He also acquired as much practical painting technique as he could.

¹⁶⁶ Reynolds annotated Mason's English verse translation of *The Art of Painting*, a mid-seventeenth-century poem on Painting. For an artist like Jocelyn, especially with Reynolds's margin notes, it was to be read as an instructional tool and not as poetry. For example, Reynolds wrote, "How to paint a single Figure," in the margin from Du Fresnoy's, "Peculiar toil on single forms bestow, / There let expression lend its finish'd

A detailed account of Jocelyn's activities on his first visit to Savannah has been covered in previous Chapter II. Suffice it to say, he made considerable progress in his ability to fashion an agreeable likeness and sharpen his skills in gaining commissions. There is not enough extant portrait evidence available from that period to make any firm judgments as to his style or level of competence in relation to his peers in New Haven and New York. We do know that he was not an expeditious painter, often requiring more sittings and redoing portions of a portrait many times. This inexperience encumbered his earning ability, and in general, his methodicalness plagued him throughout his career.¹⁶⁷ During Jocelyn's long career as an artist, his portrait output was approximately between 150 and 180 works, compared, for example, to his contemporary Thomas Sully's (1783-1872) over 2,000 portraits.¹⁶⁸

In the summer of 1821, between his first and second trips to Savannah, Jocelyn was anxious to accept as much portrait business as possible. And, in spite of his relative

glow; / There each variety of tint unite / With the full harmony of shade and light.” Charles Alphonse Du Fresnoy, *The Art of Painting*, Translated into English Verse by William Mason, M. A. with Annotations by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Knt. President of the Royal Academy. (Dublin: Printed for Messrs. Whitestone, Wilson, Moncrieffe, Walker, Jenkin, White, Byrne, and Cash, 1783), 22.

¹⁶⁷ “Towards the end of his life, Professor Benjamin Silliman compiled a list of the portraits for which he sat. He had this to say about the one by Jocelyn, painted during the summer of 1826: ‘Jocelyn solicited me to sit for himself. These engagements with artists were always very inconvenient and in this case particularly so, as Mr. Jocelyn required a great amount of time. . . .’ Silliman, who tended to be acid, continued, ‘I believe about three weeks on alternate days, giving time for the paint to dry, the sittings were generally two to three hours.’ Still, Silliman praised the portrait. ‘Jocelyn produced a good picture and sold it to Mr. Stephen Dubose of South Carolina, a pupil and friend, who took it home.’” (Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 21.)

¹⁶⁸ Ibid.

success in Savannah, he was willing to “take any thing for pay” however, the writer cited below noted, “He is as good a workman as any in America.”

On July 18, 1821, Moses Johnson wrote to Mrs. [?] Hannah Fabriague, Oxford

[CT]:

I am having my likeness taken by Mr. Jocelene [*sic*] who has Returned from Savanna for a few Summer months I have Sat. for him three times, he thinks he shall Compleat it this week if I am able to attend which is very uncertain. I have agreed with Mr Joselin [*sic*] to Draw Your Likeness & your Mothers if you wish it & we agree about the price he says he will take any thing for pay. I Believe he is as good a workman as any in America. If you will Both Come to New-Haven Soon you can conclude If he Draw for you he can do you both at Once better, because you can Have Each a Sitting in a Day The Rest of the Time it will take to Dry them If He does Draw I Expect to pay him. He wishes to do it this week or Next he will be Hurried Very much. The Drawing is Done in the Bradley Brick Building on the S E corner building where state street joins Chappel Street. I Board at present at Mr Irijah Scoville Near the wharf, if you Conclude to Come Down You had better to Stay Two Nights. . . .¹⁶⁹

Jocelyn did not return to New Haven that summer with a great deal of fanfare, but as this letter demonstrated, he was recognized as a professional portrait painter. Jocelyn’s patron at this point, Moses Johnson, was not one of the “culturati” of New Haven, but a common man interested in a “likeness,” both for his personal pleasure and to elevate his social standing. In the two months Jocelyn was home, he reengaged with the engraving business and painted two other portraits.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁹ “Rice Cat. #87 *Johnson, Moses Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1821*” (Rice, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 122; Original letter owned by The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn.)

¹⁷⁰ Mrs. George Wayne Anderson (1805-1865) and Mr. George Wayne Anderson (1797-?).

The correspondence between Jocelyn and Dicky, two artist friends, as well as teacher and former student, was remarkable for its frankness and directness. Moreover, Jocelyn provided an exacting, almost painfully slow, view into the world of a self-taught artist. Imagine the time and energy involved educating himself with the proper forms of rhetoric and deportment required to present himself as a professional artist.¹⁷¹

Jocelyn never faltered and was unrelenting in his teaching role as he, as diplomatically as possible, sought to impart his knowledge of writing skills and conduct to Dicky. Dicky's lack of response and apparent lack of interest in Jocelyn's message only dramatizes the difference between the two men in their temperament, intellectual curiosity, and professional comportment.

Jocelyn's slow and arduous process of learning the liberal arts without the advantage of a college education required a diligence fortified by his religious convictions. He could educate himself in New Haven by relying on learned men drawn to the city for education or commerce.

The choice of a career in the arts was unusual in his time, one that required considerable confidence and ambition. Working with his innate skills and creativity, Jocelyn forged his own path guided by desire and the hope of a fair share of financial gain. His Puritan background prevented even an unspoken wish for fame. To be a successful artist, Jocelyn had to use what he believed was his God-given ability and responsibility to serve his family, educate, and aid others, and thereby fulfill God's plan for him.

¹⁷¹ Dicky did mature into a more than competent miniature painter (fig. III.1). He was not as proficient or as distinguished as his older brother, Anson. Apparently, his work ethic was not at his brother's or Jocelyn's level.

FIGURE III.1.



The N. & S.S. Jocelyn engraving business was the financially sustaining entity for the Jocelyn brothers, but portrait painting as a fine art was Nathaniel's passion. The coupling of his duty to religion and his maturation as an artist would set him on a course toward abolition.

CHAPTER IV

RETURN TO SAVANNAH AND RELIGIOUS UNDERPINNINGS.

INTRODUCTION

Between late December 1821 and September 1822, Jocelyn returned to Savannah a second time, to seek portrait and engraving commissions and sharpen his skills as a portraitist. During this period, religion assumed a greater and greater importance. He expressed concerns about the personal disposition of his faith while closely observing the state of religion in Savannah. Jocelyn matured as a Congregationalist, and Congregationalism became the religious source of his abolitionist position. This chapter reviews New England Congregationalism in New Haven, Connecticut, providing background to the Jocelyn brothers' faith, and their future work as abolitionists.

SAVANNAH 1821

On December of 1821, Jocelyn prepared for a return trip to Savannah. He was still eager to learn the business of portrait painting and to derive an income from the practice as well as increase his skill, technique, and speed. Jocelyn's obligation to his family and himself to achieve artistic and financial success was offset by loneliness on the second trip away from home. Responsibility to his family and his need to achieve professional standing were at war, both wrought from his religious convictions. How this young

husband and father of two children balanced his religious, family, and professional goals is the subject of this chapter.

In Connecticut, the Second Great Awakening [c.1795-1826], filtered through the lens of the Congregationalist tradition, influenced Jocelyn's religious convictions. Connecticut Congregationalists had, according to historian, Charles Roy Keller, "over two hundred church societies and nearly that many ministers" making it the state's "dominant denomination" during the Second Great Awakening. Jocelyn was a prime example of a "born again" devout Congregationalist.¹⁷²

For Congregationalists like Jocelyn, every activity was expected to fulfill the responsibility to earn the grace of God and thus to experience renewal or regeneration. Congregationalists had to be born again. During the Second Great Awakening these experiences were perpetually sought and profoundly elusive. One was never sure when one had achieved grace or was renewed.

An important process in this pursuit was constant self-examination of one's behavior and religious thoughts, accompanied by Bible study. Thus, Jocelyn's diary became a tool for his self-examination and reflection with the hope of achieving grace. These fragmentary page notes provide the evidence that allows Jocelyn to be reconstructed from documents and not just from his art.

The eminent New Haven Yale professor and scientist, Benjamin Silliman, deliberated over the same questions of grace and regeneration when Silliman was twenty-two years old, twenty years earlier than Jocelyn during his own deliberations in 1822. Keller remarks, "Although the general religious enthusiasm in the state [Connecticut]

¹⁷² Charles Roy Keller, *The Second Great Awakening In Connecticut* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1968), 9.

subsided somewhat in 1801, the next year a revival occurred at Yale College. For seven years (Reverend) Timothy Dwight (1752-1817, president of Yale 1795-1817) had been lashing at infidelity and portraying the benefits of revealed religion.”¹⁷³ “Sixty-three joined the college church, among them Benjamin Silliman, then a tutor, who wrote his mother, ‘Yale College is a little temple: prayer and praise seem to be the delight of the greater part of the students, while those who are still unfeeling are awed with respectful silence.’”¹⁷⁴

Chandos M. Brown wrote in greater detail concerning Silliman’s religious state of mind during that time at Yale, “He [Silliman] felt equally sure about the ‘doctrines’ of the Bible; but this, he was quite correctly concerned, required only an exercise of the understanding, which was not sufficient proof of grace: ‘A religion from heaven must necessarily contain truths incomprehensible to the human mind.’ He was not confident, for instance, that he recognized within himself any evidence of regeneration.”¹⁷⁵

Brown continues,

The formality that the inheritors of Puritanism had imposed on the process of redemption had finally come to exert a crippling restraint on such personalities as Silliman’s. He knew the procedure, yet he could not locate his own experience within its rigid compass, and so he despaired. ‘I cannot mark any period in my life when I can rationally conclude that my heart was renewed,’ he wrote to John [his brother], and here was the tragedy. Conversion was not essentially a rational process. It involved, after all, the incomprehensible state of grace. Here again contradiction intruded disastrously into his life, and Silliman was not enough of a

¹⁷³ Keller, *Second Great Awakening in Connecticut*, 41. Dwight saw “the spread of infidelity as a plague and as a disaster for society.” (Charles Roy Keller, *The Second Great Awakening In Connecticut* [Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1968] 16.)

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 41-42.

¹⁷⁵ Brown, *Benjamin Silliman*, 96.

philosopher to solve the riddle. How could one rationally determine whether the incomprehensible experience of renewal had taken place?¹⁷⁶

By contrast, in 1821 Jocelyn without the formal education of men like Silliman, never took an overly intellectual approach to his salvation. He accepted his faith, but questioned his progress in the attainment of grace.

On January 28, 1821, three days before his twenty-fifth birthday, Jocelyn began his diary in earnest. He wanted to “[m]ore completely discover” God’s plan for him. He wrote, “A summary view of my present situation and attainments, and to propose to myself such a course as from experience I think most suitable to my situation in life.” He continued, “Through His grace I may now be said to be exerting myself to some valuable purpose.” *This* diary was going to be more serious. Unlike “[t]wo different periods” of his life when he had “Attempted to begin an account of [his] daily pursuits, but owing to fickliness [*sic*] of mind or to a want of energy through some disagreeable situations I have never continued the practice for more than one or 2 months.”¹⁷⁷ Here Jocelyn followed one of the principles of the Congregationalist methodology—self-examination, which began with self-humiliation for his “unmerited lot” and a commitment “To begin my now important relation that is to God. Through his grace I may now be said to be exerting myself to some valuable purpose.”¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁶ Brown, *Benjamin Silliman*, 97.

¹⁷⁷ NJ Diary, 31 January 1821.

¹⁷⁸ With regard to his previous attempts at keeping a diary he wrote in the same passage, “Perhaps on some accounts it [former diary attempt] has been for the best as a volatility of disposition; an adopting and forsaking moral objects of pursuit without sufficient forethought has always kept my mind in a state of fluctuation of study to such a degree as to make the present recollection painful [*sic*] to me.” (NJ Diary, 31 January 1821.)

Jocelyn accepted the concept that God would and indeed had provided all that he attained as a man, husband and father. He ended this segment of his diary with a prayerful pledge,

I have now a higher aim, an aim which penetrates eternity and proposes in humble confidence the attainment of endless glory, endless joy. Glory be to God, if indeed this & I should ever be my unmerited lot. I have also a beloved wife, and blessed be the Lord that through his rich mercy in Christ there is hope that in death we shall not be separated. And oh! that the two lovely babes which he has been pleased to make us the means of bringing into existence, may be sanctified by the Holy Spirit, be justified by the precious blood of the Lamb of God, and be as the crowns of glory unto us in the day of the Lord Jesus. Grant us grace O Lord God, to do thy will, and to instruct them in the ways of the Lord.¹⁷⁹

Jocelyn's religious awakening stemmed, in part, from his loneliness while in Savannah for the second time. It was his birthday, and he was forced to consider the past twenty-five years when he wrote, "I have now through the grace of God become more settled, and more rational in my views and plans ~~and on this day~~ 25 years of my life are completed this day, an important period, the foundation of the future superstructure morally considered is laid previous to this age in most persons, and doubtly[sic] in me, what this is to God is known, to others may be apparent, and by myself is yet to be more completely discovered by the most constant and scrutinizing self examination."¹⁸⁰

According to David Roth, the Congregationalist/Puritan tradition of which Jocelyn was a product,

Produced people who believed without question in the omnipresence of God in the disposal of man's fate. Life for the Connecticut Puritan was no succession of chance occurrences: it was the unfolding of God's will. Through personal gain,

¹⁷⁹ NJ Diary, 31 January 1821.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

through personal failure, through family joys, through crushing family tragedies, and through the trials and tribulations of life in a primitive environment, the Connecticut Puritan's most distinctive characteristic was an unbreakable will, a rock-like ability to take what life gave without once doubting that all—pain and pleasure alike—was God's will."¹⁸¹

Jocelyn's belief and will was not always as "rock-like" as he wished. Yet he was faithful to the basic tenets of Congregationalism, accepting the required self-examination, which in turn produced more self-doubt and questioning. Paramount to this process was attending church services, group, and private Bible study.

On his return to Savannah, Jocelyn made note of a segment of the preaching of Reverend Mr. Otterson, a local minister.¹⁸² "Preaching from John 3d Chapter 3d verse Jesus answered and said unto him 'verily verily I say unto thee except a man be born again he cannot see the Kingdom of God.'"¹⁸³ What follow in the diary are Jocelyn's words summarizing Otterson on the question of "what is born again?" Jocelyn may have paraphrased Otterson, but the words give us clear insight into Jocelyn's inquisitive nature to understand the answer to the question of "born again."

By being born again is meant the sanctifying influence of the Holy spirit on the natural heart whereby it is restored to its former state of holiness. Regeneration is an instantaneous act whereby the heart is immediately cleansed of its original corruption and stamped with the image of its divine original, and not like sanctification, which is progressive and commences with regeneration.

¹⁸¹ David Morris Roth. *Connecticut, a Bicentennial History*. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1979), 63.

¹⁸² Jocelyn was quite impressed with Otterson and wrote in his diary on 4 February 1821, "His preaching is such as God has blessed us with at home, full of sound and interesting doctrine, and I feasted on the words as they came from his lips."

¹⁸³ NJ Diary, 28 January 1821.

Being born again the faculties of the same are not altered nor new ones are given neither are the old ones destroyed, but as they were before under the dominion of reigning depravity, so now are they subservient to a will implanted by the free grace of God.

And where God has stamped a soul with the image of his divine nature he will perfect the work begun [blank].¹⁸⁴

Jocelyn (via Otterson) touched on the distinction between “being born again” and “regeneration.” The former is a “Sanctifying influence of the Holy spirit on the natural heart . . . which is progressive and commences with [the latter] regeneration” and presumably continues throughout one’s life. “Regeneration is an instantaneous act whereby the heart is immediately cleansed of its original corruption [original sin] and stamped with the image of its divine original. . . .”¹⁸⁵

Jocelyn’s focus on these two doctrines of the church was characteristic for his time. The tradition and refinement of the Congregationalists’ precepts began for Jocelyn while coming of age during the last nine or ten years of the Second Great Awakening in Connecticut. Keller observed a basic pattern of Congregationalist views and activities, “First, there were revivals and missionary activities, and then came Bible, tract, and education societies, Sunday schools, attempts at moral reform, societies, and humanitarian endeavors.”¹⁸⁶

By the early 1820s in New Haven, Nathaniel and his brother Simeon were ensconced in the methodology of revivals and were building toward “moral reform” and

¹⁸⁴ NJ Diary, 28 January 1821.

¹⁸⁵ These interpretations of the “depravity of man” and “regeneration” were decidedly “Old Calvinism.” I believe Jocelyn was more reform or “New Light” in his actual religious practice.

¹⁸⁶ Keller, *Second Great Awakening in Connecticut*, 2.

“humanitarian endeavors.” The brothers were a product of and accepted the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Second Great Awakening.

The whole Jocelyn family belonged to the congregation of the North Church (later the United Church) on the New Haven Green. “This church was ‘New Light’ in its inception,” wrote Bernard Heinz, “more evangelical than the First Church.” Simeon Jocelyn was the more “pious, [and] church oriented” of the brothers, “and a favorite of the Reverend Mr. [Samuel] Merwin [1781-1856], pastor of the North Church.”¹⁸⁷

Merwin was a protégé of the Rev. Timothy Dwight (1758-1817) and, in 1805 became the minister of the United Church (North Church). Merwin did not have a dynamic personality, but had sensitivity for personal conversion and a genuine concern for his congregation. As the religious leader of New Haven’s largest Congregational society, he was able to sustain the momentum of revivalism.¹⁸⁸

The New Haven (and Connecticut) church system provided the Jocelyns with what could be construed as their only formal education. Moving freely among the churches to hear “lectures,” guest preachers and revivals wherever they were appearing. “The Sunday sermons were for them a substitute, which they believed prepared them for self-instruction and even more importantly for going out into the world beyond the parameters of Utopian New Haven.”¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁷ Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 19.

¹⁸⁸ William Philie. *Change and Tradition New Haven, CT, 1780-1830*. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1989,) 85.

¹⁸⁹ Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 19-20.

According to Jocelyn's daughters' diaries throughout the late 1830's to 1850 they attended lectures and heard preachers in the following venues: the North Church, Center Church, Methodist Church, College Church, Baptist Church, Episcopal Church in Rockport, Free Church, Church Street Church, Zion Church, Dutch Reformed Church, and the Church of the Holy Trinity. Additionally, the daughters also attended Bible class, taught Sabbath school, [Sunday school] teacher's meetings, sewing societies, the Bible Society, missionary meetings, abolitionist meetings, and a variety of other lectures that took place in church/meetinghouse settings. Secular subjects, such as geography, languages, and history of other countries, botany, agriculture, and horticulture were also lecture topics of interest to them.¹⁹⁰

The lectures the Jocelyns attended were diverse. They afforded them the opportunity to expand their knowledge outside of their immediate culture and religion. For example, Elizabeth noted on April 7, 1839, "Went to the Free Church to hear Mr. Whitney—a missionary from Jerusalem and Palestine, or the Holy land. He described the situation of Jerusalem—the habits and manners of the Jews—their religion. . . ." Frances in October 6, 1842, wrote; "This evening attended the North Church—a Nestorian Bishop

¹⁹⁰ EHJ, FMJ and SAJ Diaries, *passim*.

Also, typical diary entries include: "Attended the Singing School in the lecture room—attended Sabbath School and church. Took a class [taught] in the African L. School this noon. Went to church with father in the evening. The Roman Catholic Church was destroyed by fire this evening. Dr. Baird preached this morning and this evening also, in behalf of the Foreign Evangelical Society." (EHJ Diary, June 11, 1849.)

"I have attended the church three times today -This evening the Center church was crowded—The Rev. Mr. Parks missionary from Canton addressed the audience—Mr. P brought with him a Chinese to instruct himself in the Chinese language—he is very dark and was dressed in the costume of his country." (SAJ Diary, Dec 20, 1840.)

"Attended the First Institute Lecture delivered by Prof. Mitchell in the Centre Church on 'the Moon.'" (FMJ Diary, Dec. 12, 1850.)

"A missionary from 'Mendi' made an address." (FMJ Diary, Feb 2, 1850.)

[an Asian Christian denomination] delivered an address in his native tongue—Mr. Perkins the missionary acting as interpreter—the church was very full—the aisles were crowded.”

Interestingly, Simeon, who had more formal education than Nathaniel, was practicing, along with his brother, as an engraver. But Simeon’s true calling was the ministry. Nathaniel noted in his diary on February 1, 1821 that Simeon was “Turning to the study of Theology.” Simeon was tutored by the “chief successor” to Timothy Dwight, Nathaniel William Taylor (1786-1858), minister of the First Church or First Society (later the Center Church). Taylor was known as “The real architect of the New Haven Theology.”¹⁹¹ When Nathaniel Jocelyn returned to New Haven from Savannah, his brother Simeon had received a ‘license to Preach’ from Taylor in 1822 the year Taylor resigned the pastorate of the Center Church congregation.¹⁹² Taylor then became the first holder of the Timothy Dwight Professorship in Didactic Theology at Yale College (later Yale Divinity School). Timothy Dwight, the merchant son of President Dwight founded the Professorship in honor of his father and to attract Taylor to Yale to continue the momentum of the New Haven Theology started by Dwight’s father.¹⁹³

Simeon Jocelyn was already preaching at several churches during his tutorial period with Taylor and began to focus his religious activity on the African American population in New Haven. There were several groups practicing evangelical Protestantism in New Haven, and preachers flowed freely among the various

¹⁹¹ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, 419.

¹⁹² Quoted in Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 32.

¹⁹³ Sweeney, Douglas A. *Nathaniel Taylor, New Haven Theology, and the Legacy Jonathan Edwards*. (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 56.

meetinghouses. Even after Taylor's appointment at Yale he vigorously kept up his preaching. "As Leonard Bacon once summarized, '[T]here is no Congregational church in this city, almost none in this neighborhood of churches, which has not, in some vacancy of its pastorate, sought and enjoyed his powerful ministration of the word.'"¹⁹⁴

CONGREGATIONALISM IN CONNECTICUT

In order to provide a contextual view of Nathaniel Jocelyn's religious convictions and evangelical position, a broad review of the development of evangelical Congregationalism in Connecticut specifically in the greater New Haven area is in order. The traditional Puritan notion was that "ministers were expected to work in cooperation with civil authorities in ensuring that the Puritans made good their 'errand into the wilderness.'"¹⁹⁵ By the end of the eighteenth-century, this elitist notion that protected the status of the clergy as the "Elect" and the Standing Order was in conflict with a new democratic nation which resulted in an erosion of the ministers' social and political power. The relationship to the clergy shifted, in the words of Joseph Phillips, "New Englanders became more and more worldly and increasingly individualistic. Less

¹⁹⁴ Among the churches where Taylor preached for "extended periods of time" was Jocelyn's church, the North Church. (Sweeney. *Nathaniel Taylor*, 58-59.) The Rev. Samuel Merwin, a friend of the Jocelyn family, served as the regular minister in the North Church during the years from 1805-1831.

¹⁹⁵ Joseph W. Phillips, *Jedidiah Morse and New England Congregationalism*. (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1983), 1.

concerned with communal welfare, they questioned the right of the parish minister to intrude into their lives for the good of the community.”¹⁹⁶

As early as the seventeenth century, a variety of reformers emerged to confront the Puritans.¹⁹⁷ Throughout the eighteenth century, much of the dissension of the reformers stemmed from the essential Puritan doctrines of the predestination and depravity of man, and of “the doctrine of assurance—how to know if one is among the Elect.” This “Calvinist belief that humans had a natural and nearly irresistible inclination to sin (the doctrine of ‘human depravity’)” was the core target of the reform movement.¹⁹⁸

The hierarchy of the Congregational Church was under assault on several fronts. Respect for the clergy, along with the Church’s position of power in the democratic nation, was eroding. They were also showing a lack of leadership in the arena of social reform, and they were being challenged by other religious denominations. In 1789, the Congregationalists supported the Revolution for its “independence and republicanism,” in the hope that the high status of the clergy would prevail. Yet they feared the nation’s enlarged view of democracy as “socially unsound and dangerous.”¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁶ Phillips, *Jedidiah Morse* 2.

¹⁹⁷ Roth, *Connecticut, a Bicentennial History*, 48. Most notable of the newcomers were the Quakers and the Rogerenes (followers of John and James Rogers, Jr. the Seventh Day Baptists leaders of the opposition to the Puritan order) followed in the eighteenth-century by the Baptists, Anglicans and eventually led to religious pluralism.

¹⁹⁸ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 79.

¹⁹⁹ Phillips, *Jedidiah Morse*, 2.

After the Revolution, indifference toward religion precipitated a drop in church attendance. “The prospect of infidelity running wild” was a vivid fear held by the clergy.²⁰⁰ Here, the term infidelity loosely meant all of the consequences of rationalism, including Deism and other aspects of the enlightenment which developed during the Age of Reason in Europe and spread to the Atlantic.²⁰¹ The growth of Deism and the decline of ministerial authority seemed subtly related to the old Congregationalists.

The deistic conception of God as a Creator who let His creatures move and have their being in accordance with natural law was offensive to their belief that God was judge and father, a Supreme Being who was always close to His creatures.²⁰²

Expansion of settlements into the western states, or what was called the western frontier, threatened to further undermine the clergy’s control over worship. It was felt that if the West developed without sufficient religious intervention, then “irreligion, barbarity, and chaos would reign and threaten to contaminate older regions of the country.”²⁰³

The Second Great Awakening through its methodology of the revival was evangelical Protestants’ opportunity to reach the people on the frontier. At the same time a new spirit of cooperation emerged among various denominations. Two former competitors, the Congregationalists and Presbyterians joined forces to “evangelize the

²⁰⁰ Phillips, *Jedidiah Morse*, 3.

²⁰¹ Keller, *Second Great Awakening*, 13.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 16.

²⁰³ Phillips, *Jedidiah Morse*, 3.

frontier.” Shared religious convictions between Methodists and Baptists allowed them to capitalize on the Second Great Awakening’s movement to the West. This combined effort of evangelical Protestants emphasized the revival and “benevolent societies,” to reach the undecided in the west.²⁰⁴

The clergy with the most influence became those who could swell the ranks of their denominations through revivals and make firm their influence through their benevolent societies. The societies would remain to maintain and propagate the word of the revivals. Clergy worked in an environment of Protestant pluralism, which helped soften of the hard edges of Puritanism/Calvinism, and flowed into a broadening stream of reform.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, Charles G. Finney (1792-1875), one of the more controversial religious reformers, expanded on Nathaniel Taylor’s definition of moral agency and struck a blow to the tenet of the depravity of man by preaching, according to Paul Boyer, that “Affirmed sin was purely a voluntary act; no one had to sin. Men and women could will themselves out of sin just as readily as they had willed themselves into it.”²⁰⁵ A key element in the reform evangelical Protestant movement was “That the sinful person had to come to an acceptance of Christ as a redeemer through a conversion experience.”²⁰⁶ The “conversion experience” became an important feature of the evangelical Protestant movement in which the Jocelyn family participated.

²⁰⁴ Phillips, *Jedidiah Morse*, 5.

²⁰⁵ Boyer, et.al., *The Enduring Vision*, 332.

²⁰⁶ Phillips, *Jedidiah Morse*, 5.

This “conversion experience” was very important to Nathaniel and his brother Simeon. While Nathaniel was engaged on his second portrait-painting business trip to Savannah, he noted eagerly the contents of a letter from his brother Simeon. Back in New Haven, Simeon, a newly initiated student of theology, had participated in a major New Haven revival. Simeon recounted the experience and Nathaniel was overjoyed to learn the “glorious news of the remarkable conversion of Goldsmith.” The direct role of Simeon in the conversion is unclear, but Nathaniel’s excitement stemmed in part from family pride. Jocelyn shared the news with two of his friends in Savannah, but was disappointed in their reaction. Not steeped in the “New Haven Theology,” his friends only had a courteous exchange.

Since receiving the two letters [one from his wife] think I have felt much more spirituality minded yesterday and to day [*sic*]. Scranton called and I related Goldsmith’s con[version]. It seemed a great thing to him but as one who had no interest in spiritual things soon enquired what other news. [. . .] Talking with Negus about religion ~~Theology to which he is somewhat attached not a great outpour....~~²⁰⁷

One friend politely changed the subject while the other did not yield a “great outpour[ing . . .]” of interest. The next day, Sabbath, Jocelyn “Rose very late this morning—true I prayed that God would not let me waste his precious time in sleep. . . . Consequently my time for secret prayer and study of scriptures was shortened. . . .” He consoled himself and

²⁰⁷ NJ Diary, 3 February 1821. And, “A friend from home, Loyal Scranton, who now lived in Savannah, had undoubtedly seen the letters advertised and called to see him. He inquired about the news from home. The big event, as far as Jocelyn was concerned, was the conversion of A. B. Goldsmith.” Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 26.

Was much impressed throughout the day, by thinking on the sol[e]mn scene which was witnessed in New Haven as according to Smith's [family name for Simeon] letter 101 were to come forward openly confessing The Lord Jesus to be their God. And there are some fellow pilgrims, who set out nearly all together, to seek a heavenly country.²⁰⁸

All the excitement of the revival in New Haven created a religious swell within Jocelyn as he reiterated his belief in his savior.²⁰⁹ "Glory be unto thee O our God, for thy free and wonderful grace to us *hell deserving* creatures." With the doctrine of the depravity of man never far below the surface, Jocelyn's question of his worthiness prevailed, "Felt to day more comfort in believing [in God] then I had for some time past, although, beset with strong temptations even in the house of God. Pride both spiritual and temporal, and idolizing attachment to my profession are my constantly besetting sins."²¹⁰

Nathaniel Jocelyn was a young man raised in New Haven in the 1820s. New Haven was, according to David Roth, home of "the most fanatical Puritans." Nathaniel had a slightly eclectic Congregational belief. He was neither as reformed nor as extreme as Charles Finney, and he was more drawn to Nathaniel Taylor's New Light ideology.²¹¹

²⁰⁸ NJ Diary, 4 February 1821.

²⁰⁹ The New Haven revival witnessed by Simeon Jocelyn may have occurred between Nathaniel's last letter from New Haven on 15 December 1820 and his most recent on 4 February 1821. It is possible that it was a revival in New Haven or nearby Litchfield preached by Asahel Nettleton (1783-1844). Nettleton, the Yale graduate minister, was more conservative than Taylor and famous for the large number of converts during his revivals. "101" converts during a revival would not be unusual for Dr. Nettleton.

²¹⁰ NJ Diary, 4 February 1821. And, "I have been much troubled today & this evening by the greatest of my besetting [?] sins, Pride, 'Assist me O Father to mortify the flesh.[?]" (NJ Diary 6 January 1822.)

²¹¹ David Morris Roth, *Connecticut, a Bicentennial History* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), 49.

It is difficult to see a clear pattern of Jocelyn's religious belief due to the limited period of time covered in his extant writings. Certainly, in his early adulthood, he refined and questioned his beliefs and entertained both reform and conservative views. In keeping with his time and maturation in New Haven, he exhibited a sound belief in personal moral agency for salvation—as the system of the exclusive entitlement of elites to salvation had long passed. Additionally, Jocelyn was right in the middle of the ascendancy of the Congregationalist's duty of public and benevolent action that would lead him to his abolitionist stance.

The New Light reform movement in New Haven informed Jocelyn's religious convictions. This "New Divinity" was initiated by Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) and developed and promulgated by Nathaniel William Taylor via Timothy Dwight.²¹² Contemporaries referred to the doctrine as Taylorism.²¹³ Sydney E. Ahlstrom concisely sums up Taylor's position as follows,

Taylor's fundamental insistence was that no man becomes depraved but by his own act, for the sinfulness of the human race does not pertain to human nature as such. 'Sin is in the sinning,' and hence 'original' only in the sense that it is universal. Though inevitable, it is not—as with [Jonathan] Edwards,—causally necessary. Man always had, in Taylor's famous phrase, 'power to the contrary.' As a free, rational, moral, creative cause, man is not part of the system of nature, at least not a passive or determined part. Preachers must confront sinners with this fact, and address them in the knowledge of it. Unlike Leonard Woods, Taylor was

²¹² Jonathan Edwards (1703-58) "His preaching initiated the New England phase of the religious revival known as the "Great Awakening" (c. 1730-50). At Northampton [MA], Edwards expounded doctrines infusing rationalism and mysticism and aimed at stemming the rising tide of liberal thought. He stressed the rationality of Scriptural knowledge, the intuitive apprehension of spiritual experience, and the metaphysical concepts of understanding and will as moral agencies under the supreme and arbitrary power of God." ("Jonathan Edwards," *Encyclopedia of American History*, 1996 ed., 1017.)

²¹³ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 420.

consciously formulating a reasonable revival theology that could prosper in the democratic ethos of Jacksonian America. As these ideas gained acceptance with the passing years, revivals came to be understood less as the 'mighty acts of God' than achievement of preachers who won the consent of sinners.²¹⁴

Taylor carried on Yale President Timothy Dwight's views training New England's future leaders.²¹⁵ Taylor delineated two competing principles. Douglas Sweeney writes that moral agency, for Taylor,

stems from either of two radically different 'governing principles of action.' The once-born world of the unregenerate ('the great bulk of mankind'), he thought, acts on a 'principle of selfishness,' or what Taylor referred to as 'the very substance of moral degradation,' the 'corroding fire of the eternal pit.' The twice-born world of the redeemed, on the other hand, acts on a 'principle of benevolence.' Its inhabitants demonstrate what Taylor called 'an elective preference for God' or, in even more Edwardsian fashion 'an elective preference of the highest well-being of all other sentient beings as [their] supreme object.' Between these two worlds lies 'a broad and visible line of distinction.'²¹⁶

Jocelyn's inculcation of the New Haven Theology is apparent in diary entries for his second trip to Savannah. In one entry, he clearly acknowledges the influence of the Rev. Mr. Merwin (pastor of Jocelyn's North Church) and the Rev. Mr. Taylor. (Samuel Merwin was senior to Taylor, but Taylor was the scholar/theologian.) Jocelyn wrote, "My heart was particularly engaged in spiritual things from the reading an account by Mr.

²¹⁴ Ahlstrom, *A Religious History*, 420.

²¹⁵ Sweeney, *Nathaniel Taylor*, 22.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 103. Sweeney expounds upon the Dutch theologian Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), whose views were condemned by the Synod of Dort (1618-19), Arminianism was a term used to designate almost any form of Reformed theology that, modified the traditional doctrines of total depravity, limited atonement, or unconditional election and accentuated man's role in salvation. In America the term often was a synonym for 'liberal' or 'broad and catholic.'" (Sydney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People*, [New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972] 404.)

Merwin and Mr. Taylor in the *Christian Spectator* of the commencement and progress of that blessed work of grace in New Haven which I have reason to hope drew me into the fold of Christ.”²¹⁷

In Savannah, Jocelyn had time to review his religious standing and was notably homesick. Several notations in his diary caught him in a state of reflection. For example, “I find the nearer I live to God in prayer the more I delight in every heavenly thing. I anticipate much delight in enjoying these things with my wife.” He completed his thoughts and returned to writing about Savannah, “Walk[ed] with Green to the burying ground and our talk was of heaven.”²¹⁸

Jocelyn was aware of his “habit of procrastination” and made many notes regarding his schedule and reading habits. He paid particular attention to his responsibilities to read the Bible and study the scriptures. He wrote, “My time is so take[n] up that it seems best to make it a principle to confine my religious reading on week days to the Bible and *Scotts Notes*.” And, “Leaving the pursuit [*sic*] of miscellaneous religious books till the Sabbath. The well understanding of the scriptures is

²¹⁷ NJ Diary, 11 May 1821. Jocelyn, on the same day, added a note of personal accomplishment, “Dr. Copper agreed to subscribe for the *Christian Spectator*.” Note: “New Haven’s *Spectator* emerged from the Doctrinal Tract Society founded by Beecher [*Lyman, (1775-1863)*], Taylor, Goodrich [*Chauncey Allen, (1790-1860)*] and others in 1818 to combat Episcopalianism and Unitarianism in New England. When Goodrich bought the *Spectator* in 1828 to make it the official organ of the New Haven Theology, it maintained its Edwardsian focus, now devoting a great deal of copy to the articles covering hundreds of Taylorites’ intra-Edwardsian battles. It published numerous articles covering hundreds of pages on the theology and internal conflicts of the Edwardsian tradition. . . .” (Sweeney, *Nathaniel Taylor*, 59-60.)

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 6 May 1821.

better than the study of any other book therefore it should be made the principal book of reading and meditation . . .” he concluded.²¹⁹

Jocelyn reprimanded himself frequently in his diary, hoping to be more successful as a Christian. Reading the Bible and keeping his diary were important facets of his obligations. In mid-February of 1821 he began, “Family devotions & singing and writing after 9—my diary which from necessity had been neglected since Sunday noon, Hoping for the grace of God to enable me to keep his day holy I got to bed at 11.” He ended in a self-admonishment, “have not read the bible so much this evening as I wish to.”²²⁰

Jocelyn often inserted topics and fragments of sermons that interested him such as the listing of “The Offences of the text are of Three kinds [:]” Apparently, these were notes from a “Sermon by Mr. Skinner [,] ‘Text Matt. 18-7—Woe unto the world, etc.’”

“1 Flagicious [Flagitious] Sins

2 Smaller immoralities

3 Indifferent [Indifference]”

Followed by brief definitions and comments:

1. Flagicious crimes—such [as] adultery, blasphemy, drunkenness &c. These are *not offences* [emphasis added] when committed by persons of the world whom characters as debauchers, Atheists—or drunkards are open and well known—or drunkards are open and well known—but in professing Christians, or the ministries of Christ—it is an offence of the blackest die.

But[,]

2d Smaller Immoralities embraces the great body of offences, of these 1st offences arise from extravagance in possessions, in furnishing their houses, equipage &c & in indulgence in ornamental finery, for the purpose of establishing a world by importance & rank—and from an ostentacious [blank]

²¹⁹ NJ Diary, 7 Feb 1821.

²²⁰ Ibid., 17 Feb 1821.

This introduces in the place to[,]

III. [*3rd. Indifference*] Consider the Guilt of those by whom offences come

1. It is a cruel carelessness about the souls of the world.

2d It evinces a contempt of the spiritual welfare of weak brethren.

3d [blank]²²¹

Reading between the lines of these notations from Jocelyn's personal diary, it appeared that he was dismayed with the state of the church in Savannah, and one assumes the South in general. He was appalled by the personal behavior and conduct of individuals, and especially clergy, who did not properly respect the Sabbath or were inadequate preachers. While Jocelyn was generally a mild mannered, humble person, when the subject was religion, he was a bit of a Yankee elitist. In his estimation, Savannah was far behind the reforms of the "New Haven Theology."

The celebration of the New Year was an occasion for Jocelyn to view the residents of Savannah with acrimony, writing "New Years eve is kept here shockingly, it is of a piece with all their customs firing, drumming, dancing, noise & tumult till past midnight I heartily thank God that he has been pleased to provide a place for me where I may be as secluded as possible from the evil of the place." The whole celebration offended his religious sensibilities; "Rather let me be ignorant of its manners and customs than to purchase the knowledge by being continually objected to the influence of such dreadfull depravity."²²²

Almost a year earlier in keeping with his evangelical obligations, he wrote of his religious adjustment to Savannah, "I think I have enjoyed religion more, and have been

²²¹ NJ Diary, 19 August 1821.

²²² Ibid., 31 December 1821.

more fervent in prayer today than I have at some other days.” But he questioned his conduct in dealing with others. He wrote, “Resolved to use more freedom in reproofing all swearers ~~who may come~~ when it may be apparently my duty & confess that I have been grossly deficient in my duty in this respect.” He was more than a little intimidated by some of the characters he met and wrote, “My heart, tells me that the fear of man has been superior to me [*sic*] fear of incurring Gods displeasure.” He appealed to his God to grant him courage, “O may God grant me grace to avow boldly his cause.” Jocelyn finished with a prayer of thanks and guidance in fulfilling his duties, “Let God have all the thanks, may he enable me to perceive his hand in all my blessings, and to build my faith on the savior, and O God still farther enable me to perform the duty thou have sent me, and enrich my heart to make a right use of that measure of this worlds goods which thou may put into my hands.”²²³

It was almost a year later when Jocelyn had an intimidating and disquieting experience with one of his portrait business clients. A rowdy individual named Charles Tebeau “Came, accompanied by one Wiseman and abused me dreadfully, demanded his unfinished picture by Page [?], [for] which I sued him last summer.” Apparently, Jocelyn had taken on the project of repainting or finishing a portrait of Tebeau begun by another artist and for some reason, perhaps partial non-payment, “Sued Tebeau and obtained a judgement” in the summer of 1821.²²⁴ Tebeau “Threatened to bring me to court to challenge me &c. He left me by demanding the picture at 10 tomorrow. As soon as he was gone I went for the picture and locked myself in my room about 12 from which time

²²³ NJ Diary, 18 Feb 1821

²²⁴ Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 29.

until dark I painted the coat waistcoat & cravat—the hair, made the face look better though it is not much, like him,” Jocelyn wrote. The portrait “Has to appear worth the amount I had got from him as it was, it did not appear so.” Once again Jocelyn resorted to prayer, “This affair has drawn me into more earnest prayer and I thank God that I pray him to carry me through this difficulty, and not refuse his aid, for in my savior will I trust. This affair has so disordered my business as to prevent any attention to drawing this evening, and to allow only of reviewing my last night Latin lesson,” continued Jocelyn. Although he was distressed, he still made time to pursue his Latin lessons and was reassured by his friends, “Mason & [Charles] McIntire tell me to give myself no particular uncausing about it, but to act firmly.” He ended his evening on a routine note, “Wrote the diary for yesterday & today; bed 1/2 before 12.”²²⁵

The next day’s entry completed the story: “‘In my distress I cried unto the Lord’ said the Psalmist and again ‘I sought the Lord and he heard me, and delivered me from all my fears.’ Well may I apply this to myself & his praise shall be in my mouth.” Jocelyn continued, “Instead of the trouble which I had feared from Tebeau who was to have come at 10 this morning, he came with two acquaintances late in the afternoon, wished me to finish the picture and apologized for his misconduct yesterday. I readily overlooked it, and thus this most disagreeable affair has been terminated by him who orders all things after the council of his own will, and will not suffer than to be confounded who put their trust in him,” he wrote. Jocelyn remembered the duty of his faith and “was forced to

²²⁵ NJ Diary, 2 January 1822. Charles McIntire, “A founder of the Savannah Bible Society and dry-goods merchant. Bishop Capers refers to him as a minister, but he probably was never ordained and he never served as a full-time pastor.” (Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 29 and fn. 79.)

reprove them for swearing, but it was ineffectual and for the time I thought it would be casting pearl before swine to say more.” Jocelyn ended with a final statement, “They were very abandoned.”²²⁶

In Savannah, Jocelyn was not completely satisfied with the emotional, intellectual level or moral leadership of his regular Sabbath meetings. “I long to be once more at home where the life of religion is experienced, where clear sound doctrine is preached in religion. Here we are as sheep without a sheherd, [*sic*] a church without a head and from the looseness and worldliness of many very many of its members it may properly be called not a church,” he wrote.²²⁷

On occasion Jocelyn devoted his Sabbath diary entries to conversations with friends he had hopes of “drawing to God.” The following are two examples in which Jocelyn planned a letter to his friend in New Haven, Daniel “Dicky” Dickinson and a conversation with “Schroder” (C. Schroeder) his artist friend in Savannah: “Began to write the sermons part of a letter to Dickinson hoping to be the humble instrument of drawing him to God. I will write soon.” And with Schroder, “It was with this view [*personal Bible study and letter writing*] that I perferred to employ my time as I did to going to meeting. Though if I could have persuaded Schroder / whom I met as I walked a few moments on the bay / to have gone with me, I should have done so on his account. But he would not, another time I will said he, poor soul how does he know but this

²²⁶ NJ Diary, 3 January 1822.

²²⁷ Ibid., 22 April 1821.

Sabbath which he has spent diligently reading Reynolds will be his last Sabbath on earth.”²²⁸

His frustration with the local church leaders focused on their rather casual observance of the Sabbath. “Went with Mason to his house still in company with Mr. H[oward]— a deacon but who had not a sufficient sense of what is meant by keeping holy the sabbath day to prevent his expressing a desire to have us go and look at his new house but that he had not the key,” he recorded.²²⁹

Jocelyn was very well studied in the techniques of preaching and public speaking. The contrast in the quality of the ministry in New Haven with his experience in Savannah was evident in the following lengthy passage. He began with:

- “I. Illustrate the text
- II. Elucidate and establish the doctrine
- III. Make the application to hearers.”

He immediately launched into a critique, “In the afternoon Mr. Howard [the deacon with the new house] preached in the Pres. Church. I have forgotten in what Psalm the text is found, and the sermon had so little connection with it that it was seldom recalled to my recollection.” With a nod to New Haven he wrote, “The sermon was another proof of blessed utility of solid preparation for the ministry, and of well arranging the arguments of a sermon in the study and on paper.” He returned to Mr. Howard, “This evening he preaches his fourth sermon this day. Now such a continued course must create sameness, and the sermon this afternoon was full of thoughts frequently before

²²⁸ NJ Diary, 6 May 1821.

²²⁹ Ibid., 18 Feb 1821

introduced into his discourses [*sic*]. There was a proper division of the sermon into heads [headings] but it was little more than nominal.” Jocelyn continued with a contrast to his favorite Savannah preacher, “When the resolve of this course is compared with the clear, forcible and discriminative sermon delivered by Mr. Olcott this morning it makes one really lament its sterility and confused jumble of attempted arguments and exhortations. I believe he [Howard] arranges the heads upon paper which he looks upon in the bible, but this is not enough.” Jocelyn continued with a brief description of a fully educated minister: “Much of the power of preaching a sermon is acquired through the deligent [*sic*] use of human study and means accompanied by the blessing of God. Maturity of mind, a mind well stored with general knowledge, and addicted to reasoning is required in the character of him who would fulfill the sacred duty of teacher of saints. If this [*is?*] not true, why might not a youth of 15 years preach a good sermon.”²³⁰

A final word on extemporaneous preaching: “I would maintain that the surest and only way to occasionally extemporizing with good effect is through the close and vigorous attentions to the formation of discourses. But to make such sermons look well on paper, much study and labour is required; and this must lessen the number of sermons which a preacher can produce in a week.”²³¹

Jocelyn followed with this well-thought-out, first-hand summary of the preaching of the “New Divinity” men of New Haven and demonstrated his keen insights into their similarities and differences;

²³⁰ NJ Diary, 20 May 1821.

²³¹ Ibid.

Abundant examples occur to my mind to satisfy me of the truth of what is above advanced. Mr. Merwin can extemporize in minor occasions extraordi[nar]ily well, sometimes they appear better than his written discourses from the greater freedom of his delivery. Mr. Taylor can speak with great effect without notes before him. [A]nd Mr. Nettleton [,] always preaches though plain style [,] is great in argument extemporary on minor occasions, but probably [is] well studied in more lengthly discourses.

Now these men have trained their minds to hard study. Their sermons have been subjected to the ordeal of leisurely scrutinizing their solidity, and explaining commonplace ideas. To expunge [*sic*] what would appear on paper as bombast and thus obliging them to furnish their own minds that they supply the lack of others.

Considering preaching as a human effort it is like all other arts in this respect. [*Jocelyn paused and added*] Blair [Hugh] says that it is not even all sorts of composition which improves style, writing without correction is very pernicious. Reynolds says that a man is not always advancing because he is always painting, and illustrates what he says by a saying of Mitalasios [*sic*] who on being asked if he did not think his habit of improvisationising [*sic*] had contributed to his advancement and to assist his invention in his written works, replied no on the contrary it had contributed to render them superficial.²³²

Jocelyn returned to his analyses with the most important religious leader in New Haven, not without a gentle criticism, "Dr. Dwight was an uncommon instance of the power which the mind of man sometimes has over its stores, and few minds were ever stored like his. His extemporising effusions were clear, rich & forcible. But his sermons, the composition on which the dignity of the sacred character, and the welfare of souls depended were all written. Such a mind as his needed not to be tied down to the lettered composition before him, he knew well how to introduce a happy and fleeting thought. Such were his resources he could make heavy drafts on them without fear."²³³

²³² NJ Diary, 20 May 1821.

²³³ Ibid.

As early as February 1821, Jocelyn was focused on church reform in Savannah. He wrote, "Had a meeting on reforming the church which detained me till ten, and got home while the family were at prayers."²³⁴ The entry above was written after, in Jocelyn's opinion, a rather unsuccessful attempt at perhaps a small outdoor revival: "Mr Dow preached on the common in an injudicious time, he began just after the other churches commenced service and finished so as to have the whole troop pass by while our sermon was delivering."²³⁵

Three months later he continued to pursue the cause of reform:

This evening attended our regular meeting at Mrs. McGarvy's, and found that our prayers and exertions have been seen on high, and have been answered to our comfort Enstead [*sic*] of the 3 or 4 men who once composed both speakers & hearers ought this to encourage me when duty calls, for with humility I think I can consider it as following the prayers of those who felt the necessity of arising from sloth, and the question which I brought forward in society '*what can and what ought we to do towards promoting a revival of religion in this place*' [emphasis added] which is decided in a resolve that we considered it our duty, and therefore will attend at least one of the already established meetings for prayer with this great object in view the out pouring of the grace of God in this city. Oh God keep us all deeply sensible of our duty in being punctual in our attendance and in stirring up all our Christian acquaintances to duty and in drawing as many to attend as possible from those who are still in the 'bonds of iniquity.'²³⁶

This entry from Jocelyn's Savannah diary can be contrasted with what was happening in New Haven during 1820 and 1821. "From the church I went with Mr. Meigs down to the mariners meeting, where Mr. [*William*] Capers [*Methodist Minister*] delivered an address or sermon, from some part of Romans in which he indeavoured [*sic*]

²³⁴ NJ Diary, 18 Feb 1821.

²³⁵ Ibid.

²³⁶ Ibid., 11 May 1821.

to impress on their minds the certaintu [*sic*] of their being sinners, led them to look back on the time when they first commenced many vicious practices, shewed the necessity of repentance towards God, and as this alone would not atone for sin, he pointed one the way to glory through the saviour [. . .] The meeting was well attended, the unpremeditated stated address, very good, being convincing and persuasive, and *one at least of the sailors* [emphasis added] was observed to be much affected."²³⁷

The limited number of participants at this meeting did not put off Jocelyn, because some of the great revivals of 1820 and 1821 in New Haven began in the same manner. Keller captured the spirit of a New Haven revival as follows:

By the early part of July [1820] appearances were so favorable that a meeting was held for those who were anxious about their own salvation, and although only *seventeen people assembled*, [emphasis added] the effects were immediate and powerful, and a series of such conferences was arranged. 'These meetings,' wrote the New Haven ministers, Nathaniel Taylor and Samuel Merwin, 'were usually opened with a short address, after which all knelt and united in a short prayer. The ministers present then proceeded to converse with every individual, in a low tone of voice, so as not to interrupt each other, or break the solemn stillness of the scene. The meeting was then closed with suitable exhortation and a prayer. It is impossible to convey to those who have not witnessed such an assembly, an adequate idea of its impressive solemnity. There was evidently much emotion, although no noise—there were many tears, although no outbreking of the agony of the mind, save in the expressive look and the half-stifled sigh.' Meetings were held in private houses; conferences in churches were frequent at which the object was 'to impress the simple truth on the conscience; to show sinners, from the word of the living God, that they are guilty, condemned, lost, and must be miserable for ever without a change of heart; and that it is their duty immediately to submit to God, and become reconciled to him through the efficacy of atoning blood.' Asahel Nettleton was present for several weeks, and the Reverend Lyman Beecher of Litchfield was very active. The life of the entire community was affected. 'The profane swearer,' wrote Taylor and Merwin, 'has been struck dumb by a sense of guilt, and his oaths and curses given place to prayer and praise to God and the Lamb. The scoffer has been taught to admire the grace he once despised, the supercilious, sarcastic infidel prostrated at the foot of the cross,

²³⁷ NJ Diary, 4 February 1821 Sabbath.

imploring mercy, as a ruined hell-deserving sinner.’ About one hundred and eighty persons were added to the two Congregational churches.²³⁸

Jocelyn was confident that things would improve in Savannah and was at the beginning stages of extending his personal religious beliefs to others. He emphasized his own spiritual well-being and secondarily on “drawing sinners to God.” On the personal and practical level he felt God’s influence and grace in his everyday activities, even to the extent of giving God credit for what may have been an ordinary business decision. “Mr. Capers came in about noon and engaged his portrait 10 by 12 inches for 30 dollars. Told him I would deduct 10 dollars from the head size, but he chose rather to have it smaller. Placed him in different positions and fixed on the attitude and light He will come tomorrow at 10 oclock. *Thus God again answered my prayer by increasing my business [emphasis added].* True I knew some few days before that he wished his miniature painted but it was very uncertain from circumstances whether we should make a bergain [sic],” he recorded.²³⁹

However, the second phase of his Christian obligations, service to others, was becoming more evident in his diary. He wrote, “Attended a meeting this evening at the Lecture room. Mr. Herrick spoke . . . [He] enforced the necessity of Christians making the present time always a time of duty, and of letting no day pass without an visible effort to direct the thoughtless self destroyed sinner to Jesus.”²⁴⁰

²³⁸ Keller, *Second Great Awakening*, 47-48.

²³⁹ NJ Diary, 11 February 1821.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 14 September 1821.

While his brother Simeon launched an impressive career as a local preacher, especially among the New Haven's black residents, Nathaniel was still years away from involvement with black parishioners and abolitionism. In fact, there are only two occasions in his diary where black people were mentioned and certainly the word "slavery" was never used nor the subject discussed. On one occasion he recalled, "Walked with Green down Market St. [?] to the end, was much pleased on hearing singing at an old house to find by looking through the shutters that it was a singing meeting of the blacks and that the females whom alone I saw, had singing books and were singing by note."²⁴¹ Having assumed all black people in the South were not allowed to learn to read, obviously, he was surprised to see the ability of the women to read music.

The other occasion was more personal and perhaps more inspired by his brother Simeon's work in New Haven. He wrote, "After meeting we had a refreshing time at my room with Green and the two blacks of the kitchen and God seemed to be with us. I feel as if I should delight in going about exerting and praying where God may send me and the prospect of privileges or home is precious. May my faith be increased and may the Lord almighty direct my heart so that I may make a proper use of those abilities which he has given me, whatever may be their degree."²⁴²

In 1830, Jocelyn disembarked from his European trip and was readjusting to life in New Haven. In looking back at the time just before this trip to Europe, he was proud of his accomplishments. He had learned the art of portraiture, became the leading portrait

²⁴¹ NJ Diary, 5 February 1821.

²⁴² Ibid., 4 March 1821 (Sabbath).

painter in the city, and established with his brother a thriving engraving business.²⁴³ In the tradition of the New Haven inventors, he was awarded a U.S. patent for banknote forgery-proof ink.²⁴⁴ He had traveled to the South and Europe and watched as his brother Simeon achieved the status of preacher. Simeon “Obtained a meeting house on Temple Street in 1824” formerly used by the Methodists for the African Ecclesiastical Society, which he had organized around 1820 as their first pastor.²⁴⁵ Nathaniel would soon follow his brother’s lead into the issue of abolition, which would dominate Nathaniel’s religious and social agenda for the next decade.

The black population in New Haven was in dire condition, according to one historian:

Approximately 800 black people lived in New Haven, comprising roughly one-ninth of the city’s population. Formally disenfranchised since 1818 by Connecticut’s state constitution, and facing powerful racial prejudice, deeply entrenched segregation, dismal living conditions, and virtually no economic

²⁴³ “Printed on the occasion of the opening of a branch office of N. & S.S. Jocelyn at 36 Wall: Terms / Engraving a Copper plate of four notes .. \$250.00 / Retouching a Copper plate of four notes .. \$125.00 / Engraving a Steel plate of four notes .. \$500.00 / Retouching a Steel plate of four notes .. \$250.00 / Printing per hundred impressions of plates of / four notes, including extra hard pressing .. 2.00 / A Copper plate is warranted to take 6000, and a steel plate 35,000 good impressions, and the same number after being retouched. Superior Bank note paper at manufacturer’s prices.” (Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 32.)

²⁴⁴ Along with Jeremiah Atwater in 1831.

²⁴⁵ Philie, *Change and Tradition*, 184. Also on July 11, 1829 *New Haven Register* reported, “An inventory of the city’s houses of public worship. [Included] ‘3 Congregational, 1 College Chapel (Congregational), 1 Episcopal Church, 1 Methodist Church, 1 Baptist, 1 African Church, and 1 Seamen’s Bethel.’” Simeon Jocelyn’s “African Church” [a.k.a. United African Society or African Ecclesiastical Society] was the first “Negro congregation,” a “Congregational society for ‘people of color’” (Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven*, 215.)

opportunity, New Haven's black community received little help from even the most courageous of the clergy.²⁴⁶

Simeon was the only white clergy member to attempt to minister to the spiritual needs of the blacks. There was only one first hand account of brother Simeon's activities with the African Church, and it was contained in a letter by John B. Russwurm (1799-1851). Russwurm was a black journalist and co-editor of the first black newspaper, *Freedom's Journal*, and while traveling through Connecticut in the summer of 1827 he wrote,

I waited upon Mr. J—, preaches to our brethren here. Mr. J—, was at his rooms, [the art studio shared with Nathaniel] where I had the pleasure of seeing several fine engravings. The firm, you well know, have acquired no small degree of celebrity from the various beautiful specimens of their skill, which are daily before the public. Their name was familiar; but little did I think to find Mr. S.S.J. so great a philanthropist, and so warm a friend to the improvement of our brethren. He is a practical and active philanthropist; not one, who wishes us well, and would be willing to do his part, if others would did [*sic*], but one, who feeling the importance of that admirable precept of our Lord, 'do unto others, as ye would that others should do unto you,' strives all in his power to walk in the footsteps of his Lord and Master; feeling assured that though his labours are among the despised of the earth, at the final day; they will not be less acceptable to Him, who knows no difference between the prince and the beggar.

Are not such men more to be esteemed, than those who have slain their ten thousands, and desolated cities? Are they not the 'salt of the earth?' How blind then is human judgment, which awards more honour to the warrior, than to the 'Man of Ross.'²⁴⁷

²⁴⁶ Sweeney, *Nathaniel Taylor*, 63.

²⁴⁷ "Man of Ross" is a reference to John Kyrle (1637-1724) an Oxford educated lawyer. Admitted to Oxford as a "Socio-commensalis" (gentleman-commoner) and was subsequently recognized for his generosity and known as "The Man" at the college. He built a house in Ross Marketplace and spent the rest of his life aiding the poor with food and clothing. He worked with his parish on "sanitary, embellishing [*and*] philanthropic" causes. "The poet Pope has made the title immortal by his eulogy, some couplets of which may be quoted: Behold the Marketplace with poor o'erspread!/The Man of Ross divides the daily bread;/He feeds yon almshouse- neat but void of state-/Where age and want sit smiling at the gate;/His portioned maids, apprenticed orphans, blest/The young

As the subject of conversation . . . was Colonization, Mr. J—briefly repeated the principal objections which our brethren had to the Society, and the leading members thereof.²⁴⁸

Simeon, although tutored and mentored by the Rev. Nathaniel Taylor, did not consider himself a Taylorite. Simeon disagreed with Taylor's consistent support of Colonization and his unwillingness to criticize slavery directly. Eventually, the Jocelyn brothers turned away from the tendency of the New Haven Taylorites who, as Sweeney has argued, "Hid behind their rhetoric of realism and moderation, lacking the courage to take steps even they knew were right." The Jocelyn brothers would shortly become Immediate Abolitionists.²⁴⁹

who labour and the poor who rest. / Is any sick? The Man of Ross relieves,/Prescribes, attends, the medicine makes and gives./Is there a variance!, Enter but his door,/Balked are the courts, and contest is no more." (Jennett Humphreys, "The King Of Good Neighbours," *Parish Magazine* November 1893.)

<<http://www.sungreen.co.uk/coleford/xManOfRoss.htm>>

²⁴⁸ Neil Hogan, "A Black Journalist Views Early 19th-century Connecticut." *Journal of the New Haven Colony Historical Society*, n.v. n.d. (1988): 34.

²⁴⁹ Sweeney, *Nathaniel Taylor*, 63.

CHAPTER V
JOCELYN THE IMMEDIATIST:
THE CRUCIAL YEARS OF ART AND ABOLITION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins with a look at the relationship between evangelicalism and immediate emancipation, and continues with a historical review of the main factions of abolitionism from colonization through immediatism as they relate to the Jocelyn brothers in New Haven. Attention is given to their involvement in the antislavery movement and relationship to William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879), and Lewis (1788-1873) and Arthur Tappan (1786-1865). The antislavery crusade forms the framework for discussing Jocelyn's portraits and Simeon's engravings of some of the leading abolitionists in Chapter VII.

I review Simeon Jocelyn's role as founder and pastor of the first Negro Congregational Church, and his involvement in the attempt to establish a "Negro College" (1831-32) in New Haven and his interest in Prudence Crandall's school for Negro girls (1832-33). I consider how the defeat of the Negro College proposal propelled the Jocelyn brothers into a more radical involvement in the antislavery movement. I

discuss an 1838 Anti-Slavery Convention Broadside in “The Emancipator, *Extra*” which called for the formation of a Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society.

I argue that the Jocelyns’ increasing commitment to immediate abolition led to their involvement in the Amistad affair. In the following chapter, I summarize the history of the Amistad revolt and the trial in New Haven from the perspective of the antislavery cause.

EVANGELICALISM AND IMMEDIATE EMANCIPATION

The religious revivalism of the mid-nineteenth century opened the door to moral reform. More specifically, it intensified an already growing abolitionist movement in the North. While Quaker abolitionists had operated in the Revolutionary era, a broader group of evangelicals arose from the Second Great Awakening in the early 1800s.²⁵⁰ The Second Great Awakening comprised revivals, which took place from the Midwest to coastal New England. A number of revivals took place in New England and New York State between 1825 and 1837, which were greatly influenced by Reverend Charles Finney.²⁵¹ During the latter segment of the Second Great Awakening, Finney’s revivals gave comfort to the slaves and stirred the conscience of the white evangelicals regarding the evils of slavery and the need for abolition.²⁵²

²⁵⁰ Richard S. Newman, *The Transformation of American Abolitionism: Fighting Slavery in the Early Republic* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), 8.

²⁵¹ John A. Auping, *Religion and Social Justice: The Case of Christianity and the Abolition of Slavery in America*. (México, D.F. : Universidad Iberoamericana, Dept. de Ciencias Religiosas, 1994), 39.

²⁵² *Ibid.*, 40.

Finney's revivals demonstrated evangelicalism's connection to social reform. The ideologies of Finney, Rev. Lyman Beecher, Nathaniel Taylor and Timothy Dwight appealed to the Jocelyn brothers and other New Lights, who believed in the words of John Auping, "Man has free will, that sin is voluntary and repentance, as commanded by God, possible."²⁵³ Opposing this new theology were the traditional Calvinists or Old School theologians who believed men to be incapable of living up to God's commands. Among the many benevolent societies that were formed as a result of the Second Great Awakening were the American Education Society, the American Colonization Society, the American Temperance Society, and the American Anti-Slavery Society.²⁵⁴ Involvement in the abolitionist movement allowed for immediate repentance from sins. Immediate repentance required immediate action. For a smaller group of evangelists calling themselves immediatists, slavery was the greatest sin of the era, and immediate abolition was the answer.

Most abolitionists, whether colonizationists, gradualists, or immediatists, used religious vocabulary to make their case.²⁵⁵ What set the immediatists apart in their views was the evangelical, New Light connection that emphasized the individual's control over his or her own salvation. What this entailed in terms of emancipation, in the words of Lydia Maria Child (1802-1888), is "that slavery *ought* to be abolished, and that it *can* be

²⁵³ Auping, *Religion*, 40.

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ Loveland, "Evangelicalism," In Abolitionism and American Religion, edited by John R. McKivigan. New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999, 174.

abolished.”²⁵⁶ This meant that free will gave people the ability to actually *do* something, preferably something benevolent and useful to society. Moral agency required a choice, and for abolitionists, not choosing immediate emancipation demonstrated a lack of will.

Immediatism troubled evangelical preachers such as Rev. Finney and Rev. Beecher while it appealed to Theodore Weld, the Tappan brothers, William Lloyd Garrison, and the Jocelyns. For the former, a more socially conservative group, the primary goal, or “revival,” was salvation; they considered slavery a “social and political evil, not a personal sin,” according to Ann C. Loveland, and such evils were secondary to “moral and spiritual reformation.”²⁵⁷ For abolitionists, “emancipation was an important—perhaps the most important—step in the coming of the new millennium.”²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ Loveland, “Evangelicalism,” 184.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 178. James David Essig, in his essay, “The Lord’s Free Man: Charles G. Finney and His Abolitionism,” argued that abolition was not necessarily secondary to Finney’s goals. He stated, “Closer attention to Finney’s theology and his antislavery activities reveals not only a firm commitment to abolitionism, but also a conviction that Christian indifference to slavery impeded the great work of spreading the gospel. . . . Charles Finney marked down the destruction of the slave system as a major prerequisite for the coming of the millennium.” Finney was also known at times, to deny slaveholders communion during services, thus proving his support for abolition and his discontent with gradualism and colonization. The debate over Finney’s dedication to abolition stems in part from the difficult balance he was trying to strike between religious reform and antislavery activities. “The revival actually stood exposed to ruin on two fronts: radical abolitionists threatened disruption, while Christian apathy toward slavery provoked God’s wrath. To preserve the possibility of a national revival, Finney pursued a dual strategy. On the one hand he had to discourage excessive antislavery enthusiasm, and on the other . . . he had to rouse the church to its duties on behalf of the slave. Finney managed to hold these two requirements in tandem until 1839.” (John R. McKivigan, *History of the American Abolitionist Movement: A Bibliography of Scholarly Articles* [Indianapolis: Indiana University, 1999], 319,323,324.)

²⁵⁸ Loveland, “Evangelicalism,” 179.

Evangelicalism enhanced the spirit of reform and idealism latent in the revival participants. The evangelical Protestants focused on immediatism as a method to clarify ideas about sin and provide a way to implement benevolence. In and of itself, evangelicalism provided the vocabulary, the methodology, and the framework for the belief system that justified and propelled immediatism.²⁵⁹

How was immediate abolition actually supposed to be enacted? Radical abolitionists believed that the sin of slavery could be placed on individuals, and that individuals had the power to change their own or others' (the slaves) circumstances. As Garrison put it, "I know not by what rule of gospel men are authorized to leave off their sins by a slow process."²⁶⁰ The Jocelyn brothers were early adopters of evangelical immediatism and began their struggle to eradicate slavery and improve the quality of life for free blacks in New Haven.

A BRIEF HISTORICAL REVIEW OF ABOLITION

Most abolitionist evangelicals clung to a doctrine they called colonization. Colonization, which was the reigning "abolitionist" school of thought at the end of the eighteenth century and most of the early nineteenth, required sending American slaves back to Africa to colonize Liberia. In the early nineteenth-century South, in spite of the prohibition of the transatlantic slave trade since 1808, the increased profitability of slavery caused a general decrease in antislavery concerns. In 1816, abolitionist agitation

²⁵⁹ Loveland, "Evangelicalism," 178.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 188.

in the North was somewhat ameliorated by the advent of the American Colonization Society, whose stated goals were to return “blacks” to Africa.²⁶¹

Colonization as an idea was extremely complex. How was it to be executed, paid for, and organized? Who would be its supporters? How would this affect slaveholders and slaves? How would the immediatists respond? Virginia slaveholder William Fitzhugh described the mission of the Colonization Society in 1826:

Our Design was by providing an asylum on the coast of Africa, and furnishing the necessary facilities for removal to the people of colour, to induce voluntary emigration of the portion of them already free, and to throw open to individuals and the States a wider door for voluntary and legal emancipation. The operation . . . ought to be gradual . . . [and if] properly conducted, would *in the end*, remove from our country every vestige of domestic slavery, without a single violation of individual wishes or individual rights.²⁶²

Essentially, the aims of the American Colonization Society (ACS) were to remove the sin of slavery by exportation, to eliminate a race that most whites did not want to coexist with in a free society, and to use the emancipated slaves and free blacks who were sent to Liberia to spread Christianity in Africa. Additionally, there was agreement among many southerners, aptly characterized by French observer Alexis DeTocqueville:

The most Southern States of the Union cannot abolish slavery without incurring a very great danger, which the North had no reason to apprehend when it emancipated its black population. The Northern States had nothing to fear from the contrast, because in them the blacks were few in number, and the white population was very considerable. But if this faint dawn of freedom were to show two millions of men their true position, the oppressors would have reason to tremble.²⁶³

²⁶¹ McKivigan, *History of the American Abolitionist Movement*, vii.

²⁶² Early Lee Fox, *The American Colonization Society 1817-1840* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1919), 48.

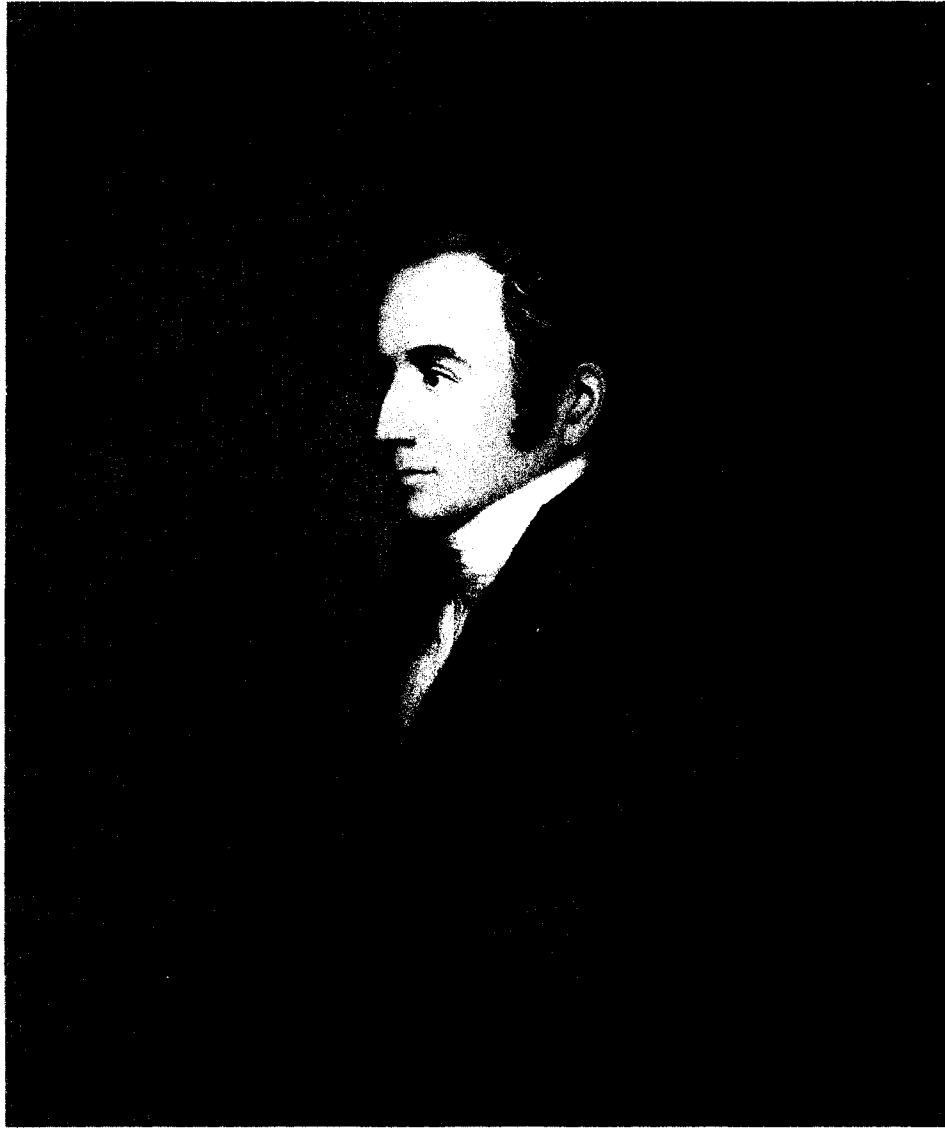
²⁶³ Fox, *The American Colonization Society*, 20.

While in theory both southerners and northerners found colonization to be sound, there was not an easy solution to the implementation of the plan or the transportation of American slaves and free blacks to Africa. The ACS sent out missionary agents to survey the areas along the West African coast in which American blacks might be colonized. Jehudi Ashmun (1794-1828) (fig.V.1) and his wife were among the first agents to explore the area, as Fox noted: "Men and women like these, lay down their lives voluntarily upon the altar of service, are not to be charged with selfishness or the desire to perpetuate a system against which they spoke and labored eloquently."²⁶⁴

But the death rate for both the agents and the American blacks was high, due mostly to difficulties during transportation and to disease. In 1832, the ACS Board of Managers reviewed the number of deaths on the various voyages and tried to find a solution to the devastating death toll. According to Early Fox, "Since 1820, twenty-two expeditions had gone out from the United States to Liberia. 'On the first eighteen of these 1487 emigrants had been transported. Of these, two hundred and thirty had died from disease of acclimation, from fever and diseases consequent upon it.'" It was concluded that the three most likely causes of death were "(1) the transportation to Africa of persons who had become accustomed to the high or mountainous country in the United States, (2) the settlement of immigrants too close to the coast and the heart of the malarial district, (3) the arrival of immigrants at the wrong time of the year." After the committee appointed by the ACS had made these studies, they made strides to tend to the sick and

²⁶⁴ Fox, *The American Colonization Society*, 57.

FIGURE V.1.



alter their plans to reduce the death rate for future emigrants.²⁶⁵ Still, the notion of expatriating Africans who for generations had been in America was not only cruel and unjust, but also selfish on the part of the white population.

After the Revolution, most Northern states began a process of gradual emancipation; some eliminated slavery immediately. After the Second Great Awakening in the late 1820s and early 1830s the revivalist impulse of Northern abolitionism began to develop an anti-colonization sentiment. In the publication *Colored American*, an anonymous writer, in a letter to the editor, remarked on the “unhappy influence of the American Colonization Society upon some of the most influential, zealous, and distinguished christians of our land.” The writer continued that the colonization “dries up sympathy, alienates pious affections and converts our christian friends into *persecuting foes*.”²⁶⁶

However, despite the growing anti-colonization sentiment in the North expressed by the immediatists, the majority of northerners, even those who considered themselves proponents of antislavery, supported colonization. Thus, from the leadership of the state of Connecticut and the Congregational Church, to the city of New Haven, including the Center Church, colonization was supported at the same time hostility towards abolitionism and blacks was openly expressed.²⁶⁷ New Haven’s Rev. Nathaniel Taylor and Professor Silliman were ardent supporters of colonization. Silliman stated: “This is

²⁶⁵ Fox, *The American Colonization Society*, 56.

²⁶⁶ Editor, *Colored American*, (9 March 1839).

²⁶⁷ Hugh Davis, *Leonard Bacon: New England Reformer and Antislavery Moderate* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 74.

not the proper occasion to discuss the project of the *entire* and *immediate* abolition of slavery; it is enough that it is, at present, impractical, uncourteous and unchristian language with which the friends of Colonization are from certain [abolitionist] quarters, assailed through the press. . . . Should their attempt fail, through the unfair and unjust opposition of its enemies, the later will have much to answer for, to Africa itself, and to the African race in this country, and to the world.”²⁶⁸ Although Silliman was not among them, many supporters of colonization later withdrew their membership with the American Colonization Society and became radical abolitionists. From the early to mid 1830s, northern immediatists’ antislavery and anti-colonization literature began inundating the South. When Garrison returned from England inspired by the British antislavery movement, which reached its apex in 1833 when the Parliament emancipated 800,000 West Indian slaves, he was primed to promote an immediate antislavery society.

In 1833, together with the Tappan brothers, Garrison began to develop the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS). Garrison accepted most of the responsibility “To draw up a Declaration of Sentiments. . . .”²⁶⁹ In 1834 at the first meeting in New York City, Arthur Tappan was named President of the Society and Lewis Treasurer. The Tappans were substantial contributors. Arthur Tappan was ready for the new society as he had severed his ties with the Colonization Society and given his last contribution of 100 dollars to support a school in Monrovia, Liberia.²⁷⁰

²⁶⁸ Fox, *The American Colonization*, 14, 15.

²⁶⁹ Merton L. Dillon, *The Abolitionists: The Growth of a Dissenting Minority* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), 55.

²⁷⁰ Auping, *Religion and Social Justice*, 69.

With the British move to emancipation in the West Indies, the American antislavery groups in the North gained the impetus to call a Philadelphia convention of all factions (Quakers, Garrisonians, and Tappanites) to meet with the Pennsylvania free blacks. The express purpose was to organize the American Anti-Slavery Society.²⁷¹

Garrison was invigorated at the convention and likened their task to the completion of the “unfinished work of the American Revolution.” Not to alienate the pacifists Quakers, he added “abolitionists would seek ‘the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance.’”²⁷²

Garrison’s declaration “demanded immediate, uncompensated emancipation without colonization.” He wrote that “laws supporting slavery . . . ‘Before God utterly null and void.’” At the same time he acknowledged the southern states’ right to support slavery and the powerlessness of Congress to interfere—a government position the abolitionists would later reject.²⁷³

The plan or “the mode of operations” was to draw upon their religious roots and focus their efforts on making slavery a moral issue, a sin. They hoped to build, town by town and city by city, a network of antislavery societies to fight for “political action.” Agents would be dispersed throughout the states to distribute literature and secure the participation of the church and the press.²⁷⁴

²⁷¹ Dillon, *The Abolitionists*, 54.

²⁷² *Ibid.*, 55.

²⁷³ *Ibid.*, 55-56.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 56-57.

Garrison recognized that colonization was an attractive position to potential converts and would be the major obstacle to understanding the doctrine of immediatism. And as such, immediatism would always remain “radical, dangerous, and wholly impracticable.” It was clear that Garrison had to defeat the colonization point of view. The two groups became enemies almost immediately after the formation of AASS.²⁷⁵

The Emancipator, founded by the Tappans in 1833, was the weekly publication of the AASS, and it became the main vehicle through which the Society expressed its views, which included anti-colonizationism, and raised funds. The American Antislavery Society had the benefit of being one of the first organizations to take advantage of the Great Postal campaign of 1835, which was the result of new technology in printing techniques. That year, as John Auping has stated, “1,100,000 pieces of antislavery literature were sent out, twelve percent of which went to the South. In the year before only 120,000 pieces had been sent out.”²⁷⁶ As one would imagine, in the South, Northern antislavery literature was not well received. In protest of the Great Postal Campaign, President Jackson stated to Congress, “I must invite your attention to the painful excitement produced in the South, by attempts to circulate through the mails, inflammatory appeals, addresses to the passions of the slaves, in prints and in various sorts of publications calculated to stimulate them in insurrection and produce all the horrors of a servile war.”²⁷⁷ It was not long after the Postal Campaign began that it was halted. Many heated conflicts erupted in the South in the wake of antislavery literature.

²⁷⁵ Dillon, *The Abolitionists*, 60-61.

²⁷⁶ Auping, *Religion and Social Justice*, 70.

²⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 71.

For example Reuben Crandall, brother of Prudence, was put in jail in Washington after being attacked by a Georgetown mob who tried to lynch him for circulating antislavery material.²⁷⁸

The southern slaveholders were in a bind that they felt those in the North could never understand. Their dependency on slave labor as an economic necessity, and fear of black revolts resulting in white annihilation if emancipation was achieved, were very real concerns. Along with these uncertainties and fears was the most basic: how would the white population, in the mid-nineteenth-century South; face an ever increasing black population, integrate with a group of people that they believed were heathens, unable to be educated, and did not know how to live on their own in a system without servitude? These sentiments, it should be mentioned, were shared by most Northerners.

Additionally, the intricate relationship between slaves and masters would be affected. There were sympathetic southerners, many who had slaves only because they were inherited from their family as property, who disagreed with the institution of slavery. Some of these slaves were too old for actual work and were being clothed, housed and fed and cared for by their masters. For example, District Attorney of Washington City, Francis Scott Key, who was a member of the Colonization Society, wrote to Benjamin Tappan in 1838: "I have emancipated seven of my slaves. They have done pretty well, and six of them now alive, are supporting themselves comfortably and creditably. . . . Yet, I am still a slave-holder, and could not without the greatest inhumanity, be otherwise. I own, for instance, an old slave, who had done no work for me for years. I pay his board and other expenses, and cannot believe that I sin in doing so."

²⁷⁸ Auping, *Religion and Social Justice*, 71.

Key felt in some cases that slavery was a matter of duty particularly in instances when slaveholders inherited slaves that were old and infirm, or, if sold, slaves who would be separated from their families on nearby plantations, or in circumstances when slaves may have been purchased from another slaveholder who was treating them brutally.²⁷⁹

What was to become of the emancipated slaves if they were set free? For many, North and South alike, colonization seemed the only answer to this peculiar institution—a way to absolve themselves of the burden of slavery without having to contend with the aftermath of integrating black people into American Society.

Leonard Bacon (1802-1881), a moderate antislavery activist and founder of the American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race (1835), tried to find a middle ground between immediatism and colonization, one that focused on finding legal avenues to change slavery over time. He and his compatriots of the American Union termed this “‘urgent gradualism,’ or a ‘rational plan of emancipation.’”²⁸⁰ Bacon’s group and thousands of others who tried to find a position between immediatism and colonization, were in an untenable position, which he later admitted to Simeon in 1836,

²⁷⁹ Fox, *The American Colonization*, 18, 19. While Key seemed to have a rather benevolent attitude towards his slaves and slavery in general, it seemed that his earlier actions involved an 1835 case whereby District Attorney Key relentlessly prosecuted an eighteen-year old slave who was falsely accused of threatening to murder the Mistress of the household. While she testified on her slave’s behalf that he was innocent, Key “sought the death penalty . . . apparently as a civics lesson to the people of Washington and the Nation.” This case revolved around the antislavery literature that was circulating at the time, and claimed it was a catalyst for this slave’s actions. Key was also involved in the prosecution of Reuben Crandall. (Jefferson Morley, “The ‘Snow Riot’” *Washington Post Magazine*, February 6, 2005) 16.

²⁸⁰ Davis, *Leonard Bacon*, 86-87.

I am so unfortunate as to put myself between the opposing fires of two furiously contending parties, and to make myself fully obnoxious to both. Southern lovers of oppression hate me, and if they had me in their power, would hang me, as an abolitionist. Anti-slavery agitators pour out their wrath upon me as an 'ecclesiastical defender of slavery.'²⁸¹

Davis notes that, "Jocelyn replied coldly that southerners probably would not hang Bacon, because he never acted on his principles."²⁸² While Bacon's philosophy may have seemed ideal to moderate abolitionists, for Garrisonians, and those who were part of Arthur and Lewis Tappan's circle, gradualism was morally indefensible.

THE BROTHERS TAPPAN AND THEIR CIRCLE

The Tappan brothers worked with a close circle of abolitionist compatriots, a group of men who shared similar goals about evangelical immediatism, the role of the church, and the future of black people in this country. In his article, "Confidence and

²⁸¹ Davis, *Leonard Bacon*, 86. Abolitionist Garrit Smith, who was a Colonizationist-turned-immediatist, ended his long time friendship and correspondence with Colonizationist Leonard Bacon. In his final letter to Garrit Smith written before the Civil War, Bacon expressed his true feelings about the Anti-Slavery Society after he had read an 1837 New York AASS report. "Throughout the report there *seems* to be something like an attempt to excite some of the basest and most dangerous elements of political malignancy. They that take the sword shall perish by the sword; and they that attempt to array the poor against the rich, the laborers against the employer, the country against the city, may find too late, that they have evoked from the abyss demons whose might and malignity their art cannot control.' He believed not only that slavery symbolized America's original sin, but that blacks embodied sin. Like most other colonizationists, he thought that the only way blacks could be redeemed and reborn was through African colonization." If black people were released into free society, Bacon believed it would "unleash dark phantoms of sin that the 'art' of abolitionists could not control." John Stauffer, *The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race*. (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 2002), 104-105.

²⁸² Ibid.

Pertinacity in Evangelical Abolitionism: Lewis Tappan's Circle," Lawrence Friedman focused on the unique and enduring relationship between Lewis Tappan and his circle of evangelical abolitionists, which included "William Jay (1789-1858), Amos A[gustus] Phelps (1805-1847), Joshua Leavitt (1794-1873), Simeon Smith Jocelyn, Theodore Dwight Weld (1803-1895), and George Whipple (?-?). George Barrell Cheever (1807-1890) worked closely if irregularly with the group, while Arthur Tappan withdrew from antislavery activism in the early 1840s."²⁸³ Tappan's circle tells us much about the Jocelyn brothers' abolitionist endeavors during this period, and their association with Tappan and the others helps illuminate their motivations. Tappan's group founded, supported, and promulgated some of the most important antislavery venues such as the New York City Abolition Society, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, the American Missionary Association, and later, the Amistad Committee; the source of their dedication to evangelical, church-centered immediatism and the bond that forged their friendship was their love of God. As Friedman has noted, "Lewis Tappan's immediate circle was therefore bound to the Finneyite revivalist and benevolent reform impulse and was associated with Finneyite elements of Congregationalism and Presbyterianism,

²⁸³ Lawrence J. Friedman, "Confidence and Pertinacity in Evangelical Abolitionism: Lewis Tappan's Circle," in John R. McKivigan, editor. *Abolitionism and American Religion*. (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1999) "Earlier in 1827, Arthur Tappan was drawn into the colonization movement for its business possibilities." However, by 1829, Arthur had become disenfranchised with the idea of a business venture with Liberia when he finally reckoned with the idea that Liberia's main import would be rum. For Arthur, this moral issue would turn him away from the Colonization Society's "Liberian venture." While as far back as 1827, Simeon was already convinced that the Colonization Society was not the answer to the slavery question, even though it was the only national organization of record. (Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan*, 85, 88.)

particularly in New York City church circles.”²⁸⁴ Members of Tappan’s circle not only had similar backgrounds in religion and social class, but all had experience in abolitionist journalism.

Each member in his own way contributed his assets to their common goals. Simeon, the consummate preacher of the group, kept the focus of their antislavery mission centered on working for salvation through God and believing in His ability to lead man to right the evils of slavery. ““God himself will establish justice, and his people will come to the work of salvation and the breaking of the hands of wickedness.”” It was important to Tappan’s circle that they not rely on “human reasoning and sense of justice.” They believed that they should not be entirely self-sufficient and risk failure in measuring up to God’s will. This fear of failure might cause them to doubt themselves and fall into despair. Ultimately, they believed that God would intervene in the event their efforts became misguided and right their wrongs.²⁸⁵

The Tappan circle owed its cohesiveness to their early collaborative efforts and their acceptance and tolerance of each other’s antislavery positions. “Lewis Tappan’s very conversion to immediatist abolition, for instance, was due to brother Arthur’s ‘reliable’ example, Weld’s friendly proddings and one of Jocelyn’s early antislavery orations.” They aided each other in various projects and had vested interests in their colleagues’ successes. For example, without the moral and financial support of Arthur

²⁸⁴ Friedman, “Confidence and Pertinacity,” 83.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 88-89.

and Lewis Tappan, Simeon would not have been able to attempt the establishment of his Negro College in New Haven, his “first major civil rights venture.”²⁸⁶

THE JOCELYN BROTHERS & PRUDENCE CRANDALL: PROJECTS FOR BLACK EQUALITY IN EDUCATION & LIVING

By the year 1831, Simeon Jocelyn was thoroughly invested in the Tappan evangelical abolition circle. Simeon’s function within this small group was as the New Haven resident voice of religion and the person most directly involved with the black community. His New Haven neighbor, Arthur Tappan, was the financial wizard behind most of Simeon’s religious, benevolent, and educational plans for New Haven’s black residents. There were other more learned ministers in the Tappan brothers’ circle who participated in the abolitionist cause; however, they participated in the abolitionist reform movement from their perch on the pulpit or from the ivory tower. They devised theories and rationales to link social and religious obligation while Simeon, on the other hand, moved forward from the concept of Evangelical “oughts” into action.

Through the 1820s, Nathaniel’s involvement in abolitionist activities, with the exception of his very public support of his brother’s projects, was secondary to his primary obligation to keep their engraving business growing in order to support both families. Nathaniel’s portrait business alone could not support his family. But by the 1830’s, Nathaniel would soon adapt to his new role as the premier abolitionist portraitist. Simeon meanwhile, was instrumental in organizing New Haven’s first black

²⁸⁶ Friedman, “Confidence and Pertinacity,” 83.

congregation, the United African Society, about 1820.²⁸⁷ He served as its first minister and helped to purchase their first meetinghouse in 1824.²⁸⁸

National events in 1831 transformed abolitionism, pushing Simeon Jocelyn to move in new directions. Simeon's innovative idea for a "Negro College" just a short distance from Yale's gate played a crucial role in these developments.²⁸⁹ On June 8, 1831, a select group of white reformers, William Lloyd Garrison, Arthur Tappan, Simeon Jocelyn, and Benjamin Lundy (Baltimore editor of the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*, the antislavery newspaper [1821 to 1839] who gave Garrison his first newspaper job) attended "The First Annual Convention of People of Color [held] in Philadelphia."²⁹⁰

At the convention, Simeon presented his plan for a Negro College. Bertram Wyatt-Brown suggests that the Connecticut state legislators had led Simeon to hope for state support.²⁹¹ The project was well received by the black conventioners. Arthur (and

²⁸⁷ Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven*, 215.

²⁸⁸ Elizabeth Mills Brown, *New Haven: A Guide to Architecture and Urban Design* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1976), 173. "On August 25, 1829, in the Center Church, the Western Association of New Haven County formally recognized the 'United African Society' as a Congregational church. After the transactions creating the first Negro Congregational church were completed, the presbytery of pastors proceeded to ordain the Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn as an evangelist, and the Rev. Mr. Merwin fittingly preached from the text: 'Not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts.' A description of the church's activities was published by the African Improvement Society just before 1830 when the Connecticut common schools were at their worst and neglected by both the legislature and public opinion. There were, besides the church, a Sabbath school, a day school, an evening school for adults, and a temperance society. [I]n [a]ll costing \$300 had been added to the church building to house the educational activities. For no salary but the meager offerings Jocelyn was preaching three fourths of the Sabbaths and carrying all the pastoral work...." (Robert A. Warner, *New Haven Negroes: a Social History* [New Haven: Yale University Press 1940], 80-81.) In 1834, Simeon moved to New York and turned over the complete pastorate of the congregation to Negro ministers.

Lewis) Tappan pledged 1,000 dollars in financial aid, and a committee was charged with raising 20,000 dollars to get the project underway.²⁹² Conventioneers endorsed New Haven as the site for the college, and spoke of the city's "'friendly, pious, generous and humane' residents, its trade with the West Indies, and its literary and scientific character."²⁹³ Wyatt-Brown writes: "The convention applauded Jocelyn's proposal . . . here at last were some white philanthropists who offered the black race a means of advancement in America rather than simply free passage to a savage and pestilential African outpost."²⁹⁴ At the same conference, the idea of a national antislavery society was spawned.

Simeon's plan for the Negro College was put into motion. In May of 1831, Simeon wrote, "We commenced making efforts to establish the institution."²⁹⁵ He wrote to Garrison in Boston with his plan for the college and asked for his support in the

²⁸⁹ The "Negro College" was an unfortunate but deliberate choice of words for the proposed school, which was to be more of a trade school integrated with some liberal arts education. "Admittedly, the courses were to be mostly practical, mechanical instruction, but, it was thought, modest attempts would fit modest Negro needs and capabilities and would help assuage white hostility." (Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan*, 88.)

²⁹⁰ Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan*, 87.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² *New Haven Advertiser*, October 4, 1831.

²⁹³ Hugh Davis, *Leonard Bacon: New England Reformer And Antislavery Moderate* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 75.

²⁹⁴ Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan*, 87.

²⁹⁵ *New Haven Advertiser*, October 4, 1831.

venture. They had not met in person before, but each knew of the other's work in abolitionist efforts. Garrison wrote from Boston on May 30, 1831:

REV. S. S. JOCELYN

Beloved Coadjutor:²⁹⁶

During my residence in Baltimore, [working with Lundy] the establishment of such an institution, on precisely the same plan as the one suggested in your letter, was an absorbing object of mine, and caused a great deal of conversation among friends of emancipation. No systematic exertions were made, however, and consequently the scheme miscarried. I have now strong faith in the success of the enterprise; it can be, and *must be*, accomplished.

The offer made by Mr. Tappan is characteristic of his generosity. . . .

Although it has not been my privilege to see you, I have frequently heard of your disinterested and unremitting [*sic*] toils in behalf of the colored population of New-Haven. I can imagine the difficulties, which must be towered in your path—the indifferences, the neglect, the prejudice, which you must necessarily have encountered; but the victory is yours.

All things considered, the *Liberator* gets along bravely—already enumerating 500 voluntary subscribers. Most of these, however, are colored individuals. Our white people are shy of the paper; or rather they are indifferent to its object. Not more than twenty five are subscribers in this city! [Boston]—This ill success is partly owing to the colonization influence, which is directly and actively opposed to the *Liberator*.

You may expect me in New Haven on Saturday, when we will commune with each other by word of mouth instead of pen.

With highest admiration and esteem, I remain,
Your friend and fellow laborer until death.

William Lloyd Garrison²⁹⁷

Simeon welcomed the financial and moral support of Tappan and Garrison, but at a cost: from the inception of the plan, it bore the burden of immediatism and especially the relationship with Garrison.

²⁹⁶ “Coadjutor” (“helper,” in a broad sense) an insider’s term Garrison used for all loyal friends of abolition as diverse as Simeon Jocelyn and Robert Purvis.

²⁹⁷ WLG to SSJ, (abridged), Foster Wild Rice files, Connecticut Historical Society.

At the beginning of the 1831 New Year, Garrison published the first edition of the *Liberator* and began his attack on Southern slaveholders.²⁹⁸ The publication brought him national disdain, and he was despised and demonized by the Southerners and colonizationists alike. In New Haven, Rev. Leonard Bacon, pastor of the Center Church (perhaps, according to Hugh Davis, the most prestigious in Connecticut) and a confirmed colonizationist, spoke out against Garrison at every opportunity, and the knowledge that Garrison was involved with the “college” project raised his wrath. Rev. Bacon called Garrison a “willful incendiary who would smile to see conflagration, rapine, and extermination sweeping with tornado-fury over half the land.” Rev. Bacon confided in Simeon that he became “unduly excited by the immediatism attacks.”²⁹⁹ Bacon reflected the sentiment of Congregational clergy of Connecticut as well as most Connecticut residents.³⁰⁰ Criticism only emboldened Garrison’s resolve, while Simeon remained optimistic about his plan for a “College for colored youth.”

²⁹⁸ Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven*, 289.

²⁹⁹ Hugh Davis, *Leonard Bacon*, 74. Bacon was firmly against slavery and was active in many benevolent societies including the African Improvement Society which, in fact, paid Simeon Jocelyn’s salary as pastor of the “United African Congregational Church and [*Bacon also*,] established a library, a savings bank, a Sabbath school, a temperance society, and a day and evening school for both children and adults” in New Haven. Hugh Davis, *Leonard Bacon*, 58. Bacon never accepted immediatism.

³⁰⁰ “With the exception of a few ministers—including Joel Hawes and three New Haven clergymen, [Simeon] Jocelyn, Charles Cleaveland, and Henry G. Ludlow—the Congregational clergy in the state overwhelmingly supported colonization. Throughout the 1830s the Connecticut General Association, in which Bacon played a prominent role, heartily endorsed the cause. Moreover, clergymen continued to occupy important positions in the Connecticut Colonization Society, which met annually but raised little money and generated few publications.

In addition, many of Bacon’s closest associates and friends in New Haven, including Nathaniel Taylor and Benjamin Silliman, were dedicated colonizationists.” (Hugh Davis, *Leonard Bacon*), 74.

The plan for the college had been on Simeon's personal agenda since 1829. To the criticism that Yale was already the "College" in New Haven, he answered that he had presented the idea to "a body of our literary men, who were, from their-peculiar situation, supposed to be better able to judge of its effect upon Yale College and the female schools, than any other persons in the city." In fact, Jocelyn was counting on the benefits of the proximity of Yale. He wrote, "The advantages arising from viewing every species of art, as may be seen in such a place [New Haven], are great. . . ." Given the city's "literary character . . . a greater variety of instruction can be secured in literature and the sciences Fewer professors would be necessary at the commencement of the institution, as persons versed in almost every department of education, are residing here, and might be employed to teach in the classes—and lecturers on every subject of interest, who visit our city, could be secured to lecture to the students."³⁰¹

Jocelyn's plan was "[to] establish a college on the manual labor system, connecting agriculture, horticulture and mechanic arts, with the study of literature and the sciences at New-Haven." He continued, "designing, as we were, to establish a primary school, (which is now in operation in New-Haven,) and a high school or academy preparatory to the college, so as to present a complete system of training from an early age, we saw the benefit of these who were desirous of every advantage in literature and the pursuits of extended usefulness."³⁰²

Jocelyn described the diversity of views among the supporters of the school:

"Some of the friends of this college are in favor of immediate emancipation, and some of

³⁰¹ *New-Haven Advertiser*, Oct. 4 1831.

³⁰² *Ibid.*

them are opposed to it. Some of them are opposed to the Colonization Society, and some of them are its advocates. When we see that its object is simply education in literature, the sciences and the arts, without respect to peculiar denomination, we are not surprised that liberal minded men of different views on other subjects, should heartily unite in this."³⁰³

When Simeon Jocelyn returned to New Haven after the Philadelphia convention ended on June 11, 1831, his elation over the affirmation of his plan by the "Convention of People of Color" perhaps caused him to overreach in his description and hopes for the college. Robert Warner described Simeon's elation:

He told of the college and of a projected antislavery society which was planned to follow the British model and to seek 'immediate' emancipation. He declared that the new college might be its headquarters; and, with Negro youths coming from the soon-to-be emancipated West Indies, from Mexico, South America, and perhaps even from Africa, *New Haven might conceivably be the center, the pillar of fire by night and the cloud of smoke by day, for the oppressed people of color everywhere* [emphasis added].³⁰⁴

Simeon Jocelyn seriously misjudged New Haven's support for the plan, and his very heady words were prophetic in their use not as a rallying cry for support, but as a rallying cry for grand resistance. Jocelyn's benevolent plan, his professed position on immediate abolition, and his expressed intention of making the New Haven "College" a magnet for the education of "colored" people of the world collided with the country's

³⁰³ *New-Haven Advertiser*, Oct. 4 1831.

³⁰⁴ Robert Austin Warner, *New Haven Negroes: A Social History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940) 54-55.

horrific fear and its response to Nat Turner's insurrection in Southampton County, Virginia during and after August 20-23, 1831.

Nat Turner (1800-1831), self-made Baptist preacher, accepted the appellation "prophet" given to him by African-Americans in his community, and became the leader and organizer of the insurrection.³⁰⁵ In his adult years, Turner gained permission from his master and Baptist Church to freely roam about the county preaching to other slaves. Ultimately, through a series of visions, he believed he had a divine mission to rise up against the white masters. He was convinced that this mission was his God given assignment.

Turner was convincing in his demeanor as a preacher, which earned him the respect of his fellow slaves. He kept his plan to himself until, in February 1831, he took an eclipse of the sun to mean that he was to prepare and rise up against the white slaveholders.³⁰⁶ However, it was not until August 1831 when, as Joseph Carroll described it, "There occurred an inexplicable atmospheric phenomenon in Virginia and North Carolina which extended over a period of three days, and was known as the 'Three Blue Days.' It might have been this strange phenomenon that called Turner, the prophet, from his cave of indecision."³⁰⁷

³⁰⁵ "One or more peculiar marks on his body led the superstitious Negroes to designate him as a prophet, a title which ever after clung to him." (Joseph Cephas Carroll, *Slave Insurrections In The United States 1800-1865* [New York: Negro Universities Press 1968, c1938], 130.)

³⁰⁶ Carroll, *Slave Insurrections*, 133.

³⁰⁷ Ibid.

Turner and a few close supporters began their bloody rampage on Sunday night August 21st at the plantation of Nat Turner's master, and "Thence from house to house in the neighborhood, forcing as many slaves as they could to join them; spreading death and desolation everywhere until by Tuesday morning, August 23rd, some fifty or sixty persons had been killed."³⁰⁸ Some three thousand troops quickly put an end to the uprising. Turner's rebels were either killed in the field or captured and following a hasty trial, executed.³⁰⁹ Turner remained at large for six or more weeks before being captured, tried and hung on November 11, 1831.

When the word of the rebellion spread throughout the South and North, it caused a near hysterical reaction. The latent fear that slaves would rise up against their plantation owners became a reality. Proslavery forces were quick to blame the infiltration of northern antislavery literature and propaganda for inciting the rebellion. Garrison's *The Liberator*, as well as David Walker's *Appeal*, were deemed the primary guilty parties. "Garrison repudiated Turner's action" but failed to assuage the South.³¹⁰

³⁰⁸ Carroll, *Slave Insurrections*, 135-36.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 136.

³¹⁰ Merton L. Dillon, *The Abolitionists: The Growth of a Dissenting Minority* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979), 52-53. "Arthur Tappan immediately responded to this absurd slander by sending Garrison another draft 'to be applied to the distribution of your paper to the leading men of the country.' In addition, he offered him one thousand dollars for legal defense if that proved necessary." Also, "In Boston in 1829, David Walker, a free black dealer in old clothes, published his *Appeal*, a passionate condemnation of white America and a proclamation of the justice of black resistance. To the dismay of slaveholders, the pamphlet circulated even in the South." (Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan and the Evangelical War Against Slavery* Cleveland: [Case Western Reserve University Press, 1969], 89, 45.)

In reaction to the event, the Virginia State Legislature began debating the slavery question and drew the attention of the nation. Meanwhile on a reduced scale, in New Haven the anti-black fervor and Turner insurrection backlash focused on Simeon's "agitating for the establishment of a Negro college. . . ." ³¹¹ The ripple effect of Turner's revolt, the thought of New Haveners inadvertently supporting an immediatist scheme, and the potential alienation of Southern Yale students and damage to New Haven's manufacturing interests in the South all coalesced to create an inhospitable climate for the proposal. On September 10, 1831, alarmed over the prospect of the college proposal and responding to mass protests, the Mayor of New Haven organized a city meeting.

Mayor Dennis Kimberly presided over the writing of several resolutions: The first resolution declared that it was "Expedient that the sentiments of our citizens should be expressed on these subjects." Calling a meeting, they continued was, the correct thing to do and was "Warmly approved by the citizens of this place." ³¹²

The second resolution affirmed states' rights and tendered that the "Propagation of sentiments favorable to the *immediate emancipation* [emphases added] of slaves in disregard of the civil institutions of the States in which they belong;" as well as "The contemporaneous founding of Colleges for educating colored people, is an unwarrantable and dangerous interference with the internal concerns of other States, and ought to be discouraged." With no support for the proposed college from the Yale faculty, the resolution continued that the "Establishment of a College in the same place to educate the colored population is incompatible with the prosperity, if not the existence of the present

³¹¹ Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven*, 289.

³¹² *New-Haven Advertiser*, Oct. 4 1831, n.p.

institutions of learning, and will be destructive of the best interests of the city.” However if the project was ever “Deemed expedient, it should never be imposed on any community without their consent.” The resolution concluded that the city powers would “resist the establishment of the proposed College in this place, by every lawful means.”³¹³

The resolutions revealed the extraordinary fear of immediate emancipation blanketed under the guise of states’ rights, a suggestion that the “College” would somehow undermine the preeminent academic position of Yale, and a fear that a “Negro” college would become a magnet that might draw blacks to New Haven. After Simeon Jocelyn and other proponents could not hold their own against the angry mob, the Mayor, Alderman, Common Council and Freemen of the City of New Haven dealt the proposal a resounding defeat. In a vote of 700 to 4 with the Jocelyn brothers casting 2 of the affirmative votes, the proposal for the “Negro College” was crushed.³¹⁴

Benjamin Silliman delivered a speech at the Center Church on July 4, 1832, in which he “characterized the plan for the ‘college’ as ill-timed and its suppression wise, and mildly reprimanded the people for their excitement. He asserted that ‘no danger need be apprehended to our character or our tranquility, should we in New Haven be roused and quickened to a warmer and more enlarged philanthropy, and to more vigorous and persevering efforts in favor of these our injured fellow-men.’”³¹⁵

In a reaction to the emphatic dismissal of the proposed “College” by New Haveners, Simeon declared “that white people were offended by the implication that

³¹³ *New-Haven Advertiser*, Oct. 4 1831, n.p.

³¹⁴ Davis, *Leonard Bacon*, 75.

³¹⁵ Warner, *New Haven Negroes*, 58-59.

colored people were entitled to literature, and to Latin, the prerogatives of aristocracy.”³¹⁶

He thus placed an emphasis on true education for black Americans, not merely manual or trade labor training.

The African American population in New Haven was critical of the defeat of the proposal, and “the public opposition gave the colored group there the strong stimulus of resentment.” They were also offended by the implication the “college tended to amalgamation,” and “race mixture.” Bias Stanley, an African American, was a member of the African Congregational Church and an agent to collect funds for the college. He best expressed his position on amalgamation:

I did not favor this academy because I thought it would connect us any more with you,—I would to God that the white population did not connect themselves with the colored population any more than the colored population do with the white; we should then stand a distinct nation. . . .³¹⁷

Simeon was indirectly instrumental in the development of racial pride. After he established the African Church and turned over its operation to the black community, it created enough impetus for the African Americans in New Haven to continue “the development of separate Negro churches.” He is also credited with originating the Temperance Society in 1830 at the Temple Street Church which, as John Warner has argued, helped empower the black parishioners to form “a race movement.”³¹⁸

³¹⁶ Warner, *New Haven Negroes*, 84.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 90.

The demise of the “College” proposal, with its mass protests and opposition from the press, exposed how deep the racial prejudice was in New Haven. Connecticut’s conservative, rather homogeneous, traditional population distrusted rapid social change. There was a universal suspicion of anything “immediate” having to do with antislavery. In fact, as Hugh Davis has demonstrated, “Connecticut’s ratio of mob actions to antislavery auxiliaries in the early and middle 1830s was more than twice as high as that of any other New England state, and its black population suffered more overt discrimination than elsewhere in the region.”³¹⁹

Mob action and threats of violence once again came into sharp focus with an unlikely protagonist by the name of Prudence Crandall (1803-1889). In the year 1833, after the commotion in New Haven over the “College” had settled into an unsteady truce, Crandall inadvertently stoked the smoldering embers of prejudice. Crandall was a schoolteacher and the daughter of Quaker parents. She was founder (1831) and Principal of the Canterbury Female Boarding School, a private academy for girls, in Canterbury, Connecticut. While she was conducting class for the girls of Windham County, a young black woman who worked as household help in the Crandall family home came to Crandall with a copy of the *Liberator*. The young woman was impressed with the editorial stance of the paper and asked if she could join the academy as a student. Crandall proceeded to enroll the young black woman and, like Simeon in New Haven, set off a maelstrom of prejudice. The white families withdrew their children from her school, and the entire community harassed and threatened her.

³¹⁹ Davis, *Leonard Bacon*, 76.

On January 18, 1833, she posed the question to Garrison, should she in fact, change her school to an all-black academy? Garrison, still smarting from the defeat of the New Haven College, encouraged her to proceed with the project. He wrote to his friend, George W. Benson, "New Haven excitement has furnished a bad precedent—a second must not be given, or I know not what we can do, to raise up the colored population in a manner which their intellectual and moral necessities demand. In Boston, we are all excited at the Canterbury affair. Colonizationists are rejoicing, and abolitionists looking sternly."³²⁰

Crandall asked Garrison and his circle, including Simeon Jocelyn, to recruit students for her school from the "large cities in the several states." Garrison led her to believe that there were many scholars eager to attend her school. She said she needed "twenty or twenty-five young ladies of color to enroll [*sic*] the school for one year. . . ."³²¹ Garrison published the following advertisement for the academy in the *Liberator*:

PRUDENCE CRANDALL
PRINCIPAL OF THE CANTERBURY, (CONN.) FEMALE
BOARDING SCHOOL

Returns her most sincere thanks to those who have patronized her School, and would give information that on the first Monday of April next, her School will be open for the reception of young Ladies and little Misses of color. The branches taught are as follows:- Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Geography, History, Natural and Moral Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Drawing and Painting, Music on the Piano, together with the French language.

The Terms, include board, washing, and tuition, are \$25 *per* quarter, one half paid in advance.

³²⁰ Walter M. Merrill, *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison Volume I 1822-1835* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press 1971), 212.

³²¹ PC to WLG January 18, 1833 *NH Old & New* / [*Negro?*] *Girls Schools*, (v.107 p.142).

Books and Stationary will be furnished on the most reasonable terms.
 For information respecting the School, reference may be made to
 the following gentlemen, *viz.*

ARTHUR TAPPAN, Esq.
 Rev. PETER WILLIAMS.
 Rev. THEODORE RAYMOND.
 Rev. THEODORE WRIGHT.
 Rev. SAMUEL C. CORNISH.
 Rev. GEORGE BOURNE.
 Rev. Mr. HAYBORN.
N. York City
 Mr JAMES FORTEN.
 Mr. JOSEPH CASSEY.
Philadelphia
 Rev. S. J. MAY, - Brooklyn, Ct.
 Rev. Mr. BEMAN, - Middletown, Ct.
 Rev. S. S. JOCELYN, - New-Haven, Ct.
 Wm. LLOYD GARRISON
 ARNOLD BUFFUM.
Boston, Mass.
 GEORGE BENSON, - Providence, R.I.

Prudence Crandall wrote three letters to Simeon Jocelyn soliciting his and Arthur Tappan's help. In the period between February 26, 1833 and April 17, 1833, she recapped her tribulations. In her first letter she detailed, "to my astonishment they [neighbors] exhibited but little opposition. But since that time the people have become very much alarmed for fear the reputation of their village will be injured. Last evening they helde [*sic*] a meeting to consult what shall be done to destroy the school I have now in contemplation." The next day a "committee" came to her house and told her it was in "their power to *destroy* [her] undertaking ande [*sic*] that they *could* do it and *should* do it." She defended herself by invoking Arthur Tappan's name and telling the committee

that he was in favor of the academy. "I made as free use of his name in laying the obbect [*sic*] before my friends and neighbors as I thought proper—."³²²

Crandall's April 9, 1833 letter to Simeon continued with an account of another meeting of the Canterbury community at which time they "resolved that they would not sell anything to me or my family and that they would not in any otherwise assist me." Only one shopkeeper, Edward M. Jenks, objected to the boycott and said he would sell to anyone. She told Simeon how she met with Garrison in Brooklyn, Connecticut, and how Garrison had to rush from Brooklyn to Hartford as the town of Canterbury had issued "five writs" against him for slandering the town of Canterbury in the *Liberator*.³²³

In her last letter to Simeon on April 17, 1833, she wrote that she had "Only two boarders and one day scholar—one girl is under warning to depart town. Her accusation is that she is residing here against the peace of the state."³²⁴ The town leader of the opposition, Andrew Judson, managed to get the State Legislature to pass a law [commonly known as the "Black Law"] "prohibiting colored schools for out-of-state students without prior approval of the selectmen of the town."³²⁵ The town imposed a fine on her for boarding "foreign" students; at the bidding of Tappan and others she refused to pay the fine and was jailed for one night. The town families were horrified that

³²² Carter G. Woodson, Ed. "Documents: Abolition Letters Collected by Captain Arthur B. Spingarn," *The Journal of Negro History*, v. 18. No. 1 (1933): 80-81. There are no extant letters from Jocelyn to Crandall.

³²³ Woodson, "Documents," 82.

³²⁴ *Ibid.*

³²⁵ Merrill, *Letters*, 87.

she was jailed, and according to John L. Thomas she became “the heroine of the anti-slavery movement.”³²⁶

At the trial the jury was unable to reach a verdict, but a few weeks later a second jury convicted her on the charges of accepting nonresident [Negro] pupils and teaching them. The case was appealed to the state supreme court, where about a year later the decision of the trial court was reversed on grounds of insufficient evidence. After twelve months of costly litigation. Miss Crandall had won her case but lost her school: her fellow townsmen celebrated their legal defeat by breaking the windows of the school, filling the well with manure, [setting fire to the school] and decorating the fence with dead cats.³²⁷

Prudence Crandall left Canterbury but was not silenced by her oppressors. She started her own newspaper, the *Unionist*. At this point Garrison found little use for her as a martyr for the cause and noted, “She was in danger of becoming ‘exalted above measure,’” and “announced that her usefulness to the cause had ended and that though abolitionists should continue to ‘make the facts of this single case tingle in the ears of the people,’ it was best for Miss Crandall herself to move off ‘with flying colors’ and leave him to cash in the depreciated currency of her reputation.”³²⁸

Garrison was always moving on to the next cause, and individuals like Crandall and Simeon Jocelyn, the soldiers in the trenches, were frequently sacrificed for the “greater good” of the anti-slavery movement. The state and national anti-slavery societies were in a constant pitch among local issues and greater state and national strategies.

³²⁶ John L. Thomas, *The Liberator: William Lloyd Garrison* (Boston & Toronto: Little, Brown and Company 1963), 192.

³²⁷ Thomas, *The Liberator*, 192.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*, 193.

John Stauffer in his *Black Hearts of Men* makes a case for the relationship of four abolitionists, two white and two black. The four men are Frederick Douglass and James McCune (black) and John Brown and Gerrit Smith (white). The relationship ended with John Brown's 1859 raid at Harpers Ferry. Stauffer focused, in part, on Gerrit Smith because Smith believed he wanted to "make myself a colored man," rather than merely empathize with the black population.³²⁹ It is difficult to ascertain the depth of Smith's concept of blackness and whether it manifested itself in any direct, personal way other than through good deeds. Smith's life in the abolitionist cause was one of a public person. Smith's activities in New York State with political and antislavery issues were not unlike the Garrison and the Tappan brothers' model of leading the antislavery offensive in a very public leadership role, albeit with a more aggressive offensive that advocated violence.

Smith's donation of land in upper New York State (some said land not very suitable for farming) for the use of the state's black population was to overcome the law that required land ownership as a requirement for voting. The objective aided black individuals on a personal level, but the total effect was a public gesture.

In the mid-1830s, Simeon and Nathaniel Jocelyn also used land development as a tool in the war chest of the antislavery movement. Unlike Gerrit's remote land settlement plan, the Jocelyns worked on the more immediate problem of living conditions in the city of New Haven for the *black and white* working population. Their land speculation and building lot design was a precursor of modern urban/city planning.

³²⁹ Stauffer, John. *The Black Hearts of Men: Radical Abolitionists and the Transformation of Race*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002. 15.

The Jocelyns acquired a property in southern New Haven that originally belonged to their neighbor, “New Haven’s great exponent of urban order, James Hillhouse.” The project was called Spireworth. New Haven city was laid out in nine squares. Spireworth was the center square of a miniature version of New Haven’s nine squares, and all nine could be superimposed onto the dimensions of one square of New Haven’s nine.

With this project, the Jocelyns were, as Elizabeth Brown notes, “among the biggest real estate speculators in the city’s history. It was the Jocelyns who designed the model layout and its tiny green, reflecting the formal grace of the wealthier center of the city (the name Spireworth alluded to ‘a slender spindling sort of grass’ that grows only in poor soil).”³³⁰

The brothers’ minds, hearts, and money were in the right place, but they worked on Spireworth with little success and by the 1850s only three houses had been built. The square remains as a “rare example of working-class housing over a sequence of four decades” and an important artifact of “19th-century urbanism of a rare sort.” Tradition has it that one row of houses was built especially for “fugitive blacks from the South.”³³¹

In another bold move the brothers Jocelyn purchased and developed another tract of land in the northeast part of New Haven known as New Township. The intent was to develop a living center for the artisan class. Elizabeth Brown has described it this way:

A pattern of wide straight streets was laid out around a large square, all streets were planted with trees, and on Hamilton Street an added mall or promenade was provided, named Hamilton Place. . . . The Jocelyns advertised the sale of lots in

³³⁰ Elizabeth Mills Brown, *New Haven: A Guide to Architecture and Urban Design* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 1976), 94.

³³¹ *Ibid.*

New York and chartered a steamboat to bring potential investors up to choose their sites. But the sale was only moderately successful, and the crash of 1837 ended further development.³³²

³³² Brown, *New Haven: A Guide to Architecture*, 194. "In 1858 Nathaniel and Simeon S. Jocelyn conveyed to the city an area known as Franklin Square in the Grand Street-Mill River section. It was renamed Jocelyn Square in honor of the donors." (Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven*), 276.

Nathaniel and his brother were caught in the Financial Panic of 1837. The rate of crop growth in the West and South and manufacturing in the Northern cities, and land speculation accompanied by raising land prices created an inflated economy. In an attempt to correct the economy, President Jackson attacked the banking system. The net result was to plunge the Nation into a six-year depression between 1837 and 1843. After the brothers' land speculation was in ruins, the ever-resilient Nathaniel redirected his energy into his portrait business. (fig.V.2.), (fig.V.3.), (fig.V.4.), (fig.V.5.), (fig.V.6.)

He also accepted students. The arrangement with the Durrie brothers is documented by this unpublished agreement. Both students, George (1820-1863) and John Durrie (1792-1858) developed into noteworthy artists. George became famous for his New Haven winter scenes, which were widely reproduced as lithographs by Currier & Ives.

"Agreement between
N. Jocelyn and J. Durrie & Rec^d & Note for
Interest on my Note for \$200-payable
6mo. From 2 Oct.
1837.

Term and condition of agreement between
Nathl Jocelyn and John Durrie for the
instruction of sai^d Durries two sons John and
George in the Art and Profession of Portrait
Painting
October 1837

Viz—

Sai^d Durrie is to pay
Two Hundred Dollars for each, one half
on the first of April 1838 and the other
half [*illegible*] <whenever> they may leave—They may
continue / as long as they please, or leave whenever they / please—the time when our
mutual obligations / are to terminate to be when they leave to / commence on their own
account—

Their services while they stay to
Be as sai^d N. Jocelyns
Command; but they will be allowed to avail
Themselves of any little advantages which
May be derived from painting the portraits
Of their friends; or of such sitters as they

FIGURE V.2.



FIGURE V. 3.



FIGURE V.4.

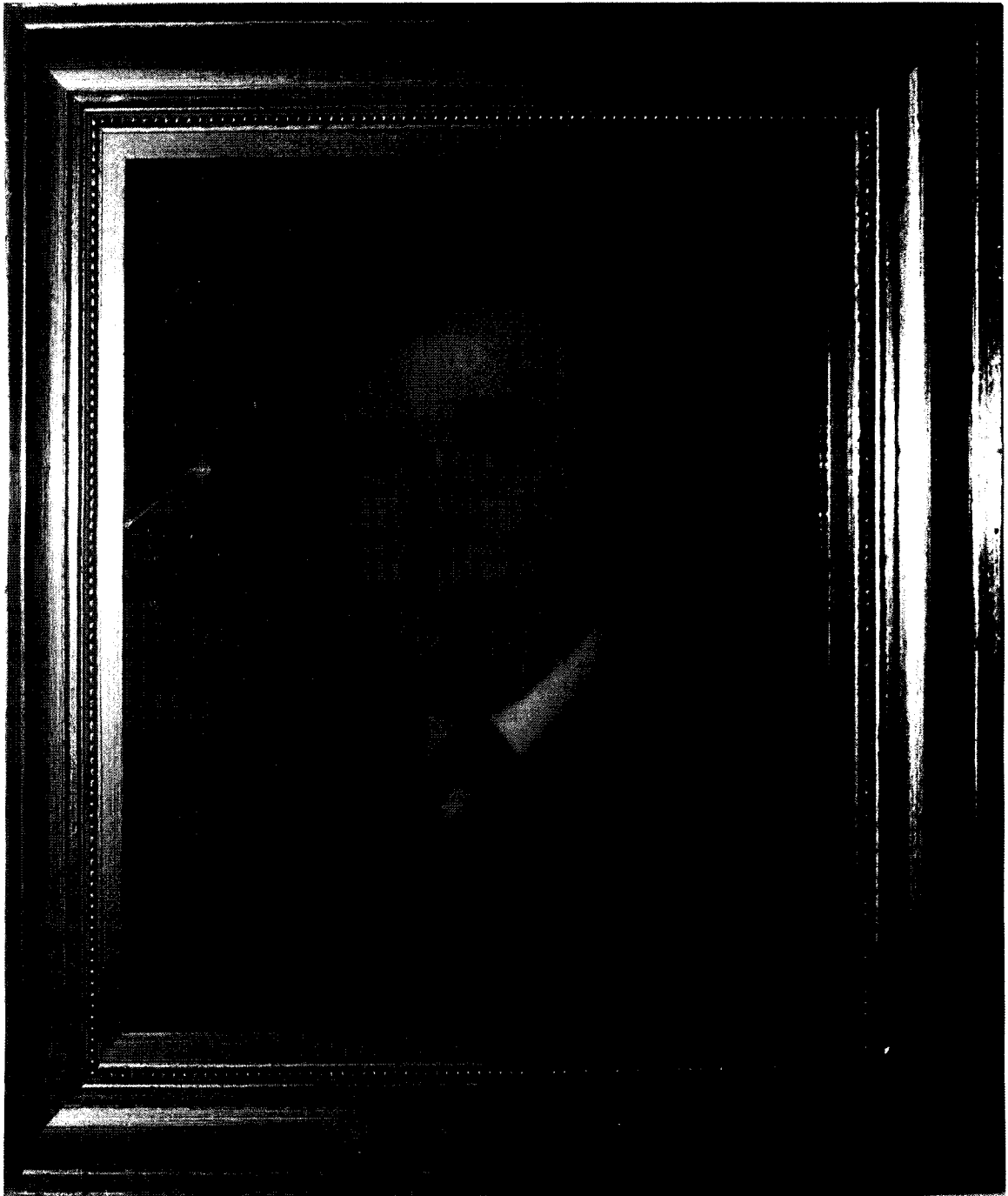


FIGURE V.5.

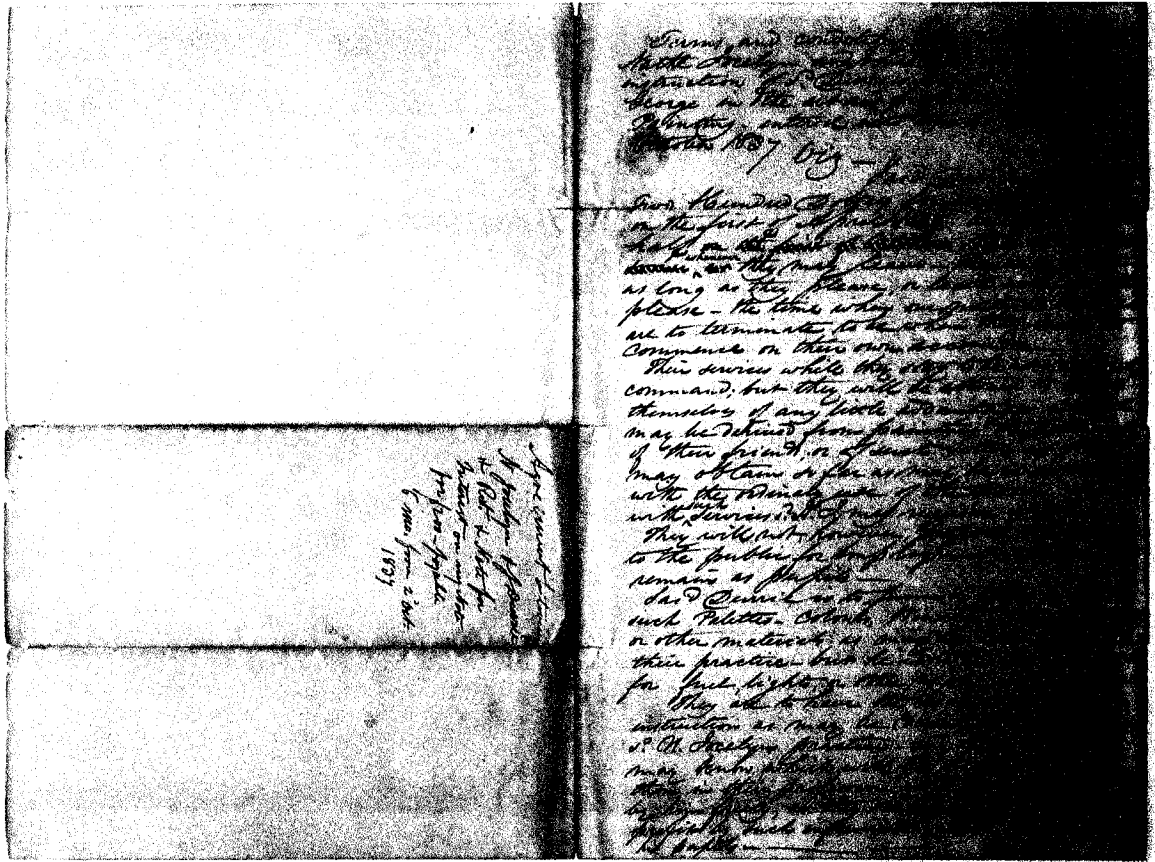


FIGURE V.6.

They will afterwards always be entitled to
receive such hints, advice, or explanations as
they may ask -
Dated at London 21st October 1837

Nathl. Proulx

John Sumic

Rec^d of Adam Sumic
Five Hundred Dollars
and payable in any amount
in full for the payment
on the part of the said Adam Sumic
to the foregoing agreement

[Signature]

These urban development projects by the Jocelyns demonstrated a direct concern for the disenfranchised of New Haven and an intimate understanding of the needs of the black and working class population that superseded any opportunity for personal gain. In

May obtain as far as may be consistent
 With the ordinary use of the Rooms and
 With such services sai^d N. J. may require of them—
 They will not, however, propose themselves
 To the public for employment while they
 Remain as pupils—

Sai^d Durrie is to furnish them with
 such palettes—colours, brushes, panels, canvas
 or other materials as may be necessary for
 their practice—but he is to be at no expense
 for fuel, lights, or other (if any) room—expenses.

They are to have the advantage of such
 Instruction as may be derived from observing
 sai^d N. Jocelyns practice—and every thing he
 may know which will be important to
 them in their profession, is to be communicated
 by him freely, as they may be prepared to
 profit by such information, while they remain—his
 pupils—over—
 They will afterwards always be entitled to
 Receive such hints—advice, or explanations as
 They may ask—

New Haven 21 October 1837

Nathl Jocelyn [*Green-embossed paper-seal affixed with wax*]

John Durrie [*Red-embossed paper-seal affixed with wax*]

\$200

New Haven 21st Oct. 1837

Rec^d of John Durrie his note for
 Two Hundred Dollars dated 2^d inst
 and payable in six months—is being
 in full for the payment to be made
 on the first of April 1838 according
 to the foregoing agreement

Nathl Jocelyn”

(Document and illustrations courtesy of a private collection.)

their attempt to provide a common planned community, the Jocelyns seemed to foresee residential integration as an important solution to racial prejudice.

The Jocelyns stood in the forefront of Connecticut abolitionism. Indeed Connecticut, the “land of steady habits,” was the last of the New England states to form a state antislavery society. In Connecticut the slave trade was prohibited in 1788, however owning a slave remained legal until 1848. In 1784 a law of Gradual Emancipation was enacted, wherein children born to slave parents would be emancipated at age twenty-five; the age later dropped to twenty-one.³³³ Finally, on February 24, 1838 *The Emancipator Extra* published a broadside on the formation of the Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society (fig.V.7.). It began with this invitation:

The undersigned invite all citizens of Connecticut friendly to the immediate emancipation of the slaves of our country to send delegates to a convention to be held in Hartford, on Wednesday 28, February 1838, in order to form a State-Anti-Slavery Society.

We propose the formation of a State Society that our influence maybe more efficient, and that the great cause in which we are engaged, may be carried on with more energy.

Individuals in this state, and from other states holding the principles of Anti-Slavery Societies, are also invited to attend the convention.

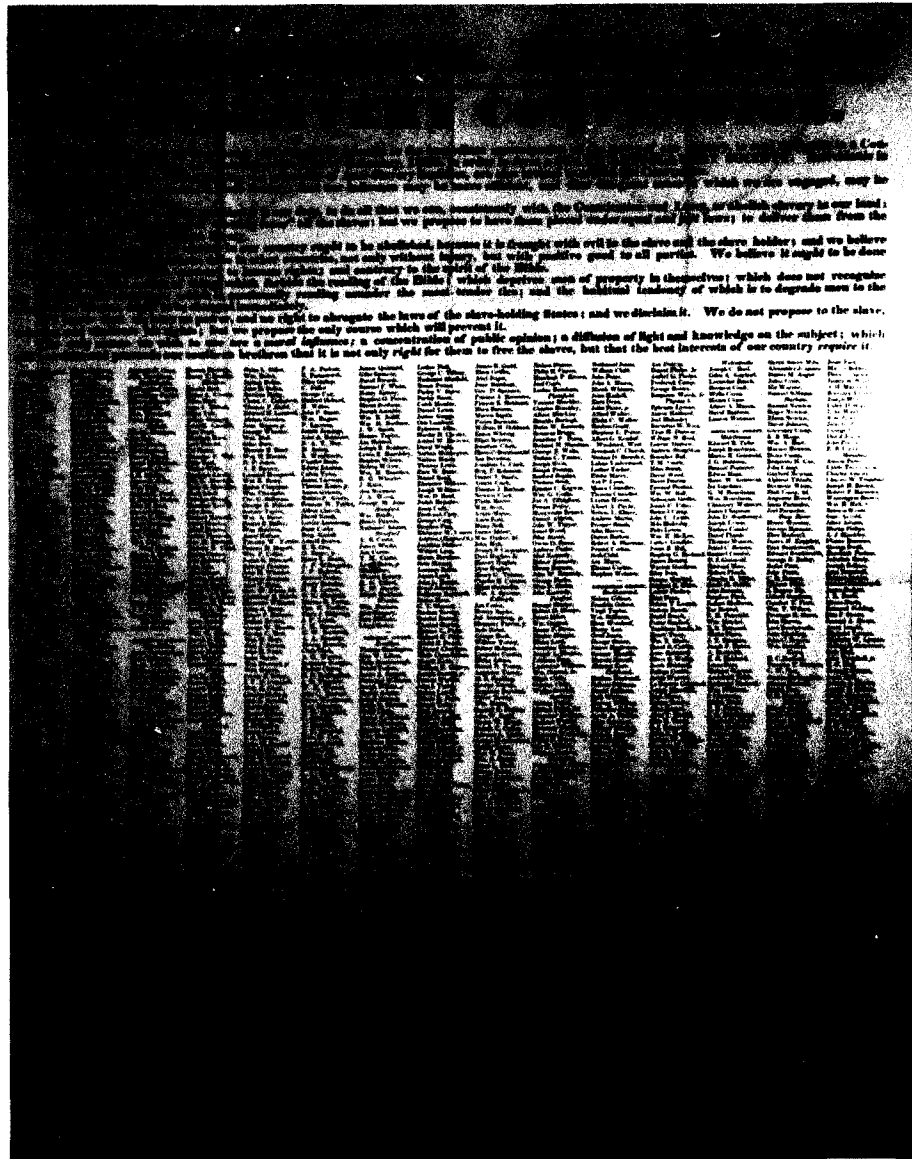
We propose the formation of a State Society that our influence maybe more efficient, and that the great cause in which we are engaged, may be carried on with more energy.

We believe we have a right, in that it is our duty, to do all that we can, consistently with the Constitution and Laws, to abolish slavery in our land: We entertain no utopian project of ‘letting loose’ all the slaves: but we propose to have them placed under equal and just laws; to deliver them from the yoke of oppression, and give them liberty.

We believe the system of slavery in our country ought to be abolished, because it is fraught with evil to the slave and the slave holder; and we believe it can be done, because it has been done in other countries, not only without injury, but with positive good to all parties. We believe it ought to be done because it is wrong in itself; contrary to human rights and contrary to the spirit of the Bible.

³³³ Dwight Lowell Dumond, *Antislavery: The Crusade for Freedom in America* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press 1961), 49.

FIGURE V.7.



We believe that a state of things which forbid the reading of the Bible; which deprives men of property in them selves; which does not recognize the institution of marriage; which is continually rending a sunder the most tender ties; and habitual tendency of which is to degrade men to the condition of brutes, ought to be changed immediately.

We know that we have no power and [no] right [to] abrogate the laws of the slave-holding States; and we disclaim it. We do not propose to the slave, to arise, and vindicate his rights; but we propose the only cause which will prevent it.

The only means we wish to use are a moral influence; a constrantion of public opinion; a defusing[sic] of light and knowledge on the subject; which will convince and persuade our southern brethren that it is not only right for them to free the slaves, but that the best interest of our country require it.³³⁴

This written document as a position statement for the foundation of a new society did not introduce a new strategy for the Connecticut abolitionists. It formalized their ongoing agenda which had not changed since the early 1830s: immediate emancipation consistent with the Constitution and the Law, the institution of slavery as an evil and contrary to the Bible, the recognition of States rights, and the non-violent use of moral influence to convince and persuade the South to abandon the practice.

Listed in the representatives of the Counties of Connecticut under New Haven County is Nathaniel Jocelyn's name. This may be the only *public written* record confirming Nathaniel as an abolitionist. His life was spent in abolitionists' causes, but unlike his brother Simeon, who was always at the forefront of the fray, this is the first record of Nathaniel's taking a leadership role, albeit a small one, as a representative to the convention.

³³⁴ *Connecticut Anti-Slavery Society Broadside*, Connecticut Historical Society (Hartford, CT).

New Haven County

Amos Townsend

Issac Thomson

H.G. Ludlow

Nathaniel Jocelyn [emphasis added]

Everand Benjamin

Francis S. Collins

Aaron Killborn

G.F. Smith

J.P. Humaston

Chas E. Disbrow

Wm. Stebbins

W.W. Woodworth

Joseph D. Farren

N.J. Dodd

James Reynolds

O. Spencer

Sameul P. Davis

H. E. Hodges

Lucius K. Dow

Leicester A. Sawyer

This was a meaningful step for Nathaniel, the more conservative of the two brothers, as he joined a new tier of names not usually in the spotlight.

IMMEDIATISM'S INTERNAL DIVISIONS

By the mid 1830s, there was dissension among immediatists over issues surrounding the role of politics, the church, and women in the abolitionist movement.³³⁵

A schism emerged between the Tappanites' church-centered immediatism and the increasing secularism of the Garrisonians.

³³⁵ Harrold, *American Abolitionists*, 25.

Garrison's disenchantment with the clergy as an antislavery partner stemmed from the church's failure to condemn slaveholding as a sin and to endorse abolitionism. The Tappanites, and perhaps the Jocelyn brothers, along with the other more conservative immediatists balked at, among other things, the full participation of women in the movement. As Stanley Harrold has noted, the orthodox evangelical abolitionists were threatened by Garrison's circle and feared that an association with them would intimidate future "converts to immediatism."³³⁶ The controversy over the role of the clergy fueled Garrison's increasing militant anti-clerical position and eventually caused the movement towards secularism.³³⁷

Between the years 1837 and 1840, the men in Lewis Tappan's circle felt that Garrison and his camp were moving away from God as their main inspiration for social reform. The Tappanites were not like other abolitionists, who shunned the Garrisonians for their radicalism, but rather as Lawrence Friedman has pointed out:

When the Tappan men attacked Garrisonianism, they were defending the order-rendering God they held dear. The apparent Garrisonian rejection of such deity assaulted their theologies, their psychologies, and their ideals—the sources of their antislavery activism.³³⁸

Friedman argued that it was not that the Tappan men were "conservative" and Garrisonians were "radical," but that the Tappanites' core beliefs and "commitment to God, to the Bible, to the churches and to the emancipation of black bondsmen" were

³³⁶ Harrold, *American Abolitionists*, 37.

³³⁷ Dillon, *The Abolitionists*, 57, 60.

³³⁸ Friedman, "Confidence and Pertinacity," 101.

being challenged and forsaken by the Garrisonians. They felt that “their Garrisonian opposition had lost sight of both Christianity and the slave.”³³⁹

It would be an oversimplification, however to understand Garrison as an angry agitator who worked only in secular terms. *All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery*, by Henry Mayer, is one of the best current biographies of Garrison. Mayer equates Garrison with more modern civil rights leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr., and believes that Garrison was ahead of his time seeking racial, gender and class equality. While much of the literature on Garrison focuses on his ardent and radical activism, and suggests that his external actions and words probably reflected an internal anger, Mayer believed that “he became an agitator as much out of love as hate, as much out of plenitude as deprivation.” Furthermore, Mayer stated something that many authors omit, that Garrison’s “vision cannot be understood outside the context of the Christianity that was its inspiration.”³⁴⁰ Mayer clarified his point:

At the outset I thought it would be accurate to say that Garrison had ‘secularized’ the religious impulse and made it serve political ends, but I now think that is an inadequate and perhaps condescending formula. Garrison and his colleagues were believers who challenged the institutional church and evolved a creed of their own, but who never lost faith in the redemptive power of Jesus Christ.³⁴¹

Garrison was able to turn “religious energy towards secular ends . . . and drew upon the nineteenth-century’s last great outpouring of rural Protestant revivalism, and used the

³³⁹ Friedman, “Confidence and Pertinacity,” 101.

³⁴⁰ Henry Mayer, *All on Fire: William Lloyd Garrison and the Abolition of Slavery* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1998), Preface xix.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*, xix.

language of repentance and conversion to exhort America to save its soul and avert the wrathful judgments that lay in wait for oppressors.”³⁴² The sixteenth-century Protestant Reformation still affected a majority of reformers in the early to mid-nineteenth century, and evangelicalism became apart of everyday political and social issues; indeed “radical popular religion” as Henry Mayer notes, “helped eradicate an evil with which socially liberal theological opinion had learned to coexist.”³⁴³ For Garrison, “Immediate abolition became his gospel, and the antislavery movement became his household of faith.”³⁴⁴

Despite the commonalities that clearly existed between the Garrisonians and Tappanites, internal division may have been inevitable. According to Friedman, however, the disputes with the Garrisonians did not sway the Tappanites, but rather fortified their commitment to evangelical abolitionism. As a result, Tappan formed and directed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which was “committed to evangelical churches as the directive arm for antislavery missions.”³⁴⁵

Regardless of the factionalism among the immediatists, the Tappan circle’s bond was strong. These men sustained their relationship throughout decades of political changes, and numerous reforms, as well as the formation and dismantling of various committees and societies. This did not mean that the Tappanites and Garrisonians failed to come together on important issues and their ultimate common goal of achieving immediate emancipation, but rather that the men in Tappan’s circle kept God and the

³⁴² Mayer, *All on Fire*, xvi, xvii.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*, xx.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, xvi.

³⁴⁵ Friedman, “Confidence and Pertinacity,” 101.

church at their core, as their center through change and dissension. "Thus the Tappanites remained relatively unchanged by the people and circumstances about them. They knew what they wanted and they were always confident that God would order the world in accord with their values. . . . The Tappan circle's confidence in an order-rendering God and in Christian self-help" sustained them.³⁴⁶

By the end of the decade of the 1830s, the New Haven abolitionists had weathered the ups and downs of bickering among the multiple antislavery societies, the spin-off societies, and split up of the national societies. The tactics of the various societies reflected their leadership, be it the religious-based Tappanites, the more secular Garrisonians or the radical followers of Gerrit Smith. In spite of the diversity, they maintained a forward momentum.

The general population of New Haven was conservative and not very accepting of antislavery positions. They were, as Friedman notes, "moderate [in their] attitude toward the injection of the issue into politics" and were "sympathetic to the plight of the Negro, they had condemned the extension of slavery permitted by the Missouri Compromise in 1820."

Yet they had vigorously opposed the establishment of a Negro college at New Haven in 1831. Furthermore, they had spoken out against the tactics of the 'fanatical abolitionists' in 1833, 1835, and 1836. A citizens' meeting, held at the Statehouse on September 9, 1835, found Noah Webster, David Daggett, Simeon Baldwin, James Babcock, and Minott Osborn helping to frame resolutions which condemned any interference by Congress with the treatment of slaves within any of the states, opposed the use of the mails for 'transmission of incendiary information,' proposed African colonization for 'the free colored population,' and 'viewed with alarm the efforts of the Abolitionists.'³⁴⁷

³⁴⁶ Friedman, "Confidence and Pertinacity," 106.

³⁴⁷ Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven*, 296.

New Haven could have continued in its provincial manner on the issue of slavery, and Nathaniel could have remained an ardent worker in the background of the antislavery movement, were it not for a ship that would soon arrive on the shores of Connecticut, starting an affair that would put Nathaniel and Simeon at the center of the conflict between immediatism and gradualism. The ship's arrival started a movement that Rollin Osterweis has concluded focused the attention of both Americans and Europeans on New Haven. It led New Haveners to follow a humanitarian path "rather than that of economic self-interest or of apathetic indifference."³⁴⁸ The celebrated case of the *Amistad* was that catalyst.

³⁴⁸ Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven*, 297.

CHAPTER VI

THE AMISTAD REVOLT: AN ABOLITIONIST RALLYING CRY

The story of the *La Amistad*, both legend and fact, was widely reported at the time and has been thoroughly explored by scholars. In this chapter, the Amistad case will be summarized as it relates to the abolitionist movement and the Jocelyn brothers' participation in it.

In 1839, abolitionists felt somewhat optimistic. Despite the lingering economic depression that had begun in 1837, sympathy for the increasing numbers of fugitive slaves who sought refuge in the North buoyed their enthusiasm. When fugitive slaves were captured and returned to the South, the public was outraged. To advance their cause, the New Haven and New York abolitionists would make use of the Amistad affair to bolster their "skilled propaganda," in the words of Merton Dillon, to amplify the ongoing issues of slave mutiny on the high seas, and the "right of petition." In later years, these issues supported the antislavery mission and helped fight the proslavery political policies of the South.³⁴⁹

The story begins in April, 1839, when the Portuguese slaver, *Teçora* and its cargo of five or six hundred African captives set sail for Havana, Cuba.³⁵⁰ The abduction of the Africans was illegal and in violation of the treaty between Spain, its colonies, and Britain

³⁴⁹ Dillon, *The Abolitionists*, 148.

³⁵⁰ Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan*, 205.

in 1817, and even by the Spanish Queen's royal decree of 1838.³⁵¹ Aboard the *Teçora*, the slavers avoided the British "slave patrol" warships, docked in Cuba (a Spanish territory), and obtained false papers declaring their African captives to be pre-1820 subjects of Spain who could officially be sold as slaves.

The next step in the process was the sale of forty-nine adult males from the "cargo" to the "slave speculator" José Ruiz for \$450 apiece, and four young children (three females and one male) to his partner Pedro Montez (or Montes). With false passports in hand but, still fearing British detection, under the cover of dark, the group set off through Havana on foot to the dock where they met the ship *La Amistad*, which they chartered. The small black schooner was built in Baltimore specifically for transporting slaves. On June 28, 1839, they set sail for the plantations of Puerto Principe a few days voyage up the northwest coast of Cuba.³⁵²

During the third evening, July 1st, a mutiny occurred at sail. The Africans, unchained in the hold, rose up and killed the captain and cook. The two sailors on the crew dove overboard and later were presumed drowned. Montez, his young slave Antonio, and Ruiz, were the only survivors. Cinqué, the acknowledged leader of the Mendi Africans (the group of Africans from Mendi country on the West Coast of Africa) ordered Montez and Ruiz to sail the ship back to Africa. The two Spaniards devised a

³⁵¹ Clifton Johnson, *The Amistad Case and its Consequences in U.S. History* (New Haven: New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1990), 5.

³⁵² Howard Jones, *Mutiny on the Amistad* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987) 23.

plan by which they would sail east toward Africa by day and northwest by night, in hopes that they would be caught or rescued by the British.³⁵³

After two months of this zigzag sailing, and many sightings and fruitless encounters with other ships, the Amistad crew and the Africans put ashore on the northeastern tip of Long Island, NY to seek supplies. Meanwhile, due to the erratic behavior of the ship, the Brooklyn Navy Yard of New York dispatched two US Naval vessels to find the mysterious vessel. The following day, according to historian Howard Jones,

Lieutenant Meade on board the USS Washington saw the activity ashore and at Lieutenant Gedney's orders seized the schooner, the cargo, and the blacks. Perhaps because New York had abolished slavery, Gedney took his prize to New London, Connecticut, where slavery was legal. There he would seek salvage of the Amistad and its cargo, including the blacks.³⁵⁴

A significant legal debate with international overtones ensued. Were they African slaves, Spanish slaves, were they cargo, and was the US entitled to the ship and "cargo," and what court should have jurisdiction over the case? Myriad legal questions emerged in the following weeks.

Like a clarion call, the leading immediatist abolitionists seized upon the event as an over-arching template to aid their less fortunate "brethren," and demonstrate to the country the feasibility of their abolitionist and Christianizing methods. The event provided a *de facto* laboratory to test their theories. As soon as a "court of inquiry" held aboard the USS *Washington* determined that there was sufficient evidence against

³⁵³ Jones, *Mutiny, passim*.

³⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 28-29.

Cinqué, of mutiny and murder, Judge Andrew T. Judson (ironically, Prudence Crandall's neighbor and prosecutor) remanded the Africans to the New Haven jail to await trial "set for September in Hartford."³⁵⁵ The abolitionist network had been alerted to the case by a New London abolitionist, Dwight P. Janes. He was the first to learn that by Ruiz's own admission, the Africans were not legally slaves. Janes enlisted his friend Rev. Joshua Leavitt (editor of the *Emancipator*) to convince their mutual friend, Roger Sherman Baldwin, to take the case. Simeon Jocelyn had worked with Baldwin on the New Haven College proposal, and Simeon asked their mutual friend Amos Townsend, Jr. to help him persuade Baldwin, who agreed.³⁵⁶

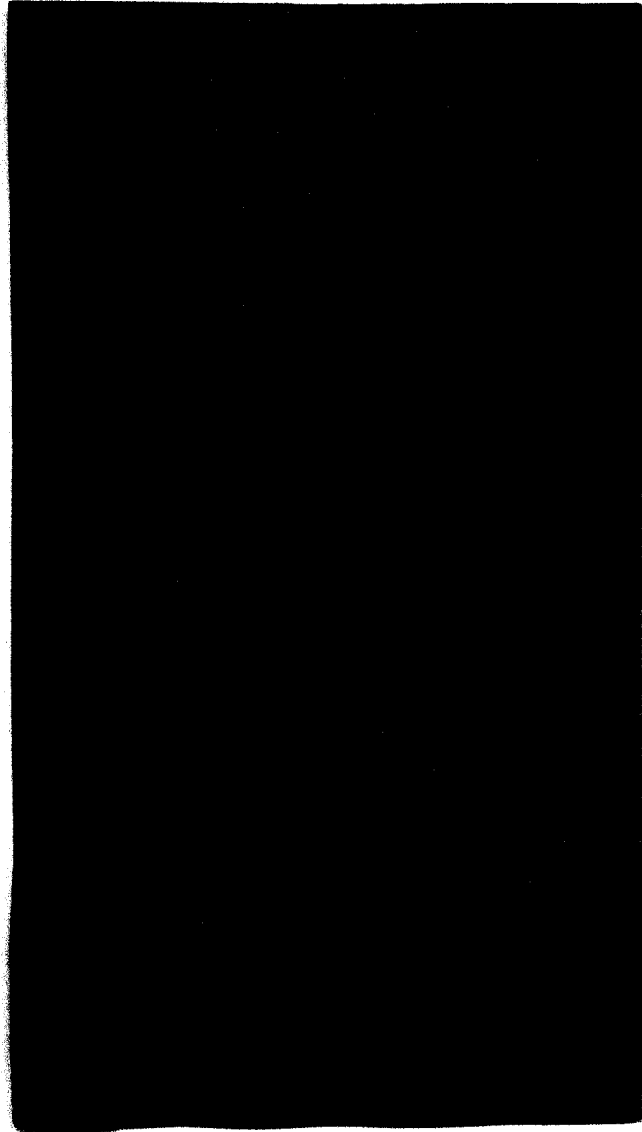
To finance the defense, the New York abolitionists, led by Lewis Tappan organized a Mendi committee. Tappan, Leavitt, and Simeon Jocelyn were tasked with raising funds and providing the Africans basic necessities. In addition to Baldwin as chief counsel, the defense team grew to include Seth B. Staples, Theodore Sedgwick, Jr. and finally, the venerable John Quincy Adams (fig.VI.1).³⁵⁷ Additionally, an education committee consisting of Rev. Leonard Bacon, Rev. Henry G. Ludlow, and Amos Townsend, Jr. was assembled to begin teaching the Africans English and religious instruction through Bible study. Also, this committee hired George E. Day, a former professor in the New York Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, to organize and supervise

³⁵⁵ Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven*, 298.

³⁵⁶ Jones, *Mutiny*, 35, 36, 37.

³⁵⁷ Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan*, 206. "Although Leavitt was sometimes estranged from Tappan because of their differences over political abolitionism, he had to admit that Tappan's 'untiring vigilance, his immovable decision of character, and his facility in the dispatch of business' were chiefly responsible for the eventual release of those who were known as the Amistads. (Ibid.)

FIGURE VI.1.



the Yale divinity students recruited to teach the Mendians English and conduct religious study.³⁵⁸

Their strategy, beyond the legal arguments, evolved into an abolitionist cause celebre. They planned not to make this a visible “abolitionist” crusade, but rather to direct the public to see the Africans as kidnapped citizens of a foreign country, untainted by American slavery. It was perhaps the first time the northern public had an opportunity to see a black African who had never been a slave. For Tappan and the Amistad Committee, the captives provided an almost scripted scenario for the forces of antislavery to dramatize the plight of the captives as a microcosm of Southern slavery.

The abolitionists were careful to keep the focus on the captives and to maximize the attention on a national level of issues and the universal evils of slavery. They focused on the hypocrisy of the United States with regard to the proclamation of inalienable rights and the paradox of slavery. The example of the captives led to other issues, according to Howard Jones, “involving human and property rights and the relationship of morality to law.”³⁵⁹ The Amistad captives reordered the priorities of the New Haven and New York immediatists into larger national and even international issues of slavery.

New York City black clergymen Samuel E. Cornish (1795-1858) and his co-editor and publisher John Brown Russwurm followed the case closely. On March 16, 1827 they began publishing the periodical *Freedom's Journal*. The journal changed its name and editors several times. Under the leadership of co-editors, Phillip A. Bell and

³⁵⁸ Johnson, *The Amistad Case*, 12.

³⁵⁹ Jones, *Mutiny*, 30, 31.

Charles B. Ray, the name changed to *The Weekly Advocate* and by the time of the Amistad case it was called *Colored American*, with Cornish returning as editor.

A series of articles and editorials, published in *Colored American* from 1839 to 1841, indicates how African Americans saw the ongoing case of *La Amistad's* “unfortunate Africans.” In the words of the editor, “We [as black Americans] who hear and see more of the workings of this every day world . . .” recognize that it takes “boldness, and, in proportion, honor . . .” to publish articles and letters “standing for right.”³⁶⁰

The first editorial, published on September 28, 1839, launched the newspaper’s involvement with the “African Captives.”

The excitement caused by the arrival of these strangers on our coast, and their subsequent capture is still as high as ever. Public opinion is decidedly in favor of their liberation, [in]as much as they have committed no crime, neither legal nor moral, not withstanding which they are now held as prisoners.³⁶¹

This editorial reviewed a series of motions and rulings from the Hartford Circuit Court involving various aspects of the case, and focused on the three female children (fig.VI.2.). The editor of *Colored American* recounted Baldwin’s argument

that the children who were of the ages 7, 8, and 9, were not slaves—nor ever had been—they were free born—illegally captured, taken to Havana where they were sold contrary to the laws of nature and humanity, and the laws and ordinances of Spain, in existence long before the birth of these children. He [Baldwin] contended that the capture of them was illegal, felonious and piratical.³⁶²

³⁶⁰ Editor, *Colored American*, (5 October 1839).

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, (28 September 1839).

³⁶² *Ibid.*

FIGURE VI.2.



No. 33.



No. 34.



No. 35.

(33.) **Ka-li**, (*bone*), 4 ft. 3 in. a small boy, with a large head, flat and broad nose, stout built. He says his parents are living; has a sister and brother; was stolen when in the street, and was about a month in traveling to Lomboko.

(34.) **Te-me**, (*frog*), 4 ft. 3 in. a young girl, says she lived with her mother, with an elder brother, and sister; her father was dead. A party of men in the night broke into her mother's house, and made them prisoners; she never saw her mother or brother afterwards, and was a long time in traveling to Lomboko.

(35.) **Ka-gue**, (*country*), 4 ft. 3 in. a young girl. She counts in Mendi like Kwong, she also counts in Fai or Gallina, imperfectly. She says her parents are living, and has four brothers and four sisters; she was put in pawn for a debt by her father which not being paid, she was sold into slavery, and was many days in going to Lomboko.



No. 36.



Antonio.

(36.) **Margru**, (*black snake*), 4 ft. 3 in. a young girl, with a large, high forehead; her parents were living; she had four sisters and two brothers; she was pawned by her father for a debt, which being unpaid, she was sold into slavery.

The foregoing list comprises all the Africans captured with the Amistad, now [May, 1840] living. Six have died while they have been in New Haven; viz. 1, *Fa*, Sept. 3d, 1839; 2, *Tua* (a Bullom name) died Sept. 11th; 3, *We-lu-wa* (a Bandi name) died Sept. 14th; 4, *Ka-ba*, a Mendi man, died Dec. 31st; 5, *Ka-pe-li*, a Mendi youth, died Oct. 30; 6, *Yam-mo-ni*, in middle life, died Nov. 4th.

After the Judge ruled that the Circuit Court did not have jurisdiction over the District Court in New Haven, the girls were returned to New Haven where the next meeting of the District Court would be held in November.

On October 5, 1839, the editorial page opened with a letter from “A” who wrote, “The case of the unfortunate Africans still continues to excite attention among all classes of the community.” He continued with a criticism of some members of the clergy, “The press with but few exceptions, advocates their release—the clergy of most all denominations are preaching and praying for them; but amidst this universal sympathy one sect alone does not join. Why stands our Holy Episcopal Church aloof?—What fear they?” The writer attended a “colored” Episcopal church. “During the whole time the poor captives have been here, not one word has been said in their behalf—not one prayer has been offered for their deliverance; and I understand the same silence has prevailed at the other church.”³⁶³

In a second letter reprinted from the *Evening Post*, the Rev. Orville Dewey expressed dismay that people were shocked that he who is among those “who are not abolitionists, as I am not, in the technical sense of the misword . . . [should] be prevented from expressing the sentiments of common humanity!” We “should let it be known, that neither are they [non-abolitionists] callous to the claims of eternal justice.”³⁶⁴

The editor used Dewey’s letter to include a barb at the *Evening Star* newspaper, which had labeled the “men of the *Amistad*—black though they be . . . pirates and murderers,” and considered the *Amistad* affair, “calculated to make a melancholy

³⁶³ A., *Colored American*, (5 October 1839).

³⁶⁴ Editor, *Colored American*, (5 October 1839).

impression upon the people of this country.” The editor continued to applaud Mr. Dewey for laboring in his vocation as preacher and “the Star, as the advised friend of the South and its peculiar institution, is laboring at that which it has chosen.”³⁶⁵

These examples from New York residents demonstrate the effectiveness of abolitionists in keeping the case before the public and focusing attention more on the captives, than on the arguments about the un-Christian nature of slavery. It also worked to their advantage that in the press, supporters likened the Africans’ mutiny to “the very act which has rendered our forefathers illustrious—for drawing the *sword* for freedom! We build the sepulchers of our fathers, and incarcerate those who follow them!”³⁶⁶

Between court dates, *Colored American* printed many updates focused on Christianizing and not the issue of slavery as a whole. As in the example below from Lewis Tappan, most updates ended with a plea for aid.

The Amistad Captives,—This noble company of fellow immortals, are still held in custody by the government of the country at Westville, short distance west of New Haven. Some of them are at liberty in charge of the Marshal, and are at work in one of the taverns in New Haven. The Christian public about New Haven, have taken a deep interest in their moral and religious instruction, and through the aid of a few individuals, whose labors have been constant, they have become familiar with our language, instructed in the Christian religion, and some of them give evidence of a renewed mind; they have also made great progress in the rudiments of an English education.

The committee are [*sic*] calling for aid to help them through this trial. It will be attended with great expense. It is all a work of the purest humanity. Reader, do you not feel called upon to aid? Have you not something to give? If so, forward to Mr. Lewis Tappan, 131 Nassau Street, and you shall have your reward.³⁶⁷

³⁶⁵ Editor, *Colored American*, (5 October 1839).

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁷ Lewis Tappan, *Colored American*, (14 November 1840).

The British government took a keen interest in the case and even went so far as to “demand their [the captives’] freedom of the Spanish authorities, in case our [the United States] government should remand them over to Spain.” Further they insisted “upon the fulfillment of the treaty with Great Britain, by which the slave trade was declared illegal, and in consequence of which, these Africans are entitled to their freedom.”³⁶⁸ The reporting of the case was kept alive internationally as well as among small groups such as the “public spirited colored friends of Wilmington, Del.” who at a special meeting for the “*Amistad*” raised “the sum of \$30, and the Secretary reported \$5 from a friend.”³⁶⁹

On March 6, 1841, John Quincy Adams presented the case to the United States Supreme Court. According to *Colored American*, he contended “that no law was applicable to the case of his clients, save that contained in our Declaration of Independence; . . . That they had gained their Independence, and we had no right to interfere with them, nor the Spanish Government the right to demand them of us.” He concluded his closing arguments with a calculated appeal to the personal Christian responsibility of the judges (one of whom had died the day before), ““He too has gone to take his own trial before another tribunal, higher than this. And I do most fervently ejaculate the prayer, that you may so act your part, that it shall be said to each one of you, when you go hence, ‘Well done, good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.’” The newspaper continued, “In uttering the last sentence or two, Mr. Adams’ voice almost failed him, through the force of his feelings, and as he sat down, the tears

³⁶⁸ Editor, *Colored American*, (26 December 1840).

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, (6 February 1841).

started from his eyes, as they did likewise from the eyes of others, (your correspondent's among the rest.)"³⁷⁰

On March 11, 1841, the verdict was announced by the Amistad Committee to the world at large:

TO THE FRIENDS OF THE AFRICAN CAPTIVES

The Committee have the high satisfaction of announcing that the Supreme Court of the United States have definitively decided that our long-imprisoned brethren who were taken in the schooner Amistad, ARE FREE on this soil, without condition or restraint.

In view of this great deliverance, in which the lives and liberties of thirty-six fellow-men are secured, as well as many fundamental principles of law, justice, and human rights established; the committee respectfully recommend that public thanks be given on the occasion, to Almighty God, in all the churches throughout the land.

S. S. Jocelyn
Joshua Leavitt
Lewis Tappan³⁷¹

The editor added a note returning the attention from law and religion to abolition, "And what a *triumph of justice*, over slaveholding shuffling and dictation. How tremendous will the decision of the nation fall upon the ear of the South, who have tried hard to have them sent to Cuba to be hung."³⁷²

After the verdict, the abolitionists wasted no time in maintaining their involvement with the Africans to further their cause, demonstrate their strength, and bask in the light of their victory. They thought nothing of "making arrangements to have them (the children) brought to this city [New York] and *exhibited* [emphasis added], and a

³⁷⁰ Libertas, *Colored American* (6 March 1841).

³⁷¹ S. S. Jocelyn, et.al., *Colored American* (13 March 1841).

³⁷² Editor, *Colored American* (13 March 1841).

speech made on the occasion by the Hon. J. Quincy Adams,” as fund raising events which required the purchase of tickets for fifty cents.³⁷³ Additionally, they used these events to develop interest in missionary work; the Amistad Committee disbanded and joined with the newly formed Union Missionary Society, which was followed by its successor, the American Missionary Society in 1846. Although Adams never made an appearance, Cinqué (fig.VI.3) did, along with “fifteen or sixteen other associates . . . and [took] part in the exercises.”³⁷⁴ Several other meetings were held using the same format: Cinqué reading from the Bible in English followed by Kinna (fig.VI.4), another of the Amistad Africans, who related the history of their captivity and remarked on the American character. He joined the rest of the group and sang hymns and native songs. One of the meetings was designed for an audience “made up of colored people”; the editor reported, “we do not recollect of ever having seen a larger assemblage of our people upon any occasion. Messrs. Tappan and Booth were more brief in their statements . . . but the Africans were more interesting, we thought, than at any other of the previous meetings . . . Kinna stated, ‘you are my brethren, the same color as myself,’ and seemed to feel at home. . . .”³⁷⁵

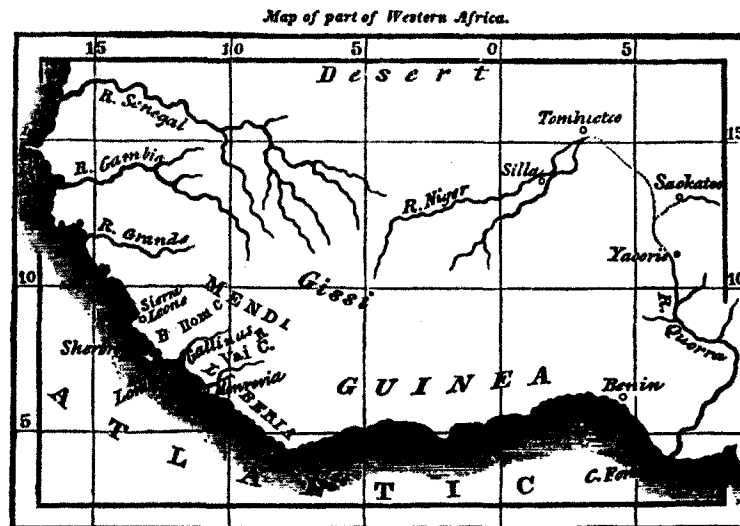
After the trial, the Amistad Africans turned out to be the catalyst the abolitionists needed to unify their various factions. They put their differences aside to support the freedom of the Africans and their subsequent return to Sierra Leone. In the end, the event allowed the abolitionist cause the high visibility they sought, even if their well-

³⁷³ Editor, *Colored American*, (27 March 1841).

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, (1 May 1841).

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, (22 May 1841).

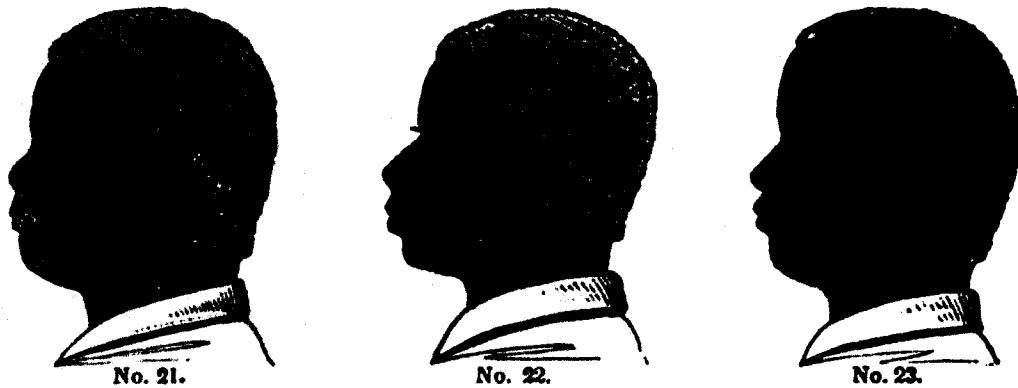
FIGURE VI.3.



No. 1.

(1.) SING-GEE, [Cin-gue,] (generally spelt Cinquez) was born in Ma-ni, in Dzhoo-poa, i. e. in the open land, in the Men-di county. The distance from Mani to Lomboko, he says, is ten suns, or days. His mother is dead, and he lived with his father. He has a wife and three children, one son and two daughters. His sons name is Ge-waw, (God.) His king, Ka-lum-bo, lived at Kaw-men-di, a large town in the Mendi country. He is a planter of rice, and never owned or sold slaves. He was seized by four men, when traveling in the road, and his right hand tied to his neck. Ma-ya-gi-la-lo sold him to Ba-ma-dzha, son of Shaka, king of Gen-du-ma, in the Vai country. Bamadzha carried him to Lomboko and sold him to a Spaniard. He was with Mayagila three nights; with Bamadzha one month, and at Lomboko two months. He had heard of Pedro Blanco, who lived at Te-i-lu, near Lomboko.*

FIGURE VI. 4.



(21.) **Sa**, 5 ft. 2 in. a youth with a long narrow head. He was the only child of his parents, and was stolen when walking in the road, by two men. He was two months in traveling to Lomboko.

(22.) **Kin-na**, (*man or big man*), 5 ft. 5½ in. has a bright countenance, is young, and, since he has been in New Haven, has been a good scholar. His parents and grandparents were living; has four brothers and one sister. He was born at Sima-bu, in the Mendi country; his king, Sa-mang, resided at the same place. He was seized when going to Kon-gol-li, by a Bullom man, who sold him to Luiz, at Lomboko.

(23.) **NDZHA-GNWAW-NI**, [**Nga-ho-ni**,] (*water bird*), 5 ft. 9 in. with a large head, high cheek bones, in middle life. He has a wife and one child; he gave twenty clothes and one shawl for his wife. He lived in a mountainous country; his town was formerly fenced around, but now broken down. He was seized by four men when in a rice field, and was two weeks in traveling to Lomboko.

intentioned methods of *using* the Africans would be, by today's standards, considered insensitive.

Unfortunately for the abolitionists, the court case and the freedom of Cinqué and his fellow captives was not decided on the basis of their worth as human beings deserving full human rights. Rather it was predicated on the issues surrounding the illegality of the international slave trade. In other words, the verdict was based on maritime law and not on the issue of unalienable rights of mankind. But for the abolitionists, it was read and publicized as a moral victory that highlighted the universal evils of slavery and the virtues of Christianity.

Chapters V and VI have explored the variety of abolitionist causes and activities between 1816 and 1841. The Jocelyn brothers, particularly Simeon, were established as evangelical abolitionists who worked with a small but distinguished group of colleagues. Because the primary attention of this material is based on activities as they related to Simeon and Nathaniel's circle in New York and Connecticut, it was outside the scope of this dissertation to expand on the enormous contributions of black and white female abolitionists. Jean Fagan Yellin discusses the role of women in her *Women & Sisters: The Antislavery Feminists in American Culture*, and *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America*, the latter of which contains a series of essays edited by Yellin and John C. Van Horne about female antislavery societies, and about black women and reform.³⁷⁶ Women such as the Grimké sisters, Lydia Maria Child,

³⁷⁶ Jean Fagan Yellin, *Women & Sisters: The Antislavery Feminists in American Culture*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989). And, Jean Fagan Yellin, and Van Horne, John C., *The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America*, (Ithica, NY: Cornell University Press, 1994).

Harriet Jacobs, and Sojourner Truth (to name a famous few) were instrumental in challenging and shaping social, political and moral progress. Ironically, these reformers and crusaders, particularly black women who fought the double burden of both racism and sexism, still managed to forge ahead with the belief that change would come.

Benjamin Quarles in his book, *Black Abolitionists*, aptly noted, "Freedom is and has always been America's root concern, concern that found dramatic expression in the abolitionist movement. The most important and revolutionary reform in our country's past, it forced the American people to come to grips with an anomaly that would not down—the existence of slavery in a land of the free."³⁷⁷ Quarles focused on the particular plight of black abolitionists, that they were "abolition's 'different drummer.' His was a special concern; he felt that the fight against slavery was the black man's fight. Aside from his varied role as a participant, the black abolitionist constituted a symbol of the struggle."³⁷⁸

Despite the admirable and untiring work of the white abolitionists and their desire to end slavery, it did not prevent some of them from adhering to their own racist notions. While white abolitionists strove for the emancipation of slaves, the desire to end slavery and total integration were two different prospects. Many abolitionists expressed doubt about sharing public places such as churches, schools, and neighborhoods with black people, some even openly disdaining such contact. Occasionally, racist jokes were told at antislavery meetings. Additionally, freedom did not mean equality, and some white abolitionists disapproved of black voting rights. These sentiments did not go unnoticed

³⁷⁷ Benjamin Quarles, *Black Abolitionists* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969), vii.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, viii.

by black abolitionists who pointed out white abolitionists' "racially prejudiced views [and] paternalistic disrespect" according to Benjamin Quarles. James O. Horton echoed the belief that blacks viewed white prejudice and inequality as the greatest barrier to the abolishment of slavery. "Indeed, one writer in the *National Reformer* expressed . . . that the only way to improve the condition of black people was 'the improvement of the white man's heart.'"³⁷⁹

While accepting that there were times when white reformers excluded women from meetings and were "blatantly racist in their assumptions and behavior," as Hugh Davis argues in his book on Leonard Bacon and moderate abolitionists, it is equally crucial to acknowledge, according to Davis, that "One must not overstate the abolitionists' racism, for their call for African Americans to acquire knowledge and cultivation was rooted more in their middle class social prejudices than in racial prejudice."³⁸⁰ In either case, while we cannot deny the crucial work of the abolitionists, it would be remiss not to acknowledge that racial prejudice and sexism, whether severe or subtle existed among them.

The Jocelyns and other abolitionists kept their focus during this period:

³⁷⁹ James O. Horton and Horton, Lois E. *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks 1700-1860*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 221. Prudence Crandall was prophetic in her early assessment of racial prejudice, "Racial prejudice was 'the strongest, if not the only chain that bound those heavy burdens on the wretched slaves. . . . Unless racial prejudice could in some way be destroyed, the antislavery crusade was not likely to succeed, for adherence to the idea of the Negro's inferiority, abolitionists discovered, had the effect of producing not ardent crusaders but, as one of them said, half-hearted antislavery men 'who would abolish slavery only in the abstract, and somewhere about the middle of the future.'" (Dillon, *The Abolitionists*, 68.)

³⁸⁰ Davis, *Leonard Bacon*, 77.

Perhaps many of the 'immediatists' privately conceded that implementation of such a plan [immediate emancipation] was not feasible and that what they wanted was an immediate commitment to emancipation through agitation, but their basic belief was that slavery violated the most sacred principles of a Christian civilization by inflicting the worst kind of injustice on human beings. The seeking of advantages at the expense of the weak and unfortunate had destroyed the nation's ideals and caused some people to question whether America itself could survive.³⁸¹

Despite these lapses, the abolitionists had the vision to capitalize on the Amistad affair as they came to the aid of the Africans. On short notice and through *ad hoc* planning, they helped others to see Africans without the preconceptions of slavery. They sought to dissociate black skin and African-ness from the prevailing caricatures of Africans and prejudices about American slaves. For the first time in their own cities, Americans were able to see and read black people in their own right without the preconceived notion of black men as slaves. This abolitionist vision of Africans as distinct from anti-black stereotypes was promulgated to help a white majority view black skin anew, to view black men as equals, and to recognize the possibility that Africans might be born again into Christianity.

This message was not lost on the Jocelyns. As members of the abolitionist vanguard, they embraced evangelical immediatism and were ardent critics of the American Colonization Society. Additionally, they were visionaries and pioneers in the formation of benevolent societies, church meetinghouses, and early and adult education in response to the needs of the black population. Especially noteworthy was their attempt to establish the first black college for higher education. Moreover, they were among the

³⁸¹ Jones, *Mutiny*, 32.

earliest citizens in Connecticut who were committed to neighborhood integration through innovative urban planning.

Yet, for all of Nathaniel's participation in these abolitionist activities, one remarkable achievement stands above all others. He was to revisit the immediatist strategy deployed in the Amistad case regarding color and transform it into a visual strategy. Nathaniel was destined to fully use his talent and skill in interpreting the unpainted canvas of blackness.

CHAPTER VII

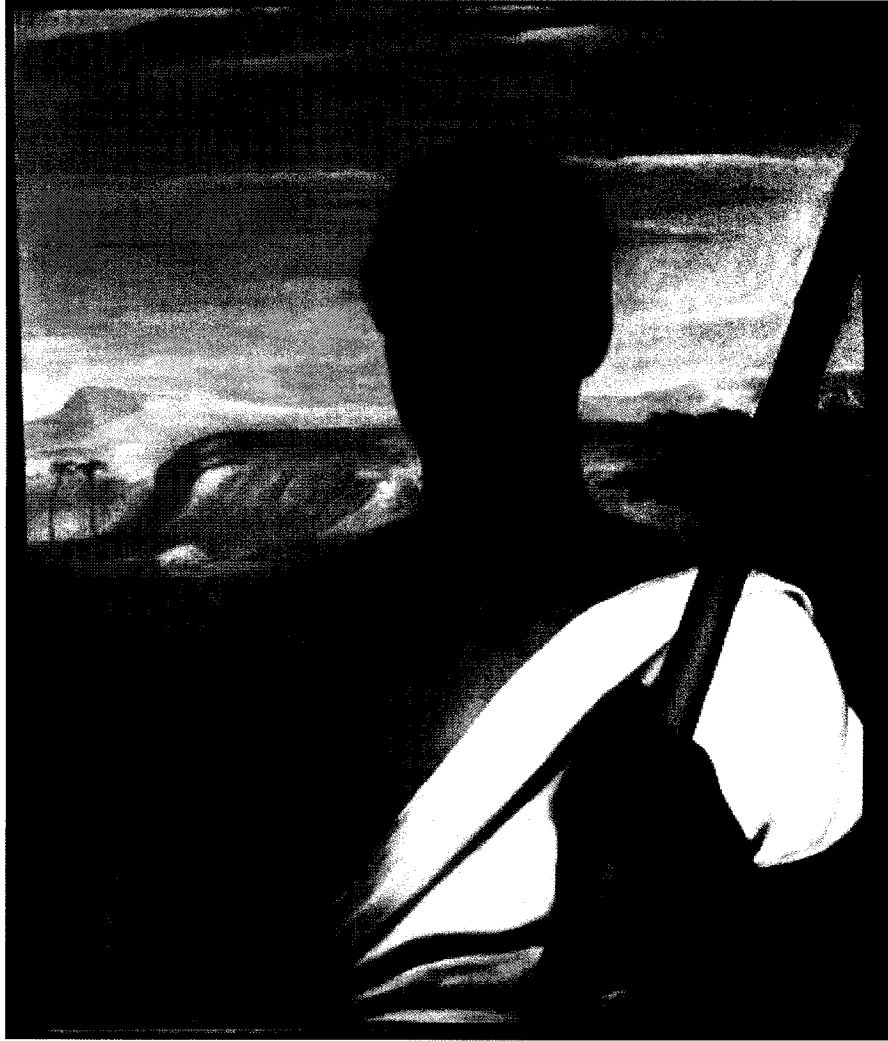
CINQUÉ: A HEROIC PORTRAIT FOR THE ABOLITIONIST CAUSE

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this chapter is Jocelyn's creation of the portrait of Cinqué (c.1813-1879), leader of the Amistad Rebellion of 1839 (fig.VII.1). This painting is the single most important nineteenth-century portrait of an African painted in the United States.³⁸² It became one of the most significant icons for the abolitionist movement. This visual image went beyond the written and spoken antislavery rhetoric. As noted in Chapter V, the American Anti-Slavery Society was formed in 1833 and the Jocelyn brothers were actively involved in the movement. The portrayal of Cinqué was the galvanizing event of Jocelyn's life. The portrait tested his artistic skills and presented him with an opportunity to link his role as an artist with his abolitionist and Christian beliefs. No other portrait in his oeuvre provided this possibility.

³⁸² The portrait is important because it breaks with the typical image of an African in America as a stereotypical degraded individual. In Stephen F. Eisenman, *Nineteenth Century Art: a Critical History* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), 164-5 the contrast is made between John Lewis Krimmel (1786-1821) and Jocelyn and their depiction of Africans. I argue that the case can be made for Jocelyn being the first artist in the U.S. to create a major work of art with a significant African subject depicted in a favorable or noble light. The American master-artist John Singleton Copley (1738-1815) produced an oil sketch, *Head of a Negro* (Detroit Institute of Arts) without stereotypical distortions as a study for *Watson and the Shark*. Also, John Trumbull's small oil sketch of *Lieutenant Grosvenor and his Negro Servant, Peter Salem*, 1785 (Yale University Art Gallery) is another example of a rendition of a black man that is unencumbered by prejudice. Both works were painted in London preliminary for their inclusion in a larger history painting and could not properly be called portraits of the subject.

FIGURE VII.1.



A DEVASTATING LOSS

The year 1839 was one of achievement and loss for Nathaniel Jocelyn. On February 12, 1839, prior to painting *Cinqué*, he suffered a major tragedy. His only son Isaac Plant Jocelyn, age six, became sick and died of consumption. Disease and illness claimed the lives of many of Jocelyn's friends, acquaintances and family members. Jocelyn family diaries frequently contained news of death from maladies such as consumption, scarlet fever, mumps, "lung fever," whooping cough, "brain fever," and inflammatory rheumatism.³⁸³ But this was the first death in his immediate family. Isaac's death was a tragedy for the whole family. He was the youngest child and the favorite of the Jocelyn daughters. Their diaries are filled with descriptions of his death and its aftermath.

Immediately after Isaac's death, Jocelyn spent several nights in his studio painting a portrait of him. The family kept Isaac's body for several days after his death so that Jocelyn could get an accurate depiction; Margaret wrote in her diary, "Pa commenced his picture the day after he died and thinks he will be able to get a good likeness (fig. VII.2)."³⁸⁴ Elizabeth noted, "George Durrie came to help father in painting [a] likeness in different position[s], as he had not time to do it himself."³⁸⁵ Margaret continues, "Mr. Merwin called one day before Isaac was buried and said it was a scene he

³⁸³ Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, n.p.

³⁸⁴ MPJ Diary, 12 February 1839.

³⁸⁵ EHJ Diary, 14 February 1839.

FIGURE VII.2.



had never witnessed before—a father painting his dead child.”³⁸⁶ While it was not entirely uncommon for portraitists to paint directly from the deceased sitter, the fact that it was Jocelyn’s son added to the intensity of the scene.³⁸⁷

Not only did Jocelyn complete a portrait of Isaac immediately after his death but he also had his friend Hezekiah Augur (1791-1858), a New Haven sculptor, create a cast of Isaac’s head and hands. Frances reflected, “As we were sitting at the tea table father brought in a cast of Isaac’s hands, which were very natural. In the evening father brought home a cast of Isaac’s head, which was quite natural when placed in one position.”³⁸⁸ Jocelyn’s daughters and wife were grateful for his ability to preserve Isaac’s image. Margaret remarked, “I am glad we are to have his picture for though now we recollect him perfectly we may not be able to recall his features and expression in after years.”³⁸⁹

In earlier eras, a mourning portrait miniature or a miniature allegorical piece without a likeness would have been the common choice for a memorial of the deceased. However, Jocelyn chose to paint a “living” portrait of his son—one that confronts the viewer with his sad direct gaze and a mournful down-turned mouth. Jocelyn accepted the death of his son perhaps as an opportunity or an example of how his religion could incorporate the entire range of human experience, and how, as one Congregational minister put it, “the will of the Lord be done! . . . O that we may have a due sense of the

³⁸⁶ MPJ Diary, 12 February 1839.

³⁸⁷ A famous example of a father painting his deceased child is Charles Willson Peale’s portrait of his wife and child, *Rachel Weeping*, (1772-1776) Philadelphia Museum of Art.

³⁸⁸ FMJ Diary, March 1839. 12-13.

³⁸⁹ MPJ Diary, March 1839.

Divine Mind concerning us!”³⁹⁰

Apparently, the painting fulfilled its intended purpose, for eleven years after Isaac’s death Frances reflected on him in her diary. On November 28, 1850 she wrote, “While taking dinner my eye rested upon the portrait of my dear little brother whose merry voice had in former Thanksgiving days mingled with ours but its music is now hushed and his little form laid in the grave.”³⁹¹

The death of Isaac was an overwhelming loss, and Jocelyn found it difficult to proceed with the daily affairs of traveling and painting. Margaret observed, “Pa is going tomorrow morning to New York—but he would prefer staying at home for the confusion of the bustle of that city will not harmonize with his melancholy feelings.”³⁹² It was less than a year after this devastating personal loss that Jocelyn, still in bereavement, embarked on what is probably his most notable achievement.

THE HEROIC PORTRAIT

Nathaniel’s role in developing a potent visual image of Cinqué was crucial to the abolitionist movement. The abolitionists needed the plight of the Amistad Africans to rally their cause, and the portrait became an especially pivotal element in the fight for immediate emancipation. Art Historian Ellwood Parry seems to have underestimated the

³⁹⁰ The Congregationalist Rev. Ebenezer Parkman (1703-1782) in response to the death of his child, as quoted in Robin Jaffee Frank, *Love and loss: American portrait and Mourning Miniatures* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 120.

³⁹¹ FMJ Diary, 28 November 1850.

³⁹² MPJ Diary, 13 March 1839.

significance of the Cinqué portrait when he writes:

Not until the famous *Amistad* affair in 1839—involving the shipboard rebellion of a ‘cargo of native Africans,’ led by Joseph Cinqué—were American Abolitionists presented with a blood-chilling, closer-to-home, mutiny-at-sea story that begged to be exploited in words and pictures for the antislavery cause. However the words were plentiful in propaganda pamphlets and even a play for the New York stage, the only major artwork resulting from the *Amistad* incident appears to have been the idealized portrait of Cinqué by Nathaniel Jocelyn. . . . No one attempted to turn the violent seizure of the Spanish sloop *Amistad* or the subsequent trial of the Black mutineers in New Haven into a history picture.³⁹³

As an immediatist, Jocelyn probably recognized an opportunity to fulfill the wishes expressed in his diary in 1821, to explore artistic possibilities beyond the realms of conventional portraiture, in history and landscape painting.

I speak of Portrait painting, not that fulmost [*sic*] inclined to that department but through this is the only hope I have of ever devoting myself to the art. Gladly, indeed would I yield myself up to Historic art or paint the seasons as they rise. This first prompted me, and I shall always study nature, as an historical painter, that should leisure or easy circumstances ever put it in my power I can turn to it with pleasure and with a mind stored with materials.³⁹⁴

Jocelyn and his fellow abolitionists William Lloyd Garrison and Robert Purvis, the black abolitionist who commissioned the portrait, recognized the impact Jocelyn’s art could have on the abolitionist movement. The presence of the Africans in New Haven and Jocelyn’s earlier study of European art provided him with both the circumstance and a “mind stored with materials” to utilize his artistic talent and expand his religious fervor

³⁹³ Ellwood Parry, *The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art 1590-1900* (New York: George Braziller, 1974), 75. Parry neglected to note Hewins’ *The Death of the Captain of the Amistad, Capt. Ferrer*, 1840.

³⁹⁴ NJ Diary, 31 January 1821.

into the arena of social reform.

Jocelyn's painting of Cinqué was not a typical didactic history painting, like Trumbull's *The Death of General Montgomery in the Attack on Quebec*, where a specific historical event was depicted.³⁹⁵ Rather it is an atypical portrait painting that contained elements of both history and landscape painting. The difficulty Jocelyn would have had in creating an Amistad history painting was twofold: First, the "history" of the African captives was yet to be completed. The outcome of their trial and their freedom or return to bondage was unknown. Second, the last thing the abolitionists wanted was to depict incensed Africans attacking Spanish sailors with machetes, gaining their freedom, and being turned loose on the streets of New Haven. I posit that since the portrait was to be completed before the end of the trial, its use was to influence the outcome of the trial in favor of the Africans and the abolitionist cause.

Jocelyn undertook a more a subtle position with his portrait of Cinqué. His image of Cinqué is one of dignity, strength and virility—a heroic leader, and not savage warrior. This portrait was brought into even sharper relief by contrasting it with another contemporary interpretation of the affair. In 1840, Amasa Hewins (1795-1855) rose to the bait of depicting the violence and gore of the mutiny. He exhibited a 135-foot wide canvas of *The Death of the Captain of the Amistad, Capt. Ferrer* (fig.VII.3).³⁹⁶ Hewins portrayed the captain and his crew being slain by the African captives. The panorama was displayed in various towns and cities and "heralded in local papers and received

³⁹⁵ Painted in 1786, Collection of Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.

³⁹⁶ There is a discrepancy as to the actual title of Hewins' mural and the wood engraving rendition, by John Warner Barber.

FIGURE VII.3.



unqualified praise from the hundreds who paid admission fees.”³⁹⁷ Anti-abolitionists and general audiences not ready for an honorable depiction of Cinqué seemed more inclined to favor an image of a stereotypical African as savage and brutal. Stereotypes such as Hewins’ dominated mainstream thought and in retrospect made Jocelyn’s portrait more radical for its time.

During this time, Jocelyn built a reputation within the immediatist abolitionist movement as the artist of choice to portray antislavery leaders such as William Lloyd Garrison, Jehudi Ashmun and James Armstrong Thome (1813-1873).³⁹⁸ Richard J. Powell describes the difference between an abolitionist portrait and a typical portrait of the Jacksonian era:

Unlike traditional portraiture, it was never intended to merely hang on the wall of someone’s home. Nor was it meant to hang in the hallowed halls of a government building, business establishment, or religious institution. Its original function was that of a weapon—a metaphorical weapon, but a weapon nonetheless.³⁹⁹

Furthermore, Powell makes the important point that the portraits of the abolitionist leaders were in and of themselves radical. “Their portraits, rather than functioning as markers of mainstream acceptance, glorified nonconformity, cultural and racial difference, and the willingness to take the high moral ground on social issues in the face

³⁹⁷ Eleanor Alexander, “A Portrait of Cinqué,” *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* v.49 no.1 (Winter 1984), 39.

³⁹⁸ Nathaniel’s brother Simeon made engravings from Nathaniel’s abolitionist portraits and they were used as fund raising tools for the cause. Also, Garrison’s portrait was auctioned to raise funds for the American Anti-slavery Society. The 1840 Thome portrait is attributed to Jocelyn. There is no known engraving of the portrait. (National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC).

³⁹⁹ Richard J. Powell, “Cinqué: Antislavery Portraiture and Patronage in Jacksonian America,” *American Art* v.11, no.3 (Fall 1997): 68.

of widespread injustice and complacency.”⁴⁰⁰ The strength and influence of an abolitionist portrait was recognized by Calvin Colton in his book opposing the American Anti-Slavery Society. He states, “We charitably believe, that for the most part, their [the general Society member] benevolent sympathies have been worked upon by the exaggerated statements and *high colored pictures* [emphasis added] of more artful, of ambitious, and less innocent men. . . .”⁴⁰¹

THE PORTRAIT COMMISSION

There are limited facts relating to the commission of the portrait. It is known that Robert Purvis, a wealthy black abolitionist from Philadelphia, by his own statement as quoted in “A Priceless Picture,” (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 26 December 1889) paid 260 dollars for the painting. The decision to commission Jocelyn to paint Cinqué most likely stems from Purvis’s relationship with Garrison. Purvis was deeply involved financially and emotionally with several antislavery organizations, locally in Philadelphia and nationwide and “helped launch Garrison’s *Liberator*.”⁴⁰² Jocelyn was a logical choice for the commission. He was an abolitionist artist with proximity to the captives in New

⁴⁰⁰ Powell, “Cinqué,” 49, 50. Other artists who painted abolitionist leaders include: Francis Alexander, Robert Douglass, Jr., Robert Duncanson, and Patrick Reason. Abolitionist subjects include among others: Lydia Maria Child, Prudence Crandall, Lucretia Mott, [James Armstrong Thome] and Wendell Phillips. Persons of color represented in painted portraits or graphic representations include among others: Martin R. Delany, Fredrick Douglass, Henry Highland Garnett, Charles Lenox Remond, Freeman Cary, as well as Haitian political leaders, Jean Pierre Boyer, and Fabre Geffrard.

⁴⁰¹ Calvin Colton, *Abolition a Seditious* (Philadelphia: Geo. W. Donohue, 1839) reprint (New York: AMS Press. Inc., 1973), 34.

⁴⁰² Powell, “Cinqué,” 59.

Haven. He and his brother Simeon were friends of Garrison. Simeon together with Lewis Tappan and Joshua Leavitt founded the Amistad Committee established to free the Amistad Captives and return them to Africa.

There is scant data relating to the commission or the exact date of the completed portrait. There is only one direct reference that ties Cinqué to the Jocelyn family during the period in which Cinqué was sitting for Nathaniel. Sarah, Jocelyn's nineteen year old daughter, in a fleeting casual mention, wrote: "Frances Bushly has been spending the afternoon with [. . .] I sent Mr. Nally [,] *when we went for the purpose of carrying Cinquez the prisoner to his quarters* [,] to invite Mr. Penderson [Lemuel, an engraver] to spend the evening with us—he came at a very late hour. . . ." ⁴⁰³ [emphasis added] This brief sentence fragment by Sarah Jocelyn implies a casual carriage or cart ride from her father's studio without the jailer, Colonel Stanton Pendleton. If she were not returning Cinqué from her father's painting studio to the New Haven jail, why else would she be involved with the most famous of the African captives?

The only other source that some writers have seen as a reference to the portrait sitting by Cinqué is a cryptic notice published in the *New Haven Daily Herald* on August 12, 13 and 14, 1839 by Jocelyn, which reads:

The subscriber wishing when in town to be uninterruptedly engaged in the practice of his profession, during the hours from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M. and from 5 to 6 P.M. would feel greatly obliged if persons having other business with him, would call at other hours of the day. Nath'l Jocelyn.

Foster Wild Rice mentions this notice as evidence of the portrait sitting with Cinqué.

However, the dates of the notice are too early to be linked with the Amistad affair. The

⁴⁰³ SAJ Diary, December 15, 1840, CHS.

US Navy did not seize the vessel *Amistad* until August 26, 1839, and the Africans were not brought to New Haven until September 1, 1839. Alexander also refutes the citation based on improbable dates and dismisses the newspaper notice as another example of “the instantaneous Cinqué artifacts” that surrounded the story of the captives.

Secrecy in the studio was not new to Jocelyn. He had experience painting high profile subjects, even those with existing writs for their arrest. When Jocelyn painted Garrison’s portrait in April 1833, Garrison was en route to New York from New Haven and then to depart for Liverpool, England (fig.VII.4). There were warrants for his arrest and threats from anti-abolitionists who wanted to prevent his voyage and the propagation of the antislavery message.⁴⁰⁴ As a security provision for Garrison’s studio sitting, Jocelyn had provided a special rear exit room and according to Heinz, also had a “guard posted” at the studio door.⁴⁰⁵

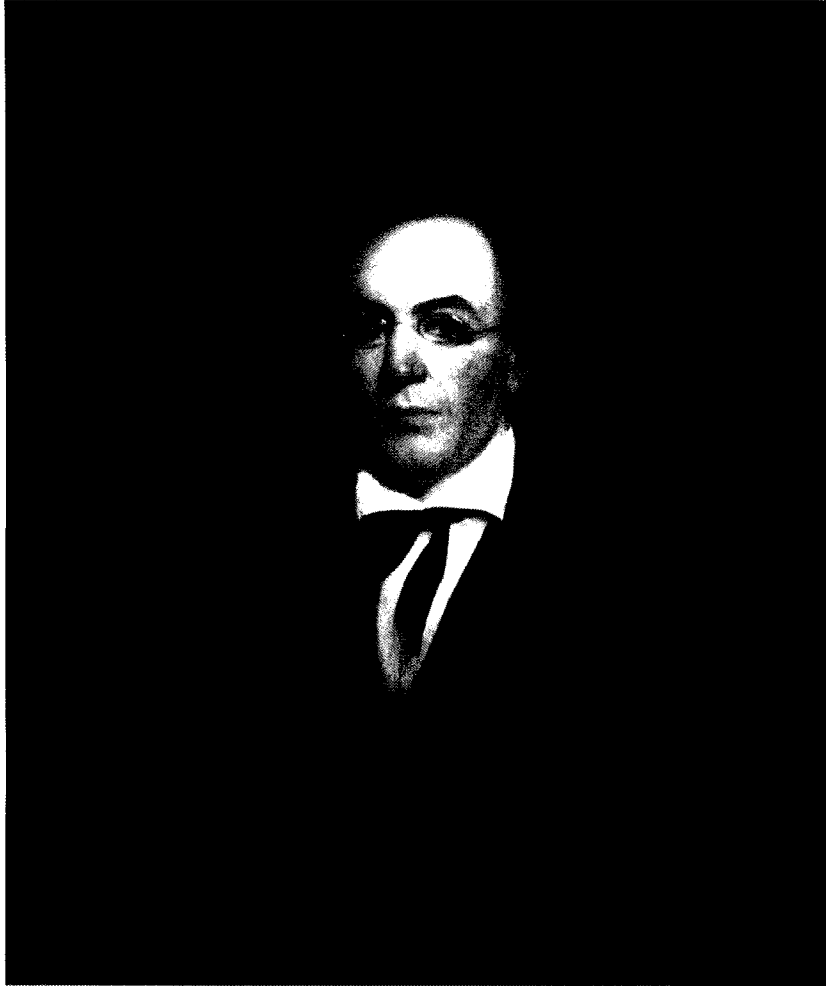
The notice in August 1839, six years after the Garrison sitting, carries the same overtones of secrecy designed for a special sitter. Since the precautions enumerated in the notice were too early for Cinqué, for whom might they have been intended? The answer may be found in the new attribution of a portrait of James Armstrong Thome (1813[?]-1873) to Jocelyn.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰⁴ Walter M. Merrill, ed. *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), Volume I. 224; “I was immediately told that the enemies of the abolition cause had formed a conspiracy to seize my body by legal writs on some false pretences, with the sole intention to convey me South, and deliver me up to the authorities of Georgia,—or, in other words, to abduct and destroy me.” (Letter to Harriet Minot, Philadelphia, April 22, 1833.)

⁴⁰⁵ Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 39.

⁴⁰⁶ Collection of the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

FIGURE VII.4.



The National Portrait Gallery's description of the Thome portrait suggests why Jocelyn wanted few visitors. Thome, Kentucky-born, was a traveling agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society. In 1837, at the bidding of Garrison and Theodore Dwight Weld,

Thome and a companion, Horace Kimball, were conducting a study for the society on the results of slave emancipation in the British West Indies. In the report on this trip, *Emancipation in the West Indies*, Thome and Kimball offered evidence that firmly refuted the prevailing belief among abolitionists that slavery could only be eliminated gradually because most slaves would need to be prepared for life in freedom. As a result, the American Anti-Slavery Society shifted from its advocacy of gradual emancipation to a demand for unconditional freedom without delay [Jocelyn's immediatist position].

In late 1839, Thome fled Ohio, where he was teaching, to avoid arrest for assisting a runaway Kentucky slave in his escape to freedom. He sought refuge in Fairfield, Connecticut.⁴⁰⁷

Therefore, Jocelyn's mysterious advertisement for privacy may well have been written to allow him to paint the portrait of Thome as he was fleeing from warrants for his arrest. (fig.VII.5). In August 1839, approximately twelve days after the advertisement was placed in the *New Haven Daily Herald*, the *Amistad* was seized in Long Island Sound. On September first, the *Amistad* captives were brought to New Haven.

Jocelyn may have started Thome's portrait only to be interrupted by the *Amistad* news and a major artistic event, the use of his "rooms" for the exhibition of Thomas Sully's full-length portrait of Queen Victoria (fig.VII.6.). The *Queen* was on exhibition from at least September 26 to October 1, 1839. Elizabeth writes, "In the evening, Fran accompanied Sarah, and F. [Frances] Bulkley to Father's room, as the full length portrait

⁴⁰⁷ Collection of the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC., http://www.civilwar.si.edu/slavery_thome.html#

FIGURE VII.5.

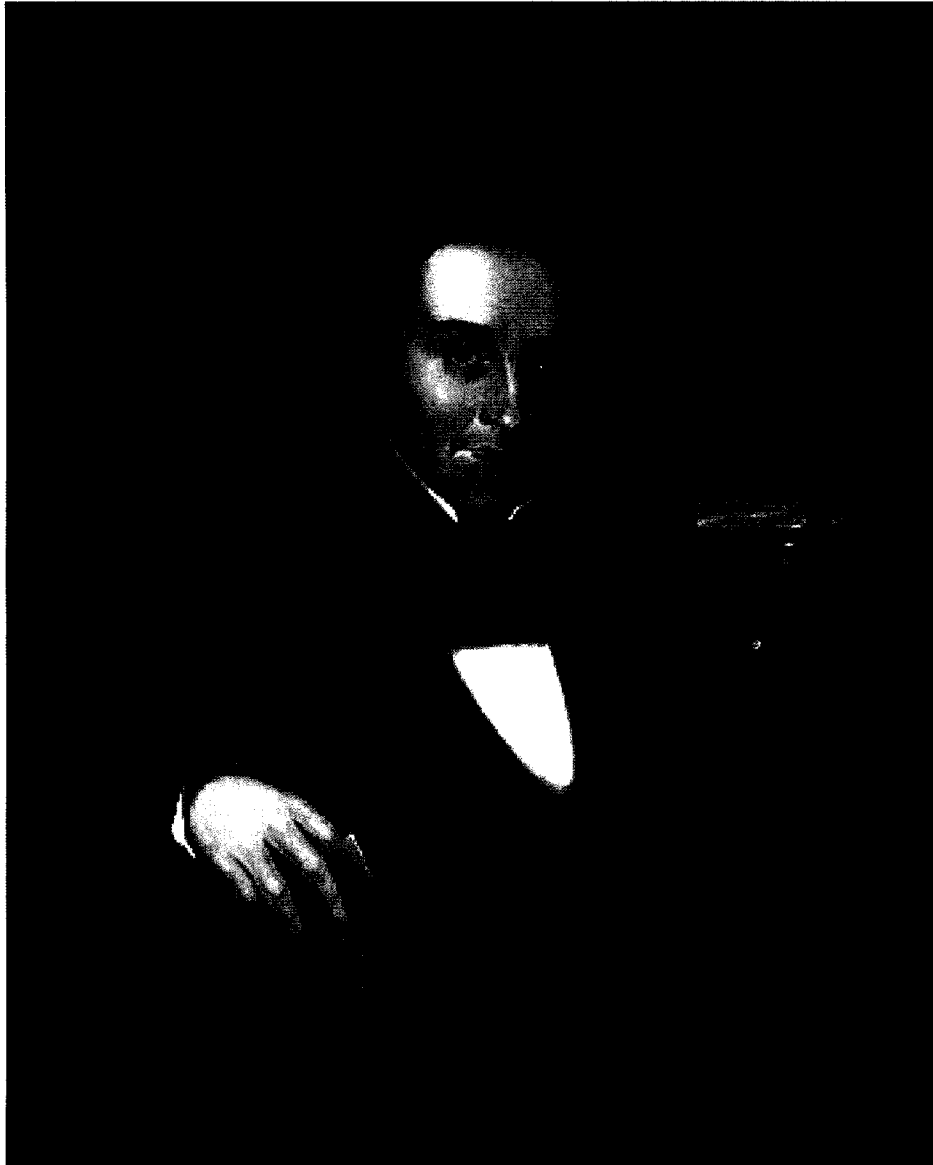
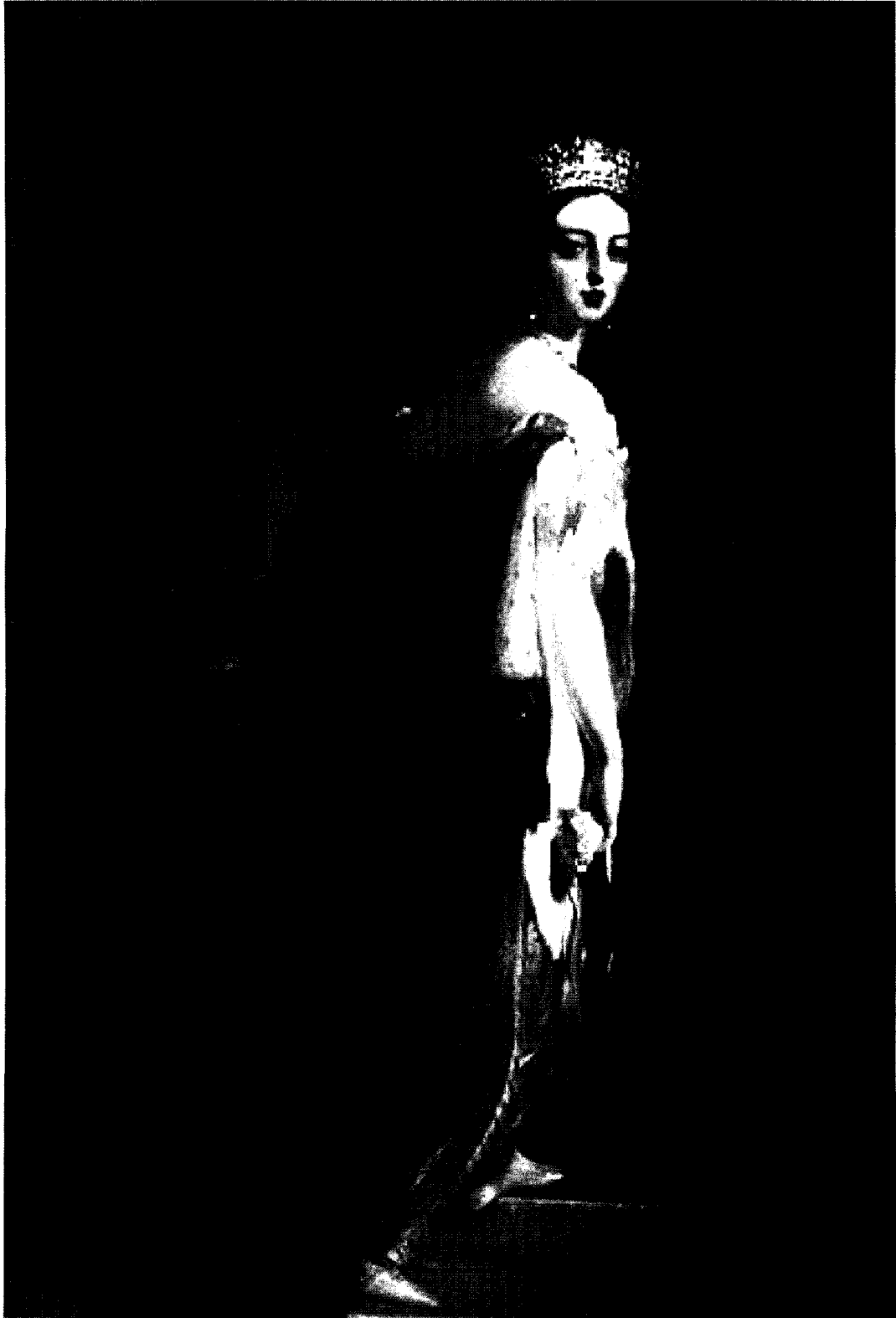


FIGURE VII.6.



of Queen Victoria has arrived there for exhibition. Mother saw it while in New York.”⁴⁰⁸

On 4 September 1839, three days after the captives arrived in New Haven, the New York Amistad Committee was formed. At some point between October 1839 and early 1840, the portrait of Cinqué was commissioned and in progress. The first evidence that the portrait was in progress is a letter of March 1840 from Lewis Tappan to his brother Arthur that expressed a “need for a graphic replication of the portrait.”⁴⁰⁹

The painting of the Cinqué portrait must have been a gradual process, because Jocelyn continued to honor previous portrait commitments. For example, in December 1839 he started the portraits of Mr. William Jehiel Forbes (1794-1839) and his wife Charlotte A. R. Forbes (1798-1886). On 18 December 1839, Frances Jocelyn stated in her diary, “Mr. Forbes, who was taken sick, died this morn. Father is taking his likeness.”⁴¹⁰ Jocelyn completed the post-mortem portrait and that of Mrs. Forbes in early 1840.

There is no mention of any other portraits in progress or completed during 1840 and only *Cinqué* was alluded to by Tappan in March 1840. Jocelyn did receive visitors during this period. On July 22, Sarah Jocelyn stated, “Mr. Flagg and Mr. Allston of So. Carolina called this eve I do not admire either – both quite conceited.”⁴¹¹ However, her

⁴⁰⁸ EHJ Diary, 26 September 1839. Also, “Stopped at Father’s room and saw the British Queen. She is about five feet in height, and has a most beautiful complexion.” Oct. 1, 1839- “Went down to Father’s painting room to see the portrait of the Queen. It looked much more beautiful in the evening than in the day time.” (EHJ Diary, September. 27, 1839.)

⁴⁰⁹ Powell, “Cinqué,” 63.

⁴¹⁰ Rice, “Jocelyn,” 117.

⁴¹¹ SAJ Diary, 22 July 1840. “Flagg” was most likely Jared Bradley Flagg (1820-1899) brother of George Whiting Flagg (1816-1897) nephews of Allston. Jared wrote, *Life and Letters of Washington Allston*.

father would have considered it an honor to be paid a visit by Washington Allston.

Perhaps, Allston saw *Cinqué* in progress.⁴¹²

By November 1840, Nathaniel's family was involved with the Amistad case. Occasionally, the diarists made minor mention of the events surrounding the case, but generally, details were few. For example, on November 17, 1840 Sarah wrote, "Went down street this afternoon [,] mother and father have been to hear John Quincy Adams deliver a lecture."⁴¹³ Unfortunately, the subject of the lecture was unstated.

December of 1840 surfaces as the month *Cinqué* was completed. Three written items lead to that conclusion: the first, Sarah's aforementioned diary entry of December 15 when she referred to "carrying Cinquez the prisoner to his quarters." The second, on December 28, was a reference to "Cinqué's likeness" in a letter to Lewis Tappan by James B. Covey, a 20-year-old Mendian and the captives' Mendi language interpreter.⁴¹⁴ The third item was Frances's December 30 diary entry, "This noon Father started for Albany to paint Governor Seward's [portrait]."⁴¹⁵ It is unlikely that the conscientious Jocelyn would have embarked on another portrait commission before completing *Cinqué*, especially one to upstate New York, a significant distance from New Haven.

A flurry of activity surrounding the portrait took place in January and February 1841 just prior to the arguments before the Supreme Court petitioning for the captives'

⁴¹² Jocelyn and Allston shared a painterly technique, an aspect of *Cinqué* to be fully described in the section: Affinity with Allston.

⁴¹³ SAJ Diary, 17 November 1840.

⁴¹⁴ Powell, "Cinqué" 61.

⁴¹⁵ FMJ Diary, 30 December 1840. William Henry Seward was an abolitionist.

freedom. The portrait was publicly mentioned for the first time in the February 24, 1841 *Pennsylvania Freeman* printing of an article titled “Portrait of Cinque.” In the article was a reference to the engraving of the painting by John Sartain. Powell notes the “painting and engraving are most likely, then, deliberate—the product of a strategy designed to achieve a certain end.”⁴¹⁶ The decision by the Supreme Court to free the Africans was rendered on March 9, 1841.

By March 28, 1841, Sarah nonchalantly mentioned in what may be the most understated of all the diary entries, “Read several interesting arguments in the *Emancipator* and *Observer*. The slavery question is exciting much interest at present.”⁴¹⁷

AN EMBLEMATIC PORTRAIT

In New Haven, the unique convergence of the antislavery movement’s aims and the Amistad mutiny allowed Nathaniel to advance his own skills as a painter, while developing a more visible role as an abolitionist.⁴¹⁸ Jocelyn emerged from this confluence with his skillful depiction of Cinqué, a portrait that was too important for the Anti-

⁴¹⁶ Powell, “Cinqué” 62. Also, “As late as January 1841, letters were exchanged among the committee’s members that discussed the possibility of hiding the Africans and eventually transporting them to ‘a place of safety’ and ‘refuge’ from enslavement and likely death. Both Simeon and Nathaniel Jocelyn were allegedly part of these discussions about the scheme to escape with the Africans either just before or after the verdict.” (Powell, “Cinqué” 62.)

⁴¹⁷ SAJ Diary, 28 March 1841.

⁴¹⁸ See Chapter V for more details on the aims of the New Haven abolitionist movement and Jocelyn’s earlier role as an abolitionist.

Slavery Society to be engraved by Nathaniel's brother Simeon.⁴¹⁹ This crucial task was given to a more professional artist-engraver, the Philadelphian John Sartain (1808-1897).⁴²⁰

A close examination of the portrait will show that the painting was unique for Jocelyn and deviated significantly from his other portraits in several ways, including the sitter, his dress and pose, the overall coloring of the painting, and background treatment. Despite the fact that *Cinqué* was Jocelyn's only portrait of a black subject and required a new system of coloration for the painting of the flesh, the final product was a success. He depicted an African wearing a white garment and confidently holding a staff as a dignified man, not a slave. His head is held erect and turned to his right, Cinqué's eyes are fixed on a distant point, and he is posed in a radiant landscape.⁴²¹

⁴¹⁹ Although Heinz wrote that Simeon did an engraving of the portrait titled *The Black Prince* extant copies are unlocated.

⁴²⁰ By 1839, Simeon Smith Jocelyn devoted most of his time to preaching and Garrison, a friend of Purvis, did not think that the engraving Simeon rendered after Nathaniel's portrait of Garrison was very successful. After a second attempt at corrections, Garrison writes, "It is indeed an excellent engraving, but a most unfortunate caricature . . . all who have seen it pronounce it an utter failure." (William Lloyd Garrison, *The letters of William Lloyd Garrison*. Ed. Walter M. Merrill [Imprint Cambridge, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971-1981] v. 1, 338.)

⁴²¹ During this time period, it was common for well-known people such as Purvis to have their daguerreotypes taken (Powell. "Cinqué," 59). However, there are no known daguerreotypes of Cinqué. This reinforces my contention that only a vividly painted portrait can contain the metaphorical layers necessary to convey the complexity of the subject to be an effective abolitionist tool.

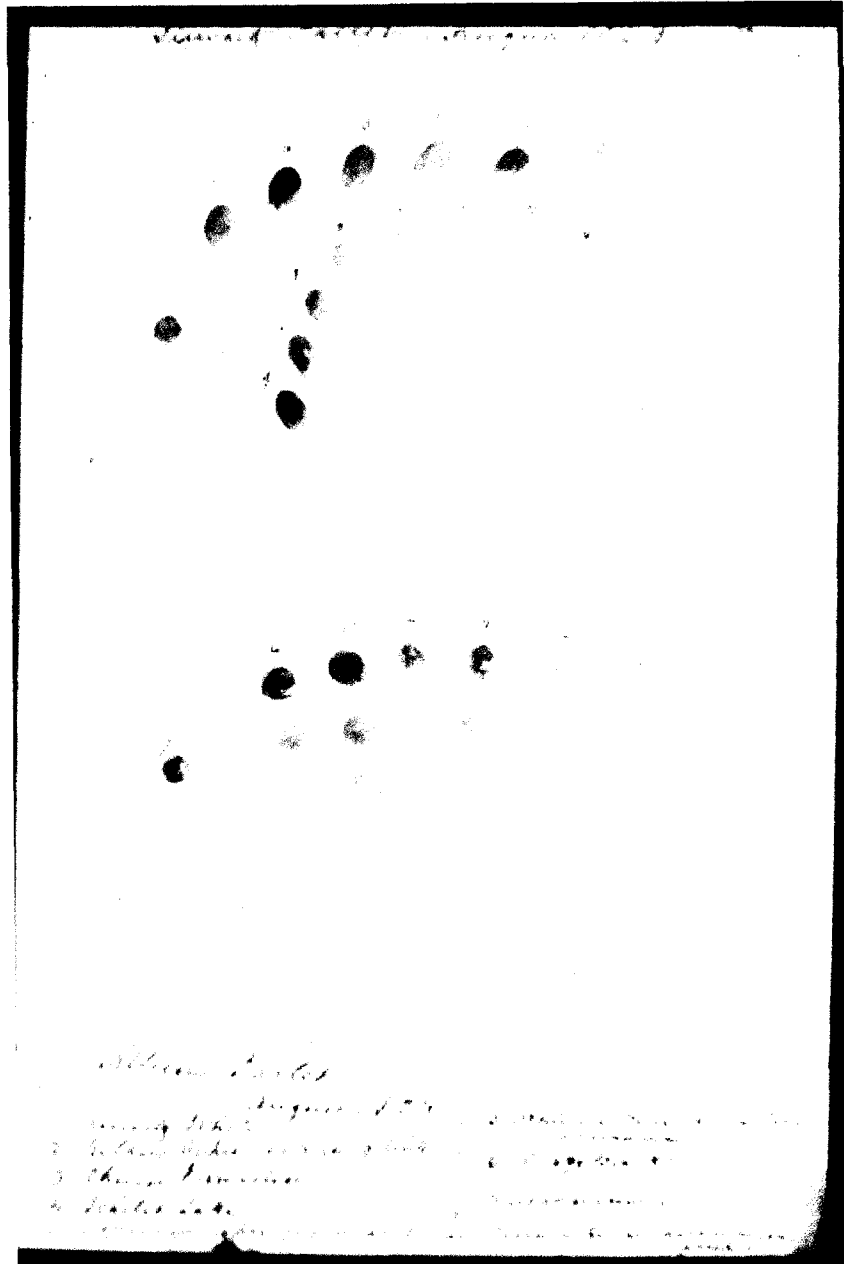
AFFINITY WITH ALLSTON

A series of influences contributed to this distinctive portrait. Jocelyn admired and respected his fellow American artist, Washington Allston. Jocelyn in his early development as a portrait painter studied the palettes of both Gilbert Stuart and Allston and concluded that “the materials in Allston’s palette [are] more ample than that of Stuart. As a general palette the colours on Allston’s appear to be more powerful (fig.VII.7).”⁴²² Clearly, the *Cinqué* portrait and other works by Jocelyn are more inspired by Allston in their coloration and technique than by Stuart. Allston’s influence on Jocelyn

⁴²² Jocelyn Diary, 9 February 1821 (occasional pagination, 24). Jocelyn’s comments about the two palettes were made prior to visiting Stuart’s studio August 1823 when Jocelyn painted the watercolor illustrated in fig.VII.7. His comments are based on his general observations of portraiture and experimentations with portrait coloration. In Savannah during the spring and summer of 1822, there are numerous mentions of altering his palette according to the results of his portrait efforts before he painted a watercolor rendition of Stuart’s palette after his visit to Stuart’s studio. For example, May 1822, “Since I use both Ver. [Vermilion] and Lt. Red on my pallet [*sic*] I think it best to mix the Lt. Red pure and add Ver. when I have occasion. The properties of the two colours will thus never be confounded. Think that a little lake with Ver. & Blk. which Stewart [*sic*] uses as a substitute for Ind. Red will make the imitation more complete—try it.” And July, 1822, “There are two ways of producing an effect of colours of a parallel scale of nature—[one using opaque colors] the other like Allston & Morse to paint with very bright colors as vermilion &c of a lighter tone than nature and then glaze it all down to its proper tone with a negative [a contrasting color]. This must effect harmony, and it is I conceive what Reynolds means by glazing down fine colours to a deep toned brightness.”

In fig.VI.7, note the clarity and simplicity in Allston’s palette (bottom). Both artists use the same basic colors (Yellow Ochre, Vermilion, Scarlet Lake, Antwerp Blue, Ivory Black and Asphaltum [brown]). Allston mixed more tints of the basic colors and fewer admixtures of these colors. Stuart utilized a second row of premixed colors in various tints and strengths to be used to obtain a variety of flesh colors. In his notes written on the watercolor of the palettes Jocelyn wrote, “Alstons [*sic*] pallet was different in its arrangement, but he said that Stewart’s was a very philosophical pallet, and that if he were to practice portrait painting, he did not know but he should adopt it—I “ (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University).

FIGURE VII.7.



is evident in Allston's well-known affinity for Titian's Venetian color and glazing technique. Jocelyn wrote, "I have painted with tints like Allston. By those changes I learn the nature & *power of colours* [emphasis added]." ⁴²³ As David Bjelajac stated, "like Leonardo, Titian, and others, Allston was a 'chemist' or alchemist, who applied mystical, quasi-scientific theories of color and light to painting." ⁴²⁴

Jocelyn's emblematic portrait of Cinqué contains religious connotations and imagery, complex iconography, historical references, and a political agenda. I begin with an investigation of the use of light in the painting. There are two sources of light. The first is the sunset behind the figure, and the second falls on Cinqué's face and upper torso and continues in a vertical line down the center of his body. Powell sees the glow on Cinqué's body as symbolic of "a divine intervention on his part." ⁴²⁵ I concur and believe the "glow" contributes to Jocelyn's intention to create an ethereal portrayal of the sitter.

Contributing to the ethereal pretense, Jocelyn departed from his other portraits, which directed the gaze of the sitter toward the viewer (fig. VII.8). Jocelyn applied a distracted gaze to Cinqué. The use of a direct gaze causes the sitter to appear more human and approachable while the distracted gaze makes the sitter seem unearthly and aloof. Cinqué's ethereal gaze places him on a different plane from the viewer, which elevates his stature and moves him into a symbolic realm.

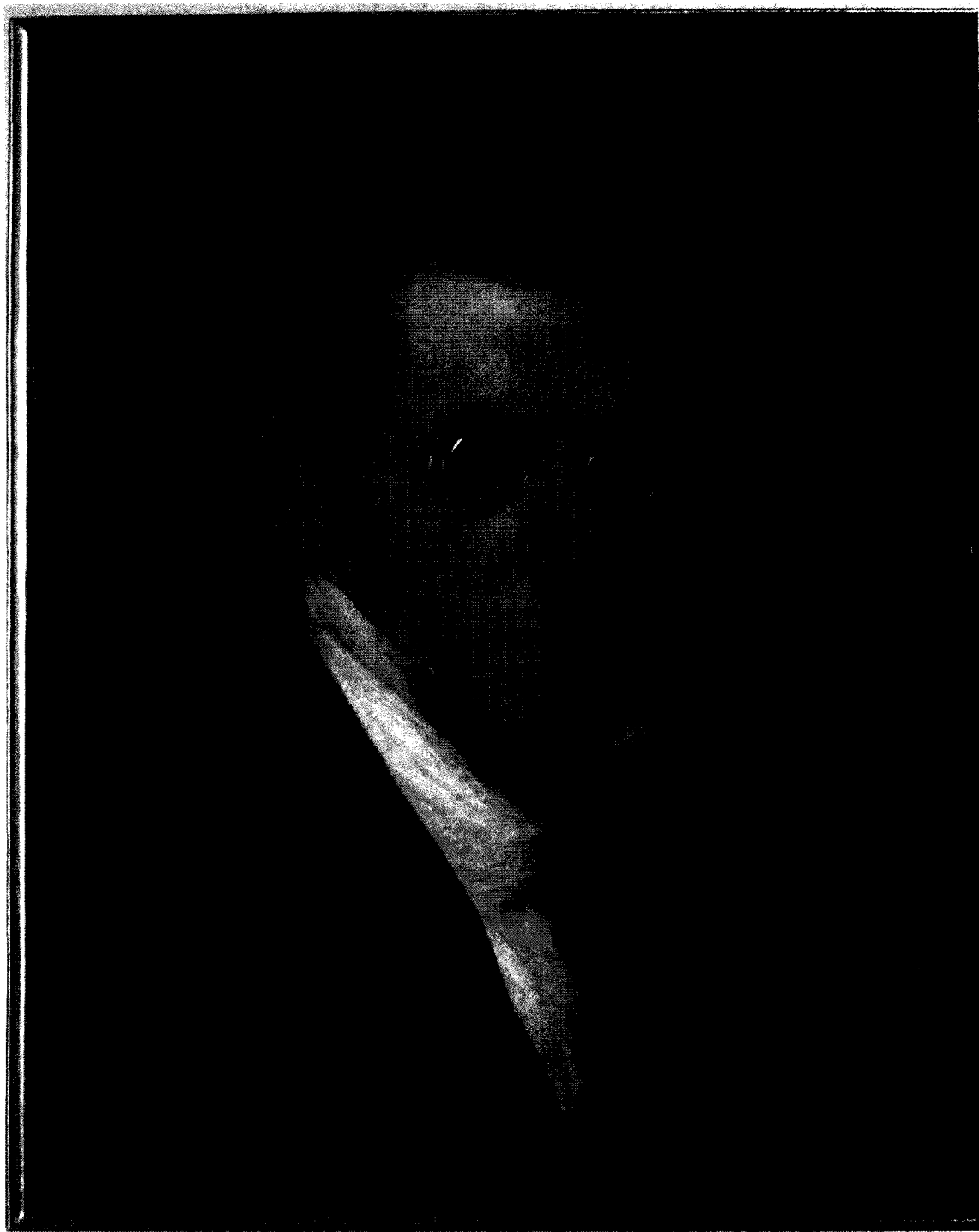
Amidst this presentation, Jocelyn displayed his skill at conveying Cinqué's human and spiritual qualities. I argue Jocelyn included in the portrait individualizing and

⁴²³ NJ Dairy, 14 March 1826.

⁴²⁴ David Bjelajac, *Washington Allston: Secret Societies and the Alchemy of Anglo-American Painting* (Cambridge and NYC: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 31.

⁴²⁵ Powell, "Cinqué," 54.

FIGURE VII.8.



humanizing details that personalize the sitter. For example, his large down turned eyes project kindness and his slightly parted mouth reveals a glimpse of a protruding front tooth.⁴²⁶ These small details reinforce the human quality of a specific man, Cinqué. Through them, the viewer senses this is not a “fancy piece” (entirely painted from the imagination) or a completely allegorical interpretation of the subject.

CINQUÉ AND URIEL

As noted in Chapter II, Jocelyn traveled to England in 1829. He arrived in Liverpool on June 14 and traveled to London by stagecoach. His route passed through Stafford, England, where Washington Allston’s English patron, George Granville Leveson-Gower (1758-1833), the second Marquis of Stafford, maintained his Trentham Hall estate. Jocelyn would have followed recommendations made by Morse regarding travel routes and important points of interest on the way to London. One such recommendation most likely required a stop at Stafford to see Allston’s *Uriel in the Sun*, purchased by the Marquis in 1818 (fig.VII.9).⁴²⁷ The Marquis was “a particular admirer of Titian . . . [and] owned an extensive collection of old master paintings. . . .”⁴²⁸ In

⁴²⁶ It was a prevalent custom on the West Coast of Africa for natives to extract, sharpen, and make one or more teeth protrude from the upper or lower jaw. He shared this physical characteristic with several of his fellow Mendian captives. According to a contemporary source, the object of this custom was to enhance their attraction to the opposite sex. See John W. Barber, *A History of the Amistad Captives* (New Haven: E. L. & J. W. Barber, 1840), 26.

⁴²⁷ *Uriel in the Sun*, (1817). Mugar Memorial Library. Collection, Boston University Libraries, Boston.

⁴²⁸ Bjelajac, *Washington Allston*, 94.

FIGURE VII.9.



painting *Uriel*, Allston acknowledged Titian's use of a dark figure against a light background (fig.VII.10).

The landscape behind the Cinqué is illuminated by a dramatic sunset and is made up of close and distant mountains. The portrait shows Cinqué's dark figure against a light background that "disrupts traditional portrait conventions" in which the portrait, usually of a Caucasian sitter, is contrasted with a dark background.⁴²⁹ This observation confirms Jocelyn's sophisticated treatment of the subject.

While there is no direct proof that Jocelyn saw *Uriel* in England, I posit that there are many interesting connections between *Cinqué* and *Uriel*; or at the least, a connection between Jocelyn's and Allston's treatment of a solitary figure in pictorial space. The following description of *Uriel's* gaze could be applied to Jocelyn's *Cinqué*:

[The gaze] is . . . absorbed or magnetized by an energizing source outside of himself [and is a balance of] light-dark, warm-cool relationships. The highest values of the heavily glazed painting are directly behind the figure, forming a rainbow-like arch of hues ranging from bright yellow to pinks, dark yellows and purples."⁴³⁰

And, like *Uriel*, Cinqué's figure is "silhouetted against the background light."⁴³¹

RELIGIOUS CONNOTATIONS AND IMAGERY

Jocelyn was not only influenced by Allston's and Titian's color and technique,

⁴²⁹ Powell, "Cinqué," 53.

⁴³⁰ Ibid., 94, 97.

⁴³¹ Ibid., 97.

FIGURE VII.10.



but by Titian's religious subject matter as well. Jocelyn's portrayal of Cinqué is informed by religious allusions and is an intentional association with Christ. Jocelyn seems to be referencing the well-known Christian image known as *Ecce Homo* for his subject.

Derived from John 19:4-7, the phrase "ecce homo" or "behold the man" was exclaimed by Pontius Pilate as he led Jesus before the crowd. The Roman soldiers had clothed Jesus as a mock king in a purple robe, a crown of thorns, and with a reed as a scepter. Jesus was presented to the crowd for judgment to be freed or condemned.⁴³²

Jocelyn had an opportunity to view original western images of the story of Christ during his trip to Europe with Morse, where perhaps Jocelyn was influenced by Italian *Ecce Homo* paintings.⁴³³ In Morse's letters there are numerous references to having seen various versions of *Ecce Homo* throughout their travels. Morse noted his purchase of a group of "loose prints" including Bellin[i]'s *Ecce Homo*.⁴³⁴ Additionally, in America, copies after the Italian Masters were a ready staple of exhibitions, such as the National Academy of Design and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. The annual exhibition records of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts listed multiple citations of various American artists' copies of Italian *Ecce Homo* paintings on exhibition.⁴³⁵ For

⁴³² Jocelyn noted that he read the Bible every day and he, at times in 1821, cited the book of John: "After breakfast repaired to my room . . . [and read] 10 chapters [from] John. . . ." (Jocelyn Diary, 6 February 1821.)

⁴³³ Other renditions of *Ecce Homo* by: Guido Reni, Correggio, Durer, L.C. Cigoli, F. Albani, VanDyke, and Rembrandt among others.

⁴³⁴ Samuel F.B. Morse, *Samuel Finley Breese Morse Papers* (Library of Congress; Washington D.C.: 1996, Microfilm), box 60, reel 33, 13 February 1831, #98102. Contents: List of Articles sent in a box to America from Italy.

⁴³⁵ Peter Hastings Falk ed., *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts 1807-1870* (Greenwich, CT.: Sound View Press, 1988), 180.

example, copies after Guido Reni were exhibited among others such as: Charles R. Leslie, *Head of Our Saviour*, 1823; Hugh Bridport, a miniature of *Christ Crowned with Thorns*, 1829; Edwin H. Darley, *Ecce Homo*, 1828; and unnamed artist, *Head of Christ*, 1835. Therefore, even if Jocelyn did not see these specific works it is clear that audiences and other artists were familiar with *Ecce Homo* depictions of Christ.

The portrait of Cinqué has the most resonance with Titian's *Ecce Homo* (fig.VII.11). There are several variations on this theme by or ascribed to Titian. Jocelyn's *Cinqué* wears a garment that crosses his shoulder, with a side of his torso exposed and a staff grasped in his hand, both of which are iconographical attributes usually associated with *Ecce Homo* depictions of Christ. *Cinqué* does not, however, bear a crown of thorns or a purple or red colored robe.

The white cloth garment that Cinqué dons in the portrait is in contrast to the standard nineteenth-century men's clothing the captives wore during the trial and while they were in jail.⁴³⁶ In the painting, Jocelyn combines traditional African dress for adult men with the robe depicted in representations of Christ. Jocelyn is recalling Cinqué's heritage and his relationship to Christ's image.⁴³⁷

The portrait and Sartain's engraving of it were coordinated to be released prior to the Supreme Court's March 9, 1841 decision to free or enslave the Africans and intended

⁴³⁶ Barber, *The History of the Amistad Captives*, 17.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*, 25. "The man throws one end of his blanket (as it may perhaps be called) *over* the left shoulder *forward*, the other end is brought around under his right arm and thrown backward over the same shoulder, leaving the right shoulder and arm uncovered. The cloth thus used, being three or four feet wide and two or three yards long, reaches nearly to their feet, and, with the exception just mentioned, envelops the whole person." (Barber, *The History of the Amistad Captives*, 25.)

FIGURE VII.11.



to sway popular support in favor of freeing the Captives. Like the message behind Titian's painting *Ecce Homo*, Cinqué was awaiting a verdict that would determine his destiny.

COMPLEX ICONOGRAPHY

The rare inclusion of a landscape in Jocelyn's portrait served to imbue the painting with emblematic clues to fortify his interpretation of the subject.⁴³⁸ Behind Cinqué is a vibrant sky, jagged deep gray clouds intersecting and contrasting with a brilliant red-orange sunset on the horizon. There are atmospheric blue hills in the far distance and a spalling red-faced sloping rock or hill in the middle distance. At the foot of the hill in the middle distance, there are two rocks, one large and one small, and slightly behind them and at the foot of the hill are two palm trees. Other leafy green trees frame Cinqué.

The background of the *Cinqué* portrait has been formally described, but not thoroughly interpreted by previous scholars. Alexander describes the background of the portrait as a contrived element of the painting. Yet while landscapes are seldom seen in Jocelyn's works, it is wrong to assume that the scenic background was entirely "artificially executed, [and] was not painted from observation or personal knowledge." If indeed Jocelyn was attempting to identify the homeland "for which Cinqué yearned," it is understandable that the background may seem contrived.⁴³⁹

⁴³⁸ Other Jocelyn paintings with landscapes include: *Moseley Isaac Danforth* (1829), *James A. Thome* (1840), *Ocean Breezes* (1872-1873) and *Ithiel Town* (1874).

⁴³⁹ Alexander, "Cinque," 44.

It is difficult to ascertain whether or not Jocelyn knew what Sierra Leone, the Mendi homeland, looked like.⁴⁴⁰ A British traveler writing in 1836 described approaching Sierra Leone by sea as “a low shore, where the heaped-up mountains . . . rise like pyramids in the desert (fig.VII.12).”⁴⁴¹ Clearly, this is not how the mountains are depicted in the *Cinqué* portrait. The landscape behind Cinqué is a reference to a location closer to the artist’s home, New Haven, Connecticut—the site of the trial.

In *Cinqué*, there are two palm trees in the distance. The palm trees, clearly not indigenous to New England, are fictitious elements in the painting. Therefore, why include these two trees? One explanation is to connect Cinqué with his homeland, in which palm trees are native. Despite the myriad interpretations and the possible meanings of the palms, I contend their relationship to Christian symbolism seems to be one of the most plausible reasons for their inclusion in the background.⁴⁴²

There are also two trees that surround the sitter that I identified as elm trees based on their shape, size, and the region. The leaf of the elm has been described as “elliptical and pointed with prominent veins and asymmetrical bases (fig.VII.13).”⁴⁴³ Elms are large trees with arching limbs making them perfect trees for shade during the summer and

⁴⁴⁰ Alexander, “Cinque,” 44. Alexander asserts that Jocelyn was aware of illustrations from a current [nineteenthcentury] geography book by Richard Lander’s, *Travels in Africa*.

⁴⁴¹ Rankin F. Harrison, *The White Man’s Grave: A Visit to Sierra Leone in 1834* 2 vols. (London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, 1836),1: 24.

⁴⁴² Generally, the palm tree in Christianity is a symbol of peace through authority, permanence, grace and elegance. Psalm 92:12 “The righteous shall flourish like the palm tree.”

⁴⁴³ G. Sternberg and Jim Wilson, “American Elm,” *Landscaping with Native Trees* (1995): 250.

FIGURE VII.12.



FIGURE VII.13.



beautiful trees to line city streets. The elm is an adaptable tree, which became popular in Connecticut in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century. A visitor to New Haven in 1849 noted: “‘New Haven . . . owes its principal charm . . . to the exceeding profusion of its stately elms. From the trees it is called the ‘City of Elms (fig.VII.14).’”⁴⁴⁴ In 1839, while on an outing, Margaret Jocelyn describes the stunning New Haven scenery:

Lilacs, wild roses, cedars and Barbary bushes. . . Houses of the city rose from among the elms. On the western side of the valley was West-Rock [,] reared its towering head. Never had I seen it look so beautiful. The sun shone clearly upon it in some places while in others the clouds as they flitted by cast their dark shadows up on its precipitom [precipice] side giving it a wilder and more romantic appearance.⁴⁴⁵

Jocelyn established a regional reference to New Haven by including elm trees and a landscape familiar to his family and other residents of New Haven. In order to effectively promote this painting as antislavery propaganda, Jocelyn employed strategically placed elements to link together Christian symbolism and a local freedom theme.

HISTORICAL REFERENCES

I contend that the prominent hill behind Cinqué looks noticeably like West Rock. In New Haven, East and West Rock are outcroppings that were and remain tourist attractions with historical implications. They are considered major Connecticut

⁴⁴⁴ Lady Emmeline Stuart Wortley (New York 1851) from George Dudley Seymour, *New Haven* (New Haven: privately printed for the author 1942), 78.

⁴⁴⁵ MPJ Diary, 4 May 1839.

FIGURE VII.14.



Drawn by J.W. Barber. Engraved by A. Willard.

EASTERN VIEW OF THE PUBLIC SQUARE OF GREEN IN NEW HAVEN CT

landmarks and symbols of the American past that evoke a sense of regional pride (fig. VII.15). Jocelyn recognized that for the people of Connecticut, West Rock had special meaning and “the associations with [it] were regionally specific.”⁴⁴⁶ Located on the periphery of New Haven, West Rock is the more famous of the two sites. Notable for its distinctive physical beauty and grandeur as well as its West Rock’s important historical significance, West Rock appears in many nineteenth-century paintings.

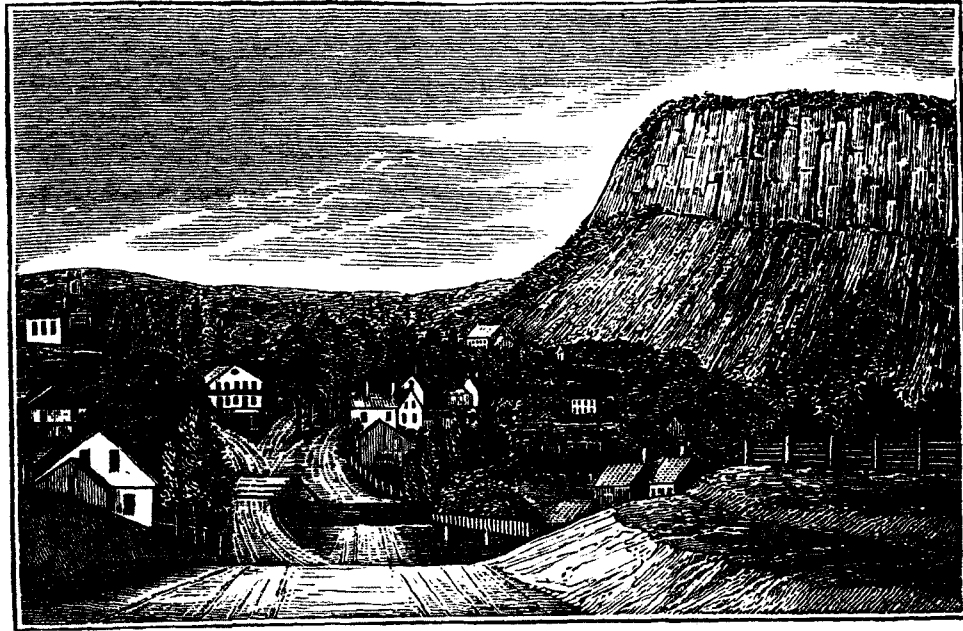
In 1825, Morse painted a southeast view of West Rock with a radiant sunset capped by darkened clouds as a background for his portrait of Yale Professor Benjamin Silliman (fig. VII.16). The portrait was painted in New York and brought to New Haven. Undoubtedly, Jocelyn was familiar with this major work by his friend. Morse utilized West Rock to place Silliman at Yale in New Haven. Scholar William Kloss mentions an additional reference imbued in West Rock that is relevant to Silliman; that is a reference to Silliman as a man of science, particularly geology, and the author of an 1805 article specifically on the geology of West Rock.⁴⁴⁷

I posit that Jocelyn, not having employed a sunset landscape in previous portraits, was influenced by the background sunset landscape of Morse’s portrait of Silliman for the background of Cinqué. However, there are a few significant differences between the two depictions of West Rock. Jocelyn’s West Rock does not reference the geological makeup of the Rock. It was painted in less detail than Morse’s, to allow for a more subtle reference to the actual Rock and to permit a layered interpretation of the site and its relation to the sitter. Jocelyn’s interpretation of West Rock (along with the distant blue

⁴⁴⁶ Angela Miller, *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825-1875* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1993), 104.

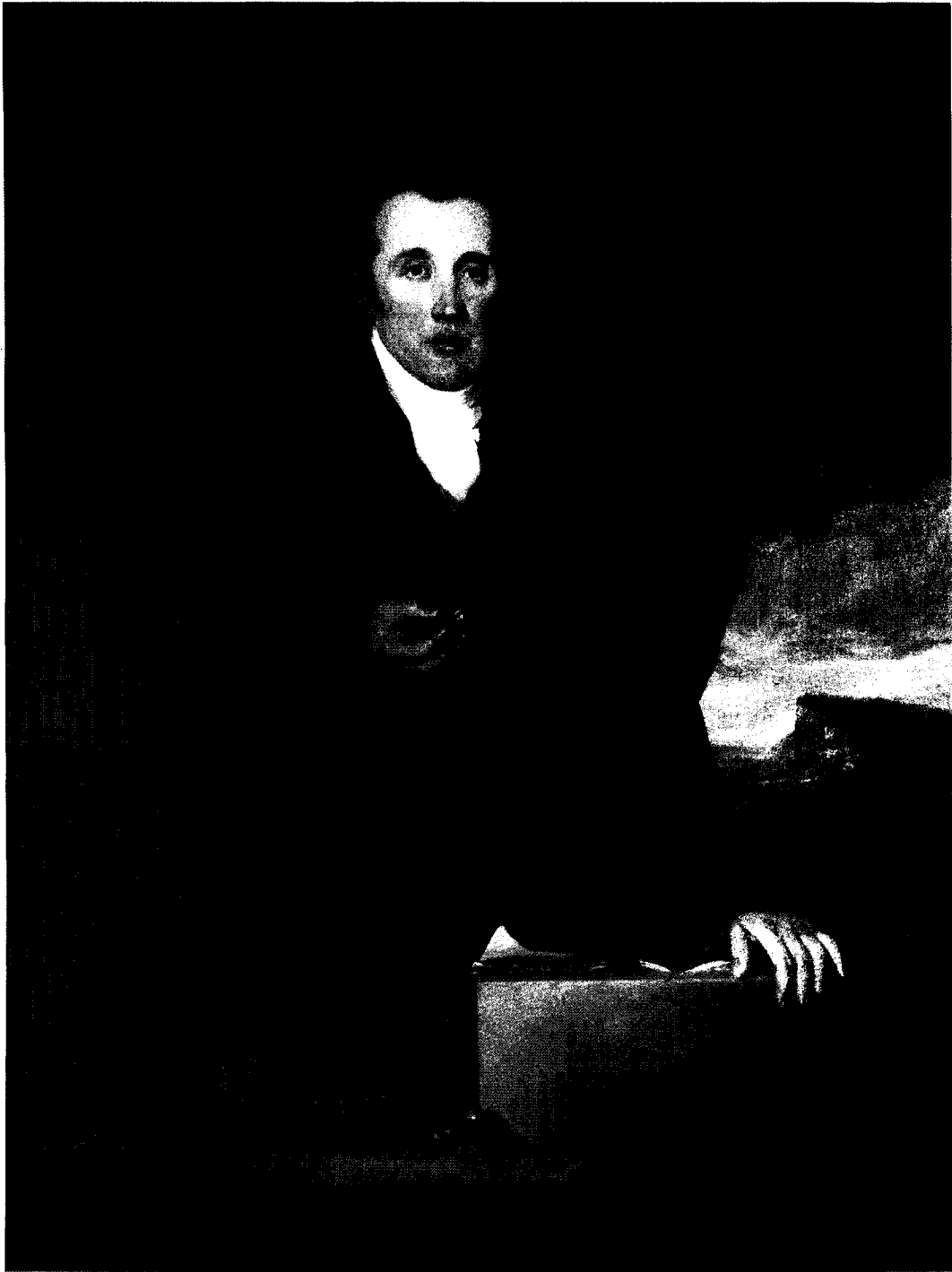
⁴⁴⁷ William Kloss, *Samuel F. B. Morse* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1998), 96.

FIGURE VII.15.



Southeastern view of West Rock and Westville.

FIGURE VII.16.



rolling mountains north of it) (fig.VII.17) included the New Haven location in a manner that vaguely references an exotic land and the theme of freedom for the persecuted.

Jocelyn's sunset for Cinqué, appropriated from Morse, recalls a meaning reflected earlier in the century by Charles Willson Peale. In an August 1818 letter to his son Rembrandt, the senior Peale offers his interpretation of the sunset that he added to his portrait of his son: "In the horizon a brig theng [brightening] up emblematical that the evening of your days will be brighter than on former times."⁴⁴⁸

Not far along the ridge of this red cliff is an outcropping of rocks created by upheaval of the earth's crust and glacier movement. These rocks lean on one another and form an inner space, which became known, as Judges Cave. In the painting there are two rocks, prominently featured in the middle ground next to two palm trees. This rock formation resembles and represents the actual rock configuration that constitutes Judges Cave (fig.VII.18). Jocelyn took painterly liberties in his placement of the two rocks, by situating them at the base of West Rock rather than on the ridge, where the cave is actually located. In doing so, he avoided distracting the viewer from Cinqué's face. This placement also serves to isolate the rocks as a distinct compositional element.

The natural position of the rocks offered a discrete hiding place for two seventeenth-century regicides, Colonel Edward Whalley (c.1615-c.1675) and his son in law, Colonel William Goffe (d.1680). Both men were Cromwellian army officers and judicial members of the high court of justice.⁴⁴⁹

⁴⁴⁸ Miller, *Selected Papers of C. W. P.*, 3:598.

⁴⁴⁹ Rollin G. Osterweis, *Three Centuries of New Haven 1638-1938* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1964), 55.

FIGURE VII.17.



FIGURE VII.18.



Edward Whalley was the second son of Richard Whalley by his second wife Francis Cromwell, aunt of Oliver Cromwell. Whalley fought with distinction in Cromwell's Great Rebellion, the civil war that erupted to depose the controlling ruler Charles I, King of Great Britain and Ireland 1625-1649. Whalley fought for Christian liberty in an attempt to create a Christian commonwealth to depose Charles I. Cromwellians believed in a Christian sense of liberty and a pure church.

Charles I was captured and remanded to Whalley's custody. After the second Civil War (1648), Charles I was brought to trial and Whalley, Goffe and John Dixwell (c.1607-c.1689) served on the high court that sentenced the king to death. Charles I was executed in 1649.⁴⁵⁰ Eleven years after the death of Charles I and the restoration of the crown, the regicides feared retribution from Charles II, successor to the throne. Dixwell fled to Germany and arrived in America in 1664-1665, while Whalley and Goffe sought immediate refuge in Boston.

In 1660 when Charles II took the throne, he sought vengeance for his father's conviction and organized a search for Whalley and Goffe in Boston. The same townspeople who had been so kind to and supportive of the regicides upon their initial arrival in Boston became less cordial when presented with warrants from the King's officers. On February 26, 1661, Whalley and Goffe departed from Cambridge and headed to Connecticut. Still in pursuit of the regicides, the Royal officers traced them to New Haven. Upon arrival, the officers received no assistance from New Haven residents regarding the whereabouts of the two men. "Fuming with impatience, the officers were forced to attend services and hear the Reverend John Davenport preach a most

⁴⁵⁰ *Encyclopedia Britannica Inc.*, 1966, n.v. "Edward Whalley."

exasperating sermon. 'Hide the Outcasts,' the pastor read from the Scriptures, 'and betray not him that wandereth.'" In addition to the sermons, the officers were not allowed to investigate privately, and the Governor read their warrants in public.⁴⁵¹

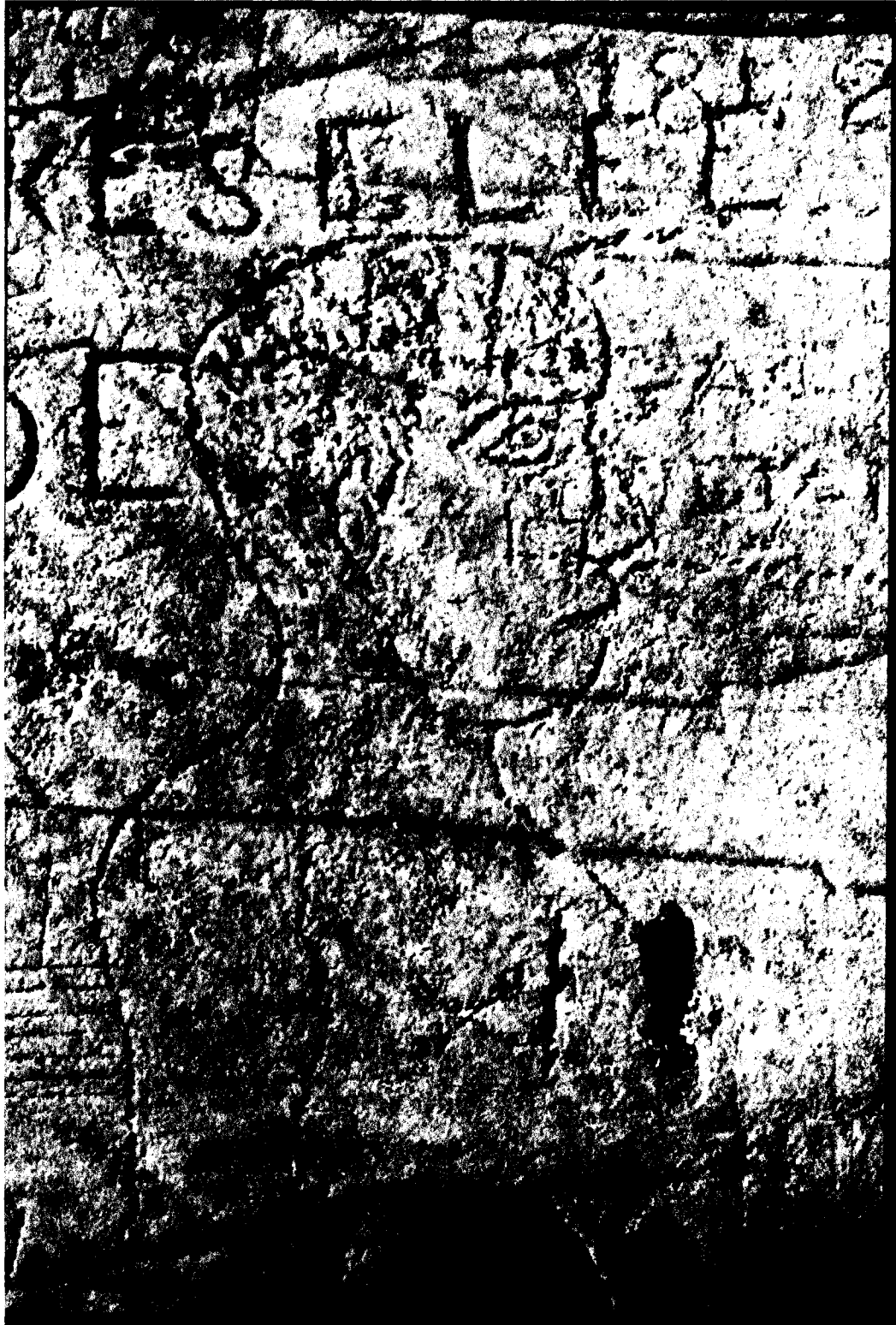
After receiving little help from the local townspeople, the officers returned to England angry, frustrated and without the regicides. Whalley and Goffe had been hiding in a cave at the top of West Rock for about a month and were secretly fed by a local farmer. They later moved throughout New Haven Colony staying with other inhabitants until 1664. Upon the return of the Royal officers, the regicides returned to West Rock and hid in Judges Cave. Several months later, after the danger abated, Whalley and Goffe departed for Hadley, Massachusetts where Dixwell joined them. While Whalley and Goffe led the remainder of their lives in seclusion, Dixwell moved to New Haven, under a new name, James Davids.⁴⁵²

The people of New Haven took pride in keeping the regicides' whereabouts secret. For generations to follow, Judges Cave and West Rock became popular spots for local residents as well as visitors from other regions. Signatures and messages carved directly into the exposed surfaces of the flat rocks that lead to the entrance of Judges Cave are still clearly visible today. Many of the carvings are dated in the 1840s. Of particular interest is an outline of a profile of a male who appears to be of African descent (fig.VII.19). This image of a shirtless male is truncated at the waist. There is a noticeable "X" carved on the right pectoral, the subject's hair is short and the nose broad. The dates immediately surrounding the carving range from 1842 to 1846. The drawing holds many

⁴⁵¹ Osterweis, *Three Centuries*, 56.

⁴⁵² *Ibid.*, 56-57.

FIGURE VII.19.



intriguing possibilities. Perhaps it is a likeness of Cinqué, with the “X” on the right side of his torso symbolic of a Christ-like wound, carved in celebration of his freedom and return home in November 1841.

The Jocelyn daughters made several references to their visits to West Rock. In her 1848 Diary, Elizabeth writes:

We rode up to the Rock—West rock. The view from the summit was extended and beautiful. The cars from Bridgeport were coming in, and the appearance was like a horizontal cloud of the purest white, moving across the harbor, and through the town. The view of the sound was most magnificent, and the steamboat coming towards New Haven left a brilliant wake, stretching apparently across the entire sound. We spent an hour at judges cave—carving our names and others, exploring its recesses and sealing its sides. We descended about 3 o’clock, and had a pleasant walk home. I found my name in full on both rocks, and suppose that some ‘friend of the past’ carved it there.⁴⁵³

The following year she stated:

We took our dinner in the shade of Judge’s Cave, and spent an hour or two there. The shade was so grateful that it brought to my mind that passage in Scripture ‘Like the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.’⁴⁵⁴

Due to West Rock’s association with the regicides, the site carries important political and historical meaning and was a favorite subject for artists. Thomas Cole (1801-1848) in his “Essay on American Scenery” stated: “American scenes are not destitute of historical and legendary associations - the great struggle for freedom has sanctified many a spot, and many a mountain, stream, and rock has its legend, worthy of

⁴⁵³ EHJ Diary, 8 November 1848.

⁴⁵⁴ Ibid., 3 June 1849. “He will shelter Israel from the storm and the wind, He will refresh her as a river in the desert and as the cool *shadow of a large rock in a hot and weary land.*” (Isaiah 32:2).

a poet's pen or the painter's pencil."⁴⁵⁵ Frederic Church's painting entitled, *West Rock, New Haven 1849* "stood as a permanent and prominent reminder of the principles upon which the new nation was founded. The peace and plenty of the present were only possible because of the struggles of the past (fig.VII.20)."⁴⁵⁶ Cole listed West Rock as a subject for one of his future works:

The story of the Regicides Goffe, Whalley & Dixwell affords in my opinion fine subjects both for poetry & Painting. A [work] in which Goffe, on the solitary rock near New Haven, should be made to give vent to his feelings as an exile—his thoughts springing from the past & looking forward to the future.⁴⁵⁷

Carved on the wall of the cave at West Rock the regicides wrote: "Opposition to tyrants is obedience to God."⁴⁵⁸

POLITICAL AGENDA

One further connection between the references to West Rock in tandem with Cinqué is suggested in William Robert Taylor's *Cavalier and Yankee*. The book revolves around the theory that the difference in culture and mores between the North and the South can be attributed to the North having been settled by the Puritan faction of the

⁴⁵⁵ Quoted in Franklin Kelly, *Frederic Edwin Church and the National Landscape* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 23.

⁴⁵⁶ Kelly, *Frederic Edwin Church*, 23.

⁴⁵⁷ Christopher Kent Wilson, "The Landscape of Democracy: Frederic Church's *West Rock, New Haven*" *American Art Journal*, v.18 (1986) n3: 37.

⁴⁵⁸ Kelly, *Church and the National Landscape*, 23.

FIGURE VII.20.



Parliamentary Party of the English civil war (1640-1660), known as the “Cromwellian Roundheads,” and the South, by the Royalist Cavaliers.⁴⁵⁹ The conflict between cavaliers and roundheads was played out in the American colonies as a North / South division. Many Northerners of Puritan descent were or supported roundheads; many Southerners, Church of England supporters remained loyal to the Charles II and his attempt to regain the throne.

New Haveners had a long history of protecting dissenters and fugitives for example, like Thome and Garrison in Jocelyn’s time. With the fugitive slave laws, some New England and Midwestern states protected fugitives from slavery by ignoring the law, just as New Haveners centuries earlier hid the roundhead regicides from the Church of England in Judges Cave.

The immediatists saw in the trial of the Amistad Africans as black fugitives an obvious parallel to the fugitive slave laws. In the immediatists’ view, Cinqué’s role as a dissenter and a fugitive from *injustice*, further helped white Protestant viewers to identify with Cinqué. West Rock highlights the martyrdom of fugitive Protestants while his clothing highlights the martyrdom of Christ.

Just as the Judges were fighting to be free of the King’s tyranny, so was Cinqué fighting for his and the other captives’ freedom and release. Cinqué’s plight and the Supreme Court’s decision to free him would eventually provide some advancement for the antislavery cause and the future of emancipation. Jocelyn depicted Cinqué as a pillar of fortitude and an example of leadership, qualities that are emphasized by his pose in

⁴⁵⁹ William Robert Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee* (New York: George Braziller, 1961), 15. Taylor cites a reference in William A. Caruthers’s, 1834 novel *Cavaliers of Virginia* set in 1676, to a General Edward Whalley a roundhead “from New England.” 213.

front of West Rock where Whalley and Goffe once hid in the midst of their own rebellion and struggle for Puritan religious freedom. The abolitionists resolved to protect the freedom of the Africans. Jocelyn's hope was that the residents would stand by the captives just as they did for the regicides.⁴⁶⁰

The portrait of Cinqué, with its Christian overtones and abolitionist theme, was considered so radical that it was denied a place in the sixth annual Artist Fund Society, "an organization [that] was founded in 1835 by a group of Philadelphia artists in reaction to what they perceived as a lack of support and encouragement from the city's premiere art institution, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts."⁴⁶¹ The image of *Cinqué*, while associated with the image of Christ, deviates from the traditional humble depiction, reflecting the growing evangelical notion of a vigorous, forceful and dynamic Christ. A little more than a decade later, antislavery evangelist Joshua R. Giddings (1795-1864), a member of the House of Representatives (Ohio 1839-1858), was promulgating in his House speeches the idea of Christ as the "model 'agitator.'"⁴⁶²

John Sartain (1808-1897), the society's treasurer (the engraver of *Cinqué*) was planning to make Nathaniel an honorary member of the society in order to qualify him for exhibiting the portrait of *Cinqué*. Unfortunately, John Neagle (1796-1865), president of the society, and the picture hanging committee rejected Jocelyn's painting, precluding Jocelyn from election as an honorary member. The rejection letter reads:

⁴⁶⁰ Relating to abolitionists' plan to hide the captives, see: Amos Townsend Jr. to Lewis Tappan, 18 January 1841, Lewis Tappan Papers.

⁴⁶¹ Powell, "Cinqué," 65.

⁴⁶² Daniel Walker Howe, *The Political Culture of the American Whigs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1979), 177.

Dear Sir,—The hanging committee have instructed me most respectfully, to return the portrait which you kindly offered for exhibition it being contrary to usage to display works of that character, believing that under the excitement of the times, it might prove injurious both to the proprietors and the institution.

At the same time, I am instructed to return the thanks of the society for your tender of the use of so excellent a work of art.

Respectfully, &c. J. Neagle⁴⁶³

It is important to note that Neagle was a colonizationist, who rejected many if not all of the elements in Jocelyn's radical abolitionist painting. While Neagle does not explain what he meant by "works of that character" it probably referred to the political radicalism of Jocelyn's *Cinqué* image. Neagle undoubtedly felt that the image would be an effective agent for the immediatist cause, because he saw paintings as having a direct visual effect. He believed and said that an observer of a portrait "'may be stirred with noble emulation . . . to go and do likewise.'"⁴⁶⁴ Jocelyn's painting represented an important opposing view to the colonizationist position; it would also inflame anti-abolitionist and pro-slavery feeling, thus adding to the "excitement of the times."

Neagle and others belonging to the Artist's Fund Society clearly had vivid recollections of the destruction of Pennsylvania Hall in 1838. William Lloyd Garrison described the events surrounding its demise, in a May 19, 1838 letter to his mother-in-law. On Wednesday evening, May 16, 1838, Garrison and two women abolitionists spoke to the Anti-slavery Convention of American Women in the recently constructed Pennsylvania Hall, "erected principally by the abolitionists of Philadelphia." An angered

⁴⁶³ Letter to Editor from Henry Clarke Wright, 21 April 1841. (*Pennsylvania Freeman*), reprinted in *Emancipator*, 17 June 1841 (includes Neagle's letter to Purvis).

⁴⁶⁴ Robert W. Tochia, *John Neagle: Philadelphia Portrait Painter* (Philadelphia, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1989), 162.

anti-abolitionist mob broke down the door in an attempt to disrupt the meeting. Unsuccessful, the mob retreated to the streets and proceeded to destroy the hall's windows. When the antislavery assembly of several thousand returned on Thursday, May 17, they were told by mob leaders "that the hall would be burnt to the ground that night." Later that evening, "they then set fire to this huge building, and in the course of an hour it was a solid mass of flame."⁴⁶⁵

In the spring of 1841, the abolitionists planned to have the portrait exhibited simultaneously with a visit by Cinqué and some *Amistad* Africans to Philadelphia.⁴⁶⁶ The combination of Neagle's position as a colonizationist, the burning of Pennsylvania Hall three years earlier, and the proposed tour of the Africans all contributed to his anxiety about potential mob violence, protest and disruption of the exhibition and gallery.

Neagle recognized the artistic quality and power of the portrait, so his letter of rejection was a direct affront to the abolitionist cause. Henry Clarke Wright (1797-1870) responded to Neagle in a letter to the editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*:

Why is that portrait denied a place in that gallery? Any objection to the artist? No.—He has recently been elected an honorary member of the society; and, if I mistake not, this rejected portrait was the principal means of procuring him that honor—if honor it be. Any objection to the execution? No. The "hanging committee" themselves pronounced in an "excellent work of art." Those who are allowed to be judges in such matters rank it among the first portrait paintings of our country. Any objection to the character of Cinqué? This could not be, for portraits of military heroes have been and are displayed in the gallery. He resisted those who would make him a slave, by arms and blood. For doing this, did that committee exclude his portrait from their exhibition! Besides he has

⁴⁶⁵ *The Letters of William Lloyd Garrison*, ed. Louis Ruchames, 2 Vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971), 1:362-363.

⁴⁶⁶ A. F. Williams to Lewis Tappan, 13 March 1841, (Lewis Tappan Papers) cited in Powell, "Cinqué" 65.

been pronounced “guiltless” in this deed by the highest tribunal of this country, and by the government of England. Was the portrait rejected because Cinquez [*sic*] is a man in whom there is no interest? This could not be, for his name and his deeds have been heralded in every paper in this nation and in England—have stirred every heart and have been the theme of every tongue. Though confined in a prison, he has been, the last eighteen months, an object of interest to the United States, to Spain, to England, and to France.—Cinqué will continue to be an object of interest, and his name will be the watchword of freedom to Africa and her enslaved sons throughout the world.

Why then was the portrait rejected? Why? “contrary to usage to display works of that character!” “The excitement of the times!” The plain English of it is Cinqué is a NEGRO. This is a negro-hating and negro-stealing nation; a slave-holding people. The negro-haters of the north, and the negro-stealers of the south will not tolerate a portrait of a negro in a picture gallery. And *such* a negro! His dauntless look, as it appears on canvas, would make the souls of the slaveholders quake. His portrait would be a standing Anti-slavery lecture to slave-holders and their apologists. To have it in the gallery would lead to discussions about slavery and the ‘inalienable’ rights of man, and convert every set of visitors [*sic*] into an Anti-slavery meeting. So “the hanging committee” bowed their necks to the yoke and bared their backs to the scourge, installed *slavery* as doorkeeper to the gallery, carefully to exclude everything that can speak of freedom and inalienable rights, and give offense to men-stealers!! Shame on them! Let the friends of humanity, of justice and right, remember them during the summer.

Had he looked into the future a little, J. Neagle would have sooner severed his hand from his body than have allowed it to sign his name to that note. Posterity will talk about him when slavery is abolished, as it surely will be and then all his fame, as an artist will not save him from merited condemnation.

If Mr. Jocelyn is the man I think and hope he is, he will return his certificate of membership to the “Artist Fund Society,” counting it no honor to belong to a society that can perpetrate such meanness and outrage.

Thine.

H.C. Wright.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶⁷ Letter to Editor from Henry Clarke Wright, 21 April 1841. (*Pennsylvania Freeman*), reprinted in *Emancipator*, 17 June 1841.

Wright admonished Neagle and exhorted his fellow abolitionists to remember the hanging committee during the tour of the Africans when he stated: "Let the friends of humanity, of justice and right, remember them during the summer." Perhaps Wright was hinting at disrupting the exhibition. The tour of the Amistad Africans took place after the close of the Artist Fund Exhibition with little or no notoriety, however.

By using a black man as subject, placing the figure in front of a luminous sunset and landscape setting, and heavily codifying the elements in the painting, Jocelyn was able to transcend all of his previous portraits and use *Cinqué* as an instrument of advocacy for abolitionism.

Powell wrote:

According to Purvis, a testament to the portrait's spearlike entry into the heart of American slavery occurred literally within months of its creation. Shortly after acquiring the portrait, Purvis gave shelter to Madison Washington, a runaway slave, who stayed briefly at Purvis's Lombard Street address, one of the 'station stops' along America's legendary Underground Railroad. Here, Washington saw Cinque's portrait and learned of his valor. Some months later, following Washington's return to the South and his reenslavement, Washington successfully led a revolt on board the slave brig *Creole* en route from Hampton, Virginia, to New Orleans. In an article published in the *Philadelphia Inquirer* decades later, Purvis adamantly maintained that Washington's insurrection on the high seas was inspired by having seen Cinque's portrait and having heard Cinque's stirring story of self-liberation.⁴⁶⁸

Cinqué was representative of a struggle, an ongoing battle over slavery that was consuming nineteenth-century America. The commission of this painting allowed Jocelyn to create a heroic portrait that personified his religious, moral and political beliefs.

Through the *Cinqué* portrait, Jocelyn was able to fulfill a lifelong conviction, "Above all;

⁴⁶⁸ Powell. "Cinqué," 68.

our pencils may become the champions of Religion, Morality and Virtue.⁴⁶⁹

⁴⁶⁹ Nathaniel Jocelyn to Daniel Dickinson, c. 1818 (Jocelyn Family Papers), Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

⁴⁷⁰ Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan*, 218.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUDING A LIFE OF ART AND COMMERCE

INTRODUCTION

This final chapter chronicles Jocelyn's professional art activities from 1842 until his death in 1881. Special attention is given to analyzing the ramifications of the creation of Jocelyn's Cinqué portrait. After the Amistad trial, and Cinqué's subsequent return to Africa, Jocelyn returned to painting more conventional portraits. In 1849, a fire destroyed his New Haven art studio. For the next fifteen years, he devoted most of his energy to the bank note engraving business in New York City, where from 1858 to 1865, he organized and served as the head of the Art Department of the American Bank Note Company of New York. In 1865, he retired and from 1866 spent the remainder of his years as a teacher at the Augustus Russell Street Art Building (Yale School of Art), and as Yale's first curator of the Jarves Collection of Italian Art.

AFTER THE AMISTAD AFFAIR

The Supreme Court decision to free the Amistad Africans was not the end of the Jocelyn brothers' involvement with Cinqué and his countrymen. The newly formed Union Missionary Society (UMS), in 1841 founded by two free black clergymen, W. J. C. Pennington and LaRoy Sunderland and the Amistad Committee remained responsible for their well-being, housing, and board. The Society and committee also raised funds to

allow the Africans to repatriate themselves. After briefly working in Farmington, Connecticut, in November 1841, Cinqué and his fellow Mendians gathered in the Broadway Tabernacle for a farewell meeting led by Simeon Jocelyn. At the end of the meeting, Simeon concluded, "Their suffering had taught the nation the tragedy of human bondage, a lesson not yet learned well but one that in time would also free the American members of the African race." From the Tabernacle they proceeded to the dock and the ferry that delivered them to the ship *Gentleman* for the long voyage home.⁴⁷⁰

In May 1842, Lewis Tappan merged the Amistad Committee with the UMS and during the next four years the group absorbed several minor associations, according to historian Bertram Wyatt-Brown. Ultimately the expanded organization was named the American Missionary Association.⁴⁷¹ In the course of the merger, the black clergymen were displaced from leadership roles in a move typical of Tappan and the white abolitionists. The white abolitionists eventually assumed the leadership positions in the society. This change was a familiar administrative action that the abolitionists failed to recognize as a "commentary upon the character of the antislavery movement and upon the nature of race relations in the North." There is no record of the black abolitionists having objected to this process, however.⁴⁷² The new leadership consisted of an Oberlin professor, George Whipple (Oberlin was supported by Arthur Tappan), who was the head of foreign missions. The responsibility for domestic missions fell under Simeon Jocelyn. In the executive committee Lewis Tappan was the treasurer and policy strategist. "Simeon, sweet-natured to a fault, was the least efficient of the three and caused Tappan

⁴⁷¹ Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan*, 292-293.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, 292.

much irritation,” writes Wyatt-Brown. “Yet, his gentle good humor was sorely needed in the businesslike atmosphere of the Association headquarters.”⁴⁷³

In New York City, Simeon was deeply involved in another new venture, while in New Haven Nathaniel was immersed in the business of portrait painting. While historians may long for Jocelyn’s personal insights on the painting of Cinqué, there are no extant documents in Jocelyn’s hand that offer any reflections on Cinqué—the portrait or the man. His steady work habits and his portrait commissions were the only links to his subsequent career development.

The portrait of Cinqué was truly unique in the visual culture of the abolitionist movement. In retrospect, Jocelyn may not have realized the portrait set a new standard. He may not have recognized his own genius in the creation of the work. On rare occasions, a single painting breaks at every level with an artist’s current style and visual language. Usually, the artist recognizes the painting does not fit in with his oeuvre, but he continues to work in this new direction until the painting contains all the elements and content that it was designed to convey. *Cinqué* was that type of breakthrough portrait.

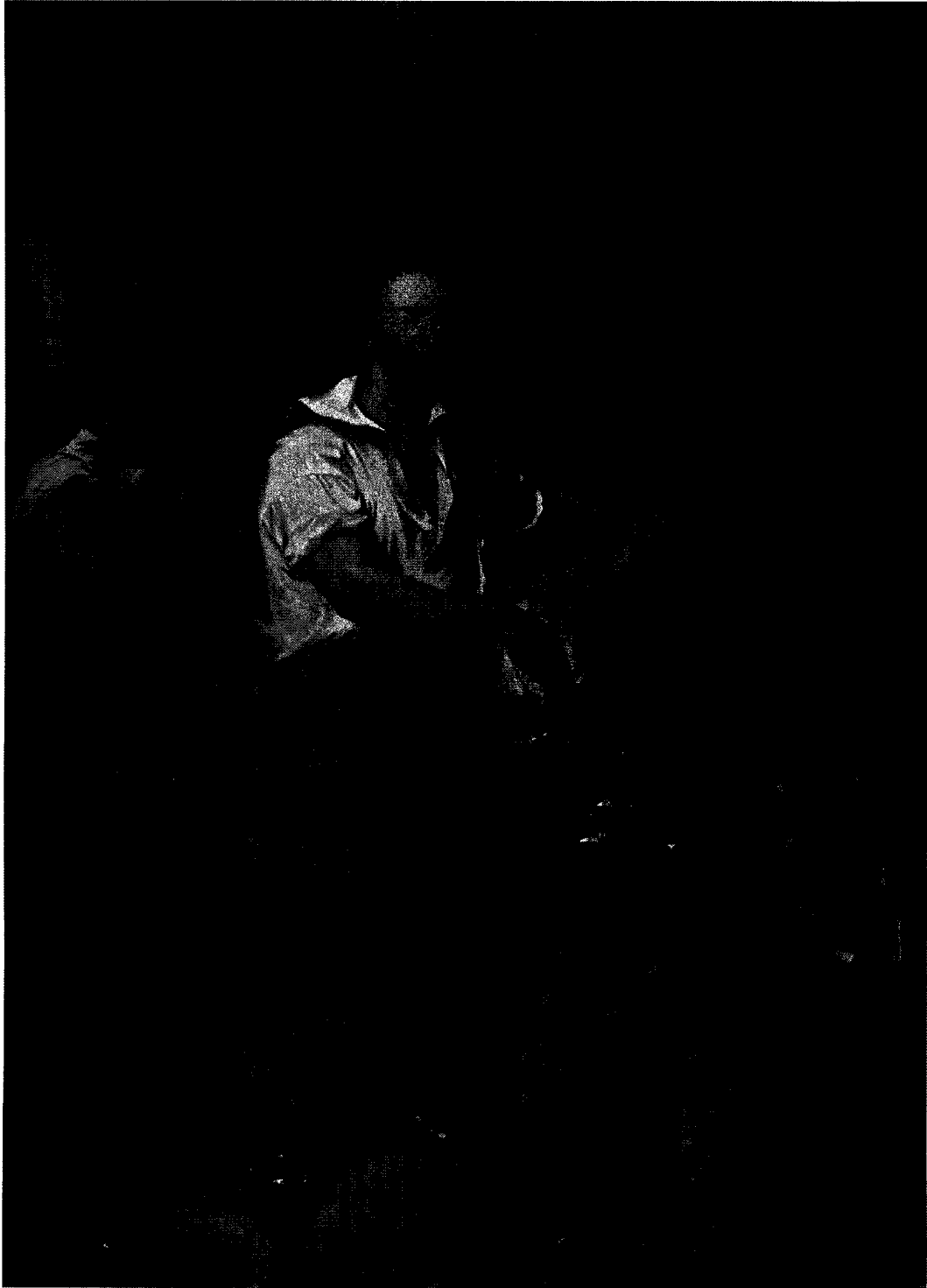
To cite another example, John Neagle’s most famous painting, *Portrait of Pat Lyon at the Forge* (fig.VIII.1) “is a somewhat unusual example of Neagle’s style; according to Virgil Barker, Neagle himself ‘did not realize the full consequence of the innovation.’”⁴⁷⁴ The Neagle portrait, in Harris’s words, “was supposedly an apotheosis of the honest, unaffected mechanic, prosperous but unashamed of his origins.”⁴⁷⁵ In 1829,

⁴⁷³ Wyatt-Brown, *Lewis Tappan*, 293.

⁴⁷⁴ Harris, *The Artist in American Society*, 345.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 75.

FIGURE VIII.1.



Neagle's painting introduced the paradigm for the genre-portrait and as the Jacksonian-era model of the common man who rose to commercial success. By contrast, the message of *Cinqué* was artistically and politically more volatile. Powell wrote, "*Cinqué* bespoke an American caste system based on race, freedom achieved through violent assault on unjust laws, and a socially contentious counterculture of abolitionism and reform that vindicated seditious acts. This alternative narrative was one that few in Jacksonian-era America wanted to hear."⁴⁷⁶ However, that being said, no historian or art historian has considered the other similarities (perhaps coincidences) between the two paintings. Did Jocelyn, through the use of these similarities, attempt to blur the line between "whiteness" and "blackness" in accordance with the abolitionist contention of equality between the races? Did he infuse "white" characteristics into the portrait of Cinqué?

The story of Pat Lyon was well-known in Philadelphia:

At the time of the portrait Pat Lyon was a large independent-minded man of fifty-seven. In his youth, he had been falsely imprisoned on a robbery charge, and after the real culprit was apprehended Lyon for a time remained in prison. For some years he lived in poverty and disgrace, resentful of the upper class, whose members he felt had caused his troubles and failed to right the wrong that had been done him. Gifted with a creative intelligence, Lyon the blacksmith eventually became Lyon the wealthy hydraulic engineer, inventor of a successful fire-engine.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁶ Powell, "Cinqué," 69.

⁴⁷⁷ Jules David Prown And Rose, Barbara, *American Painting: From the Colonial Period to the Present* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1977), 54.

From a political view, both sitters were imprisoned under unusual circumstances—Lyon falsely remained in prison and Cinqué likewise remained in jail although deemed innocent in his first appearance before the Hartford court.

Neagle's painting of Lyon reveals artistic connections to *Cinqué*. To begin, the painting is a full-length portrait of Lyon at his forge with stark, intense, warm color contrasts playing off the walls of the workplace. Lyon stands proud; his white shirt, loose at the neck, reveals a bare chest. His bare muscular arms direct the viewer's focus to one hand, which holds his hammer at rest, but poised for action. The "whiteness" of his head and chest are in contrast to the dark stone background of the hearth chimney. The whole composition is set in the form of a "Y" shape, which Neagle has ingeniously laid out in the lower right hand corner of the painting in the form of a compositional drawing [bearing his signature and date], tacked to a board leaning against the workbench. In the painting, the right wing of the "Y" is ablaze in a golden glow on the wall created by the forge fire. The left wing of the "Y" is a reference to place the sitter *in situ* with a historical nod to the "cupola of Walnut Street Prison . . . a reminder of Lyon's false imprisonment."⁴⁷⁸ Substitute Cinqué's black skin, reverse the background light and dark, and remainder of the description of *Lyon* could be of *Cinqué*.⁴⁷⁹ Two proud men were

⁴⁷⁸ Prown And Rose, *American Painting*, 54.

⁴⁷⁹ There was a good chance that Jocelyn could have seen Neagle's painting. He did make business (engraving) trips to Philadelphia, Purvis who commissioned both the Garrison and Cinqué portraits lived in Philadelphia and knew the power of a strong visual image, and finally, Jocelyn had a relationship with Thomas Sully, Neagle's father in-law, when Sully exhibited his full-length portrait of Queen Victoria in Jocelyn's New Haven studio on September 26, 1839. [The New Haven Daily Herald and Palladium published the following advertisement: September 25, 1839. / Sully's Original Victoria / Thomas Sully respectfully announces to the citizens of New Haven that his full length portrait of Queen Victoria with the original study and the autograph of Her Majesty will be open for

vindicated and able to return to their private lives—not the usual storybook ending for a black man. Both men were, at one time, social outsiders in America: Lyon an Irish working class mechanic, and Cinqué an African mutineer, jailed for two years in New Haven and found not guilty at trial. For Jocelyn to portray Cinqué as a righteous, strong, and independent-minded leader (aspects of character usually attributed to white men) was inspired. Jocelyn's portrait single handedly challenged nineteenth-century views of "blackness" and "whiteness."

In Jocelyn's case there was no precedent for *Cinqué* in his earlier works, nor was there evidence of adoption of *Cinquésque* elements in his later portraits. Why was some of the political dynamism of *Cinqué* not used in the portrayal of white abolitionist sitters after *Cinqué*? I posit that it was physically dangerous to be an immediate abolitionist sitter for a portrait painted in an extremely innovative style, and might provide an excuse for detractors to become incensed. The sitter would have been considered radical and incendiary by foes, one's religiously conservative constituency would not want to have the radical aspect of their abolitionist leader reinforced by a painted image. Frankly, it would not be profitable to market a less than humble version of a white abolitionist leader.⁴⁸⁰ In the case of *Cinqué*, without any visual precedents, it was acceptable to create

Exhibition at Mr. Jocelyn's rooms, Marble Building, Chapel Street, for one week only, commencing on Thursday 26th inst. And closing positively on Wed. Oct. 2nd. Admission 25 cents. Season Ticket 50 cents. Hours of exhibition from 10 A.M. to 1 P.M., from 2 to 5 in the afternoon and in the evening from 7 until 9 o'clock.]

⁴⁸⁰ "PORTRAIT OF W. L. GARRISON. \$1 single, \$10.50 per dozen, \$75 per hundred." *Emancipator*, (3 May 1838). [From the Jocelyn Portrait of 1833]. "I am desirous to have you sit to my brother for a portrait before you leave for England. I suppose you will have but little time for the purpose, but if you can be here but one or two days he can get the likeness and finish the painting afterwards. He is now painting a portrait of Ashmun for

an innovative and extreme (in its new use of strong color, historical [Judges Cave] and Biblical references) image of an African to thwart the prevailing black stereotypes.

Further, the emblematic Cinqué portrait served a dual purpose—as a private and public object. It was a personal (private) indication of status and an emotionally symbolic acquisition for Robert Purvis, the wealthy free black Philadelphia businessman who commissioned the painting; and more importantly, it had a crucial public function as the design or model for subsequent printed engravings offered for sale.

For Jocelyn to modify his style to a more dramatic and allegorical mode would be ruinous to his conservative client base. Jocelyn's clients in the New Haven area, including Yale faculty, were not ready to make that aesthetic leap. Historians such as Virgil Barker typically placed Jocelyn in the "Basic Average" category of "mid-century portraiture." His assessment of Jocelyn is typical of historians who did not recognize the relationship of Jocelyn to abolitionism. Barker wrote, "Jocelyn's work has the academically dependable prosaicism which, like the humanly dependable people whom it depicts, later times usually overlook. But on one occasion Jocelyn was moved to impart to his placidly objective manner a tragic dignity; his portrait of the slave-hero [*sic*] Cinqué . . . with well [-] drawn dark head and shoulders dramatic between light background and white drapery, is visually as well as humanly *haunting* [emphasis added]."⁴⁸¹ Barker recognized there obviously was *something* happening in the portrait, but without understanding the nineteenth-century abolitionist mindset, he was unable to

the Colonization Society, which is to be engraved. It is my desire to engrave yours whilst you are in England, and publish the print." (SSJ to WLG 29 March 1833, CHS.)

⁴⁸¹ Virgil Barker, *American Painting: History and Interpretation* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1950), 398.

decode the iconographic implications. Perhaps the subtle layering or embedding of New England history, the use of light and costume as an allusion to Christianity for Africans, the marking of the location as New Haven by the rendition of the landscape and foliage, the use of color as a stand-in for power, and the hint of potential and past violence (which the immediatists always circled as a fire, but never got close enough to be burnt) ensured the physical survival of the painting. This portrait was conceived and executed intentionally, before the court verdict was announced. The men of the Tappan circle and fellow “coadjutors” in Philadelphia, including Purvis, were not opposed to the implication of a *hint* of violence in the painting (Cinqué clutching the staff) should the verdict not go their way. More than the abolitionists in New York and New Haven, the Philadelphia contingent was astute and in tune with the power of imagery in propaganda.

In the early nineteenth century, Philadelphia was the acknowledged leader in the arts. Therefore, the immediatists and their brethren in the more Northern states would have followed the lead of those in Philadelphia in terms of the advanced use of imagery for the cause. Philadelphia had the most famous and proficient engraver, John Sartain (and his sons), and the longest sustained experience with exhibiting Art. That said, there was probably only one artist in the country with the unique confluence of painterly skill, knowledge of and proximity to the African captives, and a deep personal commitment to abolition, qualified for the commission—the religiously driven Nathaniel Jocelyn.⁴⁸²

⁴⁸² To gain a greater sense of how unique the depiction of Cinqué was in 1840, one only has to look at an example of an Anti-Abolition tract published as late as 1866, a year after Emancipation in 1865, and consider how persistent the negative black stereotypes were. A typical volume such as, *The Six Species of Men, With Cuts Representing the Types of the Caucasian, Mongol, Malay, Indian, Esquimaux and Negro. With Their General Physical and Mental Qualities, Laws of Organization, Relations to Civilization, &c. Anti-Abolition Tracts* No. 5. (New York: Van Evrie, Horton & Company, 1866) stated: “The

Jocelyn had a certain latitude in painting *Cinqué*, because there was no previous portrait of Africans newly arrived on an American shore, and no portrait of this nature was to follow. For Jocelyn, this was a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity to marshal his artistic skill and passion for black equality to uniquely codify and make manifest the antislavery *idea* of the black man.

Prior to *Cinqué*, the common use of abolitionist imagery (including engravings from painted portraits) was restricted to material that could be mass-produced for the edification of adults and the education of children while being easily mass distributed in the South. In the typical Abolitionist newspaper, several columns would contain advertisements of various antislavery graphic works for sale. In the May 31, 1838 issue of the *Emancipator*, these items were found among others:

DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS

Of the American Anti-Slavery Society, neatly printed on *satin* [emphasis added] for framing –price 50 cents single, \$44 per hundred.

VIEWS OF SLAVERY.

A lithographic print giving six different views of slavery, viz: 1. Sugar Plantation; 2. Mode of Punishment; 3. Slave Auction; 4. Wresting from a colored woman her free

negro is incapable of an erect or direct perpendicular position. The general structure of his limbs, the form of the pelvis, the spine, the way the head is set on the shoulders, in short, the entire anatomical formation, forbids an erect position. But while the whole structure is thus adapted to a slightly stooping posture, the head would seem to be the most important agency, for with any other head, or the head of any other race, it would be impossible to retain an upright position at all!" With the shape of the "Negro" head, if they were to be educated by "the Yankee school marms . . . into intellectual equality with the white man, their *protégé* would be as incapable of standing on his feet as if they had cut his head entirely off!" And with regard to color: "There is no such monstrosity in the world as a 'colored man,' that is, a being like ourselves in all except color. . . . The negro face cannot express those higher emotions which give such beauty to the Caucasian countenance, and as nature has denied them the outward manifestation, it is no more than reasonable to suppose they do not have the emotions themselves." (John David Smith, *Anti-Abolition Tracts And Anti-Black Stereotypes* [New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1993], 137.)

papers, in order to reduce her to slavery; 5. Tearing a little child from her mother's arms, and selling it [*sic*] to a slave-trader; 6. Shipping slaves for New Orleans. Price of the whole, only \$1 per hundred; 12 cents per dozen; 12½ cents, single.

OUR COUNTRYMEN IN CHAINS,

By J. G. Whittier, Esq.

2cts single; 18cts. per dozen, etc.

LETTER PAPER

Headed with a fine Steel Plate Engraving of a kneeling Slave in chains. . . . 2cts. single sheet, 50cts. per quire [24 or 25 sheets], \$9.60 per ream [500](fig.VIII.2).

SLAVE MARKET OF AMERICA

A broad sheet, illustrating by facts and engravings, the slave market in the District of Columbia. The engravings give accurate views of the principal slave trading establishments in the district, from drawings taken by an artist on the spot. Price only \$4 per hundred, 60 cents per dozen, 6 1/2 cents single.⁴⁸³

SOUTHERN IDEAS OF LIBERTY

A lithographic print, representing his Honor Judge Lyon as seated on a cotton bag, bolstered up with boxes of sugar and tobacco, trampling the Constitution under his feet presiding over a court (a mob) of slaveholders, passing sentence upon "Northern Fanatics" and executing them on the spot. . . . \$8 dollars per hundred; \$1.20 per dozen, 12 1/2 cents single.

Odd numbers of the *Emancipator*, *Human Rights Record*, *Quarterly Magazine*, *Slaves' Friend* (fig.VIII.3), and other periodicals, may be obtained at the office.

Eventually, the engraving of *Cinqué* by Sartain was added to the list. With this engraving, the level of artistic quality and content would have been significantly raised. These examples of graphic work do not qualify as art (with the exception of the Sartain), nor were they intended for that purpose. They were one prong of the abolitionists' multi-pronged approach to influence the American people and spur their conscience and Christian duty from passivity to action. The engraving firm N. & S.S. Jocelyn was too

⁴⁸³ Almost all the Anti-Slavery Societies had in their platform the removal of slavery from the District of Columbia. Since the District was not a state, Congress had it in its power to end slavery by an immediate law.

FIGURE VIII.2.



Boston, Nov. 1, 1839.

Dear Sir:

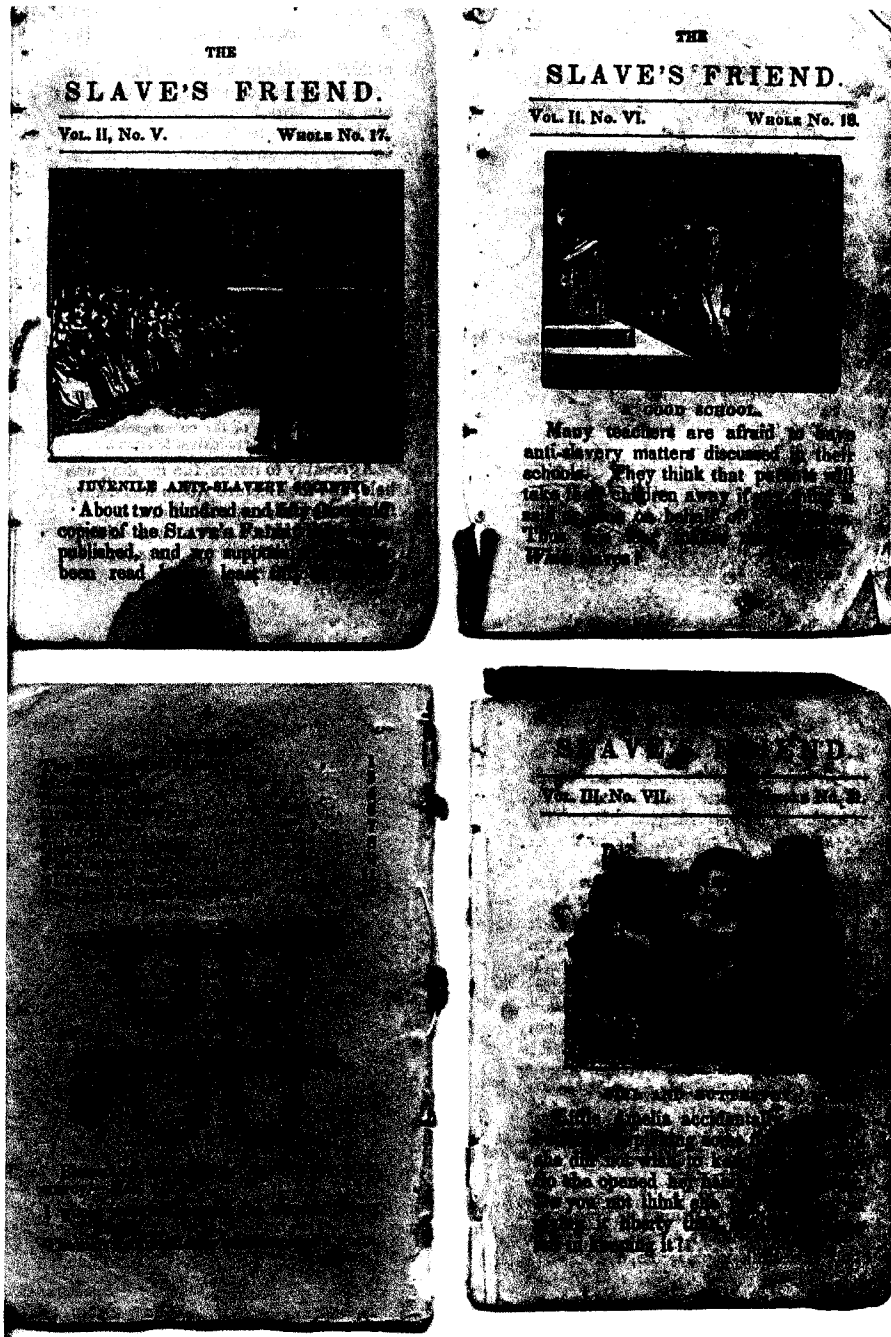
It is with great pleasure I introduce to you the bearer of this, Dr. Madden, a gentleman of high literary attainments, probably well known to you as the author of an excellent work on West-India slavery, &c. He comes from Havana, and is connected with the Court of Mixed Commissions on the slave trade. He is here to show up the character of Benson Trust, and especially to do all that can be done to prevent the African prisoners of the Amistad being sent back to Cuba. Let him, then, be received by the friends of bleeding humanity as an angel of mercy. He has in his possession a large amount of valua-

and we are very much pleased with him. He will go to England shortly. I need not add any more to insure him a good reception in New-York.

Yours, truly,

Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

FIGURE VIII.3.



invested in the lucrative banknote engraving trade to be involved in the production of the low-end graphics of the type listed above.⁴⁸⁴ In the brothers' service to abolition, Simeon's most important function was in the pulpit and in the leadership of the Societies, while Nathaniel's most important contribution was at the easel.

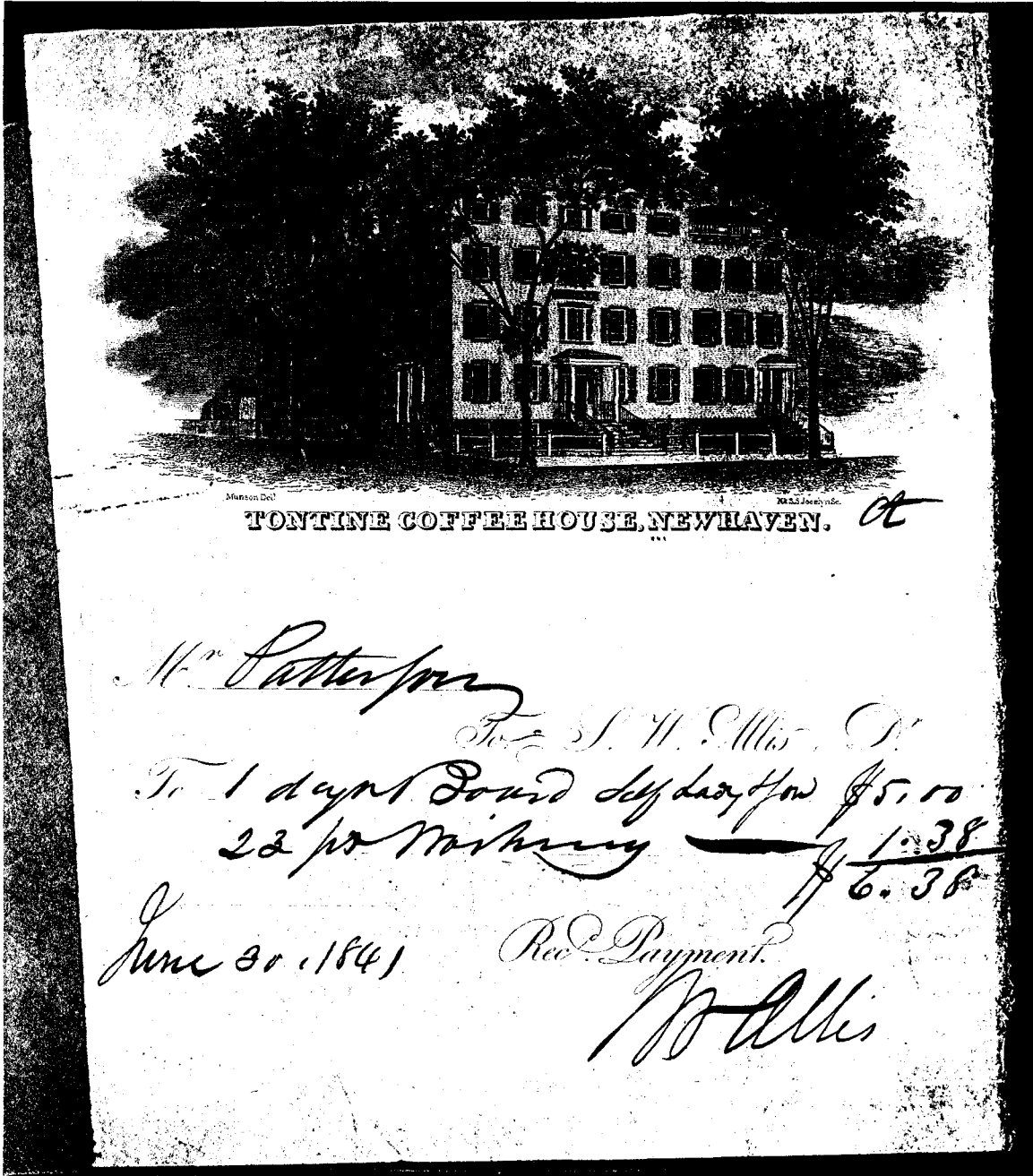
THE TRIBULATIONS OF NEW HAVEN PORTRAITURE

Within two weeks after finishing the *Cinqué* portrait, on December 30, 1840, Jocelyn set off for Albany to paint the antislavery Governor of New York, William Henry Seward (1801-1872), and his wife née Frances A. Miller (1805-1865). Judging by Jocelyn's rapid departure from New Haven, the commission for these two portraits must have been on file with him before the intervention of the time-sensitive *Cinqué* project. There is no evidence of the commissioning agent, whether it was Seward himself, or more likely, supporters in his political party. He was the first Whig Governor of New York State (Jocelyn's party of choice). This important portrait commission of Seward, an ardent critic of slavery, aided in building upon Jocelyn's previous record (Ashmun, Thome, Garrison, and Cinqué) as America's premier antislavery portraitist. The chances were Seward had not seen the Cinqué portrait, but knew of Jocelyn's reputation as an artist and abolitionist and would be comfortable having Jocelyn to his home.

In 1849, Governor Seward was elected U.S. Senator under President Zachary Taylor and was a leader among the antislavery faction. In the Senate, Seward was

⁴⁸⁴ With the exception of Simeon's engraving of Ashmun and Garrison after Nathaniel's paintings, the firm for the most part did large jobs like the atlas and maps for the Morse brothers and the occasional small job such as the *Tontine Coffee House* [& Hotel on the New Haven Green](Fig. VIII.4).

FIGURE VIII.4.



prophetic in his argument against the Compromise of 1850 (Fugitive Slave Act included) when he said that the slave system would be dissolved either by voluntary means with compensation or the “Union would be dissolved and civil war ensue, bringing on violent but complete and immediate emancipation.” The most important clause in Seward’s argument was his insistence that there was a “higher law than the Constitution.” This statement struck at the heart of the slaveholders’ argument of the superiority of states’ rights over the constitution.⁴⁸⁵ When Seward ran against Lincoln for the Republican Party Presidential nomination, he was the presumptive presidential candidate, but his “irrepressible conflict” speech made him too radical to gain support of all Republicans. Consequently, he lost the nomination, but actively campaigned for Lincoln. Seward went on to serve in President Lincoln’s cabinet as Secretary of State.

Jocelyn completed the portraits of Governor & Mrs. Seward circa 1840-1841. Unfortunately, during the winter journey to Albany to work on the prestigious commission, Jocelyn contracted a severe chest infection. When he returned to New Haven, in an effort to seek a warmer climate, he embarked on a trip to the Azores. Upon his return, and only gaining limited relief, Heinz tells us, “In March 1842 [two years later the infection still lingered], he had to take another voyage in search of sun, this time to the ‘Western Islands’ [according to his daughter Frances, “on the *Condor*”]. By the time he had recovered, [and after he had moved his studio to Brooklyn, New York] the firm of N. & S.S. Jocelyn was in turmoil. In 1843 it went bankrupt.”⁴⁸⁶ A brief notice of

⁴⁸⁵ Dexter Perkins, “William Henry Seward” *University of Rochester Library Bulletin*, (Autumn 1951): 28.

⁴⁸⁶ Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 40.

Jocelyn's move to Brooklyn was published in *The New Haven Palladium* Tuesday, August 8, 1843:

Jocelyn, who for some time past has been in ill health, is now (if we are rightly informed) painting in Brooklyn. The later pictures, by this distinguished Artist, have greatly added to his reputation, before so widely extended. Among his late pictures, that of Prof. Silliman of Yale College, deserves to be particularly noticed, and should be noticed in this article had we time or room. It is perhaps enough for us at this time to say, that of the Portrait Painters which this country has produced, Mr. Jocelyn stands in the front rank.

Due to portraiture's subjective nature in interpreting the sitter, painting portraits was a demanding profession. Not only did the artist have to possess the skill to render a "likeness," but one must also have the ability to present the "likeness" to the (subjective) satisfaction of the sitter. Intermittently, Jocelyn would have difficulty with this latter requirement.

A case in point was the portraits of Judge Roger Minott Sherman (1773-1844) and Mrs. Sherman née Elizabeth Gould (1774-1848) of Fairfield, Connecticut. The correspondence concerning the portraits continued over a period of three years, from 1839 to 1842. The first letter between Jocelyn and Judge Sherman was dated New Haven, 16th. Dec. 1839. It has interest in its entirety because insights into the complicated macerations of discussing prices based on size and the advantages of each are explained for the layman in order to secure the commission. This is a quintessential example of Jocelyn the salesman. Ironically, after gaining the commission Jocelyn was confronted with an unhappy client and a disruptive series of events, not the least of which was the *Amistad* affair, which prolonged the commission.

Dear Sir,

Your letter of the 12 inst. was just rec^d here during my absence at New York and I take the first opportunity since my return to reply to it. In conversation on the subject of the portraits our attention was directed to those in my room of the ordinary size, viz. Mr. Lewis Moulthrop and others unfinished. This size seldom includes the hands though it is sometimes painted so.— I will add a list of the different sizes & prices. The technical name of the usual sizes is

A 'Three Quarters'	2 feet 6 in by 2 f. 1 in	without hand	\$100.
A do [ditto]	do " " " "	with a hand	\$120
" Kit-Cat	– 3 feet by 2 f. 4 in	– includes hands	\$150
" Half Length (Small)	3 f. 8 in by 2 f. 10 in		\$200
" do do (Common)	4 f. 2 in by 3 f. 4 in		\$250
" do do (Bishops)	4 f. 8 in by 3 f. 8 in		\$300

I need not add the price of the full length which is more than double the last on the list.—(over)

The first is the most usual of all sizes, greater or smaller, and is wanting in nothing for fine effect as to likeness and as a picture. Should hardly recommend it with a hand as it seldom comes in well—

The Kit Cat is a fine size where hands and more of the figure are desired.— It is the size of Gen Humphrey by Stuart and Mr. [Eli] Whitney by Mr. Morse in the Trumbull Gallery and of Judge [James] Lanman which I commenced—It derives its name from the portraits of Addison and others of the Kit Club painters of this size.⁴⁸⁷

Of the three Half Lengths sizes the 'Common' is the standard and the most usual—That of President [Jeremiah] Day in the Trumbull Gallery and that of Lord Robt [?] commenced by myself are of this size—Those of D^f [Nathan Beers] Ives

⁴⁸⁷ "KIT-CAT CLUB, a club of Whig wits, painters, politicians and men of letters, founded in London about 1703. The name was derived from that of Christopher Cat, the keeper of the pie-house in which the club met in Shire Lane, near Temple Bar. The meetings were afterwards held at the Fountain tavern in the Strand, and latterly in a room specially built for the purpose at Barn Elms, the residence of the secretary, Jacob Tonson, the publisher. In summer the club met at the Upper Flask, Hampstead Heath. The club originally consisted of thirty-nine, afterwards of forty-eight members, and included among others the duke of Marlborough, Lords Halifax and Somers, Sir Robert Walpole, Vanbrugh, Congreve, Steele and Addison. The portraits of many of the members were painted by Sir Godfrey Kneller, himself a member, of a uniform size suited to the height of the Barn Elms room in which the club dined. The canvas, 36 X 28 in., admitted of less than a half-length portrait but was sufficiently long to include a hand, and this is known as the kit-cat size. The club was dissolved about 1720." "KIT-CAT CLUB." LoveToKnow 1911 Online Encyclopedia. © 2003, 2004 LoveToKnow. http://91.1911encyclopedia.org/K/KI/KIT_CAT_CLUB.htm

and [Jonathan] Knight and Professor [James Luce] Kingsley and [Rev. Chauncey Allen] Goodrich by me, and of D^r Smith & Professor Fisher by Morse in the Trumbull Gallery are of the 'Small Half Length' size—and that by Mr. Morse of Professor Silliman is on 'Bishops Half Length' canvas.

Were I to express my opinion of propriety in the case, I would advise that the pictures be at least as large as the Kit Cat size—your figure being above the middle size and your position in Society making it very, very desirable; and if a Half Length, taking in the figure below the knee should be decided on—so much the better—

That this opinion may be considered as disinterested as-it-really is, Thought to say that it is well settled by the experience of all artists that the prices of the sizes as here given, taking the Three Quarters as a starting point & not relatively increase in proportion to the relative difficulty of their execution, so that the higher you go on the scale of size and price, the less profitable is the undertaking to the artist who satisfies himself in such cases, with the increased reputation which will arise from the effort if successful—I should be glad to learn your views soon.

I am

Sir very respectfully
Your Obedient Servant,
Nathaniel Jocelyn⁴⁸⁸

Within a month, on 11 January 1840, Jocelyn acknowledges Sherman's choice of "the Kit-Kat [*sic*] size. As this requires much more consideration than is necessary in portraits of the ordinary size, I have given the subject a good deal of thought, and hope to confirm the good opinion which you have been pleased to express of my efforts in this pursuit." He could not begin the commission because he had started a portrait of Mr. William Jehiel Forbes (1794-1839), and he "commenced it before the amputation of his [Forbes's] leg, but his sudden death has rendered the finishing of the portrait exceedingly difficult and slow—to much so that I cannot now make more progress in a day than I

⁴⁸⁸ Nathaniel Jocelyn to Roger M. Sherman 16 December 1839 (Roger M. Sherman Family Papers, Fairfield Historical Society). In 1848, Jocelyn's daughter, Elizabeth (age 24) in referring to the Trumbull Gallery wrote in her diary, "I accompanied Father and Mr. [William Oliver] Stone [1830-1875] to the Trumbull Gallery this morning" and referred to it as, "Father's room." (EHJ Diary, 25 August 1848 [CHS].)

could in an hour if I had the living face to paint from.”⁴⁸⁹ However, what Jocelyn did not say is that beyond Mr. Forbes’s untimely death, Cinqué and the other captives had been in the New Haven jail since September 1839.

The next letter in the series is dated 24 March 1840, in which Jocelyn is “detained unavoidably” so he cannot make the trip to Fairfield. He speaks of “obstacles” and “these circumstances” standing in his way that “my arrangements here, after finishing your pictures, make it very necessary to avoid delay.” Unbeknownst to Judge Sherman, Jocelyn had just begun or was in the early stages of the Cinqué painting.⁴⁹⁰

Somehow, the portrait was completed, as the records show that Sherman paid in full on May 25, 1840.⁴⁹¹ By 15 March 1841, approximately ten months after Jocelyn completed the Shermans’ portraits, and a few months after the Cinqué and Seward portraits, Sherman revealed that he was unhappy about his likeness. Jocelyn fell back on his health:

By exposure on my journey to Albany, a severe cold settled on my lungs which remained affected when I returned. Medicine and all the care I could take before and since my return had no effect to arrest my disorder, and about a fortnight since, I was compelled to suspend all business and confine myself to the house. Since then I have been more ill than before, and though I feel somewhat relieved at present, I am advised that neither exposure to the weather nor attention to business can be allowed for some time to come. . . . I write to say that it is uncertain when I can visit you to make the corrections desired in the portraits.”⁴⁹²

⁴⁸⁹ NJ to RMS 11 January 1840 (FHS).

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 24 March 1840 (FHS).

⁴⁹¹ Roger M. Sherman to Nathaniel Jocelin, D^r [*sic*] 25 May 1840 (FHS).

⁴⁹² NJ to RMS 15 March 1841 (FHS).

The corrections obviously were too minor a business concern to postpone his trip to the Azores, and in May 1842, Jocelyn was still promising Sherman that he would “make the alterations you desire in your portrait.”⁴⁹³ In August of 1842, Jocelyn received some good news from Sherman, “I was gratified to learn from your letter that on removal to a better lights [*sic*] the portraits appear to you as they did to my eye at the time they were executed.” Now Sherman wanted to know how to varnish the paintings. Jocelyn recommended against any self-treatment and suggested Sherman ship them to New Haven, “where I could varnish them and add any little harmonizing touches if any should appear desirable to their effectiveness as pictures, previous to varnishing, though I am not aware that any such improvements would be necessary.” Even with this offer, the paintings were not sent.⁴⁹⁴

In October 1842, the issue was not resolved. Jocelyn’s health was not improving and he had “engagements in Boston, another in Brooklyn, and another at Albany.” A varnishing would “be indispensable to go twice . . .” so it was impossible for Jocelyn to make the trip. By this time, Sherman was ill; he died two years later.⁴⁹⁵

Jocelyn was conscientious to a fault, and the satisfaction of his clients was foremost in his mind, but balancing his various business, artistic, abolitionist ventures, and health concerns, caused him, in this case, not to meet his client’s needs. Jocelyn maintained his studio in New Haven and in 1843 “established himself in New York, at 247 Broadway, corner Murray Street, [he] will retain his Painting rooms in this [New

⁴⁹³ NJ to RMS, 18 May 1842 (FHS).

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 4 August 1842 (FHS).

⁴⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 7 October 1842 (FHS).

Haven] city as heretofore, where he will engage from time to time in the practice of his profession,” read an announcement.⁴⁹⁶

MOMENTS OF RE-EVALUATION AND CONSOLIDATION

Jocelyn’s health concerns caused the collapse into bankruptcy of the N. & S.S. Jocelyn engraving firm in 1843, and by 1847 he gave up his New York studio. In 1843, some earlier ventures were completed. His daughter Elizabeth recorded in December 6, 1847, “Father received an elegant bound volume of ‘Webster’s Dictionary’ from its late editor-Prof. Goodrich. Father furnished the definitions to several words in his department of the arts. It will be the standard dictionary of the language.”⁴⁹⁷ The dictionary was a small but important diversion from some of his business pressures.

Jocelyn’s major setback was the destruction of his New Haven studio in 1849. H.W. French writes, “Mr. [William] Dunlap said of the artist’s apartments, ‘He is established in the most eligible suite of rooms for painting and exhibiting that I know of.’”⁴⁹⁸ The story of the fire in the “Marble Block” studio is best told through the eyewitness accounts of his daughters Elizabeth and Frances:

About eleven O’ clock the town bell gave the alarm of fire. Father had been confined to the house for several days, and was not intending to go, when a sleigh drove up in front of the house, and a hoarse voice cried out- ‘Marble Block is all on fire.’ Father went down immediately, but such had been the rapidity of the conflagration before he reached the place that his painting rooms, including the

⁴⁹⁶ *New Haven Palladium*, 26 December 1843.

⁴⁹⁷ E.H.J. Diary, 6 December 1847 (CHS).

⁴⁹⁸ H. W. French, *Art and Artists in Connecticut* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 58.

one occupied by Oliver Stone, were all destroyed, together with all the 'material' of business—the accumulation of years, which nothing can replace. Capt. Bissell rescued several of his pictures from the flames, but a number was burned, among which was that of grandfather Jocelyn—invaluable prints—busts were destroyed. Mr. Stone lost everything, but an overcoat, which was afterwards stolen. The fire originated in the room next his, occupied by a land surveyor, and was discovered barely in time to give him an opportunity of escaping. Lemuel Punderson, Mr. Sidney Stone [Architect] Hinman and others occupying the stories below, were enabled to remove their goods before the flames reached them, and therefore sustained but little injury. We did not retire till nearly 4' o' clock, as it was quite an exciting affair. The flames at first presented quite a splendid spectacle, but a little thought what was contributing to that splendor."

I took Isaac [*sic*] down [the] street in the forenoon to see the ruins of the 'Marble Block.' The front wall was left standing, and some of the rooms. It seemed rather singular to look through the open windows, and see the smoke curling up from so many familiar spots within those blackened apartments. The loss of the rooms is a great one, as they were built expressly for father, and there are none like them in the United States. Mr. [Sidney] Stone came up to our house at noon with some of the pictures, prints, etc. On the way we met Oliver Stone who was just preparing to leave town. He told us that 3 or 4 men were crushed, by the falling of a portion of the wall of 'Marble Block'—but were not killed.⁴⁹⁹

And:

Last night—we were alarmed about 12 by the cry of fire and soon learned that it was in the Marble Block. Father had retired and was unable to go but did however. His rooms were entirely burnt and together with a large quantity of painting materials. Captain Bissell succeeded after several fruitless attempts to affect an entrance into the burning rooms and rescue many valuable paintings and engravings. Mr. Stone lost everything. This morning Mr. Hayes, Mr. P[underson]

⁴⁹⁹ EHJ Diary, 13, 14 February 1849. It is unclear to whom Elizabeth is referring when she wrote "I took *Isaac* down street in the forenoon to see the ruins of the 'Marble Block.' Did she carry her father's portrait of Isaac, who died in 1839? Or, was there another child named Isaac in the neighborhood? Her sister Frances was prone to keeping the memory of her five-year old brother alive by "talking" to the portrait or plaster bust. For example, "While taking dinner my eye rested upon the portrait of my dear little brother whose merry voices had in former Thanksgiving days mingled with ours but its music is now hushed and his little form laid in the grave." She continued, "Where will we all be one year hence? Will our circle remain unbroken? Our dear little brother had every prospect of a long life and many Thanksgiving days before him even as we, his prospects for living fair as ours but over a smiling sky comes up the angry storm and withered flowers are found there blossomed bright at noon." (FMJ Diary, Thanksgiving 28 November 1850.)

and Mr. James Dean called. Mr Stone and [Jared] Thompson brought up a truck load of things saved from the fire.⁵⁰⁰

The total loss of Jocelyn's studio and most of the contents were a devastating blow to his business and personal life. After the fire, he redirected his energy and skills on a more secure enterprise than portrait painting—the banknote engraving business. This required him to spend more time in New York City than he preferred. It was some comfort to Nathaniel, who maintained his residence in New Haven, that Simeon had been living in New York since 1834. While he did not completely give up painting portraits, Nathaniel's main source of income from 1849 to 1856 was the banknote business. Had the studio fire not occurred and he continued develop his reputation as a portraitist, history may have recorded a different view of Jocelyn.

Jocelyn's entrepreneurial instincts were activated by the focus on the banknote business. He was with "Toppan, Carpenter, Casilear & Co., 1850-1854, next with Jocelyn, Draper, Welsh & Co., operating under the trade name of The American Bank Note Co., 1854-1858."⁵⁰¹ Heinz wrote, "[He] now concentrated on strengthening his business connections, especially with the Philadelphia banknote concerns with which he had a long association. He would be the architect in the founding of the American Bank Note Company in [May 1] 1858."⁵⁰² The American Bank Note Company was a consolidation and merger of "the seven leading bank note engraving companies. . . .

⁵⁰⁰ FMJ Diary, 13, February 1849.

⁵⁰¹ Rice, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 105.

⁵⁰² Heinz, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 40

Jocelyn became the head of its Art Department where he remained until 1865.”⁵⁰³ Rice

wrote of this period:

Even though Jocelyn was absent from the city on many business trips, he often participated in its festivities and celebrations in and around New Haven. He was a passenger on the first train to run between New Haven and New York City on January 5, 1849. He was devoted to his home life which included his wife and their growing daughters. A gala affair among the younger set of New Haven took place in 1852 when two of his daughters were married in a double wedding ceremony. Both daughters married ministers—Elizabeth to Reverend James B. Cleaveland and Frances to Reverend David Peck. Jocelyn made all the arrangements for this affair, designing the wedding cake which was made at the Tontine Coffee House in New Haven. He even chose the wedding dresses, made in New York City, worn by his daughters on that occasion. The girls recorded in their diaries the joy that came to them when their father brought the dresses home.

The Jocelyn daughters formed a tightly knit family and felt comfortable with the family’s antislavery position. On only one occasion was there a lighthearted reference to a “beau” who “was very much in love and pleaded with a certain girl that he was very much afraid that he should go too far and commit himself supposing that my Father’s opinion of slavery and abolition would prevent any thing resulting of a serious nature.”⁵⁰⁴

Jocelyn reengaged his painterly life in New Haven. He established another studio (painting rooms) in the newly rebuilt Marble Block at 270 Chapel Street, in the same location as his previous studio that had gone up in flames. While in New Haven, Jocelyn urged and cajoled Augustus Russell Street (1791-1866) to erect a building devoted to Art at Yale College. Apparently, Jocelyn proposed that the plan include some accommodation for a private studio for himself. During the construction of the building

⁵⁰³ Rice, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 105.

⁵⁰⁴ SAJ Diary, 22 February 1840.

Jocelyn had not heard from Street as to the acceptance of his proposal. On May 14, 1866 he wrote to Street politely, but somewhat formidably:

Augustus R. Street, Esq.

My Dear Sir,

It was in part an impulse of feeling which led me some months ago to proffer to you and through you my aid in any available way of facilitating your enlightened and liberal intentions in regard to Art through the Art Building enterprise which you have so magnificently projected and carried forward.—

Several months having lapsed and the near approval of the completion of the building indicating the probability that my offer has been sufficiently considered, without any response from the College authorities, I can only infer that it is not appreciated and not to be availed of by them.

It must be obvious that I could not pledge myself in the way that I did to you without avoiding obligations of time and attention, freely offered it is time which would otherwise find sufficient occupancy in objects of a more personal interest—

Plans and intentions pertaining to such objects have been kept in abeyance, but now demand to be disposed of, and I think it will not appear to you hasty, or inconsiderate in me to withdraw an offer which I have, until now, felt both pledged and disposed to carry out if accepted.

I am Dear Sir

Respectfully & Very

Truly Yours

Nathl Jocelyn

Street died less than a month after this letter was written, but apparently not before he negotiated with the College to provide a studio and appoint Jocelyn curator of the newly-acquired (1864) James Jackson Jarves Collection of Italian Primitives (early Italian art [fig.VIII.5]).⁵⁰⁵ Jarves, like Jocelyn, was frustrated on a much grander scale in dealing with institutional bureaucracy. Jarves “had difficulty disposing of his collection

⁵⁰⁵ “Nathaniel Jocelyn Esq., one of the most distinguished American portrait artists and familiar with Italian art has been assigned a room in the splendid Street Building [Street Hall] of this city, and been appointed Art Counselor of the Institution.” *New Haven Palladium*, 1 August 1866.

FIGURE VIII.5.

Italian Primitives

THE CASE HISTORY OF A COLLECTION AND ITS CONSERVATION



*An Exhibition Celebrating the Centenary of Yale University's Acquisition of the Jarves Collection
Yale University Art Gallery / April-September 1972*

of Italian 'Primitives,' and after suffering much humiliation at the hands of the trustees of the Boston Athenaeum, he finally sold it in 1864 to Yale University for much less than its value."⁵⁰⁶

Along with the Jarves Collection, the Art collection from the old Trumbull Gallery (established in 1832) was moved into Street Hall.⁵⁰⁷ The art program that was part of the Trumbull Gallery became the first art curriculum connected to a university college. Jocelyn was involved in the early planning of the new building in which he maintained a studio. What was most ironic about Jocelyn's relationship with Street was that Street was on an elite committee of thirteen members appointed by the Mayor of New Haven to oppose Simeon's "Negro College." Street sat on the sub-committee to draft the negative "Resolutions" for the opposition. Yet Nathaniel guided Street to his benevolence and generosity for Art and the greater good of New Haven. Jocelyn had to rise above his personal convictions and cooperate with an anti-abolitionist and one who had humiliated his dear younger brother. Perhaps Jocelyn received some satisfaction that Street was instrumental in creating the arrangement with the College. A newspaper clipping c. 1880 said it well: "The venerable artist and patriot, Nathaniel Jocelyn, now 84 years of age, is recovering from an illness of ten weeks duration. Until his recent sickness

⁵⁰⁶ Lillian B. Miller, *Patrons and Patriotism* (Chicago: The University Of Chicago Press, 1966), 226.

⁵⁰⁷ Benjamin Silliman was instrumental in obtaining the funding for the construction of the Trumbull Gallery and was its first Curator.

Mr. Jocelyn has continued to exercise his art, and has his studio amid the pleasantest of surroundings in the Yale Art building.”⁵⁰⁸

Foster Wild Rice, Jocelyn’s great-grandson, wrote a concise ending to his *Bulletin* issue on Jocelyn, which bears quoting here:

The artist’s last few months of advanced age were shortened by a fall in the Yale College yard, from which he never fully recovered. Jocelyn died at his home on York Street on January 13, 1881, at the age of 85, and is buried in the Simeon Jocelyn plot, Grove Street Cemetery, New Haven. He was survived by six daughters: Sarah Anne Wild, Margaret Plant Hayes, Elizabeth Hannah Cleaveland, Frances Marie Peck, Cornelia Dorothea Foster, and Susan Eleanor Willard Jocelyn. Of his daughters, Elizabeth was an accomplished poetess and the author of *No Sects in Heaven* and other poems. Susan was well known as a short-story writer who had articles published in the magazines of the 1890 to 1915 period. Besides Jocelyn’s many works of art which perpetuate his memory, Jocelyn Square in New Haven was given in trust to the city by Nathaniel and Simeon Smith Jocelyn in 1858 provided that it would always be maintained as a public playground.⁵⁰⁹

Thus the long and full life of an American artist, inventor, evangelical Christian and immediate abolitionist ended. The intertwined lives and actions of the Jocelyn brothers were unique to the antislavery cause and to New Haven. One brother, Simeon, remained a public, religious figure. The other, Nathaniel, translated abolitionist ideas into images.

Throughout the period of this chapter, Simeon was fully immersed in the American Missionary Society, while Nathaniel pieced together his business and artistic life in an effort to provide financial security for both their families. All of Nathaniel’s

⁵⁰⁸ John Warner Barber scrapbook pages, 1832-1868, n.p. (Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC), microfilm, reel D22, frame 317.

⁵⁰⁹ Rice, *Nathaniel Jocelyn*, 107. Earlier, Nathaniel was involved in laying out many of the streets of New Haven, one of which was named Lynwood Place after the last syllable of his name.

business ventures, while significant, pale in comparison to his unchallenged contribution to the world of art—the Cinqué portrait. It remains in American art the most riveting image of a black African. If that portrait, that one stroke of true genius, remains as Jocelyn's legacy, then so be it. It was a hard fought victory, and it surely earned him the state of grace for which he longed (fig.VIII.6) (fig.VIII.7).

CONCLUSION

On the Sabbath, March 4, 1821, Nathaniel Jocelyn wrote in his diary, "May my faith be increased and may the Lord almighty direct my heart so that I may make a proper use of those abilities which he has given me, whatever may be their degree." He could not have foreseen the degree to which his abilities would be used. He began as an ambitious and enterprising young man, hoping to support his family and live by his Congregationalist values. Never, at the tender age of 25, did he imagine that almost two decades later he would produce a portrait so unique that it would remain one of American art's most inspired works.

As the debate over slavery plagued nineteenth-century America, did Nathaniel know that he would become an ardent abolitionist? Certainly, at the beginning of his career as he tried to establish himself as a portrait painter, abolition did not occupy his attention. One has to wonder whether Nathaniel would have embraced immediate abolition had it not been for the influence of his brother Simeon.

While I believe that Simeon certainly encouraged Nathaniel's participation in the abolitionist movement, Nathaniel's own life-course seemed to be headed in that direction

FIGURE VIII.6.

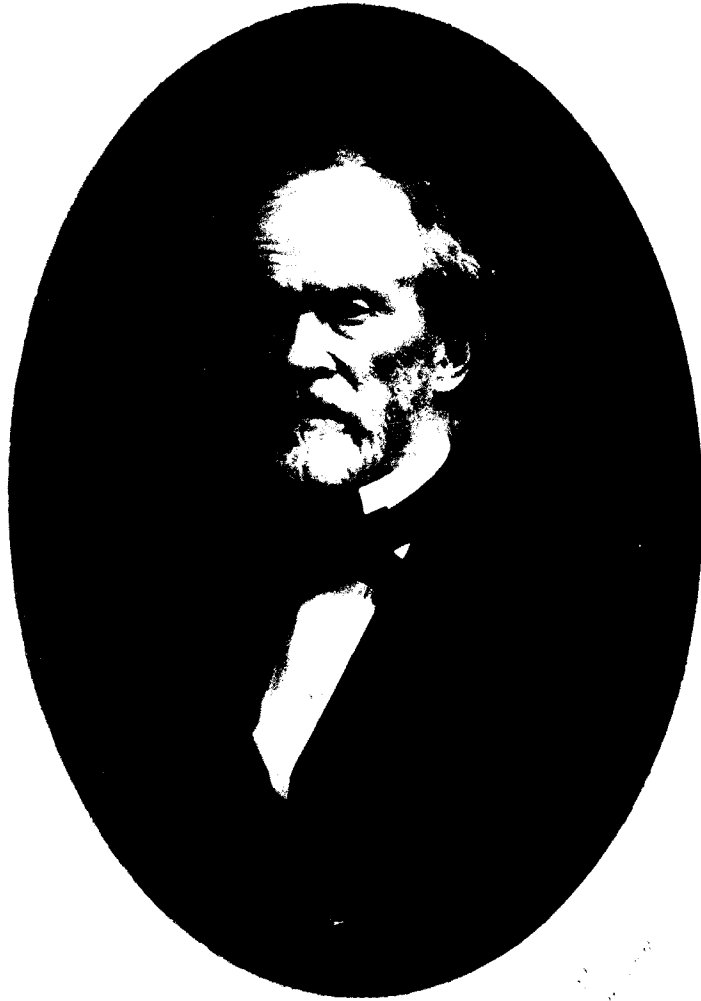
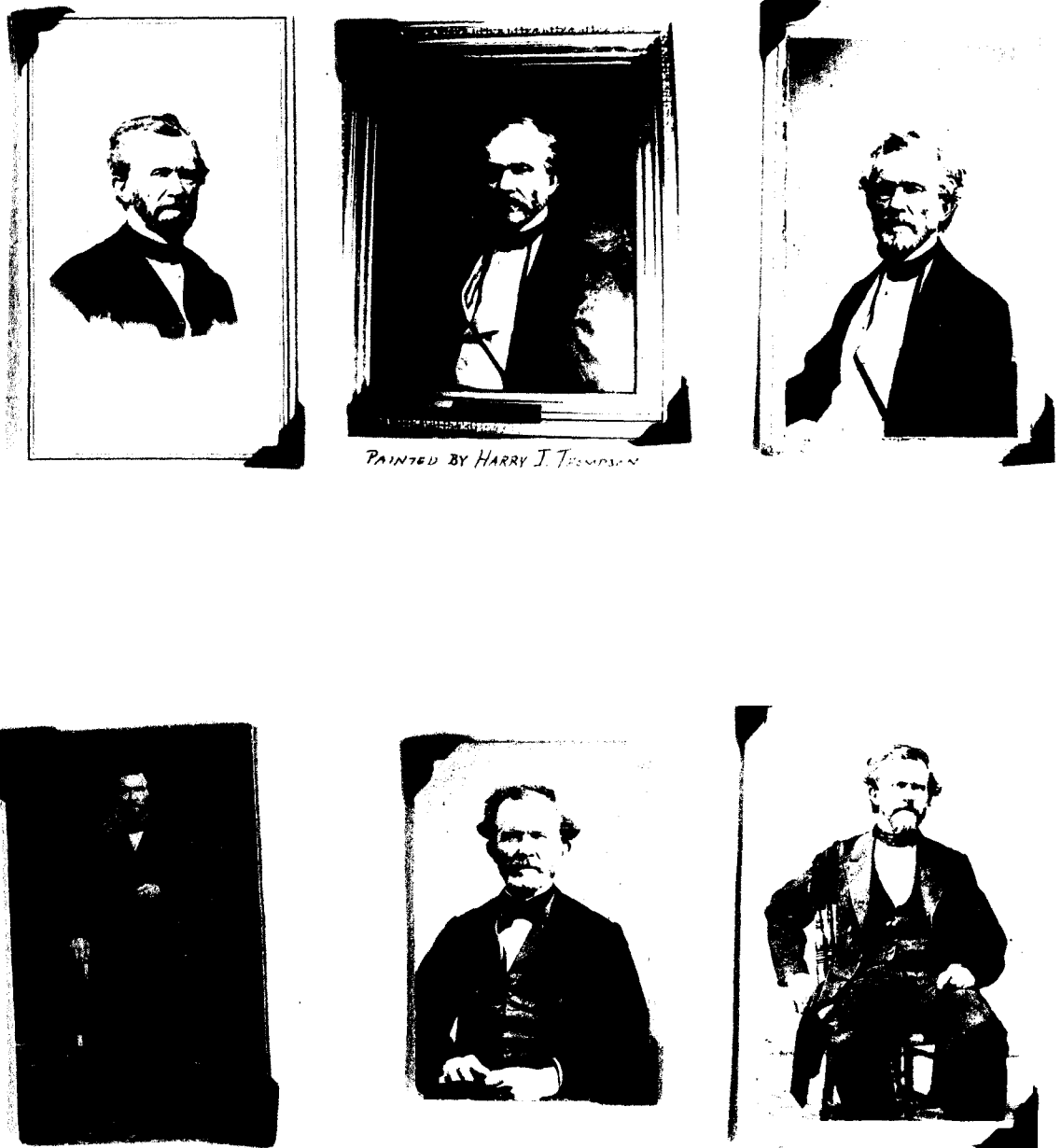


FIGURE VIII.7.



on its own. His increasingly evangelical Protestantism, his belief in doing good works, his talent as a painter, and his devotion to New Haven and his community led him to his abolitionist calling. However, unlike Simeon, a man of the pulpit and a more public figure, Nathaniel exercised his belief in antislavery most prominently through visual means. He became the most prominent abolitionist portrait painter of his time, and translated his abolitionist feelings onto canvas rather than in writing or through oratory. His willingness to paint portraits of Garrison, Ashmun, Thome, and Cinqué, in the face of possible danger, threats, or mob violence demonstrates the intensity of these convictions.

I sought to get at the core of Jocelyn the man, artist, and abolitionist, from the onset of his career to his death. I traced his professional life from the beginning of his first experiments with miniature painting, engraving, and portrait painting in oils, to the Grand Tour, the Cinqué portrait and ending with his curatorship at Yale. I contrasted how the self-taught Jocelyn learned his craft in comparison to the highly-developed and formalized training of the Royal Academy in England.

This study brings Nathaniel's religious beliefs under scrutiny, in light of his everyday hopes and fears. His religion and his art were the dual filters of his life experience. His convictions and his craft influenced one another throughout his life. Jocelyn was more than the result of his paintings; he was multifaceted, which is why interpreting art without understanding the artist can often lead to a shallow critique of method. If Jocelyn had not been an evangelical immediatist, the Cinqué portrait would have to be viewed in completely different manner. As this study illustrates, Jocelyn's day-to-day life shaped his painting. Through his diary, his deepest fears, hopes, and beliefs are revealed.

At the onset of this study, I was encouraged to pursue research on Jocelyn after viewing *Cinqué* in Guy McElroy's 1990 exhibition at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington, DC titled, *Facing History: The Black Image in American Art 1710-1940*. In my desire to pursue the subject of Jocelyn, I found the articles of three authors—Foster Wild Rice, Bernard Heinz, Eleanor Alexander—to be extremely useful. Later, as my project progressed, Richard Powell published the most thorough art historical article on abolitionist portraits, prominently featuring *Cinqué*.

However, other scholars have not recognized the extent of the numerous painterly and iconographical gestures in the *Cinqué* portrait, such as: evaluating his use of color and his affinity with Allston's *Uriel in the Sun*, connecting the image of Ecce Homo with *Cinqué*, placing the sitter in situ in New Haven by identifying the background as West Rock, recognizing Judges Cave for its historical relevance in relation to the regicides and New Haveners' past interest in freedom for fugitives, and comparing Jocelyn's painterly innovations and social commentary with Neagle's *Portrait of Pat Lyon at the Forge*.

Additionally, I am the first to determine with precision the date the portrait was painted, and to relate the newspaper advertisement to the sitting of Thome to the mystery of why Jocelyn restricted the hours of his studio. This study is the first to recognize the *Cinqué* portrait as a culmination of Jocelyn's artistic, religious and abolitionist convictions. Most importantly, as I suggest, Jocelyn through *Cinqué* created a visual abolitionist language that superseded any written text. His ability to challenge stereotypes in this single portrait, reveals him as a man who anticipated a time of racial equality. *Cinqué* broke new ground by actualizing the immediatists' strategy of getting whites to

think about black people without associating them with slavery, and to identify with them as equals. Jocelyn's portrait embodied these ambitions fully.

A crucial component of the immediatist strategy was the evangelical aspect of their endeavors; therefore, it is no surprise that Christian symbolism is intrinsic to the portrait. This suggests that immediatists like Jocelyn used the visual vocabulary of Christian martyrdom to reach an otherwise staid and unreflecting northern majority that might have ignored slavery as a southern problem. It is this majority that Jocelyn hoped to move by referencing *Ecce Homo* and *Judges Cave*. I believe Neagle sensed the power of the *Cinqué* portrait to present a non-discriminatory image of a black man and feared that Philadelphians were neither ready nor willing to accept the implications of the portrait's message. This explains Neagle's decision not to exhibit the painting.

It is still rare to find Nathaniel Jocelyn mentioned in art history books or texts on abolition. It is the intention of this dissertation to fill this void. Jocelyn's name is often omitted because historians have failed to recognize the emotional impact of the visual vocabulary of the immediatists. Jocelyn may have been among the first to develop the paradigm for making the arts an instrument for social justice.

The story of the Jocelyn brothers illuminates the need for historians to look beyond the major figures of the movement and recognize the impact of lesser-known servants of the cause. In some ways, because the Jocelyns and the Crandalls worked directly with African Americans they had more at stake, and personally stood to lose from their connection to abolition.

Were it not for this study, Nathaniel might have remained on the sidelines of abolitionist history in comparison to his better-known brother Simeon. It is Nathaniel's

time to join the canon of American Art and American Studies, an honor he has rightfully earned and richly deserves.

APPENDIX

CHECKLIST OF PAINTINGS, MINIATURES, AND DRAWINGS⁵¹⁰

BY NATHANIEL JOCELYN

1. ALEXANDER, ADAM LEOPOLD (1803-1882). Born January 29, 1803, at Sunbury, Ga., the son of Doctor Adam and Louisa Frederic Schmidt Alexander. Yale 1821. Married 1) April 29, 1823, Sarah Hillhouse Gilbert; 2) Mrs. Jane Marion Glenn. Studied law under Judge John MacPherson Berrien in Savannah, and was cashier of the Branch Bank of the State of Georgia in Washington, Ga. Died April 9, 1882, at Augusta, Ga. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1828. *Owner*: Miss Sarah Alexander Cunningham, Killingly, Conn., great grand-daughter of the subject.

2. ALEXANDER, MRS. ADAM LEOPOLD (SARAH HILLHOUSE GILBERT) (1805-1855). Born October 23, 1805, the daughter of Felix H. Gilbert of Washington, Ga. She died February 28, 1855. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1828. *Owner*: Miss Sarah Alexander Cunningham, Killingly, Conn., great grand-daughter of the subject.

3. ANDERSON, GEORGE WAYNE (1797-?). Married Eliza Clifford Stites in 1820. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821-1822. *Owner*: Unknown.

4. ANDERSON, MRS. GEORGE WAYNE (ELIZA CLIFFORD STITES) (1805-1865). Oil on canvas, 36 x 32 inches. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821-1822. *Owner*: In 1953, Mrs. Henry Norris Platt, Philadelphia, Pa., great grand-daughter of the subject.

5. ANDREWS, ETHAN ALLEN (1787-1858). Born April 7, 1787, in New Britain, Conn., the son of Levi and Chloe Wells Andrews. Yale, 1810. Married December 19, 1810, Lucy Cowles of Farmington. Professor of Ancient Languages at the University of North Carolina. In 1830 established the New Haven. Young Ladies Institute.

In 1833 moved to Boston and became the head of the Young Ladies School. In 1810 returned to New Britain and New Haven where he published a Latin-English *Lexicon, a First Latin Book, A Manual of Latin Grammar* and other Latin books. Established a school for young ladies at New Haven in 1841 where he taught two of Nathaniel Jocelyn's daughters. President of the Education Fund Company organized to provide funds and a building for the State Normal School. His later life was spent in his

⁵¹⁰ This information is from Foster Wild Rice, "Nathaniel Jocelyn—1796-1881," *The Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin*, Hartford v. 31, n. 4, (October 1966).

All sizes are approximate, recent portraits discoveries and this author's additions in *[Italics]*. Conflicting data may appear between the appendix and the body text. The body text should be considered the most accurate.

New Britain homestead where he died March 24, 1858. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1842-1843. Inscribed on back, "N. Jocelyn Pinxt."
Owner: Eugene F. Leach, New Britain, Conn.

6. ASHMUN, JEHUDI (1794-1828). Born April 21, 1794, in Champlain, N.Y., the son of Samuel Ashmun. University of Vermont 1816. Married October 7, 1818, Miss C. L. Gray. Licensed to preach after studying at Bangor Theological Seminary. Embarked for Liberia in charge of negro immigrants, becoming Governor of the Colony of Liberia. Broken health compelled him to return to the United States in 1828. Died August 25, 1828, in New Haven, and is buried at Ashmun Street Cemetery where a large tombstone marks his grave. Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1833. There is some error in setting 1833 as the year this portrait was painted. *Life and Times of Garrison* by Wendell Phillips Garrison and Frances Garrison Jackson, 1885, states that it was being painted in 1833, the same year as Jocelyn's portrait of William Lloyd Garrison. From cemetery and other records, Ashmun died in 1828, but it is possible that Jocelyn painted his portrait from recollection and some other likenesses in 1833. *Owner:* Unknown.

7. ATWATER, CHARLES (1785-1865). Born August 28, 1785, in New Haven, Conn., the son of Timothy and Susan Macumber Atwater. Married 1) January 8, 1808, Lucy Root; 2) August 14, 1822, Mrs. Mary Williams Denman Ten Brook. Died December 31, 1865, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1825-1826. *Owner:* Thomas Elmes, Norwalk, Conn., great grandson of the subject.

8. ATWATER, MRS. CHARLES (MARY WILLIAMS DENMAN TEN BROOK) (1789-1877). She married 1) Joseph Ten Brook in 1810; 2) Charles Atwater in 1822. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1825-1826. *Owner:* Mrs. Frederick L. Birkman, great grand-daughter of Simeon Smith Jocelyn.

9. ATWATER, REVEREND EDWARD ELIAS (1816-1887). Born May 28, 1816, the son of Elihu and Julia E. Thompson Atwater. Yale 1826. Married August 9, 1811, the (daughter of David Dana of Pomfret, Vt., and great-granddaughter of General Israel Putnam. Pastor of the Congregational Church in Ravenna, OH., 1841, and was later Pastor at Salmon Falls, N.H., after which he returned to organize and become Pastor of the Davenport Church in New Haven, 1863-1870. He was author of *History of the Colony of New Haven* published posthumously in 1902. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1840. Inscribed, "N Jocelyn pinxt 1810." *Owner:* Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., gift of Mrs. John J. Meyers.

10. BADGER, REVEREND MILTON (1800-1873). Born May 6, 1800, in Coventry, Conn. Yale 1823. Married May 7, 1828, Clarissa Munger. His parish was at South Congregational Church, Andover, Conn., in 1827, and he was Associate Secretary of the Home Missionary Society, 1845. Died March 1, 1873, in Madison, Conn. Oil on canvas, 20 x 15 inches. Painted in New York, N.Y., 1847. *Owner:* Mrs. D. Wilson Briggs, Clinton, Conn., great granddaughter of the subject.

11. BADGER, MRS. MILTON (CLARISSA MUNGER) (1806-1889). Born May 20, 1806, in East Guilford, Conn., the daughter of George and Parnel Kelsey Munger. An artist in flower painting, Mrs. Badger was said to be the best in America in her day. Died December 14, 1889. Oil on canvas, 20 x 15 inches. Painted in New York, N.Y., 1846-1847. *Owner*: Mrs. D. Wilson Briggs, Clinton, Conn., great-granddaughter of the subject.

12. BALDWIN, GOVERNOR ROGER SHERMAN (1793-1863). Born January 4, 1793, in New Haven, Conn., the son of Simeon and Rebecca Sherman Baldwin. Yale 1811. Married Emily Perkins of Hartford in 1820. Admitted to the Bar 1814. Member of the New Haven City Council, 1826, and the State Senate, 1837 and 1838. In 1840 and 1841 he was Representative from New Haven to the General Assembly. Served in 1841 as an attorney, with John Quincy Adams, for Cinqué in the United States Supreme Court. Governor of Connecticut, 1844-1846, and a delegate from Connecticut to the National Peace Conference, 1861, in Washington, D.C. Died February 19, 1863, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1845. For this portrait and two other works, Jocelyn was awarded first prize and the gold palette (now owned by CHS) at the New Haven Horticultural Society Fair, 1845. *Owner*: Mattatuck Historical Society, Waterbury, Conn.

13. BARRELL, THEODORE (1771-1845). Born March 9, 1771, in Boston, Mass. Married March 29, 1800, Elizabeth Beckels Gall of Demerara, British Guiana, the sister of Mary Judith Gall Benjamin Lanman. Educated in England, and then went to sea. For a time he lived in the West Indies, and in Demerara, moving in 1806 to Norwich, Conn., where he built his house. He later moved to New London, Conn., and still later to Saugerties, N.Y. Oil on wood, 27 x 21 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1825-1826. *Owner*: The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn., gift of Foster W. Rice.

14. BARRELL, THEODORA (1806-?). Born April 20, 1806, in London, England, the daughter of Theodore and Elizabeth Beckels Gall Barrell. She married June 10, 1826, in New York City, Ferdinand Massa, and later lived in Saugerties, N.Y. They next moved west but finally settled in New York City. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1825-1826. *Owner*: Unknown.

15. BASSETT, MRS. SAMUEL ANDREW (SOPHIA PHILLIPS). Married January 24, 1865, Samuel Andrew Bassett. Oil on canvas or wood, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., before 1873. *Owner*: Unknown.

16. BEARDSLEY, REVEREND EBEN EDWARDS (1808-1891). Born January 8, 1808, at Monroe, Conn., the son of Elihu and Ruth Edwards Beardsley. Trinity 1832. Married Jane Margaret Matthews of St. Simon's Island, Ga. In 1838 was Principal of Cheshire Academy and Rector of St. Peter's Church in Cheshire, Conn. Rector of St. Thomas's Church in New Haven in 1848, and when a new church was built in 1855, he continued to be its Rector until his death in 1891. Vice-President of the New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1862-1873, and its President 1873-1884. He was also editor of many publications, including *Life and Career of Samuel Johnson D.D.*, 1874. In 1884 he was one of a deputation to commemorate the consecration of Bishop Seabury of Connecticut

at Aberdeen, Scotland. Died December 21, 1891, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, 36 x 27 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1870-1871. *Owner*: St. Thomas' Church, New Haven, Conn.

17. BEARDSLEY, ELIZABETH MARGARET (1844-?). Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1871.
Owner: St. Thomas' Church, New Haven, Conn.

18. BEERS, NATHAN (1753-1849). Born in Stratford, Conn., on February 24, 1753, the son of Nathan and Hannah Nichols Beers. Married Mary Phelps. A charter member of the Second Company, Governor's Foot Guard, and served in the Revolution at Cambridge in April of 1775. Paymaster from March 1777 until the army was disbanded. In 1777 he was commissioned as Ensign by Governor Jonathan Trumbull. After the war he was Steward of Yale College, and was a Deacon in the North Congregational Church, New Haven, 1804—1849. He was one of the officers in charge of Major Andre from the time of the Englishman's capture to his execution. The Major gave Beers a sketch of himself, now owned by Yale University. Died February 11, 1849, in New Haven. Oil on wood, 25 x 20 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1826. *Owner*: New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Conn., gift of Mrs. Ferree Brinton, 1921.

19. BEERS, DOCTOR TIMOTHY PHELPS (1789-1858). Born December 25, 1789, the son of Nathan and Mary Phelps Beers. Yale 1808. Married 1) Caroline Mills; 2) Mary Ann Barney Whiting. In 1813 served as a surgeon in the New London militia, and practiced as a physician in New Haven until his death. He was appointed Professor in Obstetrics at Yale, 1830-1856, and died November 22, 1858. Brother-in-law of Doctor Eli Ives. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1830.
Owner: Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., gift of Mrs. Beers.

20. BENJAMIN, CAPTAIN PARK (1769-1824). Born October 5, 1769, in Preston, Conn., the son of David and Lucy Parke Benjamin. Left an orphan before he was 16, he lived with relatives who took an active part in his education. Married August 22, 1801, Mary Judith Gall of Barbados. Apprenticed to his father as a shoemaker, but soon turned his interest to the sea. In 1797 he commanded the sloop *Prosperity*, next the brig *Nancy*. While in command of the brig *Hannah*, he was taken prisoner by the British to St. Kitts, and released at St. Thomas. Continued in ocean travel until the War of 1812. In the meantime he had taken up residence in Demerara, British Guiana, establishing the shipping firm of Bino & Benjamin, with an associate agency of Kelly & Benjamin in Norwich, Conn. Moved to Norwich 1812-1813, and also maintained a residence in Colchester, Conn. In 1822 he moved to New Haven where his two sons attended Yale. Sailed for Demerara in 1824 with his son, Christopher, and was lost at sea. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1824. Inscribed on back of canvas, "N. Jocelyn Pinxt New Haven, 1824"; and on stretcher frame, "170." *Owner*: The late J. Lewis Stackpole, Boston, Mass., great-grandson of the subject.

21. BENJAMIN, CAPTAIN PARK (1769-1824). Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1825-1826. Replica of the original 1824 portrait. Inscribed on

back of canvas prior to restoration, "N. Jocelyn Pinxt 1825"; and on back of stretcher frame, "Wm Gill Esq." *Owner*: Henry Rogers Benjamin, New York, N.Y., great grandson of the subject.

22. BENJAMIN, CAPTAIN PARK (1769-1824). Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1825-1826. A replica of the original 1824 portrait. *Owner*: Mrs. Edward B. Stafford-Smith, Madison, N.J., great-great granddaughter of the subject.

23. BENJAMIN, MARY ELIZABETH (1813-1874). Daughter of Captain Park [20] and Mary Judith Gall Benjamin. She married March 2, 1837, John Lothrop Motley. Oil on wood, 8 x 6 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1825. Inscribed on back of panel, "N. Jocelyn Pinxt New Haven 1825." *Owner*: The late J. Lewis Stackpole, Boston, Mass., grand-nephew of the subject.

24. BENJAMIN, SUSAN MARGARET (1815-1896). Daughter of Captain Park and Mary Judith Gall Benjamin. She married March 2, 1837, Joseph Lewis Stackpole. Oil on wood, 8 x 6 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1825. Inscribed on back of panel, "N. Jocelyn Pinxt New Haven Conn. 1825." *Owner*: The late J. Lewis Stackpole, Boston, Mass., grandson of the subject.

25. BERRIEN, JUDGE JOHN MACPHERSON (1781-1856). Born August 23, 1781, in Rocky Hill, N.J., the son of John and Margaret MacPherson Berrien. Princeton 1796. Studied law under Judge Joseph Clay of Savannah, Ga., and was admitted to practice in 1799. In 1809 he became Solicitor General for the Eastern Circuit and later Judge of the same Circuit until 1821. Served for a time in the General Assembly, and in 1824 was elected to the United States Senate. Resigning from the Senate in 1829, he became Attorney General in President Jackson's first Cabinet. President Jackson offered him a mission to England, which he declined, and Martin Van Buren was appointed in his place. Resuming his seat in the Senate in 1841, he was re-elected in 1847 and served until 1852. In 1845 he was elected Judge of the Supreme Court of Georgia, and also practiced his profession in Savannah and in the courts of Florida, South Carolina, and Washington, D.C. Died January 1, 1856, in Washington. Oil on canvas, 26 x 21 inches. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1822. *Owner*: Mrs. Josephine Berrien Taylor, Brunswick, Ga., great-granddaughter of the subject.

26. BERRIEN, MRS. RICHARD MCALLISTER (ELIZABETH DALONEY) (?-1840) and daughter, MARTHA DALONEY BERRIEN (1820-1896). Mrs. Berrien married Richard McAllister Berrien October 25, 1818. He died in 1820, and she married again, General Robert Taylor. Oil on canvas, three quarter length, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., May 1822. This painting was mutilated by the bayonets of General Sherman's soldiers in 1864, and was later restored to make the portrait of Martha Daloney Berrien. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "May 14, [1822]. Finished Mrs. Berriens portrait by glazing drapery &c. with lake Asphaltum & lake."

27. BERRIEN, MARTHA DALONEY (1820-1896). Born August 20, 1820, the daughter of Richard McAllister and Elizabeth Daloney Berrien. Married Doctor Hugh Nesbit, and died July 16, 1896. Oil on canvas, 18 x 14 inches. Painted in Savannah, Ga., May 1822. This portrait was restored from the original canvas of Mrs. Richard McAllister Berrien and daughter. *Owner*: Mrs. Lucia Berrien Starnes Monroe, Vienna, Ga., great-granddaughter of the subject.
28. BLAKE, ELI WHITNEY (1795-1886). Born January 27, 1795, at West-borough, Mass., the son of Eli and Elizabeth Whitney Blake. Yale 1816. Married Eliza M. O'Brien in 1822. Following graduation, became an assistant to his uncle, Eli Whitney, at his gun factory in New Haven, and later became a *partner* in Blake Brothers, hardware manufacturers. In 1851 he became interested in road building, and invented the stone crusher in 1857. One of the founders of the Connecticut Academy of Art and Sciences, and served as its President. Died August 18, 1886, at his home in New Haven at the age of 92. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1847. *Owner*: Unknown.
29. BRADLEY, LEONARD A. (1797-1875). Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1823. Inscribed on back of canvas, "Leonard A. Bradley Painted 1823." *Owner*: New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Conn., gift of Miss Susan L. Bradley, 1915.
30. BRONSON, DOCTOR HENRY (1804-1889). Born January 30, 1804, the son of Judge Bennett and Anne Smith Bronson. Yale 1827. Married June 3, 1831, Sarah Miles Lathrop [31]. Practiced medicine in Canada and Waterbury, Conn. In 1842 he filled the Chair of Materia Medica and Therapeutics in the Yale Medical School. He contributed articles to the *Connecticut Medical Journal* and wrote *History of the City of Waterbury*, published in 1858. He was President of the Connecticut Medical Society, 1869, and died April 29, 1889, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1879-1880. This is presumed to be the original portrait painted by Jocelyn shortly before the artist's death in 1881. A copy of this portrait was made by Miss Irene Parmelee, a pupil of Jocelyn, and is now owned by Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn. *Owner*: New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Conn.
31. BRONSON, MRS. HENRY (SARAH MILES LATHROP) (1811-1888). Daughter of Senator Samuel and Mary McCrackan Lathrop. Oil on canvas, 26 x 21 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1879-1880. Probably painted from an earlier photograph. *Owner*: C. Bronson Weed, New Haven, Conn., great grandson of the subject.
32. BRONSON, DOCTOR STEPHEN HENRY (1844-1880). Born February 18, 1844, the son of Doctor Henry [303] and Sarah Miles Lathrop Bronson. Yale 1866. Studied in Paris, returning to New Haven where he opened an extensive medical practice in 1870. President of the New Haven Medical Association, and served on the City Board of Health. Died August 19, 1880. Oil on canvas, 25 x 20 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., perhaps in 1880. While no proof has been established, this portrait was undoubtedly copied from a photograph of Doctor Bronson taken by William Notman, of

Montreal, Canada, in the 1870's. As Doctor Bronson died only a few months before Jocelyn, it can be presumed that the artist began the portrait after Doctor Bronson's death August 19, 1880, but did not complete it before his own death January 13, 1881. *Owner*: Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

33. BRYAN, JOSEPH. Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821-1822. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "May 28 [1821] Began to copy a portrait of Joseph Bryan from one done by Vanderlyn painted in Paris in 1800. Traced the head on muslin and it is the first experiment of the kind I ever tried . . . Jan. 7, 1822. I called upon Mrs. Bryan and found that the portrait of Mr. Bryan was in miserable state, having greatly changed in appearance since drying. Jan. 8th. Painted on the linen of Mr. Bryan. It was too leaden, the original is yellow green." *Owner*: Unknown.

34. BRYAN, MRS. JOSEPH. Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1822. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "Jan. 7, 1822. In the afternoon I commenced repainting her portrait Proceeded by scumbling opaque colour, it being too light an experiment. . . ." *Owner*: Unknown.

35. CAPERS, REVEREND WILLIAM (1790-1855). Born January 31, 1790, in St. Thomas Parish, S.C., the son of William and Mary Singeltary Capers. Married 1) January 13, 1813, Anna White; 2) October 13, 1816, Susan McGill. Entered South Carolina College 1805. Ill health compelled him to re-enter the college in 1807, and leave in 1808. Licensed as a Methodist preacher, he was ordained Deacon in 1810, and Elder in 1812. Consecrated Bishop May 14, 1846, of the Methodist Episcopal Church South. Died January 29, 1855, in South Carolina. Oil on millboard, 12 x 10 inches. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821. Inscribed on back of panel, "Wm Capers N. Jocelyn Pinxt 1821." From Jocelyn's diary notes: "Feb. 9 [1821] Mr. Capers came in about noon and engaged his portrait 10 by 12 inches for 30 dollars. Told him I would deduct 10 dollars from the head size but he chose rather to have it smaller. Placed him in different positions and fixed on the attitude and light—he will come tomorrow at 10 o'clock. Feb. 10 Mr. Capers sat from 10 to 12 in which time I sketched and dead coloured the head—made out the effect without any yellow—of cool tints of vermilion and black and black thin shadows. Mr. Capers sat rather more than an hour in the afternoon in which time I corrected the drawing increased the effect and blended the colours so that the picture does not have that raw effect which many of my portraits have on the first painting . . . Feb. 12 1821. Just as I was nearly ready to commence on Mr. Capers head a person called him off . . . Feb. 17, 1821. Mr. Capers came at [half] past 9 and sat till nearly 12, during which time I painted in the Coat & linnen and worked a little on the hair though at no great effect. . . ." *Owner*: Emory University, Atlanta, Ga., gift in 1916.

36. CHITTENDEN, MARY HARTWELL (1840-1871). Born August 18, 1840, the daughter of Simeon B. and Mary Elizabeth Hartwell Chittenden. Married Doctor William T. Lusk, Professor at Bellevue Hospital in New York City. Oil on wood, 18½ x 15 inches, oval sight. Painted in New York, N.Y., 1843. *Owner*: In 1947, Miss Anna Hartwell Lusk, New York, N.Y., daughter of the subject.

37. CINQUÉ (?-1879). African Chieftain of the Mendi tribe. In 1839 was leader of the *Amistad* captives. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches, half length, oval sight. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1839. *Owner*: New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Conn.
38. COE, ELIAS V. (?-?). Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821. See William H. Coe. *Owner*: Unknown.
39. COE, MRS. (?-?). Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821. *Owner*: Unknown.
40. COE, WILLIAM H. (?-?). Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "Feb. 5 [1821] Coe came at 3 and sat till nearly five. Painted on the face advanced some as a painting, though too leaden. Lost some of the likeness but can regain it. Feb. 6th. About twelve began the third painting on Coe's back ground which took me until 2. In the afternoon painting on the coat. Feb. 7 Coe came and sat 3 to 5 in which time I forwarded the chiaroscuro of the face, remedied the drawing which inclined the head forward. Painted up the hair . . . Feb. 9th After dinner Coe sat about an hour. Corrected the picture in many parts both as to drawing and colouring— Removed the right eye nearer the nose, and left it in a fit condition to finish by glazing, scumbling and leading. Glazed down the off cheek with pure vermilion very thin . . . Feb. 21. Coe not being here at the time agreed on I touched up the drapery of his brother's portrait . . . Feb. 23 Painted the buttons &c to Coe's coat when it was dark so as to be able only to set off my colours . . . Negus called just at this time and on seeing the head I began yesterday of Coe's brother he was decided in saying it was better than anything I had before done in one sitting." *Owner*: Unknown.
41. COIT, JANE (1843-1848). Born November 13, 1843, the daughter of Daniel T. and Jane Griswold Lanman Coit. She died August 1848 in Boston, Mass. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1848. *Owner*: Colonel T. H. McHatton, Athens, Ga. (last known).
42. CONVERSE, SHERMAN (1790-1873). Born April 17, 1790, in Thompson, Conn., the son of Chester and Esther Green Converse. Yale 1813. Married 1) Anne Huntington Perkins of Windham; 2) Eliza Bruen Nott of Franklin. Appointed College Butler 1813-1815, remaining in New Haven where he established himself in the printing, publishing and bookselling business. Publisher of the *Connecticut Journal* 1817-1826, and also publisher of the first edition of Webster's *Dictionary*. He had a publishing business in New York City, 1828, and resided in Quebec 1838-1844. Moved to Boston Highlands, Mass., 1863, where he died December 10, 1873. Oil on wood, 12 x 10 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1826. *Owner*: In 1951, Miss Eliza Nott Converse, Dedham, Mass., granddaughter of the subject.
43. CONVERSE, MRS. SHERMAN (ELIZA NOTT BRUEN) (1798-1845). She married 1) the Reverend Barnabas Bruen; 2) Sherman Converse in 1824. Oil on wood, 12 x 10 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1826. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "March

16 Thursday. Afternoon first sitting from Mrs. Converse on pannel 10 x 12. She sat 3 hours & over—drew the head & dead coloured the face with much success—used only 2 tints Lt Red & white improved by $\frac{1}{4}$ vermilion, & the shade two [?] composed of Blk. w 2R. & Li—with here & there a touch of 2nd Red, & lead tint—18th Mrs. Converse sat from 10 to nearly 1. about 2 1/2 hours—repainted the face (thus far I have painted the shadows with white in the shade tint—no transparent shadows—laid in the hair with Black, Red, & yellow & white—with some general effect of light & shadow—Sketched the form—& began the Vandyke, & Cap—In this sitting I used no light Red—but Vermilion &c Toward night laid in the background—part of which is a Landscape—Thus far I have proceeded with more certainty & produced a finer effect that ever I have before—the happy effect of a lead coloured ground in a beginning was most manifest—It contributes greatly to clearness—” *Owner*: In 1951, Miss Eliza Nott Converse, Dedham, Mass., granddaughter of the subject.

44. CROSWELL, REVEREND HARRY (1778-1858). Born June 16, 1778, in West Hartford, Conn., the son of Caleb and Hannah Kellogg Croswell. Married August 16, 1800, Susan Sherman. His early education was received from Reverend Doctor Nathan Perkins, and he lived with the family of Noah Webster. A well-known editor and clergyman who, in 1802, was brought to trial for his publication, the *Wasp*. After being jailed by his Federalist creditors, he gave up his career as a journalist and devoted the rest of his life to the Ministry. Installed in 1815 as Rector of Trinity Church in New Haven, where he remained until his death March 13, 1858. Oil on canvas, 36 x 26 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1847. Entry in Elizabeth Jocelyn's diary reads, “August 31, 1847. Went to father's room. Saw Dr. Croswell's portrait.” *Owner*: New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Conn., gift of the heirs of Cyrus Curtis, 1888.

45. DAGGETT, JUDGE DAVID (1764-1851). Born December 31, 1764, in Attleborough, Mass., the son of Thomas and Sibulah Stanley Daggett. Yale 1783. Married 1) September 10, 1786, Wealthy Ann Munson; 2) Mary Lines. Admitted to the Bar in 1786, settling in New Haven. He was frequently a Representative, Speaker of the House, and a member of the New Haven *City Council*. From 1813 to 1819 he was United States Senator, and from 1826 to 1832, Judge of the Supreme Court. He was also States Attorney, Mayor of New Haven, and Professor of Law at Yale. Served as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Connecticut from 1832 until his death April 12, 1851. Oil on canvas, 31 x 26 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1827. *Owner*: David L. Daggett, New Haven, Conn., great-great grandson of the subject.

46. DAGGETT, MRS. DAVID (WEALTHY ANN MUNSON) (1766-1839). Daughter of Doctor Eneas and Susannah Howell Munson. Oil on canvas, 31 x 26 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1827-1828. *Owner*: David L. Daggett, New Haven, Conn., great-great grandson of the subject.

47. DANFORTH, MOSELEY ISAAC (1800-1862). Born December 7, 1800, in Hartford, Conn., the son of Edward and Jerusha Moseley Danforth. Married Mrs.

Hannah B. Duryee in 1843. In 1816 he was apprenticed to Asaph Willard, the engraver. Later he founded the Hartford Graphic Bank Note Engraving Company with Nathaniel Jocelyn and Elkanah Tisdale. From 1821 to 1826 he was in the engraving business in New Haven and New York City. One of the founders of the National Academy of Design. In 1827 he moved to London, England, where Jocelyn visited him from summer to late December, 1829. Returned to New Haven in 1837, and later to New York City where he founded, in 1839, Danforth, Underwood & Company. He continued with this parent partnership and its successors until 1858 when, as Danforth, Perkins & Company, it merged into the American Bank Note Company of New York. Oil on canvas, 15 x 12 inches. Painted in London, England, late 1829, with the artist, William Humphreys. *Owner*: National Academy of Design, New York, N.Y., gift of Miss Mary Danforth Lodge, 1942.

48. DAVIES, REVEREND THOMAS FREDERICK (1793-1865). Born August 24, 1793, in Redding, Conn., the son of Doctor Thomas Davies. Yale 1813. Married 1) Julia Sanford of Redding; 2) Elizabeth Merriman Jocelyn of New Haven. Licensed to preach in 1816 at the Congregational Church in Huntington, Conn., where he was ordained Pastor in 1817. Because of ill health, he moved to New Haven in 1819 and became editor of the *Christian Spectator*, and later the *Religious Intelligencer*. Pastor from 1829 to 1839 of the Congregational Church in Green Farms, Westport, Conn. Resided in New Haven and Westport the remainder of his life, and died in Westport February 16, 1865. Oil on wood, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1826. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "Tues {March} 7th A sitting from T. F. Davies . . . trying to correct the face. Did experiments with Roman ochre. . . ." *Owner*: Unknown.

49. DE FOREST, FRANCESCA TOMASA ISABEL (1812-1860). Daughter of David C. and Julia Wooster De Forest. Married June 9, 1832, John Bay Van Ness of Claverack, N.Y. Oil on wood, 12 x 10 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1823. Inscribed on back of panel, "Frances De Forest AE 10 N Jocelyn Pinxt 1823." *Owner*: Lee Smith Antiques, Madison, Conn.

50. DE FOREST, PASTORA JACOBA (1815-?). Daughter of David C. and Julia Wooster De Forest. Married October 29, 1836, Charles A. Griffin of N.Y. Oil on wood, 12 x 9 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1823. *Owner*: Lee Smith Antiques, Madison, Conn.

51. DEVEREUX, MRS. JOHN (FRANCES POLLOCK) (1771-1849). She married John Devereux in 1790. Oil on canvas, 12 x 10 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1826. *Owner*: Devereux Robinson, New York, N.Y.

51a. [Durrie, Clarissa (?-?). née Clark. Mother of George and John (Jr.) Durrie. Descendant of William Bradford of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Painted in New Haven, 1837. Oil on wood panel 12 x 9 inches. Owner: Private collection]

51b. [Durrie, George Henry (1820-1863). *The artist, son of John and Clarrissa Durrie. He married Susan Perkins in 1841. Painted in New Haven, 1837. Oil on wood panel 9 x 8 inches. Owner: Private collection*]

51c. [Durrie, John (1792-1858). *Father of George and John Durrie. He was a partner in Durrie & Peck, publishers, stationers and booksellers. Painted in New Haven, 1837. Oil on wood panel 12 x 9 inches. Owner: Private collection*]

52. DWIGHT, MRS. TIMOTHY (MARY WOOLSEY) (1754-?). Daughter of Benjamin and Esther Isaacs Woolsey; she married March 3, 1777, Timothy Dwight (1752-1817), President of Yale College. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1823. *Owner:* Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., gift of Mrs. Mary Dwight, widow of Winthrop Edwards Dwight, great-grandson of the subject, 1953.

53. FINN, (?-?). Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1822. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "Jan 1, 1822. In the afternoon I finished the portrait of Finn by glazing the background and in fact almost the whole of the piece with a transparent negative. Feb. 6. Sketched Finn's head. The drawing was more firm and massy than I have ever before done and I also made the outline more square and angular which I was enabled to do from the peculiar character of the head . . . Feby 7th . . . I propose with the head of Finn to begin the shadows with black & vermilion through which the brown ground transpires moderately—to glaze over with Vandike brown and Indian red or vermilion, and in the deeper red shadows as about the corners of the lips and the ears to use Vandyke brown or Ivory black & Lake—I successfully used the blue black tints in the retiring parts and demi tints made the hair as massy as possible and in the forehead I used blue in a pure colour plentifully as his forehead was very clear & silvery—." *Owner:* Unknown.

54. FITCH, JOHN (1780-1858). The son of Nathaniel and Mary Thompson Fitch. He married October 11, 1810, Patty Bradley. President of the Mechanics Bank in New Haven. Oil on canvas, 31 x 26 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1842—1843. *Owner:* Mrs. Anna Fitch Ardenghi, Laissaud (Savoie), France, great grand-daughter of the subject.

55. FITCH, MRS. JOHN (PATTY BRADLEY) (1793-1866). Daughter of Aaron and Patience Todd Bradley. Oil on canvas, 31 x 26 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1842-1843. *Owner:* Mrs. Anne Fitch Ardenghi, Laissaud (Savoie), France, great grand-daughter of the subject.

56. FITCH, JOHN WILLIAM. Married September 6, 1843, Jane Louisa Trowbridge. He was a cashier at the Mechanics Bank in New Haven. Oil on canvas, 31 x 26 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1842—1843. *Owner:* Mrs. Anne Fitch Ardenghi, Laissaud (Savoie), France, great grand-niece of the subject.

57. FORBES, WILLIAM JEHIEL (1794-1839). Married September 22, 1817, Charlotte Antoinette Root. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1839-

1840. Entry in Frances Jocelyn's diary states, "Dec. 18, 1839. Mr. Forbes, who was taken sick, died this morn. Father is taking his likeness." *Owner*: In 1953, William Belknap, Goshen, KY.

58. FORBES, MRS. WILLIAM JEHIEL (CHARLOTTE ANTOINETTE ROOT) (1798-1886). Daughter of Joel and Eleanor Strong Root. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1839-1840. *Owner*: In 1953, William Belknap, Goshen, KY.

59. FOSTER, MRS. ELEAZER (MARY PIERREPONT O'BRIEN) (1778-1852). Daughter of John and Sarah Beers Pierrepont. Married 1) November 11, 1796, Edward J. O'Brien, printer in New Haven; 2) Eleazer Foster, a lawyer, January 12, 1806. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1847-1848. *Owner*: In 1950, Pierrepont B. Foster, Hamden, Conn., great grandson of the subject.

60. FOSTER, MRS. PIERREPONT BEERS (STELLA LAW BISHOP) (1814-1845). Daughter of Abraham and Betsey Law Bishop. Married as his first wife, July 16, 1838, Pierrepont Beers Foster. Oil on canvas, 33 1/2 x 28 1/2 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., or New York, N.Y., 1846, from recollection and tintype, after her death April 11, 1845. *Owner*: In 1950, Pierrepont B. Foster, Hamden, Conn., grandson of the subject.

61. GARRISON, WILLIAM LLOYD (1805-1879). Born December 10, 1805, in Newburyport, Mass., the son of Abijah and Frances Maria Lloyd Garrison. Married September 4, 1834, Helen Eliza Benson of Providence, R.I. In 1826 he owned and edited the *Free Press* in Newburyport, Mass., and the *Journal of the Times* in Bennington, Vt. In 1829 he joined Benjamin Lundy to edit the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in Baltimore, Md. Moving to Boston in 1831, he founded the *Liberator* which continued until 1865. In 1833 he assisted in founding the New England Anti-Slavery Society, followed by the American Anti-Slavery Society. For his views published in the *Liberator*, the Georgia State Legislature offered a reward for his apprehension in 1831. In 1835 he was rescued from mob violence on Boston Common where he attempted to speak. Visited England in 1833, 1842 and 1846 as a representative abolitionist, and again in 1867. He was the author of *Thoughts on African Colonization*, 1832, sonnets and other poems. Made his home in "Freedom Cottage," Roxbury, Mass. Died May 24, 1879, in New York City, and is buried in Boston. Oil on wood, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1833. Inscribed on back, "Wm Lloyd Garrison N. Jocelyn Pinxt 1833." Many references to this portrait appear in *The Life and Times of Garrison* by Wendell Phillips Garrison and Frances Jackson Garrison, 1885, and in another book published by the authors en-titled *The Works of Garrison*, containing a biographical sketch, list of portraits, biography and chronology. Garrison's life was constantly endangered, due to his writings and abolitionist works. He gave Jocelyn two three-day sittings, during which time he was kept shut up by the artist in a room adjoining his studio, so arranged that a safe exit could be managed. In 1834 a steel engraving of Garrison was made by Jocelyn's brother, Simeon Smith Jocelyn, the plates being offered for sale to further the funds of the anti-slavery cause. The Nathaniel Jocelyn portrait was a success, but, in Garrison's opinion, the steel engraving was a total failure as to his likeness. *Owner*: In 1955, Garrison

Norton, Washington, D.C., great-grandson of the subject. *[In the Collection of the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.]*

62. GERRY, THOMAS RUSSELL (1794–1845). Son of Elbridge and Ann Thompson Gerry. Harvard 1814. An officer in the United States Navy. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown *[oil on panel, 12 x 10 inches, signed on the reverse "N. Jocelyn, N.A. p. 1846."]*. Painted in New York, N.Y., 1846. *Owner*: In 1951, Thomas Gerry Townsend, New York, N.Y.

63. GOODRICH, REVEREND CHAUNCEY ALLEN (1790-1860). Born October 23, 1790, in New Haven, Conn., the son of Elizur and Ann Willard Allen Goodrich. Yale 1810. Married Julia Frances, second daughter of Noah Webster. A tutor at Yale, 1812-1814. In 1816 he was ordained Pastor of a church in Connecticut. In 1817 he accepted professorship of Rhetoric and Oratory at Yale, and in 1839 was transferred to the Chair of Pastoral Theology in the Theological Department. He published Latin and Greek lessons, and edited several editions of Webster's *Dictionary*. Died February 25, 1860, in New Haven, having been a noted clergyman, educator, and lexicographer. Oil on canvas, 43 x 35 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1830. *Owner*: Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., gift of the Class of 1827.

64. GOODYEAR, CHARLES (1800-1860). Born December 29, 1800, in New Haven, Conn., the son of Amasa and Cynthia Bateman Goodyear. Married 1) Clarissa Beecher in 1824; 2) Fanny Wardell in 1854. Went to Philadelphia at 17 to learn the hardware business. Returning to New Haven in 1821, he became a partner with his father in the hardware business of Amasa Goodyear & Son. Later he started in business for himself, but failed. After many financial failures in New Haven, New York, and Staten Island, he went to Woburn, Mass., and there invented the process of vulcanizing rubber in 1844. Later he built a factory at Naugatuck, Conn., which was the beginning of the rubber industry there. Died July 1, 1860, in New York City. Oil on canvas, 27 x 20 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1826. *Owner*: New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Conn., gift of Charles H. Townsend, 1886.

65. GREENHOW, (?-?). Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1822. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "May 5 [1822] Dined with Mr. Greenhow . . . painted on the head of his son. I have never brought forward a head so far in two sittings as I have in this instance. . . ." *Owner*: Unknown.

66. GREGORY, CAPTAIN FRANCIS HOYT (1789-1866). Born October 9, 1789, in Norwalk, Conn., the son of Moses and Esther Hoyt Gregory. Married September 22, 1818, Elizabeth Shaw, daughter of Commodore John and Elizabeth Shaw of Philadelphia, Pa. Entered the Navy as a midshipman in 1809. In 1810 was commander of the *Vesuvius*, and in 1811 was promoted to Acting Master of Gunboat 162. On June 28, 1812, he was made Lieutenant under Commodore Isaac Chauncey on Lake Ontario. In 1814-1815 he was a prisoner of the British and held in England, but from 1821 to 1823 was commander of the schooner *Grampus*. Commissioned a Captain in 1838. During the Mexican War he commanded *the Raritan* off the coast of Mexico. Served from 1849 to 1852 as

commander of the African Squadron, and during the Civil War was Superintendent of vessel construction at the Navy Yard. Commissioned Rear Admiral July 30, 1862, but was placed on the retirement list. Died October 4, 1866, in Brooklyn, N.Y., and is buried at Grove Street Cemetery, New Haven, Conn. Oil on canvas, 27 x 24 inches. Painted in New York, N.Y., 1844-1845. For this portrait, and two other works, Jocelyn was awarded first prize and the gold palette (now owned by CHS) at the New Haven Horticultural Society Fair, 1845. *Owner*: F. Gregory Gause, Wilmington, Del., great-grandson of the subject.

67. HAYES, SAMUEL (1803-1866). Born September 11, 1803, the son of Ezekiel and Wealthy Trowbridge Hayes. Yale 1823. Married August 1, 1844, Margaret Plant Jocelyn. Studied law but never practiced. Entered foreign commerce as a shipping agent and resided in Barbados for about 20 years. He was also involved in shipping in New York City. Died June 2, 1866, in New Haven, Conn. Oil on wood, 21 x 17 inches, oval sight. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1845. *Owner*: Thorvald F. Hammer, Branford, Conn., great grandson of the artist.

68. HAYES, MRS. SAMUEL (MARGARET PLANT JOCELYN) (1820-1899). Daughter of Nathaniel and Sarah Atwater Plant Jocelyn. Oil on canvas, 20 x 16 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1845. *Owner*: Thorvald F. Hammer, Branford, Conn., great grandson of the artist.

69. HAYES, SAMUEL JOCELYN (1846-1918). Son of Samuel and Margaret Plant Jocelyn Hayes, and grandson of the artist. Oil on wood, 20 x 15 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., November and December, 1848. *Owner*: Doctor John L. Rice, Sarasota, Fla., great grandson of the artist.

70. HILLHOUSE, SENATOR JAMES (1754-1832). Born October 21, 1754, in New London, Conn., the son of Judge William and Sarah Griswold Hillhouse. Yale 1773. Married 1) January 1, 1779, Sarah Lloyd of Stamford; 2) Rebecca Woolsey of Long Island. He was an officer in the Revolution. In 1790 was elected a member of the House of Representatives in Congress. From 1797 to 1810 he was a member of the United States Senate, and from 1810 to 1825, Commissioner of the School Fund of Connecticut. He was Treasurer of Yale College, 1782-1832, and died December 29, 1832, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1820. Portrait is a copy of the original by John Vanderlyn. *Owner*: Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

71. HILLHOUSE, JAMES ABRAHAM (1789-1841). Born September 26, 1789, in New Haven, Conn., the son of James and Rebecca Woolsey Hillhouse. Yale 1808. Married November 23, 1822, Cornelia Ann Lawrence. Following graduation, he went to Boston to prepare for a mercantile career. He was in business for a few years in New York City, went abroad, and returned to New Haven which he made his home. He was an accomplished poet and published other writings. Died January 5, 1841, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1827. *Owner*: Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., bequest of Mrs. James Hillhouse.

72. HILLHOUSE, JAMES ABRAHAM (1789-1841). Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted, location and date unknown. A replica by Jocelyn of the original portrait. *Owner*: Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., gift of Miss Isaphene Hillhouse.
73. HOOKER, DOCTOR CHARLES (1799-1863). Born March 22, 1799, in Berlin, Conn., the son of William and Hannah Jones Hooker. Yale 1820. Married in the spring of 1823, Eliza Beers. Studied for two years with Doctor Eli Ives in New Haven, and attended Yale Medical School from which he was graduated in 1823. He became a member of the Connecticut Medical Society in 1823, and was elected County Clerk. In 1838 he was appointed Professor of Anatomy and Physiology at Yale, and also published many lectures on cholera and other diseases in the Boston *Medical and Surgical Journal*. Died March 19, 1863, in New Haven. Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., perhaps 1826. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "March 6 Commenced altering shop for Dr. Hooker." *Owner*: Unknown.
74. HOTCHKISS, RUSSELL (1781-1843). Son of Jonah and Elizabeth Atwater Hotchkiss. Married 1) April 27, 1807, Mary Oakes; 2) June 9, 1835, Elizabeth Ann Hubbard. He was a merchant in New Haven. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1831. *Owner*: New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Conn.
75. HOTCHKISS, MRS. RUSSELL (MARY [POLLY] OAKES) (1786-1834). Daughter of Nathan and Esther Peck Oakes. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1831. *Owner*: New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Conn.
76. INGERSOLL, RALPH ISAACS (1789-1872). Born February 8, 1789, in New Haven, Conn., the son of Jonathan and Grace Isaacs Ingersoll. Yale 1808. Married Margaret Catharine Eleanora Vanden Heuvel. Speaker of the House of Representatives 1824, and a Representative in Congress 1825-1833. Mayor of New Haven, 1830-1831, and appointed Ambassador to Russia by President Madison. Died August 31, 1872, in New Haven, Conn. Oil on canvas, 37 x 31 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., or New York, N.Y., 1848. *Owner*: In 1946, Miss Gertrude Ingersoll, New York, N.Y., granddaughter of the subject.
77. IVES, DOCTOR ELI (1778-1861). Born February 7, 1778, in New Haven, Conn., the son of Doctor Eli and Lydia Augur Ives. Yale 1799. Married September 7, 1805, Maria Beers. He was influential in founding Yale Medical School and became Professor of Materia Medica and Botany, 1813. In 1829 he was transferred to the Chair of Theory and Practice, Yale Medical School. President of the National Medical Society. Died October 8, 1861, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, 42 x 33 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1826. Inscribed on canvas, lower right, "N. Jocelyn Pinxt 1826"; and on arm of chair, "N.J. 1826." From Jocelyn's diary notes: "Wed 8. Had a call this afternoon from the medical students for terms for Dr. Ives portrait. Thursday 9th . . . the portrait question is postponed, in consequence of Dr. Ives ill health. March 6 . . . a short sitting from Dr. Ives about [half] past 11. [half]

hour on the features and near cheek. 13th Monday A sitting from Dr. Ives. 16 Thursday A sitting from Dr. Ives one & half hours—on the face still correcting it. 17th Friday. Corrected Dr. Ives head, i.e. hair from memory, cut it in—also improved the forehead all of which helped it.” *Owner*. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., gift of the Class of 1827, Yale Medical School.

78. IVES, MRS. ELI (MARIA BEERS) (1783-1864). Daughter of Deacon Nathan and Mary Phelps Beers. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1826-1827. From Jocelyn's diary notes: “June 9th. After painting on the gown of Mrs. Ives portrait when she had gone and after dinner, I knew I could not injure the face by painting on it in her absence because it was already about as bad as it could be and I determined to try what I could do at hap hazard. The face was of a dirty purplish grey, and a breadth of light was not observed in it—I warmed it up with yellow, Red and greenish grey, and gave a more true breadth of light to the whole, and much improved the whole face.” *Owner*: Unknown.

79. IVES, DOCTOR NATHAN BEERS (1806-1869). Born June 26, 1806, in New Haven, Conn., the son of Doctor Eli and Maria Beers Ives. Yale 1825. After receiving his M.D. Degree in 1828, began the practice of medicine in New Haven, which he continued throughout his lifetime. For many years he gave private instruction to many medical students. While never becoming a member of the Yale faculty, he was capable of doing so, but declined in order to devote his entire time to his practice. Died June 18, 1869, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1845. *Owner*: In 1945, Mrs. Brinton Dulles, Wayne, Pa.

80. JOCELIN, SIMEON (1746-1823). Born October 22, 1746, the son of Nathaniel 2nd and Anne Wade Jocelin. Married 1) Hannah Willard; 2) June 17, 1789, Luceanah Smith. A well known watch and clockmaker of the eighteenth-century, occasionally traveling from town to town to make the cabinets for his clock movements manufactured in New Haven. At the close of the century he maintained a trinket shop in connection with his New Haven clock manufactory. Died June 5, 1823. Father of Nathaniel Jocelyn, the artist. Oil on canvas, 26 x 22 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1820-1821. This was one of the portraits rescued February 13, 1849 by Captain Bissell from Jocelyn's studio fire. Until restored, it bore the holes burned by the fire. *Owner*: Mr. and Mrs. Garrett Horder, Mercer Island, Wash. She is the great-great-great granddaughter of the subject.

81. JOCELYN, CORNELIA DOROTHEA (1829-1881). Daughter of Nathaniel and Sarah Atwater Plant Jocelyn. She married June 9, 1853, William H. Foster. Oil on canvas, 25 x 20 inches, oval sight. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1850-1851. Portrait painted by Nathaniel Jocelyn and Jared Thompson. Thompson was one of Jocelyn's pupils who had just started to paint in Jocelyn's old studio building. Jocelyn often visited him when absent from his engraving duties in New York City. While Thompson did most of the work on this portrait, Jocelyn also had a hand in it. Cornelia Dorothea Jocelyn's diary states, “September 4, 1850. I went down to Mr. Thompson's room to sit for my picture. Mr. O. Stone accompanied me home. Sept. 6, 1850. Went down to Mr. Thompson's room. Sept. 17, 1850. Sat for my picture today. I am sitting one hour every day as Mr. T.

is anxious to finish it for the Horticultural Fair which is in a week or two." Frances Jocelyn wrote in her diary, "June 23, 1852. Cornelia brought her portrait home from Mr. Thompson's room." *Owner*: Mrs. Forrester L. Hammer, Branford, Conn., granddaughter of the subject.

82. JOCELYN, ISAAC PLANT (1833-1839). Born April 8, 1833, in New Haven, Conn., the son of Nathaniel and Sarah Atwater Plant Jocelyn. Died February 12, 1839, in New Haven, and is buried in the Jocelyn family plot at Grove Street Cemetery. Oil on wood, 18 x 15 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1839. Concerning this portrait, Jocelyn's daughters entered in their diaries, "Feb. 15, 1839. The cast for Isaac's hands were taken. Mr. Pardee was here after dinner and we all went into the parlor to see father paint. Uncle Smith sent for Albert to come over his upper lip was something like Isaac's. Father took a profile by a reflecting instrument. Two little girls (one Isaac knew came to see him). Mr. Augur took a cast of Isaac's face and head. March 2, 1839. Father brought home cast of Isaac's head. March 6, 1839. Father was telling us about Isaac's picture, and said that he wished he could paint at home, for it was very lonely at the office. March 6, 1839. Father then commenced painting on the first picture, as the other was not dry." *Owner*: The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn., gift of Foster W. Rice, great grandson of the artist, 1960.

83. JOCELYN, MRS. NATHANIEL (SARAH ATWATER PLANT) (1800-1833). Daughter of Samuel Plant of New Haven, Conn., she married the artist, Nathaniel Jocelyn, July 5, 1818. Oil on canvas, 26 x 20 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1874. *Owner*: Miss Sally Madeleine Rice, Westport, Conn., great-great-great granddaughter of the artist.

84. JOCELYN, SIMEON SMITH (1799-1879). Son of Simeon and Luceanah Smith Jocelyn, and brother of the artist. Married 1823, Harriet Starr. Bank note engraver in New York City. Active in anti-slavery movement and member of a committee to protect the *Amistad* captives. A founder of the American Missionary Society. Died in Tarrytown, N.Y., August 17, 1879. Oil on canvas or wood, 12 x 10 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1815. *Owner*: This portrait is believed to have been owned by Frederick Henry Jocelyn, son of Simeon Smith Jocelyn, in 1910, but all traces of it have since been lost.

85. JOCELYN, SUSAN ELEANOR WILLARD (1837-1924). Daughter of Nathaniel and Sarah Atwater Plant Jocelyn. Oil on canvas, 25 x 20 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1874. Head only, and incomplete. *Owner*: Miss Susan Wood Rice, Williamstown, Mass., great-great-great granddaughter of the artist.

86. JOCELYN, CAPTAIN WILLIAM (1774-1852). Son of Pember and Elizabeth Dudley Jocelyn. The *New Haven Register* of November 29, 1852, states that Captain Jocelyn died November 29, aged 79. For more than 30 years he had been a ship master out of New York City, first in the European trade, and later to Savannah and Charleston. Returned to New Haven, Conn., 20 years prior to his death "where he closed a long life marked with integrity in all its relations." A cousin of the artist. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "Feb.

10 [1821] . . . W. H. Jocelyn sat for his profile which I am to give him. Began it very carelessly with Indian Ink and red. Feb. 13. Painted on Wm. Jocelyn." *Owner:* Unknown.

87. JOHNSON, MOSES. Oil on canvas or wood, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1821. *Owner:* Unknown.

88. JONES, DOCTOR GEORGE (1766–1838). Born in Georgia in 1766, he married 1) Mary Gibbons; 2) Sarah Fenwick Kollock; 3) [?] Smith of Pennsylvania. He was a captain in the War of 1812, and later served as Judge of the Superior Court, Eastern Circuit, Georgia. President of the Georgia Medical Society. United States Senator from Georgia. Oil on canvas, 25 x 20 inches. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1822. *Owner:* G. Noble Jones, Savannah, Ga., great-great grandson of the subject.

89. KINGSLEY, PROFESSOR JAMES LUCE (1778-1852). Born August 26, 1778, in Windham, Conn., the son of Deacon Jonathan and Zillah Cary Luce Kingsley. Yale 1799. Married September 23, 1811, Lydia Coit of Norwich. Tutor at Yale from 1801 to 1805, and later became Professor of Hebrew, Greek and Latin languages. In 1824 he was Professor of Sacred Literature, continuing as Professor of Latin until 1851. He was Librarian of Yale College, 1805-1824, and also published text books and a history of Yale in 1836. Died August 31, 1852, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, 44 x 35 inches. Inscribed on stretcher, "Prof JL. Kingsley by Jocelyn." Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1827-1828." *Owner:* Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., gift of the Class of 1829.

90. KNIGHT, DOCTOR JONATHAN (1789-1864). Born September 4, 1789, in Norwalk, Conn., the son of Doctor Jonathan and Ann Fitch Knight. Yale 1808. Married October 1813, Elizabeth Lockwood. After graduation, he taught at the Union School in New London, Conn., returning to Yale where he became a tutor in the Yale Medical School in 1811. Went to the University of Pennsylvania for a year, returning to Yale, first as Assistant Professor of Anatomy and Surgery, and later as full Professor of Anatomy and Physiology. Held the Chair of Surgery from 1838 to 1864. In 1846 and 1847 he was President of the Convention that formed the American Medical Association, serving as President of the Association in 1853. Died August 25, 1864, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, 44 x 35 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1827. Inscribed on back of canvas, "Jonathan Knight M.D. N. Jocelyn, Pinxt 1827." *Owner:* Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., gift of the Class of 1828, Yale Medical School.

91. LANMAN, JUDGE JAMES (1769-1841). Born June 14, 1769, the son of Peter Lanman. Yale 1788. Married 1) Mary Anne Griswold; 2) Mary Judith Gall Benjamin, widow of Captain Park Benjamin. Admitted to the Bar 1791. Served as a delegate to the 1818 State Convention, and was a Representative in Congress 1819-1826. Judge of the Supreme Court 1826-1829, and Judge of the Superior Court of Connecticut. He was Mayor of Norwich 1831-1834, and died August 7, 1841. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown.

Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1840. *Owner*: In 1949, Colonel T. H. McHatton, Athens, Ga.

92. LAW, JUDGE SAMUEL ANDREW (1771-1845). Born November 1771, in Cheshire, Conn., the son of William Law. Yale 1792. Married Mrs. Sarah Lyon Sherman [93], widow of Eli G. Sherman. Studied law under Simeon Baldwin and at the Tapping Reeve Law School in Litchfield, Conn. Admitted to the Bar 1795. After establishing a school in Cheshire, he shortly thereafter took up residence in Meredith, N.Y., where he remained the rest of his life. He was Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Died January 28, 1845, in Meredith, N.Y. Oil on canvas, 25 x 20 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1831. The original bill for the portraits of Judge Samuel Andrew Law and his wife is owned by Cleveland J. Rice, Sr. and reads as follows:

Samuel Law Esq.
To Narh'l Jocelyn Dr
To *[two]* portraits of himself and Mrs. Law
(head & bust) at \$40.00 = \$80.00
Box for do = 1.
\$81.
New Haven Decr 30th. 1831
Rec'd Payment Nathl Jocelyn

Owner: Cleveland J. Rice, Sr. Hamden, Conn., great-grandson of the artist.

93. LAW, MRS. SAMUEL ANDREW (SARAH LYON) (1776-1840). Daughter of Colonel William and Lois Mansfield Lyon, and widow of Eli C. Sherman. Oil on canvas, 34 x 26 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1831. *Owner*: The late Mrs. Mary Roberts Rinehart, New York, N.Y.

94. LEFFINGWELL, WILLIAM (1765-1834). Born September 28, 1765, in Norwich, Conn., the son of Colonel Christopher and Elizabeth Coit Leffingwell. Yale 1786. Married 1) Sally Maria Beers; 2) Hannah Chester of Wethersfield. First lived in Norwich where he was in business with his father, and there was postmaster 1789-1793. In 1793 he became a shipping merchant in New York City, and later an insurance broker. Returned to settle in New Haven and died October 23, 1834. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1825. Scratched on back stretcher, "N. Jocelyn Pinxt." *Owner*: Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., gift of the subject.

95. LEFFINGWELL, MRS. WILLIAM (SALLY MARIA BEERS) (1765-1830). Daughter of Isaac and Mary Mansfield Beers. Oil on wood, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1830-1831. Inscribed on back, "N Jocelyn Pinxt 1831." *Owner*: Rolfe S. Blodgett, Rumson, N.J.

96. LOCKWOOD, MRS. MEHITABLE CURTIS DE FOREST (1751-1831). Daughter of Hezekiah and Mehitable Hubbell Curtis. Grandmother of Francesca Tomasa Isabel De Forest, and Pastora Jacoba De Forest. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1823. Inscribed on back of canvas, "AE: 72: 1823: Artist Nathaniel S. Jocelyn Mehitable Curtiss [*sic*]—born of Stratford, Conn. 4 Aug, 1751. married 1st 17—,

to Benjn. De Forest; after his death, to Lockwood Died, The mother of my mother's father Geo. Butler Griffin." *Owner*: Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., gift of Mrs. Alexander Griffin.

97. LLOYD, MRS. T. Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821-1823. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "May 13. Mrs. T. Lloyd sat for her portrait . . . I worked much this time by glazing & stumbling—under the chin on to the neck with Van B & Lake and under the nose . . . May 14. Painted Mrs. T. Lloyds hair—could not get through with it, therefore I was more attentive to the large curls & parts which may be the easiest restored. I laid in Mrs. T. Lloyds gown by myself, the places of the shadows & lights being hatched—it is to be a Royal purple or Blue . . . May 15th Mrs. Lloyd sat more than two hours in which time I completely finished her gown, excepting the off arm—and it is the most successful attempt I ever made. May 17th . . . Laid in Mrs. T L chair—the velvet with Ver & Blk & pure Ver—the frame with pure Ind Red & with black . . . Painted Mrs. T. Loyds background, its colour is not like any I have ever painted, to harmonize with the face & hair, and with the gown. I shall produce my best work in this picture and the subject is one of the worst of my sitters." *Owner*: Unk.

98. MASON, REVEREND JOHN. Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821. *Owner*: Unknown.

99. MASON, MRS. JOHN (1786-?) Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "Dec. 31, 1821. Called upon Mrs. Scenck to look at Mrs. Mason's portrait. Jan. 1, [1822] Improved Mrs. Mason's portrait much in all the Background, hair and gown by glazing with a negative. . . ." *Owner*: Unknown.

100. MITCHELL, REVEREND ELISHA (1793-1857). Born August 19, 1793, in Washington, Conn., the son of Abner and Phoebe Eliot Mitchell. Yale 1813. Married Maria S. North of New London. After graduation, became a teacher in Union Hill Academy, Jamaica, L.I., and was a graduate student at Union Academy, New London, Conn. He was first Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, 1818-1826, and later Professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology, 1826-1857, at the University of North Carolina. He served the University of North Carolina as bursar, teacher and was acting President from 1834 to 1835. Died June 27, 1857 while on a botanical and geological expedition, falling to his death from the summit of Mount Mitchell in South Carolina. Oil on canvas, 36 x 28 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1848-1849. The diary of Elizabeth Jocelyn states, "Father started upon this portrait on June 28, 1848," and that on May 17, 1849 "Mr. G. called for Prof. Mitchell's portrait." It is possible that the 1848 portrait was the one rescued from Jocelyn's February 13, 1849 studio fire, and that a second portrait of Mitchell was painted at his York Street home, for Jocelyn was without a studio in New Haven for the rest of 1849. *Owner*: University of North Carolina, Philanthropic Society Collection, Chapel Hill, N.C.

101. MURDOCK, MRS. JAMES (REBECCA LYDIA ATWATER) (1777-1832). Daughter of Jeremiah Atwater. Married the Reverend James Murdock, Professor of

Greek and Latin at the University of Vermont, and Brown Professor of Sacred Rhetoric at the Theological Seminary, Andover, Mass. Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1826-1827. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "Tues 7th Afternoon set up my pallett and painted Mrs. Murdock 2nd time 12 1/2 to 5 . . . 8th Afternoon had painted about 1 hour on the 2d painting of . . . Mrs. Murdock. Feb. 10th Afternoon laid in the dead colouring of 2 back-grounds to Mrs. Murdock's small portraits with good effect." *Owner*: Unknown.

102. OLMSTED, PROFESSOR DENISON (1791-1859). Born June 18, 1791, in East Hartford, Conn., the son of Nathaniel and Eunice Kingsbury Olmsted. Yale 1813. Married 1) Eliza Allyn of New London; 2) Julia Mason of New York City. After graduation, he taught at the Union School, New London, and then returned to Yale as tutor in 1815. In 1817 he was appointed Professor of Chemistry at the University of North Carolina, and in 1825 was elected to the Chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Yale. Published various writings on astronomy and natural philosophy, remaining in New Haven until his death May 13, 1859. Oil on wood, 36 x 28 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1833. *Owner*: Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., gift of the Class of 1833.

103. PECK, JULIA (?-1847). Daughter of Nathan Peck. Oil on canvas or wood, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1874, from recollection and a daguerreotype. The *New Haven Evening Register* of October 13, 1874, reported, "If it has not already been removed from Cutler's art store, we advise all lovers of art to examine a portrait of a beautiful young lady (long deceased) painted by N. Jocelyn, Esq., our fellow citizen, who has a world wide reputation. It was painted from recollection, and a poor daguerreotype of twenty years ago, but it is recognized by those who remember the lady as a most faithful 'counterfeit presentment' and is highly prized, especially by the father, Nathan Peck, Esq.—and anything that can please that excellent citizen will gratify all who know him. Mr. Jocelyn needs no praise for his work. Who-ever has one of his portraits, has the original before him. We dare riot criticize, but we can admire the beautiful creation that we have seen." *Owner*: Unknown.

104. PLANT, ISAAC (1802-1825). Born October 3, 1802, the son of Captain Samuel Plant. Died at St. Croix, West Indies, 1825. His sister, Sarah Atwater Plant married the artist. Oil on wood, 12 x 10 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1815. *Owner*: Mrs. Henry M. Clark, Suffield, Conn., great granddaughter of the artist.

105. PORTER, REVEREND EBENEZER (1772-1834). Born October 5, 1772, in Cornwall, Conn., the son of Thomas and Abigail Howe Porter. Dartmouth 1792. Married Lucy Pierce Merwin in 1797. After graduation, he studied theology under Reverend Doctor John Smalley of Berlin, Conn. Held temporary parishes in Goshen and South Britain, Conn., then was ordained Pastor at Washington, Conn., in 1796, from which he resigned due to ill health. In 1812 he was Bartlett Professor of Pulpit Eloquence at Andover Theological Seminary. He was offered the Presidency of Hamilton and Middlebury colleges, and the University of Georgia, but in 1827 took the Presidency of Andover Theological Seminary. Was afflicted nearly all his life with lung trouble which

necessitated many trips South. Died April 8, 1834. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1823. Presumably Jocelyn started this portrait while he and the subject were in Savannah in 1823, and it was perhaps completed in New Haven, Conn. *Owner*: In 1955, Reverend John Timothy Stone, Chicago, Ill.

106. PORTER, MRS. EBENEZER (LUCY PIERCE MERWIN) (?-1834). Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Painted perhaps in Savannah, Ga., about 1823. *Owner*: In 1955, Reverend John Timothy Stone, Chicago, Ill.

107. READ, DANIEL (1757-1836). Born November 16, 1757, in Attleboro, Mass., the son of Daniel and Mary White Read. Married Jerusha Sherman in 1785. Early in life he became interested in music and taught psalmody. Came to New Haven, Conn., during the Revolution, where he remained the rest of his life. He was leader of a choir, and composed and compiled several psalmody books, among them the *American Singing Book*, 1785, the *Columbian Harmonist*, 1793, and others. He was early in business, and opened "Read's" country store in New Haven which existed for a number of years. Associated with him later were his son, his son-in-law, George Handel, Jonathan Nicholson, and still later, his grandson Theodore. Long a member of the North Congregational Church in which he installed an organ. Died in New Haven December 4, 1836. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1823. *Owner*: New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Conn., gift of the estate of Mary W. Nicholson, 1889.

108. READ, MRS. DANIEL (JERUSHA SHERMAN) (1763-1840). Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1823. *Owner*: New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Conn., gift of the estate of Mary W. Nicholson, 1889.

109. ROCKWELL, (?-?). Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1822. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "Jan 3, 1822. In the morning . . . a very unexpected call from Mr. Rockwell who engaged his portrait and I immediately took the first sitting for the sketch . . . Jan 4 A sitting the forenoon & afternoon from Rockwell in which time I lightly deadcoloured the head and produced more likeness than I have ever done in the same stage . . . Jan 7th A short sitting from Rockwell in the morning brought forward the picture by using the same colours in the middle tint as before but in the lights used yellow—so far it is preserved of a light tone to admit of glazing . . . there is much general likeness in the head, and the drawing pretty good . . . Jany 8th A sitting from Rockwell, corrected the drawing sketched the body—advanced the hair in the manner of Stewart [*sic*]. . . and also the flesh—endeavored to effect as much as possible by separate touches, and I have in consequence preserved it pretty clear—Hinted at the pupils of the eyes—I intend to make out a good effect without much shadow on the face, he possesses good colour and I hope to keep it bright. Jan 9th Went on with Rockwell dead colouring the coat with Prussian Blue (for experiment) without a sitting, and dead coloured the back ground studying for the best effect of masses, &c." *Owner*. Unknown.

110. SAWTELL, REVEREND E. N. President of the Foreign Evangelical Society in New York City, 1847-1848. A short time later he removed to Cleveland, OH, where he

established a girls' school. Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in New York, N.Y., 1845. *Owner*: Unknown.

111. SAWTELL, MRS. E. N. Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in New York, N.Y., before 1846. *Owner*: Unknown.

112. SEWARD, GOVERNOR WILLIAM HENRY (1801-1872). Born May 16, 1801, in Florida, N.Y., the son of Doctor Samuel S. and Mary Jennings Seward. Union College 1820. Married Frances A. Miller October 20, 1824. Admitted to the Bar 1822. Practiced law in Auburn, N.Y., until elected Governor of New York, 1838-1842. From 1842 to 1849 he resumed his law practice in Auburn, and in 1849 was elected to the United States Senate. He was Secretary of State in Lincoln's Cabinet, and reappointed by President Johnson. Went on many foreign missions to England, France, Mexico and China, and was instrumental in the purchase of Alaska from Russia. Died October 10, 1872, in Auburn, N.Y. Oil on canvas, 32 x 27 inches. Painted in Albany, N.Y., 1840-1841. *Owner*: Foundation Historical Association, Inc., Seward House, Auburn, N.Y.

113. SEWARD, MRS. WILLIAM HENRY (FRANCES A. MILLER) (1805-1865). Oil on canvas, 32 x 27 inches. Painted in Auburn, N.Y., 1840-1841. *Owner*: Foundation Historical Association, Inc., Seward House, Auburn, N.Y., gift of William H. Seward III, 1951.

114. SHEPARD, DOCTOR CHARLES UPHAM (1804-1886). Born June 29, 1804, in Little Compton, R.I., the son of Reverend Mase and Deborah Haskins Shepard. Amherst 1824. Married September 23, 1831, Harriet Taylor of Brain-tree. Assistant to Professor Benjamin Silliman of Yale, and was later in charge of the Brewster Scientific Institute in New Haven. In 1834 he was Professor of Chemistry at South Carolina Medical College, and Professor of Natural History at Amherst, 1844-1877. Died May 1, 1886, in Charleston, S.C., and is buried in New Haven. Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1874. It is only presumed that this is the portrait of Doctor Shepard. A New Haven newspaper, 1874, date unknown, stated, "Mr. Jocelyn is painting a portrait of a professor of Amherst College well known in New Haven." *Owner*: Mrs. Richard Wallack, Warrenton, Va., and later destroyed by fire.

115. SHERMAN, JUDGE ROGER MINOTT (1773-1844). Born May 22, 1773, in Woburn, Mass., the son of Reverend Josiah and Martha Minott Sherman. Yale 1792. Married December 13, 1796, Elizabeth Gould of New Haven. After graduation, he studied law under Judge Oliver Ellsworth of Windsor, Conn., and at the same time taught in an academy. Later he studied under Tapping Reeve in Litchfield, Conn. Admitted to the Bar 1796. Moving to Norwalk, Conn., he became a Representative in the General Assembly, and in 1807 moved to Fairfield, Conn., becoming a Representative to the General Assembly, 1825-1838. In May 1839 he was appointed Judge of the Superior Court and Supreme Court of Errors in Connecticut. Resigned in 1842 because of ill health, and died in Fairfield December 30, 1844. Oil on canvas, 36 x 30 inches. Painted in Fairfield, Conn., 1840. *Owner*: First Church Congregational, Fairfield, Conn.

116. SHERMAN, JUDGE ROGER MINOTT (1773-1844). Oil on canvas, 36 x 30 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1855. This portrait is a replica of. *Owner:* Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

117. SHERMAN, MRS. ROGER MINOTT (ELIZABETH GOULD) (1774-1848). Daughter of Doctor William and Mary Guy Gould of Branford and New Haven. Died August 3, 1848, in Fairfield, Conn. Oil on canvas, 36 x 30 inches. Painted in Fairfield, Conn., 1840. *Owner:* First Church Congregational, Fairfield, Conn.

118. SILLIMAN, PROFESSOR BENJAMIN (1779-1864). Born August 8, 1779, in Trumbull, Conn., the son of General Gold Selleck and Mary Fish Silliman. Yale 1796. Married 1) Harriet Trumbull, daughter of Governor Jonathan Trumbull, Jr.; 2) Sarah Isabella McClellan Webb. Admitted to the Bar 1802. Professor of Law and History at Yale, and studied chemistry under Professor James Woodhouse at the University of Pennsylvania. In 1805 he went to Edinburgh and London, England, to study, returning to Yale to become Professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology until 1853. In 1818 founded the *American Journal of Science and Arts* and published *Silliman's Journal*. During his lifetime he published many books on geology and kindred subjects, and many travel books. Died November 24, 1864, in New Haven, Conn. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1843. *Owner:* Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., gift of John Berwick Legaré, B.A. 1815.

119. SKINNER, ROGER SHERMAN (1795-1838). Born January 19, 1795, in East Hartford, Conn., the son of Doctor John and Chloe Sherman Skinner. Yale 1813. Married September 27, 1817, Mary Lockwood De Forest. Entered Yale Medical School, but later transferred to the Litchfield Law School. Admitted to the Bar 1816. He was for several years clerk of the New Haven County courts, and served as Councilman, 1823-1828, after which he moved to New York City. Died December 6, 1838, in Peru, Ill. Oil on canvas or wood, 12 x 10 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1826. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "Feb 8 . . . R. S. Skinner called and insisted on my commencing his portrait engaged 10 months since, 10 x 12 inches—Fixed the position & took the outline, but it is not like him yet." *Owner:* Unknown.

119a. [SMITH, ELIZUR GOODRICH (1802-?) Painted in New Haven, 1827. "New Haven May 3d. 1827 / \$10 Recd. / Recd. Mr. Smith, Ten Dollars / in part of Fifteen Dollars which I am / to have for a portrait of his son when painted. / N. Jocelyn." (Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Yale University), Oil on wood, 18 X 14 inches. Owner: Private Collection.]

120. SMITH, LABAN (1765-1840). Son of Daniel and Hannah Atwater Smith. Married 1) Mary Bradley; 2) Anna Mix Atwater Beach. He was a captain. Oil on copper, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., date unknown. *Owner:* Samuel B. Hemmingway, New Haven, Conn.

121. SMITH, SAMUEL (?-1839). Brother of Mrs. Luceanah Smith Jocelyn, the artist's mother. Died in Savannah, Ga., May 14, 1839. Oil on canvas, three quarter length dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "Feb. 7th [1821] Set my pallet for Uncle who sat from 11 to 2. Advanced the face some, corrected the drawing and shadows, got the face a little too dark or dingy on the light side, but left it better than I found it." *Owner*: Unknown.

122. SNODGRASS, (?-?). Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821-1822. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "May 13th Mr. Snodgrass sat more than two hours for his gown but could not get through—middle tint & high light too dark. May 16 Went over with the background to Mr. Snodgrass particularly attentive to the colour of hair, and endeavouring [*sic*] to give harmony to the whole by a correspondence of ground, especially in the light which is near the head with the general view of the head. June 14th Mr. Snodgrass from twelve to two & nearly an hour after 5—alter & finish the drapery, in which the form of the body was made more correct—but particularly benifited [*sic*] the eyes in clearness and just expression—tone strong." *Owner*: Unknown.

123. STEBBINS, REVEREND STEPHEN WILLIAM (1758-1843). Born June 26, 1758, in Longmeadow, Mass., the son of William, Jr. and Eunice Williams Stebbins. Yale 1781. Married 1) Eunecia Street of East Haven; 2) Mrs. Sarah Gorham Townsend Beers. From 1784 to 1813 he was Pastor of the Congregational Church in Stratford, Conn., and from 1815 to 1843, Pastor of the Congregational Church in West Haven. Died August 15, 1843, in Orange, Conn. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., before 1827. *Owner*: Unknown.

124. STONE, MRS. (?-?). Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "Feb. 13th 1821. Mrs. Stone was at our house at tea and told me she would have her portrait painted and to fit a frame she had. Feb. 14. Mrs. Stone came, agreed to sit tomorrow. Mrs. S. Agreed to have her portrait head size. Feb. 15. Mrs. Stone sat in the forenoon, drew & dead coloured the head. Feb. 21. Mrs. Stone came to sit. Did not make great progress with her head got it chalky and found after she had gone that it wanted the cool tints & went to work and painted them where I thought they were wanted and helped it some. Tarry 5th 1822. Learnt this morning that Mrs. Stone thinks her portrait too old, while a friend of hers thinks it on the whole too much flattered. Feb. 5 [1822] In the forenoon I painted on the cap of Mrs. Stone's portrait and in the afternoon painted the background of a greenish *grey*. It was before a silvery reddish grey—rather dirty and not setting off the head well. May 5th Morning finished Mrs. Stone's portrait." *Owner*: Unknown.

125. STREET, AUGUSTUS RUSSELL (1791-1866). Born November 5, 1791, in New Haven, Conn., the son of Titus and Amaryllis Atwater Street. Yale 1812. Married October 16, 1815, Caroline Mary Leffingwell of New Haven. Studied law with Judge Charles Chauncey but never practiced. He was a silent partner in the bookselling and publishing business of Hezekiah Howe & Co. of New Haven. Resided abroad, 1843-1848, studying modern languages and art. Made many extensive gifts to Yale which included Street Hall. He was founder of the Street Professorship of Modern Languages,

and the Titus Street Professor-ship of Ecclesiastical History. Died June 12, 1866, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Perhaps painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1842. *Owner*: Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., gift of Mrs. Augustus Russell Street Foote.

126. STREET, MRS. AUGUSTUS RUSSELL (CAROLINE MARY LEFFINGWELL) (1790-1877). Born April 30, 1790, in New Haven, Conn., the daughter of William and Sally Maria Beers Leffingwell. Died August 24, 1877, leaving an endowment which established the Leffingwell Professorship of Painting, and the Street Professorship of Painting and Drawing, both at Yale. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., perhaps in 1825. *Owner*: Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., gift of Mrs. Augustus Russell Street Foote.

127. TAYLOR, REVEREND NATHANIEL WILLIAM (1786-1858). Born June 23, 1786, in New Milford, Conn., the son of Nathaniel and Anne Northrop Taylor. Yale 1807. Married October 15, 1810, Rebecca Maria Hine of New Milford. After graduation, he was for a year a private tutor to the son of General Stephen Van Rensselaer of Albany, N.Y., and also spent several months in Montreal where he learned to speak French. Lived for two years with President Dwight of Yale, studying Theology and was licensed to preach in 1810. Ordained Pastor of the First Church in New Haven on April 8, 1812, where he remained for 12 years. In 1822 he was appointed Professor of Didactic Theology at Yale Divinity School. Died March 10, 1858, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1825. *Owner*: In 1946, Mrs. David Stuart, Mt. Kisco, N.Y.

128. TEBEAU, CHARLES.

Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821. *Owner*: Unknown.

129. TEFFT, ISRAEL KEECH (1794-1862). Born February 12, 1794, in Southfield, R.I. Married Penelope Waite. Educated in Boston, Mass., but moved to Savannah, Ga., in 1821, and became editor and owner of the *Savannah Georgian*. In 1822 was assistant clerk of the State Bank of Georgia, and in 1848 was appointed cashier, which post he held until his death. He was one of the founders of the Georgia Historical Society. When he died June 30, 1862, he was owner of one of the largest autograph collections in the country. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821-1822. *Owner*: The Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, Ga.

130. THOMPSON, ISAAC (?-1873). Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1845. *Owner*: Unknown.

131. TOWN, ETHA L. (1807-1871). Daughter of Ithiel Town. She married December 7, 1826, William Thompson Peters. Oil on canvas, 30 x 25 inches. Painted, place unknown. Inscribed on letter held in the subject's hand, "N. Jocelyn Pinxt 1826 Etha Town." This portrait was rescued by Captain Bissell from Jocelyn's studio fire of February 13, 1849. It was there at the time for revarnishing. *Owner*: Livingston Luther Rice, Williamstown, Mass., great-great grandson of the artist.

132. TOWN, ITHIEL (1784-1844). Born in Thompson, Conn., October 3, 1784, the son of Archelaus and Martha Johnson Town. His parents died in his early childhood and his uncle, William Town, was appointed his guardian. Moved to Cambridge, Mass., where he received his early education. When 28 years old, he designed the steeple of Center Church, New Haven, and in 1814 held the contract for building Trinity Church, having already established his reputation as an architect of renown. His invention of the truss used in bridge construction brought him a steady income. Traveled abroad in 1829—1830 with Nathaniel Jocelyn and Samuel F. B. Morse, visiting France, England and Italy. Made many purchases abroad for his home and library on Hillhouse Avenue in New Haven, which is now owned by Yale University. Among his most outstanding buildings are the New Haven Court House, New York Custom House, and many capital buildings. Again went abroad in 1843—1844, and died June 13, 1844, in New Haven, Conn. Oil on canvas, 36 x 29 inches, half length. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1826. *Owner*. National Academy of Design, New York, N.Y., gift of George Dudley Seymour.

133. TOWNSEND, PROFESSOR ISAAC H. (1803-1847). Born April 25, 1803, in New Haven, Conn., the son of Isaac and Rhoda Atwater Townsend. Yale 1822, and admitted to the Bar. In 1834 he was a Representative to the General Assembly. In 1842 he was an instructor in the Yale Law School, and in 1846 was made Professor. A Director of the New Haven Bank, as well as Justice of the Peace, a member of the New Haven Common Council, and a Representative in the State Legislature. Died January 11, 1847, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, 36 x 27 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1846. *Owner*: Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

134. TREAT, ATWATER (1801-1882). Born January 16, 1801, in Milford, Conn., the son of Captain Isaac and Elizabeth Miles Treat. Married 1) Betsey Maria Beecher; 2) Elizabeth Bulford; 3) Adeline B. Bradley. Constructed buildings for the Yale Theological School and Peabody Museum. He was at one time an Alderman of New Haven, and held positions of Director and Trustee of several New Haven firms. Was also greatly interested in the Seaman's Friend Society and schools in the South managed by the American Missionary Society. Died March 27, 1882, in Milford, Conn. Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted about 1874, place unknown. *Owner*: Unknown.

135. VANDERBILT, CORNELIUS (1794-1877). Born May 27, 1794, in Port Richmond, Staten Island, N.Y., the son of Cornelius and Phoebe Hand Vanderbilt. Married 1) Sophia Johnson; 2) Frank [*sic*] Armstrong Crawford. This famous steamship and railroad promoter and financier died January 4, 1877, in New York City. Oil on canvas, 32 x 25 inches. Painted in New York, N.Y., 1846. *Owner*: In 1948, Mrs. Charles Simpson, Northford, Conn., granddaughter of Doctor Jared Linsly who was Mr. Vanderbilt's physician.

136. WATROUS, GEORGE HENRY (1829-1889). Born April 26, 1829, in Bridgewater, Pa., the son of Ansel and Demis Luce Watrous. Yale 1854. Married 1) Harriet J. Dutton, daughter of his law partner, Henry Dutton, later Governor of Connecticut; 2) Lillie M. Greaves, of Litchfield. Admitted to the Bar 1855. Served as counsel and largely influenced the merger of the New York and New Haven, and Hartford and New Haven

railroads. He was elected President of the railroads in 1879, resigning in 1887. Died July 5, 1889, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1874. *Owner*: Miss Grozebrook, London, England.

137. WATROUS, MRS. GEORGE HENRY (HARRIET J. DUTTON) (1834-1873). This is presumably the portrait of the first wife of GEORGE HENRY. She was born October 12, 1834, the daughter of Henry and Eliza Elliot Joy Dutton. Oil on canvas, 31 x 26 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1874. The diary of Jocelyn Plant Cleaveland states, "March 20, 1874. Made a call on Anna Graves. Carried back the Watrous pictures. June 1, 1874. Mr. George H. Watrous paid G.P. \$300 for his wife's picture." *Owner*. In 1950, Mrs. George D. Watrous, New Haven, Conn., daughter of the subject.

138. WHITTLESEY, CHAUNCEY (1801-1826). Born September 6, 1801, in New Haven, Conn., the son of Charles and Ann Cutler Whittlesey. Yale 1820, and Yale Theological Seminary, 1825. He was licensed to preach, but died March 12, 1826, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1826. From Jocelyn's diary notes: "Tues [Feb] 7 Called upon C. Whittlesey & arranged for painting his portrait—in his chamber . . . stretched a canvas (very absorbent) for Whittlesey. Wednesday 8 Took the first sitting for the outline of C W about 1 hour Thursday 9th About half hour *corrected* the outline of C Whittlesey's head, and drew it in with Vermilion & Black. Friday 10th Dead coloured Whittlesey's head from 11 to [quarter] before 1. March 7th Afternoon called & got Whittlesey's portrait and proceeded with the face in my room from memory & corrected the drawing somewhat Friday 10th Painted on Whittlesey's face correcting the features & deepening the flesh tint—and shading &c the cravat. Saturday 11. Painted on Whittlesey's likeness from memory—he is considered to be dying. 13th Monday Went & took measures from C Whittlesey's face to correct the picture. He died yesterday morning." *Owner*: Unknown.

139. WILD, JOSEPH (1819-1913). Married June 23, 1841, Sarah Anne Jocelyn, daughter of Nathaniel and Sarah Atwater Plant Jocelyn. He was of Hudson, N.Y. Oil on wood, 9 x 7 inches, oval. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1845. *Owner*: Doctor John L. Rice, Sarasota, Fla., great grandson of the artist.

140. WILD, MRS. JOSEPH (SARAH ANNE JOCELYN) (1819-1868). Daughter of Nathaniel and Sarah Atwater Plant Jocelyn. Oil on canvas, 26 x 22 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1845. Elizabeth Jocelyn's diary states, "Sarah sat for her portrait. She is 25." *Owner*: Doctor John L. Rice, Sarasota, Fla., great grandson of the artist.

141. WILLIAMS, MRS. TIMOTHY DWIGHT (MARIA SARAH LEFFINGWELL) (1793-1866). Daughter of William [94] and Sally Maria Beers Leffingwell. She married November 19, 1823, Timothy Dwight Williams. Oil on wood, 30 x 25 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1825. *Owner*: New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Conn., gift of the estate of Christopher Leffingwell, 1955.

142. WOOLSEY, REVEREND THEODORE DWIGHT (1801-1889). Born October 31, 1801, in New York City, the son of William Walton and Elizabeth Dwight Woolsey. Yale 1820, and licensed to preach 1825. After three years in Europe, he returned to Yale in 1831 to teach Greek. President of Yale, 1846-1871, and died July 1, 1889, in New Haven. Oil on canvas, 36 x 28 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1844. *Owner*: Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn., gift of the Class of 1844.

MISCELLANEOUS

143. *INNOCENCE*. Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821. *Owner*: Unknown.

144. *OCEAN BREEZES*. Oil on cardboard, 10 x 8 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1872—1873. *Owner*: Mrs. Charles F. Clise, Seattle, Wash., great-granddaughter of the artist.

145. *THE OLD MILL*. Oil on canvas, 6 x 5 inches. Painted, place unknown. Inscribed on back of canvas, "N.J. pinxt Oct 1811. N.J.'s first pic in O.C. enlarged from a wood cut in a child's picture book." *Owner*: The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn., gift of Foster W. Rice, 1962.

MINIATURES

146. BACON, ALBERT STRONG (1797-1828) Born in Woodbury, Conn., the son of Nathaniel and Rebecca Strong Bacon. Married March 31, 1819, Sarah Mallory, and died May 6, 1828. Watercolor on ivory, dimensions unknown. Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1819. *Owner*: Unknown.

147. BENJAMIN, CAPTAIN PARK (1769-1824). Watercolor on ivory, 3 x 2 1/2 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1825. Copied from Jocelyn's original portrait, 1824, of the subject. Inscribed on back of miniature, "N. Jocelyn Pinxt 1825." *Owner*: The late J. Lewis Stackpole, Boston, Mass., great grandson of the subject.

148. DANA, JAMES DWIGHT (1813-1895). Born February 12, 1813, in Utica, N.Y., the son of James and Harriet Dwight Dana. Yale 1833. Married June 5, 1844, Henrietta Silliman. As a midshipman in the United States Navy, he was appointed instructor of Mathematics. From 1836 to 1838 he assisted Professor Benjamin Silliman in his chemical laboratory at Yale. Acted as mineralogist and geologist for the United States Exploring Expedition to the South Seas, 1838-1844. In 1846 was joint editor with Professor Silliman of the *American Journal of Science and Arts*, and wrote several books and papers on mineralogy. Died April 14, 1895, in New Haven. Watercolor on ivory, 3 x 2 1/2 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1843. Inscribed on back "N. Jocelyn Pinxt Sept 1843." *Owner*: Albro N. Dana, Coventry, R.I.

149. JOCELYN, MARGARET PLANT (1820-1899). Watercolor on ivory, 2 1/2 x 2 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1842. *Owner*: Foster W. Rice, Granby, Conn.
150. JOCELYN, NATHANIEL (1796-1881). The artist, son of Simeon and Luceanah Smith Jocelyn. Watercolor on ivory, about 2 inches in diameter. Painted, place and date unknown. *Owner*: This miniature was formerly owned by Mrs. Elizabeth Jocelyn Cleaveland, and later by her son, Livingston W. Cleaveland. It hung on the wall at the time of Judge Cleaveland's apartment fire in 1927. After the fire, the space in which the miniature was hung was still unblackened, indicating it had survived the fire but then disappeared.
151. PALMER, ELLEN ELIZA (1812-1891). Born December 31, 1812. Married August 31, 1834, William Dickerman, and died February 10, 1891. Oil on cardboard, 3 1/2 x 2 1/4 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., about 1828. *Owner*: In 1950, Miss Amy C. Herrick, Sherman, Conn.
152. POOLER, ROBERT W. (?-1853). Born in England. Cadet in the United States Military Academy in 1813, remaining until he resigned in 1818. He was referred to as "captain" in the reception committee which welcomed General Lafayette to Savannah in 1834. Watercolor on ivory, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821. *Owner*: Unknown.
153. POPE, CHARLES MILTON (1807-1849). He was from Alabama. Married Miss E. Howel of Philadelphia at the house of Mr. Woodward in New Haven, Conn., on July 23, 1828. Watercolor on ivory, 2 1/2 x 2 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1828. *Owner*: Emlen Pope Etting, Philadelphia, Pa., great-grandson of the subject.
154. SCRANTON, [*LOYAL (1799-1854)*]. From New Haven. Medium, dimensions unknown. Painted in Savannah, Ga., 1821. *Owner*: Unknown.
155. SILLIMAN, HENRIETTA FRANCES (1823-1907). Daughter of Professor Benjamin and Harriet Trumbull Silliman. She married June 5, 1844, James Dwight Dana. Watercolor on ivory, 3 x 2 1/2 inches. Painted in New Haven, Conn., 1843. *Owner*: Albro N. Dana, Coventry, R.I.
156. WILD, JOSEPH (1819-1913). Locket size, medium unknown. It was painted as a gift to his betrothed, Sarah Anne Jocelyn, and later given to her. It was worn mostly by other Jocelyn daughters as an ornamental piece of jewelry. It was in existence as late as 1865 when one of his daughters wore it when a tintype of her was taken. *Owner*: Unknown.

DRAWINGS

157. *EAGLES*. Sketches of eagles in pen and ink on white wove paper 15 x 12 inches. Drawn about 1816. Jocelyn's original design for the central vignette of Eagle Bank of New Haven banknotes. *Owner*: PhilaMatic Center, Boys Town, Neb.

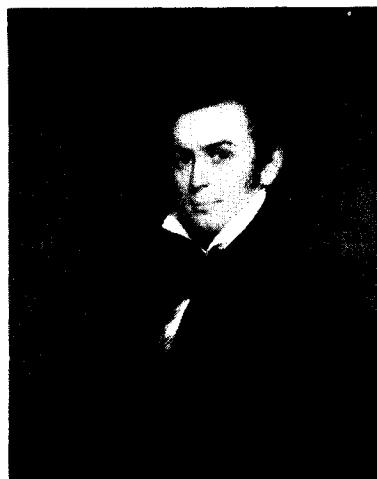
158. *HOUSE OF CHARLES PRINDLE*. A pen and ink, and watercolor sketch, 6 x 8 inches, inscribed on label at bottom of picture, "Painted by Nathaniel Jocelyn, Artist, 1822." A note reads, "This picture is a very good representation of the house of my grandfather Charles Prindle, in which house I was born. It stood where Germaine Hall now is, No. 193 Wooster Street then called Cherry Ann St., in N.H. Ct.—James G. Brown." This is also supposed to be the birthplace of Nathaniel Jocelyn. *Owner*: New Haven Colony Historical Society, New Haven, Conn.

159. *A TREE*. Jocelyn's first watercolor. From his diary notes: "1811 First began to think of painting as a professional in May 1811 at which time I drew a tree to see whether I thought I could succeed in the art. In the same month and immediately after I drew and painted . . ." Inscribed on back, "Spring of 1811 age 15 years and 3 mo. No. 1." *Owner*: The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Conn., gift of Foster W. Rice.

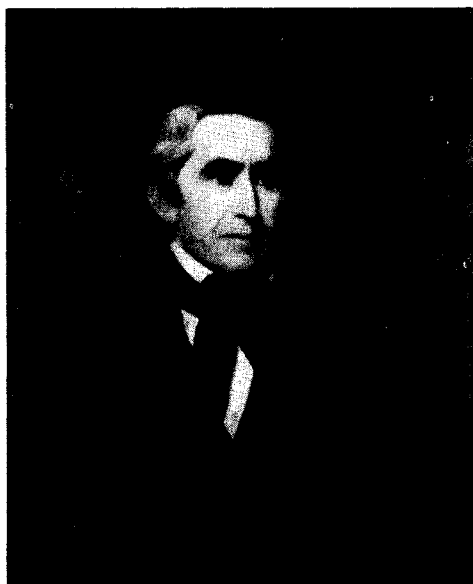
160. *TRUAIR, REVEREND JOHN*. Minister of the Marines Church, New York City, 1824. Drawn about 1824. *Owner*: Unknown.



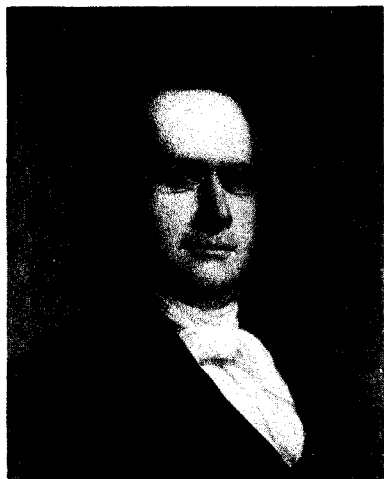
2. Mrs. Adam Leopold (Sarah Hillhouse Gilbert) Alexander,
30 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches.



1. Adam Leopold Alexander,
30 x 25 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.



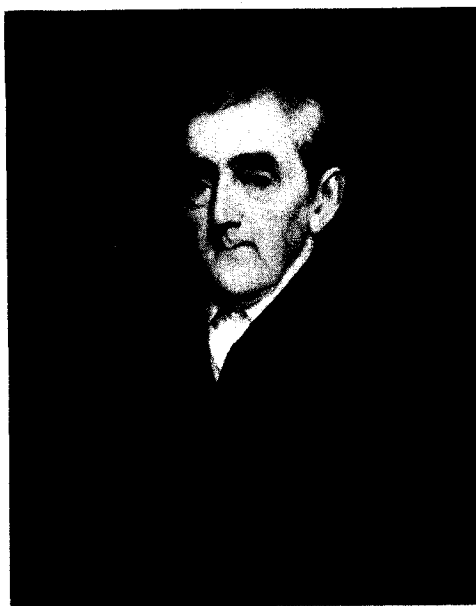
5. Ethan Allen Andrews,
30 x 25 inches.



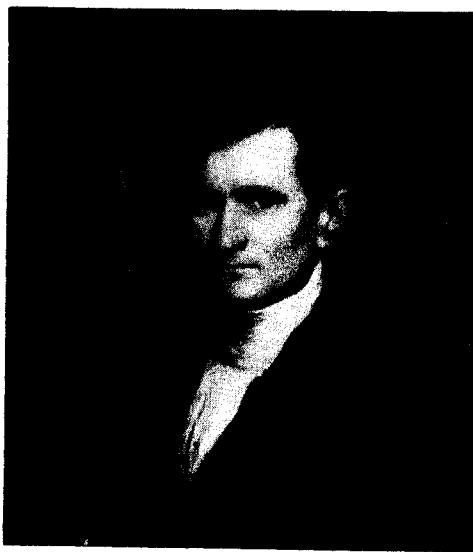
10. Reverend Milton Badger,
19½ x 15½ inches.



11. Mrs. Milton (Clarissa Munger)
Badger, 19½ x 15½ inches.



18. Nathan Beers, 25 x 19½ inches.



Photo, courtesy of Emory University, Atlanta, Ga.

35. Reverend William Capers,
11 x 9½ inches.



37. Cinque, 30 x 25½ inches.



50. Pastora Jacoba De Forest,
12 x 9¾ inches.



49. Francesca Tomasa Isabel
De Forest, 12 x 10 inches.



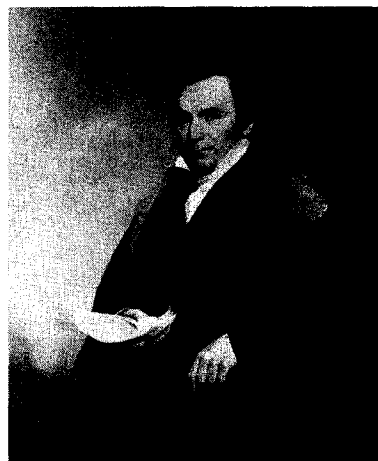
Photo. courtesy National Academy of Design, New York, N.Y.

47. Moseley Isaac Danforth,
15 x 12 inches.



Photo, courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

52. Mrs. Timothy (Mary Woolsey) Dwight, 30 x 25 inches.

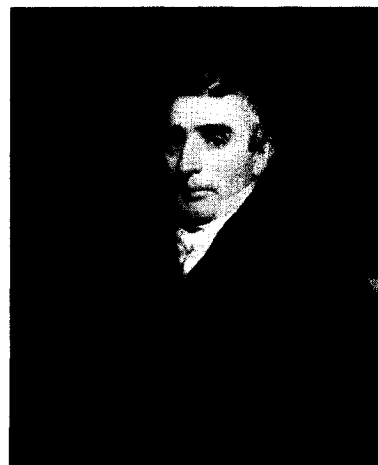


Photo, courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

77. Doctor Eli Ives,
42 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 33 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.



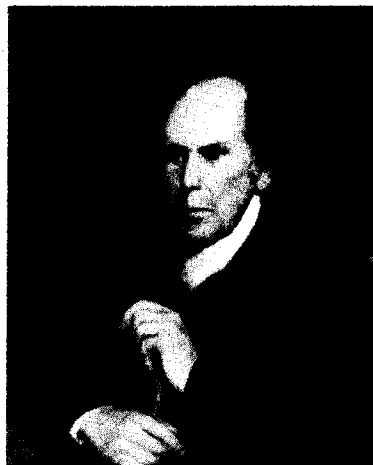
75. Mrs. Russell (Mary [Polly] Oakes) Hotchkiss, 30 x 25 inches.



74. Russell Hotchkiss,
30 x 25 inches.



82. Isaac Plant Jocelyn,
18 x 14½ inches.



80. Simeon Jocelin,
26 x 22 inches.



85. Susan Eleanor Willard Jocelyn,
25 x 19¾ inches.

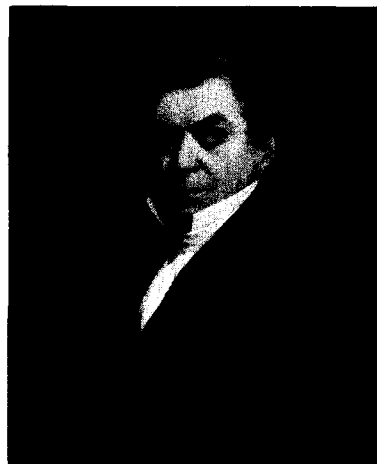


81. Cornelia Dorothea Jocelyn,
26⅜ x 21⅜ inches.

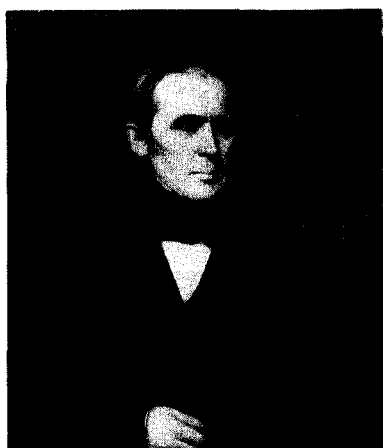


Photo, courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

90. Doctor Jonathan Knight,
44 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 35 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches.

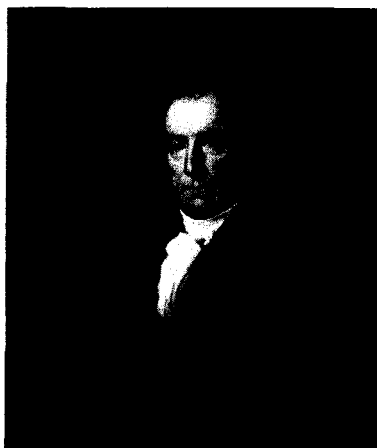


92. Judge Samuel Andrew Law,
25 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 21 inches.



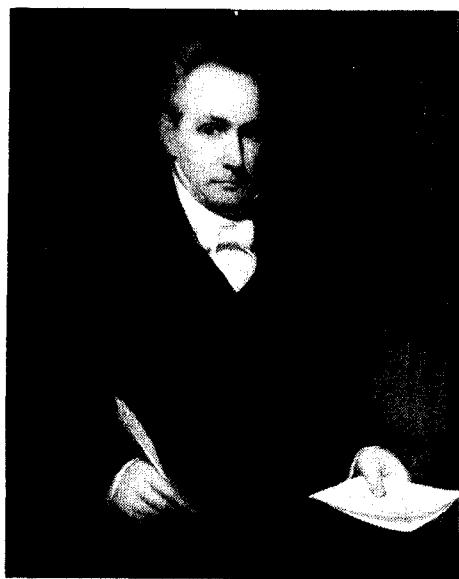
Photo, courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

118. Professor Benjamin Silliman,
29 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 24 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches.



Photo, courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

94. William Leffingwell,
30 x 25 inches.



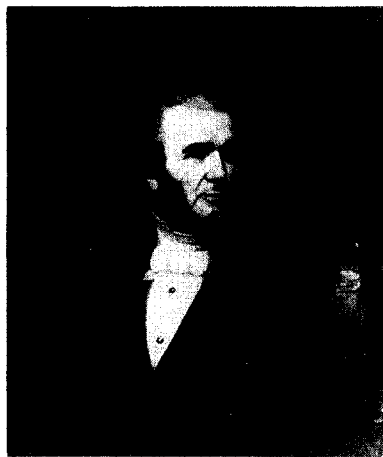
115. Judge Roger Minott Sherman,
36 x 29 inches.



117. Mrs. Roger Minott (Elizabeth
Gould) Sherman, 36 x 29 inches.



104. Isaac Plant, 12 x 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches.



Photo, courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

125. Augusta Russell Street,
30¼ x 25¼ inches.

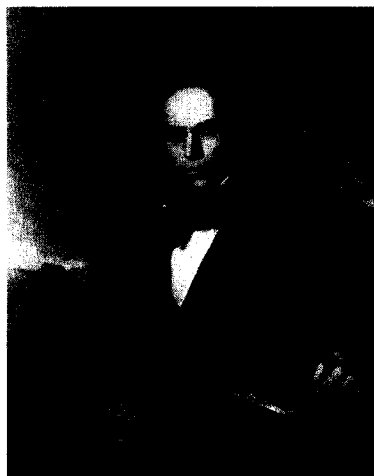


Photo, courtesy of Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.

126. Mrs. Augustus Russell (Caroline
Mary Leffingwell) Street, 30 x 25 inches.



131. Ethan L. Town, 30 x 25 inches.

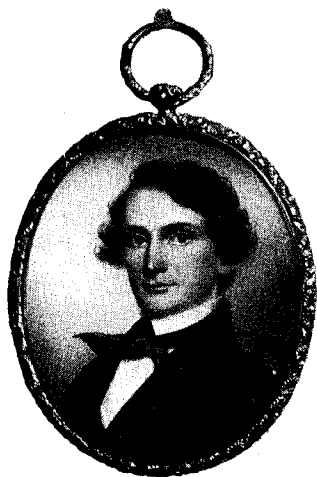


*Photo, courtesy National Academy of Design,
New York, N.Y.*

132. Ithiel Town, 36 x 29 inches.



Ocean Breezes



148. James Dwight Dana,
 $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.



155. Henrietta Frances Silliman,
 $2\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches.



153. Charles Milton Pope,
 $2\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{1}{8}$ inches.

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