



John Watson

PLATE I. JOHN WATSON AT 35

John Watson
Painter, Merchant, and Capitalist
of New Jersey
1685-1768

BY JOHN HILL MORGAN

PREFATORY NOTE

Much of our knowledge as to the personality and career of John Watson comes from the traditions preserved by William Dunlap in his *Arts of Design* or in his Diary. William A. Whitehead, writing a generation later, added few facts in his book on the early history of Perth Amboy.

As these and one or two other articles have been used freely in the following account, rather than overload the text with references, wherever hereinafter may appear "Dunlap says" or "according to Lossing," etc., the source will be found in one of the following books:

- (1) William Dunlap, *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (New York, 1834), vol. 1, pp. 18, 19; vol. 2, p. 457.
- (2) *Diary of William Dunlap* (New York Historical Society, 1930), vol. 3, p. 726.
- (3) William A. Whitehead, *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy and Adjoining Country* (New York, 1856), pp. 116, 125, 128, 168, 240.
- (4) Benson J. Lossing, *The American Historical Record*, vol. 1, Aug. 1872, No. 8, pp. 337-8; Oct. 1872, pp. 465-6.
- (5) I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island* (New York, 1915). Where a date in Stokes is given, the reference will be found at the appropriate place in the chronology; otherwise the volume and page are printed.

It is a difficult task to acknowledge adequately the help accorded me in compiling this paper, so numerous are the individuals and institutions who and which have helped. These have not only given suggestions helpful in solving some of the many questions which have arisen, but have made for me the painstaking search of records in many diverse places, following the slender clues concerning Watson which have come down to us. Many years ago Mrs. Lucien B. Horton deposited her Watson drawings with the New York Historical Society so that this institution might have examples of his authentic work for study. It was her ownership of "Caligula," the one survival of Watson's many ideal portraits in oil, which furnishes our knowledge on this subject. My thanks are due equally to Judge Harold E. Pickersgill of Perth Amboy for his generosity in allowing photostats to be made of the notebook of John Watson and that of his nephew Alexander, so that they could be examined at leisure. It was these notebooks which furnished much of the new information concerning the painter and his activities. Therein was found the names of six of the subjects of his oil portraits and the accounts of his early dealings as a merchant. From Mr. George J. Miller of Perth Amboy, New Jersey, constant help has been received. It was his transcripts of the real estate and court records of New Jersey, during the long period, 1730-1770, wherever a John or an Alexander Watson was a party, which were the source of much of my comment as to Watson's activities as a merchant, real estate owner and banker. My thanks are due also to Dr. George J. Groce of New York who not only checked the real estate and Court records of New Jersey and obtained photostat thereof but made many helpful suggestions. Acknowledgment is made to Mr. Alexander J. Wall, Director, and Miss Dorothy C. Barck, of the New York Historical Society, and especially to Miss Barck for searching not only the Societies' but the New York records, for wills, inventories and other papers of those whom Watson either painted or might have painted and for help on many questions. To Mr. Hall Park McCullough for calling my attention to and copying the Lossing manuscript on Watson in his possession. To Mr. Samuel Rosenwein, Night Reference Librarian of the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, for research concerning the usury statutes and details of legal practice in the Province of New Jersey. To the Frick Art Reference Library for placing at my disposal all its material regarding Watson; also to Miss Elinor Gregory, Librarian, and Mrs. Anne P. Farnham of the Boston Athenaeum; Mrs. Maud H. Greene of the New Jersey Historical Society;

Miss Anne S. Pratt, Reference Librarian of the Yale University Library; to Clarence S. Brigham, Director, and Theron J. Damon of the American Antiquarian Society; to Harry MacNeill Bland, William R. Britton, Dr. Eric Budde, Mrs. Russel Hastings, Thomas N. Kendall, William Sawitsky, Dr. Samuel W. Woodhouse, Jr., and Lawrence C. Wroth, to the owners of Watson drawings and to the many individuals who have answered my many letters, I give my grateful thanks.

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JOHN WATSON

INFORMATION regarding the life and work of John Watson heretofore has been—and still is—meager and unsatisfactory. A few of his small drawings were known, either in the possession of museums and private collectors, or through reproduction in some book of reference: four oil paintings had been attributed to his brush; but it was not until the discovery, in 1931, of nearly a score of his drawings (inherited by Mrs. Lucien B. Horton), and a little later of two books, one belonging to John Watson, the other belonging to his nephew, Alexander, and both used by the latter for various purposes, that further research was stimulated.

Mrs. Horton's drawings furnished ample proof of his method and style in pencil and wash but it was the study of the Watson books in the collection of Judge Harold E. Pickersgill of Perth Amboy, which pointed the way to securing the necessary information as to his portraiture in oil.

The four portraits theretofore ascribed to Watson were none too convincing, as the technique (excepting the portrait called Sir Peter Warren) did not evidence any likeness to Watson's work in pencil and wash. As to the oil portraits themselves, admitting that the Vanderveer mother and daughter are from the same brush, these, the portrait of the Wilson children and the so-called Sir Peter Warren, in no way resembled each other in technique and it followed that these attributions, at least, were held open for further proof.

Many leaves have, unfortunately, been torn from John Watson's boyhood arithmetic book, which later in life he used for several purposes, but between pages carrying accounts current for the sale of merchandise to many citizens of New York, one was found headed "for painting in York 1726" (Plate III). This

contained the prices charged against six named individuals, for what he called "picktors"—one being Lewis Morris. The portrait of Morris was located still in the possession of a Lewis Morris, having been handed down during the generations. This was examined for brush work, color and general style. Another charge was against a "Governor." The Governor of New York and New Jersey in 1726 was William Burnet and knowing that his portrait had hung in Boston—either in the old or the present State House from time out of mind—it was taken off the wall, examined, and it is clear that the two portraits are by the same hand. Here then are two authentic portraits by Watson (Plates V and VI) which can be used as canons for comparison with others and this stray page, as to his charges "for painting in York" has furnished the proof of Dunlap's statement that Watson, the limner, painted many portraits in oil.

There are a score of portraits of the period still existing which are from Watson's brush. Unfortunately, most have been much and a few entirely repainted. It will be an interesting task to place these side by side with one or another of his authentic portraits and in time many heretofore unidentified as to the painter, may be added to the list as by Watson. There is a large group of paintings in New York, Albany, and in the various towns along the Hudson, which will repay study. Many of these are attributed to Pieter Vanderlyn and admitting that he painted portraits at all, then quite a large number may be given to him, as they are much alike in composition, color and, it must be admitted, in bad draftsmanship. A larger group, showing a general resemblance in technique, one to another are unattributed; they differ in that they are mostly full or three-quarter length in size, have open air backgrounds, containing architectural details and groups of trees, etc.—these are better done than the portraits attributed to Vanderlyn, but not so good as the paintings of Governor Burnet and Lewis Morris.

Some day, an item or reference overlooked in some inventory or will may furnish us the name of the artist, but rather than come to a hasty conclusion, I have omitted a list of these which might

prove to be by Watson, so that someone else may build hereon and undertake the careful study necessary before attributions are made.

We do not know how long Watson continued his activity in painting. We have two clues: (1) in Lossing's article wherein he quotes the letter of the woman (name unknown) who, as a young girl, had remembered Watson "when he was a feeble old man, and had given up painting." This might suggest that he had continued his painting until he became feeble and old; (2) Dunlap tells us that he painted portraits and lent money to his patrons. This suggests that he painted after his activities were largely those of a capitalist. The earliest record of Watson in the colonies, yet found, names him "Limner" but how late in life he continued painting portraits—perhaps we shall never know.

OUR SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE

Quite naturally, the earliest published mention of Watson appears in Dunlap's *Arts of Design* (1834), and no doubt, because Dunlap himself was born in Perth Amboy where Watson lived, local pride induced him to stress somewhat his importance. Watson not dying until 1768, many of the traditions which Dunlap printed were secured by him first-hand and but a few years after his demise. It therefore follows that such may be given greater credence than legends gathered for him by others, which Dunlap too often followed to his cost.

Dunlap's father, Samuel Dunlap, an Irishman, was color-bearer in an English regiment known as "Wolfe's Own." After taking part in the battle which resulted in Wolfe's death, the capture of Quebec and finally the cession of Canada to the British, his regiment being stationed at Perth Amboy, Samuel Dunlap obtained his discharge, married, and in that town was born on February 19, 1766, William Dunlap, painter, playwright, theatrical producer, and historian of the Theatre and the Fine Arts in our country.

Dunlap, in writing of Watson, points out that it was in his native Perth Amboy that the first painter (in the colonies) "in point of time, of whom I have any knowledge" resided, and also that "there was the first collection of pictures I have heard of; and what it was in magnitude or merit is only known by faint and obscure tradition. This existed in 1725."

His Diary tells of a visit to Perth Amboy in August of 1833 and while there hearing from a Mr. Bell some anecdotes of Watson. As Dunlap used his diaries, in part, in writing the biographies contained in his *Arts of Design* it might be argued that his account of Watson was based on the material collected in 1833, but the biography, as published, is more full than the Diary notes and Dunlap's own words recalling (his) "child's wonder" at the "tales that were told of the limner," makes it certain that most of the traditions he records remained in his mind from boyhood.

Whitehead added a little to Dunlap and his contribution is important largely because he reproduced three of Watson's small drawings as early as 1856.

After Dunlap and Whitehead little was discovered concerning the painter for many years. Tuckerman¹ devoted three lines of his introduction to "a Scotchman," evidently John Watson; Isham² about three paragraphs to him but had nothing to add to Dunlap; Lossing in his short-lived *The American Historical Record* made a real contribution in his long list of Watson's drawings and the *Dictionary of American Biography* fails to mention Watson at all.

AS TO WATSON'S BEING OUR EARLIEST PAINTER

Much information hidden from Dunlap in 1834 has come to light so that we can trace the colonial painters back almost to the 1650's in at least two colonies: those of New Netherland and Massachusetts Bay, as certainly Henri Couturier painted a por-

¹ Henry T. Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists* (New York, 1867), p. 7.

² Samuel Isham, *American Painting* (New York, 1927), p. 13.

trait of Governor Stuyvesant before 1663¹ and there was a limner in Boston before 1667.²

Stokes, in describing New Amsterdam between 1652-1664, in part says: "The wonderful blooming of art in the Netherlands had so developed the popular love for pictures and the belief in them as good investments that they abounded everywhere, even in the cottages of the peasants. In New Amsterdam also they were numerous, relatively much more numerous than books."³

We know that Couturier, Evert, Gerret and Evert Duyckinck II painted in New Amsterdam and New York before 1715.⁴ A portrait exists which family tradition states is a self-portrait by Jan Strijcker and on the strength of this feeble proof, two other portraits, evidently Dutch in inspiration, have been attributed to him.

Considering other colonies, the Worcester Art Museum in the summer of 1934, held an exhibition entitled "Seventeenth Century Painting in New England." An analysis of the findings printed in the catalogue would indicate that about twenty-five of the portraits passed muster and can be accepted as painted here about the last quarter of the seventeenth or in the first years of the eighteenth century.⁵

In *Portraits of the Founders*, Mr. C. K. Bolton has illustrated and commented on the likenesses of persons born abroad who came to any one of our colonies before 1701—upwards of fifteen of these were painted here before seventeen hundred.⁶

Dunlaps' claim for Watson's being our first painter can be dismissed but it took many years for the record of artists, earlier in time, to come to light.

¹ I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island* (New York, 1915-18), vol. 4, p. 225.

² Cotton Mather, *Magnalia Christi American*, (Hartford, 1852) vol. 1, p. 320.

³ Stokes, *op. cit.*, vol. 4, p. 130.

⁴ J. H. Morgan, *Early American Painters* (New York, 1921), pp. 15-20.

⁵ *XVII Century Painting in New England* (Worcester, Mass., 1935).

Charles K. Bolton, *Portraits of the Founders* (Boston, 1919-1926).

AS TO WATSON'S HAVING ASSEMBLED THE FIRST COLLECTION
OF PAINTINGS IN THE COLONIES

In the preface of her book on *Dutch New York*, Miss Esther Singleton tells us that inventories and Court Records were the source which furnished much of the material through which she was able to describe the contents of some, at least, of the more pretentious houses in New Amsterdam.

She writes: "The finest collection in New Amsterdam appears to have been that of Dr. DeLange. He had no less than sixty-one pictures, many of which are described as 'large.' The inventory distinctly mentions the rooms in which they were hung."¹

The inventory (the original spelling of which has been followed) is, in part, as follows: it mentions "one greate Picture being a Banquett with a Black List (frame); one bunch of grapes with a poomegranate; one ditto with aprichokes; one a small country; one Breake a day; a small winter; a cobbler; a purtraturing of my Lord Speelman. Another Great picture Banquitt, an Abraham and Hagar; a country people frolick; a purtrature; one purtracture of Mr. De Lange; two mens purtratures, etc."² From the list it is evident that this collection would be typical of Dutch painting of the period, with perhaps one or two which might now be designated as of the Flemish School.

Miss Singleton also mentions other early collections; that of Mrs. Margarita Van Varick which contained seventeen paintings; two maps, twelve prints and fourteen "East India Pictures"; that of Cornelis Steenwyck having fourteen in the Great Chamber, six in the Chamber above the Kitchen, eleven in the Fore Room, and eight in the Withdrawing Room; that of Dominie Nicholas Van Rensselaer, who owned thirteen pictures; Asser Levy, nine in 1682, and Christina Cappaens, who owned sixteen in 1687.³

Pierre Eugène Du Simitiere, on a visit to New York, made the

¹ Esther Singleton, *Dutch New York* (New York, 1909), p. 105.

² "Inventory Capital Goods and Effects of Jacob Delange, of New York, 1685" in Liber 5, N. Y. County Wills, pp. 180-91 of official transcript. Hall of Records, New York City.

³ Singleton, *op. cit.*, pp. 105-7.

following record to be found in his MS (No. 1412), in the possession of the Library Company, Philadelphia; and published in Stokes as follows:

Paintings in New York July 1768 at Mr. Gerardus Stuyvesante grand Son to Pieter Stuyvesante governor of New Netherland when the place Surrendered to the English in 1664. there is a picture in busto of the Said Pieter in Oil with a falling band & Tossels [sic] armour & Sash. Two pictures $\frac{3}{4}$ of his mother & father on board in oil & a conversation piece in a lanskip on board also in oil. two figures Some of his family a Woman Setting with a large ruff about the neck & a man Standing all tolerably well done tho decay'd Specially the last. . . .

There can be but little doubt that the portrait of Peter Stuyvesant above referred to is the one now owned by the New York Historical Society.

Enough has been shown to prove that a generation before Watson came to New Jersey, there were in New Amsterdam or Early New York, many collections of pictures unknown to Dunlap and which did not come to light until the inventories of the period were searched.

AS TO WATSON'S HAVING MAINTAINED OUR EARLIEST GALLERY

The first exhibition of paintings in Boston, yet found, is that held by John Smibert in March of 1730.¹ This artist was persuaded by George Berkeley, Dean of Derry, to join him, as professor of painting and architecture, in his fantastic scheme of founding a college to teach the heathen children in Bermuda. Previously Smibert had studied and spent some time in Italy and while there copied paintings by old masters. We know the Berkeley party landed at Newport in late January, 1729, and that Smibert moved to Boston some time in November or early December of that year. Probably as an introduction to the town and as the legitimate advertising of his professional attainments, Smibert

¹ Henry Wilder Foote, "John Smibert Shows his Pictures March 1730, in *The New England Quarterly*, vol. 8, pp. 14-28 (March 1935).

arranged a public view of his work. Mr. H. W. Foote fixes the date at "certainly not later than early March, 1730," which his facts amply support. Our knowledge of the contents of the painter's exhibition comes through an anonymous poem printed in the *London Daily Courant* of April 14, 1730. Mr. Foote prints the poem in full and the *Courant's* introduction tells us that it is obliged for "the little piece to a Gentleman of New-England where it was wrote and published."¹

The poem mentions three portraits of Boston people, which still exist. These must have been painted by Smibert between December, 1729, and the opening of the exhibition and the poem refers also to paintings by old Masters—no doubt Smibert's copies—and other works of art. These then were exhibited as a collection in early 1730.

Dunlap tells us that Watson's collection "existed in 1725" but we have no documentary or other proof of the date other than his statement which may be only an approximation. Also that at some date Watson built, adjoining his dwelling, "his painting and picture house." Reference to the deeds to Watson for his Perth Amboy home have been found in his nephew's account book. These deeds are dated 1737 and 1742. Whether Watson would have built his picture house before becoming the owner of his home should be considered.

Smibert also maintained a gallery. He married in July, 1730, and occupied half of the house of his father-in-law, Dr. Nathaniel Williams, at what now would be Court and Brattle streets at Scollay Square, Boston. After the death of Dr. Williams in January, 1737/8, Smibert occupied the whole house and at some time opened a "painting room."

All that this detail proves is that Watson and Smibert were among our early painters who maintained a show room or gallery to exhibit a collection of pictures. It would be unimportant were it not that careless authors continually refer to some individual as

¹ No copy of this poem, published in Massachusetts, has been found and Mr. Foote concludes that the publication may have been a broadside, which was distributed and thus failed to be preserved.

“our first” this or that, while Dunlap, trained writer that he was, pointed out that Watson was our “first” painter “of whom I have any knowledge” and concluded therefore that at Perth Amboy was exhibited “the first collection of pictures I have heard of”—a cautious statement which later research has proved in part, at least, not to be the fact.

WATSON'S BEGINNINGS AND HIS EARLY LIFE IN NEW JERSEY

A summary of Watson's early life, concerning which little is known, is as follows:

The inscription on his tombstone in the cemetery connected with St. Peter's Church, Perth Amboy, reads:

Here lies Interred the Body of
Mr. John Watson
Who departed this life Aug. 22, 1768
Aged 83 years.¹

This was the sole record from which the year of his birth could be deduced until the finding of the painter's account book used also by Alexander Watson, owned by Judge Pickersgill. Therein are two entries, one of which reads: Mr John Watson Died Wensday August 22, 1768 Aged 83 years 25 Days.” Working back from this date would give July 28, 1685, as the date of his birth.

We know nothing of his ancestry and the following is printed to preserve a clue. Benson J. Lossing wrote that Watson was born near Dumfries, Scotland, and in his youth had been a shepherd. Later, after learning the trade of house and sign painting, he set up as a portrait painter in his native town. Falling in love with a young woman, whose father was well-to-do, at the end of a long courtship he was jilted by her for a young piper, and Watson, after squandering his earnings, sought refuge in the colonies, registering a vow that never would he seek the

¹ W. Worthey Jones, *History of St. Peter's Church in Perth Amboy* (Perth Amboy, 1924).

hand of woman in marriage. At the age of forty-five (i.e. 1730), learning of a legacy coming to him, he journeyed to Scotland and upon his return to the Province brought with him the collection "which with studies and copies of paintings by his own hand enabled him to form an attractive art gallery in his home at Perth Amboy." He also persuaded his niece and nephew, children of a dead brother, to accompany him. After the building of his studio and gallery, Lossing relates that his pictures entirely covered the walls in two of the larger rooms of the gallery.¹

With the exception of the above and certain verbal flourishes used as padding, Lossing's article follows closely the accounts of Watson as published in Dunlap, Whithead and his own two papers printed in the *American Historical Record*, which follow later in this study. Mr. Lossing gives no authority for the statements as to Watson's birthplace or to his early romance, but it seems certain that his facts had some foundation or he would not have so written.

The only known facts would seem to be that he was a Scotsman; Dunlap says by profession a portrait painter and Bryan that he was educated in the Trustees Academy, Edinburgh.²

Watson's boyhood arithmetic book has survived (Plate II), "John Watson/With My hand/1701" appearing on the inside of the back cover.

While manuscript schoolbooks are not common, we know that they were of two kinds: (a) those copied from printed textbooks or from definitions and examples furnished by the teacher or (b) those in which the student copied the solution of a problem

¹ The above is digested from a manuscript by Benson J. Lossing entitled, "First Professional Painter in America," owned by Hall Park McCullough. With it is the copy of a letter from Lossing, dated November 14, 1884, addressed to Richard Watson Gilder offering the article to *The Century* for publication. Whether published or not has not yet been determined. This information in similar language is included in "John Watson, First Professional Painter in America," by Frank E. Waska, *Brush and Pencil*, vol. 2, pp. 54-56. Mr. Waska neither refers to Lossing nor gives authority for his statements but it is clear from the date of his publication (1898) and the similarity of the text that either Mr. Lossing's article was somewhere published or that Waska had this manuscript before him.

² Michael Bryan, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (1934), vol. 5, p. 338; but Caw says the Trustees Academy was founded in 1760 (*Scottish Painting*, p. 35).

Redoubt of four weights.

Not. that 24 grains make out penny.
 And 20 penny weight, out ounce.
 And 12 ounces on pound.

Exmple.

	oz	p	gr
9	6	5	4
8	5	2	0
7	3	6	4
5	4	9	8
4	3	8	6
6	5	2	4
8	7	0	2
9	6	8	7
8	5	4	3
3	9	7	9
2	5	4	3
8	7	6	5
8	4	3	9
7	5	3	8
8	4	3	9

John Watson 1700

PLATE II. INSIDE COVER AND A SPECIMEN EXAMPLE FROM JOHN WATSON'S BOYHOOD ARITHMETIC BOOK

worked out elsewhere.¹ John Watson's book is of the first type and the more or less ornamental ostrich with which he has decorated the inside of the front cover shows an early artistic bent. The book proves merely that he had been taught at sixteen to read, write and figure; but more we do not know.

In any event, he had learned to draw before he came to this country as Lossing, when he wrote concerning Watson, had before him a small self-portrait when twenty-seven. This would fix the date at 1712, about two years before he is known to have been in New Jersey.

Dunlap, and all other writers who have industriously copied him, have fixed 1715 as the date of Watson's arrival in the colonies and settling in Perth Amboy. In his Diary, Dunlap prints a tale recounted by Bell, that Watson came here immediately after the Scottish Rebellion of that year. This certainly is error as the outbreak in behalf of the Old Pretender, starting in September, was crushed in December of 1715 and Watson was here before that event. This appears from the record of an action begun by John Watson against Thomas Turnbull in the Supreme Court at Amboy, May Term 1715. Turnbull apparently filed two answers both similar, the second being in the Court of Common Pleas; it is enough to quote from the Supreme Court action as follows:

Thomas Turnbull of Perth-Amboy In the sd County Innholder was attached to answer John Watson Late of sd Perth-Amboy Limner of a Plea of Trespass upon the Case, &c.

The gist of Watson's complaint (which is not on file and hence must be gathered from Turnbull's answer) was that Turnbull on the

first Day of June Last In the Thirteenth year of the Reigne of our Late Sovereigne Lady Anne Queen of Great Britain, &c at Perth-Amboy Aforesd In the sd County was Indebted unto the sd John In the sum of

¹ "Manuscript Schoolbooks" by James Mulhern, paper read before the Bibliographical Society (1937) unpublished. Many books of this character are discussed, the earliest being that written by Samuel Powell (Powel?) dated 1718 owned by Library Company, Philadelphia, Reference furnished by Lawrence C. Wroth, John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island.

twenty-four pounds, money of the sd Province for one Pipe of Madera wine. . . .

Queen Anne died August 1, 1714, and George I, reaching England late in August, his reign therefore would begin in that year. This pleading dated May of 1715 and stating that on "the first day of June last In the thirteenth year of the Reigne of our Late Sovereigne Lady Anne Queen," Watson sold a "pipe of Madera" to Turnbull proves that the transaction took place on the first day of June, 1714, and places Watson in Perth Amboy in a year before Dunlap, or any other writer, has suggested.

In both of Turnbull's answers Watson is described as a "Limner" and not a merchant.¹ It can be fairly inferred from this suit that Watson must have been in New Jersey for a considerable time before June of 1714 in order to engage in business dealings with Turnbull, selling him a "pipe of Madera" (140 gallons) for a value of 24^l—no inconsiderable sum for those days. It also proves that painting was probably his vocation and dealing in merchandise perhaps only a side activity. In any event, he was here and known as a limner, in 1714.

Dunlap speaks of the beautiful situation chosen by the Proprietors of New Jersey for the site of their capital and that, notwithstanding its nearness to New York, the village of Perth Amboy was long after 1715 a place of consequence.

Hamilton, in his famous journey through the colonies from Annapolis, Maryland, to New Hampshire and back, describes the town as it appeared to him on June 15, 1744:

Amboy is a small town. It is a very old American city, being older than the city of New York; being a chartered city, much less than our Annapolis, and here frequently the Supreme Court and Assembly sit. It has in it one Presbyterian meeting, and a pretty large market house, lately built. It is the principal town in New Jersey, and appears to be laid out in the shape of a St. George's cross, one main street cutting the other at right angles. 'Tis a seaport, having a good harbour, but small trade. They have here the best oysters I have eat in America. It lies close upon the water, and the best houses in town are ranged along the

¹ On file Supreme Court Clerk's office in handwriting of John Barclay, Clerk of the Province, No. 46492.

water side. In the Jerseys the people are chiefly Presbyterians and Quakers, and there as so many proprietors that share the lands in New Jersey and so many doubtful titles and rights, that it creates an inexhaustible and profitable pool for the lawyers.

At ten o'clock I crossed the ferry to Staten Island, where are some miles of pretty stony, sandy, and uneven road.¹

On the shores of the broad bay formed by the Arthur Kill and the Raritan, Watson built his home and adjoining gallery to house his pictures. Dunlap recounts that he remembered "well the child's wonder that was caused in his early life by the appearance of the house this artist once owned (for he was then dead), and the tales that were told of the Limner in answer to the questions asked. His dwelling-house had been pulled down by his heir, but a smaller building which adjoined it, and which had been his painting and picture house, remained and attracted admiration by the heads of sages, heroes, and kings. The window-shutters were divided into squares, and each square presented the head of a man or woman, which, if memory can be trusted at this distant period, after an interval of more than sixty years, represented personages in antique costume, and the men with beards and helmets, or crowns." (Plate IV.)

When Whitehead wrote his book (c. 1855) the site of John Watson's house was occupied by the residence of John Manning. How long it stood after Watson's death is uncertain but an entry in the notebook used by Alexander Watson states:

Mr. Watson House which is Keep as A Tavern in Amboy
by Willm Wright

Jersey
Money
1400l 00:0

Another tradition repeated in the neighborhood was that Watson was a miser and a usurer but Dunlap's comment is that this probably meant that he was a prudent man who lived without ostentation or superfluous expense. That this deduction was

¹ *Hamilton's Itinerarium, Being a Narrative of a Journey from Annapolis, Maryland, through Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Hampshire from May to September, 1744* (St. Louis, 1907), pp. 44-5.

correct is proved by an entry in the Note Book of Alexander Watson in his handwriting and which probably records his uncle's dying words:

My Dear Sanddey never forgitt your loving and Dear Uncle John Watson who left you his Blessing with his Estate he Died Wensday the 22 Day of August About 3 Oclock in the Afternoon After being Beed Ridding 1768 Three Years and Nine Months,——The Advise he Allways gave was this and Even to his Dieing Hours which was to be A frugal Honest—upright Sober Man as says he that will be a great Means in Preserving your Health and prolonging your Life for the good of your fameley, and will bring you peace at the last, and will make you Shine, Shine, in the World. Never Never gitt in Debt if possable and be frugal in your fameley and never load your Self with two much Company not be Incumbered with two many Servants more than you want. I have nothing further to Say butt God Bless you, I cant Stay Long with You.
Adeu J:W:

Dunlap preserves other local gossip to the effect that Watson lent his money to those who could give security. The story ran also that Watson "painted many portraits and lent his money to those who employed him."

At least two self-portraits of him have been preserved. The frontispiece depicts him at thirty-five, and Plate X (b) shows him later in life. The possibility that Plate VIII(a) represents Watson, at 73, is discussed at the appropriate place in the check list, but my belief is that it represents Daniel Hendrickson. The first two bring his likeness clearly to mind.

Watson never married and upon the promise of his wealth, induced a nephew—a midshipman in the British Navy—to make his home with him. This nephew, Alexander Watson, superintended the old man's business affairs during the last years of his life, towards the end of which he became blind, deaf, and bed-ridden.

Whitehead says that a niece (Sophia Watson) also lived with him, for whom he had sent shortly after he came to Perth Amboy. This would contradict Lossing, who wrote that he brought his nephew and niece with him upon his return from Scotland in 1730; but in any event they made their home with him.

As to his gallery Dunlap also wrote that Watson returned to Europe on one occasion and "brought from thence to his adopted country, many pictures which, with those of his own composition, formed no inconsiderable collection in point of number; we have been told that many of Mr. Watson's pictures were portraits, real or imaginary of the kings of England and Scotland" and this agreed with Dunlap's remembrance of at least those shown on his window shutters.

Alexander Watson, being a Loyalist, somewhere around 1777 fled from Perth Amboy to New York and the Rebels, under General Mercer, occupied the town for a short period. Dunlap notes "of course the deserted house and collection of paintings were left at the mercy of the undisciplined yeomanry and this first cabinet of the fine arts was broken up, and the treasures dispersed by those who probably took delight in executing summary justice on the effigies of the nimrods of the Fatherland."

The remains of the cellar of Watson's home existed in Dunlap's time but he adds: "none of the pictures brought into this country or painted by him can now [1834] be found."

One written description of Watson should be preserved. In Hamilton's *Itinerarium* appears the following:

Friday, June 15th, [1744]. . . . At nine in the morning we stopped at the sign of the King's Arms in Amboy, where I breakfasted. As I sat in the porch I observed an antique figure pass by, having an old plaid banyan, a pair of thick worsted stockings ungartered, a greasy worsted nightcap, and no hat. "You see that original," said the landlord; "he is an old bachelor, and it is his humour to walk the street always in that dress. Tho' he makes but a pitiful appearance, yet is he proprietor of most of the houses in town. He is very rich, but for all that has no servant, but milks his own cow, dresses his own vittles, and feeds his own poultry himself."¹

Watson in 1744 would have been almost sixty years old and the word picture of his dress, his large ownership of real estate and

¹ Hamilton, *Itinerarium*, p. 44. As Hamilton did not preserve the name of the "antique figure" in the text of his diary, Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart, who edited the volume, failed to recognize the "old bachelor" as Watson, who was a little over sixty when Hamilton saw him—not antique perhaps according to modern ideas—but there can be little, if any, doubt that John Watson was the person Hamilton described.

especially his habit of life, would bear out his reputation for parsimony.

Whitehead quotes from a letter from Captain William Skinner, in Colonel Schuyler's regiment during the French and Indian Wars, under date of November 25, 1757, he (Skinner) wrote:

To relate all the trouble I have met with in getting subsistence for the provincial troops as they landed from Old and New France would be too tedious; but I can't help telling you that Mr. Partridge, the Agent for our Province, is a d—d scoundrel; all that he would do was this: if Mr. Pitt (to whom I had written several letters on the subject) would give his note for the sum to be paid out of the next cash he had in his hands belonging to the Province, but would not advance it himself, "though he is worth at least 30,000 pounds sterling. He is such another as old John Watson . . . therefore not fit for the post he is intrusted with."

This quotation has often been printed to show that Watson was a miser but all that it does prove is that Watson would not lend his money without security. Whitehead's note, exonerating Partridge, was:

Upon what grounds the Government could base their refusal to provide for troops who had been made prisoners of war while fighting the battles of their country and were on their way to their homes, is not known. Mr. Partridge would certainly have been imprudent to have incurred the expense without instructions from the Province.

Again the *New Jersey Archives* contain a notice of Watson's death in which he is described as "a gentleman noted for several peculiarities in his Way of Living."¹

In considering the contemporary references, which have come down to us, it is more reasonable to believe that as Sophia and Alexander Watson lived with their uncle that they—and not the painter—"dressed the vittles" and fed "the poultry," as no canny Scot would board and lodge his nephew and niece in idleness. But Watson was rich, kept no servant and dressed meanly; and hence was an object for the malicious gossip of the loquacious landlord of the King's arms. We prefer to accept Dunlap's

¹ *New Jersey State Archives*, ser. 1, vol. 26, p. 257.

analysis that he was a "prudent man who lived without ostentation or superfluous expense."

JOHN WATSON, PORTRAIT PAINTER

Originally a limner was defined as "an illuminator of books" but by the beginning of the eighteenth century the word had received its present meaning; i.e. "one who draws or paints." We have called attention to the earliest record of Watson yet found in the colonies—the law suit against Thomas Turnbull (May, 1715)—in which Watson was described as "Limner." Contrary to the belief held, at least by some, class distinctions were of considerable importance in colonial days and many were careful to preserve their right to describe themselves as "Gent." The fact that Watson, though suing for the value of a pipe of Madiera, was called "Limner" probably means that drawing and painting were his vocation, and selling goods a side activity.

John Watson's boyhood arithmetic book furnishes the next reference to his painting. This book he used later in life for all sorts of purposes; it is described in Chapter VII of this volume but suffice it to say here that many pages have been torn out; but on the 17th page of what remains, appears the following entry:

12				
26	for painting in York 1726			
<hr/>				
52	Mr. Henderson picktor	15	0	0
	Governor on picktor	4	0	0
	Chaning 2 picktors	4	0	0
	Doctor Braine on picktor	4	0	0
	Lewes Morris 1 picktor	3	0	0
	Doctor Dipu on picktor	2	5	0 ¹
	To on Black and Whait	0	12	0
		<hr/>		
		32	12	0

¹The charge against Dr. Dipu appears clearly in the photograph as "250," but if so then Watson's addition of the total for his painting in New York is incorrect. It is suggested that the charge was first written as "250" and later the "5" was made into an "0," which fails to appear as clearly in the photograph as the "5."

The phrase "to paint," in its primary meaning, is to represent on canvas—or other appropriate material—a portrait or design in color by the use of paints and we need not go into refinements of definitions as to what Watson meant when he wrote "for painting in York."

Beginning at the 26th page, which is headed "Account of Goods sold in New Yorke Aprell 16th 1726," there follow several filled with entries of merchandise sold to many purchasers. From these it is simple to note that Watson invariably spelled the word "one" as "on," for we find sales of "on pice of spekeld lining," "on dozon stockings," "on Box of medicin," etc., etc. Only once or twice is the numeral "1" used and nowhere is the word spelled "one."

The painting account is in pencil (graphite?) and quite faint; for that reason it was photographed on a contrasting film from which the yellow was filtered, so that the image might be sharpened.

As frequently happens in the deciphering of ancient writing, several readings as to the Henderson entry are possible: "Mr. Henderson picktor"—or "Mr. Henderson 3 pictor"—"15 0 0" being the most plausible. Examination of the original page leads the writer to the conclusion that what might be the lower part of the figure "3" is a spot in the paper wrought by time, many such appearing on each page. The price charged 15^l, however, might warrant the conclusion that more than one painting was executed for Mr. Henderson. Unless chance shall furnish further information the true reading of this entry will remain doubtful.

There is one further entry in John Watson's book as to his activity as a limner. On the page begun "May 16th, 1726," following debits made against "Doctr. Sthuart To on Box of medicin"; one dated April 20, 1727, for "5 yrd on quater flots" (or plots) and before an undated sale to Alexander Mills, appears: "Mr. Jerimias Ransloe (r?) to on smal picto 0:15:0."

The final part of the "r" in "pictor" has vanished, but what might be the connection between the "o" and the "r" is still visible.

In this book at last appeared facts upon which a start could be made as to Watson's portraiture in oil. Dunlap had said that "the story ran that old Mr. Watson painted many portraits" but that "none of the pictures painted by him can now be found." Whitehead and Lossing, writing thirty and forty years later, had been unable to locate any of his oil portraits from life.

It is clear that the first six entries (Plate III) refer to oil paintings; otherwise Watson would not have written "for painting in York" and then differentiated between his "picktors" and "on Black and Whait." The latter must refer to one of his small drawings in pencil and wash, as did the Rensloe entry.

We have, then, the names of seven individuals who had commissioned Watson to paint—or had bought from him possibly nine oil pictures and two drawings and it has been not a difficult task to identify his named patrons, who were all important citizens of New York in the year 1726. Other than in these entries, no paid bill for a Watson portrait in any medium has come down to us to help solve the problem of these charges in his account book.

The portrait of the "Governor" was that of William Burnet, Governor of New York and New Jersey from 1720-28. We know Governor Burnet sat to Watson as his two drawings of him have survived (Plate VII). Burnet's portrait in oil (Plate V) has hung in the present Boston State House and its predecessor from time out of mind. It was described by William Bentley in 1803 and he bequeathed an oil copy to the American Antiquarian Society in 1818.

The life portrait was taken off the wall in September, 1939, and while the face is considerably repainted, the wig, eyes and coat remain untouched and give clear indications of style, color and general technique. Also there are one or two mannerisms, which, although never decisive, are always helpful in making attributions. After eight years of service in New York and New Jersey, Burnet was appointed Governor of Massachusetts in 1728 and journeyed to Boston, arriving there on September 7th. He died September 17, 1729, after a strenuous year in his new office. John Smibert, the

painter, did not arrive in Boston until the December after the Governor's death and in any event, the style and technique of the Burnet portrait precludes it being his work, or of any other Boston painter of the day whose work is identifiable.

After Burnet's untimely death his effects were sold at public auction and references thereto appeared in several newspapers of the day.¹ The list mentions "Sundry Pictures and Prints." The oil portrait of Burnet was in the Old State House as early as 1770 but what its history was between the date of the Governor's death and its presence in the Old State House, is unknown.

The inventory of Burnet's estate is still on file² and shows that the draftsman used the word "picture" to described a portrait (from life or imaginary) and also for a composition; thus, among other items, he lists:

	[l]	[s]	[d]
A Lady's Picture over the door	1	5	0
B. V. (Blessed Virgin) Mary's picture with Jesus in her arms	2		
Two Picktures in Lackered frames	5		
A large painted canvas square as ye room	8	0	0
Martin Luther's picture		3	

Other items are described as "151 Italian Prints; Southacks Mapp; Four Plans of Boston," etc. The ideal portraits are all named but what might have been family portraits are not. If "Two Picktures in Lackered frames," perhaps companions, were those of Governor Burnet and his wife, then the inventory value, 5*l* (i.e. 2*l* 10*s* each), would compare with the charge of 4*l* which Watson made to the Governor for painting his portrait. The suggestion, that there existed a portrait of Mrs. Burnet is at least probable, arises because Watson drew Governor Burnet twice, as these have survived, and a drawing of Mrs. Burnet existed as late as 1872 when it was listed by Lossing as "before him." (See Page 85.)

¹ George Francis Dow, *The Arts and Crafts in New England* (Topsfield, 1927), pp. 108-9.

² Inventory taken Oct. 13, 1729: Estate of Governor William Burnet—Suffolk County Court House, Boston.

Continuing the discussion of the pictures mentioned in Watson's entry of 1726:

"Lewes Morris on picktor" is still in the possession of his direct descendant (See Plate VI). This was examined and fortunately it is largely in untouched condition. It resembles the portrait of Governor Burnet in size, brush work and general handling; the composition and costume of both are almost identical, with that of Governor Burnet in reverse of the pose of Governor Morris. The same mannerisms are perceived in both. Here, then, are two portraits painted by Watson in New York in the year 1726 which can be used to identify other portraits by him.

But how can we reconcile the charges Watson made for his "picktors?"

Assuming that the charge "To on Black and Whait—o 12 o" means 12 shillings for one of his drawings in pencil and wash, then the charge of 4*l* "To Chaning 2 picktors" and "Doctor Dipu" 2*l*, might mean that 2*l* was his charge for oil portraits in head size. This, then, might justify his charge of 4*l* each to Governor Burnet and Dr. Braine for portraits in bust size, but if this is so how can the charge to Lewis Morris of 3*l*, for his portrait similar to that of Governor Burnet, be explained? Possibly Watson charged what the traffic would bear.

Again if 12 shillings was his charge for a small drawing, of what size and in what medium was "Mr Jaremas Ransloe smal picktor," "o:15:o?" The problem does not work out. Perhaps Mr. Ransloe's "smal picktor" was the "Black & Whait" mentioned before at 12 shillings and when payment was made 15 shillings was paid, which might have included a frame. Possibly other payments were recorded on the torn out pages, but none other have come to light.

The charge against "Mr. Henderson picktor" or "Mr Henderson 3 picktor 15 o o" is another puzzle. If it is for three pictures this would seem to suggest 5*l* apiece; but if for one picture, as this author first read the entry, then it might be for a large double portrait such as that of Johannes Schuyler and his wife, now in the New York Historical Society.

"Mr. Henderson" was undoubtedly James Henderson, friend, neighbor and brother-in-law of Anthony Duane. He was a merchant and along with Duane and others, a large land speculator in what would now be Greenwich Village. His will was proved December 16, 1743 (Liber 15, N. Y. Surrogate's Office) but mentions no pictures; nor can an inventory of his estate now be found. Stokes records (vol. 6, p. 166) that James Henderson cleared land in 1726 and built thereon his home soon afterward. His house later became well-known, as Henderson's widow, Tiesse (Thysie), and his daughter, Margaret (his executrices), deeded the property, a "Certain messuage or dwelling house," to Peter (afterward Sir Peter) Warren by deed dated September 25, 1744—the original Warren deeds being in the collection of the New York Historical Society. As Henderson was building his fine home in 1726, when Watson was painting in New York, he might quite naturally, therefore, have desired a large canvas to adorn it, if the charge was for one "picktor" or, if for three perhaps for a portrait of himself and two of his family.

Watson's other patrons can also be identified from the records, as the census of 1723 reveals that there were but 1,460 adult males in the whole county of New York, which would include, of course, the town as well.

"Chaning 2 piktors" refers to the New York merchant, William Channing, whose will was proved September 23, 1731.

"Doctor Braine on pictor" was the well-known Doctor Thomas Braine who died intestate and to whose widow letters of administration were granted December 20, 1739.

"Doctor Dipu on pictor" represents Watson's phonetic spelling of the name of Doctor John Dupuy, who was living in New York at the time of Watson's entry. He died June 16, 1744.

"Mr Jeremias Ransloe on smal pictor o:15:o." This was, no doubt, a portrait of Jeremias Van Rensselaer (1705-1745), 6th Patroon and 4th Lord of the Manor of Rensselaerwyck. He would have been twenty-one in 1726, which might have been a reason for having his portrait drawn.

The casual spelling of the 17th and early 18th centuries renders

this suggestion reasonable. The Minutes of the Burgo-masters of New Amsterdam refer to Henri Couturier as "Coutrie" and other records call him "Coustrie." The Labadist Father, Jasper Dankers, in his diary of a visit here refers to the painter, Evert Duyckinck, as "Duiken." In the still unsolved problem as to the Leisler administration, there is an affidavit in which John Gardiner refers to Gerret Duyckinck as "Gyrret Duyckins."

The final letter of Ransloe, while apparently as "e," might be "r"; but the combination of the given name "Jeremias" (an unusual name in the colonies) with Ransloe seems to decide the matter.

The fact that Watson described this picture as small and the charge being 15 shillings, suggest that it was what he called a "Black and Whait."

Biographical sketches of these individuals appear in the catalog of portraits beginning at page 285.

"The story ran," says Dunlap, "that old Mr. Watson painted many portraits" and several portraits of New York residents of the period still surviving, which from stylistic reasons, seem surely to be from his brush. Unfortunately, however, during the years most have been much repainted, which renders attribution uncertain.

WATSON'S IDEAL PAINTINGS

Dunlap, as a boy, remembered the exterior of Watson's Gallery which "attracted admiration" by reason of the heads of "sages, heroes, Kings" and personages in antique costume, which adorned the window shutters. The explanation of why Dunlap mentions only the paintings on the window shutters would appear to be that being a young boy at the time, as yet uninterested in art, he did not visit the collection within the gallery, which he tells us contained "many pictures which, with those of his own composition, formed no inconsiderable collection in point of number; of their value we are ignorant," but Bell told him that most were by Watson himself.

It can be inferred from this that Watson being a good showman, placed heads on the window shutters to attract the attention of the passers by, thus inviting them within to view his gallery and, perhaps later, result in his being engaged to paint a portrait.

Speaking of Watson's paintings in oil, Dunlap writing in 1834, said: "none of the pictures brought into this Country or painted by him can now be found." Whitehead in 1856, said: "what became of Mr. Watson's Collection of paintings is not known and . . . none of his own of any size have come down to us." Lossing, in 1872, remarked: "The writer has no knowledge of any work in oil executed by him," and asked for further information on Watson.

The finding of the page of Watson's charges for painting in New York has enabled us to identify at least two of his portraits. The painting of the Emperor Caligula and the sketch in Lossing now permit us to visualize the style of his ideal portraits on the window shutters. It is probable that most of Watson's paintings were destroyed in 1776 along with his gallery and that his portraits in oil commissioned by patrons remain in the possession of descendants or have found their way into museums and historical societies; but due to the ravages of time, old portraits frequently have been repainted and the task of identifying these will be difficult; but their tracing will be an interesting quest.

We know what Watson's ideal drawings were like from those which have survived (Plates XI and XII). It is probable that these drawings were made from prints and later some were enlarged into oil paintings for his gallery.

Of the paintings which decorated the window shutters of his gallery one oil, only, and the design of another have survived.

The portrait inscribed "Gaius Caligula" (Plate IV a) has the same provenance as the Watson drawings inherited by Mrs. Lucien B. Horton. Its size ($25\frac{1}{4} \times 19\frac{1}{2}$), suggests that it was a gallery portrait and not displayed on one of the shutters. As Watson's gallery adjoined his home, it is reasonable to believe that it was unoccupied at night and the shutters were closed. It therefore might very well be that there was but one shutter to a



PLATE IV. (a) GAIUS CALIGULA. (b) A PRIESTESS OF BACCHUS

window. If so, the portrait of Caligula could have hung upon one of the shutters.

Mrs. Lucien B. Horton, the owner of many of the Watson Drawings herein illustrated, was born in the home of her grandfather, William H. P. Benton (1811-1900) in Perth Amboy, New Jersey. This house stood on High Street on the Park. Mr. Benton's sister-in-law was Maria Forbes, to whom Watson's great-niece, Sophia (Waterhouse) Brown (1757?-1837) gave a large number of the Watson drawings later used by William A. Whitehead.

In the attic of Mr. W. H. P. Benton's home was found the painting of Caligula, part of the inheritance from the gift of Sophia Brown to Maria Forbes, although there is no documentary proof in regard to the painting as exists concerning the drawings. The painting is on a hard wood panel, a small part of which is missing from the right side.

The only contemporary description we have concerning the paintings on the outside of Watson's Gallery is that printed in Dunlap and Lossing, Dunlap wrote: "The window shutters were divided into squares, and each square presented the head of a man or woman, which . . . represented personages in antique costume, and the men with beards and helmets, or crowns."

In general composition the painting of Caligula resembles the Morris portrait and also in technique when the differences between oil on wood and oil on canvas are considered. It also conforms to the sketch reproduced by Lossing (Plate IV b).

In the eighth monthly issue of Lossing's short-lived *American Historical Record* (August, 1872) appeared an article on Watson. A correspondent had sent an ink sketch with the following explanation—after a few lines digesting Dunlap's account of Watson and pointing out that Dunlap could not remember whom the heads on the window shutters represented—he said:

"I am glad to be able to supply the blank in Dunlap's memory, in the case of one head on those shutters, a pen and ink sketch of which I send you for publication in the *Record* if you think it worthy of a place there. It was made by my grandmother when

she was a young lady of eighteen years. She was a native of Perth Amboy, and emigrated to Ohio at about the year 1802. In a letter to my mother, dated at Marietta, in December, 1806, in which she enclosed the sketch, she wrote:

I remember Watson when he was a feeble old man, and had given up painting. His nephew, Alexander, who had come from Scotland on the promise of becoming his heir, then lived with him; also a niece, a maiden lady quite in years, was his housekeeper. I often looked with wonder upon the head of a wrinkle-faced old woman painted upon one of the shutters of his house in which he had formerly worked. She had her eyes cast toward heaven, in a sort of extasy, and in her hand she held what appeared to be the top of a lighted torch. One day I made a copy of it with a pencil, and, as you say your little boy is fond of pictures, I have copied the pencil sketch, in this letter, with my pen. I think you may consider it a pretty accurate copy of Watson's picture. Who or what it represents, I know not.

The correspondent continues:

I presume it is a priestess bearing a torch—possibly an oracle of Delphos or some other place. You may be able, better than I, to determine the question. I send you the letter to my mother, with the drawing, which has the merit of being a copy of the picture, by the first painter who pursued his vocation in the United States, or rather within the domain comprised within our Republic.

On this Lossing made the following comment:

The correspondent of the Record (who desires anonymity) is right in supposing the picture to be the head of a priestess or devotee. It was doubtless copied by Watson from Montfaucon's "Antiquity Explained" (the English translation was published in 1721), in which the whole figure is given, with a description. She is either a priestess of Bacchus or a Maenade Woman consecrated to Bacchus, who, by voluntary enthusiasm, made herself mad. In the full length figure in Montfaucon's work, she is represented as fully draped from the waist, and sitting upon a round base adorned with pilasters. The object mistaken for a torch is a vase, covered with grape and ivy leaves, and emitting a flame from its mouth. Such was the form of the lamps carried by the leading Egyptian priest in the procession of Isis. Apuleius says, "It gave a strong light, but was not at all like the lamps we use in our feasts at night. It was a golden vase, which let the flame out through a hole in the socket."

Lossing's illustration (Plate IV b) is taken directly from the engraving in Montfaucon by which he identified his correspondent's sketch.¹

WATSON'S SMALL DRAWINGS

All of Watson's drawings which have survived are small, varying in size from $5\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ inches to $3\frac{3}{16} \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The medium and material used vary: some are in pencil and wash (wash is where a brush dipped in India Ink is used); while others are in plumbago (i.e. where a graphite pencil is used on vellum), some are on vellum and others on paper. The subjects are portraits of people then living and others are copies from some print or statue, such as Hercules, King Stephen, or Queen Anne, etc. One of these drawings was no doubt referred to by him as a "Black and Whait" in his record of painting in New York in 1726.

John Watson in his will (see appendix) mentions two nieces—"Sophia Watson, daughter of my brother Alexander Watson" and "Sophia Watson, daughter of my brother William Watson."

The letter of the anonymous lady, born in Perth Amboy, printed by Lossing states that she remembered Watson's niece who was his housekeeper. Whitehead says of this niece that Watson had "sent to Scotland for her shortly after his establishment in Amboy." She was the Sophia Watson who married Dr. John Waterhouse (in 1759), and their daughter was "Mrs. Sophia Brown, remembered by most of the population of the place (Perth Amboy), having died as recently as August, 1837, aged 80." (Whitehead was writing the above in 1856.)

At one time Mrs. Brown must have owned a large number of the drawings of her great-uncle, as we can account for over seventy. How they came to her, we do not surely know. It is suggested that, after his uncle's death, Alexander Watson took

¹ Montfaucon's illustration is on page 141, plate 32, Supplement of vol. 1, under section 4, main volume 6: entitled A/Supplement/to/Antiquity/Explained/and Represented in/Sculptures/By the Learned Father Montfaucon/Translated into English by/David Humphries, M. A./a Fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge/In Five Volumes/Volume 1/London/Printed by J. Tonson and J Watts/MDCCXXV.

them with him to the house he afterwards occupied in Perth Amboy. However, the drawings may have been given to Sophia Watson, who had lived with the painter, as part of her inheritance. These, then, descended to her daughter, Sophia (Waterhouse) Brown.

Sophia Brown lived in Perth Amboy until her death in 1837, and some time before she had given the drawings to Maria Forbes of the same town. She gave them to her sister, Elizabeth Forbes, wife of William H. P. Benton. Elizabeth Forbes Benton gave many to Whitehead and what were left to her daughter, Susannah Foster Forbes Benton and she to her niece, Roberta Stockton Benton (Mrs. Lucien B. Horton), the present owner. Mrs. Horton, at the time of the gift, wrote the pedigree of the drawings on the envelope which contained them.

The family tradition was that Sophia Brown was an intimate friend and contemporary of Maria Forbes. Also that the collection was originally a large one. Elizabeth Forbes Benton, probably at first loaned the collection to Whitehead, when he was writing his books on New Jersey, and later gave many to him. Part, at least, of this collection was loaned to Lossing when he published his list of Watson drawings in 1872 and some of these came back to Elizabeth Forbes Benton. Evidently Whitehead gave Lossing two: one of John Watson's self-portraits and the sketch called "Hercules" (Plates No. I and XII a) as these were sold (American Art Association, Anderson Galleries: Oct. 30, 1929, No. 164 of the Catalogue. Emerson and others Sale) and are now owned by Hall Park McCullough.

A portrait drawing of Governor Keith was given by Whitehead to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania (No. 4 post.) but what became of the others is unknown. Probably Lossing returned the drawings to William A. Whitehead and all of his papers came into the possession of his son, the Right Reverend Cortlandt Whitehead, Bishop of Pittsburgh, whose daughter states that many years ago these were lost or destroyed.

The first of Lossing's articles was occasioned by the letter sending the sketch of "The Priestess of Bacchus" (Plate IV b) and pub-

lication of this possibly induced Whitehead to send the Watson sketches to Lossing, who wrote the second article for the next issue of his magazine. After referring to Dunlap and Whitehead, Lossing wrote:

It would seem that either from want of other sitters, or a partiality for his own physiognomy, he [Watson] was wont every few years to depict the changes Time had wrought, and try the effect of different attitudes and costume, upon himself; and on the table upon which this notice of him is written are no less than nine India ink and pencil sketches, of large miniature size, showing those changes, while his years were increasing from twenty-seven to over sixty. They constitute part of a large collection of such pictures with originals and copies in different stages of finish, and of varied excellence as to execution. Some show that the pencil and brush have been used with much softness and effect, while others are perfect daubs that would disgrace the humblest tyro. As a general thing the copies are the best executed, leaving the artist's own proficiency both in drawing and coloring, open to doubt. There is a verisimilitude, however, about many of the drawings that gives them a value independently of their origin, being likenesses that may interest some at the present day. That consideration leads to the enumeration of some of them here.

Lossing's is the only comprehensive list of Watson's small drawings ever compiled and was hidden away in the pages of his *American Historical Record* until unearthed by Mrs. Russel Hastings for her recent article on Watson.¹

At pp. 298-300 will be found a check list of Watson's drawings, including not only those which can now be located but those to which reference has been found to have existed at one time. Of these, sixty-four in number, about twenty-one have survived, either in the original or in reproduction in some form. In very general terms the ideal compositions, which no doubt were copied from some print or picture, are better executed than the life portraits but these show a considerable amount of skill in technique and characterization. Lossing recognized the sketch of the Priestess of Bacchus as the copy of a print in Montfaucon's *Antiquity Explained* and the inference would follow that the pictures of "Sages, Kings and Heroes," some of which were on the window

¹ Mrs. Russel Hastings, "A John Watson Discovery," *Antiques*, vol. 36, pp. 26-7 (July, 1939).

shutters, were made from prints copied perhaps in Scotland. It is true that prints appear in colonial inventories in considerable numbers but it is at least doubtful if reproductions of "nearly a score" from antique statues could have been found here which Watson might copy. Lossing's criticism that some of Watson's drawings before him were "perfect daubs that would disgrace the humblest tyro" can be answered only by saying that none surviving deserves this biting criticism.

Where did John Watson live and work? We believe that he lived in Perth Amboy for most of his life but we know that, at least in the years 1726 and 1727, he not only dealt as a merchant in New York but painted there as well.

In Lossing's list of the drawings lent to him by Whitehead, published in 1872 he quotes from the inscriptions on the backs. These are mostly in the painter's handwriting on those which have survived, and Lossing notes the places of residence of a few of the subjects; nine came from Virginia, three from New York, three from Pennsylvania, two from New Castle, Delaware, one from Antigua, two from Madeira and one from Rhode Island. Lossing says that Watson visited Philadelphia and drew the portraits of Governor Keith and his wife and that of Governor Spotswood in that city.¹ There is no proof of this and the residence of Watson's patrons does not prove that the painter visited that place, and it seems more likely that he drew his small portraits while the persons were visiting either New York or Perth Amboy. This conclusion becomes reasonable from a record in Stokes. Under date of August 9, 1722, he states that Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia arrived in New York on his "Majesty's ship Enterprise" and on the 12th that "his Excellency Sir William Keith, Bart., Governor of Pennsylvania and his Lady arrived." The two governors had journeyed to New York to confer with Governor Burnet on Indian affairs and there would seem no reasonable doubt but that the portraits of Governor Spotswood, Governor Keith and Lady Keith, known to have been drawn by Watson, were done in New York at that time.

¹ From MS. Owned by Hall Park McCullough. No authority is given by Lossing for this.

It is possible that some of the eight Virginians, whom Watson drew in addition to Governor Spotswood, might have accompanied him to New York, as friends, or as part of his entourage and that the same would hold true of John Blanie of Philadelphia, Colonel French and Dr. Stewart of Delaware, whom Watson drew, might have come with Governor Keith. There is no suggestion that Watson ever visited Antigua or Madeira and as there was a considerable amount of travel by sea between the colonies, some with the West Indies and even from Europe at the time, the assumption would arise that Watson drew his patrons while visiting New York.

There was a ferry between Perth Amboy and Staten Island and, although the journey was not a difficult one, it would consume some time. From all that is before us, we believe that Watson spent most of his life in Perth Amboy but no doubt from time to times visited New York and there engaged in his activities as a painter or as a merchant.

JOHN WATSON, MERCHANT

Although John Watson, the painter, is the individual most interesting to us, his principal activity for many years would seem to have been as a merchant, as dealer in real estate and as a money lender, or banker. The real estate records and those of legal proceedings (Office of the Supreme Court Clerk, Trenton, N. J.) well prove this. His account book also shows dealings as a merchant, at least in his early days here, and he names himself "Merchant" in his will.

The first record of his dealings as a merchant would appear to have been the transaction uncovered in the Turnbull suit as of June, 1714, wherein the pleadings described Watson as "Limner." What were his activities between 1714 and 1726, the date of the next documentary proof, is uncertain. Many pages have been torn from his account book but enough remains to show that in that and the following year, at least, he was active as a merchant, in New York.

In his boyhood arithmetic book, hereinafter described, are found several pages of accounts current between John Watson and individuals to whom he sold articles of general merchandise. Because of the lost pages there is no reason to believe that the entries contain a complete record or that there were not other books containing entries of his sales of merchandise.

In Watson's book immediately following the account of painting is an entry that on "June 2 Hignr [so it would appear] Lyaell borrowed 7:0:0." Then the entries of sales begin on the 6th May 1726, and are continuous for several pages. Each account is headed "Mr. William Williamson bought of Jo Watson 6th of May 1726" or "Mr Efeingm Townlie [Effingham Townley] Dr to John Watson May 10th 1726," or the like. The total sales amounted to about 450*l*, which translated into dollars at the buying power of the pound in 1726, would be over several times as much, depending on whether pounds sterling or Provincial pounds were meant. Probably all of the sales were by the piece or in dozen lots, although "Mr Aldringtown" purchased "on hat" for 16 shillings. All the sales were effected in New York, as many are so headed, and one exception only is noted; i.e. the account headed "Gowds Bought at the Point." These items are charged against William Williamson. Of articles charged against "Mrs. Stevens of Amboy"—one or two are marked "Sold" but most of them "to sell"—hence goods were probably furnished to Mrs. Stevens to sell in Perth Amboy while Watson was in New York.

A few have been arranged in approximate chronological order and follow to preserve the names of customers and the variety of articles sold:

1726

April 16. Goods sold in New Yorke: boys hats, mens hats, caps, stockings, chintz

May 6. Mr. Dehart. Handkershievs & speckled lining

May 6. William Williamson: stockings, cloth, linings, muslin, boys hats.

May 10. John Hendrick; calico, buttons

May 10. William Deyworthie: knives & forks; lining

May 10. Efenym Townlie: lining and knives.

- May 16. Dr. Sthuart. box of medicine
 May 19. Daniell Holinshead. Handkerchiefs and pieces of cloth
 May 20. John Digworthie. lining, gloves, handkerchiefs, caps, knives and forks, boys hats, mens hats.
 [May] Ebenezer Johnston: lining, callico
 [May] John Yarwith: knives [John Yerworth, a shipwright, was made a Freeman of New York, Nov. 20, 1716. *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1885, p. 96.]
 June 12. Charles Taylor. callicoes, lining, hats.
 New Jersey, June 16, 1726. Mrs. Stevens at Amboy; handkerchiefs, callico, stockings, necklaces.
 New Yorke, 26th June. Charles Taylor. hats, lining, handkerchiefs, powder.
 Nov. 3. Mr. Paren powder flasks, buttons, penknives and inkhorns, combs
 [1726] Mr. Danster, 3 doz. buttons
 " Mr. Jackson, lining, hat
 " Mrs. Stevens, handkerchiefs, stockings
 " Mrs. Stelwell; necklaces
 " Alexander Mills. [An Alexander Mills, periwigmaker, was admitted Freeman of New York, June 7, 1708-9]
 June 1727 Col. Will Deter

A judgment was obtained by John Watson at the August (1750) term of court in Perth Amboy, against David Martini, Executor of Adam Hay, amounting to 27l 7s for "divers goods, wares and merchandise." If this plaintiff was John Watson, the painter, which seems probable, these records prove that from early in 1714 to some time before August, 1750, he was engaged in selling goods.

No other books of account (other than those owned by Judge Pickersgill) have survived and it would seem probable that, as his fortune increased, his dealings as a merchant gave way to the activities which might be called those of a private banker.

When Watson was working in New York, either as a limner or as a merchant, what was the town like?

There are two prints from which we can form a fairly accurate idea of the city's appearance and the records enable us to assemble information as to its business and social life. The first of these, known as the Burgis Print, represents the skyline of the little city, viewed from the east, possibly from Brooklyn Heights, in about 1718.

Stokes quotes William Loring Andrews as stating that "the importance of this engraving in the pictorial annals of our City cannot well be overestimated. It is beyond question an accurate representation of the place it claims to depict. . . ." It shows "the turn in State Street west of Whitehall to a point a little north of Catherine Street." It shows the South Dutch Church, Trinity Church at the head of Wall Street, as built in 1696-8, the second City Hall and the house of Garrett Van Horn and Abraham de Peyster; and the yacht *Fancy*, belonging to Col. Lewis Morris—"the earliest known picture of a yacht in New York Harbor."

This Lewis Morris was the 1st Lord of the Manor of Morrisania, whom Watson painted in 1726. The second is known as the "Bradford Map" and was published in 1731.

It is difficult to estimate the population of the city at the time Watson knew it, as the census was taken by counties and not by towns. However, the population of the Province increased from 31,000 (of whom 27,000 were whites) in 1715 to about 100,000 in 1765. A census of the County of New York was taken in 1723 which returned a total of 5,886 whites and 1,362 negroes and other slaves. Of the white adult population, 1,460 were male and 1,726 female, showing a rather surprising preponderance of adult women in the colony. The city was estimated to have 1,600 families of English, Dutch and Jewish descent. In 1731 the city contained about 1,500 houses.¹ These were small, mostly of brick and many with the gable ends turned to the street in the Dutch fashion.

In his comments on the city of New York as it existed at the time "The Bradford Map" was published (1731), William Loring Andrews says that:

The majority of the population of the inchoate city was engaged in business pursuits as merchants, shopkeepers, and tradesmen, "who maintained as a general rule the reputation of honest, punctual, and fair dealers." Their places of business were either in the same building as their dwellings or in close proximity. The most prosperous merchants—

¹ Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York, 1932), pp. 90-1, 96-7.

and they included the most prominent citizens—lived in the rear of their shops or over them. The English tradesmen are said to have been the first to adopt the practice of keeping their stores open in the evening. . . .

The most distinguished position, in point of social importance, was held by the Dutch families. The Hollanders had lost their political supremacy, but their social prominence remained, and they were by no means disposed to yield it to the higher and even more refined and better educated class of English who had become residents of the city. More than one half the inhabitants were Dutch or of Dutch descent. . . .

Free schools existed, and a public library had been established in 1729, its nucleus being a collection of 1642 volumes bequeathed by the Rev. Dr. Millington, of Newington, England, to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, and by it presented to the city. . . .

As to real estate values, in 1726 a house on the west side of Broadway, 70 x 50, was sold to Frederick Philipse for about \$1,100 and in 1726 a lot on Maiden Lane, near Pearl Street, 25 feet front, brought \$700. A house on Wall Street, 61 x 102, sold for about \$2,500.

The revenues and expenditures of the municipal government for the year 1727 were: receipts 271*l*, expenditures 231*l*.¹

Stokes says that in 1720 Governor Hunter reported to the Lords of Trade there was a "little Bookseller's Shop" in New York, and points out that there was "in the Plantations of Virginia, Maryland, [and] Carolina . . . none at all." He also says that in 1725 the first book was printed in New York. It came from the press of William Bradford and J. Peter Zenger and was in Low Dutch. Zenger's press in 1726 was "near the City Hall" and on November 1, 1725, according to Bradford's own statement, he began the publication of *The New York Gazette*.

On April 30, 1724, Benjamin Franklin left Philadelphia by boat on a visit to Boston and returning, stopped at New York, presumably early in May. In his Autobiography he writes "the then Governor of New York, Burnet (son of Bishop Burnet), hearing from the Captain that a young man, one of the passengers, had a great many books, desir'd he would bring me to see him. . . .

¹The above paragraphs have been taken largely from William Loring Andrews, *The Bradford Map* (New York, 1893), pp. 55-63.

The gov'r. treated me with great civility, show'd me his library, which was a very large one, and we had a good deal of conversation about books and authors. This was the second governor who had done me the honor to take notice of me,"—the other being Sir William Keith of Pennsylvania.

A fire department was established in 1726 and a Jewish synagogue erected in 1731. The Presbyterian Meeting House on the north side of Wall Street, near Broadway, which Watson may have attended, was erected in 1719 and the renowned Jonathan Edwards occupied its pulpit in 1721 for a few months; but of all the buildings known to Watson in his early and active years, the home of Stephen de Lancey (built in 1701 on the southwest corner of Broad and Pearl streets), now known as Fraunce's Tavern, probably now alone remains.

Stokes gives the Custom House records of imports and exports between Christmas 1724 and Christmas 1725, showing twenty-three incoming vessels: eight from London, seven from Bristol, three from Cowes, two from Liverpool, one from Weymouth, one from Dover and one each from Lancaster and Cork. These carried woolen goods, linen, silks, "Hbhry," calicoes, cordage, earthenware, glassware, bottles, iron and steel, tiles and brick, grindstones, millstones, lead, chalk, junk, oakum and salt. He also describes the fort which stood on Bowling Green, quoting from a record of 1720, as having "4 regular Bastions, 50 Guns mounted, Faced with Stone with neither Fossee nor out works."¹

JOHN WATSON, REAL ESTATE OPERATOR

In the absence of letters, autobiographical or family notes, stray facts must be picked up wherever they may be found and real estate and court records, while dry, all add a little.

There are many records in the New Jersey State Archives of real estate transactions and of law suits during this period (1715-1760) in which a John Watson was either the grantor, grantee,

¹ These paragraphs are digested, by permission, from the chronology in *The Iconography of Manhattan Island*, by I. N. Phelps Stokes, to be found under their respective dates.

plaintiff or defendant, as the case may be. These are to be found among the Archives or in the Office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court in Trenton.

There arises from some of these records a question which should be considered. We find that one of the parties is described as (a) John Watson, and sometimes as Limner; (b) John Watson, Merchant; (c) John Watson, Mariner; and (d) John Watson, Jr. We can dismiss from this list the records as to John Watson, Mariner, and Junior; as the Mariner, together with Hope, his wife (daughter and co-heir of Thomas Taylor), deeded 600 acres of land in Monmouth County, New Jersey, to Joseph Forman on September 5, 1743. John Watson, the painter, was never married and had no son, legitimate or otherwise, so far as is known. Also the mariner apparently lived in Mount Pleasant, Monmouth County. He was frequently in custody of the Sheriff, arrested for debts of a few pounds, at a period when Watson, the painter, was rich. Some of the time, at least, the mariner was difficult to serve with process as the wording of one Capias directed to the Sheriff of Monmouth County, ordered his arrest and production before the court, saying "it is sufficiently Testified that the aforesaid John Watson Lurketh and Sulketh in your County." Watson, the painter, lived in Perth Amboy in Middlesex County, to the Sheriff of which a Capias for his arrest would have been directed.¹

The Court records prove that Watson frequently had recourse to legal proceedings of one kind and another as there are actions in ejectment and for debt. In the latter cases land sometimes was seized as security for payment. As early as 1744 Watson was a large holder of property in Perth Amboy as Hamilton's landlord spoke of him as the "proprietor of most of the houses in town."

He was grantee from Charles Dunster of fifty acres of land in Perth Amboy on August 27, 1726. This would be more than twelve

¹ In the year 1739 there were a number of judgments obtained against a John Watson on the complaint of several New York merchants. These were connected with a suit which a John Watson filed against one John Kelly, a lawyer, for the return of his retainer. Kelly's answer, filed in New Jersey Supreme Court, April 7, 1742, refers to the claims of these merchants and proves that the John Watson referred to lived in Monmouth County and therefore was the mariner.

years after Watson came to New Jersey and is the earliest transaction found of record but this does not prove that Watson did not deal in real estate before that time, as there was no requirement that deeds should be recorded; New Jersey following the English custom by which title to real estate might be proved by the deed itself.

One reference has been found about his ownership of real estate in New York. In *The New York Mercury* for Monday, January 21, 1765, appeared the following:

To be Sold, at public Vendue, On Friday the first Day of February next, on the Premises, three small Tenements, on Lot No. 84 (being part of the Grounds belonging to the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church, of this City,) situate in John-Street, and Corner of Dutch-Street, opposite the back Store of Mr. Anthony Rutger's, Brewer, now in the Possession of Mr. John Watson, Painter, and others; said Lot is subject to 15*l* Rent per Year, for the Term of 15 Years. . . .

This advertisement indicates that Watson and others had bought this property subject to a ground rent and erected three small houses thereon. The venture having proved unprofitable, the "tenements" were probably abandoned and sold by the church under the terms of the lease.

So we may assume that Watson not only bought, sold and rented real estate (with the houses thereon, if any) but generally was a large operator therein. Whether he entered into any of the large speculations in unimproved land—as did James Henderson and Anthony Duane—in New York, no reference thereto has come to light.

JOHN WATSON, MONEY LENDER AND BANKER

It might not be worth while analyzing the charge that Watson was a usurer and miser, had not almost every writer—either on the general subject of our early painters or on John Watson himself—reiterated Dunlap's gossip until these qualities are inseparably connected with his name.

Dunlap stated that "in answer to the questions elicited by this display of art [the paintings on the shutters of his gallery], the inquirer [Dunlap] was told that the painter had been considered in the neighborhood, and was handed down traditionally as a miser and a usurer." . . . This tradition was heard by Dunlap in his youth, but in his biography he was careful to qualify the charge.

Was John Watson a usurer? It is easy to characterize an individual as this or that but tradition does not prove the fact. The truth of the charge depends entirely upon whether or not Watson received more than the rate of interest allowed by the Common Law of England or by a statute of the Province of New Jersey.

It is unnecessary to consider the sharp difference of opinion between Sir William Blackstone and Mr. Justice Joseph Story as to whether or not the English Common Law was planted along with the settlement of the British Colonies in North America. It is enough to point out that the colonies used "the great body of the English statutes, and, among the rest, the whole of the English rules in regard to usury; which they continued to enforce in the separate colonies until their respective legislators framed and passed acts for themselves, to regulate the rate of interest."¹

On March 15, 1738/9, the Assembly of New Jersey passed an act entitled "To Restrain Extravagant and Excessive Interest." In general the law provided that no person could receive interest above seven per cent per annum. Every bond, mortgage, contract or other instrument wherein interest greater than seven per cent was reserved, was void and the principal forfeited. This act remained in effect until 1774.²

There was no requirement in this act that the defence of usury must be actually raised by the answer but there can be little doubt but that, had Watson been a usurer, some debtor, when sued, would have pleaded usury as a defence or an adverse

¹ J. B. C. Murray, *The History of Usury* (Philadelphia, 1866), pp. 68-9.

² Samuel Allinson, *Laws of New Jersey, 1702-1776*, chap. 161.

judgment be on file wherein Watson's suit had been dismissed because of usury.

In one proceeding only does the question of usury arise. It seems that in October, 1750 (Case No. 21305, New Jersey Supreme Court), at a session held in Perth Amboy the grand jury presented an indictment against John Watson, "Limner," charging that he "Unlawfully Exacted and Received from Said David Perkins the sum of Seven shillings" as interest on a bond. The principal of the debt was forty-eight pounds and the "sum of Seven Shillings being added to the Lawfull Interest mentioned in the Bond aforesaid to be paid. . . . amounts to too [sic] and make the interest of said sum of forty-eight Pounds after the rate of eight pounds per hundred for a year." What this probably means is that the seven shillings "exacted" by Watson for some reason added to the interest required by the bond made the return on the loan higher than seven per cent, the lawful rate.

Indictments were as unfair in Watson's time as today: a grand jury upon hearing but one side and in this case upon the "evidences" not of Perkins, the debtor, but of a "Joseph Shotwell Jr.," decided that the usury law of the Province had been broken and "presented" the indictment against John Watson; which means merely that the County law officer of New Jersey was required to start a quasi criminal action against him. Watson pleaded "not guilty," i.e. denied the charge, and later a writ of Certiorari was granted by the Supreme Court to review the proceedings, but the records contain no decision thereon.

Then, as now, claims of usury sometimes are pleaded to avoid a debt which the borrower cannot pay and it would seem that had Watson been a usurer he would not have attempted to exact unlawful interest on so small a claim, and the defence would have been interposed where the amount was large.

Here, perhaps, is the genesis of the charge that Watson was a usurer. As the proceeding took place in Perth Amboy, the Justices of the Peace, the grand jurors, Perkins the debtor, and Shotwell, who gave the "evidences," may all have been his neighbors. Though nothing came of the charge, whenever Watson pressed

some one for a debt he could say with partial truth "that fellow was indicted for usury a year or so ago"; and so the story may have grown through the years until in Dunlap's time he could write with truth "that in the neighborhood" the painter's name "was handed down traditionally as a . . . usurer."

In none of the many law suits, instituted by Watson in New Jersey, yet found, sometimes to recover large amounts, is the defence of usury set up in bar to his claim; nor is there a record of any suit dismissed for this cause. The conclusion follows that so far as the records stand, there is no proof that John Watson was a usurer.

We have seen that Watson bought and sold land, owned many houses in Perth Amboy and was a lender of money. What was his real position in the business world of his day? This requires a short review as to banking in the colonies.

It seems that from the beginning of the settlements here, endeavor was made to establish a bank based on land which could be made to function as do banks founded on money. Experience taught, then as now, that the endeavor to put notes into circulation based on land, in the place of money, resulted in the barter value of the notes deteriorating as soon as the slightest shade of difference arose between their value and that of specie. The colonists had plenty of land but little cash and early the colonists gave up the struggle to maintain themselves on a money system because the balance of trade being usually against them, drew from them all their specie.

As early as 1686 John Blackwell and others proposed to the authorities in Massachusetts to set up a bank to issue notes and to make loans on the security of land and imperishable merchandise but it soon went out of existence.

Bills of credit were first used in Massachusetts in 1690.

The English, after the collapse of the South Sea "bubble," passed an act in 1720 prohibiting joint stock companies acting as corporate bodies. Several private banks were formed in New England, but they caused so much financial confusion that the so-called Bubble Act was extended to the colonies. It was not

until after the Revolution that banks were incorporated in the several states and not until 1789 that the Bank of the United States was established, patterned on the Bank of England.¹

Banking in its broadest sense, of course covers both transactions in money and in credit. Money, in its primary meaning, would be metal currency, and it is clear that, the balance, usually being in favor of Great Britain, representing purchases by the colonists of the necessities of life in a new country, would result in England keeping her colonists drained of gold, silver and copper coins. There being no banks here and the supply of specie always being inadequate, it followed that the provincial legislatures had resort to paper currency.

The paper money of New Jersey was issued in two ways: (1) to raise and equip troops and to provide stores for some British military expedition, in which the colonies were interested; and (2) for a few years, through provincial loan offices.

The first issue of paper money for a military purpose in New Jersey was to help the proposed invasion of Canada in 1709. For this purpose paper currency for the amount of 3,000*l* was issued and circulated. The need of currency was so greatly felt that even produce was used as a means of barter. Payment of taxes in jewelry or plate was a common occurrence. There was no relief until Governor William Burnet, after a study of the subject, recommended in 1723 the starting of loan offices in each county of the Province. This act was approved and New Jersey took upon itself the business of money lending. Bills of credit to the aggregate amount of 40,000*l*, ranging in value from 3*l* to 1*5*, were ordered printed and issued to borrowers secured by land or plate at 5*s* per ounce. The borrowers, in turn, used these bills of credit as money; no one person, however, could borrow more than 100*l* or less than 12*l* 10*s*. The bills of credit were to be paid off within twelve years.

Counterfeits of these notes, which were issued as paper currency, soon appeared in such large quantities that the entire issue was

¹ The above statement is based on chap. I, pp. 1-13, from "A History of the Banking of All Nations," William G. Sumner, *The Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin* (New York, 1896).

recalled in 1727. It is stated that Ireland was the chief source of the manufacturing of these counterfeit notes. In his autobiography Benjamin Franklin tells how he obtained the "job" of printing the new issue and how he had, himself, engraved the plates and constructed the press upon which they were printed.

On the whole, the paper currency of New Jersey held up very well in value because of the conservatism in their issuance. Governor Morris states that 132*l* "Jersey money" was equal to £88 Sterling—a depreciation of about one-third in value. He told the New Jersey Assembly that Jersey money was twelve per cent better than that of New York and that province in turn was much higher than the money of New England, as 300*l* New England notes would not bring 100*l* New York money, indicating that New England currency had depreciated two-thirds in value.

Owing to the opposition of the Lords of Trade, the loan system ceased in New Jersey shortly after 1740 and the last of the paper money issued by that province for war purposes was in 1769.¹

Lewis Morris, Governor of New Jersey, writing to the Lords of Trade, May 26th, 1739, clearly outlines the situation: "There is but little, if any, gold or silver in the province, their whole commerce both among themselves and with their neighbors being managed by means of paper bills of credit, of which there are about 60,000*l* now current, and in the year 1741 it will begin to sink and grow yearly less, but the whole quantity, I am told, is not sufficient for the uses of the province, and that the people will soon be very pressing for more."²

The issue of paper money for war purposes was sufficient to provide a medium which would take the place of coinage, but even during the existence of the provincial loan system (1723-c. 1740), no one person could borrow more than 100*l* and anyone desiring to borrow a larger amount must turn to the private individual. Shortly after 1740 this was so of all who desired to borrow at all.

¹ The substance of the paragraphs on New Jersey bills of credit has been digested from Henry Phillips, Jr., *Historical Sketches of the Paper Currency of the American Colonies* (Roxbury, 1865), pp. 61-75.

² *Papers of Governor Lewis Morris* (New Jersey Hist. Soc. Coll. vol. 4), p. 53.

The court records of New Jersey contain entries of many judgments filed in Watson's favor in the attempt to recover large sums of money. These actions being "laid in debt," and their size, precludes the probability of such being a current balance for purchases of "calico," "buttons," and the like.

There are many records of litigations instituted by Watson, examples would be: at the March term 1742/3, George Leslie confessed two judgments in favor of Watson, aggregating 3,060*l* 13*s* 2*d*, a large sum for those days; Watson sued Peter Teneyck in the November term of 1764 for 1,000*l*; March 20, 1762 Watson filed a judgment against Andrew Smyth, Executor of James Wilson, for 1,639*l* 11*s* 4*d*. A few are for small sums, such as 20*l* and may have been for merchandise, as we have no exact knowledge as to when he ended this activity. Analysis would seem to justify the conclusion that Watson in the first part of his life here, bought and sold merchandise, painted "picktors" in oil, drew in plumbago and wash, bought and sold real estate, owned and rented houses in Perth Amboy and, Scotsman that he was, turned his hand to wherever he could make a penny.

We can believe that Watson was a stubborn Scotsman, when he thought he was in the right, even though the term "litigious" could not be fairly inferred from the report of one law suit still on file (Case No. 33473 Office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court, Trenton, New Jersey). Apparently Watson refused to settle an account which Christopher R. Reynolds owed him, whether for merchandise, money loaned or a real estate transaction, does not appear, whereupon Reynolds sued Watson and the matter came on before the Honorable Robert Hunter Morris, Chief Justice of the Province of New Jersey on August 14, 1741. Judge Morris referred the matter to three arbitrators, their report to be made the judgment of the court and costs to attend the event. Two of the commissioners submitted their report on the 26th of October, in which they found that Reynolds was indebted "unto the said John Watson in the Sum of Four Pounds nineteen shillings and three pence three farthings, Money at Eight Shillings the Ounce. AND wee the sd Referrees do further Humbly Report

that the sd Watson Ought to pay & Satisfie all the Costs & Charges of sd Suit. By Reason the Sd Watson having Obstinateley Refused to make up Settle, and Adjust Accounts with sd Reynolds any other ways than by a Suit at Law All other Lawful Methods having been offered him by sd Reynolds to Settle & Adjust sd Accounts and Payment to make without such suit."

From an analysis of all available material yet found, our conclusion is that by frugality, which may have amounted to parsimony, Watson accumulated capital and in a few years became a private money lender on security. This would entitle him to be called a private banker now. If he were a hard landlord, requiring his rent upon the day named, quite naturally would he incur the dislike of his tenants; being one of the moneyed men of his town, if he pressed his debtors, bringing suit when debts remained unpaid, "miser" and "usurer" would be the natural names applied by those who could not pay. Dunlap repeated "local gossip" learned in his youth but was quick to add the saving clause that "miser" and "usurer"—"words of dire portent"—probably meant "that he was a prudent, perhaps a wise man, who lived without ostentation or superfluous expense, and lent the excess of his revenue to those who wanted it, and who could give security for principal and interest, instead of locking it up as a useless idol in his strong box. . . ."

Dunlap, trained writer that he was, added this conclusion, knowing well the unreliability of tradition and places on that tradition its proper value.

Whitehead, writing in 1856, did not have access—as did Dunlap—to persons who actually knew Watson, so we may take it, that he merely followed the tradition repeated by Dunlap, unfortunately, omitting his conclusion—and, true to the era in which he wrote—had to add a Victorian moral: "with increasing riches came their too frequent attendant, a thirst for more."

Every writer known to me, except one, has followed Dunlap's statement of the tradition without printing his saving clause and so the words "miser" and "usurer" are universally applied to Watson's name, a characterization which analysis of the records fails to sustain.

We prefer to believe that John Watson's constant advice to his nephew (see p. 242) more nearly represented his habit through life than did the slanders repeated by his neighbors.

The young woman, whose sketch of "The Priestess of Bacchus" was submitted to Lossing, remembered Watson "when he was a feeble old man and had given up painting." The nephew recorded that at the time of his death, Watson had been "Bedd Ridding Three years and Nine Months"; Dunlap says he became blind and repeats the story, which would show that he was deaf as well. And so the old Scotsman passed on and naught of him remains but a few paintings, a few drawings and his notebook.

THE NOTE BOOKS OF JOHN AND ALEXANDER WATSON

These two volumes were purchased by Judge Harold E. Pickersgill, the well-known antiquarian and local historian of Perth Amboy, about 1894 from Daniel Gates, an auctioneer of that city. They had been found many years before by Dr. Francis W. Kitchel in the attic of his house on the westerly side of High Street, south of Smith Street, and preserved as interesting memorabilia of Perth Amboy's colonial artist.

Dr. Kitchel's home was that occupied by Alexander Watson after his uncle's death. It was deeded to Watson by William Bryant and wife, May 20, 1768 (Book E-3; page 218, vault in the Office of the Secretary of State, Trenton). As Dr. Kitchel wrote in 1903, "My old home for thirty years was dated cowed brick near the front door 1743," it is apparent that it was the same edifice which had belonged to Alexander Watson. The house was pulled down a few years ago to make way for a garage.

The John Watson house and gallery adjoined that of Alexander Watson and as Dunlap tells us that in his boyhood, the house had been pulled down, it is probable that it was either small or in bad repair. Upon receiving his inheritance, Alexander, after his marriage, bought a more suitable residence.

As both account books were used by Alexander Watson, it is

fitting that they should have been found together and in his one-time home.

It is somewhat difficult to name them properly but perhaps Note Books will be the best term, as each was used for many purposes.

The John Watson Note Book is $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long by 6 inches wide and has a calf leather cover (which would indicate a British bound volume, if anything more than Watson's dates were necessary). There remain thirty-seven leaves but many (thirty or perhaps more) have been torn from the book. The eight pages immediately after the title page have been removed. As it was John Watson's boyhood arithmetic book, it indicates the methods by which boys were taught in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Printed schoolbooks were comparatively few and apparently the custom was to require students to copy definitions, tables and examples for themselves.

If Watson ever was a merchant on a large scale, he must have had formal books of account and why he took this volume with him to New York we shall never know—the missing pages might disclose the answer. Perhaps he went to the city to paint, as that was his named vocation at the time, but while there purchased a stock of goods on speculation and entered the results in a book he had at hand.

From the pages used by Watson in his youth about ten are filled by definitions, tables and examples in arithmetic. These he numbered himself and they occupy the right-hand page. The left page was used both by himself and his nephew to place thereon odds and ends of information, accounts, poems, etc. The first remaining page on the right side is blank. On the back of this page appears some notes of Alexander Watson and an account of the allowance of rations to him by Beverly Robinson in 1776. Then follow the enumeration table, various addition tables, such as addition of Troy weights, which page was numbered "7" by Watson (Plate II).

On present page 13 there appears a watermark and on page 17 appears his account "for painting in York 1726." Most of the

balance of the book is filled with his merchandise sales in New York in 1726 and 27, various accounts of Alexander Watson's including transactions regarding his schooner, commandeered by the Revolutionary forces and later captured by a British man-of-war.

Towards the end of the book appears a list of notes and bonds owned by John Watson and a list of debts due him as of July 1, 1719. The total face value of the bonds and notes is about 319*l* 10*s* 6*d*. The debts due him amounted to 63*l* 5*s*, which would go to show that, at the most, five years after he came to New Jersey he had already accumulated considerable property.

There is one fugitive entry here which is worth preserving, evidently a debit, as follows: "Mr Ryse on pistoll 1*l* 8*s*."

On the inside of the back cover appears, in fancy writing, "John Watson with my hand 1701."

THE ALEXANDER WATSON NOTE BOOK

This volume is 5 inches wide by 7 $\frac{3}{8}$ inches long, covered in leather, with an iron metal clasp. On the outside of the cover is written "A. W. 1773, Recps Book," and on the inside cover is "Alexander Watson his Recpt Book 1772 & /3."

There are 208 pages in all and therein are written receipts, recipes, accounts, poems, notes of deeds to John Watson, his uncle's dying advice, the narrative of his own wife's death in two places and his executor's account with his sister, Sophia (Watson) Waterhouse Tirrell, etc., etc., the pertinent parts of which are printed herein at the appropriate place.

Therein appear descriptions of deeds in which John Watson was the grantee, probably copied from the originals, as there is no proof of their having been recorded. Several show that Watson had purchased real estate from the Commissioner of the Loan Office. It is probable that when loans made upon land remained unpaid, the lein was foreclosed and later the property sold to Watson. Three entries read as follows:

- (1) Alexr Mackdowell Deed to to John Watson Dated July 8th: 1737 for the Northerly half of the great house 33 feet front two Rods in length.
- (2) A Deed from the Comissr [or "n"] of the Loan Office to John Watson for the Northermost half part of the House & Lott he now lives in given the 10 Day of June 1741 Mr Bartow Loan Office.
- (3) A Deed from Dirck Vanveghten to John Watson for the Southerley half part of the House & Lot he now lives in Dated April 20th 1742 40/00:0

These transactions evidently represent John Watson's purchase of his home. As (1) and (2) represent the northerly half of the house, it is suggested that the painter, after his purchase from Mackdowell, found it encumbered by a loan from the Loan Office, and later cleared his title by the deed from Bartow, the Commissioner. In 1742 he purchased (3) the southerly half part and it is at least reasonable to believe that he went to live there about that time.

Whether Alexander Watson's words "the great house" mean that it was large or whether he merely meant to differentiate Watson's home from his gallery which adjoined, we do not know; but judging from the size of most houses of the period, we incline to the latter belief.

ALEXANDER WATSON

The places which Alexander and Sophia Watson take in the biography of the painter are only important because both lived with him and inherited his property.

Alexander Watson has fared almost as badly at the hands of Dunlap and Whitehead as did his uncle. Dunlap depicts him as one who, having been a midshipman in the British navy, was induced to join his uncle upon the promise of his wealth but when the old limner became too infirm to paint or even manage his property, the nephew "shared his frugal fare with the cheering hope of a blessed change when the old man should 'shuffle off his mortal coil,' " but "hope deferred maketh the heart sick."

That Alexander Watson, himself, was a man of affairs appears from the New Jersey real estate records, which Dunlap apparently did not search. As early as July 30, 1761, "Alex Watson P. Amboy" was the grantee of a deed from David Demaresk and George Ross of 260 acres of land in New Barbadoes, County of Bergen. Again in 1763 he bought from Thomas Hall "4 Messuages, 4 gardens, 4 orchards of 400 acres of arible land, 200 acres of Meadow, 100 acres of Pasture, 100 acres of Wood, 50 acres of Marsh & Land covered with water, on the S Branch of the Raritan River, Co of Bergan."

In 1767 he bought a lot from David Gosling for 150*l*, one from Alex. Thompson for 100*l* and another lot from Gosling for 130*l*, these purchases appearing in his Note Book. Also 38 acres was bought from Mr. Bloodgood for 120*l*. We do not know how many other real estate transactions there were in which he took part but at least he was not a penniless awaiter of his uncle's death.

While the Note Book furnishes considerable information, most of what we know concerning the nephew comes from Whitehead, as he made a genealogical search and thus were added many facts.

Whitehead, after repeating much of Dunlap, describes the nephew as "a short, red-haired man of very unprepossessing appearance, with no mental qualifications." From what source he obtained this does not appear and he proceeds by saying that as soon as he came into the possession of his uncle's estate, started off "in search of a wife." In this quest he was successful as he soon returned to Perth Amboy bringing a very amiable and interesting wife, whom he had met at Westchester, New York. Her maiden name was Abigail Stevenson and she came from Throggs Neck.

On May 30, 1768, about three months before John Watson's death, Alexander purchased a home on the corner of Water and Market streets in front of the house occupied so long by his uncle, which latter had been transferred to his niece's husband, Dr. John Waterhouse, in the painter's lifetime. To this home he took his bride.

The match seems to have been a happy one, from what we learn through an entry in Alexander Watson's Note Book, concerning her early death:

Sett Outt from Amboy on Friday morning Aboutt 9 Oclock for New York on March 4th 1774 and within Two Miles of the Blazing Star Ferrey my Dear Dear Wife was Seized with an Appletick Fitt and was in a manner Struck Dead we carried her to Mr. Headden—where she lay Verrey Badd till Sunday March 6th and Died about half past Seven Aged 27 years

Lamented by all that knew her—

Beauty good sence good nature had only little to be Esteemed besides A Loving and Dear Wife and one of the Best of Mothers! O One of the Best of Women is gaun gaun for Ever, I must go to her but she cant come to me tho I am well Assured she is happier than in this miserable world. God Almighty prepare me to follow my Der Der Abby.

Another entry under date of March 25, 1774, repeats some of the above and adds that she left two sons—John, born June 9, 1770, and Edward, born June 26, 1771.

After his wife's death Alexander Watson went to live on a farm bordering the Raritan above the "great gully" and in those days called "Florida."

His Note Book contains many entries as to this farm and concerning his dealings in real estate—some about selling his uncle's property and others regarding ventures of his own. These began in 1767.

There are in the John Watson Book also the entries of several purchases of lands aggregating over 1700*l*; one or two of which may have been sales, as they are not marked "Bought of," etc.; but whether these were bought or sold for John or Alexander Watson, the record does not make clear.

In his Note Book appears an "account of Lands and Houses in Florida and Amboy." Which of the five purchases aggregating 191 acres were in Perth Amboy, we do not know, but at least the total investment was 1,060*l* 12*s*. Also he lists the expenses of fitting up his farm in "Florida." He put in 371 apple trees, bought a pair of oxen, 6 cows, 2 horses, plows, etc., which equipment cost him 152*l*. Evidently he intended to take his farm seriously as we find he purchased "The Practical Farmer, by Willm Gillis and The Country Gentn By his Own Experance on all Sorts of Cattle and Breeding Horses."

He also made a record of his payments as executor to his sister

Sophia, on account of her legacy of 1,000*l.* Dr. John Waterhouse, Sophia's husband, died in the painter's lifetime and his widow later married Captain John Tirrell. Some of his receipts for this legacy, signed "John Tirrell," appear in the Book. The last payment apparently is dated June 29, 1779. Evidently he made payments on account of principal and interest for the non-payment of the balance but what was the amount due his sister in 1779 cannot be deduced from the entries.

We get other glimpses of Alexander from his entries in the John Watson Book, which bear on his later life. The most interesting is the account of his schooner, the entry being as follows:

You are hereby Directed to Deliver Mathias Isleton your Shallop to Transport Wood from South Amboy Shore to this Place for the Use of the Camp——

Given Perth Amboy July 29^t 1776

To Mr Alexr Watson

Clement Biddle¹—

D:Q:M Genl:

This is to Certify that 32 Cord of Wood was brought to this place—
Ph Amboy To Col. C. Biddle

D:Q:G

George A. Baker
Schooner

160*l*00—

Recd. from Mah Isletor for freight Scor
from Anderson —— Do

0*l*8:8.

1:12:0

2:12:0

Recd from Col. Clymen for His Horse

1:4:0

1:4:0

3 Da:

Do from Maj: Miller

8:8

Ad Evins

8:8

To 2 Waggen horses keeping 7½ Days—

Hay & Oats

3:00:4

Recd.

8*l*2:8

The Above Schooner was Valued when taken
in the Continental Service a—pk
And taken by the Man of War while
in the Service in Sepr. Last

100*l*00 00

This: Shallop Cost—

200:00:0

¹ Clement Biddle was appointed by Congress July 8, 1776 Deputy-Quartermaster General for the militia of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, with the rank of Colonel.

Apparently Clement Biddle commandeered Watson's schooner into the service of the Continental Army on July 29, 1776 and Watson received for its hire 8*l* 2*s* 8*d*, but it was captured by a British man-of-war in the next September.

We find a certificate as to his loyalty to the British crown, dated December 7, 1776, signed by Edward Matthews, Brigadier-General of his Majesty's forces, from which we can infer that he was a loyalist at heart. The last entry on this subject is the order of Beverly Robinson to the effect that Alexander Watson is allowed "on [sic] Ration a Day as pr List from Wednesday the 21st to the 27th of October 1778."

Whitehead says that before leaving New Jersey in 1776, the nephew had wasted much of the assets of his uncle's estate "in ill-judged schemes, and by injudicious management." Alexander Watson died in New York City and lies buried in St. Peter's Churchyard in Perth Amboy. His sons returned to Westchester.

Whitehead's charge that Alexander Watson wasted his uncle's estate may not be true. The nephew received his inheritance at a time when business throughout the colonies was most unsettled and events were shaping toward a revolution. By the terms of John Watson's will, his executor was bound to pay 1,950*l* in legacies within six months of his death or pay interest thereon at the legal rate (seven per cent) after that time. Watson's debts had to be paid and the more unsettled the times the harder it probably was to collect amounts due the estate.

When Alexander Watson finally joined the Loyalists in New York, it followed that what property remained in New Jersey (i.e. real estate) was seized by the "Rebel" government and by a judgment entered in 1779, such was ordered sold.¹

Did he waste his substance or was he merely unfortunate in that he received his inheritance at a time of great economic unsettlement? The latter seems to be the proper conclusion as we have no record of his entering upon visionary schemes or speculating beyond his means.

¹ *New Jersey Archives*, ser. 2, vol. 3, pp. 62-3, 95, 435, 590-1.

SOPHIA WATSON

Miss Sophia Watson, the niece of the painter who lived with him, married John Waterhouse on January 12, 1759. It was their daughter, Sophia, who became later Mrs. Sophia Waterhouse Brown of Perth Amboy, the donor of the many Watson sketches and the portrait of Caligula to the ancestress of Mrs. Lucien B. Horton.

On record is a deed, dated January 10, 1761, from John Watson, Merchant, to John Waterhouse (Book G-3, p. 373 in the Secretary of State's Office, Trenton), conveying property on the westerly side of High Street 120 feet by 45, which has always been believed to be the site of John Watson's home.

The simplest explanation of this deed would be that Waterhouse purchased the property from Watson, as a home, subject to a right of occupancy reserved to John Watson and all lived there until the death of Dr. Waterhouse, but this does not fit in with the possibility of a second niece Sophia, having come to live with her uncle. Perhaps it was part of Sophia Waterhouse's inheritance and as women could not own title to real property except through trustees, at the time, the deed ran to her husband. Dr. Waterhouse died on October 17, 1766, aged 31, and was buried in St. Peter's Churchyard, Perth Amboy. Letters of administration were granted on the estate of "John Waterhouse . . . Doctor" to his widow and Alexander Watson on the following October 30th.

On November 1, 1768, almost immediately after her uncle's death, Sophia Waterhouse married Captain John Terrill of Perth Amboy, and we have no facts as to her subsequent history.

The witnesses to the deed of 1761—Watson to Waterhouse—were Alexander Watson and Sophia Watson. Who was this Sophia Watson? It does not seem likely that it was the niece of whom we have been writing, as her name in 1761 was Sophia Waterhouse. This she well appreciated, as when in 1768 William Bryant deeded a house and lot to Alexander Watson, hereinbefore mentioned, a witness thereto was Sophia Waterhouse. The answer may be that it was her cousin, the second Sophia Watson.

It will be remembered that the young artist, who copied "The Priestess of Bacchus," remembered the painter, also his nephew Alexander and "a niece, a maiden lady quite in years who was his housekeeper." We do not know the date of these recollections but it seems to be apparent that "the maiden lady" could not have been Mrs. Waterhouse, nor could she have been "quite in years," as Whitehead tells us that besides her daughter, Sophia, she had several children by her second husband, John Terrill, whom she married after her uncle's death.

John Watson's will mentions two Sophia Watsons and there is in the Secretary of State's Office, Trenton, a record of the marriage of a Sophia Watson of Middlesex County, in which Perth Amboy is situated, to Alexander Kidd, on September 27, 1767. It is possible that after one niece Sophia had married in 1759, the second niece, Sophia Watson, came to New Jersey to be his housekeeper. There is no direct proof of this but if Sophia Watson, the second niece of the name, was living with her uncle in 1761, she would witness a deed as Sophia Watson. The large legacy bequeathed to the second niece, Sophia, also suggests that the testator was on terms of affection with her, which he might not have been had she remained in Scotland.

JOHN WATSON'S WILL

John Watson's will may be found printed in full in the appendix. It was executed September 28, 1756. The first item bequeaths his soul to God and his body he committed to the earth, this being the usual language of the period; and he disposed of his estate as follows:

After paying his debts he gave to "my niece, Sophia Watson, daughter of my brother Alexander Watson, 500*l* current money of New Jersey at eight shillings the ounce; to my niece, Sophia Watson, daughter of my brother William Watson, the sum of 1,000*l*, like money;" he gave to the two sons of his sister Elizabeth, the sum of 100*l* each, like money; he gave to Robert Wallace the sum of 50*l*; to his "neices Elonaer [sic] and Christian," daughters

of his sister Christian, the sum of 100*l* each; to the brother William Watson the sum of 20*l* a year and to his sister Christian Watson 20*l* a year. All the rest of his estate, real and personal, he gave to his nephew, Alexander Watson, whom he appointed sole executor. The will was signed, sealed and published before William Skinner, Robert King and Gertrude Skinner as witnesses and was admitted to probate August 31st, 1768, shortly after Watson's death, before John Mackay. Alexander Watson was appointed executor on September 1st.

The only importance of the document today is in giving us the names of his sister, his brothers and the names of two nieces, each named Sophia.

The will is not in Watson's handwriting and evidently the bequest to the two sons of Watson's sister Elizabeth and to his two nieces, daughters of his sister Christian, was written within a space left for Watson to insert the names. He later remembered the names of his nieces and apparently himself inserted them, which accounts, perhaps, for the spelling of the name "Elonaer." The space left for the given names of his nephews, however, is merely occupied with crosses and the word "the" inserted by Watson, so that the passage now reads: "I give to . . . the two sons of my sister Elizabeth." Who Robert Wallace, a legatee, may have been, we do not know.



PLATE V. WILLIAM BURNET (1688-1729)

Catalogue of Portraits

A—PORTRAITS IN OIL

No. 1 DOCTOR BRAINE

On the page in John Watson's account book (described at p. 245) appears "for painting in York 1726 . . . Doctor Braine on [one] picktor 4 0 0."

Dr. Thomas Braine died, intestate, in New York and letters of administration were granted to his widow, whose given name was Mary, on December 20, 1739.¹ In the printed chart of the Braine family (Kelby's Trinity Church Notes under Hylton) it is stated that Dr. Braine married about 1715 Sarah Reade, daughter of Lawrence Reade. Probably Mary Braine was a second wife.

As the white population of New York County at the time (1726) consisted of but 1,460 male adults and as no other Dr. Braine appears anywhere in the records of the day, there can be no doubt that this portrait was of Dr. Thomas Braine. The portrait is unlocated.

No. 2 "GOVERNOR" PLATE V

On the page in John Watson's account book (described at p. 245) appears "for painting in York 1726 . . . Governor on pickter 4 0 0."

As William Burnet was Governor of New York and New Jersey from 1720-1728, and no other Governor appears to have visited New York in this year (according to the chronology in Stokes) and for stylistic reasons this charge, we believe, was for the bust portrait of William Burnet now hanging in the State House, Boston.

WILLIAM BURNET (1688-1729)

SUBJECT: William Burnet was born in March, 1688, at The Hague, the son of Gilbert Burnet, who, a fervent Protestant, had retired to the Continent during the reign of King James II and entered the service of the Prince of Orange. This Prince stood as godfather to the future

¹ *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.* 1894, *Abs. of Wills*, vol. 3, p. 278.

Governor and later, becoming King William III of England, appointed Gilbert Burnet to be Bishop of Salisbury.

William Burnet entered Trinity College, Cambridge, at thirteen, but was sent down for idleness and disobedience. He thereafter received instruction from tutors and was called to the Bar. Appointed Governor of the Provinces of New York and New Jersey in 1720, he arrived in New York on September 16, in his Majesty's ship "Sea Horse." A reception was given him by the Common Council and "The Freedom of this City with the Seal thereto in a Box of Gold." This box was made by Charles le Roux and his charge was 19*l* 3*s*.¹ In August of 1720, Burnet married Mary Van Horne, a daughter of Abraham Van Horne and Mary Prevost of New York. She (his second wife) died toward the close of 1727 and his son in the spring of 1728.

His record as Governor was an honorable one but he antagonized certain mercantile groups and families powerful in the Province, such as the Philippses and de Lanceys. Being transferred to the governorship of Massachusetts, leaving New York April 15, 1728, journeying over the road, he was met "at the George Tavern on the Neck by the Lieutenant-governor, members of the Council and Governor Dudley's regiment." A welcoming poem was read to him, written by the Reverend Mather Byles, the opening words being:

While rising Shouts a general Joy proclaim,
And ev'ry Tongue, O Burnet! lisps thy name;

Here he came into conflict with the General Court over the old controversy of appropriations. He died on September 7, 1729, as a result, it is said, of taking cold while on a fishing excursion to Watertown Pond. Another account states that his coach was overturned into the water.

Burnet was the author of a small quarto volume of 167 pages entitled "An Essay on Scripture Prophecy, Wherein it is Endeavored to Explain the Three Periods Contain'd in the XII Chapter of the Prophet Daniel," and bearing the imprint of 1725. Burnet's funeral sermon was preached by the Reverend Mr. Price from Ecclesiastes 2, 17.²

DESCRIPTION: Facing one-quarter to the left; light brown background. The whole portrait is contained in an oval painted in two colors—that on the right being light and reaching nearly to the top of

¹ Stokes, 16/26th Sept. 1720.

² Whitehead, pp. 156-68.

the head and on the bottom continuing on the left to the curl of the wig; left and top dark.

Within the oval the right shoulder and arm (left of canvas) are outlined by broad continuous strokes in lighter tone, as is also the coat, visible on the other side. The creases of the coat are similarly modeled. The shadow between the wig (right of canvas) is indicated by a black line over the forehead, completely modeling the face and double chin. The edge of the coat, open at the chest, is again painted by a continuous line, darker or lighter than the fabric of the coat itself.

Wig: "Campaign," with curl thrown over subject's right shoulder.

Eyes: Front; light brown (?); lids red rimmed.

Eyebrows: Thick and black.

Stock and band: White falling band fringed at end, with two bars woven therein, about 2 inches from end, over gathered shirt.

Coat: Scarlet (vermillion tinge) similar in color to toga worn by Caligula. Coat is collarless with five buttons visible.

Back: The picture has been rebaked and the stretcher is modern.

SIZE AND MEDIUM: $29\frac{3}{4} \times 24\frac{1}{2}$; oil on canvas.

ARTIST: John Watson.

DATE AND INSCRIPTION: The canvas has been relined and there is no inscription visible.

OWNERSHIP: This portrait has no history back of 1770 and it is not known how it came into the possession of the State of Massachusetts. From comparison with the existing Watson sketches of Burnet (Plate VII), there is no doubt whom the portrait represents. The costume and the apparent age of the subject indicate that the date of painting was c. 1726. Miss Ellen Mudge Burrill, who compiled the guide book for the State House, Boston, says in speaking of the portraits of the sixteen Colonial Governors therein hanging: "from the best information available, the portraits of Governors Endicott, Winthrop, Leverett, Bradstreet, and possibly Burnet, were in the Old State House as early as 1770."

William Bentley saw this portrait and mentions it in his Diary¹: "Govr Burnet is in the style of the last Century, of large wigs & flowing draperies." G. A. Ward had a copy of this portrait painted for which Bentley exchanged his portrait of George Curwin, now in the Essex Institute, Salem, and under date of November 30, 1819, he entered in

¹ *The Diary of William Bentley* (Salem, 1905-14), vol. 3, p. 52.

his Dairy: "Delivered up the Curwin picture to G. A. Ward for a mean painting of Gov. Burnet of 1729. The exchange was agreed on but the person was mean enough to try to make a fraud out of it."¹ The copy of this portrait of Governor Burnet, Bentley later gave to the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

REPRODUCTIONS: Samuel G. Drake, *History and Antiquities of Boston* (Boston, 1856), p. 581. Justin Winsor, *Memorial History of Boston* (Boston, 1881), vol. 2, p. 55. Henry W. Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel* (Boston, 1882-1941), vol. 1, p. 376. *Journals of the House of Representatives* (Mass. Hist. Soc. 1919-41), vol. 10, frontispiece (this would seem to be from the copy owned by the American Antiquarian Society). John Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America* (Cambridge, 1903).

REMARKS: The wig and coat seem largely untouched, as do the eyes, eyebrows, nostrils and lips; but the entire forehead to the eyebrows and over the eyelids, the entire right side of the face, part of the chin and some of the left cheek (right of canvas) seem repainted. The right side of the stock (left of canvas) and the falling bands are much repainted.

The *Boston News Letter* of October 2, 1729, contained a notice that the late Governor's effects would be sold at "Publick Vendue on Tuesday next." The *Boston Gazette* of October 13 contained similar notices, as does the *News Letter* of October 23, 1729. Probably the sale was postponed from time to time until the Thursday after October 23, 1729. Each advertisement contains items such as "Sundry Pictures & Prints, Sundry Curious Prints and Pictures, etc."

Nowhere in the notices of the auction sales does mention of the gold box, presented to Burnet in New York, appear. Burnet was a member of the Astronomical Society (London) and continued his studies while in America, contributing a paper in 1724 to its proceedings on the "Eclipses of Jupiter's Satellites." Among other things listed to be sold, appears the item "Sundry mathematical instruments."²

No. 3 GAIUS CAESAR CALIGULA (A.D. 12-41) PLATE IV

SUBJECT: Gaius Caligula; the youngest son of Germanicus and Agrippina. He grew up in his father's camp, after whose death he returned to Rome, succeeding Tiberius as emperor A.D. 37. After the

¹ *Ibid.*, vol. 4, p. 631.

² *Boston Gazette*, Oct. 13, 1729.

first year his reign was the usual story (with few exceptions) of cruelty and vice, only notable by reason of his bestowing the Consulship upon his horse.

DESCRIPTION: Head facing one-quarter to the right, showing left side of face; hair bound with green laurel leaves extending from the back of head over the ear and meeting over the brow; top of shoulders showing; he is wearing a scarlet (with vermillion tinge) toga, picked out in white highlights now yellowed by varnish; right hand grasping the handle of a ceremonial trident, which rests on his right shoulder, partly hidden by the neck and head; two shafts ending in pointed heads appearing behind the head, and central shaft extending beyond the border of the painted oval by which the figure is bounded—that on the left half of the canvas very light red and on the right half very dark red. The toga is held by a round fibula or perhaps the garment is a paludamentum or military cloak. The spandrels are red.

SIZE AND MEDIUM: 25¼ plus x 19½ inches in width (a portion lost). Oil on hard wood panel.

ARTIST: John Watson.

DATE AND INSCRIPTION: Lower left spandrel: "GAYUS" (a split makes the reading of the first letter difficult; it may be a "C"); lower right spandrel: "CALIGVL" (last letter missing as part of panel is lost). On back of canvas, lower left, black paint in cursive writing might read "Froi," Roma, or perhaps the capital "R" is "FI" and last two letters "ta."

OWNERSHIP: This portrait was part of the gift from Sophia Brown to Maria Forbes and was in the home of William H. P. Benton in Perth Amboy, together with the Watson drawings. These came into the possession of Mrs. Lucien B. Horton, the present owner, as follows: Sophia Waterhouse Brown to Maria Forbes, she to her sister, Elizabeth Forbes (Mrs. William H. P. Benton); she to her daughter, Susannah Foster Forbes Benton; she to her niece, Roberta Stockson Benton (Mrs. Lucien B. Horton).

REPRODUCTION: None.

REMARKS: The panel has been split in two places and a portion on the right edge has been lost. The greatest width of what remains is 19½ inches and judging from the painted oval, the lost portion might have been nearly an inch wide. The back reveals that two ancient splits have been repaired—one by a strip of old linen damask; another with a strip

of hand-made linen. Across the back, right to left, are three strips of wood over the damask and linen, held in place by screws.

This painting has suffered from neglect and some over-cleaning but there appears to be no repaint. In style and technique it follows the portraits of Burnet and Morris, when the necessary differences between oil on canvas and oil on wood panel are taken into account. The figure is surrounded by a painted oval, half of which is light red and half dark red. The toga is painted in three tones, the highlights and shadows being one continuous stroke. Examination of Montfaucon's *Antiquity Explained*, from which Watson drew his inspiration for his Priestess of Bacchus (see p. 252), fails to disclose a print in this work as Watson's source. Dr. Erich Budde, who kindly searched for the source from which Watson's painting might have been copied, can find none. He sends the following description of Caligula from Suetonius, *A History of Caligula*:

Caligula was very tall and extremely pale, with a huge body, but very thin neck and legs. His eyes and temples were hollow, his forehead broad and grim, his hair thin and entirely gone on the top of his head, though his body was hairy.

Comparing this description with Watson's painting can leave no doubt but that he copied some print of a statue of Caligula. As to his use of a trident, Suetonius says: "he exhibited himself with a golden beard, holding in his hand a thunderbolt, a trident, or a caduceus, emblems of the gods."

No. 4 CHANNING

On the page in John Watson's account book (Plate III) appears "for painting in York 1726 . . . Chaning 2 picktors 4 0 0."

William Channing was a New York merchant who died leaving a will dated July 27, 1731. He was admitted a Freeman of the city, Nov. 4, 1729. His will left his estate "at home and abroad" to his daughters, Ann and Elizabeth (will proved September 23, 1731; Liber 14, p. 171, N. Y. Surrogate's Office). The charge 4*l* for "2 picktors" may mean that it was for two portraits in head size or a double portrait of the two daughters on one canvas, possibly in bust size. This portrait is unlocated.

No. 5 DOCTOR DIPU

On the page in John Watson's account book (Plate III) appears "for painting in York 1726 . . . Doctor Dipu on picktor 2 0 0."

"Dipu," no doubt, represents Watson's phonetic spelling of the name of Dr. John Dupuy, living in New York at the time of Watson's entry, no Dr. Dipu appearing in the records. In 1731, Dr. Dupuy was executor for Francis Vincent of that city.¹ He was known as a "Chirurgion" and was admitted a Freeman of the city June 28, 1715.² He died June 16, 1744 and his death notice appears in the *New York Weekly Post Boy*, June 22, 1744; his will dated 1741 was proved July 24, 1744.³ It mentions his wife Ann, three sons, John, Daniel and Francis; and two daughters, Hester and Jane, the latter the wife of Peter David.

This portrait is unlocated but from the charge it probably was a bust similar in size to that of Governor Burnet.

No. 6 MR. HENDERSON

On the page in John Watson's account book (Plate III) appears "for painting in York 1726 . . . Mr. Henderson picktor 15 0 0."

The charge for this painting has been discussed at pp. 246, 249, 250. Whether for one or three pictures cannot be absolutely determined.

The portrait or portraits are unlocated.

No. 7 LEWIS MORRIS (1671-1746)

On the page in John Watson's account book (Plate III) appears "for painting in York 1726 . . . Lewes Morris on picktor 3 0 0."

SUBJECT: Lewis Morris was the son of Richard Morris, who after serving in Cromwell's army, settled as a merchant in Barbados. There Richard Morris married Sarah Pole and their only child was Lewis, born October 15, 1671. About 1670 Richard Morris and his brother bought a tract of land north of the Harlem River in the Province of New York. His parents dying in 1672, Lewis Morris was left in the care of his uncle, for whom he had been named. He inherited not alone his father's but later his uncle's estate in "the Bronck's" and a large tract of land in Monmouth County, New Jersey. He married in 1691 Isabella Graham, daughter of James Graham, Attorney-General of the Province. In 1694

¹ *New York Hist. Soc. Coll.*, 1894, pp. 97-8.

² *Ibid.*, 1885, p. 94.

³ *Ibid.*, 1896, pp. 15-16.

his estate in the Bronx was erected into the Manor of Morrisania and he was appointed a member of Governor Andrew Hamilton's Council (New Jersey) in 1697. He served, also, for a short time as a member of Governor Cornbury's Council for the Province of New York. He was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of that Province in 1715, serving also on the Council for New Jersey under Governors Burnet and Montgomerie. Opposing Governor Cosby, he was removed from his judgeship.

Elected to the Assembly from the town of Eastchester, New York, he opposed the court party of Cosby and de Lancey. Upon the separation of the government of the provinces of New York and New Jersey, he became Governor of the latter in 1738. Morris had frequent quarrels with the Assembly over taxation and the issuance of bills of credit, hereinbefore discussed, but served the Province with distinction and enlightenment.

At his death he divided his estate between his sons, Lewis, who became second Lord of the Manor, and Richard Hunter Morris, who inherited his New Jersey property. He died May 21, 1746, at his residence Kingsbury, New Jersey.

DESCRIPTION: Face not quite one-quarter to right; eyes front. Within the oval, both shoulders, arms and the openings of the coat, are painted in one continuous line darker than the fabric of the coat or background. The creases of the coat are indicated by one continuous black line dark or light as the case may be. The shadow between the face and wig is in one black line, as is the crease of the neck.

Wig: Campaign.

Eyebrows: Thick and black.

Eyes: Hazel.

Stock and falling bands: White, fringed at end with two bars woven therein about two inches from the end; over gathered shirt.

Coat: Light brown-tan with highlights mostly in tan; collarless coat; eight brown buttons on right side of coat.

ARTIST: John Watson.

DATE AND INSCRIPTION: Canvas has been relined; stretcher soft wood, probably renewed at some time. The costume and apparent age of the subject would indicate c. 1726 as the date of painting.

OWNERSHIP: This portrait was inherited by Lewis Morris (1698-1762), 2nd Lord, and bequeathed by him to his brother, Richard Hunter Morris



PLATE VI. GOVERNOR LEWIS MORRIS (1671-1746)

by will dated November 19, 1760, and through that line to the present owner, Captain Lewis Morris, U.S.N., retired, of Lake Court, West Palm Beach, Florida, and Grass Knoll, Whitefield, New Hampshire, great-great-great-grandson of Governor Morris.

REPRODUCTIONS: This portrait was erroneously reproduced as Lewis Morris, 2nd Lord of the Manor, in "The Morris Manor," an address delivered before "The Order of Colonial Lords of Manors," December 9, 1916, by Lucy D. Akerly.

The error arose through the author's following William A. Whitehead, who placed as the frontispiece of *The Papers of Lewis Morris, Governor of the Province of New Jersey from 1738 to 1746* (*New Jersey Hist. Soc. Coll.*, vol. 4), an engraved portrait of Lewis Morris, the son and 2nd Lord of the Manor. Mr. Whitehead afterward corrected this in *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society* (vol. 8, p. 116), but the correction was overlooked and Miss Akerly published the portrait of the son for that of his father, Lewis Morris, and apparently with no warrant whatsoever, published the portrait under discussion as representing the son.

Captain Lewis Morris, the present owner, does not know how his portrait came to be called the 2nd Lord, as pasted to the stretcher of his picture, is a paper which reads: "Lewis Morris B. 1672 and D. May 1746; Chief Justice of New York and New Jersey and Governor of New Jersey 1738-1746."

A drawing of Lewis Morris, later Governor of New Jersey, was owned by Sophia Waterhouse Brown, Watson's great-niece, and listed by Lossing. The error through which the Watson drawing of Governor Morris's son, Judge Lewis Morris, was published as that of his father, appears under Portrait drawing No. 8, p. 306.

REMARKS: This portrait has not been repainted. The costume is almost identical with that of Governor Burnet except in color. The coat is painted in three tones (as is Burnet's), the composition of both is similar, except being in reverse. The wig, painted in four tones, is similar to that of Burnet in style, showing the division of hair at the forehead, the rims of the eyelids, nostrils and lips are vermilion, as is the shadow on the right side of the mouth. The height of the head in the canvas is about the same. Except for the repaint on Burnet's face, the two paintings are identical in brush work, technique and composition—the same vermilion horizontal thin brush strokes appear on the cheeks as in the portrait of Johannes Schuyler.

B—PORTRAITS ATTRIBUTED TO JOHN WATSON

No. 8 MRS. VANDERVEER

SUBJECT: The identity of Mrs. Vanderveer has not been determined.

DESCRIPTION: Portrait of a woman almost full face, body turned one-quarter right. Dress cut square at neck with indications of lace ruffle and single strand of pearls around the neck.

SIZE: 29 x 22.

MEDIUM: Oil on canvas.

ARTIST:

DATE AND INSCRIPTION: On the portrait upper right appears: "July
AETS. 48
1717"

OWNERSHIP: Sold at auction Dec. 1, 1923, Metuchen, New Jersey, by Charles F. Heartman (see *Perth Amboy Evening News*, Nov. 24, 1923). Bought by Fridenburg Galleries, New York; purchased by Judge Nathaniel Sears, March 1, 1926, from "Mr. Newhouse and son, New York" and presented by him to the Laura Davidson Sears Academy of Fine Arts, Elgin, Illinois. (Catalogue No. 146.)

REMARKS: The costume and apparent age of the subject would fit the date 1717. The technique and composition of this and the succeeding portrait of Miss Vanderveer are similar and the portraits are from the same brush. Neither, in any way, resembles nor equals the technique and composition of the Burnet and Morris portraits nor that shown in Watson's portrait drawings. A possible explanation might be that between 1717 and 1726, the date when the Burnet and Morris portraits were painted, Watson improved his technique to the extent showed by a comparison of this portrait with them.

For the above reasons, agreement with the attribution to John Watson is withheld.

No. 9 MISS VANDERVEER

SUBJECT: The identity of Miss Vanderveer has not been determined.

DESCRIPTION: Portrait of a young woman facing almost front. Gown oval at the neck with crude indications of white border of some material and necklace. Her right arm, with elbow sleeve, is outstretched with

index finger pointing to a rose. The left hand holds a wicker basket of flowers against her body.

SIZE: 28½ x 20½.

MEDIUM: Oil on canvas.

ARTIST:

DATE AND INSCRIPTION: At upper left appears: "June
AETS 16
1717"

OWNERSHIP AND REMARKS: Same as preceding. No. 145 of Sears Academy Catalogue.

No. 10 SIR PETER WARREN (SO-CALLED)

SUBJECT: Sir Peter Warren was born in Warrenstown, County Meath, Ireland, in 1703. He entered the navy as a volunteer in 1717, becoming a captain in 1727 and the next year was stationed at New York. In 1731 he married, in Trinity Church, Broadway, Susannah de Lancey, oldest daughter of Etienne (Stephen) de Lancey. There being no occasion for active service, he resided in the city until 1735. In that year, in command of H.M.S. *Squirrel*, he was ordered to cruise off the Carolina coast and remained in that neighborhood, for the most part, the next six years.

While a resident of New York he was appointed a member of Governor Clinton's Council and accumulated a large estate in Greenwich Village, bounded by what now are Bleecker, Fourth, Charles and Perry streets, extending to the Hudson River, to which he added, in 1744, the fine house built by James Henderson (*q.v.*). In 1746 he deeded this home and farm to his wife.

In 1745 his squadron was sent north and he cooperated actively with the colonial troops in the attack on Louisburg. In the same year he was second in command under Admiral Anson in the engagement with the French off Cape Finisterre, being promoted to be Vice-Admiral. He never returned to America and died in Ireland July 29, 1752.

SIZE AND MEDIUM: 36¾ x 45½; oil on canvas.

DATE AND INSCRIPTION: On the back appears "John Watson 1731."

OWNERSHIP: No line of descent for this portrait was printed in the catalogues of the exhibitions held at the Century Association, New York, in November, 1925; nor in that of the Thomas B. Clarke collection,

when on view at the Philadelphia Museum of Art, published in 1928. Among the papers of the late Mr. Clarke appears the following pedigree, probably furnished at the time of purchase:

Collection of Lieut.-Gov. James de Lancey (1702-1760), New York,
brother-in-law of the sitter

Collection of Capt. Stephen de Lancey, North Salem, New York,
his son

Collection of Hannah Sackett Baldwin (1781-1854), Litchfield,
Conn. and Pompey Hill, New York, her son by her second hus-
band, Major Isaac Baldwin

Collection of Julia Titus, Albany, New York, his granddaughter

Checking the above pedigree the following information has been found. Stephen de Lancey was the second son of Lieutenant Governor James de Lancey and his wife, Anne Heathcote. Hannah Sackett, 1751-1836, youngest daughter of the Reverend Samuel and Hannah Hazard Sackett, married (1) Stephen de Lancey in 1768. During the early part of the Revolutionary period she apparently obtained a legal separation from her husband. She married (2) Major Isaac Baldwin, Jr., of Litchfield, Connecticut, on October 16, 1779. Major Isaac Baldwin, Jr., 1753-1818, after the Revolutionary War, practiced his profession in Litchfield until 1810, when he removed with his family to Pompey Hill, New York.

The eldest child of Isaac and Hannah Sackett Baldwin was Samuel Sackett Baldwin, 1781-1854. He married in 1812, as his second wife, Julia Ann Yates, daughter of Peter W. Yates of Albany. Of their three children, one, Julia Baldwin, married "Mr. Titus" of Geneva, New York. The Baldwin genealogy states that Samuel Sackett Baldwin and Julia Yates Baldwin had a daughter Julia Ann, who in 1858 was the widow of "a Titus" of Geneva.¹

The pedigree furnished states that the picture came from Julia Titus, a granddaughter of Major Isaac Baldwin. She must, therefore, have been a daughter of Samuel Sackett Baldwin, who was married in 1812. No proof as to the existence of a Julia (Baldwin) Titus, nor of her ownership of the portrait, was furnished at the time of purchase, nor has been found since.

Examination of the portrait under discussion with other portraits of Sir Peter Warren is as follows: The Portsmouth Athenaeum of Ports-

¹ Charles H. Weygant, *The Sacketts of America* (Newburgh, 1907), pp. 90, 94, 95, 142, 208; Charles C. Baldwin, *The Baldwin Genealogy* (Cleveland, 1881), pp. 538, 573.

mouth, New Hampshire, owns a portrait of him, 7'8" by 4'10", by John Smibert. According to the Essex Institute Historical Collections this portrait was unfinished in 1751. It must have been painted before Nov. 1746, as it is probable that he was never in North America after that date. This portrait is undoubtedly of Sir Peter Warren, as the face resembles the oil portrait of him by Thomas Hudson, in the collection of the Rt. Hon. The Earl of Abingdon. It also is from the brush of John Smibert, who was living in Boston in 1745. It is reasonable to believe that Smibert painted the portrait about the time of the expedition to Louisburg.

The portrait under discussion, in costume would indicate a date about 1725-30, when Watson and Sir Peter Warren were together in New York City. However, the face in the portrait attributed to Watson differs materially from the portraits by Smibert and Hudson, in the apparent width of the face and in the length of the upper lip. Watson's mannerisms are not as pronounced as in the Morris or Burnet portraits. For the above reasons and faulty pedigree, agreement with the attribution to Watson is withheld at this time.

This portrait was acquired by Mr. Thomas B. Clarke at least before 1925 and his estate sold it to M. Knoedler & Company in 1935. It was purchased thereafter, along with the balance of the Clarke Collection, by The A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, Washington, D. C.

No. 11 FRANCES AND ROSAMOND WILSON

SUBJECT: Frances and Rosamond, daughters of Ebenezer Wilson.

SIZE: 29 x 24.

MEDIUM: Oil on canvas.

DATE AND INSCRIPTION: The best reading of the inscription on the back would seem to be:

"Miss Fanny and [?] Rosamond
Daughters of
Fanny and Ebez Wilson
N. York 1717
John Watson
Pi"

OWNERSHIP: Purchased by the Fridenburg Galleries at the Cyrus E. Hitchcock sale, American Art Association, New York, March 2, 1922,

lot 120. Purchased by the Newhouse Galleries in 1926 and sold to Judge Nathaniel Sears, who presented the picture to the Laura Davidson Sears Academy of Fine Art, Elgin, Illinois, the present owner.

REMARKS: There was an Ebenezer Willson who was mayor of New York (1707-10). From a photograph, the inscription on the back of the canvas does not appear to be in ancient lettering nor does it resemble the inscription on the back of the portrait called Sir Peter Warren.

The costume as fitting the date 1717, is most doubtful, as will appear from the description of such in *Historic Dress in America*, Elizabeth McLelland, vol. 1, p. 283. Therein we are told that children's costumes resembled those of their parents and Miss McLelland illustrates one such, still preserved. From illustrations of several of these, and from the costumes worn by older women of the period, it would appear that the dresses worn by young girls in 1717 would have elbow sleeves, a square neck and a bodice worn over stays. The skirt would open over a petticoat. The neck would be covered probably by a kerchief of some kind and apparently most women and children at about that date wore caps covering the ears. While costume may not be decisive, it helps in the dating of a picture.

The technique shown does not resemble that of the Burnet or Morris portraits nor that shown in Watson's portrait drawings. The painting of the basket held by the little girls is not unlike that shown in the basket held by Miss Vanderveer.

For the above reasons, agreement with the attribution to John Watson is withheld.

C—DRAWINGS OF JOHN WATSON KNOWN TO HAVE EXISTED BUT NOW UNLOCATED

The story of the large number of drawings by John Watson, known to have existed, has been told at pp. 255, 256.

The following were before Benson J. Lossing and listed by him in his *American Historical Record*, vol. 1, Oct. 1872, pp. 465-6, but are now unlocated. Probably most were returned to William A. Whitehead and disappeared along with his other papers.

In his record, Lossing italicized some of the names of the subjects and here and there, added bits of information. From an examination of the surviving drawings, and in one case from Lossing's own statement, it is

possible that the italicized parts of his text represented the inscriptions on the drawings themselves in Watson's handwriting. Following is Lossing's list arranged in alphabetical order.

PORTRAITS

- Mrs. Armstead* "of Virginia"
R. A. Bierde "& wife of Virginia"
Mrs. R. A. Bierde "of Virginia"
John Blanie "of Philadelphia"
Mrs. Blazer
Mrs. Brease "of Virginia"
Mrs. Burnet
Judge Burnett "of New Jersey"
Mrs. Molly Carter "of Virginia"
Mr. De Fier "a very fine looking bust in half armor"
John Fisher "of New York"
Mrs. Fox
Col. French "of New Castle, Del."
Mr. Harrison "of Virginia"
Rev. Robert Innias "supposed to be Rev. Robert Innes of Virginia"
Caleb Jacobet "of Philadelphia"
Sir William Keith "of Pennsylvania"
Lady Keith "of Pennsylvania"
Mr. Layone "of Antigua"
Mr. Lefgrove "of Madiera"
Mrs. Lefgrove "of Madiera"
Old Col. Lewis Morris "Governor of New Jersey"
Col. Lewis Morris "Son of the Governor"
Mr. Pereg "of Virginia"
Mr. Raie "Collector, Rhode Island"
Arent Schuyler "of New Jersey"
Gasparer Schuyler, "1732"
Gov. Alexander Spotswood "Governor of Virginia"
Dr. Stewart "of New Castle, Del."
Isaac Van Dam
John Watson
Alexander Watson "the artist's nephew alluded to in the August Record"
Harrie Young "Assemblyman of New Jersey"

IDEAL HEADS

Lord Balcares
 Dryden
 John Locke
 Sir Isaac Newton
 Puffendorf
 Allan Ramsey
 Henry Sachervell, D.D.

In the check list following where a drawing listed by Lossing has survived, his description in the *American Historical Record* has been quoted.

D—PORTRAIT DRAWINGS IN PENCIL AND WASH

No. 1 GOVERNOR WILLIAM BURNET Plate VII

SUBJECT: "Governor Wm. Burnet and Lady of Massachusetts, New York and New Jersey." So listed by Lossing.

SIZE: 4 x 2 $\frac{3}{4}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil and wash on vellum (Plumbago); coat and hat in wash.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Sophia (Watson) Waterhouse (later Mrs. John Terrill); Sophia (Waterhouse) Brown; Maria Forbes; Elizabeth (Forbes) Benton; Susannah F. F. Benton; Roberta Stockton Benton (Mrs. Lucien B. Horton), the present owner.

REPRODUCED: *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy*, by W. A. Whitehead, p. 168. The legend reads: "From an original sketch by John Watson in the possession of W. A. Whitehead."

REMARKS: Inscribed on back: "Governor Burnet" in faded ink in John Watson's handwriting; below, in another hand, in black ink: "Burnet."

No. 2 GOVERNOR WILLIAM BURNET Plate VII

SUBJECT: Represented in armor.

SIZE: 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 2 $\frac{3}{4}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil and wash on vellum (Plumbago).

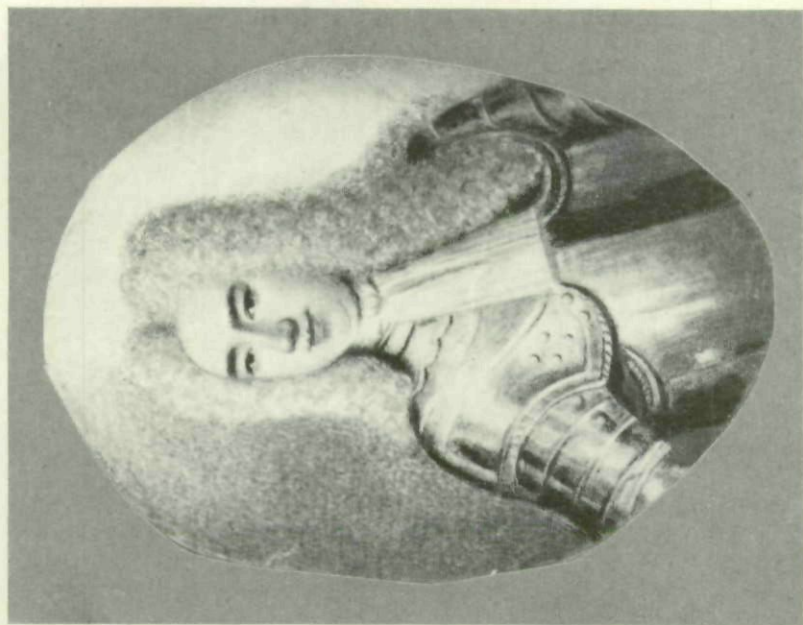


PLATE VII. WILLIAM BURNET

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 1.

REMARKS: On back in faded ink appears "Gov. Burnet" in the handwriting of John Watson; below "Gov. Burnet" in pencil in another's hand. Mentioned by Whitehead as owned by him, *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy*, p. 127.

No. 3 DANIEL HENDRICKSON

SUBJECT: In *The History of the Old Tennent Church* (Cranbury, N. J., 1904), Frank R. Symmes states (p. 454) that Daniel Hendrickson, the 11th and youngest child of the first Daniel, "was born in the old homestead at Holland neighborhood, on the road from Middletown and Holmdel, on Jan. 5, 1723, married Catherine Cowenhoven, Dec. 22, 1743 and died June 24, 1788. This Daniel was a quiet, prosperous farmer and so active in church work that he was known as 'Dominie Dan'll.' He was highly educated, and somewhat of a musician and an artist. A portrait of him, painted by himself is now in the possession of the family of the late ex-Senator Wm. Henry Hendrickson." He also preached in church in the absence of the minister. This was no doubt the origin of his being called "Reverend."

INSCRIBED: On back "John Watson "De (undecipherable) vet AE. T. S. 73."

SIZE: 5 x 4¼.

MEDIUM: Pencil on vellum (Plumbago); slight touches of wash.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Mrs. M. Conover, Middletown, Monmouth County, New Jersey; Ginsburg & Levy, Inc., New York, 1932; Erskine Hewitt: sold Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., New York, Oct. 22, 1938, the Erskine Hewitt Collection, described as Lot. No. 1070; Ginsburg & Levy, Inc., New York City.

REMARKS: Mrs. Russel Hastings in "A John Watson Discovery," (*Antiques*, vol. 36, July, 1939, pp. 26-27) accepts this drawing as a self-portrait of John Watson. She rejects the possibility of its being Daniel Hendrickson on the ground that the portrait fails to exhibit clerical dress. As has been pointed out above, Daniel Hendrickson was not a clergyman but a lay-reader only, hence would not be drawn in clerical clothes. In discussing the inscription as upholding the contention

that the drawing represents Watson, Mrs. Hastings points out that Watson would have been 73 in 1758 but that "the figures appear to be written in pencil and should not be taken as positive evidence of date . . ."

As the inscription is in Watson's handwriting, there would seem to be no reason for rejecting one part over another and the whole and not a part must be considered. A reexamination by the writer convinces him that the entire inscription is in ink.

The stars between the words "John Watson" and "AE" in the inscription represent a word heretofore and still largely illegible. The first two letters "De" and the last three "vet" can be read with the aid of a magnifying glass. Placing the inscription under violet ray, the word might read "Deliavet" or "Del'avet," which in turn could be a misspelling or contraction of "delineavit." If so, the ordinary reading of the inscription "John Watson Delineavit AE. T. S. 73" would be "John Watson, he drew it, in the 73rd year of his age." All this means is that John Watson drew the portrait, which contention no one denies.

Comparing this drawing (Plate VIII a) with the extant self-portraits of John Watson in 1720 and later in life, c. 1745 (Plates I and X b), makes it impossible that this should represent Watson. The wig and general costume are of about the same period, but, while the existing self-portraits of John Watson agree in general characteristics, i.e. the way the wig fits upon the forehead (showing the formation of the skull), the cock and heaviness of the eyebrows, the size of the eyes, structure of the nose, the small chin and heavy double chin—these characteristics do not agree in any particular with the drawing under consideration. Especially is this so in the structure of the nose and the width of the jaws.

Again, if Watson had meant that this was a self-portrait, the Latin inscription would have read "John Watson Se ipso Delineavit AE.T.S. 73." True, there is no proof that John Watson was a Latin scholar but the inscription as above was in common use by painters.

Analyzing the inscription as corroborating the tradition that the portrait is of Daniel Hendrickson, the reading of the inscription as "John Watson, he drew it, in his 73rd year" is reasonable. Watson would have been 73 in 1758 and Daniel Hendrickson 35. Although the costume is a little early for 1758, this would apply equally to Hendrickson or Watson and the age 35 is about the age of the subject of the portrait. We accept, therefore, the family tradition that this portrait is of Daniel Hendrickson 1723-1785, and drawn by Watson in 1758.



PLATE VIII. (a) PROBABLY DANIEL HENDRICKSON. (b) LADY KEITH

No. 4 SIR WILLIAM KEITH (1680–Nov. 18, 1749)

SUBJECT: William Keith was born in Scotland and succeeded his father in the Baronetcy about 1720. In 1714 he was appointed Surveyor-General of Customs for the southern colonies and became Governor of Pennsylvania in May, 1717. His administration of his office was excellent but he was eccentric and improvident. Benjamin Franklin, when but eighteen, came to his notice and, being urged by the Governor to establish a printing office for himself, sailed for London to buy equipment—on the promise that letters of credit would be forwarded. The money was never sent to him. Governor Keith sailed for England in 1728, expecting to return, but burdened with debt, he died in the Old Bailey prison in London.

SIZE: 4 x 3½.

MEDIUM: Pencil and wash on vellum.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: W. A. Whitehead presented this drawing to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. A part of his letter dated June 26, 1856, addressed to Mr. Townsend Ward, the Librarian, is as follows:

I received your note today asking for the loan of the likeness of Sir William Keith Governor of the Province of Pennsylvania, which is referred to in the "Contributions to East Jersey History." As it has ever given me pleasure to facilitate the researches, and to contribute to the acquisitions of those who, like myself, would rescue from oblivion every memorial illustrative of the past, I herewith transmit to you, and beg the Historical Society of Pennsylvania to accept, one of the likenesses I have, of Governor Keith, for their library: and in accordance with your request I send another that you may copy if you wish (as the two differ in some respects) accompanying it with a likeness of "Ladie Keith," which you may be pleased to see. These two you will be good enough to return to me by mail or express at your convenience. There can be no doubt as to their being authentic and by John Watson. I have another of the same kind, not so well executed, which confirms the likeness, and as that also has *the spot upon the chin*, it is to be presumed that the Governor had a mole or some other blemish there. . . .

Very respectfully yours,
(signed) W. A. Whitehead

(Ans. July 10, 1856)

The pedigree of the sketch into W. A. Whitehead's hands is the same as No. 1.

REMARKS: Inscribed: front, lower center—"Govr Keith" (not in Watson's handwriting).

Right—"Presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by W. A. Whitehead 1856" (Whitehead's handwriting).

Left—"John Watson Del." (This would seem to be in Whitehead's handwriting.)

Back—written with a brush—"Sir William Keith."

REPRODUCED: John Fiske, *Dutch and Quaker Colonies in America* (Cambridge, 1903), vol. 2, p. 123; Albert S. Bolles, *Pennsylvania, Province and State* (Philadelphia, 1899), vol. 1, p. 228; William Dunlap, *Arts of Design* (Boston, 1918), vol. 1, p. 12.

No. 5 LADY KEITH Plate VIII (b)

Copy in pencil from the drawing by John Watson, sent by W. A. Whitehead to Historical Society of Pennsylvania referred to on page 303.

SUBJECT: Lady Keith.

SIZE: $4\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil on paper.

ARTIST: George Bensell.

OWNERSHIP: Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

REMARKS: On the back is written:

"Lady Keith, wife of Sir William
Copied by George Bensell
For the Historical Society
from the original
by Watson

In the possession of William Whitehead.
T. Ward July 21/56"

The original Watson drawing of Lady Keith was undoubtedly returned to Whitehead in accordance with the request contained in his letter to Townsend Ward. It is unlocated and was probably destroyed along with the balance of Mr. Whitehead's papers.

No. 6 AUGUSTUS LUCAS

SUBJECT: "Mr. . . . Lucas New Haven." (Inscribed on back.)

SIZE: $4\frac{5}{16} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$.

MEDIUM: Wash on vellum.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Mrs. Henry Middleton Fisher, Jenkintown, Pa.

REMARKS: On the back appears "Mr. Lucas
New Haven"

Mrs. Fisher supplies the additional information that the given name of Mr. Lucas was Augustus. At the same time she points out that the identification of the subjects of her two drawings (Augustus Lucas and Matthew Robinson, No. 11) is open to question. She thinks it possible that No. 11 may be Augustus Lucas, and *visa versa*.

This and the drawing of Matthew Robinson were examined by Mr. William Sawitzky while in the possession of Mrs. Fisher. The size, date of painting, general technique and the medium in which these drawings are done, strongly suggest John Watson. The fact that the drawing is in $\frac{3}{4}$ length is unusual. The author has not seen this drawing but if the inscription on the back should prove to be in John Watson's hand, there would exist no doubt as to the artist.

No. 7 LEWIS MORRIS (1671-1746) Plate IX (a)

SUBJECT: Lewis Morris, 1st Lord of the Manor of Morrisania—Governor of New Jersey—1738-1746—"Old Col Morris" in Watson's handwriting.

MEDIUM: Probably pencil or wash on vellum or paper.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Sophia (Watson) Waterhouse (later Mrs. John Terrill); Sophia (Waterhouse) Brown; Maria Forbes; Elizabeth (Forbes) Benton; W. A. Whitehead; loaned by Whitehead to Benson J. Lossing and listed as above by him in the *American Historical Record*, vol. 1, p. 465.

This portrait was reproduced in "The Morris Family of Morrisania," by W. W. Spooner, *American Historical Magazine*, vol. 1, p. 33 (January 1906); also in the *Journal of History*, vol. 18, p. 219 (1924), and the *Journal of History*, vol. 17, p. 99. These reproductions are similar but nowhere do the authors state the source of the reproduction.

In general composition this sketch of Lewis Morris resembles other Watson portrait drawings and is here reproduced in the belief that it is from the original sketch described by Lossing but now unlocated.

No. 8 JUDGE LEWIS MORRIS Plate IX (b)

SUBJECT: Judge Lewis Morris (1698-1762), son of Governor Lewis Morris and Isabella Graham, was born September 23, 1698. He became second Lord of the Manor of Morrisania, was Judge of the High Court of Admiralty with jurisdiction over New York, New Jersey and Connecticut, and one of the Judges of Oyer and Terminer. He married, first, Tryntie Staats and second, Sarah Gouverneur. He died on July 3, 1762, leaving four sons, three of whom became influential citizens—Lewis, the Signer of the Declaration of Independence, his second son, Staats Long, a Loyalist, after a distinguished career in the British army, died as Governor of Quebec, and another son, Gouverneur Morris, filled many important positions with distinction. By his will, dated November 19, 1760, Judge Morris bequeathed his portraits of his father and mother to his brother, Richard Hunter Morris, and those of "myself and wife to my daughter Isabella."¹

MEDIUM: Same as No. 7.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 7.

REMARKS: Inscribed on back "Lewis Col Morris," in Watson's handwriting.

REPRODUCTION: This portrait was engraved for the frontispiece of the *Papers of Lewis Morris, Governor of the Province of New Jersey* (New York, 1852), published by the New Jersey Historical Society as a portrait of Governor Lewis Morris. The engraving bears the legend "Engraved by Charles Burt from an Original sketch, by John Watson, in Possession of Mr. Wm. A. Whitehead."

Mr. Whitehead, himself, in his preface to "The Papers of Governor Morris," stated his doubts as to whether the portrait represented Governor Lewis Morris. Later he discovered his error by finding the Watson drawing of Governor Morris and the Society's minute thereon is as follows:

Newark, May 20th, 1858

The Society met in their room in the Library Building, in accordance with the By-Laws . . .

Mr. Whitehead rose to make a correction of some importance, in relation to the portrait prefixed to the Papers of Governor Morris, published as the fourth volume of the Society's Collections. Having been entrusted with the preparation of the volume for the press by the Com-

¹ Robert Bolton, *History of the County of Westchester* (New York, 1881), vol. 2, p. 481.



PLATE IX. (a) PROBABLY GOVERNOR LEWIS MORRIS. (b) JUDGE LEWIS MORRIS

mittee on Publications, it was deemed a fortunate circumstance that he should have found among some miniature sketches in his possession, by John Watson, one endorsed by the artist himself, "Lewis Col. Morris," and with the approbation of the Committee it was engraved and inserted in the volume, with the remark, in the preface, that it was presumed to be a copy, as Watson was not known to have painted in America prior to 1715, when Mr. Morris must have been older than he was represented in the picture.

Some months since he was so favored as to secure the possession of a number more of Watson's sketches, and among them, very much to his chagrin, he found one endorsed "Old Col. Morris"—and, from its appearance, its unquestionable authenticity, and, moreover, the marks of the old Governor's character observable in the picture, it was evident the head of *his son*, Lewis, had been engraved instead of his own. Mr. Whitehead presented both sketches for the examination of the members, bearing the original endorsements of the artist.

He considered it necessary thus publicly to make known the facts, inasmuch as Mr. Bolton had been permitted to use the plate of the Society to illustrate his History of the Episcopal Church in Westchester County, New York, and other parties, without the consent of the Society, had copied it to illustrate a small History of New Jersey, since published. The error consequently had been more widely disseminated than if it had been confined exclusively to the volume in which the portrait originally appeared. It was for the Society to determine if any further action was necessary to correct the error than the insertion of his explanation in the printed Proceedings of the Society,

After some conversation . . . it was . . .

Resolved, That so soon as the funds of the Society will warrant the expenditure, the Committee on Publications be authorized to have the recently discovered likeness of Governor Morris engraved, and to place a copy at the disposal of each subscriber for the volume containing his papers.¹

When Whitehead's Watson sketches were before Benson J. Lossing, his note on this error is as follows: "Col. Lewis Morris, son of the Governor. This was engraved by the New Jersey Historical Society as a frontispiece to the published papers of the Governor, it being supposed to be a likeness of the father in early life, but subsequently the sketch mentioned above was found endorsed by the artist himself "old Col. Morris." The society has resolved to repair the error by having the true picture engraved and distributed among the holders of the 'Papers of Governor Morris.'"

The error was repeated by the New Jersey Historical Society (see *Proceedings*, ser. 4, vol. 13, p. 273;), in *Morris Manor* by Lucy D.

¹ From *New Jersey Historical Society Proceedings*, ser. 1, vol. 8, p. 116.

Akerly published by order of Colonial Lords of Manors in America, 1916, p. 8; Donald L. Kemmerer, *Path to Freedom; The Struggle For Self-government in Colonial New Jersey, 1703-1776* (Princeton, 1940), p. 8.

No. 9 MR. JAMES MORRIS

SUBJECT: "Mr. James Morris, AE t 17."

SIZE: 4 x 2 $\frac{7}{8}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil on vellum (Plumbago); slight touches of brush.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Mrs. Lucien B. Horton, descent same as No. 1.

REMARKS: Listed as above by Lossing. On back appears in John Watson's handwriting, "Mr. James Morris."

No. 10 JOHN PARKER

SUBJECT: John Parker, son of Elisha Parker and his second wife, Hannah Rolph, was born November 11, 1693. His grandfather had received an original grant of 182 acres in Woodbridge on April 19, 1675. John Parker married Janet Johnstone, daughter of Dr. John Johnstone, founder of Perth Amboy. He was a merchant, a colonel in the colonial forces and a successful lawyer. He served as a warden of St. Peter's Church, Perth Amboy, 1723-26, and as a vestryman 1726-32, owning pew No. 3, for which he was taxed 6*l* 17*s*. Governor Burnet appointed him a member of the Council for New Jersey, October 1719, which position he held until his death in 1732. He built c. 1720 the Parker home, known as "The Castle," in Perth Amboy, the stone and wooden part of which remains as built.

SIZE: ? Frame oval 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter.

MEDIUM: Wash on vellum?

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: John Parker; his son, James Parker 1725-1797; his son, James Parker 1776-1868; his son, Courtlandt Parker 1818-1907; Estate of Courtlandt Parker.

REMARKS: This drawing is unlocated and examination of a photograph fails to indicate the skill in many other drawings by Watson. However, Benson J. Lossing, with a large number of them before him, called attention to their great difference in quality (see p. 257). From all available information, and especially its provenance, the drawing is accepted as by Watson.

NO. 11 MATTHEW ROBINSON

SIZE: $3\frac{3}{4} \times 3$.

MEDIUM: Apparently wash on vellum.

ARTIST: John Watson (?)

OWNERSHIP: Mrs. Henry Middleton Fisher, Alverthorpe, Jenkintown, Pa.

REMARKS: See statement under Augustus Lucas No. 6, noting that this drawing is bust size with hand and not three-quarter length. The author has not seen this drawing.

NO. 12 REVEREND EDWARD VAUGHAN PLATE X (a)

SUBJECT: Mr. Vaughan was sent in 1709 as missionary to the Province of New Jersey by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, London. In 1714 he took up his residence in Perth Amboy, officiating there one Sunday in every four, serving until the appointment of the Reverend William Skinner in 1722.

MEDIUM: Same as No. 7.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 7, except that apparently it was not loaned to Lossing as it was unlisted by him.

REMARKS: Reproduced in W. A. Whitehead's *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy*, p. 216, the legend under the portrait reading "From an original sketch by John Watson in the possession of W. A. Whitehead." This drawing is unlocated.

NO. 12A MARY LAURENCE VAUGHAN

Mary Laurence Vaughan, a step-daughter of Philip Carteret, first Governor of New Jersey, was born in 1665, and came to America in 1682. She married first, James Emott, a prominent citizen of Perth Amboy, N. J., and second, the Rev. Edward Vaughan. (E. F. Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth, New Jersey*, p. 358.)

SIZE: $3 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil and wash on vellum.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Chester C. Levis of Southport, Connecticut, by inheritance, being the eighth in descent from James Emott and Mary Laurence.

REMARKS: Identification of this drawing and information concerning Mary Laurence comes from an old writing contained within the frame on which the name of Mary Laurence's second husband is spelled "Vaughn." It is to be noted that the Rev. Edward Vaughan so spelled his name in his Will, (*New Jersey Archives*, Vol. 30, p. 505), in which he also mentions his marriage with "Mary Emott widow of James Emott."

The author has not seen the original sketch and makes this attribution from a photograph reserving the right to change his opinion should inspection so warrant.

PORTRAITS OF JOHN WATSON

In the second of Lossing's articles (October, 1872) with the Watson drawings before him, he wrote: "It would seem that either from a want of other sitters, or a partiality for his own physiognomy, he was wont every few years to depict the changes Time had wrought, and try the effect of different attitudes and costume, upon himself; and on the table upon which this is written are no less than nine India ink and pencil sketches, of large miniature size, showing those changes, while his years were increasing from twenty-seven to over sixty." Whitehead (p. 126) said "I have . . . in my possession a number of miniature sketches in India ink, made by him . . . and among them a series of drawings of himself, at different ages, from one of which the likeness accompanying this notice of him was taken" (see No. 14). These were sent to Lossing and his comment is above.

No. 13 JOHN WATSON FRONTISPIECE

SUBJECT: John Watson.

SIZE: $3\frac{3}{16} \times 3\frac{1}{16}$.

MEDIUM: Wash on paper.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Sophia (Watson) Waterhouse; Sophia (Waterhouse) Brown; Maria Forbes; Elizabeth (Forbes) Benton; William A. Whitehead; Benson J. Lossing; Hall Park McCullough.

REMARKS: Inscribed on front lower left "AE. T.S. 35." This would indicate 1720 as the date of drawing. This drawing was one of the series mentioned by Whitehead and Lossing and was sold at American Art

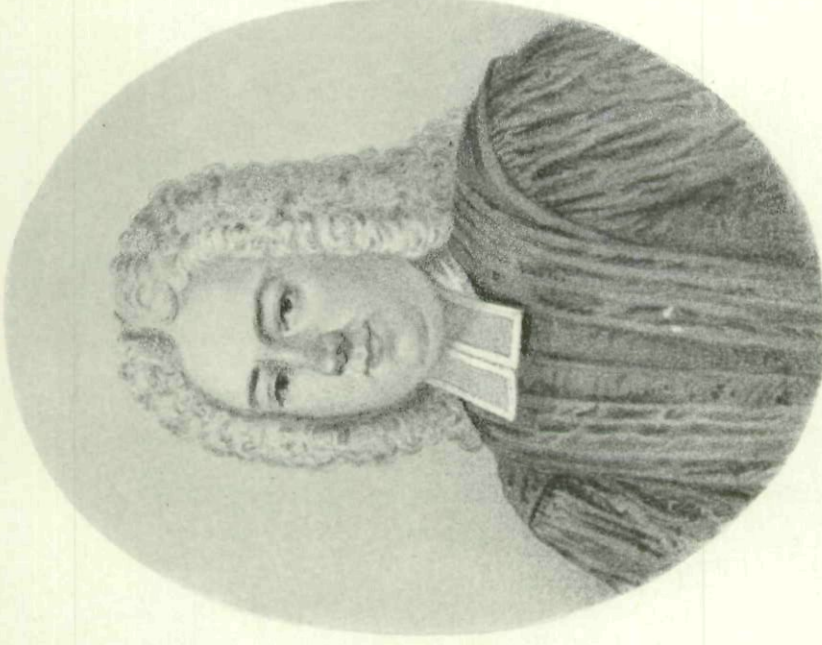


PLATE X. (a) REV. EDWARD VAUGHAN. (b) JOHN WATSON

Association—Anderson Galleries—"American Autographs, etc., Gertrude Emerson & others" Sale, October 30, 1929. Lot No. 164, purchased by Hall Park McCullough. With the drawing came a loose paper in the writing of W.A. Whitehead: "Original likeness of John Watson, artist—when 35, 1745, for Rev. Mr. Lossing from W. A. Whitehead, 1872."

Mr. Whitehead's arithmetic seems here to be somewhat at fault, as Watson was born in 1685 he would have been 35 in 1720 and not in 1745. Exhibited at the Metropolitan Museum in 1927.

REPRODUCED: Harry B. Wehle, *American Miniatures 1730-1850* (New York, 1927), Plate 1, p. 2.

No. 14 JOHN WATSON Plate X (b)

SUBJECT: John Watson.

MEDIUM: Same as No. 7.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 7.

REMARKS: We know this drawing only by its reproduction in W. A. Whitehead, *Contributions to the Early History of Perth Amboy*, p. 127. The legend reads: "From an Original Sketch by John Watson in the possession W. A. Whitehead." Plate reproduced in *The Arts of Design*, by William Dunlap (Bayley & Goodspeed edition, 1918), vol. 1, p. 6. This drawing is unlocated.

No. 14A JOHN WATSON (?)

SUBJECT: Probably Daniel Hendrickson.

SIZE: $5\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil on vellum (graphite); slight touches of wash (Plumbago).

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 3.

REMARKS: See discussion of the subject of this portrait under Daniel Hendrickson, No. 3, p. 301.

LIST OF IDEAL PERSONS AND SUBJECTS

No. 15 QUEEN ANN

SIZE: $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{8}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil on vellum (Plumbago); rectangle.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 1. Present owner Mrs. Lucien B. Horton.

REMARKS: On back inscribed "Q Ann" in Watson's handwriting.

No. 16 HERCULES Plate XI (a)

SIZE: $4\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil and wash on vellum.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 13. Present owner Hall Park McCullough.

REMARKS: On the loose paper which accompanied the small portrait of John Watson, No. 13, recording the gift Whitehead to Lossing, appears the following: "The figure was also drawn by Watson. He was the first known artist in America. Benson J. Lossing." Lossing, in a note to his article states "The writer has a small pencil sketch of a nude athlete, drawn by Watson, which shows remarkable skill in depicting anatomical developments." Inscribed on the back, "Watson" in Watson's handwriting.

No. 17 HOMER

SIZE: Oval $5\frac{7}{8} \times 4\frac{1}{8}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil on vellum.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 1. Present owner Mrs. Lucien B. Horton.

REMARKS: Inscribed on back "Homer" in extremely black ink.

No. 18 LOUIS XIII

SIZE: Oval $3\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{8}$.

MEDIUM: Wash on vellum.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 1. Present owner Mrs. Lucien B. Horton.

REMARKS: Inscribed on back "Louis XIII" old handwriting and "Louis XIII" in pencil, new. (An old ink inscription (illegible) might be "France.")



PLATE XI. (a) HERCULES. (b) ST. EVREMOND

No. 19 LOUIS XIV

SIZE: 4 x 3.

MEDIUM: Pencil on vellum; some wash—crown in wash.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 1. Present owner Mrs. Lucien B. Horton.

No. 20 PORTRAIT OF AN OLD MAN FACING $\frac{3}{4}$ RIGHT

SIZE: Oval $5\frac{5}{8}$ x $4\frac{7}{8}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil on vellum.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 1. Present owner Mrs. Lucien B. Horton.

No. 21 PORTRAIT OF A SCOTSMAN

SIZE: Oval $4\frac{9}{16}$ x $3\frac{5}{16}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil on vellum; slight indications of wash.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 1. Present owner Mrs. Lucien B. Horton.

No. 22 PORTRAIT OF A YOUNG MAN FACING $\frac{1}{4}$ RIGHT

SIZE: Oval $3\frac{3}{16}$ x $2\frac{1}{2}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil on vellum.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 1. Present owner Mrs. Lucien B. Horton.

No. 23 ST. EVREMONT, SEIGNEUR DE ST. DENIS
LE GRAND, NORMANDY Plate XI (b)

SIZE: Oval $4\frac{1}{2}$ x $3\frac{3}{8}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil and wash on vellum.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 1. Present owner Mrs. Lucien B. Horton.

REMARKS: Inscribed on back in pencil "Monsieur De St. Evremont."

Handwriting questionable.

No. 24 DUCHESS OF SOMERSET Plate XII (a)

SIZE: Oval $3\frac{1}{8}$ x $3\frac{1}{4}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil on vellum; some wash and stipple.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 1. Present owner Mrs. Lucien B. Horton.

REMARKS: Inscribed on back "Dutchess of Somerset" in Watson's handwriting.

No. 25 KING STEPHEN Plate XII (b)

SIZE: Rectangle $5\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{7}{8}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil on paper.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 1. Present owner Mrs. Lucien B. Horton.

REMARKS: On back appears in pencil "King
(in ink) STEPHEN
1035"

No. 26 KING WILLIAM III

SIZE: Oval $4\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$.

MEDIUM: Pencil on vellum; eyes, nostril, division of lips in wash.

ARTIST: John Watson.

OWNERSHIP: Same as No. 1. Present owner Mrs. Lucien B. Horton.

REMARKS: On back appears in contemporary writing: "King William"
(pencil).

SIGNATURES OF JOHN WATSON

It is a difficult problem to analyze the inscriptions on two oil portraits attributed to Watson. None of those herein given, without question, to his brush, are signed, although many of his small drawings bear his name on the back in a hand too minute to be of much value.

In the foregoing list of oil portraits two held open for further facts are No. 10, called Sir Peter Warren (p. 295) and No. 11, The Wilson Children (p. 297). Part of the inscription on the back of the latter reads:

". . . 1717
John Watson Pi. . . ."

in what might be called running block letters.

No. 10 is signed "John Watson

1731"—

in cursive writing.

Neither one resembles the other. No. 11 is so faint as to be almost undecipherable but from what can be read, the "a-t-s-o-n" in Nos. 10 and 11 and the numerals in the date year differ materially one from the other; nor do the signatures resemble other authentic signatures of his. True in the fourteen years passing between 1717 and 1731, Watson's writing



PLATE XII. (a) DUCHESS OF SOMERSET. (b) KING STEPHEN

and lettering might have changed in character, but we have proof to the contrary. His notebook contains nine signatures in writing, two of them youthful 1701 (Plate II), seven heading his merchandise accounts in New York of 1726. The written signature to his will is dated 1756 (Plate I). These so resemble one another that they set a standard which changed very little in the passing fifty-five years.

COPY OF JOHN WATSON'S WILL

New Jersey Archives, ser. 1, vol. 23, pp. 467-68

"In the Name of God, Amen, I, John Watson of the City of Perth Amboy in the County of Middlesex & province of New Jersey Merchant Do this Twentey Eighth Day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand Seven hundred & fifty six Make & Declare this my Last Will & Testament in Manner & Form following—that is to say First, I bequeath my Soul unto God & my body I Commit to the Earth to be Decently buried, and as to my worldly Estate I dispose thereof as followeth: I first order & Appoint—that all my Debts & funerall Charges be paid out of my Estate by my Executor hereinafter named. Item I give to my neice Sophia—Watson Daughter of my Brother Alexander Watson the Sum of five hundred pounds Current money of New Jersey at Eight shillings the ounce; Item I give to my neice Sophia Watson Daughter of my Brother, William Watson the Sum of One thousand pounds like Money as aforesaid. Item I give to . . . the . . . two Sons of my Sister—Elizabeth, the Sum of One hundred pounds Each like—Money as aforesaid. Item I give to Robert Wallace the Sum of Fifty pounds Like Money—Item I give my neices Elonaer and Christian—Daughters of My Sister, Christian the Sum of One hundred pounds Each; All which Legacys herein before Mentioned, I Do order, to be paid within Six Months after my Decease by my Executor herein after appointed, and on failure of payment of All or any of the before Mentioned Legacys, I do order & appoint & it is my Will, That the Legall Interest of Each & Every of the said—Legacys that shall be Unpaid, Six Months after my Decease shall be paid by My Executor hereinafter Appointed—Untill they shall be fully paid off & Discharged.

Item I give to My Brother William Watson the Sum of—twenty pounds a year, Like Money as aforesaid: to be paid by My Executor herein after Appointed, yearly & Every year During the Lifetime of :

William Watson. Item I give to my Sister Christian Watson—the Sum of —twenty pounds a year, Like Money as aforesaid: to be paid by My Executor hereinafter Appointed yearly & Every year During the Lifetime of the said Christian Item I give Devise & bequeath to my nephew Alexander Watson all other my Estate both real & Personall Whatsoever & Whensoever, To hold Unto him the said Alexander Watson his heirs & Assigns for Ever. Lastly I Nominate Constitute & Appoint my Nephew the said Alexander Watson Sole Executor of this my Last Will & Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand & Seal the Day & Year first above Written.

Signed Sealed & Published by the
 Testator as this his Last Will & Testament
 In presence of Us (the word (year) being
 first interlined) } John Watson

William Skinner
 Robert King
 Gertrude Skinner

Be it Remembered that on the thirty
 first Day of August, One thousand
 Seven Hundred and Sixty Eight
 Gertrude Parker

(late Gertrude Skinner) one of the Subscribing Witnesses to the foregoing written will appeared before me John Mackay, duly authorised &c and She being Sworn on the Holy Evangelist on her oath declares that She was present & did See John Watson the Testator therein named sign & Seal the same, & heard him publish pronounce & declare it to be his last Will & Testament; That at the doing thereof he was of sound Mind & Memory to the best of her Knowledge and as she verily believes; And that at the same time William Skinner and Robert King the other Subscribing Witnesses were also present and Signed as Evidences to said Will, as She also did in the presence of the said John Watson. She further Declares that to her Knowledge the said William Skinner has been dead upwards of Ten Years—and that the said Robert King has been absent from his family and beyond Sea for Several Years past.

John Mackay

Be it also Remembered that on the first Day of September in the year 1768 aforesaid Alexander Watson Sole Executor in the said Will named came before me & was duly Qualified by taking the Oath of an Executor as by Law appointed.

John Mackay

THE FERRY FROM PERTH AMBOY TO
STATEN ISLAND

There is no record in the account books of either John or Alexander Watson proving that Watson, the capitalist, was the proprietor of the Amboy Ferry and in the one or two records, which have been preserved regarding it, merely the name "John Watson" is used.

Stokes, in his *Iconography of Manhattan Island* refers to an advertisement in the *New York Post-Boy* of January 20, 1757, in which Joseph Richards stated that he had been instrumental in starting a stage between Philadelphia and New York (apparently in 1751) and difficulties have arisen in passing "by water from Amboy ferry to New York," he gave notice to the public that a "Stage Waggon is erected to proceed from Mr. Isaac Dote's opposite to Perth Amboy" and to "pass through Statten Is., Lload or no LLoads to Mr. John Watson's."

In the record of a lawsuit in New Jersey (Supreme Court, No. 46376), John Watson filed a declaration in debt against Andrew Smyth, Executor of James Wilson, for 1639*l* 11*s* 4*d*. This was at the May term for the year 1762 and, among other things, the declaration stated: "I have taken & seized a certain Plantation or tract of Land meadow & Premisses together with the ferry and appartainances thereunto appartaining situate lying and being on the South side of the Raritan River containing by estimation 120 acres whereof the within mentioned which said Plantation tract of Land, ferry & Premises," are as therein described.

In 1762 Watson would have been 77 years old and it is not clear whether, among other occupations, he had run the ferry in the past and then sold it to James Wilson or whether he had merely loaned money to Wilson, the owner of the ferry, and seized the same upon nonpayment of his debt.

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