



ST. LAWRENCE'S CHURCH, READING, BERKSHIRE, FIFTEENTH CENTURY  
Photograph by Peter Grugeon, Reading.

# OLD-TIME NEW ENGLAND

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Household Furnishings, Domestic Arts, Manners and Customs,  
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## A Study in Early Boston Portrait Attributions

Augustine Clement, Painter-Stainer of Reading,  
Berkshire, and Massachusetts Bay

By SIDNEY M. GOLD

### *Editorial Preface*

IN the September 8, 1955, issue of *English Country Life* there appeared a notice under the signature of Mr. Sidney M. Gold, an antiquarian of Reading, Berkshire, who has devoted many years of research to the lesser-known painters of Great Britain, asking if any American correspondents could furnish him with information concerning the Reading painter, Augustine Clement, who sailed for New England in 1635 as a part of the Great Migration. Nina Fletcher Little, Louisa Dresser and the Editor of OLD-TIME NEW ENGLAND, responded in turn, and this article is the ultimate outgrowth of the mutual cooperation among these scholars—and others. Mr. Gold is responsible for the large corpus of information relating to Clement's life and work in England and to the portraiture of his period surviving in Reading. The Editor, Mr. Cum-

ings, has contributed biographical and professional data gathered from local documents concerning Clement's nearly forty years of residence in Dorchester and Boston, together with biographical material concerning the painter's son and their relationship to the sitters in several unattributed seventeenth-century Boston portraits. Mr. Gold has subsequently visited New England and Mr. Cummings and Miss Dresser have been entertained by him in Reading and have had an opportunity to see Clement's English haunts and to inspect other pertinent material under discussion here. Dr. Jerome Webster of the College of Physicians and Surgeons at Columbia University has been of chief assistance in laying to rest certain misconceptions concerning the surgical instruments in the Dr. John Clark portrait from which the late Oliver Wendell Holmes drew incorrect con-

clusions concerning its date. In further recognition we are indebted to Miss Louisa Dresser of the Worcester Art Museum and to Mr. Peter Moos of the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum for critical evaluation of the portraits under study. The evaluations have been made, however, without the recent advantage of seeing all of the pictures in question together as a group. This final important task remains. In light of Mr. Gold's discovery it is essential that the paintings which may conceivably be connected with Augustine Clement (and perhaps his son) now be reassembled as a group for comparative analysis.

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The honor of being the Father of American Painting has long been held open, but in recent years after patient research this title must easily go to Augustine Clement, for it was he who as early as 1635 emigrated to New England and thus apparently became the first "painter" to settle here. Whatever honors one would wish to bestow on this craftsman the facts concerning his life are very few and scanty.

The name Clement was known in Reading, Berkshire, England, for several generations before the turn of the seventeenth century, and one of that name is buried within the grounds of the parish church of St. Lawrence in 1565, in which bounds Augustine Clement was living as early as 1629. His birth must have occurred about 1600. Unfortunately, however, the baptismal registers of St. Lawrence do not start until 1605, and we have no way of knowing whether Clement was born here or perhaps in the nearby parish of All Saints, Wokingham, where he was married and later owned

property. He was bound first to Jonathan Miller, a well-known local painter with whom he stayed seven or eight years, and then completed the last four years of his apprenticeship with the Eton painter, Edward Newman.<sup>1</sup>

What do we know of his masters today? Jonathan Miller was well employed by the local parishes of St. Lawrence and St. Mary at Reading upon various items of decorative painting including £15-9-7 for painting the church seats, painting the sprigs of the hour glass and flourishing the monument of Mr. Blagrave for St. Lawrence in 1627; £1 by St. Mary in 1620 for "painting the ministers pue and font," and eight years later "for whitening the church and painting the Kinges Armes," £9-16-6. Of Edward Newman similar facts are known, he being engaged by the church and the town council to do various pieces of decorative painting. The church of St. John the Baptist, Windsor, credited him in 1627 with "paynting the Diall," ten shillings, and in 1634 it is recorded:

Pd to Edward Newman for setting up the sentences and paynting the church .... £6-7s-0d.

In 1636 he was paid £1 for painting the church and windows.

Close relations of Edward Newman were also professional painters. John Newman, son of John Newman of Windsor, was originally apprenticed to his kinsman, James Newman, in 1667 for seven years through the London Painter-Stainers Co. but was later turned over to Thomas Danzey and finally in 1669 turned over to Thomas Stephenson, a well-known landscapist and portrait painter who was himself a pupil of Robert Aggas. This is somewhat irrelevant to Clement, but it does prove that descendants of the founder of this artistic



FIG. 1. PORTRAIT OF DR. JOHN CLARK (1598-1664), TRADITIONALLY  
PAINTED IN BOSTON, CIRCA 1664

Courtesy of the Boston Medical Library in the Francis A. Countway  
Library of Medicine.

Windsor family succeeded in later generations.

Eton and Windsor at this time were a local center for painting outside London and Oxford, with many distinguished artists visiting the castle and school, leaving behind a trail of well-known paintings. Thus Clement's training was well set.

Having been made free of his indentures in 1625 Clement returned to Reading to work as a painter, but references to his activity are very few. In fact, the only notice comes in the churchwardens' accounts of St. Lawrence in 1629 with this item:

payed Astinge Clement for paynting the window . . . iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

In January, 1631, Clement with Jonathan Miller and Robert Greene, another craftsman who between 1599-1631 is found as a decorative glass and heraldry painter, complained to the town council that Henry Payne, glazier, was injuring their trade by inviting one Samuel Skales, a painter of Godalming, to work in Reading; he was warned to leave. Three years later Clement once again complained, with Miller,

that one m<sup>r</sup> James Senyor a strainger to this Corporacón useth & practiseth the trade or quallitye of Draweing drawne workes w<sup>th</sup>in this Corporacón to the hurt & hindaunce of the . . . compts their wives & children The defendent promised to be gone w<sup>th</sup>in a weeke

This last notice is far more interesting than the first complaint for it directly states that Clement and Miller were effected by the existence in the town of a competitor who had the knowledge of "Draweing drawne workes." This can only mean a painter of artistic qualities, probably heraldry and perhaps portraiture. How else would Clement or Miller

have been effected if they were only simple painters?

The next year, in March, 1635, Clement with his servant, Thomas Wheeler, according to the Corporation Records of Reading, "did take the oath of Supremacie and allegiance intending to goe into new England.

Augustine Clement had been married in July, 1628, in the parish of All Saints, Wokingham, to Elizabeth (surname unknown),<sup>2</sup> and a daughter Elizabeth was baptized at St. Lawrence, Reading, on March 2, 1633/34. The records of St. Lawrence are a little patchy and it seems that various items are missing. Nevertheless Clement had lived within its bounds, as is noticed in the parish rate book of 1632.

According to the boat lists Clement with his wife Elizabeth, his daughter Elizabeth, his son Samuel and servant Thomas Wheeler, sailed in the *James* from Southampton on April 5, 1635, and arrived at Boston June 3 of the same year.<sup>3</sup> Shortly after he settled at Dorchester where they signed the church covenant. It is here, too, that his children are recorded as being born. The son Samuel who came with them from England must have died almost at once for the birth of a second Samuel is recorded on 29:7 mo: 1635. A daughter, Joanna, presumably born here, died 19:9 mo: 1638, and another son, John, born October 21, 1639, also apparently died young.<sup>4</sup>

Clement had left behind in England a brother John, a bricklayer, who lived at Shinfield near Reading, a sister, Mrs. Margaret Mathews, who lived at Wokingham, Berkshire, and various pieces of property in the district. It is to his sister that he writes from Boston on October 18, 1638:

Good Sister, I and my wife both remember our loves to you, hoping that you are well & in good health, as praised be our good God, we are. Since we understood of yo<sup>r</sup> willingness to come over to us, whereof we are glad and shall, God willing, give you the best entertainment we can, we have entrusted this bearer, our friend John Tinker, to joyne w<sup>th</sup> you in sale of the house and that belongs to it, for w<sup>ch</sup>

may. Soe the Lord God guide you & keep you & us.

Yo<sup>r</sup> very loving brother & sister  
A.C. E.C.<sup>5</sup>

This clearly expresses Clement's pleasure that his sister will come to stay in New England and is sending his friend



FIG. 2. DETAIL OF SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS, PORTRAIT OF DR. JOHN CLARK  
Courtesy of the Boston Medical Library in the Francis A. Countway  
Library of Medicine.

purpose wee have made him a good conveyance of our right therein; wherefore if you are willing, set forward the sale of the land & house, that it be effected w<sup>th</sup> convenient speed and then we have taken order w<sup>th</sup> him to help you & advise for yo<sup>r</sup> passage & the bringing over of yo<sup>r</sup> goods and what you have, if you are willing to come to us. I pray give & provide for our ffriend the best entertainment you

John Tinker to help in the sale of property. Margaret's husband, Thomas Mathew, arrived ahead of her and settled at Boston. He died about 1641 and she on November 23, 1655.<sup>6</sup>

Clement writes also on October 18 to his sister-in-law, Anne Clement, widow

of his brother John who was by this time no longer living:

Loving Sister, I and my wife doe both remember our loves unto you, hoping that you are well, as praised be God we are. These are to entreat you to deliver my deeds and writings concerning my Tenement in Wock unto this bearer John Tinker my ffriend, unto whome I have conveyed same, and the deeds & writings thereto belonging I have granted unto him, in trust to make sale thereof for me with my Sister Margaret: my wife hath also joynd in the conveyance w<sup>th</sup> me to him to that purpose, as by the conveyance may appear w<sup>ch</sup> hee will shew you if you please or reade the same unto you. Wherefore I earnestly pray and require you not to delay or fayle to deliver them unto him accordingly. Soe I commend you to God's tuition and rest.

Yo<sup>r</sup> loving Brother

A.C.

John Clement, the artist's brother, left a property with land at Shinfield. His will was nuncupative and probably written down by his friend, Edward Baker, a tanner of Reading who was overseer. He makes no mention of Augustine. It would seem that Anne Clement held the deeds of the Wokingham property. Clement wrote a third letter addressed to "*my loving friends, Mr. John Bateman [Puritan] minister at Wock, and Wm Rutkin there dwelling, or either of them. . .*"

Worthy Mr. Bateman & my good freind Will<sup>m</sup> Rutkin, my loving salutations to you & yo<sup>rs</sup> remembered in the Lord. These are to let you understand that I have conveyed my Tenement in Wock wherein my sister Margaret Mathew dwelleth unto this bearer my freind John Tinker, in trust to sell the same for me & her as you may perceive by the conveyance and agreements between us, if you please to reade the same. Now whereas I left my writings concerning this land w<sup>th</sup> my brother John Clement, who is dead, & they are now in the hands of my sister-in-law, his wife and executrix, and as I heare Edward Baker of Reading is overseer of my brother's will, I shall intreat you two to use yo<sup>r</sup> best endeavours w<sup>th</sup> my sister

Clement & Mr. Baker to deliver those deeds and writings to this my ffriend, that hee and my sister Margaret may goe on to finish the sale thereof according to trust I have put in him, and wherin I pray you to assist and further him what you can. My wife hath also joynd w<sup>th</sup> me in the sale, as you may perceive by it, and I hope the conveyance is good; if it be not I will perfit it as the buyer shall be advised. Herein I doubt not but you will befreind me. Soe w<sup>th</sup> my owne & my wife's due respects remembered unto you both, I recommend you & yours and all the faithfull w<sup>th</sup> you to God's tuition and rest.

Yo<sup>r</sup> loving freind

A. C.

FROM BOSTON IN N. E. 18.8[1638].

One assumes the outcome of this correspondence was duly acknowledged as Margaret Mathew did eventually go to New England.

Shortly after his arrival in New England Clement was granted land in Dorchester and having lived there for several years removed about the middle of the century to Boston's North End. On March 20, 1652, by a deed in which he is described as "Painter" of Dorchester, he purchased from John Capen, "shoemaker," also of Dorchester, "one peece: of ground . . . in Boston. Contajning in breadth twenty foote," bounded easterly "by the sea down toward Low water marke. . . ." This land, located on what is now North Street, in the vicinity of the more modern Ferry Street, and left high and dry by Boston's gradual encroachment upon the harbor, was unimproved at the time of its purchase. By February 22, 1653, Augustine Clement was a resident of Boston, and presumably had built soon upon his "peece: of ground." He was chosen constable in Boston on March 13, 1665, but by the seventh of the tenth month, 1668, had returned to Dorchester where he was elected to town office on that day. A year

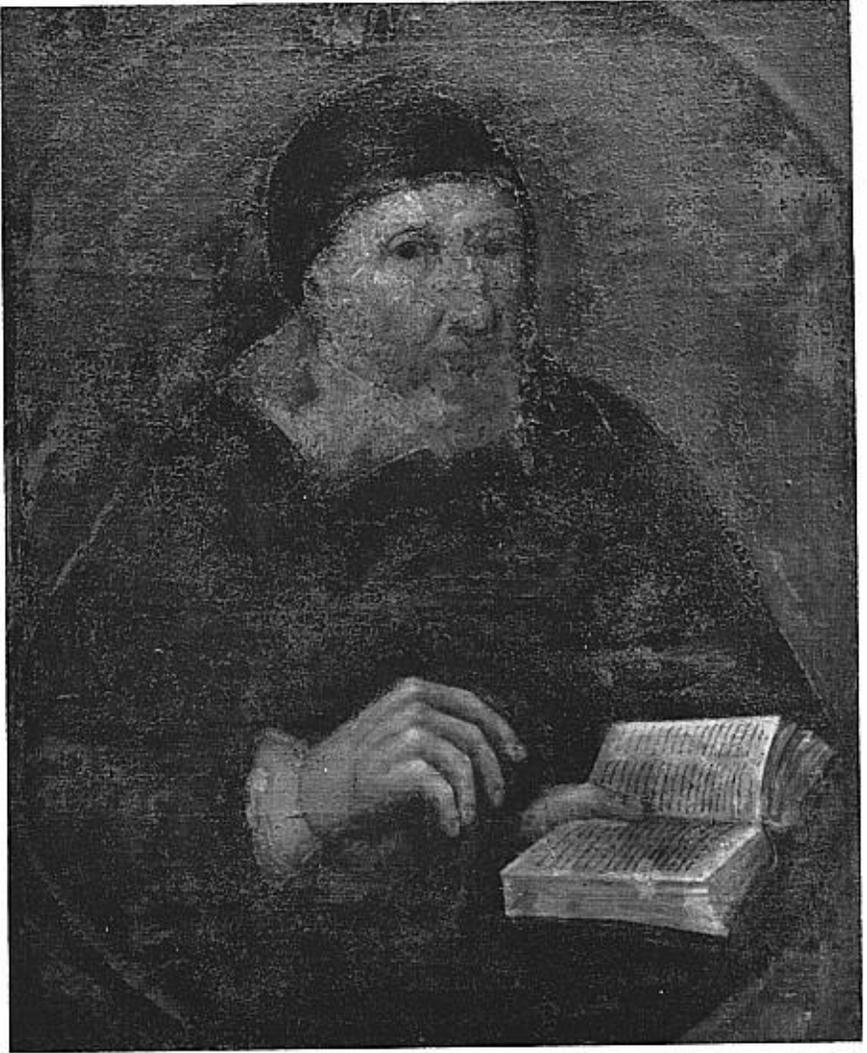


FIG. 3. PORTRAIT OF THE REVEREND RICHARD MATHER (1596-1669),  
TRADITIONALLY PAINTED IN NEW ENGLAND (PRESUMABLY BOSTON  
OR DORCHESTER), 1660-1669

Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

later on 3: 11 mo: 1669, when the Dorchester Church voted a sum towards the expenses of the Reverend Richard Mather's funeral "& the erecting of a pillar on his grave" they turned to "bro<sup>r</sup> Clement & bro<sup>r</sup> Jn<sup>o</sup> Smith to git y<sup>e</sup> worke done about y<sup>e</sup> grave. . . ." <sup>8</sup> He remained in Dorchester, apparently, until his death there on October 1, 1674.

In spite of the periodic references to Augustine Clement as a painter, we have no clue whatsoever throughout the course of a long life in New England as to how he may have exercised his calling. Not until shortly before he died, in fact, do there occur two unenlightening though provocative references which may suggest some connection with his profession. The first of these can be found under date of 16: 5 mo: 1671 when the Dorchester Church was concerned with provisions for a new minister and once again appointed Augustine Clement and John Smith "to consider about finishing his hous."<sup>9</sup> The second reference is an item in Dorchester Town Records on 17: 9 mo: 1673 of payment to "Augustin Clement for worke at the meeting house," £0-11-6.<sup>10</sup>

Two other brief items are noted concerning Clement but again, nothing about his trade is recalled. In the inventory of

the estate of David Sellicke, a soapboiler, dated 18: 12 mo: 1655, amongst a list of debts owed by the deceased, was one to Augustine Clement. Appended to the will of Edward Bullocke of Dorchester, dated 1649, of which Clement was one of the overseers, is a debt of £6 to him, but this seems to have been more a bargain concerning cattle and corn; the item reads:

To Augustine Clement 6<sup>lb</sup> w<sup>ch</sup> he is to be answered in a steere w<sup>ch</sup> if he comes not so much to, he is to be satisfyed out of the corne and if he yeeld more it is to be good to Edw<sup>d</sup> Bullocke use or his more for two qrts of sacke for his use in y<sup>e</sup> shipp to bro:Clemons<sup>11</sup>

The will of Augustine Clement, dated January 30, 1671, is again silent as to his craft, but he does provide that his son Samuel, who is called a painter in a later document, shall inherit the Boston property (a portion of which was set aside for the widow during her life):

Item I give unto my sonne Samuell my Inner roome or back part of my now Dwelling house in Boston namly of ye old building Containing a Cellar & three roomes over ye sd. Cellar & a Conveniente place to lay his wood of ten foote long or square behind y<sup>e</sup> well with free egress & regress unto y<sup>e</sup> sd. plott of land & unto ye well. . . .<sup>12</sup>

Then follows the inventory of the estate.

An Inventory of p<sup>t</sup> of the Estate of Augustin Clement who Dyed the first of October 1674 viz: that p<sup>t</sup> which lyeth at Boston: taken & aprized by us whose names are underwritten. the 11 of October

Imp <sup>s</sup> p <sup>t</sup> of his wearing aparrill both lining & wolling	003 : 06 : 00
It: to saeuerrall remnants of holland & buckeram stuff & other lining	003 : 12 : 00
It: 3 pair of sheets, one Rugg a pare of Curtains 1 pillow a pa: of pillonby. & two napkins	003 : 13 : 06
It: One Iron Croo one ax. one saw hathet	000 : 10 : 00
It: one table three Joye stooles	000 : 08 : 00
It: one bible & another booke at	000 : 14 : 00
It: one Chest & two siluer spoons	001 : 01 : 00
It: houses & land	160 : 00 : 00
	<hr/>
	173 : 04 : 06

the marke X of Nathaniel Adams  
Daniel Turell

An Inventory of that p<sup>t</sup> of the Estate of Augustin Clement which lyeth at Dorchester taken & aprized by us whose names are underwritten this 9<sup>th</sup> of October 1674

in y<sup>e</sup> chamber

It p <sup>t</sup> of his apparell both linen & woolen boots & shows	008 : 10 : 06
It: two yards of Cotton thre y <sup>rds</sup> of blew linen & seauen y <sup>ds</sup> of Sarge	001 : 14 : 03
It: a bed bolster sheets blankets pillowbeys & napkins	005 : 14 : 08
It: another blanket & couerled	001 : 02 : 00
It: three remnants of linen cloth	001 : 18 : 00
It: six siluer spoons & Drinking Cup	004 : 10 : 00
It: a Carpit & Cushons	000 : 17 : 00
It: three Chests a box & other utinsils	002 : 04 : 00
It: muskit sword & other amonishion	001 : 06 : 00

In the kitchen

It: a table & forme & fower Chaires & other utinsels	001 : 11 : 06
It: fower brass kittles	001 : 18 : 00
It: fiue brass pans 1 <sup>s</sup> 10 <sup>s</sup> o. two skilets: 5 <sup>s</sup> a warming pan 8 <sup>s</sup>	002 : 03 : 00
	<hr/>
	033 : 08 : 11

It: fiue pewter platers fower basons & other peices of pewter	002 : 19 : 02
It: One Iron pot andirons fierpan & tongs & tramels	001 : 00 : 06
It: earthern ware glasses & other small things	000 : 17 : 00
It: books	001 : 00 : 00

In the yard

It: his p <sup>t</sup> of a cart & wheels	003 : 00 : 00
It: three Cows at: 2 <sup>s</sup> 15 <sup>s</sup> each	008 : 05 : 00
It: one cow at 3 <sup>s</sup>	003 : 00 : 00
It: the Dwelling hous barne & other housing orchyard & homelott	100 : 00 : 00
It: that lott wheer the old hous stood with the orchyard & trees in the feild with y <sup>e</sup> meadow plott & pastuer land & the land w <sup>ch</sup> was Toplifs	100 : 00 : 00
It: twenty acrs of pastuerland with some meaddow in it	120 : 00 : 00
It: nine acrs in the woodlott	054 : 00 : 00
It: six acrs of land at neck	024 : 00 : 00
It: six acrs of meaddow at Calues-pasturs	060 : 00 : 00
It: six acrs of meaddow on the other side Naponsett	060 : 00 : 00
It: 17 acrs of land in the third deuission	017 : 00 : 00
It: 7 acrs in y <sup>e</sup> first deuission	021 : 00 : 00
It: 3 acrs in the 2 deuission	006 : 00 : 00
It: 19 acrs & 1/2 at brusihill	047 : 00 : 00
It: 9 acrs & 3/4 at Melton	018 : 00 : 00
It: about 8 acrs without fence at great lots	024 : 00 : 00
It: one acre of fresh marsh	002 : 00 : 00
It: some tools as axes saw hors & other implements	001 : 08 : 00
It: Debts Dew to the Estate	067 : 00 : 00

William Sumner 743 : 10 : 4

Richard Backer 033 : 08 : 11

The total sume of 766 : 19 : 3

both Inventories 173 : 04 : 6

expreptedis 950 : 03 : 9<sup>13</sup>

These documents as we have noted reveal nothing about Clement's painting activities. His wife Elizabeth in 1678 presented to the First Church at Dorchester a silver cup by Hull and Sanderson of Boston with a primitive chased design. It is interlaced with the monogram C above A and E. It has since been inscribed "Presented by the First Church Dorchester to the Second Church [Boston] Jan 1st 1878." Elizabeth Clement, the artist's daughter, married William Sumner (1627-1675) at the age of seventeen, by whom she had ten children, and became, incidentally, an ancestress of William Sumner Appleton, founder of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

Samuel Clement, Augustine's son, married Hannah, daughter of Maudit Ings of Boston on 2: 5 mo: 1657. (Ings, like Augustine Clement, had been a passenger on the *James* in 1635.) She died less than a year later, and he married secondly Deborah, surname unknown, by whom he had Augustine (b. 1669), Samuel (b. 1670), Hannah (b. 1673) and Rebecca (b. 1678). It was to Mrs. Deborah Clement on the death of Samuel, "late of Boston," that administration of his estate was granted, January 14, 1678.<sup>14</sup> The records are entirely silent concerning Samuel Clement's life and work in Boston, except for one important revelation made when his heirs, several years later, sold a portion of the Boston estate which he had inherited from his father. The indenture of sale was drawn on June 21, 1695, and in the preamble the deceased Samuel Clement, like his father before him, was described as a "Painter Stainer."<sup>15</sup> Thus, while he outlived Augustine Clement by only four years, here is record of continuity within a single New England family of a craft

for which the father had trained in England early in the seventeenth century. An inventory of the son Samuel's estate, taken on December 25, 1678, mentions the "dwelling House in Boston. with Wharfe and Warehouse joining to L<sup>t</sup> Turills," and more important still, an item of "colouring Stuffe for. painting" valued at £5.<sup>16</sup>

So far we have the name of a painter trained for many years in England in an artistic environment, one who is described before 1635 as a painter in the Reading Archives, again, a year or two later, amongst passenger lists, and once more in 1652 in a document dealing with purchase of property in the New World. After this date no mention is made of his profession, though certain additional records would lead us to suspect that he continued in his craft. Surely his son, whom he must have trained, was at work in this field. Did either or both of these men practice as limners? And if so can we point to any seventeenth-century New England portraits which might have been their work? On the basis of circumstantial (coupled with stylistic) evidence alone we can attribute one possible group to Augustine Clement, and suggest tentatively a further group which could, conceivably, have been executed by the son, Samuel.

The first of these includes three well-known portraits with certain stylistic similarities. They are the likenesses of Dr. John Clark of Boston (before 1664), the Reverend Richard Mather of Dorchester (before 1669), and Governor John Endecott of Salem (before 1665). These well-documented pictures share in common the fact that their subjects are unequivocally identified, that they were apparently painted during the same decade, and that no record survives



FIG. 4. PORTRAIT OF GOVERNOR JOHN ENDECOTT (1588-1665),  
TRADITIONALLY PAINTED IN BOSTON, CIRCA 1665  
Courtesy of The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Art Commission.

of the artist who performed the work. While Alan Burroughs, as we shall see, considered the Clark portrait unique there are, nevertheless, a number of stylistic affinities among them: the sitters in each reveal a similar realization on the artist's part of form in space. While in some respects they are related to a strong linear tradition, as one notes particularly in the artist's preoccupation with the geometric form of the collars worn by these men, the painting itself moves away from pure line towards plasticity. Nor does the artist treat the iconographical elements, the gloves, the open book, or skull with surgical instruments as separate decorative vignettes, which is the case, for example, with the much more linear and two-dimensional work of the Freake limner (of which more later). Rather, these portraits are unified in conception, and despite the very poor surface condition of the Mather portrait, and later repairs and restoration of the Endecott likeness, a case can be made for a common hand.

What artist was there in Boston in the 1660's capable of executing these portraits? Cotton Mather refers to one such, but not by name. In his *Johannes in Eremo*, published in 1695, mention is made of the fact that the Reverend John Wilson, who died in 1667, could not be persuaded (by his nephew Edward Rawson) "to let his *Picture* be drawn; . . . And when that Gentleman introduced the Limner, with all things ready, Vehemently importuning him to gratify so far the Desires of his Friends, as to sit a while for the taking of his *Effigies*, no Importunity could ever obtain it from him." Clement is the only documented painter living in New England at the time, and we must therefore ask what connection he had with any of these

noted figures which might lend some circumstantial color at least, to the hypothesis that he was their limner and in equal likelihood the man of whom Mather speaks.

Augustine Clement arrived from England in the *James* in 1635 and settled at Dorchester. The Reverend Richard Mather likewise arrived, curiously, in a boat named the *James* from Bristol in the same year and settled at Dorchester where he remained all his life. The two men must surely have been well acquainted. Mather died in 1669, at which point Clement was approaching seventy, yet it was he who with Smith was asked by the church to erect some memorial to their revered leader. Mather's portrait would have been painted presumably in the 1660's as it shows the sitter as an aging man. Mrs. Hannah Crocker, great-great-granddaughter of Mather, writing in 1815 on presentation of the portrait with others to the American Antiquarian Society, suggests that the painting was made during his lifetime.<sup>17</sup> As Mather is not known to have returned to England during the last years of his life it was presumably painted locally. Who other than Clement was able to perform this task? John Foster, born in 1648 at Dorchester, is known to have been the engraver of a woodcut of Mather after this picture which occurs as the tipped-in frontispiece of a tract published in 1670. It has been suggested that Foster, a capable engraver, may have painted the original portrait. If this were true, and the portrait was indeed taken from life, then Foster would not yet have been out of his apprenticeship. Clement an artist of far riper experience and known to Mather for more than thirty years appears the more likely candidate, having returned



FIG. 5. PORTRAIT OF JOHN KENDRICK OF LONDON, BENEFACTOR OF READING, BERKSHIRE, PAINTED BY AN UNKNOWN ARTIST IN 1632

Reproduced by kind permission of the Headmistress and Governors of Kendrick School, Reading.

to Dorchester in 1668 after a residential break in nearby Boston of some sixteen years.

Boston in the 1660's was beginning to grow in population but as yet no known painter other than Clement had emerged there. Living at Boston from about 1650 till his death in November, 1664, was Dr. John Clark, the eminent surgeon whose portrait has been the subject of much discussion for many years (of which more shortly). Clement moved to Boston in March, 1652, and is described as a painter when he purchased land there in the North End. Interestingly enough, the deed tells us that his land was bounded north by the house and land of John Clark. Clement and Clark therefore were next-door neighbors, a fact which prompts immediate speculation.

The instruments shown in the Clark portrait have been under scrutiny for nearly one hundred years, beginning with the writings of Oliver Wendell Holmes who, in one of his medical essays (1869), makes special mention of these items. That in the sitter's right hand he writes,

is a *trephine*, a surgical implement for cutting round pieces out of broken skulls, so as to get at the fragments which have been driven in, and lift them up. It has a handle like that of a gimlet, with a claw like hammer, to lift with, I suppose, which last contrivance I do not see figured in my books. But the point I refer to is this: the old instrument, the *trepan*, had a handle like a wimple,—what we call a brace or bitstock. The *trephine* is not mentioned at all in Peter Lowe's book, London, 1634; nor in Wiseman's great work on Surgery, London, 1676; nor in the translation of Dionis, published by Jacob Tonson, in 1710. In fact it was only brought into more general use by Cheselden and Sharpe so late as the beginning of the last century. As John Clark died in 1661 [*sic*], it is remarkable to see the last fashion in the way of skull-sawing contrivances

in his hands,—to say nothing of the claw on the handle, and a Hey's saw, so called in England, lying on the table by him, and painted there more than a hundred years before Hey was born. This saw is an old invention, perhaps as old as Hippocrates, and may be seen figured in the "Armamentarium Chirurgicum" of Scultetus, or in the works of Ambroise Paré.<sup>18</sup>

If Holmes sought to discredit an early date for the instruments shown, he overlooked the *Surgeon's Mate* by the scholarly Dr. John Woodall published in London in 1639. Here Woodall describes at great length the use of the trephine and calls it "an Instrument of my own composing. . ."<sup>19</sup> Much more important, however, is the plate of illustrations opposite page 312 of this early seventeenth-century work which shows (no. 313) a trephine exactly like that which Dr. Clark holds in his hand.<sup>20</sup> Surely such an instrument could easily have found its way into America for we learn from the Dictionary of National Biography that Dr. Woodall was appointed the first surgeon general of the East India Company in 1612, holding this office for nearly thirty years. He was also interested in the Virginia Company and in his capacity as surgeon general supplied all ships' surgeons with their tool chests.

The second instrument, the so-called Hey's saw, is named after the surgeon William Hey, who states in his book *Practical Observations in Surgery* . . . (London, 1803) that this tool was "first shewn to me by Mr. (now Dr.) Cockell, to whom the public is indebted for the discovery, or revival, of this excellent instrument. A saw, formed on the same principle, is represented in Scultetus' *Armamentarium chirurgicum*; but I understood Dr. Cockell to say, that the instrument which he shewed me was of his own invention. . . ." (p. 9.)



FIG. 6. PORTRAIT OF MR. JOHN FREAKE, MERCHANT, TRADITIONALLY  
PAINTED IN BOSTON, CIRCA 1674  
Courtesy of the Worcester Art Museum.

It was indeed much earlier, and we find this specific model with the convex head on one side and the straight blade on the other duplicated in every respect by an actual example illustrated in Dr. C. J. S. Thompson, *The History and Evolution of Surgical Instruments* (New York, 1942), where it is associated (incorrectly, however), with the name of the sixteenth-century Andreas della Croce.<sup>21</sup>

The later history of the Clark portrait, while of coincidental interest only, is nevertheless worthy of note. The picture remained, apparently, in the same house in Boston's North End for at least a century. The fourth Dr. John Clark, through whom the portrait descended, mentions in his will of April 9, 1765 (proved April 26, 1768), "that ancient Wooden Dwelling House that for a long Course of Years has belonged to me and my Predecessors," this being the home of the first Dr. Clark.<sup>22</sup> The inventory of his father, the third Dr. John Clark, taken January 16, 1730, includes among the furnishings of the "Hall" the "Picture of Old Dr Clark," probably the earliest specific inventory reference we have to a seventeenth-century New England painted portrait.<sup>23</sup>

Turning to the third portrait in our group, it is perhaps sufficient to note that John Endecott of Salem was governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay for the last time from 1655 to 1664, and died in Boston March 15, 1665. He must, therefore, have been a common figure in Boston throughout the same period that Augustine Clement maintained his shop in the North End.

As for the source or derivation of Clement's style, if indeed he was the author of these portraits, it is of interest to turn back to Reading, Berkshire, and

that period during which the youthful painter was still active at his craft. Working in the Reading district in 1632 was a limner from the Low Countries, John Ricaelt, who might have been responsible for a portrait preserved locally of John Kendrick, one of Reading's most liberal early benefactors, who left some £7,500 in 1624 for the benefit of the wool trade and for other charitable purposes. Though John Kendrick died a bachelor in 1624 it was not until 1632 that a likeness of the deceased was ordered. In the Workhouse accounts of the Kendrick Charity can be found the following item on March 14, 1631/32: "agreed that the pictor maker for making of mr John Kendricks picture shalbe paid for gild and pictor makinge £5."<sup>24</sup> This picture, clearly of the Anglo-Dutch tradition from which the Clark portrait springs, could conceivably have been accessible to the young Augustine Clement, working in the same area at this time.

When a group of significant seventeenth-century American portraits were assembled for the first time in 1934 for a special exhibition at the Worcester Art Museum, Alan Burroughs made a series of technical examinations, on the basis of which he noted in connection with the portrait of Dr. John Clark that "It has so far not been possible to find any picture comparable to this in technique," which only reiterates the need, expressed in the Editorial Preface, to have these relevant pictures reassembled for further study. Quite significantly, however, Burroughs goes on to suggest that "At least one should look abroad for his [the painter of the Clark portrait's] training. . . . He seems to have been more expert than any of the New England painters represented in the Worcester exhibition. . . ."

Though no definite conclusion can be reached at present, it is not impossible that the painter of the portrait of Clark may have been the man who first brought to New England the smattering of Anglo-Dutch realism and style which branched out into the activity represented by the Worcester exhibition."<sup>25</sup>

And this leads directly to the final consideration of this study. One could scarcely hope to go any further and suggest a relationship between Augustine Clement's son, Samuel Clement, also a painter-stainer, unquestionably trained by his father, and any of the other groups of unattributed seventeenth-century Boston paintings. Yet one possibility at least springs to mind. In that those paintings which have been credited to the Freake limner, so-called, fall conveniently into a range of time which is confined to the early 1670's, is it rash to suggest Samuel Clement as the artist, before his premature death in 1678 at the age of forty-three? Miss Dresser feels "that the Freake limner might well have been a Boston native who had trained with a person of foreign training or exposure. This seems more likely to me," she adds, "than that he came briefly from Europe, painted the pictures, and departed."<sup>26</sup> Mr. Burroughs, in his technical remarks to which we have referred, calls attention to at least one link between the Clark portrait and later Freake group. If the painter trained abroad, whom he hypothesizes as the artist of the Clark portrait, did indeed precede the

Freake group, he writes, then "he may have influenced them as is suggested by the fact that his rounded, out-lined method of drawing a hand is found in the portraits of the Gibbs children."<sup>27</sup> We must note that Samuel Clement was among the few, if any, individuals in Boston who called themselves "Painters" at this period during which the Freake and Gibbs children's portraits were painted.<sup>28</sup> And it is of perhaps equal interest that both he, the painter, and they were inhabitants of Boston's closely packed North End, living within just a few streets of each other.

These facts and conjectures raise far more questions than they answer. If indeed there is a relationship between the two groups of paintings discussed and the Clements, father and son, then we are presented at once with that interesting phenomenon which an earlier generation of art historians would have described as "retrogression" from the plasticity and attempted realism of the earlier Clark portrait to the two-dimensional and patternistic approach to the subjects found in the work of the Freake limner. The real answers may never be forthcoming, but we must at the very least, as suggested earlier, have a new and fresh appraisal of the paintings themselves in which careful comparative scrutiny at every level by competent authorities shall be coupled with all of the most recent scientific aids in analysis available to the student of early American decorative arts.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> These and the facts which follow concerning Augustine Clement and his masters in Reading are taken from the original manuscripts in the Archives of the Central Reference Library, Reading, Berkshire, and from the original records of the churches in question.

<sup>2</sup> The parish registers of Wokingham do not begin until 1674. This record, from a contemporary Bishop's transcript, is kept at the Salisbury Diocesan Record Office, Salisbury, Wilts.

<sup>3</sup> Charles E. Banks, *The Planters of the Commonwealth* . . . (Baltimore, 1961), p. 316.

<sup>4</sup> *Dorchester Births, Marriages, and Deaths* . . . (A Report of the Record Commissioners . . . , Boston, 1890), p. 2.

<sup>5</sup> This and the letters from Augustine Clem-ent which follow are preserved in the *Note-Book Kept by Thomas Lechford, Esq.* . . . (Cambridge, 1885), pp. 8-10.

<sup>6</sup> *Records of the Court of Assistants of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay 1630-1692*, II (Boston, 1904), 109; *Boston Births, Baptisms, Marriages, and Deaths, 1630-1699* (A Report of the Record Commissioners . . . , Boston, 1908), p. 52.

<sup>7</sup> Suffolk County Deeds, I, 194.

<sup>8</sup> *Records of the First Church at Dorchester* . . . (Boston, 1891), p. 61.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 64.

<sup>10</sup> *Dorchester Town Records* (Fourth Re-  
port of the Record Commissioners . . . , Bos-  
ton, 1883), p. 195.

<sup>11</sup> Suffolk County Probate Records, I, 290.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 63.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, V, 217, 218.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, XII, 255.

<sup>15</sup> Suffolk County Deeds, 17:105.

<sup>16</sup> Suffolk County Probate Records, XII,  
256.

<sup>17</sup> Louisa Dresser (Ed.), *XVII<sup>th</sup> Century  
Painting in New England* . . . (Worcester,  
Mass., 1935), p. 106.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52.

<sup>19</sup> John Woodall, *The Surgeon's Mate, or  
Military and Domestique Surgery* . . . (Lon-  
don, 1639), p. 313.

<sup>20</sup> Another example of the same form for  
this instrument is illustrated in Helkiah Crooke,

*An Explanation of the Fashion and use of  
three and fifty Instruments of Chirurgery*  
(London, 1634), p. 54.

<sup>21</sup> Andreas della Croce, while delineating at  
least a half dozen head-saws (*Chirurgiae  
Joannis Andree A Cruce* . . . [Venice, 1573],  
Bk. 1, p. 34), including one example shaped  
like a halberd with double saws fixed on either  
side of a shaft, does not show, however, the  
particular form represented in the Clark por-  
trait, with one blade curved and the other  
straight-edged. We are left, therefore, with  
Thompson's illustration for our only preced-  
ent, the instruments themselves which he  
shows (Fig. 43 : 4, 4), from the collections of  
the Royal College of Surgeons, having un-  
fortunately been destroyed in the blitz during  
World War II.

<sup>22</sup> Suffolk County Probate Records, 66:472-  
473.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 29:5.

<sup>24</sup> Reading Borough Records, DR/Q3/F1,  
p. 34 (verso), Central Reference Library,  
Reading. The portrait itself was originally at  
the Oracle or Kendrick's Workhouse which  
ceased in 1850. The painting then passed to the  
Council who in turn gave it to the girls' school  
in Reading (founded 1878) which bears Ken-  
drick's name and where it still remains.

<sup>25</sup> Dresser, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>26</sup> Letter to Abbott L. Cummings, July 28,  
1964.

<sup>27</sup> Dresser, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

<sup>28</sup> The Editor, in his comprehensive exami-  
nation of the Probate Records, Deeds and Bos-  
ton Town records, has found no other men-  
tion of a painter (i.e., one who called himself  
such) before the 1680's.