1982

The Bay and the river : 1600-1900

The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife
Annual Proceedings 1981
Edited by Peter Benes

The Bay and the River: 1600–1900

Published by Boston University

The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife is a continuing series of conferences, exhibitions, and publications whose purpose is to explore the daily life, work, and culture of the common man in New England's past. Founded on the premise that traditional lore and material folk culture are rapidly disappearing in New England, the series focuses attention on emerging areas of folk studies, regional and local history, cultural geography, historical archeology, and vernacular and antiquarian studies. The Dublin Seminar is designed to serve as a meeting place and archival program for scholars, students, and committed amateurs who share an interest in a specific folklife area and who can pool their knowledge, offer exhibits, and exchange ideas and methods. Conferences are held in June of each year with concurrent exhibitions at participating museums and art galleries. Papers presented at each conference are published as the *Annual Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife.* Dublin Seminar activities and publications are offered in conjunction with the Program in American and New England Studies, Boston University. These activities are supported through registrations, sales of educational materials, grants from federal and state agencies, and private donations.

The cover illustrates details from (left) the chest-on-chest owned by Hugh Cargill of Concord, Massachusetts, circa 1765–1790, and (right) the doorway of the Daniel Fowler house, Westfield, Massachusetts, circa 1762–1764. Photographs courtesy of the Concord Antiquarian Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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The Bay and the River: 1600-1900 is presented as Volume VI of *Annual Proceedings of The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife*. Published by Boston University. Additional copies of current or back issues may be obtained by writing Boston University Scholarly Publications, 985 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02215. Price of additional copies $7. Subscription price: $18 for three years. Editorial enquiries should be addressed to the Director, The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, 226 Lexington Road, Concord, Massachusetts 01742.

The Bay and the River: 1600-1900

The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife:
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June 13 and 14, 1981

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Editors' Introduction

The articles published in this volume are selected and edited transcripts of papers presented at the sixth annual conference of the Dublin Seminar, *The Bay and the River: 1600-1900*, held at the Concord Antiquarian Museum and at Concord Academy, Concord, Massachusetts, on the weekend of June 13 and 14, 1981. The two-day program addressed the general question: to what extent, if any, was life and culture in coastal Massachusetts and the Connecticut Valley shaped by local or regional influences? As its title suggests, *The Bay and the River: 1600-1900* was based on the premise that "regional" characteristics could be perceived at relatively small increments of distance and space. In common usage by first-generation New Englanders after 1631, "The Bay" distinguished the Massachusetts coastal settlements around Boston from those at "New-Plymouth" and at "Piscataqua"; after 1636, "the River" identified the new Connecticut plantations; "the Islands," those at Aquidneck. Geographical code words not shared by the world at large (or even by correspondents in Virginia, the Caribbean, or England), the terms seem to convey the horizons and local perspectives of people aware of their own special or distinct place at the level of neighborhoods, parishes, towns, and counties. The terms suggest, too, that regional variations in American culture thrived in much more intimate components than is suggested by encompassing terms such as "southern," "middle Atlantic," and "northern." Indeed, the questions that the conference planners hoped to address assumed that "the Bay" and "the River" were cultural realities. Were sub-regional cultural enclaves as coherent as the major geographic ones? Was regionalism more succinctly manifested at a popular level of culture (speech, dress, everyday household objects, agricultural life) than at the level of high-style architecture, decorative arts, and furnishings? Did the Connecticut Valley serve as a New England parallel to what European ethnohistorians have termed "relic" or "relict" areas? Did regional differences in material culture parallel linguistic differences?

It soon became evident, however, that not all scholars were in agreement on the initial premises (and the implied corollaries) on which the conference was based. The broader underlying issues that emerged (but which were not explicitly addressed) concerned the dynamics and structure of cultural transmission and cultural cohesion in pre-industrial America: is the concept of regionalism an accurate or even a useful hypothesis for understanding American culture? At what distances can "regional" characteristics be isolated and identified? Do

topographic features (coastlines, uplands, river basins) shape the dispersal of regional characteristics? Traditional theoretical models based on the movement of ethnic, religious, or cultural groups and on urban/rural and coastal/interior dichotomies were assumed by some speakers without question but were challenged by others who claimed that much of what has passed for "American" or "regional" may be little more than accidental echoes of previously existing rural and urban phenomena in England and Europe. Another revisionist point of view postulated that geographically defined regional enclaves — such as they existed — were penetrated at a relatively early date by cultural and commercial centers that brought urbane, high-style tastes to the heart of agricultural New England.

The Seminar program (see page 144) emphasized those topics that most succinctly revealed the existence or absence of cultural differences in these two regions, while at the same time examining peripheral localities such as the northern Connecticut River, Long Island, and Mount Hope and Buzzards bays in order to see these differences in perspective.

The first paper challenges one of the major premises on which the conference was based. Robert F. Trent's summary of his most recent research on New England joinery of the seventeenth century takes a revisionist position that argues that multi-generational craft traditions and shop-based craft networks — and *not* county or colony-defined aesthetic zones — explain the existence of local and regional similarities in furniture decoration, design, and form. Regionalism — at least from the viewpoint of seventeenth-century joinery — is seen by this scholar as a function of occupational consolidation: it was natural for second- and third-generation joiners who had completed their apprenticeships to relocate in communities that were relatively near their own town of origin and where patron acceptance of the shop style in which they had been trained was already established.

A more traditional point of view is taken by Myrna Kaye whose paper identifies the work of Joseph Hosmer of Concord, a country cabinetmaker working "twenty miles from the Bay." Implied in her study are two points that bear directly on the unanswered issues facing the conference: first, that Boston-area furniture makers developed a coherent, recognizable, interpretation of the English Chippendale style; and second, that a country variant of the Boston style, characterized by over-building and stiffness, developed in the central Middlesex County towns of Concord, Fitchburg, Groton, and Billerica. A corollary to these points is that variants of the Boston style (such as Hosmer's) were a function not only of the copyist's skill as craftsman but also of the distance between the copyist and his model — in this instance twenty miles.

The third essay approaches regionalism from still another viewpoint. Tracing the 1790-1820 clockmaking careers of the brothers Jedediah and Jabez Baldwin in Hanover, New Hampshire, and in Salem, Massachusetts, Philip Zea concludes that at this time in American history and at this socio-economic level of culture, difference in taste and in consumption patterns prevailing in coastal Massachusetts and the northern Connecticut River Valley are best measured in the quantity of persons enjoying luxury goods rather than in the quality of style of the goods themselves. Patronizing craftsmen of equal skill and sophistication, clock owners in Hanover and Salem differed only in the greater number of the latter.

The two essays on architecture are framed along similarly innovative lines. Amelia F. Miller's discussion of scroll pedimented doorways stops short of postulating a Connecticut Valley aesthetic — the traditional assumption of American regional studies. Identifying and documenting the characteristics of Georgian doorways found in central and western Massachusetts and in central and coastal Connecticut, she suggests that this unique style developed out of a combination of circumstances that included, first, the reputation of journeymen house carpenters hired by wealthy valley patrons to live and work on a temporary basis; second, the ties of blood and apprenticeship relationships among the house carpenters themselves; and third, what appeared to be a stylistically permissive setting generated by isolated communities. By contrast, William N. Hosley, Jr.'s study of urban architecture on the New England frontier begins with the suggestion that lines of communication, rather than geographical proximity, may have been the principal agent of cultural cohesion. Focusing on the ecclesiastic and domestic architecture of Windsor, Vermont, a key commercial town in the northern Connecticut River Valley, Hosley reinforces Zea's thesis that regionalism in federal-period New England — regardless of its existence before — succumed to rural urbanism. He demonstrates this with the example of Asher Benjamin of Greenfield, Massachusetts, who had introduced the latest neoclassical architectural designs into the Connecticut Valley, and who continued to perform at the top of the profession after moving his practice to Boston. The last three essays in this collection turn from material culture to literature and social and religious history. All three generally reaffirm the traditional urban/rural hypotheses of regional studies. Richard Swiderski traces successive variants of the ballad "Springfield Mountain" from the original 1831 version composed inthe Connecticut Valley town of Wilbraham, Massachusetts, to its parody on the mid-nineteenth-century Boston stage, and thence to its continued survival in the valley into the twentieth century in non-parodied form. His conclusion

suggests that rural characteristics such as conservatism and piety survived despite the penetration of urbanism and industrialization into some Connecticut Valley towns and indeed may have been strengthened in relative terms by Boston's big-city growth. Kevin M. Sweeney's paper on a leading family of "River Gods" — the Williamses — is one of several studies undertaken by this scholar on Connecticut Valley subjects, and is a classic statement on regional cohesion and identity. It confirms what has long been suspected through material culture studies such as William Warren's 1976 exhibition at the Wadsworth Atheneum, *Bed Ruggs*, that important linkages existed between eastern Connecticut and the entire Connecticut River. This same linkage is seen again in the final essay that discusses the geographical range of variant psalm translations by Isaac Watts and by Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady sung by New England church congregations. This essay additionally suggests that even in the highly articulate and organized domain of religious practices, some of the same regional perspectives that were shaping tastes in decorative arts also influenced the choice of metrical psalms sung by coastal Massachusetts and Connecticut churches.

While the conference program addressed a wide variety of subjects, important aspects of regional studies were omitted. The conference planners looked in vain for papers on regional dialects and on everyday or vernacular culture. Most lecture proposals addressed culture as it was intersected at elite and middle-class levels of society — in other words, the educated and wealthy — understandably, because this is where the artifactual, demographic, and documentary evidence survives. Nevertheless, important clues that regionalism thrived at the level of the common man do exist. There is Sarah Kemble Knight's 1704 observation that Connecticut Colony women "follow one another in modes; that You may know where they belong. . ." a compelling suggestion that women's dress differed at a sub-regional or even town-to-town basis. There is Benjamin Tappan's surprise in 1769 after his move from Worcester County to Northampton, Massachusetts, that checked shirts were "the mark of a Connecticut River man." This publication should therefore be seen as a reflection of current directions in American studies and in museum scholarship and not as an answer to the recurring question of whether a naive culture patterned on the lines of English or European peasant yeomanry ever existed in New England. Nor does it answer whether such a culture can be reconstructed by historical archeology or by new approaches and methods in the evaluation of surviving artifacts, archives, and contemporary culture. These questions will be addressed by future conferences.

The Bay and the River: 1600-1900 was the first time since the founding of this series in 1976 that the Dublin Seminar convened at a place other than its original meeting site in Dublin, New Hampshire. In making this transition, the Seminar received generous assistance from the Concord Antiquarian Museum under its former Director, Mrs. William F.A. Stride. We are especially grateful to the Museum and its members — particularly Mrs. Robert Lyon, Dr. and Mrs. Seymour DiMare, Mrs. Barbara S. Krickl, and Paula Christman — for help with conference preparations and refreshments, and for the use of meeting facilities. As it has in the past, the Dublin Seminar received welcome support from the Program in American and New England Studies, Boston University, through its Director, James A. Henretta; from Robert Taylor and Nanette Gonzales of Boston University's Design and Printing departments; and from Patrick Gregory, Supervisor of Boston University Scholarly Publications. The Seminar is also indebted to the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities for the loan of a high chest attributed to the Concord joiner Joseph Hosmer displayed on the weekend of the conference. Robert F. Trent, William N. Hosley, Jr., and Robert B. St. George helped define the goals of the conference and develop the lecture program. Robert F. Trent, Arthur Krim, Donald R. Friary, Richard M. Candee, and Bettina A. Norton assisted with the editing of this volume. Last and most important, we would like to thank the speakers who contributed their time and expertise to the occasion and whose participation made the conference possible.

Peter Benes
Jane M. Benes
Concord, Mass.

September 1982

Style, Technology, and the Craftsmen: Assessing Regionalism in Seventeenth-Century New England Joinery

Robert F. Trent

". . . the provincial edge clarifies the events at the center. . . "
George Kubler – [1]

Artifacts are by definition both a concrete reality and an abstract unity. They defy dissection because analysis makes necessary the use of abstractions and because we are forever barred from the reality of the object's maker and first owner and from the successive realities to which the object belonged and which the object contributed to over the years. However, we can make some headway by accepting these limitations and attacking various attributes of the object, all the while acknowledging the artificiality of this procedure. The three categories here being imposed on our legacy of joined furniture from seventeenth-century New England are style, technology, and the craftsmen, three aspects that have received a great deal of attention over the last fifteen years.

Although many regional studies of New England joinery and joiners have been undertaken since 1966,[2] no overall assessment of the field has been made. Numerous obstacles prevent such a review. First, all the regions of New England have not been covered. Second, the nature

1. George A. Kubler, "Time's Perfection and Colonial Art," *Spanish, French, and English Traditions in The Colonial Silver of North America* (Winterthur, Del.: Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1969), p. 8.

2. Benno M. Forman, "The Seventeenth-Century Case Furniture of Essex County, Massachusetts, and its Makers" (M. A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1968); idem, "Boston Furniture Craftsmen 1630-1730" (unpub. ms., 1969); idem, "Urban Aspects of Massachusetts Furniture in the Late Seventeenth Century," in *Country Cabinetwork and Simple City Furniture*, ed. John D. Morse (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1970), pp. 1-33; idem, "The Osborne Family Chest Rediscovered," *Historical New Hampshire* 26, no. 1 (Spring 1971): 26-30; idem, "Mill Sawing in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," *Old-Time New England* 60, no. 4 (April-June 1970): 110-30; idem, "Continental Furniture Craftsmen in London 1511-1625," *Furniture History* 7 (1971): 94-120; idem, "The Origins of the Joined Chest of Drawers," (forthcoming); Patricia E. Kane, "The Joiners of Seventeenth-Century Hartford County," *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin* 35, no. 3 (July 1970): 65-85; Patricia E. Kane, *Furniture of the New Haven Colony — The Seventeenth-Century Style* (New Haven: New Haven Colony

of inquiry has changed with time, in that later researchers have paid more attention to carpenters, coopers, shipwrights, and other allied woodworkers than did earlier ones. Third, the number of major monuments and attributions is growing at a prodigious rate, not only through discovery of new objects, but also through reassessment of objects that have been in museum collections for decades; without question, students of the field working today are the beneficiaries of a half-century of neglect by curators and aesthetes besotted with the supposed (and non-existent) glories of Queen Anne and Chippendale. At any rate, despite recent progress, a "Grand Synthesis" will have to wait for the late Benno M. Forman's catalogue of seventeenth-century and William and Mary furniture in the Winterthur Museum collection and for further regional studies of English furniture by Anthony Wells-Cole of Temple Newsam House, Leeds, Yorkshire.[3] Certain observations

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Historical Society, 1973); Patricia E. Kane, "The Seventeenth-Century Furniture of the Connecticut Valley: The Hadley Chest Reappraised," in *Arts of the Anglo-American Community in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1975), pp. 123-48; Robert F. Trent, "The Marblehead Pews," *Annual Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife* (1980): *New England Meeting House and Church: 1630-1850* (Boston: Boston University, 1981), pp. 101-11; Robert F. Trent, "The Joiners and Joinery of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, 1630- 1730," in *Anglo-American Community*, ed. Quimby, pp. 123-48; Robert Blair St. George, "Style and Structure in the Joinery of Dedham and Medfield, Massachusetts, 1635-1685," *Winterthur Portfolio* 13 (1979): 1-46; Robert Blair St. George, *The Wrought Covenant — Source Material for the Study of Craftsmen and Community in Southeastern New England 1620-1700* (Brockton, Mass.: Brockton Art Center and Fuller Memorial, 1979); Robert Blair St. George, "American Classic No. 2," *Maine Antique Digest* 7, no. 3 (April 1979): section C; William N. Hosley, Jr., and Philip Zea, "Decorated Board Chests of the Connecticut River Valley," *Magazine Antiques* 119, no. 5 (May 1981): 1146-51; Richard M. Candee, "Wooden Building in Early Maine and New Hampshire: A Technological and Cultural History 1600-1720," (Ph. D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1976).

3. Wells-Cole has been partly or wholly responsible for the following: *Oak Furniture from Yorkshire Churches* (Leeds: Temple Newsam House, 1971); *Oak Furniture from Lancashire and the Lake District* (Leeds: Temple Newsam House, 1973); *Oak Furniture from Gloucestershire and Somerset* (Leeds: Temple Newsam House, 1976); "Oak Furniture in Dorset: Some Introductory Thoughts," *Furniture History* 12 (1976): 24-28 and plates 5-10. Wells-Cole's work is summarized in Victor Chinnery, *Oak Furniture — The British Tradition* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England: Antique Collectors' Club, 1979), pp. 454-98. Chinnery presents new material on Salisbury (pp. 448-54) and repeats previous work on Aberdeen (pp. 460-67). His presentation on New England furniture is largely based on Robert F. Trent, ed., *Pilgrim Century Furniture* (New York: Main Street Press and Universe Books, 1976).

4. Among the more noted examples are Richard Lawrence Green, "Fertility Symbols on the Hadley Chests," *Magazine Antiques* 112, no. 2 (August 1977): 250-57; John T. Kirk, "The Tradition of English Painted Furniture — Part I: The Experience in Colonial New England," *Magazine Antiques* 117, no. 5 (May 1980): 1078-83; Kirk, "The Tradition of English Painted Furniture — Part II: The Colorful Context in England," *Magazine Antiques* 18, no. 4 (October 1980): 738-47; Kirk, "The Tradition of English Painted Furniture — Part III: Fourteenth through Nineteenth Century," *Magazine Antiques* 119, no. 1 (January 1981): 184-97.

can be made on the basis of such data as we now possess, however, and the need to make them is brought to the fore by gross simplifications and outright errors that infest popular literature on the subject.[4]

Style

No single furniture style in fact prevailed from 1620 to 1690, but we can separate the complex realities of period practice into late medieval, mannerist, and baroque influences. In particular, two separate and successive mannerist traditions fed into the design of New England furniture. "Mannerism I," as it will be called, is a carved ornament style introduced into England by Continental craftsmen beginning in the 1560s *(Figure 1)*, and "Mannerism II" is an applied ornament style first brought to England by Continental craftsmen in the early 1600s *(Figure 2)*. Craftsmen transmitted these two styles within England at different rates of speed, and the two styles overlapped and intermingled in many areas. And the two styles and hybrids thereof were brought to New England at various times by craftsmen from various parts of England.

This raises a critical point: during the lifetime of the first generation of New England settlers, such furniture styles as were practiced here were directly dependent on the English regional origins of the *individual joiner*. This is hardly a remarkable statement, were it not for two factors: regional styles in England were highly differentiated, and shop practice in New England seems for the most part to have been conservative of forms and decoration, rather than innovative. What is more, stylistic change in New England before the 1690s took the form of gradual evolution of established styles. There was little stylistic input from the kinds of sources art historians are trained to look for: pattern books, informal drawings, works by other craftsmen, and the like.

Who were these so-called first-generation craftsmen? This is not an easy question to answer, but the expression "first-generation" is generally defined as those craftsmen born *and* trained in old England. This definition excludes the sons or apprentices of craftsmen born in England but trained in the New World. It includes those craftsmen who came to New England after 1660, notably William Searle, Thomas Dennis, and the unknown Gloucestershire craftsman who settled in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and fashioned two surviving chests dated 1684 (Virginia Museum of Fine Arts) and 1685 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).[5]

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5. The two Portsmouth examples are illustrated in St. George, "American Classic No. 2," figs. 1 and 4.

Insofar as the number of these first-generation craftsmen is concerned, it is not great, about one hundred fifty joiners:

New Hampshire and Maine	?
Essex County, Mass.	10
Suffolk County, Mass.	16
Middlesex County, Mass.	20
Plymouth County, Mass., and Rhode Island	28
New London County, Conn.	2
New Haven Colony	17
Hartford County, Conn.	13
Hampshire County, Mass.	6
Long Island	20

These figures are approximate, but they do concern concrete instances of transmission.[6]

This small group of joiners is of critical importance. After the initial years of casting about and assessing the environment and prospective towns in which to work, most of the joiners settled permanently and became patriarchs of craft dynasties, in two senses. All took apprentices. Some also trained sons in their trade. The roots of later New England "regional" styles are to be found in this juncture, the New England apprenticeship of the second generation, which can be dated from 1630 to 1655 for those who trained with joiners of the Great Migration and from 1660 to 1680 for those who trained with joiners who came after the Restoration.

What are some of the principal stylistic themes to be rehearsed from this information? Why be so concerned with mere demography? To begin, the identification of the Boston and New Haven joinery schools has permitted the identification of the major London joinery tradition of the 1620 to 1660 era, a remarkable achievement.[7] These two New England towns each supported two shops founded by London-trained workmen: the Mason and Messinger shops of Boston *(Figure 3)* and the Russell and Gibbons shops of New Haven *(Figure 4)*. The Boston shops provide us with the somewhat fortuitous situation of New England's major urban center recapitulating the style of England's capital. Joiners

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6. No formal study of New Hampshire and Maine joiners has been made. The figures for New London County are from Minor Myers and Edgar DeN. Mayhew, *New London County Furniture 1640-1840* (New London: Lyman Allyn Museum, 1974), pp. 106-32. The Hampshire County figures were provided by Philip Zea, whose research is as yet unpublished. The Long Island figures are from Dean A. Failey, *Long Island Is My Nation — The Decorative Arts & Craftsmen 1640-1830* (Setauket, N. Y.: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, 1976), pp. 222-68. The other figures are derived from sources quoted in footnote 2.

7. Forman, "Origins of the Joined Chest of Drawers." The attribution of certain New Haven case pieces to the Russell/Gibbons shops is the author's, based on information in Kane, *New Haven Colony*.

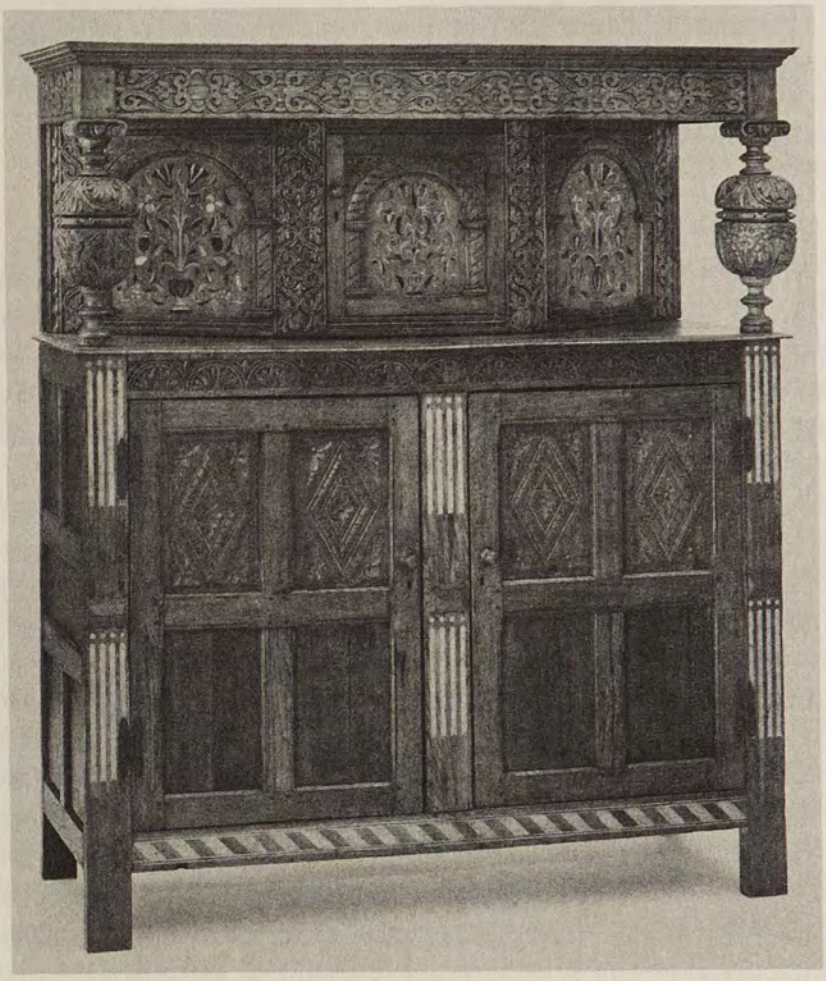

Figure 1 CUPBOARD. Probably Ipswich, County Suffolk, England, 1600-1650. Oak, walnut, West Indian boxwood, padauk. H: 77¼" (196.2 cm) W: 68" (172.7 cm) D: 21¾" (55.3 cm). *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Helen and Alice Colburn Fund (1980.295).*

from many regions of England, including Lincolnshire, Lancashire, Norfolk, Wiltshire, Somerset, and the Isle of Jersey, were working in Boston at various times throughout the century, but Ralph Mason (1599-1679) and Henry Messinger (here 1641-1681) each trained four sons in the joinery trade and thus by sheer force of numbers came to dominate the joinery trade of the town.[8] Similarly, William Russell (1612-1649) and William Gibbons (here 1640-died 1689) withstood competition from craftsmen from other English regions, perhaps because their patrons, like those in Boston, were also heavily London

8. Forman, "Boston Furniture Craftsmen," nos. 1, 10, 17-20, and 32-35.

Figure 2 CHEST OF DRAWERS WITH DOORS. London, England, 1625-1665. Oak, with walnut and other exotic woods and bone. Dimensions not available. *Temple Newsam House, Leeds, Yorkshire, England.*

in origin. Russell and Gibbons do not seem to have trained sons, but clearly they trained a number of apprentices who perpetuated their style into the eighteenth century.[9]

In the 1660s the works of these two London schools of New England joinery were outmoded by new fashions in London, but by New England standards they remained avant-garde for all practical purposes until the introduction of the William and Mary style in the mid-1690s. And while the works of the Boston shops reflect the highest standard of bourgeois-level design and workmanship, particularly as regards in-

9. Kane, *New Haven Colony*, pp. 81 and 84.

Figure 3 Joinery attributed to the Mason/Messinger shops, turned ornament attributed to the Edsall shops. CHEST OF DRAWERS WITH DOORS. Boston, Massachusetts, 1640-1670. Oak, pine, cedar, chestnut, walnut, maple, lignum vitae, and two unidentified exotic hardwoods. H: 48⅞" (124.4 cm) W: 45⅜" (115.3 cm) D: 23⅝" (60 cm). *The Yale University Art Gallery, The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection (1930.2109).*

terior finish and neatly executed joints, the works of the Russell/Gibbons shops reflect a different, lower level of London design and workmanship, a peculiarly urban combination of heavy, stylish ornamentation with poor materials and workmanship. They possess much the same proportions and moldings seen on Boston work, but they also sport a variety of geometric ornament in the form of checker, diamond, and serrate inlays executed in alternating walnut heartwood and sapwood. These inlays, not seen in Boston work, lend the facades of New Haven case pieces a distinctly decorative pattern not entirely in keeping with their architectural character. New Haven case pieces are fashioned of extraordinarily thin riven wood, joined with an

Figure 4 Attributed to the Russell/Gibbons shops. CHEST OF DRAWERS WITH DOORS. New Haven, Connecticut, 1680-1710. Red oak, black walnut, cedar, and pine. H: 36⅜" (92.4 cm) W: 44⅜" (112.7 cm) D: 22¾" (58 cm). *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Edwin E. Jack Fund (1980.274).*

economy approaching the limits of structural safety. In the middle of mighty stands of oak, the Russell/Gibbons shops maintained the practices associated with the persistent scarcity of wood in the Home Counties, testimony to the strength of shop practice and the master/apprentice bond.

Ancillary to London work from Boston and New Haven are several schools of New England joinery that reflect Mannerism II. Case pieces of Salem, Massachusetts, executed in the Symonds shops, represent a less advanced version of the applied ornament aesthetic, sometimes alloyed with carving of the Mannerism I aesthetic. John Symonds (born before 1595-died 1671), founder of the shops, came from Great

Yarmouth, Norfolk, near Norwich, second port of the realm and another center of Dutch and north German refugee influence.[10] Case pieces from southeastern Massachusetts, while not so clear in their English regional origins, probably derive from the style of either a major urban center in County Kent, whence came many of the settlers of Scituate, Massachusetts, or of Worcester, whence came both Thomas Little (here 1630-1672) and Kenelm Winslow (1599-1672), both of Marshfield, Massachusetts, and both prime contenders for the master of the "serrated molding" style of joined case furniture *(Figure 5)*.[11] Finally, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, John Taylor (here 1638-1683), whose origins are unknown but who probably came from either London or County Kent, founded the dynasty of Harvard College joiners and executed a number of heavy London-style cupboards whose turned ornament may have been supplied by a Boston turner.[12]

Most New England joinery schools seem to derive from provincial areas of England where Mannerism I held sway until relatively late in the seventeenth century. The unknown Gloucestershire workman of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, has already been cited above. More might be said about William Searle and Thomas Dennis *(Figure 6)*. The question of separating out the individual contributions of these two closely allied joiners need not detain us here, but both undoubtedly were born and trained in Devon, near the great West Country capital of Exeter.[13] Although his research has not yet been published, Anthony Wells-Cole of Temple Newsam House has discovered convincing proof for a school of masonry and joinery in Exeter, founded by a master named John Deymond who was trained in the Southwark school of London and influenced by work executed in the Prodigy Houses erected in the West Country late in Elizabeth's reign. Deymond's principal works are funerary monuments and fixed church woodwork in towns immediately surrounding Exeter, and he evidently managed a large workshop whence his style spread throughout much of Devon, Dorset, and Somerset. William Searle (1634-1667) and Thomas Dennis (1638-1706) are a full two or three shop-generations removed from Deymond, but their relationship to him is unmistakable.[14]

Four other Mannerism II shops deserve mention. John Thurston (1607-1685) of Dedham and Medfield, Massachusetts, has recently

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10. Forman, "Essex County," pp. 42-50.
11. St. George, *Wrought Covenant*, pp. 25-55.
12. Trent, "Middlesex County," pp. 126-33 and figs. 1-5.
13. Trent, *Pilgrim Century Furniture*, pp. 55-96.
14. Wells-Cole has an article on some aspects of the Deymond shop forthcoming in *Furniture History*.

Figure 5 JOINED CUPBOARD WITH THREE DRAWERS. Duxbury, Massachusetts, 1650-1700. Red oak, white pine, white cedar, and maple. H: 58" (147.3 cm) W: 50¾" (127.6 cm) D: 23⅜" (59.7 cm). *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, bequest of Charles Hitchcock Tyler (32.258).*

been identified as the master of a productive shop tradition *(Figure 7)* on the basis of documented pulpit or desk panels made by Thurston's apprentice, John Houghton (1624-1684) for the Medfield church in 1655. In addition to nailing down an important group of works, the identification of Thurston's roots in County Suffolk has allowed us to recognize the distinctive S-scrolls often seen on Suffolk work, as for example on the Wells family box (Long Island Historical Society) or the Merwin family chest (New Haven Colony Historical Society).[15] William Buell (here 1630-1681) of Windsor, Connecticut, came from County Huntingdon; his work is identified by a carved box that descended from him (Oneida County Historical Society, Utica, New York); related examples are in the Garvan Collection, Yale University Art Gallery, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[16] Thomas Dane (here 1635-1676) from Bedfordshire settled in Concord, Massachu-

15. St. George, "Style and Structure," pp. 40-41. The Merwin family chest is fig. 6 and the Wells box is fig. 29.

16. Kane "Hartford County," pp. 78-79 and fig. 11. William Buell's son Samuel (1641-1720) was also a joiner, as were his grandsons Josiah (1681-1732) and David (died 1749). All were of Killingworth, Conn. See Robert F. Trent, *Hearts & Crowns* (New Haven: New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1977), p.97.

setts, and probably came to New England as a servant of the Reverend Peter Bulkeley; two major monuments identified with his shop are the Hunt family chest (Concord Antiquarian Museum) and a box dated 1698 (Winterthur Museum).[17] Finally, an important East Anglian shop tradition was founded in the New Haven Colony by Thomas Mulliner (working 1625-died after 1658), who came from Ipswich, County Suffolk.[18]

The abstract carving seen in these documented examples, and on many undocumented objects as well, is occasionally found associated with the later applied moldings aesthetic on the same objects, as noted above in connection with the Symonds shops of Salem. In some cases, there is reason to posit an admixture of the two aesthetics taking place *in New England.* This may have been the case with works associated with Peter Blin (here 1675-1725) of Wethersfield, Connecticut,[19] and

17. Trent, "Middlesex County," figs. 6 and 7.
18. Kane, *New Haven Colony*, p. 11 and fig. 1. See also Failey, *Long Island*, p. 33.
19. Houghton Bulkeley, "A Discovery on the Connecticut Chest," *Connecticut Historical Society Bulletin 23*, no. 1 (January 1958): 17-19.

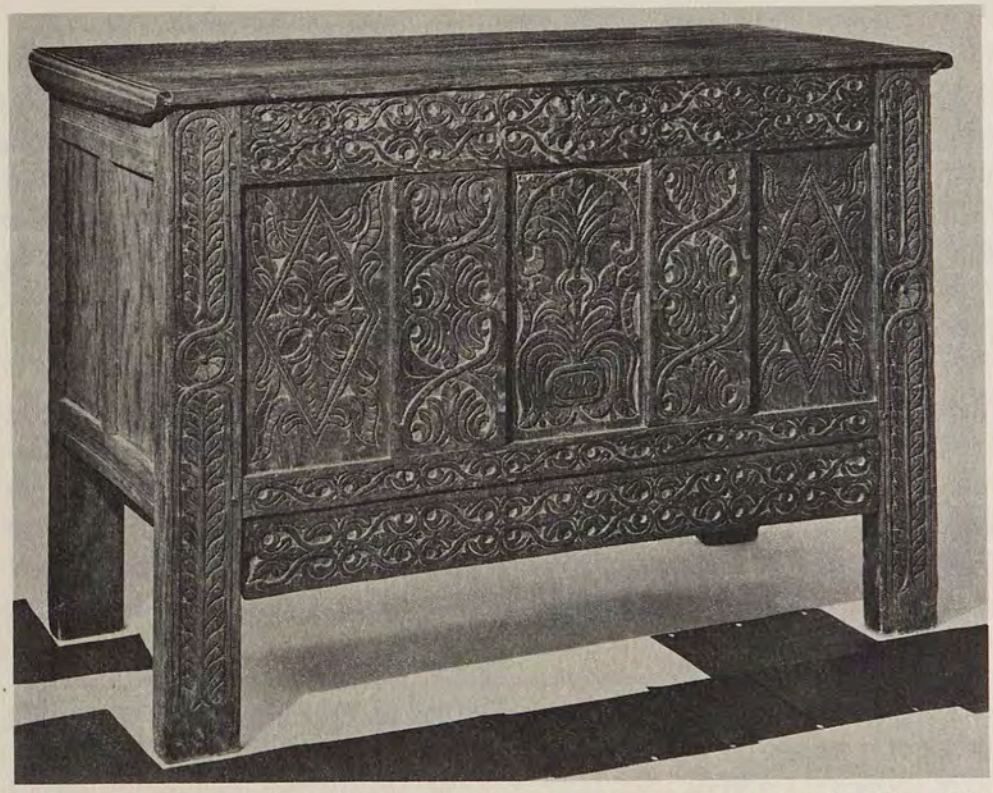

Figure 6 Attributed to William Searle (1634-1667). JOINED CHEST WITH DRAWER. Ipswich, Massachusetts, 1663-1667. Oak and pine. H: 25⅛" (61.3 cm) W: 47" (119.4 cm) D: 20⅝" (52.4 cm). *Private collection.*

Figure 7 Attributed to John Thurston (1607-1685). JOINED CHEST WITH DRAWER. Dedham or Medfield, Massachusetts, 1640-1685. Red oak and hard pine. H: 31⅜" (179.7 cm) W: 47¾" (121.3 cm) D: 21" (53.3 cm). *Private collection.*

with the group of chests described as "Type I" Hadley chests by Patricia E. Kane[20] (the so-called "Hartford" chests of the Reverend Clair Franklin Luther).[21] More about this will be said below.

This discussion has been about joinery shops founded by specific individuals from specific locations in England, not regional styles. These shops were the basis for regional styles. By the 1680s, the training of two or more shop-generations of apprentices and their subsequent diffusion can in some cases be said to have created regional styles, but the geographic unit of these regions is generally speaking not large. Our practice has been to investigate the documents and furniture schools pertaining to one political unit, usually a county, but historically the diffusion of a shop's style was within close compass of the master's shop. We can demonstrate this by investigating the movement of probable apprentices from two shops.

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20. Kane, "Hadley Chest Reappraised," pp. 86-88.
21. Clair Franklin Luther, *The Hadley Chest* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., 1935), pp. 32-37.

The Symonds shops of Salem were founded by John Symonds (born before 1595-died 1671) who came to Salem prior to 1636. He trained two sons in the trade: James (1633-1714), who remained in Salem, and Samuel (1638-1722), who moved to Rowley Village, near Topsfield, in central Essex County. Both sons trained at least three apprentices apiece, all of whom (with one exception) stayed in their master's town. The exception was John Pease (1654-1734), an apprentice of James Symonds who left Salem for Enfield, Connecticut, in 1681. Evidently the Symonds shops practiced what can be regarded as a regional style in Salem and adjoining towns. Such of their products as retain family histories confirm the ambit of their patronage.[22]

The Taylor shops of Cambridge present a somewhat different picture. The shops were founded by John Taylor (here 1638-1683) who became the first official Harvard College Joiner. He trained John Palfrey (married 1664-1689) who became College Joiner at Taylor's death and in turn trained Zechariah Hicks, Jr. (1651-1752), who became College Joiner after Palfrey's death. Apprentices of these three craftsmen were faced with an unpleasant prospect upon completion of their terms. There was not much work in Cambridge and most of it went virtually *ex officio* to the College Joiner. Two of John Taylor's three earliest apprentices left for Charlestown and Billerica, while a third died young. Only Taylor's last apprentice, Palfrey, inherited Taylor's patronage. Similarly, Palfrey's other known apprentice, William Bordman (1657-1696), left for Malden, and Zechariah Hicks's probable apprentice, Edmund Gookin (born 1688), left for Sherborn in northern Middlesex County and eventually moved to Norwich, Connecticut. Clearly a regional style was created by the dispersal of the Taylor shops apprentices, since they tended to settle in southern Middlesex County, but it lacked the component of father-to-son relationships. There were, however, some marital ties among the craftsmen.[23]

Dispersal due to limited patronage probably accounted for the establishment of regional styles during the lifetime of the first generation. But by the time of the second generation, the population had grown to such an extent that it was possible for regional styles to *intensify* within a given area. Major shifts in the population after 1676 may have created opportunities for the emergence of new regional styles as well. With the defeat of the Narragansetts in Rhode Island, eastern Connecticut became an attractive area for settlement, as did the upper Connecticut River Valley with the defeat of the Pocumtucks

22. Forman, "Essex County," pp. 42-50.

23. Robert F. Trent, "The Joiners and Joinery of Middlesex County, Massachusetts 1630-1730" (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1975), pp. 36-41.

and their allies. With the settlers came joiners from various shops who, like John Pease, may have contributed to new networks of patronage.

Implantation and diffusion of English styles within New England is not generally what is meant by "regionalism." This term is inevitably taken to mean the emergence of "American" styles under New England conditions. Can we detect anything like this? Are the so-called Hadley chests or Wethersfield chests distinctively "American" in any way? My instinct is that they are not. We have yet to identify the English antecedents for either of these groups, but we well might find them in the future. For now, we can observe a number of things about them. First, there is the fact that the Hadley and Wethersfield groups are both characterized by variations in ornament *and* in construction. Ornament is by definition secondary and variable, but construction in pre-industrial workmanship tends to remain fixed, visible testimony to the power of the master over his apprentice. The presence of varied drawer construction among the Hadley chests is evidence of widespread experimentation among a group of craftsmen who may not have been related by marriage or apprenticeship to a common master. It may reflect the influence of new stylistic impulses, but this is difficult to prove in any given case.

The Wethersfield group, associated with Peter Blin (working 1675-died 1725), is another case where various apprentices are diverging from a master in decoration and in construction. Here, however, the divergence can be explained as a progressive incorporation of stylish elements into a basic plan. Blin himself may have been the first of his tradition to fuse the new applied ornament style onto a carved design. Two chests bearing a direct relationship to Blin's work survive that are completely ornamented with carving (Connecticut Historical Society; Historic Deerfield). To these formats Blin added a stylized vocabulary of moldings and applied spindles *(Figure 8)*. Twenty-five to thirty years later, Blin or one of his apprentices was making chests where painted decoration partially or wholly displaced carved and applied ornament *(Figure 9)*. These chests often display a single dovetail in their drawer construction, whereas the original Blin drawer paradigm called for no dovetails. In addition, another group of chests with some relation to the Blin shop tradition displays two dovetails in its drawer construction and an admixture of painted and applied decorations *(Figure 10)*.[24] Do these variations bespeak the emergence

24. The two carved chests are in Kane, "Hartford County," cover, and Dean A. Fales, *The Furniture of Historic Deerfield* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., 1976), p. 167 and fig. 355. The group with one dovetail in the drawer is in John T. Kirk, *Connecticut Fur-*

Figure 8 Attributed to Peter Blin (here 1675-died 1725). CUPBOARD. Wethersfield, Connecticut, 1675-1690. Red oak, white oak, eastern white cedar, poplar, pine, maple. H: 56" (142.2 cm) W: 49¼" (125.1 cm) D: 20$^{5}/_{16}$" (51.6 cm). *Yale University Art Gallery, gift of Charles Wyllys Betts (1887.7).*

of an "American" style? I think that they probably parallel, if they do not in fact reflect, provincial English developments and need not be interpreted as especially inventive.

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niture — Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1967), nos. 18, 43-45. The group with two dovetails is in Kirk, *Connecticut Furniture*, nos. 46 and 47, and in Wallace Nutting, *Furniture Treasury* (1928; reprint ed., New York: Macmillan Co., 1961), no. 40; an additional example is on loan to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (2.1981).

Technology

Little in the way of technological innovation can be attributed to the New England environment. In England labor was cheap and materials were dear, while in New England, the reverse was true. This reversal had an influence on the status of colonial woodworkers, which tended to be much higher than that of their English counterparts. This state of affairs did not have an appreciable impact on the formal attributes of furniture forms. This is somewhat surprising; New England's sawmills were noted as an extraordinary phenomenon during the period.[25] Consider, though, that the substitution of wide, watersawn pine boards for features that would have been made up of three or four narrow oak boards in England was not very innovative technologically nor stimulating visually. Another case in point is board chests of various forms embellished with applied plaques and turned ornament to appear as if they were joined. Such chests have been cited as demonstrating "the colonists' willingness to achieve a given aesthetic effect by using simpler means."[26] That may well have been the case, but it directly reflected an English desire to do so. Again, in certain chests stemming from the Blin shops, boards run with crease planes are substituted for joined frames in the sides and rear. Is this an innovation or merely a variation? The latter, I think, if certain board-sided cradles or the 1659 Marblehead pew fragments are taken into consideration.[27] These structures employ the same board-and-post construction, one which probably was not that much cheaper to employ than joined work. Much the same ambiguity surrounds various chests with board carcases, to which posts have been nailed internally or externally. Until the English joinery traditions are thoroughly examined, it would be foolish to speculate on the "American-ness" of such features.

More to the point is the important Scituate/Marshfield group of furniture documented by Robert Blair St. George. Here are many levels of workmanship — joined carcases decorated with applied ornaments; plain joined carcases; carved board carcases, board carcases with scribed and punched ornament — emerging from the same shops. What better evidence could there be for the fact that joiners were providing a service for an entire community, wealthy, prosperous, and poor alike. While it is questionable whether a woodworker trained as a capenter could have produced the highest quality joined work *(Figure 11)*, there

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25. Forman, "Mill Sawing."
26. Kirk, *Connecticut Furniture*, p. 18. This example is in fact a London-style example, which renders all the more implausible Kirk's assertion.
27. Trent, "Marblehead Pews."

Figure 9 Attributed to the Blin shops. JOINED CHEST WITH TWO DRAWERS. Wethersfield, Connecticut, dated 1704. Oak, pine, and cedar. H: 34⅝" (87.9 cm) W: 48¼" (122.6 cm) D: 21" (53.3 cm). *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, gift of Philip Spalding, Oakes Ames Spalding, and Hobart Ames Spalding (1950.3786).*

Figure 10 JOINED CHEST WITH DRAWER. Central coastal Connecticut, 1690-1720. Oak, poplar, and maple. H: 33⅝" (85.4 cm) W: 49" (124.5 cm) D: 20½" (52.1 cm). *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, anonymous loan (2.1981).*

is no question but that joiners could produce practically anything. This is a lesson still to be learned by our European colleagues, most of whom remain unmoved by simpler levels of workmanship. Even the crudest-appearing stick and slab furniture has a stylistic component *(Figure 12).*[28]

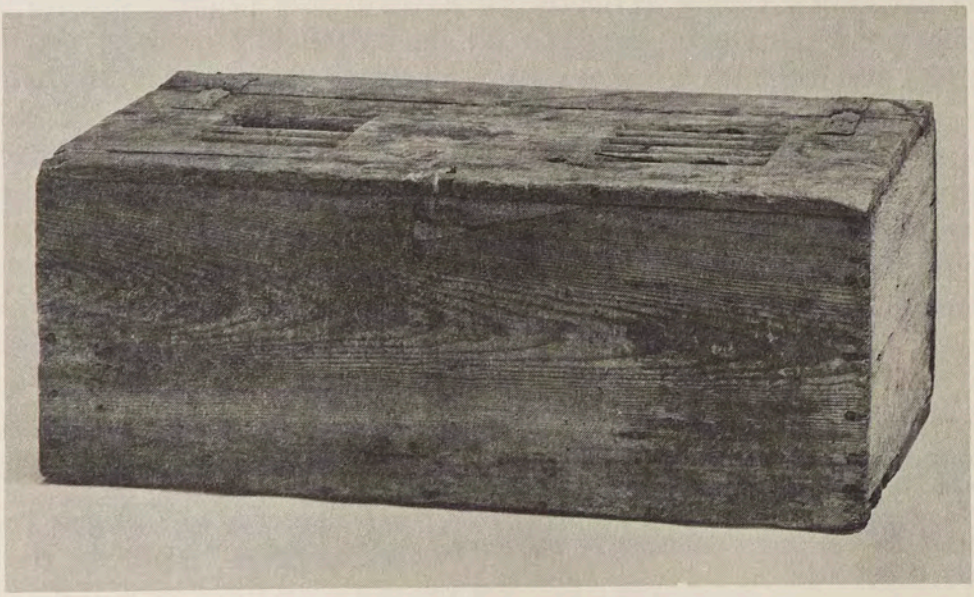
28. St. George, *Wrought Covenant*, pp. 25-55.

Craftsmen

I cannot hope to do a better job of summarizing the social context in which the workmen lived than has Robert Blair St. George in his paper, "Fathers, Sons, and Identity: Woodworking Artisans in Southeastern New England, 1620-1700."[29] However, a strong contrast must be drawn between the rural craftsman and his urban counterpart. In New England urban meant Boston, and the special qualities of these

Figure 11 Attributed to the Hall shops. PRESS TO HANG CLOTHES IN. Middletown, Connecticut, 1650-1690. Oak and cedar, with later pine additions. H: 62¾" (157.5 cm) W: 47½" (120.7 cm) D: 18⅛" (46 cm). *Yale University Art Gallery, The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection (1930.2232).*

Figure 12 BINN OR GARNER. Scituate, Massachusetts, 1650-1720. Pine and oak. H: 23¾" (59.1 cm) W: 60" (152.4 cm) D: 26" (66 cm). *Scituate Historical Society.*



Boston craftsmen have already been touched upon above. We might pursue it by pointing to the Petition of Handycraftsmen of Boston of 1677.[30] On this list of 129 workmen, most of whom were coopers, are found the names of sixteen joiners, headed by those of Ralph Mason and Henry Messinger, Sr., patriarch leaders of the Boston furniture trade. This informal but nevertheless guild-like massing of workmen who relied upon their trade alone for their livelihood stands in marked contrast to the mobility, independence, and seasonal employment of rural workmen. More differences are to be seen in the potential market of the urban craftsmen, who fashioned products in quantity for export, as opposed to the rural craftsmen, who for the most part stuck to bespoke work. It remains to be seen whether these attributes reflected English ones.

Conclusion

The next few years will undoubtedly produce far more information than we now possess, but it is likely that new information and artifacts will confirm the strong relationship between American and English work. Regionalism as a concept will probably prove less useful than will generalizations based on specific instances of practice derived from specific shops. Present-day allegiance to the supposedly unique qualities of a given geographic area is based on romanticism; sadly, our scholars often find it too tempting to pander to such enthusiasms rather than to the facts, and those that do so will in the future be called to task.

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29. Forthcoming as part of a report of a conference on the craftsman in early America sponsored by the Winterthur Museum.

30. "Fac-simile Of A Petition Of The Handycraftsmen Of Boston In 1677, Against The Intrustion Of Strangers," *Bulletin of the Boston Public Library*, n.s., vol. 4, no. 4 (January 1894): 305-6.

Concord Case Furniture: Cabinetry Twenty Miles from the Bay

Myrna Kaye

A distinctive group of sturdy case furniture made in the third quarter of the eighteenth century was owned in the area of Concord, Massachusetts, twenty miles inland from Massachusetts Bay, along the Mohawk trail and on the Concord River, a tributary of the Merrimack. Five cases compose the group; all have excellent histories of ownership. A flat-top high chest *(Figure 1)* in the collections of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities — the only one with a short history — has been in Weston, a neighboring town to Concord, for about a century.[1] A pedimented high chest *(Figure 2)* in the Concord Antiquarian Museum belonged to Ebenezer Stow of Concord, who married in 1775. (It is inscribed on the backboard "Concord, July 12, 1809, The day the room was plastard C. Stow.") A chest-on-chest *(Figure 3)* at the same museum belonged to Hugh Cargill who emigrated to Concord in 1774 and died there in 1799. A related blockfront high chest *(Figure 4)* at the Winterthur Museum reportedly was made for Phoebe Bliss of Concord in 1769 when she married William Emerson, the town minister.[2] A privately owned high chest with similarities to the Emerson and Stow cases descended in the Wheeler family of Concord.[3]

All of these Concord cases are massively overbuilt, a common attribute of rural or inland furniture, much of which was produced by house joiners. The design of the furniture also manifests solidity. Made in an era of delicate and curvilinear rococo fashion (see *Figures 5 and 7)*, the Concord group features sober, modest, even rigid characteristics: square knees with stiff legs, square feet, angular shells, and chamfered edges on the lipped drawer fronts (instead of the usual thumbnail-curved edging). In addition other design peculiarities appear: pilaster bases that are identical to the capitals, off-center fluting on some pilasters, an applied keystone on pedimented cases, and small brass cartouche-like plates *(Table 1)*.

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1. The high chest is no. 38 in Brock Jobe and Myrna Kaye, *New England Furniture: The Colonial Styles* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, forthcoming).
2. Joseph Downs, *American Furniture: Queen Anne and Chippendale Periods* (New York: Viking Press, 1952), no. 189.
3. The Wheeler family piece is known only from a photograph.

Design peculiarities are matched by peculiarities in construction. The work is evidently that of an accomplished joiner who developed his own distinct construction solutions, far different from the furniture-making practices in Boston, only twenty miles away. To judge from the number of surviving examples, he had a fair-sized, albeit local, furniture trade. Because Phoebe Bliss Emerson's high chest was attributed many years ago to a local joiner, Joseph Hosmer, the other cases have been called "Hosmer."

In *The Magazine Antiques* in 1958, paired articles presented Joseph Hosmer, the cabinetmaker, his life, and his work.[4] "His Life" told of Hosmer (1736-1812), the major, the patriot, the Concord farmer from a family of carpenters and joiners. Author Kenneth Scott said that Hosmer "learned the trade of cabinetmaking from Robert Rosier, a Frenchman and cousin by marriage." Hosmer reportedly built his house in 1758 and was making furniture before his marriage in 1761. The farmer-woodworker became a Concord worthy because of an elo-

4. Kenneth Scott and Russell H. Kettell, "Joseph Hosmer, Cabinetmaker: His Life and His Work" *Magazine Antiques* 73 (April 1958): 356-59.

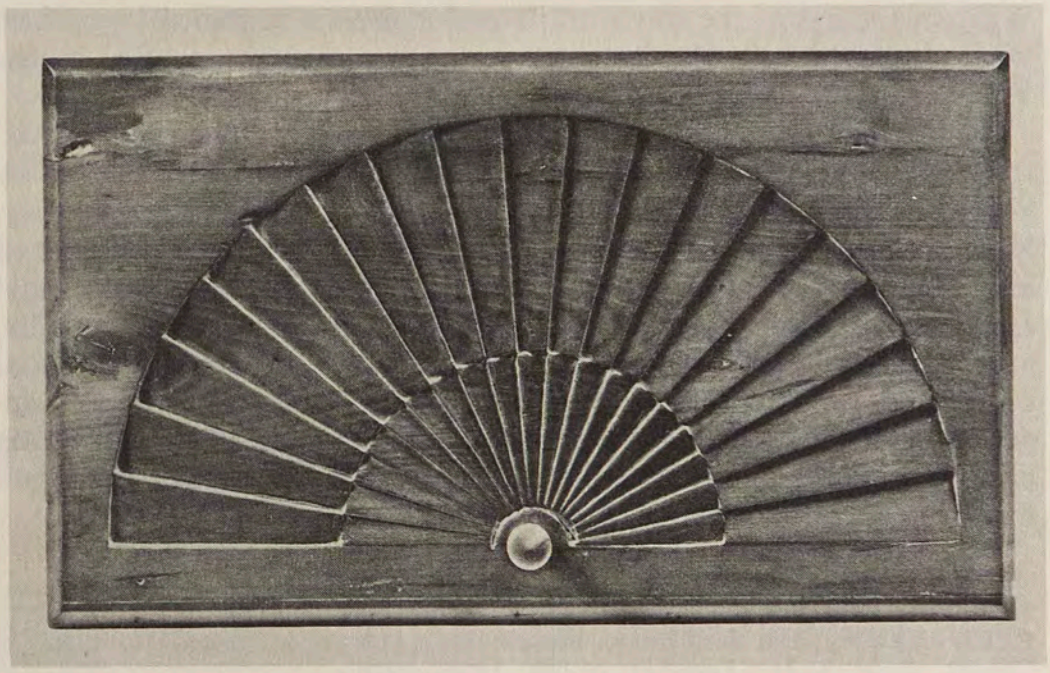

Figure 1 Detail of center drawer.

Figure 1 HIGH CHEST (1755-1775). *Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.*

quent response to a Tory speech, participation in events at Concord's North Bridge, several political posts after the Revolution, and longevity.[5]

In the "His Work" section of the *Antiques* article, Russell Hawes Kettell, former President of the Concord Antiquarian Society, cited thirteen pieces of furniture he felt could be "pretty safely" credited to Hosmer.[6] Nine of them were chairs that fall outside the area of this paper on cabinetry.[7] The Concord cabinetry attributed to Hosmer by Kettell includes a desk supposedly made by Joseph for his own use and purchased from a descendant, a chest of four drawers with a Hosmer family history, the Emerson high chest *(Figure 4)*, and the Wheeler family high chest. Kettell alluded to a third high chest — probably the pedimented Stow family high chest *(Figure 2)*. He apparently did not know of the flat-top high chest in *Figure 1* or of the chest-on-chest in *Figure 3*.

More than one man made the four cases attributed to Hosmer by Kettell. The Hosmer-owned desk and chest of drawers show no esthetic or structural relationship to the four high chests and the chest-on-chest, nor does any of the Hosmer family furniture that was later published in *Antiques*.[8] The Hosmer-owned pieces relate closely to documented stylish coastal furniture, whereas the two high chests Kettell cited are clearly the work of a rural craftsman with a penchant for the rectilinear.

In overall proportion and motifs, the Concord cases reflect Boston or coastal Massachusetts Bay cabinetry. The Stow pedimented chest shares a design formula with the high chest *(Figure 5)* made by Ebenezer Hartshern in Charlestown or Boston in 1739.[9] The two relate in the arrangement of drawers, the placing of the shell drawers, and the flanking pilasters.[10] The curve of Hartshern's shells is lost in the Concord translation.

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5. Scott's information on Hosmer came from a family memoir by Josephine Hosmer, "Joseph Hosmer" *Centennial of the Social Circle in Concord, March 21, 1882* (Cambridge, Mass.: Riverside Press, 1882), pp. 114-17, and from George Leonard Hosmer, *Hosmer Genealogy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Technical Compositon Co., 1928), pp 31-32.

6. Kettell, "His Work," p. 358.

7. Six chairs of one set, a pair of chairs with what are called owl's eye splats, and a single chair. One can easily believe all the chairs are by the same hand. The chairs are in the collections of the Concord Antiquarian Museum.

8. The Hosmer family furniture in the William Coburn collection was featured by Dean A. Fales, Jr., "Hosmer Family Furniture," *Magazine Antiques* 83 (May 1963): 548-49 and offered for sale by Ronald A. DeSilva, Inc., in 1976.

9. Ebenezer Hartshern [Hartshorn, Hartshorne] (1690-1791) worked in Boston and Charlestown and probably continued to serve a Boston clientele after he moved to Concord about 1746.

10. The Hartshern high chest is illustrated in color as the frontispiece, Richard H. Randall, Jr., *American Furniture* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1965).

Figure 2 HIGH CHEST (1760-1780) owned by Ebenezer Stow of Concord. *Concord Antiquarian Museum, Cummings E. Davis Collection (F-1107).*

Figure 3 CHEST-ON-CHEST (1765-1790) owned by Hugh Cargill of Concord. *Concord Antiquarian Museum, Cummings E. Davis Collection (F-803).*

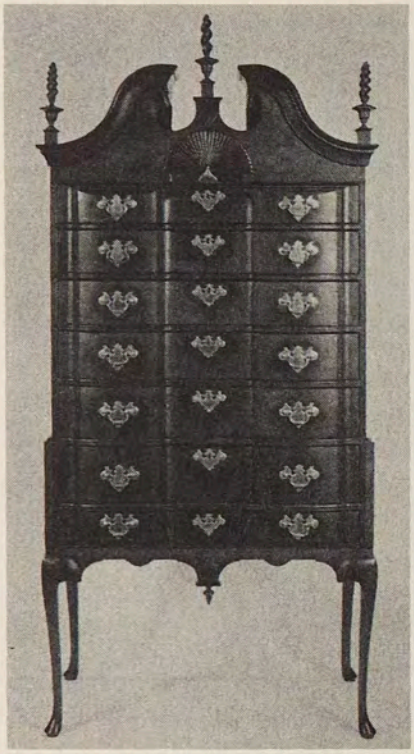

Figure 4 HIGH CHEST, reportedly made in 1769 for Pheobe Bliss Emerson of Concord. *Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.*

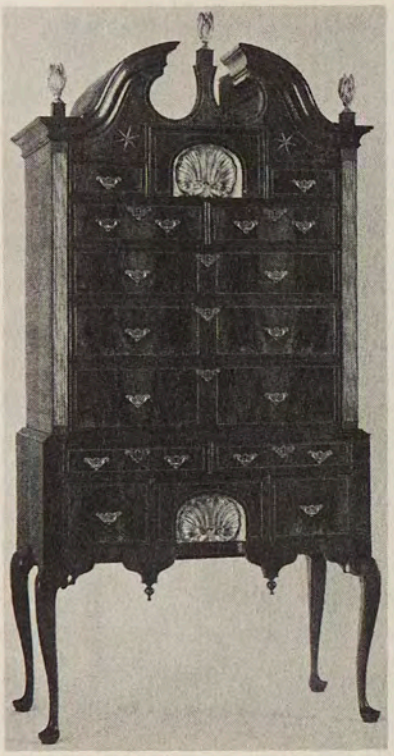

Figure 5 HIGH CHEST made by Ebenezer Hartshern, Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1739. (The legs and finials are replacements.) *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Julia Knight Fox Fund.*

The pulvinated, or cushion-molded, capital has a long tradition in the Massachusetts Bay. But in all instances, such as the high chest owned by the Holyoke family of Boston *(Figure 6)*, the cushion serves as capital only.[11] The concept of a distinctly different treatment for pilaster base and capital, a tradition retained in almost all rural areas, disappears in Concord.

The Concord chest-on-chest also shares proportions and drawer arrangements with Boston examples such as the chest-on-chest *(Figure 7)* that John Cogswell (1738-1818) of Boston made in 1782. A drop in the center of the skirt is common. Even a suggestion of a keystone beneath the center plinth can be seen in the elegant Boston example. The Concord keystone, however, is static; Cogswell's rococo design is not.[12]

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11. The Holyoke family high chest reportedly belonged to Edward Holyoke, President of Harvard College, 1737-1769.

12. The chest-on-chest made by John Cogswell is illustrated in color in *Boston Furniture of the Eighteenth Century* (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1974), no. 125.

The Emerson high chest is a rare, but not unique, example of blocking on the high chest form.[13] Blocked cases were popular in the Boston area, but blocking was generally restricted to chests, chest-on-chests, and desks. High chests are almost by definition light and delicate; blocking is inherently weighty. The blocking on the Emerson case is the slightest, most tentative, and most rectilinear blocking to be found. It unifies the two-part chest, yet appears stuck on rather than an integral part of the chest. Within the case are maker's working marks showing that the blocking, so routinely worked out in Boston shops, was arduously executed in Concord.

To produce his version of the Boston style, the Concord craftsman created his own construction techniques. He worked out a unique solution to the problem of building an upper case with flanking pilasters. As in standard construction, the four boards of the upper case are dovetailed to one another. But the Concord craftsman added rose-headed nails, a massive waist rail, a cornice rail, and four interior stiles or posts.[14] The drawer supports are attached to the sturdy stiles instead of, as usual, to the case sides, making the supports so strong that Concordians could overload their cabinetry as New Englanders nowhere else could do.[15]

Other features of the Concord cases, most the result of overbuilding, are so distinctive that they prove the pieces are the products of one man. He braced the tops of the lower cases of the high chests. Instead of simply gluing the knee brackets on, he tenoned them into the legs and nailed them to the case. He put nails through the drawer sides to secure the drawer bottoms, a feature not seen on other drawers. He chamfered the lipped drawer fronts. He did not plane the backs of the mill-sawn boards he used as backboards. He numbered the drawers with chisel marks, an unusual practice in his day.

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13. Luke Vincent Lockwood, *Colonial Furniture in America*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913), 1: fig. 100 illustrates a blocked flat-top high chest; another descended in the Chandler family of Petersham, Mass., *Magazine Antiques* (March 1981): 681. Blocked dressing tables — which can be assumed to have been purchased with high chests — give evidence of others. See *Boston Furniture*, nos. 65, 67, and 68, the latter two probably from the Portsmouth, N.H., area.

14. The waist and cornice stiles are tenoned into the sides. The front stiles are tenoned to them. The bottom of the stiles are notched to rest in part on the bottom board and in part pass completely through the bottom board to rest in the lower case. The front stiles are separated from the case sides creating a one inch gap that is covered by the pilasters. Thus, pilasters, the decorative use of which is not unusual, are in this instance functional in a curious way. The drawer dividers, set into slots in the case sides, had to be notched to fit around the stiles.

15. The drawer supports are installed as they are in joined cases; it is unusual construction for a dovetailed case.

Figure 6 HIGH CHEST (1710-1725) owned by the Holyoke family of Boston. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Clarence Dillon, 1975 (1975.132.1).*

Figure 7 CHEST-ON-CHEST made by John Cogswell, Boston, 1782. *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. William Francis Warden Fund.*

As is common in rural furniture, many woods were used in one case: cherry, maple, oak, white pine, and pitch (yellow) pine. The assortment of woods is typical of the area *(Table 2).* John Buckman of neighboring Lexington, who died in 1759, had in his shop "Cherity Board," "maple Board and jice [joist]," "white Pine and pitch Pine," "five maple Pieces Sawd out for Draws," and "four Mehogeny Servers for Tea Tables."[16]

Why did the maker of the Concord cases overbuild? Judging from the artifactual evidence, he was a joiner. Perhaps cabinetry seemed to him to be flimsy construction. Unable to evaluate the forces and stresses on furniture, he repeatedly opted to err on the side of overestimating the stress and underestimating the strengths of his materials. And, most of all, he did not set up for mass production, but rather served a small market, building each piece individually. For example, every time he faced the problem of bracing the top of the lower case of a high chest, he worked out another solution (see *Table 2).*

16. Robert F. Trent, "Joiners and Joinery of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1730" (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1975), p. 133.

Why did he square the Boston curvilinear style that he emulated? Along the Concord River and inland westward, stiff legs and knees were the fashion and are seen on high chests from Billerica (downstream from Concord), from the Groton area (west of the confluence of the Concord and the Merrimack rivers), and from Fitchburg, inland farther west.[17] Furniture made at the mouth of the Merrimack (*Figure 8*) is notably different. While boxy (note the arrangement of the brasses on the high chest in *Figure 8*), it is far less square at the shell or the legs.[18] Who was the maker of the Concord cases? If Hosmer learned cabinetry well enought to produce furniture such as that which descended in his family, it could not be Hosmer. Local legend crediting both the idiosyncratic cases and the Hosmer family cases to Joseph is evidently incorrect. None of the Concord group is of mahogany, yet receipts for mahogany as well as for cherry were found among Hosmer's papers.[19]

At this point in our investigation we know that no mahogany case piece by the Concord maker has come to light; that none of this type of case furniture was retained by Joseph Hosmer's family into this century; and that the maker learned nothing of cabinetry save how to make dovetails. Yet, the Concord cases were made in or near Concord during Joseph Hosmer's lifetime. If Hosmer had to improvise his way through cabinetry jobs, then the four high chests and the chest-on-chest — the epitome of cabinetry improvisation — could indeed have been made by him.

Addendum

Since this paper was presented at the Dublin Seminar, an additional and important Concord chest-on-chest has been found that may provide the answer to "Who made the Concord cases?" In 1978 Eliot Chapin Fletcher of Tampa, Florida, a descendent of the Tarbell family of Acton, neighboring Concord, sought information on Hosmer because a chest-on-chest he had inherited was inscribed "Made by Joseph Hosmer Concord Mass / 1782." Fletcher, an architect, wrote to libraries and museums enclosing a photograph of the inscription on the top of its lower case, but no photograph of the chest. Unfortunately,

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17. A high chest owned by the Billerica Historical Society, a privately owned base of a high chest that has always been in Billerica, a high chest in the Groton Historical Society, and a high chest in the Fruitlands Museum, Harvard, Mass., which was brought to Fruitlands in 1844 by the Palmer family of Fitchburg.

18. The high chest illustrated in *Figure 9* is in the SPNEA collections, and is no. 39 in Jobe and Kaye, *New England Furniture*.

19. Kettell, "His Work," p. 358.

Figure 8 HIGH CHEST (1755-1780) owned in Newburyport, Massachusetts. *Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.*

Table 1 Design characteristics of the Concord case pieces. (NP means not pertinent)

	Figure 1 Flat-top high chest	*Figure 2* Stow high chest	*Figure 3* Chest-on-chest	Wheeler high chest known only from photo	*Figure 4* Bliss high chest	*Figure 5* Boston high chest (legs and finials not original)	*Figure 8* Merrimack Valley high chest
Square knees	yes	yes	NP	yes	yes	no	no
Square feet	yes	yes	NP	no	no	no	no
Contour of lipped drawer fronts	chamfered	chamfered	chamfered	chamfered	NP	NP	thumbnail molded
Off-center fluting	yes	yes	no	NP	NP	no	NP
Keystone on pediment	NP	yes	yes	yes	yes	no	NP
Brass cartouche on pediment	NP	yes	no	no	yes	no	NP

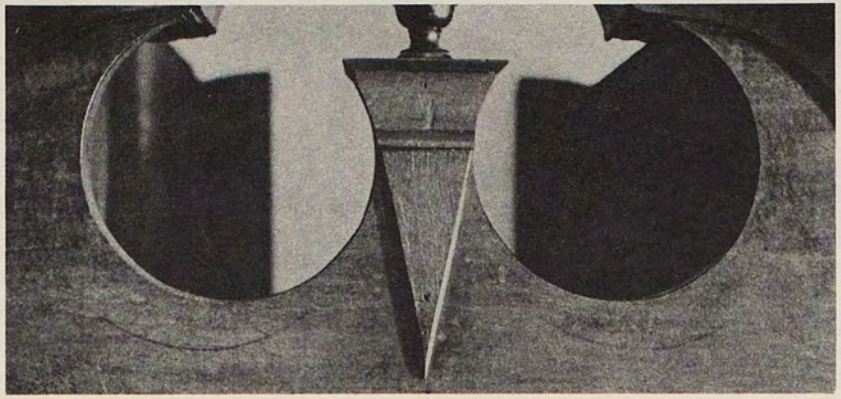

Figure 3 Detail of pediment keystone.

Table 2 Construction characteristics of the Concord case pieces. (NP means not pertinent)

	Figure 1 Flat-top high chest	*Figure 2* Stow high chest	*Figure 3* Chest-on-chest	*Figure 4* Bliss high chest	*Figure 5* Boston high chest	*Figure 8* Merrimack Valley high chest
Additional support for pilastered upper case	nails, 4 stiles, 2 tenoned rails	4 stiles, tenoned rail and pediment	NP tenoned rail and pediment	none	NP	
Backboard surface on upper case	mill-saw marks	mill-saw marks	planed	mill-saw marks	planed	planed
Drawer supports in	set into and nailed to stiles	set into and nailed to stiles	set into and nailed to stiles	nailed to tenoned to dividers	full dust boards	nailed to case sides
Bracing of lower case	medial and 2 diagonals	2 diagonals	NP	X-shaped brace	no brace	no brace, double-boarded sides
Numbered drawers	chisel numbered	chisel numbered	chisel numbered	unnumbered	chalk numbered	unnumbered
Drawer bottoms	nails through drawer sides	nails through drawer sides	nails through drawer sides	nails through drawer sides	nails through bottoms	set in grooves in sides
Knee brackets	tenoned and nailed	tenoned and nailed	NP	tenoned and nailed	NP (replaced)	glued
Woods	cherry, hard maple, red oak, white pine, pitch pine	maple, white pine, pitch pine	maple, red oak, white pine, pitch pine	cherry, maple, white pine	walnut, white pine	soft maple, white pine

his letter went unanswered. Fletcher's letter was found in the attic of the Concord Antiquarian Society and brought to the author's attention by Jane M. Benes just before this volume went to press. Fletcher had died. The long search for an eighteenth-century Massachusetts furniture maker became a quick search for a twentieth-century Floridian, Fletcher's daughter and heir, Victoria Thompson. Through the architect's successor and the bank that handled the estate, daughter and chest-on-chest were located.

Photographs show that the Tarbell-Fletcher chest-on-chest, although it has a scroll pediment, has no applied keystone or brass plate. It has no flanking pilasters, and — most notably — its drawer fronts are thumbnail-molded, not chamfered. None of the distinctive Concord design features is present. The bracket feet are not similar to those on the Cargill chest-on-chest. Yet the carving of the shell drawer is flat and static and somewhat akin to that on the Stow high chest. An odd similarity shared by the Tarbell-Fletcher and Cargill cases is compass-made pinwheel doodling on the hidden top board of both lower cases. A telephone interview with the owner revealed a fuller picture of the Florida chest: the backboards are very rough, possibly mill-sawn, and the drawers are chisel-numbered. At this point, the woods have not been determined nor the case construction examined. If the drawer construction is related, the few similarities noted above gain importance, and the idiosyncratic Concord cases can be ascribed to Joseph Hosmer.

Clockmaking and Society at the River and the Bay: Jedidiah and Jabez Baldwin, 1790-1820

Philip Zea

Clocks are luxury machines which measure the minutes, the wealth of their owners, and the economic and stylistic climates of the community.[1] The working patterns of clockmakers also reflect the local economy and the quality of life. This essay examines urbanization in the Connecticut Valley and the Massachusetts Bay through a comparison of the careers of Jedidiah Baldwin, a clockmaker in the market town of Hanover, New Hampshire, and his brother, Jabez, a silversmith and clockmaker in Salem and Boston. The answers to the following questions will show that urbane living occurred in the hinterland of federal New England. How strong were the technological traditions learned by apprentices? Did the Baldwins make the same luxury goods in Hanover and Salem after 1790? What impact did the traditional agricultural economy have on their exchange of goods and services? What occupational compromises were demanded of clockmakers in inland towns? And what are the best indicators of urbanization: craft specialization, efficient modes of transportation, population density, or population size?

The clockmaking tradition begun by Thomas Harland (1735-1807), an Englishman who emigrated to Norwich, Connecticut, in 1773, provides the basis for this comparison of inland and coastal economies in federal New England. By the 1790s Harland employed ten to twelve journeymen and apprentices. They annually produced twenty to twenty-five eight-day clock movements, aside from silver utensils, a few surveying instruments, and watches. These men learned their master's style and in turn educated their own apprentices in the mysteries of clock- and watchmaking and repair, silversmithing, and engraving.[2]

The weight of tradition in Harland's shop was the product of the standardization of parts and is illustrated by the engraving styles of the men who worked there. Their burins became the tools of practiced

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1. Lee Soltow, "Watches and Clocks in Connecticut, 1800: A Symbol of Socioeconomic Status," Connecticut Historical Society *Bulletin* 45, no. 4 (October 1980): 115-22.

2. The following men were apprenticed to Thomas Harland: Daniel Burnap (1750-1838), East Windsor and Coventry, Conn.; Seril Dodge (1759-1802), Providence, R.I.; Nathanial Shipman (1764-1853), Norwich, Conn.; David Greenleaf, Jr. (1765-1835), Hartford, Conn.; Ezra Dodge (1766-1798), New London, Conn.; Jedidiah

design rather than of independent interpretations of fashion. The assumption that artistic expression was the major ingredient of craftsmanship is weakened by a comparison of brass clock faces by Thomas Harland and his apprentice, Daniel Burnap (1759-1838) of East Windsor, Connecticut. The floral motifs and engraving style are practically identical.

Parallel designs are also present in technical matters. Harland and most of his apprentices used four visible screws to attach the face to the movement rather than the more elaborate method of using invisible dial feet. The use of dial screws is uncommon in English clockmaking of the period. There are also strong similarities in the profiles of the back plates cast by these men. A notebook that Burnap kept while he trained in Norwich survives to illustrate how precisely Harland taught the principles of clockmaking to his apprentices.[3]

Jedidiah Baldwin was also apprenticed to Thomas Harland. He was born on 29 March 1769, the eldest child of Jabez and Lydia (Barker) Baldwin of Norwich. Their youngest son, Jabez, was in turn trained by Jedidiah as a clockmaker and silversmith. Jedidiah completed his apprenticeship with Harland in 1791. He married Abigail Jones in Norwich on April 10 and left for Northampton, Massachusetts. After partnerships with Samuel Stiles (1762-1826?) and Nathan Storrs (1768-1839), Baldwin moved one hundred miles up the Connecticut River to Hanover, New Hampshire, in October of 1793.[4] A tall clock, inscribed "Baldwin & Storrs/Northampton," documents the quality of their work. The style and excellence of the engraving on the face, with its four screws, betray Baldwin's training under Harland *(Figure 1)*.

As a river town, Hanover offered the same advantages as Norwich and Northampton to a clockmaker. Dartmouth College had been chartered in 1769, four years after settlement. A population of tran-

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Baldwin (1769-1849), Norwich, Conn., Northampton, Mass., Hanover, N.H., and upstate New York; William Cleveland (1770-1837), Norwich and New London, Conn.; possibly Benjamin Hanks (1755-1824), Mansfield, Windham, and Litchfield, Conn.; possibly David Haynes (1756-1837), Brookfield, Mass.; possibly Gurdon Tracy (1767-1792), New London, Conn.

3. Penrose Hoopes, *Shop Records of Daniel Burnap, Clockmaker* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1958).

4. Charles C. Baldwin, *The Baldwin Genealogy* (Cleveland: Privately Printed, 1881) p. 276; Ledger (1793-1803) of Jedidiah Baldwin, Dartmouth College Archives, Hanover, N.H., p. 23. Other volumes in the Baldwin Papers at Dartmouth College include: Ledger (1799-1807), Ledger (1806-1811), Daybook (1797-1802), Daybook (1802-1805), Daybook (1806-1809), Daybook (1809-1811), Watch Book (1793-1804), and Watch Book (1804-1810); *Hampshire Gazette*, Northampton, 6 July 1791, Forbes Library, Northampton, Mass.; David Proper, "Clock and Watchmakers, Dealers and Repairmen of Western Massachusetts and Southern New Hampshire. . .," ms., Memorial Libraries, Deerfield, Mass.; *Springfield* (Mass.) *Union*, 16 May 1934.

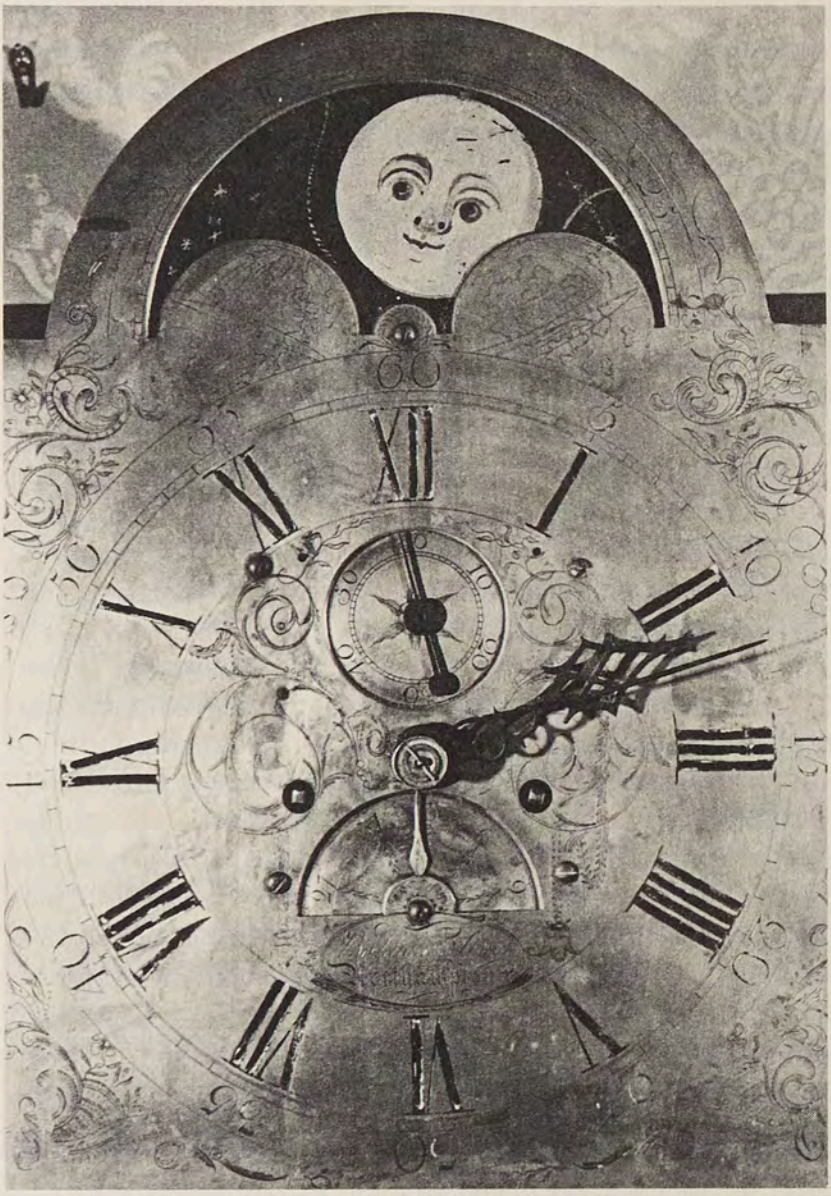

Figure 1 BRASS CLOCK FACE by Baldwin & Storrs, Northampton, Massachusetts, 1792-1793. *Location Unknown.*

sient students and faculty supported itself independently of the agricultural economy and brought fashion ideas and specie to local shopkeepers. A printing press had been operated in Hanover since 1778 when upper valley towns on both sides of the river considered the formation of a separate state with Hanover as its capital. By 1790 the population was only 1,380, but most of the people were clustered on the Dresden Plain, near the college and the river. The population grew to 1,912 ten years later. Bridges replaced ferries across the river at Bellows Falls, Windsor, Hanover, and Haverhill during the 1790s. By

1803 the Fourth New Hampshire Turnpike linked neighboring Lebanon with Concord and the Massachusetts Bay. As a further measure of urbanization, the community maintained a number of voluntary associations. The second oldest Masonic Lodge in New Hampshire was founded at Hanover in 1796. Various lycea and religious societies also sprang up around the college. By 1815 several Hanover merchants had joined a tontine and had erected a four-story mercantile building on Hanover's Main Street.[5]

Jedidiah Baldwin advertised periodically, not because of local competition, but because most of his customers lived in six neighboring towns within a radius of fifteen miles. Roughly one-fourth of his patrons were Hanover people and teachers at Dartmouth College, the new medical school, or Moors' Indian Charity School; one-fourth were students in Hanover; another fourth lived to the south in Lebanon or across the river in Norwich, Vermont; and the final quarter lived in Hartford, Hartland, Thetford, and Tunbridge, Vermont, and Canaan, Enfield, Lyme, Orford, and Plainfield, New Hampshire.

The specialization of a tradesman is often used to measure the urban qualities of the community in which he works.[6] Jedidiah Baldwin was foremost a clockmaker. One-half of his income from standardized finished products — timepieces, necklaces, silverware, and medals — between 1793 and 1811 was derived from making clocks. He executed 55 eight-day clock movements over that time, an average of 3.2 per annum, and earned an average of $48.40 for each clock. His production was well below the level of Harland's well-staffed shop, but he made a considerable number of clocks for a community of the size of Hanover.[7]

Baldwin made a variety of clock movements.[8] Most of them were brass, eight-day, weight-driven works, which sold for thirty-three

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5. Frederick Chase, *A History of Dartmouth College and the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire to 1815* (Brattleborough, Vt.; Vermont Printing, 1928), pp. 156-84, 422-527; John K. Lord, *A History of the Town of Hanover, New Hampshire* (Hanover, N.H.: Dartmouth Press, 1928), 40-41, 277-84; Richard D. Brown, "The Emergence of Urban Society in Rural Massachusetts, 1760-1820, "*Journal of American History* 61, no. 2 (June 1974): 29-51.

6. Carl Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman* (New York: New York University Press, 1950), pp. 65, 98. In the *Political Observer* (Hanover), 15 March 1806, Baldwin advertised watches, chains, seals, keys, gold lockets, bosom pins, gold earrings and knobs, gold necklaces and rings, silver spoons, thimbles, and pencil cases, and clocks. His ledgers show that he manufactured most of the objects which he advertised. Some of the incidental jewelry was obtained from merchants in Salem, Boston, and New York City. The watches were imported from abroad, although Jedidiah may have made a few of them himself. In October 1800, Baldwin noted a repair to a timepiece inscribed "Jed° Baldwin Hanover #5." The Baldwin inscription, however, may have referred to his warranty.

7. For comparison, Daniel Burnap sold fifty-one clocks between 1786 and 1805 at East Windsor and Coventry, Conn.; Hoopes, p. 38.

dollars, or for fifty-three dollars if the case were included: a sizeable sum. Elaborations on the basic model were available. Baldwin sold "moon clocks," which showed the lunar phase in the tympanum of the dial, for an extra five dollars. Such a clock was discovered in Weare, New Hampshire, about 1955. Its face was enameled steel of English manufacture, inscribed "Baldwin Hanover." (English clock faces are often found on American works.) The movement itself was adequately made, if not of the finest work. It had no distinguishing characteristics other than a predictable resemblance to the lay-out of an eight-day movement drawn by Daniel Burnap in his notebook. Baldwin also made a few "timepieces," which were simplified movements without striking trains, and one chime clock, which he sold to Doctor Laban Gates of Hanover in 1798 for one hundred dollars.[9]

Although Baldwin made an average of 3.2 clock movements per year, his specialized shop was capable of greater production. In 1795, 1805, 1806, and 1807, he sold six, seven, six, and eight clocks, respectively. Those four years accounted for 48.6 percent of his clockmaking in Hanover. Baldwin sold a somewhat larger percentage of his clocks during the snow-bound months of December through March (45.4 percent). The lowest production, however, was not during April through July when labor in agricultural communities intensified with planting and haying (34.5 percent), but in the autumn when ledger entries suggest that the college community was distracted by the new academic year (20 percent). The prosperity of the harvest was not spent by farmers in Baldwin's shop. Jedidiah sold only eleven clocks from August through November in the seventeen years he lived in Hanover. His livelihood was largely unaffected by the agricultural year.

Although Baldwin possessed the skill and tools to manufacture all of the parts of his clocks, he often found it cheaper to buy them. In May 1806 he credited John McFarlane of Boston, whose business Jabez eventually purchased, for "1 Doz. 12 faces and pinions $47.73."[10] Baldwin also exchanged parts with clockmakers closer to Hanover. He had dealings with Samuel Parker and John Osgood up the river at Haverhill, with Ransom Smith of Lebanon, and with Phineas Bailey of Chelsea, Vermont. Jewelry and silverware were also bartered.

Jedidiah Baldwin operated a busy shop. Orders kept more than one tradesman busy at the forge, anvil, and lathe. At least seven apprentices and journeymen worked for Baldwin. His papers suggest that

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8. Price List, Ledger (1793-1803), final page.
9. Hoopes, p. 131; Charles S. Parsons, *New Hampshire Clocks and Clockmakers* (Manchester, N.H.: Adams Brown Company, 1976), p. 337; Ledger (1793-1803), p. 57.
10. Ledger (1806-1811), p. 19.

Jedidiah possessed a mercurial personality, which made him an overbearing teacher in a profession that demanded precision work with expensive materials. Three of his five apprentices ran away. His brother Jabez and Zalmon Aspinwall of Lebanon and Boston finished their terms.[11]

Most of the clocks purchased by prosperous merchants, professors, and farmers were delivered in their cases. Seven local cabinetmakers provided Baldwin with forty-two clock cases in Hanover. Many were made by men who boarded with the Baldwins and who performed their handiwork on the premises.[12] These men were occasionally debited to lumber that Baldwin supplied. Most of the clock cases were valued at twelve dollars apiece and were made of cherry. Baldwin sold them for twenty dollars each.

Jedidiah supplemented his income from clockmaking with the sale of jewelry, silverware, miscellaneous brasswork, and their repair. Baldwin earned 25.1 percent of his income from finished products through the sale of necklaces of gold beads. His customers purchased at least 143 of them at an average of $8.52 between 1793 and 1811.[13] His peak years were 1796, 1797, 1800, and 1801 when 73 necklaces were purchased, equaling 51.1 percent of the total number merchandised during his Hanover years. In those four years, Baldwin's shop produced only six clocks. Jedidiah relied on the sale of expensive jewelry when orders for his specialty declined.

The making of gold beads in a simple press was also unaffected by the agricultural year. Necklaces sold consistently through the months.[14] Baldwin's labor in making gold objects was more profitable for him and more valuable to a community with capital to invest in

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11. The recorded apprentices of Baldwin are: William Tappan of Northampton, *Farmers' Weekly Museum* (Amherst, N.H.) 9 January 1798; Stephen Chandler, Ledger (1799-1807), p. 137; William Manly who ran away in April 1809; Zalmon Aspinwall who later worked as a journeyman for Baldwin, Ledger (1799-1807), p. 150; and Jabez Baldwin. The recorded journeymen of Baldwin are: David Greenleaf, Jr., of Norwich and Hartford, Conn., who worked in 1801, Ledger (1799-1807), p. 108; Hezekiah Douglass who worked in March 1800, Ledger (1799-1807), p. 97; Jeremiah Hill, silversmith, who worked early in 1809, Ledger (1806-1811); and Aspinwall.

12. The following cabinetmakers made clock cases for Baldwin in Hanover: Captain Arad Simons of Lebanon between 1795 and 1796, Ledger (1793-1803), p. 53; Cady Simons of Hanover and his journeyman, Jonathan Bliss, between 1798 and 1807, Ledger (1793-1803), p. 59, and Ledger (1799-1807), pp. 112, 129. Ebenezer Knoulton, Rev. Samuel Collins, Joel Huntington, and Elijah Pomeroy of Northampton also sold clock cases to Baldwin before 1803.

13. There were approximately sixty beads in a necklace. Baldwin sold ten beads at fourteen cents apiece to Doctor Joseph Lewis of Norwich, Vt., in 1795. Ledger (1793-1803), p. 56.

14. December-March, forty-five (31.5 percent); April-July, fifty-four (37.8 percent); August-November, forty-four (30.8 percent).

luxury items than his labor in tilling a field. Many of the citizens of inland towns like Hanover could afford emblems of prosperity and could sustain specialized tradesmen.

Silver spoons and sugar tongs were also staples in the livelihood of Jedidiah Baldwin.[15] He sold teaspoons, usually in sets of six, for about seventy-one cents apiece, depending upon their weight. If the customer provided the silver, Baldwin's labor in making a set of teaspoons was valued at two dollars. Consequently, the intrinsic worth of the raw material with which Baldwin worked easily surpassed the value of his own labor, a rarity among tradesmen of his day.

Baldwin sold 708 teaspoons for $505.85½ between 1793 and 1811, or 10.4 percent of the $4862.93 that he earned from the sale of finished products in Hanover. His peak years were 1796, 1797, 1802, and 1804 when 258 teaspoons, or 36.1 percent, were sold, suggesting that they were consistently merchandised through the years and that teaspoons were within the budgets of most consumers. Furthermore, customers purchased teaspoons through the seasons. The greatest percentage sold was only 39.3 percent of the total during the April-July period.

Tablespoons sold at an average of $3.22 apiece. Baldwin made only seventy-six of them, but earned 5 percent of his total income from finished products through their sale. Over one-third of the tablespoons were sold in August. His ledgers show that a few prosperous farmers with nearly completed harvests invested in the most conspicuous silver objects obtainable locally. Jedidiah is not known to have made or sold holloware, although Thomas Harland and his brother Jabez were recognized silversmiths. Baldwin also sold only fourteen sugar tongs at an average price of $1.51 apiece. No examples have been located.

Finally, Jedidiah made at least 339 Phi Beta Kappa keys and other medals for Dartmouth College students at a value of $211.25½, or 4.5 percent of his income from finished products. There were three standardized types. Gold medals were square and cost $3.00. Silver medals sold for either $1.00 or for 62¢. Baldwin produced 22.8 percent of his medals in 1800, the year in which his shop burned. Most badges were made after the close of the spring term, quite independent of the agricultural year. In 1796 Baldwin also made the seals and jewels for the new Franklin Masonic Lodge in Hanover.[16]

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15. There is confusion regarding the Baldwins' touchmarks. Jedidiah apparently used the relief mark BALDWIN in Hanover and Rochester, N.Y. (Richard F. Upton to Charles S. Parsons, 15 October 1975.) Jabez probably used the other touchmarks in Salem: BALDWIN (intaglio), BALDWIN., J. BALDWIN, and J.B.. The IB mark appears on teaspoons formerly owned by the Hazen family of Hartford, Vt. Jedidiah kept an account with Capt. Asa Hazen to whom he sold spoons in 1800 and 1801.

16. Ledger (1799-1807), p. 98.

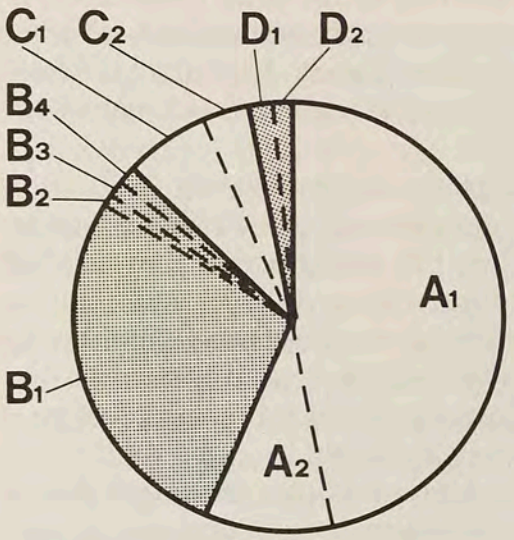
Jedidiah Baldwin provided his patrons with other goods and services related to his training. Like his former partner, Nathan Storrs, Baldwin made surveying instruments.[17] He also did engraving for local printers. On 24 August 1799 Jedidiah debited Moses Davis "to cutting a head to the Dartmouth Gazette $5." Three days later the first edition of the newspaper was printed.[18] Baldwin occasionally painted and gilded signs, repaired firearms, and made odd contrivances for the professors and students at the college. On 11 April 1797 he debited Reuben Emerson, a student, "to making one of Saturn's Moons 17¢." [19]

Baldwin became postmaster in 1796. He also sold wallpaper and distributed pills for firms in New London, Connecticut, and New York City to supplement his income from clockmaking.[20] In 1808 he paid five hundred dollars for the right to manufacture and sell Simon Willard, Jr.'s Patent Washing Machine in northern New Hampshire.[21] Unfortunately, Baldwin could find only four customers for the contraption. Jedidiah and other Hanover businessmen occasionally purchased dry goods from companies in New York and Boston.[22]

Kinship and business ties exposed Baldwin's customers in Hanover to the fashions and expectations of people throughout the Northeast. Consequently, the prosperity of the commercial towns of inland New England rose and fell with the economic and political fortunes of

17. Silvio A. Bedini, *Early American Scientific Instruments and Their Makers* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1964), p. 124.
18. Ledger (1799-1807), p. 74.
19. Ledger (1793-1803), pp. 109, 134; Ledger (1799-1807), p. 20.
20. Ledger (1799-1807), pp. 65, 100.
21. Deed, Jonathan Turner to Jedidiah Baldwin, 1 October 1808. Baldwin Papers, Dartmouth College Archives.
22. W.R. Waterman, "Richard Lang, Hanover Merchant, 1789-1840," *Historical New Hampshire* 18 (April 1963): 9.

Chart A The income of Jedediah Baldwin from the sale of finished objects, 1793-1810.



Key:

Finished products	A^1	47.8%
Miscellaneous objects	A^2	8.8
Watch repairs	B^1	28.4
Clock repairs	B^2	0.5
Gilding	B^3	1.1
Miscellaneous repairs	B^4	2.6
Cash lent	C^1	5.9
Rentals	C^2	3.0
Agricultural produce	D^1	1.2
Agricultural labor	D^2	0.4

Chart B Total value of the goods and services of Jedediah Baldwin in 1795 ($885.55½).

coastal merchants and politicans. Jedidiah's sales clearly reflected fluctuations in the national economy *(Chart A)*. The profits which Baldwin realized in 1795 and 1796 coincided with good years for most of the nation. Despite wide criticism, Jay's Treaty was finally ratified in 1796. The agreement stabilized trade with England and opened the Northwest Territory. In the late 1790s, however, the United States became involved in an undeclared war with France that closed most shipping lanes. Trouble with the Barbary pirates continued in the Mediterranean until 1804. In 1803 President Jefferson negotiated the purchase of the Louisiana Territory; and locally the Fourth New Hampshire Turnpike was completed, easing travel between the upper valley and the Massachusetts Bay. The Embargo Act of 1807, however, limited commerce with most foreign nations and crippled the economy of New England. That year Baldwin was forced to lease his tall clocks for some return on his investment.[23] The turn to American-made goods briefly helped Jedidiah's business in 1809, but the depression continued until the War of 1812, outlasting the buying power of his patrons and his stay in Hanover.

A closer look at good and bad years reveals the difference between success and failure for a clockmaker in the Connecticut Valley before 1812. *Chart B* shows the distribution of Baldwin's goods and services in 1795, a prosperous year in which he sold six tall clocks, eight necklaces, forty teaspoons, and twelve tablespoons. His total income was at least $885.51½. The value of Jedidiah's finished products, in-

23. Ledger (1806-1811). On 28 April 1807 Isaac Bissell, Jr., was debited to an eight-day, mahogany timepiece valued at forty dollars for which he agreed to pay an annual fee.

cluding miscellany, equaled more than half of his total goods and services (56.6 percent). His income from repair work equaled a third of his earnings (32.6 percent). On the other hand, his income from agricultural labor and produce was valued at only 1.6 percent of the total.

The monthly fluctuations in Baldwin's income during 1795 show his relative independence from the agricultural year. His average income each month was $73.79. During the warmer months, Jedidiah debited his customers an average of $88.19. In August, Baldwin undoubtedly had the option of working in the fields for neighboring farmers, but his agricultural labor that month earned him only 44¢. From June through September his farming chores were valued at only $3.65 or about seven days of common fieldwork.

The personal prosperity of Baldwin depended upon the sale of finished products totaling about one-half of his income and upon repair work equaling about one-third of his earnings. Apparently, annual sales valued at about seven hundred dollars, attainable only through work as a clockmaker and silversmith, allowed Jedidiah Baldwin the affluence characteristic of his trade.

Fifteen years later the total value of Baldwin's goods and services had risen with inflation to over seven hundred dollars, but he sold only one clock, fifty-one teaspoons, eight tablespoons, twelve medals, and four sugar tongs in 1810. Jedidiah's finished products accounted for just 16.2 percent of his total income, far below the 50 percent required to make his special training worthwhile. Tedious repair work climbed to 42.4 percent of his earnings, and the cash taken as postmaster, most of which was sent to Portsmouth, reached 41.4 percent.

Stripped of his earning power as a manufacturer of luxury goods by the Embargo Act, Baldwin pondered a move to the West. On 11 January 1811 John Robie, a silversmith in Concord, New Hampshire, advertised that he was taking over Baldwin's shop. By May 11 he had sold his pew to Dr. Nathan Smith for one hundred dollars and had left with his wife and four children for upstate New York.[24]

As Baldwin worked his way westward through Fairfield in 1811 and Morrisville between 1818 and 1820, he found his training under Harland less useful. The cheaper shelf and wall clocks of Eli Terry and Joseph Ives made his large eight-day movements prohibitively expensive. Jedidiah turned to the livelihood of a watch tinkerer and perhaps to memories of the fraternity of young men who had learned specializ-

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24. *New Hampshire Patriot* (Concord), 8 January 1811. New Hampshire Historical Society Collections; Deed, Jedidiah Baldwin to Dr. Nathan Smith, 11 May 1811. Baldwin Papers, Dartmouth College Archives.

ed skills and profitmaking in Harland's shop back in Norwich. On 10 October 1827 Ela Burnap wrote to his aging Uncle Daniel from Rochester, New York: "Mr. Baldwin resides here, keeps the post office, served his time with Mr. Harland, says he knows you and desires to be remembered." Baldwin advertised his trade in Rochester directories until 1844 when he was simply listed as a boarder at the home of his daughter where he died a poor man in 1849.[25]

Unless the working patterns of Jedidiah Baldwin are compared to the career of someone who trained in the same shop tradition, it is impossible to determine the typicality and urban qualities of his livelihood as a clockmaker in the Connecticut Valley. His brother Jabez, who was born on 4 April 1778 in Norwich and who moved with his parents to Westfield, Massachusetts, a few years later, worked as a silversmith and clockmaker in the urban settings of Salem and Boston and is the ideal choice for this comparison.[26]

Jabez Baldwin was one shop generation removed from training under Thomas Harland. Although some scholars feel that he was apprenticed in Salem to William Cleveland (1770-1837), another Harland protege, Jedidiah's ledgers prove that Jabez was living in Hanover from 1794 until at least 23 February 1798, just prior to his twentieth birthday.[27] His reason for moving to Salem is unclear. Jabez may have been encouraged by Richard Lang, Hanover's wealthiest storekeeper whose brother Daniel was a merchant in Salem and whose father and grandfather had been silversmiths in that city. At any rate, Jedidiah was instrumental in establishing his younger brother in business. Between 1802 and 1809, he sent $524.32 to Jabez in Salem for which he eventually received a few watches, watch parts, and seventeen necklaces.[28]

Jabez Baldwin married Ann Briggs in Salem on 2 September 1804. Their six children were born into a much larger community than Hanover. Access to water transportation and to improved roads made Salem a commercial center, county seat, and the largest city north of Boston with approximately nine hundred dwelling houses and four hundred shops. In 1800 the population of Salem was 9,457 people, most of whom lived on a three-hundred-acre peninsula. By 1810 the

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25. George B. Cutten, *The Silversmiths, Watchmakers and Jewelers of the State of New York outside of New York City* (Hamilton, N.Y.: Privately Printed, 1939), pp. 17, 21, 25; Ela Burnap to Daniel Burnap, Rochester, N.Y., 10 October 1827. Burnap Papers, Connecticut Historical Society.

26. Baldwin *Genealogy*, pp. 283-84.

27. John H. Buck, "The Early Church Plate of Salem," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 43 (April 1907): 98. References in the Baldwin Papers to the presence of Jabez in Hanover during his apprenticeship are dated in December 1794, February and June 1795, December 1796, and February 1798.

28. Ledger (1806-1811), p. 61.

Figure 2 TRADE CARD of Jabez Baldwin by James Akin, Salem or Newburyport, Massachusetts, 1804-1808. *American Antiquarian Society.*

population had grown to 12,613, making Salem one of the largest cities in the nation. More than two hundred merchant vessels were registered in Salem. Nevertheless, the population of Salem was only six times larger than either Northampton or Hanover in 1810, and there were several farms within the city limits.[29]

The large number of potential customers and the workmanship of rival silversmiths forced Jabez to advertise. Although both brothers used the newspapers, Jabez also distributed a trade card *(Figure 2).* The plate was prepared by James Akin of Salem and Newburyport between 1804 and 1808. He cut corners by re-engraving portions of a copperplate that he had finished for Robert Leslie and Isaac Price in Philadelphia about 1795.[30] The Baldwin card reads "Leslie & Price/Philada" on the clock face in the upper right corner.

Independent of the heritage of Leslie and Price, the trade card advertises "Clocks, Watches, Silver Plate and Jewelry," commodities all sold by Jedidiah in Hanover. Unlike his older brother who worked more exclusively as a clockmaker, Jabez sold holloware. The probate

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29. Henry Wykoff Belknap, *Artists and Craftsmen of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Salem: Essex Institute, 1927), p. 87; Robert Doherty, *Society and Power: Five New England Towns, 1800-1860* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977), pp. 12-13, 24.

30. Lewis C. Rubenstein, "James Akin in Newburyport," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 102 (1966): 292.

31. "Will of George Rea Curwen, 1900," *Essex Institute Historical Collections,* 36 (1900): 259. The Essex Institute, New York Historical Society, and the Henry Ford Museum own holloware made by Jabez Baldwin.

inventory of George Rea Curwen (1823-1900) of Salem includes the entry: "1 Tea Pot, Sugar Bowl and Cream Pitcher, made by Jabez Baldwin in 1804."[31]

In the top margin of the trade card, Jabez advertised "Willard's Patent Clocks: an elegant assortment of Looking Glasses, &c. &c. &c." There is no evidence that Jedidiah sold looking glasses. Similarly, only one tall clock by Jabez is reported. However, two wall clocks survive

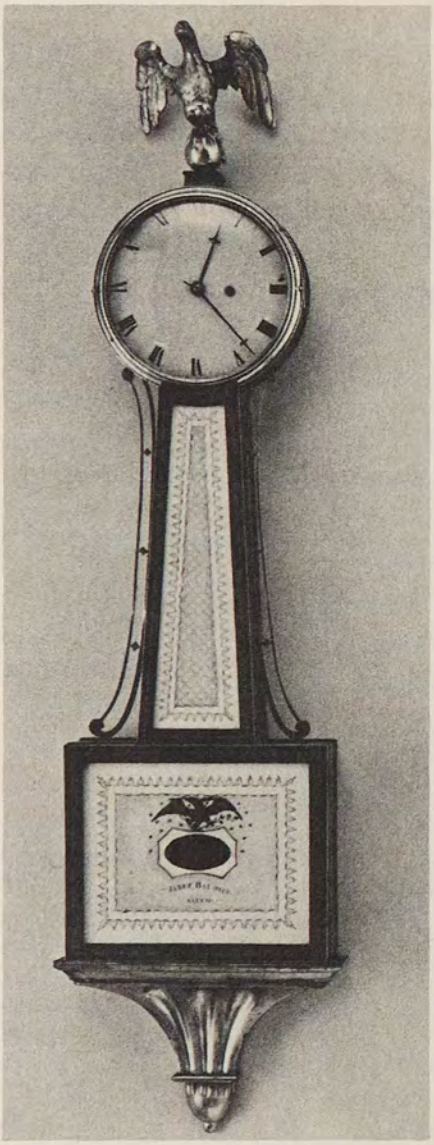

Figure 3 WALL CLOCK by Jabez Baldwin, Salem, Massachusetts, 1805-1809. H. 45½", W. 11⅝", D. 3¾"; Mahogany, Mahogany Veneer, Holly? (Pine). *Yale University Art Gallery, The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.*

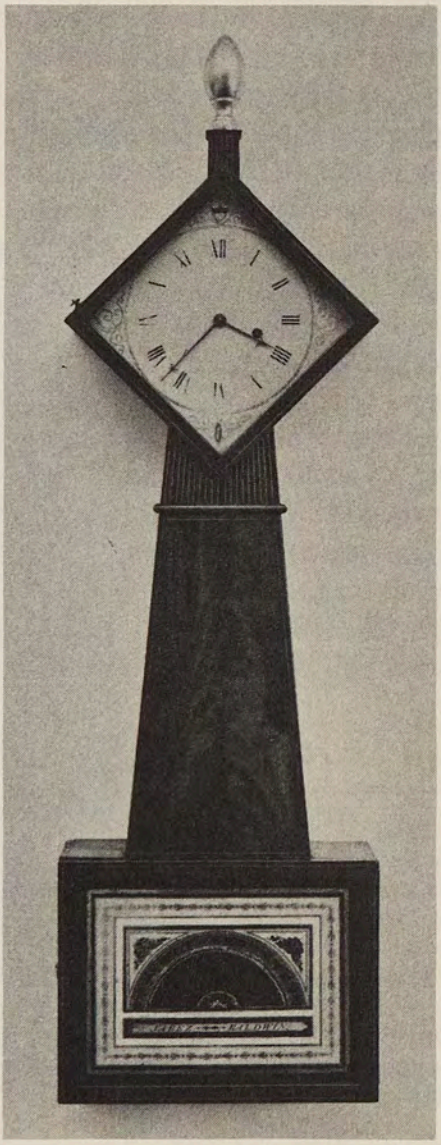

Figure 4 WALL CLOCK by Jabez Baldwin, Salem or Boston, Massachusetts, 1810-1819. H. 39", W. 11½", D. 4"; Mahogany, Mahogany Veneer, White Pine. *Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.*

with his name on the lower tablet. The more elaborate timepiece was made in Salem between 1805 and 1809 *(Figure 3).*[32] A simpler, diamond-head wall clock was made in Boston after 1813 *(Figure 4).* The blocky waist of the case with reeding above is unlike the lighter characteristics of the earlier Salem timepiece. The shield at the top of the face is similar to those used by Joshua Wilder and Reuben Tower on their shelf clocks made at Hingham, south of Boston, after 1815. The case is identical to another diamond-head timepiece inscribed "Aaron Willard Boston." Three other similar clocks are known. All of them suggest Boston or Roxbury origins.[33]

The principles behind Simon Willard's Patent Timepiece of 1802, which Baldwin copied, were the elimination of the striking mechanism and the placement of the escapement and pendulum at the front rather than the back of the works. This compact movement retained the advantages of a brass, eight-day mechanism, but required less metal. The cost was further reduced because a long pendulum and weight descent and, therefore, an expensive tall case were unnecessary. The disadvantage lay in bending the clutch wire, which links the escapement to the pendulum and regulates the mechanism, around the time wheels to allow the pendulum to swing freely. Jabez circumvented Willard's patent by turning the clock mechanism upside down, placing the escapement and the clutch wire below the works *(Figure 5).*[34] The two Baldwin clocks illustrate the economy of a standardization of parts and the inventive thinking of a tradesman and businessman trained in the shop tradition of Thomas Harland.

On 28 January 1806 Jabez advertised in the Springfield (Mass.) *Republican Spy* that "Watches and Gold Jewelry, to the amount of

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32. Edwin A. Battison and Patricia E. Kane, *The American Clock* (Greenwich, Conn.: New York Graphic Society, 1973), pp. 194-95. The eglomise tablet at the bottom of the clock reads "JABEZ BALDWIN/SALEM" and is signed "Willard and Nolen-Boston/5." Aaron Willard, Jr., and Spencer Nolen were ornamental painters in partnership in Boston between 1805 and 1809.

33. Five diamond-head timepieces are known to the author: Jabez Baldwin, H.F. du Pont Winterthur Museum; Aaron Willard, Shelburne Museum; Aaron Willard, private collection in Boston; Daniel Monroe, Jr., Old Sturbridge Village; Daniel Monroe, Jr., *American Antiques from the Israel Sack Collection* (New York: Highland House Publishers, 1974), 5: 1381; unidentified maker, C.W. Lyon, Inc. Collection, 1947.

34. There were two problems with Baldwin's design. Since the pendulum hung below the works, the length of the clock case was increased to accommodate the trajectory of the pendulum. If the movement were wound too tightly, the weight interfered with the unprotected escapement at the bottom of the works. For further discussion of the Baldwin timepieces, see Edward F. LaFond, "The Henry Francis du Pont Collection of American Clocks: A Catalogue of the Collection and an Interpretation of How It Illustrates Clockmaking in America from 1640-1840" (Master's Thesis, University of Delaware, 1964), pp. 267-69.

3000 dollars [were] taken [on 25 October 1805] . . . citizens of Salem have by subscription generously increased the reward to One Thousand Dollars.''[35] The value attached to the stolen merchandise shows how quickly Jabez had capitalized on the desire of a prosperous urban clientele for luxury goods. Furthermore, the people of Salem were capable and desirous of encouraging a clockmaker and silversmith to stay in their community. The goods were eventually recovered. Similarly, the citizens of Hanover had paid for the reconstruction of Jedidiah's shop after it burned in 1800.[36]

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35. *Republican Spy* (Springfield, Mass.) 28 January 1806; Thomas Baldwin to Jedidiah Baldwin, 15 March 1806. Baldwin Papers, Dartmouth College Archives.
36. Lord, *Hanover*, p. 33.

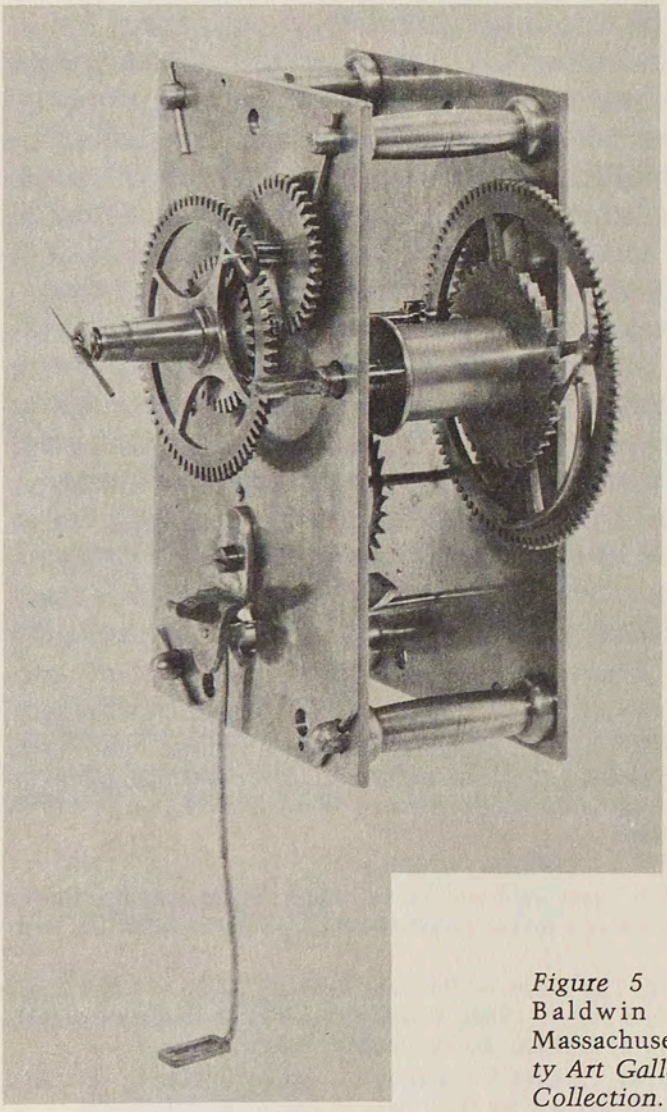

Figure 5 CLOCK WORKS by Jabez Baldwin (see *Figure 3*), Salem, Massachusetts, 1805-1809. *Yale University Art Gallery, The Mabel Brady Garvan Collection.*

Benjamin F. Brown remembered in 1869 that Jabez "kept a much larger stock of goods than any other person in the same line in town. . . Mr. Baldwin built the brick house a little north of Mr. Brigg's house [his father-in-law], subsequent to 1806 . . . which his widow and daughter now occupy." The three-story brick house built on Washington Square in 1809, into which Baldwin moved his family and shop from Essex Street, illustrates his status as a prosperous merchant. Eight years later his real estate was appraised at $3,600, and his personal estate was valued at $3,000.[37] The average in Ward 2 was $906.35 and $2,805.66, respectively. Baldwin lived more comfortably than many of his neighbors. Nevertheless, his income was listed at $700, just the amount which had sustained Jedidiah in Hanover. As the loan of $524 from his older brother between 1802 and 1809 suggests, Jabez needed time and nearly an extra year's income to establish himself in Salem and to enjoy the level of prosperity which his brother struggled to maintain in the Connecticut Valley.

The impact of Jefferson's embargo and the war with Great Britain forced Jabez to expand his business as a retailer. He entered into partnership with John B. Jones (1782-1854) at Boston in 1813. They purchased the store of John McFarlane, with whom Jedidiah had traded. The firm has evolved into Shreve, Crump & Low.[38] Baldwin returned full-time to Salem in 1817 and took Thomas Baker (ca. 1793-1820) into partnership. The inventory of stock taken during April in anticipation of the merger further illustrates the variety of goods available to his urban clientele.[39] Ten years earlier Jedidiah had sold most of these commodities in Hanover, although not in such quantity. The objects which he did not sell — lighting devices, tinware, and portrait frames — were outside of the specialties of a clockmaker and silversmith.

Jabez died at an early age. The Reverend William Bentley recorded in his diary on 8 November 1819 that "this evening died Jabez Baldwin, aet 42, a young tradesman of great activity, quiet manners & a most happy domestic life." Baldwin's estate was appraised at the substantial sum of $34,173.44.[40]

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37. Benjamin F. Browne, "Youthful Recollections of Salem," *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 49 (October 1913): 293; Salem Tax Inventory, Ward #2, 1818, on microfilm at the Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.

38. *The Magazine Antiques* 11, no. 2 (February 1927): 133.

39. Inventory Book (1817-1819) of Jabez Baldwin, Salem, Mass. Essex Institute Collections. The Winterthur Museum owns a ledger (1808-1813) of Jabez Baldwin that is incomplete.

40. Baldwin, *Genealogy*, p. 283; *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.*, 4 vols. (1905; reprint ed., Gloucester, Mass: Peter Smith, 1962), 4: 628; Inventory of the Estate of Jabez Baldwin, Docket #1576, Registry of Probate, Essex County, Salem, Mass.

The author would like to thank Mr. Charles S. Parsons, Mr. James L. Garvin, Mr. Kenneth Cramer, and Prof. Reginald F. French for their help in preparing this paper.

Jedidiah and Jabez Baldwin worked in commercial towns. The Connecticut River and later the turnpike system made Jedidiah's shop accessible to a population of 13,878 in 1800 and 16,197 in 1810 within a radius of fifteen miles. The population of Salem in those years was 9,457 and 12,613 people, respectively. In the eight towns around the densely populated core at Dartmouth College, there lived approximately 38.6 people per square mile in 1800 and 45 people per square mile in 1810. After the War of 1812, the population of the upper Connecticut Valley dwindled.

Both brothers were trained in the same specialties. Their raw materials came from the same sources, and their finished products were similar in conception. Their business practices and prosperity were affected similarly by national policy and economic change. The difference in the working environments of Hanover and Salem — the River and the Bay — lay in the number of people of means who could afford luxury goods. Once the wealthier citizens of the Hanover area had purchased the clocks, jewelry, and silver emblematic of their social station, fashion could not change quickly enough to provide Jedidiah with the volume of business necessary to sustain his family and reinvestment in production. This process of glutting the market took 17½ years, a remarkable length of time for the economy of an inland town.

On the other hand, Jabez was able to bridge the transition from the traditional shop life based on barter to a store setting where specie was exchanged for a variety of luxury merchandise, a fraction of which was of his own manufacture. Only the mercantile prosperity of Salem and the number of specialized tradesmen selling their wares to Baldwin at competitive wholesale prices allowed Jabez to remain at the Bay rather than following his brother to a small market town where fewer competing tradesmen would allow him the time both to practice his skills and to retail his products until the local demand was met. Wherever they traveled, however, the Baldwins profited from the same inclination in human nature. The shining metal and timekeeping gadgets marked "BALDWIN" satisfied the covetousness of their patrons and made the brothers equal partners in the economic landscape of federal New England.

Connecticut River Valley Doorways: An Eighteenth-Century Flowering

Amelia F. Miller

In the mid-eighteenth century a distinct and unmistakable style of doorway developed in the Connecticut River Valley in New England. Although not strictly confined to towns along the Connecticut River, this particular style flourished in its purest form from Wethersfield, Connecticut, north to Deerfield, Massachusetts. As valley joiners migrated into the western parts of Connecticut and Massachusetts and as men who had moved into those western areas commissioned joiners in the valley to build doorways, the style was carried beyond the river. Tangential examples were constructed in Connecticut towns along Long Island Sound. Certain areas developed regional characteristics. In Stratford, Connecticut, for example, doorways shared distinct features, such as diminutive keystones, found nowhere else. But only in towns along the river, those well established by the mid-eighteenth century, did the true Connecticut River Valley doorway dominate. Bold, baroque, and innovative, these doorways were rooted in the classical tradition and seem related in spirit to artisan manneristic gateways and doorways much favored in England in the previous century. They bear little resemblance, however, to doorways of the same period found one hundred miles to the east in coastal Massachusetts towns.

While the scroll pedimented doorway *(Figure 1)* is regarded as the most typical of the Connecticut River Valley styles, it was only one of several pediment variants. A triangular pediment was actually more common than a scroll and appears to have been a slightly earlier form. On rare occasions a segmental pediment was substituted. Indeed, as time went on, doorways were constructed with no pediment at all. We know that a large number of so-called flat-top doorways originally had a pediment (later removed for a variety of reasons), but others that reach to within inches of the window above clearly had none.

An annotated and expanded version of Amelia F. Miller's talk will be issued in the new "Occasional Publications" series to be published by The Dublin Seminar and Boston University Scholarly Publications. The expanded version will include a checklist of approximately two hundred Connecticut River Valley doorways with brief histories of each, documentation where possible, and features of each doorway. It will also include numerous photographs, an appendix listing those joiners who are known or thought to have worked on doorways, a glossary of terms, and a bibliography.

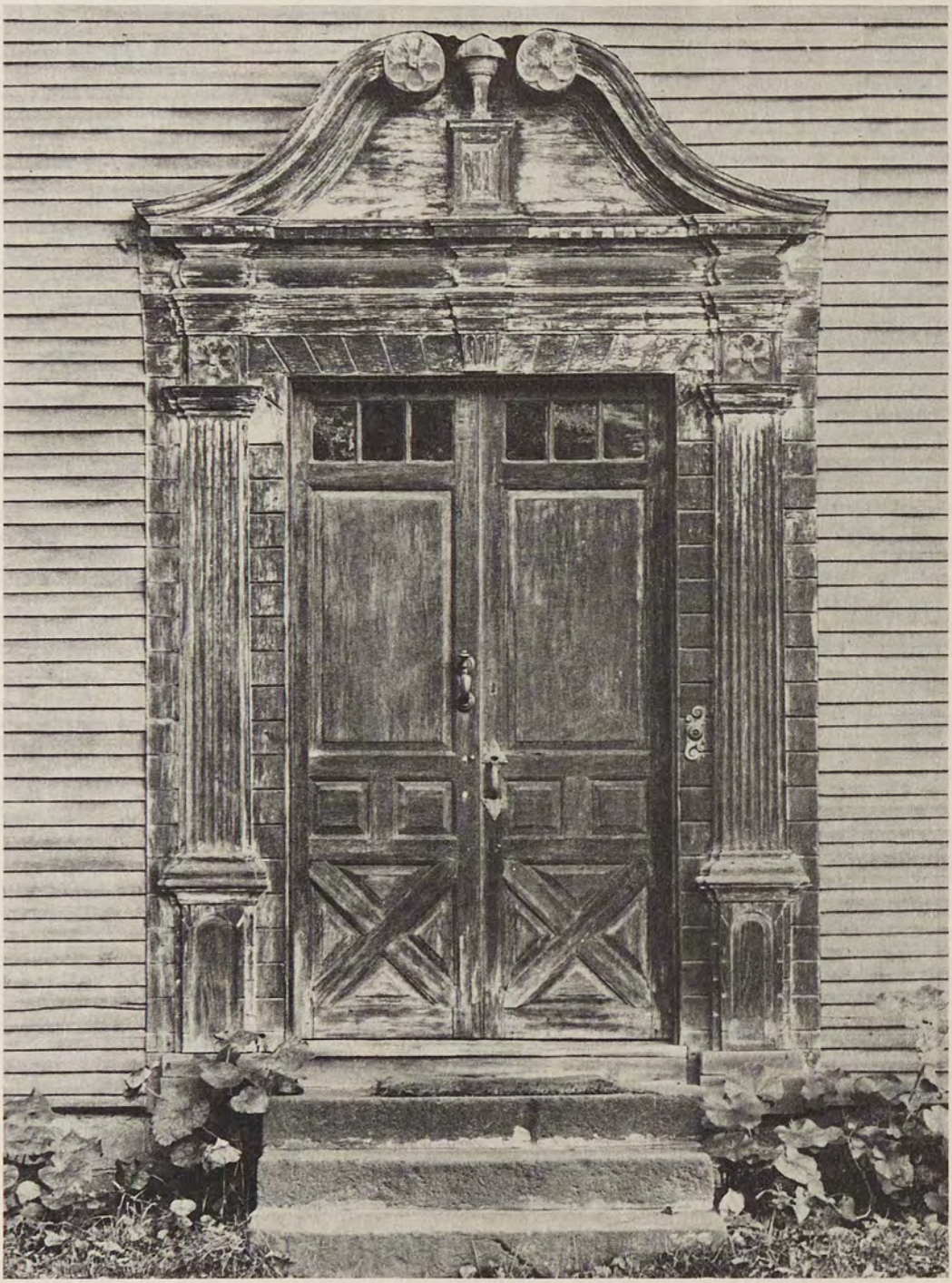

Figure 1 Doorway of the Elijah Williams house, Deerfield, Massachusetts, 1760. (photograph ca. 1930-1940)

It is the scroll pediment, however, that represents the greatest overall accomplishment of the eighteenth-century Connecticut River Valley house joiner. Trained to execute all manner of decorative work for a house or public building, both within and without (window pediments, stairways, paneling, pilastered chimney breasts, cornices, paneled summer beams, cupboards, and pulpits), the house joiner summoned his most exacting efforts in designing and building the high, curved scrolls and accompanying decorative work that make these doorways outstanding examples of the joiner's craft. Of the slightly over two hundred doorways of all varieties known from surviving examples and from sources such as paintings, photographs, drawings, architectural fragments, and literary descriptions, sixty-six had scroll pediments. Of these, only twenty-three survive: ten in museums or historical societies, thirteen on the houses for which they were constructed *(Table 1)*. Of the thirteen still attached to houses, only eleven may be regarded as basically unaltered.

There is no way to determine how many of these scroll pediments originally existed in the eighteenth century, but surely more than those now known. The town of Hatfield, Massachusetts, home of the joiner Samuel Partridge to whom can be attributed doorways both in Hatfield and in other towns, had as many as six surviving on the village street in the late nineteenth century. But Hatfield may not be typical. Certainly there existed doorways, now lost, in towns experiencing considerable urban development prior to the age of photography, such as Hartford, Connecticut, and Springfield, Massachusetts. But other forces were also responsible for these losses. Many pediments were undoubtedly destroyed when front porches became fashionable in the nineteenth century, and changing fashion also determined that many houses with doorways were torn down to be replaced by new residences. Fire, general deterioration, and rot also took their toll. In 1914 boys with firecrackers on the Fourth of July wrecked the then deserted Churchill house in Newington, Connecticut *(Figure 2)*.

The agents that managed to save and preserve the known surviving pedimented doorways were equally diverse. Sentiment must have prompted late-nineteenth-century residents of the David Judson house in Stratford to apply the early pediment to the gable of a Victorian porch where it remained until the porch was ultimately removed, at which time the pediment was returned to its rightful position over the front door.

Judging by the number of houses and public buildings with scroll doorways that were recorded in paintings and drawings during the nineteenth century, these doorways were even then regarded by some as important monuments of the community. It was not until the early twentieth century, however, that antiquarians and dealers began to

recognize their true worth. In 1916, when the Metropolitan Museum of Art purchased from Charles Woolsey Lyon the scroll-pedimented doorway already removed from the Daniel Fowler house in Westfield, Massachusetts, the Connecticut River Valley doorway was brought to the attention of a wide audience *(Figure 3)*. Subsequently, several scroll doorways were rescued from houses destined to be demolished and were installed in other major museums.

In the middle of the eighteenth century the times were right in the Connecticut River Valley for outward manifestations of wealth and security. The Indian wars that directly and personally had affected

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Table 1 Surviving Scroll Pedimented Doorways.

Doorway on original house:		*New Location:*
CONNECTICUT		
Farmington	Judah Woodruff	
Northford	Rev. Warham Williams	Roxbury, Ct.
Old Lyme	John McCurdy	
South Windsor	Ebenezer Grant	
Stratford	David Judson	
Suffield	Rev. Ebenezer Gay	
Wethersfield	Simeon Belden	
Stratford	Robert Walker, Jr.*	
MASSACHUSETTS		
Deerfield	Thomas Dickinson*	
Deerfield	Elijah Williams	
Hadley	Samuel Porter	
Hatfield	Simeon Wait	
Stockbridge	Rev. John Sargeant	
Doorway moved:		
CONNECTICUT		
Colchester	Jonathan Kilbourn	Milestone Village, Darien, Ct.
East Hartford	Rev. Eliphalet Williams	Connecticut Historical Society
Hartford	Thomas Seymour	Old Lyme, Ct.
Newington	Charles Churchill	Wadsworth Atheneum
Southington	Samuel Curtis	New York Historical Society
MASSACHUSETTS		
Hatfield	Jonathan Allis	State Street Bank, Boston
Hatfield	Elihu White	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Longmeadow	Samuel Colton	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
Springfield	Josiah Dwight	Winterthur Museum
Westfield	Daniel Fowler	Metropolitan Museum of Art

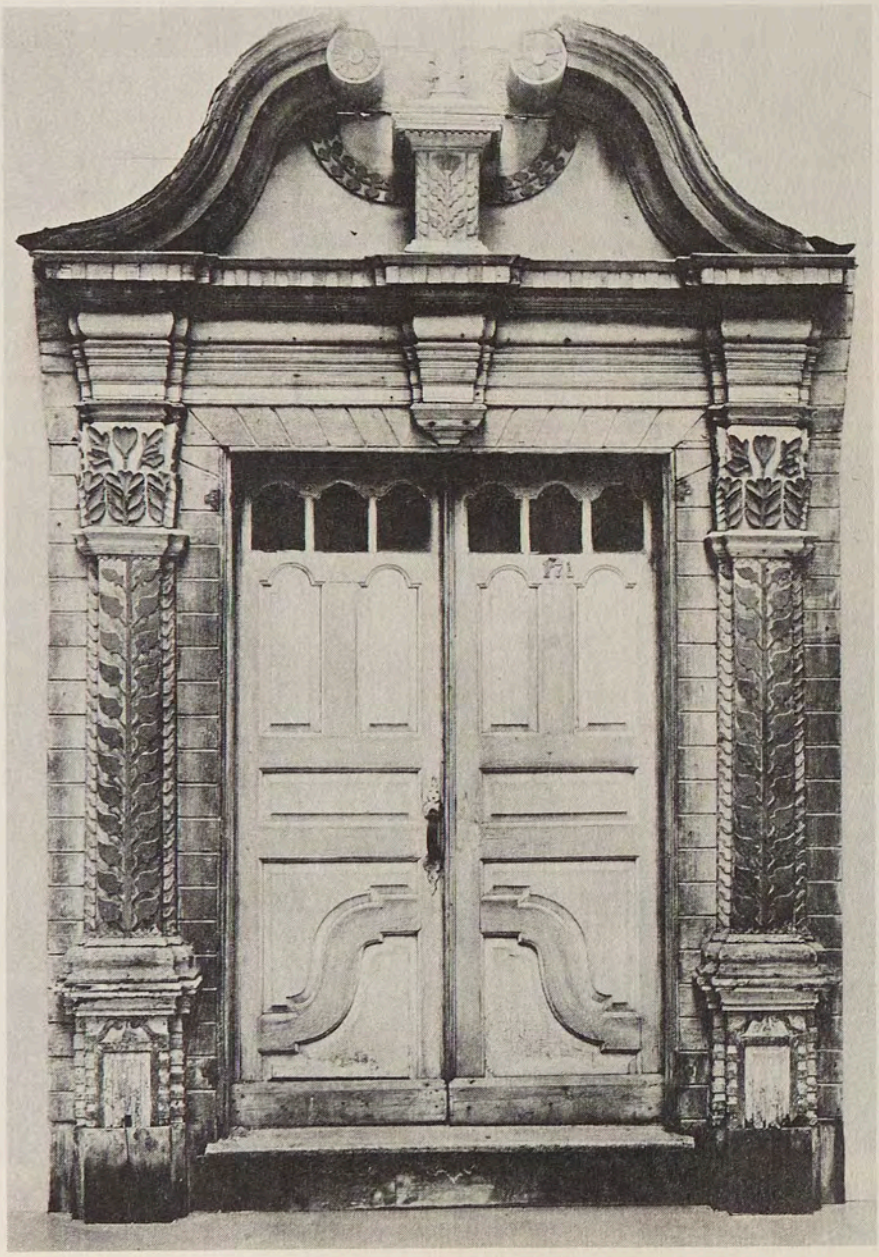
* Pediment removed.

valley settlements were all but over. Men of means and position — ministers, merchants, those in professions, and those of rank in the militia — could now afford to employ joiners to decorate their homes with fine paneling, shell-carved cupboards, and elaborate doorways.

Figure 2 Doorway of the Charles Churchill house, Newington, Connecticut, 1754. (photographed before 1914)

These same men, frequently appointed to committees supervising the building of meeting houses, churches, and other public edifices, were also responsible for selecting pedimented doorways for these structures. And joiners in the valley were quick to take note of and to im-

Figure 3 Doorway from the Daniel Fowler house, Westfield, Massachusetts, ca. 1762-1764, purchased by The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1916. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1916.*



itate architectural features in large towns to the east, such as the scroll pedimented balcony doorway on Thomas Hancock's house on Beacon Hill in Boston *(Figure 4)*.

What the Connecticut River Valley joiner did not know was that the practice of decorating doorways with a pediment was ancient, at least as ancient as the monumental Lion Gate at Mycenae of about 1250 B.C. Nor did he know that a scroll-like pediment was painted as an entrance to the world beyond on a wall at Boscoreale near Pompeii about 60 B.C. And if the Connecticut River Valley joiner could have known that a hint of the scroll pediment was constructed in fifteenth-century Italy on the Ducal Palace at Urbino, he probably would have attached as little relevance to it as to the elaborately pedimented gateways and doorways that had been designed by Serlio in Italy in the sixteenth century.

Like his patron, however, the Connecticut River Valley joiner did know that the scroll pedimented doorway was to be found in England on stately homes such as Uppark in Sussex and closer at hand on similar houses like Sparhawk Hall in Kittery, Maine *(Figure 5)*. Builders of such houses as Sparhawk Hall designed doorways by using architectural pattern books or builders' guides that were published in England and imported into the colonies. By studying these books it was possible for the joiner on the east coast to render a faithful copy of

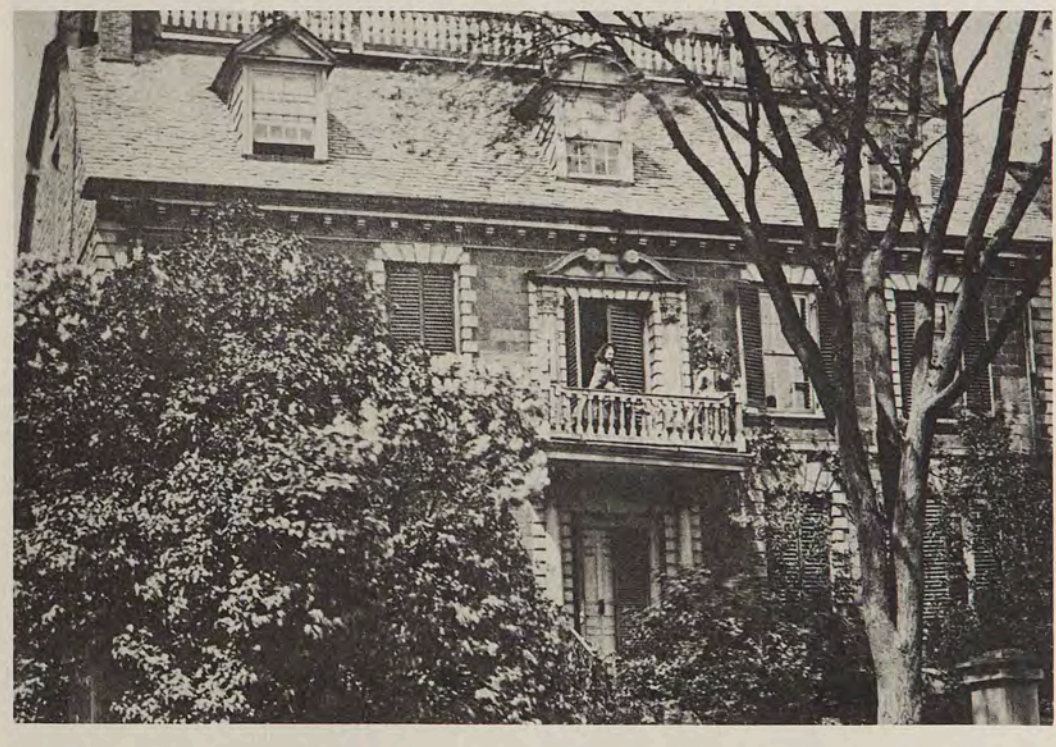


Figure 4 Balcony doorway, Thomas Hancock house, Boston, 1738-1740. (photographed ca. 1859-1863)

Figure 5 Doorway from the Nathaniel Sparhawk house (Sparhawk Hall), Kittery, Maine, ca. 1742. The doorway is in storage at Strawbery Banke, Portsmouth, New Hampshire. (photograph ca. 1930-1940)

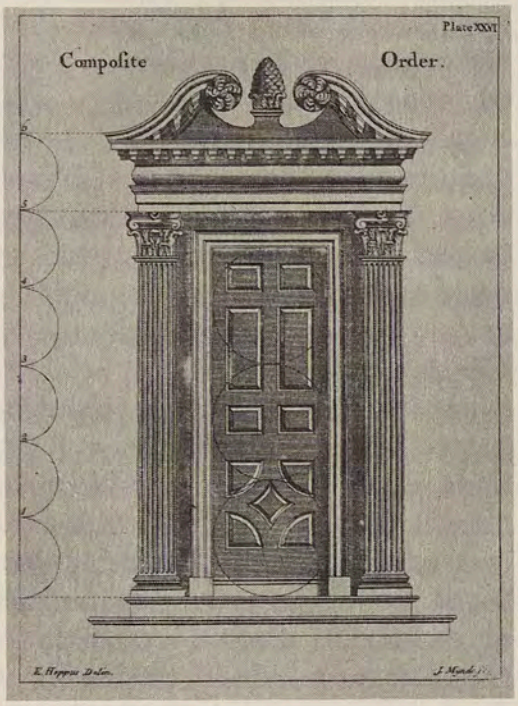


Figure 6 Doorway from William Salmon, *Palladio Londinensis*, seventh edition, 1767. Plate XXVI, Composite Order. (The first edition was issued in London, 1734.)

a printed plate. A comparison of a design given in William Salmon's *Palladio Londinensis (Figure 6)* with the doorway on Sparhawk Hall reveals striking similarities in the general proportions, the pilasters, and the abbreviated scrolls in each pediment.

On the other hand, if the doorway on Sparhawk Hall is compared to a typical scroll pedimented doorway of the Connecticut River Valley — for example, that on the Elijah Williams house in Deerfield *(Figure 1)* — the distinct characteristics of the valley doorway become apparent. Noticeable are the pilasters with high paneled pedestals and fluting separated by a heavy or fat ogee molding, a decorated pilaster cap, a decorated keystone, several bands of fascia in the architrave, a pulvinated frieze, a decorated cornice, a rusticated surround, double-leaf doors, and in this case a scroll pediment with an ornamental finial and rosettes at the termination of the scrolls. Expense and preference determined whether the entire doorway was to be doubled, a device that gave the illusion of depth and set the doorway in relief. For doorways of the Connecticut River Valley style there was no rule, but each doorway shares a majority, if not all, of the above features. The single all-important feature is the pulvinated frieze.

One may well ask why the Connecticut River Valley joiner failed to copy so faithfully from his builders' guides as did his counterpart on the east coast. The answer is clearly not because the valley joiner lacked a basic skill with his working tools or, more important, the mathematical knowledge to execute doorways illustrated in architectural pattern books. To modify successfully was more difficult than to copy. Three mathematical calculations were involved in the construction of a scroll pediment: the height of the basic triangles from which each scroll is formed, the point of inflection or point at which the curve reverses, and the distance between the two basic triangles. Considering that an alteration by so much as an inch or two of any one of these factors could throw the whole off balance, the pleasingly proportioned results achieved by the Connecticut River Valley joiner leave little doubt as to his ability with his compass, an ability perhaps greater than that of those who followed builders' guides more literally.

Fundamental modifications were not made arbitrarily. Connecticut River Valley joiners were obliged to adapt doorway proportions to accommodate double-leaf doors. Not commonly illustrated or recommended in builders' guides in the eighteenth century, double-leaf doors are known on the basis of surviving architectural evidence to have occasionally made an appearance on the east coast for a brief period about 1725, whereas in the Connecticut River Valley the use of double doors at the main entrance had become widespread by the mid-eighteenth century. The advantage of double doors opening into the narrow front entry of a center-chimney house is obvious, but in the Connecticut River Valley double doors were used on houses with center halls as well. The reason for this preference in the valley when the need no longer existed is not entirely clear. It may be that double doors were seen as lending emphasis to the entrances of dwelling houses owned by ministers and leading figures of a community as they did to meeting houses and other imposing public buildings. Whatever the reason, the resulting widened door opening forced the valley joiner to deviate from published ratios and to make his own adjustments.

An entirely different factor, unrelated to proportion, was responsible for the individuality of decorative detail on Connecticut River Valley doorways. Although the joiners clearly had a full grasp of mathematical principles, their geographical situation in the valley, so far removed from European intellectual sources, prevented any thorough understanding or reverence for the sanctity of classical rules. From builders' guides a classical vocabulary was available, a concept of the orders; but Vitruvius, Alberti, Serlio, Palladio, Inigo Jones, and even the later Englishmen who published architectural guides, Batty Langley, Edward Hoppus, and William Salmon among others, were helpful experts only, not law-makers.

Without realizing he was committing a form of architectural heresy, the valley joiner solved his particular problems as he freely translated published decorative formulas without compunction. He probably attempted to imitate a Corinthian capital when he carved foliate pilaster caps like those on the Eleazer Porter house in Hadley, Massachusetts. He was almost certainly inspired by a plate in Batty Langley's *Gothic Architecture*, published in London in 1742,when he executed vine-carved pilasters like those on the Elihu White house in Hatfield; but he was also aware of the vernacular vine-like carvings on joined furniture still much in evidence from a generation or two earlier, now known as Hadley chests.

Bearing in mind then all of these intermingling forces — the three variable mathematical principles that determine the appearance of a scroll pediment, the need to adapt builders' guide proportions to accommodate double-leaf doors, classical rules only partially comprehended, the influence of traditional design patterns of previous generations — it is apparent that the individual Connecticut River Valley joiner was given wide latitude as he planned a doorway. It follows logically to ask why, then, there should be so striking a similarity of proportion and decorative detail up and down the valley. If these Connecticut River Valley doorways differ so prominently from published patterns and from doorways to the east, why do they differ so little amongst themselves? Or, in other words, why is there a Connecticut River Valley style? Why should the proportion and detail of a doorway such as on the Simeon Belden house in Wethersfield, resemble so closely that on the Elijah Williams house in Deerfield? How can we account for similar details not illustrated in builders' guides that appear in widely separated areas?

It certainly is not by chance that the keystone on the Simeon Belden doorway and that on the doorway of the David Sexton house in Deerfield are so similar and are only two of a considerable number taking the same form. Similarities in the valley are far too striking to be coincidental. The foliage decorated pilaster cap on the Eleazer Porter house in Hadley is reproduced in Stockbridge to the west in the Berkshires on the Reverend John Sargeant house. Doors with notched or jagged "S" panels on the Ebenezer Grant house in South Windsor, Connecticut, match those on the Daniel Fowler doorway from Westfield. (An even more surprising detail is shared by these last two doorways: instead of a panel, each pedestal contains a miniature scroll doorway.) Elsewhere, a fan at the base of the fluting on pilasters that appears on the Luke Thrall house in East Granby, Connecticut, is also present miles to the east on the Reverend John Willard house in Stafford, Connecticut, and is found far to the north on the Richard Church house in Hatfield, as well. Triangular pediments on doorways and on

windows are occasionally decorated with a slim vertical piece reaching from the center of the base to the apex where in the soffit of the triangle a projection of the bed molding spreads outward to resemble the outline of an elm tree. This device is found in the Massachusetts towns of Longmeadow, Springfield, and Northampton and in Suffield, Connecticut.

Not only in decorative detail but also in overall proportion the doorways on the Elijah Williams house in Deerfield and the Simeon Wait house in Hatfield appear nearly identical. The scroll pediments have the same mushroom-shaped finial set on a paneled base and the same six-petal rosettes at the termination of the scrolls. The rusticated surrounds are identical as are the three-channeled keystones and paneled pedestals. Moldings in each entablature are similar and the six-petal rosettes in the pilaster caps have the same three-point centers. Measurements confirm the visual impression.

The answer to the question of homogeneity of doorways in the Connecticut River Valley suggests itself. Doorway joiners traveled from town to town, not as did the wandering nineteenth-century painter in search of work and bed and board, but at the request of men who wished to employ their special talents. Doorway joiners also migrated westward. That these joiners were sent for further suggests that a limited number of house joiners made a speciality of constructing doorways.

A pattern slowly emerges that can be sparsely but adequately documented. The joiner Samuel Partridge, for instance, was born in Hadley and probably trained in Wethersfield. In the fall of 1754 Partridge accompanied two joiners from Connecticut, Oliver Eason and Parmenas King, who went to Deerfield and worked for a month on the house of Elijah Williams. Earlier that year Eason was employed by Samuel Colton of Longmeadow along with John Steel II, a Longmeadow joiner, to work on a scroll doorway for his house. King had contracted with Samuel Colton on 20 July 1754 to complete the joinery work on the east side or front of his house that would have included the triangular window pediments with elm tree vertical molding in the center. The hands of Eason and Steel are discernable on the doorways of the Josiah Dwight house in Springfield and on the Joseph Pease house in Suffield. These houses both have triangular window pediments of the Parmenas King elm tree type. When work for Elijah Williams in Deerfield was completed on 5 December 1754, Eason returned to East Hartford. King resumed work on Samuel Colton's house in Longmeadow, and Partridge settled in Hatfield across the river from his native Hadley. A considerable number of scroll doorways can be attributed to him in each of these towns and elsewhere.

The joiner James Eason, a cousin of Oliver Eason, left East Hartford and lived for a time in Litchfield, Connecticut, where he worked on the 1762 meeting house. He was probably responsible for the scroll doorway and the pulpit of this structure. He then settled in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, about 1764 in time to work on the scroll doorway on the house of Pittsfield's first minister, the Reverend Thomas Allen.

The joiner Alexander Grant of South Windsor, who had worked there on the town's third meeting house, 1757-1761, purchased land in Westfield in 1764. His brothers, the joiners Aaron and Abiel Grant, had worked in 1757 on the house of their relative, Ebenezer Grant, whose doorway in South Windsor had miniature scroll pediments outlined in the pedestals. The migration of Alexander Grant to Westfield explains not only the similar pedestals on the Daniel Fowler house in Westfield, but also those in Sheffield, Massachusetts, on the house of Gen. John Ashley whose family had moved to the Berkshires from Westfield.

Figure 7 Christ Church, Stratford, Connecticut, begun 1743, demolished 1858. From a painting dated August 1857. *Christ Church, Stratford.*

As joiners traveled, worked together, and moved apart, as they changed their place of residence, as settlers and joiners alike moved westward, their ideas were carried up and down the river and beyond. These exchanges probably account for the continuity of style in the larger Connecticut River Valley area. Bounded approximately in time by the doorway on Christ Church in Stratford of about 1743 *(Figure 7)*, and by that designed for the 1795 Roxbury, Connecticut, meeting house, the scroll pedimented doorway was favored as an entrance for dwelling houses only during the decades of the 1750s and 1760s. By the turn of the century, construction of the scroll type, as well as of triangular pediments and flat tops, with all the characteristic trimmings of multi-petalled rosettes, foliage carving, rustication, imaginative keystones, and heavy pulvinated friezes — the architectural form known as the Connecticut River Valley doorway — had ceased.

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Architecture and Society of the Urban Frontier: Windsor, Vermont, in 1800

William N. Hosley, Jr.

One hundred years of scholarship on the Connecticut River Valley has revealed numerous groups of artifacts that suggest that the towns along the river comprise a distinct cultural region.[1] This accumulation of evidence has been used by folklorists and cultural geographers to support a view implied in the theme of this conference: culture has a strong geographical component. Folklorist Henry Glassie, for example, asserted that "vernacular architecture exhibits less variety in time than it does in space. Its thickest matrix is regional. . ." But, as Robert Trent cautioned, we must be careful in assigning significance to geography as a binding force and recognize countervailing factors that lead towards dispersal rather than cohesion of cultural traits.[2] Additionally, historians increasingly emphasize the role of communication as the primary force sustaining regional identity.[3] If there is a sameness among artifacts made in the Connecticut Valley during the colonial period, it is most likely because there was a high level of communication among its constituent towns and comparitively little with the world beyond.

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1. Each of the following works treats the subject of a group of objects of like character that were made in a large number of towns in the Connecticut Valley by different artisans working in a common ornamental and stylistic tradition. Clair F. Luther, *The Hadley Chest* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard Co., 1935); William N. Hosley, Jr., and Philip Zea, "Decorated Board Chests of the Connecticut River Valley," *Magazine Antiques* 119, no. 5 (May 1981): 1146-51; Michael K. Brown, "Scalloped-Top Furniture of the Connecticut River Valley," *Magazine Antiques* 67, no. 5 (May 1980); Amelia F. Miller, "Connecticut River Valley Doorways: An Eighteenth-Century Flowering," in this volume.

2. Henry Glassie, "Vernacular Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 35, no. 4 (December 1976): 294; Robert F. Trent, "Style, Technology, and the Craftsmen: Assessing Regionalism in Seventeenth-Century New England Joinery," in this volume.

3. Richard Beeman, "New Social History and the Search for 'Community' in Colonial America," *American Quarterly* 29, no. 4 (Fall 1977): 427. Beeman writes that "the principal force that held members of a particular community together was communication and not simply physical space"; Darrett B. Rutman, "The Social Web: A Prospectus for the Study of Early American Community," *Insights and Parallels: Problems and Issues of American Social History*, ed. William L. O'Neill (Minneapolis: Burgess, 1973), pp. 57-89. This is perhaps the most cogent argument by a historian against the geographical bias of cultural studies.

The insularity of the Connecticut Valley was undoubtedly a factor in the development and perpetuation of a regional style. To the colonial inhabitants of the Connecticut Valley, the distance to Boston was great, both physically and psychologically. However, the Revolution produced rapid and significant social change. Wartime logistics introduced widened perspectives by strengthening networks of communication. The ideology of the New Republic encouraged these perspectives through its emphasis on enlightened rationalism, a world view that embraced all realms of scientific inquiry, commercial development, and associational activity.[4]

Following the Revolution, a network of central place towns that were largely commercial and externally oriented emerged in the once predominantly agricultural Connecticut Valley. Towns like Hartford, Springfield, Northampton, Greenfield, and Windsor were centers of trade, communication, industry, and culture. Richard D. Brown noted that, with the growth of these towns, "localism and insularity was being challenged, if not actually destroyed."[5] These towns functioned as cultural conduits, bringing the style and substance of urban life to the valley region.

Nowhere is the emergence of urban society in the Connecticut Valley more conspicuous than in the frontier settlement of Windsor, Vermont, a town whose early history was entirely shaped by the aspirations and affectations of urban life. Uncertainty over land titles and the threat of military invasion limited settlement on the Vermont side of the northern Connecticut Valley until after the Revolution. With these limitations removed, the region swelled immediately with war pensioners, speculators, and settlers looking for new land and opportunities on the frontier.[6] Windsor, like other urban frontier towns, attracted an educated, entrepreneurial, forward-looking, and aggressive class of individuals who promoted their town through their business dealings and political contacts, and who self-consciously affected urbane pretentions both in their personal and public undertakings.[7]

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4. Richard D. Brown, "The Emergence of Urban Society in Rural Massachusetts, 1760-1820," *Journal of American History* 61, no. 1 (June 1974): 42-45; Gordon S. Wood, *Creation of the American Republic* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1969); Richard L. Bushman, "Freedom and Prosperity in the American Revolution," *Legacies of the American Revolution*, ed. Larry R. Gerlach (Salt Lake City: State University of Utah, 1978), pp. 61-84.

5. Brown, "Emergence of Urban Society," p. 42.

6. Matt Bushnell Jones, *Vermont in the Making, 1750-1777* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1939). This is still the best treatment of Vermont's early settlement period.

7. Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Random House, 1967). Boorstin advances the concept of the local booster, the well-educated,

From 1800 to 1810 Windsor was the largest town in Vermont, the northernmost point of navigation along the Connecticut River, the most important mill site in its county, and a growing manufacturing center.[8] Its commercial district was unsurpassed in the northern valley.[9] Its bookstores, book publishers, and three newspapers made it a leading printing center.[10] Its artisans organized in 1805 the first professional trade association in the northern valley, the Windsor Mechanics Association.[11] They were led by a new class of urban-trained artisan-entrepreneurs, men like cabinetmaker Julius Barnard and hatmaker Samuel Patrick, who co-owned a four-story brick workshop, built about 1804.[12] By 1810 there were half a dozen major commercial buildings in Windsor, among them the Tontine Building, a three-story structure erected in 1805 and probably modeled after the Tontine Building in Northampton, Massachusetts.[13]

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well-connected, highly entrepreneurial individual whose "starting belief was in the interfusing of public and private prosperity" (p. 116). In Windsor, a solid core of the same names turns up again and again in the numerous petitions to the state legislature for the creation of a regional bank, building a turnpike, raising money to build a bridge, locating such state institutions as the capitol and the prison in town, and securing a charter for the female academy. These same men exhibited a tendency toward associational activity and were members of the Masonic Lodge, the fire company, the militia; leaders in religious and political life; and hosts to visiting dignitaries.

8. Zadock Thompson, *History of Vermont, Natural, Civil and Statistical* (Burlington: Chauncey Goodrich, 1842), sec. 3, pp. 209-10. A decade by decade list of population by town. James Whitelaw, *Map of Vermont* (1796). Manuscript Tax List, West Parish, Windsor, Vt. (1810), Town Clerk's Office, Windsor, Vt. These two sources list mill sites in Windsor and Windsor County.

9. Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York*, 4 vols. (1821; reprint ed., Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1969), 2:321. Dwight remarked that "Windsor contains a considerable number of stores and among others one or two bookstores . . . More mercantile and mechanical business is done here than in any town on the river north of Massachusetts, and it is said to be increasing." The advertisements in newspapers confirm Windsor's preeminence as a commercial center.

10. Marcus A. McCorison *Vermont Imprints, 1778-1820* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1963). McCorison provides an excellent history of the printing trade. No other town in inland New England surpassed Windsor in the number of newspapers printed there simultaneously in 1810. They were the *Washingtonian*, *Spooner's Vermont Journal*, and the *Vermont Republican*.

11. *Post-Boy* (Windsor: December 1805 and 25 March 1806). Advertisements for meetings of the society. The first petition submitted to the Vermont State Legislature for the charter of the society was in 1810. Ms., Vermont State Papers, Montpelier, 47: 78, 15 October 1810.

12. In 1805 Julius Barnard purchased Nathan Hale's share of a "large four-story Brick workshop" that was partially owned by Samuel Patrick. Windsor Land Records, Windsor Town Offices, 8: 214-15.

13. Windsor Land Records, 9: 53-54, deed signed 24 March 1807. In the *Vermont Journal* (Windsor, 30 November 1818) is the only description of the building, recorded at the time it burned. A similar building in Northampton, Mass. "was of wood three stories high, and was mainly occupied by mechanics and traders." *Hampshire Gazette* (Northampton, 6 September 1886). Thanks to Leigh Keno for this reference.

A cosmopolitan center, Windsor enjoyed more taverns, public assembly rooms, voluntary associations, churches, and fraternal and professional societies than any of its neighboring towns.[14] The Pettes Coffee House, built in 1801, was described by a visitor as the "best public house in Vermont," the stopping place for visiting dignitaries and the meeting place for the local dancing school, fire company, and Masonic Lodge. Visiting theater companies and artists stayed there as well.[15] Windsor also boasted the most exclusive female academy in Vermont.[16] When traveler Thomas Cushing noted that in "elegance of the buildings, and the polished manners of the inhabitants. . . [Windsor] decidedly takes place of all the other towns in the state,"[17] he was observing a phenomenon that was unprecedented in the history of the Connecticut Valley.

The dialogue among Windsor, Boston, and other central place towns in the Connecticut Valley — and Windsor's unique role as the arbiter of style in the northern valley region — can be documented by examining the town's architecture. It is significant that on three occasions between 1798 and 1820, local leaders in Windsor consciously sought out and commissioned professional architects, whose work catalyzed the building trade while providing progressive stylistic paradigms. These architects included Asher Benjamin of Greenfield, Massachusetts,[18] the leading practitioner of neoclassicism in the Connecticut Valley in 1797, whose work in Windsor is described in some detail below. They also included Stuart J. Park of Groton, Massachusetts,[19] probably New England's only specialized prison architect; and Alexander Parris of Boston,[20] a leader in the introduction of the Greek revival style in America.

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14. Besides the Artists and Mechanics Society, Windsor was the home of Vermont's earliest Masonic Lodge (Records of the Vermont Lodge, Windsor, 1:5 and 8). The following organizations are documented: Jefferson Artillery Company, ms. Vermont State Papers, 48:59 (12 October 1810); Windsor Fire Society, organized in 1811, *Washingtonian* (Windsor, 12 December 1811); Windsor County Bible Society, *Vermont Journal* (8 May 1816); Washington Benevolent Society, *Washingtonian* (3 February 1812). There were churches in three denominations by 1816: Congregational, Baptist, and Anglican.

15. Thomas Parkman Cushing, "Journey to Vermont, New Hampshire, the White Mountains, and Maine in 1818," ms. privately owned. Advertisements in the newspapers document a wide range of activities that took place at the coffee house. Those mentioned in this text are cited from the following references: *Windsor Gazette* (18 August 1801); *Washingtonian* (21 February 1812); *Vermont Journal* (28 April 1817, 3 April 1815, 12 February 1807, 26 March 1821).

16. The school was a pioneer in female education. Students were attracted from across the state and New Hampshire. Ms., Vermont State Papers, 58: 112; *Vermont Journal* (8 December 1817); *Rutland Herald* (24 April 1816).

17. Cushing, "Journey to Vermont . . . ," np.

18. Jack Quinan, "Asher Benjamin and American Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 38, no. 3 (October 1979). This issue is largely devoted to Asher Benjamin and contains a complete bibliography and chronological list of his work.

Asher Benjamin's life and work have been thoroughly explored by Abbott L. Cummings, Jack Quinan, and others.[21] Born in Hartland, Connecticut, in 1773, Benjamin probably served an apprenticeship in Hartford County, where by 1790 the building trade had developed a high level of specialization and included individuals like Joseph Woodbridge, who was responsible for executing Charles Bulfinch's plan for the Connecticut State House in 1795.[22] Benjamin's first significant professional achievement was the construction of the circular staircase for that building, the earliest known in America.[23] Three years later when he reached Windsor, Benjamin had added to his list of achievements the design and construction of at least five major buildings in the central Connecticut Valley and the publication of the first builder's guidebook by an American author, The *Country Builder's Assistant* (1797).[24] He returned to Windsor about May 1800, remaining for two years until about May 1802. The *Country Builder's Assistant* went into a second edition while he was in Windsor; and in his final months there he organized and conducted the first architectural school in New England. There he trained local house joiners in:

> the Five orders of Architecture, the proportions of Doors, Windows, and Chimneypieces, the construction of Stairs with their ramp and twist Rails, the method of framing timbers, length and backing of Hipraffters, the tracing of Groins to angle brackets circular soffits in circular walls; Plans, Elevations and Sections of Houses, with all Their Ornaments. The art of drawing Plans and Elevations, or any other figure perspectively will also be taught.[25]

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19. Parke, a presently unknown architect and builder of the early nineteenth century has an impressive list of buildings to his name — among them, the Massachusetts State Prison in Charlestown (1803-1806), designed by Charles Bulfinch, and the State House in Concord, New Hampshire (1816). Frank Sylvester Parke, *Genealogy of the Parke Families of Massachusetts* (Washington, D. C.: Privately Printed, 1909), pp. 195, 199.

20. Alexander Parris, Drawings for the Episcopal Church, Windsor, Vermont, 1820, on loan at the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston.

21. Quinan, "Asher Benjamin and American Architecture."

22. William DeLoss Love, *Colonial History of Hartford* (Hartford: Privately Printed, 1914), pp. 223-24. Joseph Woodbridge, an unknown in American architectural history, was the master builder of the Connecticut State House. Entrusted to execute plans of such sophistication, Woodbridge must have been a master of unparalleled talent in the Hartford County region. It was this sort of master to whom Benjamin almost certainly apprenticed.

23. Asher Benjamin, *The Practice of Architecture* (1830; reprint ed., New York: DaCapo, 1972), p. 93. Benjamin wrote that "in the year 1795 I made the drawings and superintended the erection of a circular stair-case in the State House at Hartford, Connecticut; which, I believe, was the first circular rail that was ever made in New England."

24. Abbott Lowell Cummings, "An Investigation of the Sources, Stylistic Evolution and Influence of Asher Benjamin's Builder's Guides" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, 1951), p. 58.

25. The date of Asher Benjamin's move to Windsor cannot be exactly determined. It may have been as early as February 1800, when he was in town witnessing the signing of

The professional designation "architect" was used elsewhere in Vermont during the period, and it is almost certain that Asher Benjamin considered himself one.[26] The designs that Benjamin undertook during his initial (1798) stay in Windsor underscore his role as a model architect of the urban frontier who anticipated change and progress and who sought to advance it. The Congregational meeting house, completed in Windsor during the summer of 1798 while he lived in Greenfield,[27] has suffered three generations of alterations with no original views surviving. The roof and tower, however, are unaltered *(Figure 1)* and offer evidence of the original plan, which was probably a highly embellished version of Benjamin's "plan for a meetinghouse" published in the first edition of the *Country Builder's Assistant*. Working backwards from the evidence of two houses built immediately after the completion of the meeting house, it is possible to conjecture that, like the houses, the original meetinghouse frontispiece had an entablature ornamented with festooning, urns, and bellflowers, decorative flourishes characteristic of Benjamin's work in Windsor. The Abner Forbes house *(Figure 2)*, which dates the same year as the meeting house (1798), may have been built by Stephen Savage, Benjamin's future partner in Windsor and the man he may have trusted with the execution of this meetinghouse plan.[28] The house is important in that it anticipates Asher Benjamin's designs after 1800. In 1798 the meeting house and Forbes house were probably the only two

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the deed to Pettes Coffee House. Windsor Land Records, 7:116. In April of 1800, Benjamin is credited for paying a bill to Dr. William Stoddard Williams. It is the last record of him in the Greenfield area. William Stoddard Williams, Deerfield, Account Book, Historic Deerfield, Inc. Benjamin's first advertisement in Windsor was on 18 July 1800 for journeymen in the *Vermont Journal*. The date of Benjamin's departure for Boston also cannot be exactly determined. The last record of him in Windsor was an advertisement for his architecture school in the *Vermont Journal* (5 January 1802). The earliest he is known to have been in Boston is August 1800, so it is likely he remained in Windsor through the spring.

26. Asher Benjamin advertised the school three times in the *Windsor Gazette* (29 December 1801 and 5 January 1802) and in the *Vermont Journal* (5 January 1802), probably with the intent of maximizing his exposure. The school almost certainly was conducted. A school of the sort advertised by Benjamin is not likely to have consisted of more than a dozen weekly sessions, making it easy for him to have opened and closed the school in the time he remained in Windsor.

27. The building committee for the church advertised in the local papers for bids for the cost of materials in May and announced that the building was finished in October of 1798. *Vermont Journal* (5 May and 22 October 1709). Besides crediting himself for the building, Benjamin signed a receipt in settlement of accounts in the records of the Congregational Society. Ms. Accounts, First Congregational Society, Windsor, Vt., 1801. The 1798 date is significant because it was at a time Benjamin was still living in Greenfield, and it indicates the likelihood that he designed but did not superintend the construction of the Windsor meeting house, probably thus performing services as an architect.

Figure 1 First Congregational Meeting House, Windsor, Vermont, 1798. Designed by Asher Benjamin.

buildings in Vermont bearing neoclassical ornament in the modern style. They and the work that followed them served to introduce the new style to frontier builders and patrons eager to assume urban affectations.

Two houses that Asher Benjamin built after his return to Windsor in 1800 were even more influential. The house constructed for Jonathan H. Hubbard in 1801 was probably the most expensive and elegant that the town had ever seen *(Figure 3).*[29] With its engaged pilasters, applied paterae, and unified frontispiece and Palladian window, the house is a highly expressive neoclassical statement. Its interior features a circular staircase *(Figure 4)* and lavishly embellished formal parlor equalling the best work of coastal Massachusetts.

Benjamin's second major domestic contract in Windsor was for Perez Jones, a speculator and merchant who came to Windsor from Northampton, Massachusetts *(Figure 5).*[30] Although lacking a few of

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28. Jack Quinan, "Asher Benjamin as an Architect in Windsor, Vermont," *Vermont History* 62, no. 2 (Spring 1974), pp. 181-89.

29. Stephen Savage advertised in the *Vermont Journal* (2 April 1799) for "one or two Journeymen House Joiners" and was the first master builder in Windsor to do so. Benjamin formed a partnership with Savage shortly following his arrival in town when they advertised jointly for journeymen. *Vermont Journal* (18 July 1800).

30. Hubbard was for many years the leading booster in Windsor. Educated as a lawyer, he removed to Windsor from Tolland, Connecticut, in 1796. Hubbard was the prime mover behind the Windsor Female Academy, the major benefactor of the Episcopal

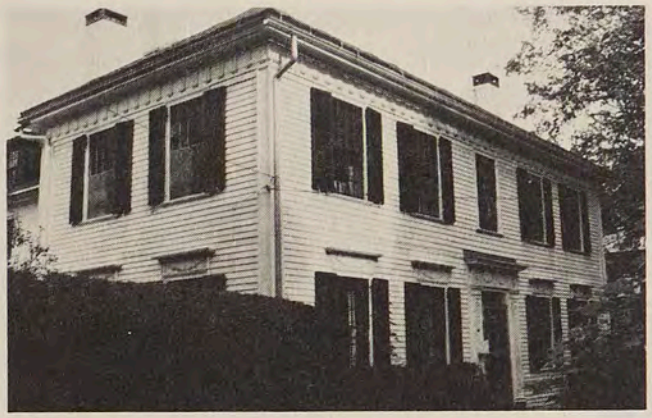

Figure 2 Abner Forbes house, Windsor, Vermont, 1798. Possibly designed and built by Stephen Savage.

the ornamental flourishes of the Hubbard house, it carries festooning to the furthest degree. Benjamin also included the columnar porch found in his earlier work. The house was demolished, and no photographs of its interior are known; but verbal descriptions confirm that it had a circular staircase and interior ornament of the scale and pretention of the Hubbard house.

Windsor was Benjamin's last stop before launching his career in Boston, where by 1806 he joined Charles Bulfinch as one of the leading architects in the city.[31] Over the span of his career in the Connecticut Valley, Benjamin's use of ornament reached its height in Windsor. As Jack Quinan observed, Benjamin's Windsor houses "convey a sense of exuberance that is unprecedented in American Neoclassical architecture."[32] Like Ammi B. Young who followed, Benjamin used the urban frontier of the Connecticut Valley as a stepping stone to greater recognition and status as a professional architect — a measure not only of the man himself, but of the urban frontier that nurtured his development.

Church, town representative to the Vermont legislature, a state supreme court judge, and a member of the Fire Society and the Washington Benevolent Society. He served on the building committee of the Congregational meeting house and was one of the proprietors of Windsor's early textile manufactory. Hubbard's business records show payment to Benjamin in 1801 of $520, almost certainly his payment for designing and superintending the construction of Hubbard's house. J. H. Hubbard, Account Book, 1801, Dartmouth College Manuscript Collection, Hanover, N.H., p. 134.

31. Interview with Katherine Conlin, Windsor town historian.

32. Architects in New England during this period were self-conscious master builders who assumed the title as a measure and affectation of status. In Vermont we find the formation, in September 1807, of the Rutland County Architect Society, ms., Vermont State Papers, 47:107. In Middlebury, Vt., Lavius Fillmore was described as an "engenius architect." Frederick Hall, *Statistical Account of The Town of Middlebury* (Boston: Sewell Phelps, 1821), p. 7.

Figure 3 Jonathan H. Hubbard house, Windsor, Vermont, 1801. Designed and built by Asher Benjamin. (photograph ca. 1930)

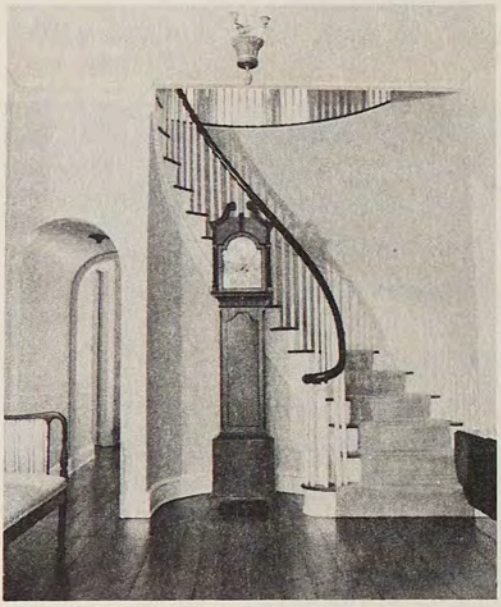

Figure 4 Hubbard house staircase, as reconstructed in New Canaan, Connecticut.

Indicative of Windsor's influence in the northern valley are the houses built in both neighboring and distant towns in Vermont and New Hampshire based on Windsor prototypes. When the Reverend Sylvester Dana of Orford, New Hampshire, began preparations for the construction of a new house in 1801, he asked Windsor builders Asher Benjamin and Elias Savage to submit plans.[33] More often, when

33. Jack Quinan, "Asher Benjamin and Charles Bulfinch: An Examination of Baroque Forms in Federal Style Architecture," *Annual Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife* (1979): *New England Meeting House and Church: 1630-1850*, pp. 25-26. Quinan notes that "by 1806 both Asher Benjamin and Peter Banner . . . had established identities in Boston as architects . . . and as such represented the first serious challenge to Bulfinch's long monopoly over the city's architecture. They obtained most of the major Boston commissions between 1806 and 1809, a period during which the usually prolific Bulfinch received none."

patrons selected Windsor houses as models, they commissioned local builders to do the work. The most remarkable example of this is the "Governor's Mansion" *(Figure 6)* built for the politically ambitious Dudley Chase by Asa Egerton in Randolph, Vermont, in 1804.[34] Egerton styled himself as Asher Benjamin's successor in the region and patterned the mansion after the Hubbard house in Windsor. In 1803 Egerton had opened a school based on Benjamin's model

> where will be taught, how to draw and work the Three First Orders of Architecture, with their Pedistals, Columns, and Entablatures; to proportion Cornice, Base and Surbase Mouldings to Rooms of any height; to Construction of Stair-Cases, with their Ramp and Twist Rails; the method of finding the Length and Backing of Hip-Rafters. . .[35]

Little is known about Egerton's training and career; it is possible that he attended Benjamin's school and may, in fact, have worked under him in Windsor.

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34. Asher Banjamin to The Reverend Sylvester Dana, 4 September 1801, privately owned. Elias Savage to The Reverend Sylvester Dana, 1 September 1801, privately owned. Thanks to Jack Quinan for these references.

35. Chase's political ambitions and the lore that the house was known as the "Governor's Mansion" are documented in Mary Parish Truesdall's *The Genealogy and History of the Jacob Kimball Parish Family* (Kissimmee, Fl.: Privately Printed, 1974), p. 49. The house was built in 1804. During that winter Asa Egerton advertised for "5 or 6 Journeymen Joiners" and "an Apprentice" to work during the "next season." *Weekly Wanderer* (Randolph: 7 December 1803). Between March and July of the same year, Egerton, his probable associate Timothy Edson, and patron, Dudley Chase, were debited individually and collectively at the Randolph store of James Tarbox for over $200 worth of carpentry tools, architectural hardware, nails, screws, and paint. James Tarbox, Account Book, 1804, Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, pp. 11-14.

Figure 5 Perez Jones house, Windsor, Vermont, 1800-1801. Designed and built by Asher Benjamin. (photograph ca. 1945)

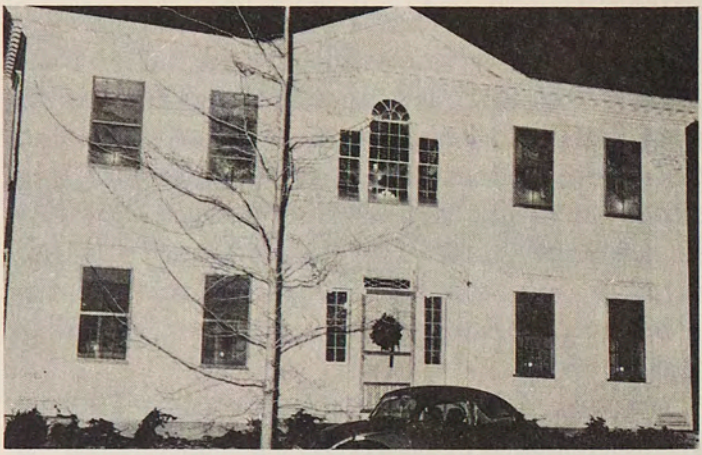

Figure 6 Dudley Chase house, Randolph, Vermont, 1804. Designed and built by Asa Egerton.

Figure 7 Field house, Hartland, Vermont, ca. 1806.

Figure 8 John Meacham house, Castleton, Vermont, 1810. Designed and built by Thomas Dake.

Egerton's work constitutes a high-style translation of the Benjamin model. In Hartland, Vermont, however, is a provincial imitation built for the Field family about 1806 *(Figure 7)*. It is apparent that the builder and/or patron had observed the Perez Jones house in Windsor and attempted to copy its more salient neoclassical details. Its proportions lack the internal logic of the Benjamin and Egerton houses; its Palladian window is compressed and awkward. The engaged Ionic pilasters of the Jones and Hubbard houses are reduced to tapered planks lacking defined capitals, but the basic stylistic impulse is retained including the festooned window caps.

The Windsor style was introduced into western Vermont by Thomas Dake. Dake was born in Windsor in 1785 and may well have been apprenticed to Benjamin. In 1807, at the age of twenty-one, Dake settled in Castleton, Rutland County, Vermont, where he immediately assumed a position of leadership in the local building trade.[36] Dake built three houses, dated 1808, 1809, and 1812, that are remarkably similar to the Perez Jones house in Windsor. Although lacking the engaged pilasters so distinctive a part of the prototype, each shares in the exuberance of neoclassical detailing; and at least two of them were built with circular staircases, the earliest constructed in Rutland County. The house built for John Meacham is representative of Dake's work *(Figure 8)* and is translated almost verbatim from the earlier houses.

In the meantime, urban architecture was also influencing building materials. The use of brick for domestic structures, which had become fashionable in Boston during the 1790s, had by 1800 become dominant there for elite houses. After about 1815, a majority of the high-style houses in inland New England were built of brick. Once again Windsor led the way. The arrival of Stuart J. Park and the construction of the Vermont State Prison in Windsor in 1808 catalyzed the building trade by attracting a great number of brick layers and a few master masons.[37] Domestic architecture followed. The house built in Windsor about 1808 for Col. Jesse Lull was probably the first high-style brick dwelling in town.[38] It has since been greatly modified on the exterior but was

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36. Herbert Wheaton Congdon, *Dake of Castleton* (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society, 1949).

37. John Russel, Jr., *An Authentic History of the Vermont State Prison* (Windsor: Preston Merrifield, 1812), p. 15. Russel described "the great number of workmen employed in hewing stone, and the vast number of teams continually ascending and descending the mountain . . . " Additional records are found in the accounts of the building's construction. Ms. Vermont State Papers, 67: 14-15.

38. Manuscript Tax List, Windsor, Vt., 1806 and 1810, Town Clerk's Office. The tax lists of 1807-1819 have been lost, but Lull's house was built during those years. He owned no house in Windsor in 1806, but by 1810 his house was the most highly valued by the

originally a three-by-four bay hipped-roof house on the townhouse plan. The interior remains unchanged and, like other houses in Windsor, is remarkable for its circular staircase *(Figure 9)*. Other examples

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appraisers in town. Lull himself was a merchant and distiller, active in community affairs, and a signer of numerous petitions to the legislature. A family genealogist described him as the "most courtly man in Windsor," and it was Lull who escorted LaFayette into town in 1825. Hilah Violer Eddy, *The Lull Book* (Detroit: Privately Printed, 1926), p. 13.

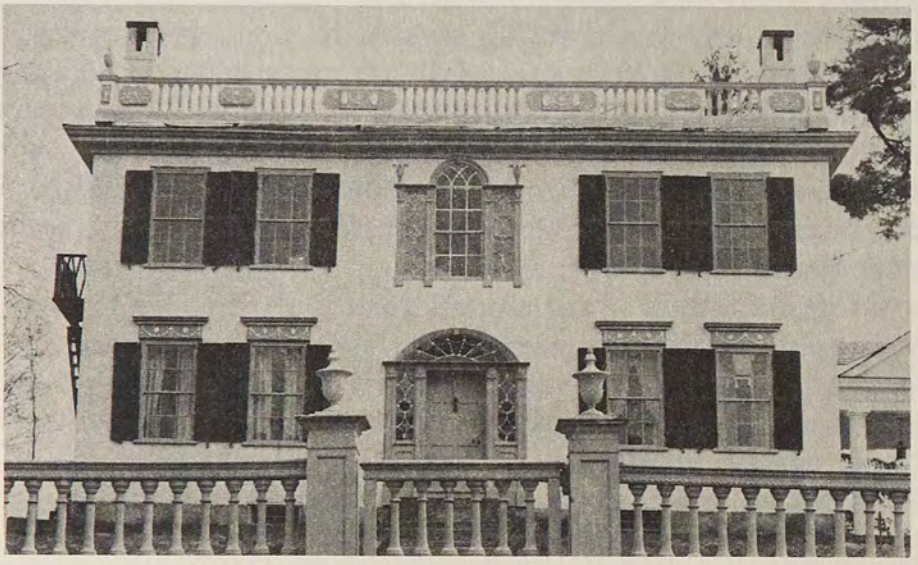

Figure 9 David H. Sumner house, Hartland, Vermont, ca. 1810.

Figure 10 Jesse Lull house staircase, Windsor, Vermont, 1808.

of the brick housetype survive in Windsor, and many more may be found in the surrounding towns. Foremost among these is the house built in Hartland, Vermont, about 1810 for David H. Sumner *(Figure 10)*.

As long as Windsor remained a growing and prosperous commercial center, its architecture set the style in the northern valley region. Inhabitants of other towns in the region turned to Windsor for stylistic models, to shop for furnishings, and to participate in a widening range of social and cultural activities that were taking place there. The growth of urban characteristics in Windsor and in other central place towns in the Connecticut Valley altered the traditional relationship between one town and the next. Those that became predominantly commercial drifted increasingly towards other commercial centers and away from the geographically determined valley-wide culture that for generations exhibited a high level of cohesion. Architecture was both an instrument and an expression of this change, and in Windsor it serves as a primary document of the emergence of urbanism in the Connecticut Valley.

Springfield Mountain in Valley and Bay

Richard M. Swiderski

"Springfield Mountain" has long been considered the oldest English-language ballad composed and circulated in the United States. There is no reason to doubt that, but it should be clear from the start that no written version of the ballad antedates 1836 and no version with music is found prior to 1840. Since the events described in the text took place in 1761, this means that seventy-five years elapsed between the earliest point of creation and the first printed record. This is further complicated by the fact that the earliest printed versions were clearly parodies of a serious original, while the first serious texts follow these parodies by thirteen years. As time goes on and more versions come to light, the ballad's meaning is progressively obscured.

Scholarship on the ballad is dominated by Phillips Barry's 1933 critical history.[1] Following Barry's work, later scholars have done little else but reiterate his conclusions, sometimes inaccurately. While Barry's study is a model of older ballad scholarship, it has inadequacies for a present-day student. The excessive emphasis on issues of structure — the ordering of stanzas, the presence or absence of dates, variations in personal or place names — makes Barry's "Springfield Mountain" into a skeleton with a varying arrangement of parts. It is possible, however, by looking at the accumulated material from a new point of view, to see patterns earlier scholars did not care to see. Our demands for social and cultural understanding make scientific typology less interesting than context and motives.

"Springfield Mountain" is one of those rare ballads traceable to a recorded event. The document always cited is the unofficial town chronicle kept by Samuel Warner of Springfield Outer Commons or Springfield Mountain, Massachusetts, today known as Wilbraham. Warner's entry for 21 August 1761 records a tragic accident:

> Timothy Myrick son of Lt. Thomas Myrick was Bit by a Ratel Snake one Aug. the 7th 1761, and Dyed within about two or three ours he being twenty two years two months and three days old and vary near the point of marridge.[2]

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1. Phillips Barry, "Springfield Mountain: Materials for a Critical Study," *Bulletin of the Folk-Song Society of the Northeast*, 7 (January 1934): 4-5, passim.

2. This entry is printed wherever the ballad is discussed, even in guidebooks. The original, which I have not examined, is said to be in the possession of the Warner family of Wilbraham. Barry, "Springfield Mountain," p.5.

This coincides nicely with the inscription on a carved red sandstone grave marker in the Deacon Adams Cemetery, which still stands and receives offerings of flowers on holidays — except that here Timothy Myrick is twenty-three years old.

Oral tradition in Wilbraham pointed to a spot opposite the old Myrick farmstead as the place of Timothy's demise. This tradition was alive in Barry's time, and a small brass marker was placed on the spot during the 1976 bicentennial year. I have never been able to find the marker in the wilderness of ranch houses and patios that has arisen in this part of Wilbraham. Nonetheless, the town also included the site on a historical map prepared for the 1976 celebration. There is nothing else in that part of town according to the map, just Timothy's lonely death site.[3]

A youth killed on the point of marriage was enough to stay in local talk for a while and in family recollection for a while longer. It required a special impetus to designate a local spot for Timothy's death and enshrine it in folk, literary, and then monumental memory. That impetus came in 1763, just two years after Timothy's burial. In that year Springfield Mountain, previously the fourth parish of Springfield, was severed from the parent town and designated the town of Wilbraham. Usually schisms in New England towns arose from the desire of an outlying population for a town meeting of its own.[4] Beginning in 1749, the year after Springfield Mountain built its first meeting house and started a town cemetery, there were repeated petitions to the Springfield meeting and to the general court for independence.[5] Springfield was loath to lose its open commons and opposed the separation until 1763 when a strongly asserted petition, of which Timothy Myrick's father was one of the signers, finally succeeded in the legislature.

Timothy's death was associated historically and personally with the birth of Wilbraham out of Springfield's outer lands. In the years following these events Wilbraham experienced further separations charged with religion and politics. The town split into north and south parishes in 1782; one hundred years later the south parish became the town of Hampden.

The line of division between the two parishes marked the last formal stage in Wilbraham's growth. The heavily symbolic dividing line was drawn just to the south of the town's first meeting house, now a monu-

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3. *Early Wilbraham*, (Wilbraham, Mass.: Wilbraham-USA Bicentennial Commission, 1975).
4. Michael Zuckerman, *Peaceable Kingdoms* (New York: Norton, 1976).
5. Charles L. Merrick, ed. *General History of Wilbraham* (Wilbraham, Mass.: Privately Printed, 1976), chapt. 2.

ment because the meetings themselves had been moved to a new building in the center of town; and it also passed to the south of Timothy Myrick's supposed death site. The town was forming itself in time and in space. It was fashioning boundaries to assert its distinctness in the landscape and to establish continuity with a unique past. Timothy Myrick died at a time of division near a place of division. He was located at one end of a frontier defined at the other end by a powerful historical and religious symbol, the first meeting house.

The ballad arose in this environment. I should say it "was composed," because it is the consensus of scholars that it originated in one writer's work; but I say "arose" because we do not have that original, only late transmitted forms. Local tradition gave the authorship of the ballad to Timothy Myrick's fiancee, Sarah Lamb, who survived Timothy's death, married, and lived to the age of ninety-six, dying in 1832. The year before Sarah's death was the centennial of the first settlement of Wilbraham and, as Barry puts it, "an occasion ripe for reminiscence." He theorizes that the aged Sarah Lamb Dwight recollected the youthful tragedy in the nostalgic atmosphere of the centennial and described it to another person who wrote the ballad and published it as a broadside. Barry even speculates that the ballad's actual author was Gen. Nathaniel Terry. However, historians writing the 1961 town history offer a local poetaster named Nathan Torrey as the author. Barry had rejected Torrey for Terry because Terry was related to Sarah Lamb Dwight and because of some name confusion he had uncovered in earlier accounts. Torrey's supporters claim that he was well known as a poet, had composed spontaneous elegies as a proper New England folk poet should, and even suggest that there exists a manuscript of the original verses that was exhibited on the sesquicentennial and may, they hint, make its appearance again in the future.[6]

Barry's conclusion that the ballad was composed and disseminated at the 1831 centennial dovetails with the character of the occasion, which was celebrated with a speech given by an ancient minister in the boundary-marking first meeting house.[7] The publication of a celebratory broadside would have been a verbal monument to Timothy, recalled in the living memory of Sarah Dwight and placed in the ritually reactived cosmology of the town opposite the meeting house. And the appearance of theatrical parodies five years later is also

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6. Rufus B. Stebbins, *An Historical Address Delivered at the Centennial Celebration . . .* (Boston: Geo. C. Rand & Avery, 1864), p. 206; Merrick, *General History*, p. 188.

7. Printed from manuscript as an appendix to the *General History*, the speech was delivered at the centennial of the town's *settlement*.

logical. This does not deny Nathan Torrey the pride of creation: his may have been an extempore composition enshrined in oral (or written) memory upon which the author of the broadside built. Using the old elegy to make a new broadside was itself a stimulus to collective memory.

Neither Torrey's manuscript nor Terry's broadside is available. The oldest text is an 1849 manuscript that one of Barry's correspondents, Myron Bruuer, a descendant of the Myricks, found in his father's old secretary.[8] Perusing the ballad, one immediately notices that the Myrick legend is intact: the youth dies at twenty-one in the field near his father's house. But there is further detail. The serpent strikes Timothy on the heel. He runs and calls for help but there is no answer. His father finds him dead upon the ground *(Text 1)*.

The geography of the ballad is biblical. Serpents rarely strike at heels, but this is the serpent God condemned to wound mankind in that vulnerable place. He attacks Timothy in the wilderness apart from other men, who hear but do not heed the cries of the stricken youth. Only his father may reclaim him; salvation and a better world are his only hope. Up to the final stanza the ballad is a *momento mori* like the death's heads so common among the early stones in New England cemeteries. But the stone on Timothy's grave is more cherub than death's head, crowned and flying to eternal glory; and so the final stanza of Bruuer's version proclaims beatitude following the grim, solitary death.

The original ballad is a symbolic landscape of the renewed Wilbraham. Timothy Myrick moves in a Wilbraham where land and human relations have been translated into patterns of moral significance. The southern border of the town, still open and unsettled at the centennial, is the linking image to the past Wilbraham, a wilderness where sudden death stalked the settlers even with the promise of salvation. The ballad removes the dangers to the past while evoking them. Place, history, and continuing faith are all blended together. According to one source, it was originally sung to the psalm tune "Old Hundredth," which makes it into a secular hymn specially suited to a Wilbraham feeling its one hundred years.[9]

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8. This antedates the version printed in Stebbins, *Historical Address* (p. 206) by fifteen years, yet the Stebbins version is most often given as the original — this despite Stebbins's own confession that the text "has been tampered with by the editors." The Bruuer manuscript is dated and accompanied by other materials of the period.

9. Phillips Barry, "Springfield Mountain: Materials for a Critical Study," *Bulletin of the Folk-Song Society of the Northeast*, 8 (July 1934): 4. The Stebbins text was sung to "Old Hundredth" at the sesquicentennial celebration in 1911. Chauncey E. Peck, *History of Wilbraham* (Wilbraham, Mass.: Privately Printed, 1913), preface.

The spread of the Myrick ballad was due to its dramatization of religious imagery recognizable to all Christians, but its immediate spread was conditioned by cultural factors more specific than religion because its earliest and most concentrated distribution was in the Connecticut River Valley. The distribution to other parts of the country occurred only much later and coincidental to this original dissemination. Over the fifty years after the ballad's composition, forms were found in the Springfield area and eventually were reported among Valley emigrants as far away as Ashtabula, Ohio.[10]

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10. Barry, "Springfield Mountain," *Bulletin* 8 (July 1934): 4. He concludes that the textual and musical evidence on the Myrick type "is reconcilable with a low degree of tradition currency." Except for Barry's Ohio text I have found no Myrick texts outside of New England.

Text 1 Wilbraham 30 August 1849. From Barry, *Bulletin* 7 (1934): 5.

SPRINGFIELD MOUNTAIN

On Springfield Mountain there did dwell
a likely youth 'twas known full well
Left't Merrick's only Son
A likely youth near twenty one

One Friday Morning he did go
down to the Meadow for to mow
Hee mowed around and he did feel
a poisoning Serpent at his heel

When he received this deadly wound
he dropped his Scythe upon the ground
and straight for Home was his intent
calling aloud Still as he went

't was all around his voice was heard
but unto him no friend appeared
they thought he did Some workman call
but Timothy alone must fall

At length his careful Father went
to Seek his Son in discontent
and there his only Son he found
Dead as a Stone lay on the ground

't was the Seventh of August year 61
this fatal accident was done
may this a warning be to all
to be prepared when God shall call

Who knows but that his blessed feet
are treading the Celestial Street
the brightest Angels bowing round
Jehovah and his golden crown.

There are versions of the ballad in which the name Curtis or some alternate is substituted for Myrick, along with a few other changes *(Text 2)*. These versions are not found in the Springfield, Massachusetts, area; but several were collected by Helen Hartness Flanders near Springfield, Vermont, along with some Myrick versions.[11] How the ballad came into Vermont can be guessed: migration northward up the Connecticut Valley and printed sources. But how the name Curtis came into the ballad is a matter for broader speculation. Barry makes

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11. Helen Hartness Flanders, *Vermont Folk-Songs and Ballads* (Hatboro, Penn.: Folklore Associates, 1968), pp. 15-18.

Text 2 From *Harper's Magazine, 59 (1879):798*; Barry *Bulletin* 8 (1934):6

SPRINGFIELD MOUNTAIN

On Springfield Mountain there did dwell
A likely youth and known full well —
A likely youth of twenty one,
Leftenant Curts's only son —
    Only son, only son, only son —
    Leftenant Curts's only son.

One Monday morning he did go
Down to the meadow for to mow.
He mowed all day. At last he feels
A pison sarpent bite his heels.
    Bite his heels, bite his heels, bite his heels —
    A pison sarpent bite his heels.

He laid his scythe upon the ground —
He laid it down and looked around
To see if nobody he couldn't espy
To carry him home that he might die —
    That he might die, that he might die, that
    he might die —
    To carry him home that he might die.

He looked around, but looked in vain, —
No one was there to ease his pain;
So he made up his mind his time had come,
And laid his head on a cold stun —
    On a cold stun, a cold stun, a cold stun —
    And laid his head on a cold stun.

So this young man gave up the ghost,
And forth to Abraham's bosom did post
Out of the meadow he came to mow,
With nobody by to see him go,
    To see him go, see him go, see him go,
    With nobody by to see him go.

an ingenious connection between local Vermont Curtises and the Curtises of Wethersfield, Connecticut, which is mentioned as an alternate site for Timothy's accident,[12] much to the chagrin of Wilbraham historians. Yet these are links without a chain. One basic point emerges from Flanders's interviews: her informants were convinced the song referred to Springfield, Vermont, and even pointed to the precise location of the accident. Evidently the ballad spread by association to any local Springfield in the valley area and was traced to a local tragedy in the dim past. One of Flanders's informants sang a Curtis form of the ballad that included only the first two stanzas as far as the serpent bite. He told Flanders that the song was made up to ridicule an unpopular boy named Curtis from the vicinity of Springfield, *New Hampshire*. The ballad was finding new forms and new uses in upper Connecticut Valley communities.

The spread of "Springfield Mountain" up into the valley and its mutation and identification with different names and locales imply that it encapsulated a sense of locale peculiar to the valley region. It was received by communities with recent experience of the wilderness that could be translated into the single event of a youth bitten by a snake. As towns in the valley reached the point in their histories that Wilbraham had reached at the time of the ballad's composition, they accepted the ballad with modifications. The religious imagery added to the ballad's appeal, but its expression of a singular upper Connecticut Valley historicity was its main asset.

"Springfield Mountain" might well have remained a ballad of the valley with a small amount of outside distribution. Since it did epitomize the history of some valley communities for the communities themselves, it could also describe those communities to outsiders who did not share the valley traditions. For this to happen there had to be a culture sufficiently close to the valley to observe and understand some features, but far enough away to find them odd. This observer culture existed in the Bay region of Massachusetts.

On 12 December 1836 at the Tremont Theatre in Boston, an actor named G.H. Andrews was playing Jotham Gam in *The Massacre, Or, The Malay's Revenge.*[13] Jotham was a Yankee, the stage version of all the best and worst traits of the country New Englander. At one point in the play he sang a song titled "Love and Pizen, Or the Sad Story of young Farmer Mazzard and Sally Thomas." Like most songs in theatre pieces of the time it was but loosely connected with the plot; it served simply as a showcase for Mr. Andrews's Yankee character.

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12. Phillips Barry, *Bulletin of the Folk-Song Society of the Northeast* 9 (1935): 10.
13. Barry, *Bulletin* 2 (1931): 2 and a copy of the playbill in the Harvard Theater Library.

The playbill of the performance does not contain a text of the song, nor is there a contemporary broadside of the words. An oral tradition from Boston, however, gives at least a rough idea of what it sounded like *(Text 3)*. It is unquestionably the same plot as "Springfield Mountain" — but how drastic the change in tone! The psalmody of the original is broken into two-line stanzas followed by a skipping refrain of nonsense syllables. The Springfield locale is gone and the youth's name is Sam. He has a girlfriend named Sally (for Sarah?). The viper does get Sam in the heel, but most striking of all he dies not alone but surrounded by neighbors, including his girl. His death is neither stark nor inspiring, but melodramatic.

The Boston ballad's comment is clearly directed against the original ballad. Religious allegory is rejected in favor of a theatrical crowd scene. Sam dies, like an actor of the period, with a gasp after delivering a heroic pronouncement. He is a farmer's son who braves snakes to mow grass like a Roman soldier battling barbarians or like George Washington against the British.

The Boston burlesque exorcises the image of the lonely death, which was so inimical to the Boston mentality that it had to be covered with

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Text 3 From Mr. J. D'W. Lovett, Boston, Mass., as sung by his father in the 1840s and 1850s. Barry, *Bulletin* 2 (1931): 10.

SPRINGFIELD MOUNTAIN

Farmer Mazzard had a son,
A pious youth of twenty-one.
    Ri ta too rallingdy, too rallingdy,
    Too rallingdy, too raillay.

He loved a gal, Sal-lee by name,
And for to love her was not to blame.

One day, while mowing in the field,
A wiper bit him in the heel.

The neighbors did all crowd around
To see the sad and deadly wound.

Among the rest, Sal-lee was there;
Oh, how she wept and tore her hair!

And cried, "O Sam, why did you go
Into that medder for to mow?"

Sez Sam to Sal, "I thought you knowed
That, spite of snakes, grass must be mowed!"

Right here the pizen struck inside,
And with one gasp, he straightway died.

a crowd. The crowd's laughter may have been a little nervous because that cold emptiness was still near, but the proximity of neighbors and a loyal young lady was enough to drive the darker impressions away.

The burlesque also scorns the ideal of duty. Through Sally the Bostonians ask why the boy would ever go out into the field to mow knowing there are snakes. The answer is a stereotype: the farmers of the rural counties are always mowing grass and performing other tasks incomprehensible to urban dwellers. They are plain, stubborn, conservative folk who do not question routines. The comic ballad banishes religion and history to erect the amusing figure of the Yankee in their place.

The first printed version of "Springfield Mountain" is almost identical with the Farmer Mazzard burlesque *(Text 4).* The name *Springfield Mountain* recurs, indicating continued contact with the original ballad's text if not with its context. The words are written to indicate a drawling pronunciation, the hallmark of the Yankee countryman for the cosmopolitan Bostonians. The difference between Valley and Bay was the original reason for satirizing the ballad; there the valley itself was ridiculed. Soon the valley was subsumed into a more pervasive

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Text 4 From *The United States Songster* (Cincinnati: U.P. James, 1846) — copyright, J.A. James & Co., 1836. Barry, *Bulletin* 3 (1931): 20.

THE PIZING SARPENT

Near Springfield mou-oo-ountains there did dw-e-ll,
A lovely you-oo-uth known full well!
Ri turul lurul, ri turul lu-oo-rul,
Ri turul lu-oo-rul, ri turul la!

This lovely you-oo-uth one day did go-o-o,
Down in the mea-a-dow for to mow.

He mow'd all rou-oo-und, and at length did fee-e-el,
A pizing sar-ar-pent bite his heel.

They took him ho-o-ome to Sally de-e-ear,
It made her fee-e-el so very queer.

O! Johnny de-e-ar, why did you go-o-o
Down in the mea-a-dow for to mow?

O Sally de-e-ar, I thought you kno-oo-ow'd
'Twas daddy's ha-a-ay, and it must be mow'd!

At length he di-ied, and gave up the gho-o-ost,
And off to Abram's bo-oo-som he did post.

Sing-ing, sing-ing, as he we-e-ent,
O cruel, cruel Sar-pi-ent!

category, the country, and was included in the growing opposition between country and city. This opposition was carried for a good part of the nineteenth century in the character of the stage Yankee.

Originating in crude routines performed by stage comics and gaining a literary form in Royall Tylor's play *The Contrast*, the Yankee was a Boston invention embodying a contrast acutely felt in the Bay metropolis. Though he enjoyed a lively career on New York, Philadelphia, and other urban stages, he had a special meaning to Boston audiences, who could observe his original in the fields of western Massachusetts and Vermont. Attaching the ballad to the Yankee was at first a barb against the valley. The evolution of the Yankee into the archetypal hayseed, however, made "Springfield Mountain" independent of its origins and its initial stage uses. It rapidly became a prop of individual stage Yankees to be used in elaborating the rural type before an urban audience.

George Spear was one Boston exponent of the Yankee role during the middle decades of the century. His career was entirely on the Boston stage, and, until its demise in 1843, mostly at the Tremont Theater.[14] That same G.H. Andrews who performed *Love and Pizen* in 1836 was Spear's theatrical mentor; in 1840 Andrews and a colleague took over management of the financially troubled Tremont Theater.[15] In July of that year Spear's publishers, Oakes and Swan of Boston, copyrighted the words and music to "The Pesky Sarpent: A Pathetic Ballad" *(Text 5)*. This was the new parody that Spear sang in Yankee character on the stage of the renewed theater.

The ballad had now reached that point of parody where the original had been shoved aside and the characters redefined to generate autonomous humor. The melody that Spear imposed on his words was enough to suggest a new vein of absurdity. A vigorous music derived from a popular dance melody, it would have been recognized in Spear's time as an important country dance tune.[16] The stage ballad was probably performed with a galloping step suggestive of rural dance gatherings that were also courting scenes. The music alone calls up clumsy hicks playing and loving.

The words are in keeping with the music. The Springfield Mountain locale, Monday morning time, and mowing are all retained. The serpent bites the lad's heel, but this time it is a "Pesky Sarpent" and not a

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14. Eugene Tompkins, *The History of the Boston Theater* (New York: Blom, 1969), p. 68.

15. William W. Clapp, *A Record of the Boston Stage* (New York: Greenwood, 1969), p. 375.

16. Barry, *Bulletin* 11 (1936): 13. He believes the Spear tune resembles "Merrily Danced the Quaker," an Irish reel without much documented currency in nineteenth-century New England. The suggestion is generic rather than specific.

cruel serpent. "Pesky" was a colloquialism perfect for the mood of the silly tragedy Spear established: it meant a nuisance rather than a scourge, or better still an irritation to someone who was himself vulgar and comic.

The Pesky Sarpent changes the entire plot. Spear has the youth kill his attacker and carry the corpse off to Molly Bland. The frontispiece of the published sheet music shows this scene.[17] Surrounded by an ornate border formed of farm instruments, serpents biting a heel, and acan-

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17. Merrick, *General History*, p. 184 has the best reproduction.

Text 5 From Barry, *Bulletin* 11 (1936): 13. Copyright by George Spear (Oakes and Swan), 1936.

THE PESKY SARPENT

On Springfield Mountain there did dwell
A comely youth I knew full well.
Ri tu ri nu, ri tu di na,
Ri tu di nu, ri tu di na.

One Monday morning he did go
Down in the meadow for to mow.

He scarce had mow-ed half the field,
When a PESKY SARPENT bit his heel.

He took his scythe and with a blow
He laid the pesky sarpent low.

He took the Sarpent in his hand,
And straitway went to Molly Bland.

Oh Molly, Molly, were you see
The Pesky Sarpent what bit me.

Now Molly had a ruby lip
With which the pizen she did sip.

But Molly had a rotten tooth,
Which the Pizen struck and kill'd 'em both.

The neighbors found that they were dead,
So laid them both upon one bed,

And all their friends both far and near
Did cry and howl they were so dear.

Now all you maids a warning take,
From Molly Bland and Tommy Blake.

And mind when you're in love, don't pass
Too near to patches of high grass.

thus flowers, Tommy Blake holds the obscenely dangling snake out to Molly Bland, who has thrown her arms up in terror — one does not know whether at Tommy's mortal wound or at the suggestion inherent in the dubious present. In his stage performance Spear must have played up the presentation of the snake for whatever he could. The remaining action of the ballad is in keeping with this rude playacting. To save her beloved, Molly applies the ancient remedy of sucking out the serpent venom, medically useless with the time elapsed but an opportunity for another lewd routine. Spear introduces another less reputable medical theory in explaining that Molly has a rotten tooth which reacts violently to the poison and kills them both. Many of the audience believed that poison kills by its rapid onslaught — in other words mechanically rather than by chemical action. Next to their friends and neighbors the two dead lovers lay on a bed, good for a few more leers. But that set piece was not enough for the audience. Spear concludes with a sly warning

> Now all you maids a warning take,
> From Molly Bland and Tommy Blake.
>
> And mind when you're in love, don't pass
> Too near to patches of high grass.

The prosody of the last two lines indicates they were not sung but spoken, probably to the accompaniment of a wagging finger. The parting wink and nudge carries with it another rural stereotype: all those farm boys are really occupied with other tasks in the high grass. It is a pastoral cliche going back at least as far as ancient Greece.

The ballad was performed as part of Spear's character role in romantic dramas. It ruthlessly parodies the conventions of the typical romance down to the self-sacrifice and solemn funeral. The Pesky Sarpent introduced low comedy with sexual allusions into the high tone drama of the era. It referred to the lubricious side of everyone whether he was prepared to recognize it or not. Country comedy was one way Bostonians could watch sexual display in their theater. The Yankee, that lewd Puritan, was the stage manager.

The assimilation of "Springfield Mountain" into the antics of stage Yankees proceeded from Spear's inspiration. George Handel Hill, Yankee Hill, a native of Scituate, Massachusetts, who had his start telling dialect stories on the Boston stage, was the most renowned stage Yankee of the period.[18] He was sufficiently popular to have his own theater in New York for a while. His version of "the Pesky Sarpent" is more perversely obscene than Spear's. For instance it dwells

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18. Arthur Hornblow, *A History of the Theater in America*, 2 vols. (New York: Blom, 1968), 2:55.

with greater insistence on the innuendoes generated by the placing of two corpses on the same bed. There is a curious remembrance of the Myrick original since the hero is "Leftenant Carter's only son," which indicates that the latterday parodists were not unconscious of the song's derivation.

As Hill's Yankee became a standard so did the ballad. It was reprinted in songbooks, frequently bowdlerized, from mid-century onward. The major impetus for the printed and oral dissemination of Spear's version nationwide was its use in the hard-fought 1840 presidential campaign by the backers of both William Henry Harrison and Martin Van Buren.[19] Harrison won the election but died after a month in office so the song may have reverted to its elegaic quality not long after the election. The ballad was sung on a stage far larger than the one the Yankee occupied.

The ballad entered into many separate traditions around the country. In Arkansas, Florida, North Carolina, Virginia, Mississippi, Missouri, Michigan, Nebraska, North Dakota, and Montana, Sam, Tom, John, Johnnie, Billie, and the sons of a host of other lieutenants and deacons named everything from Maggard to Jones are brought low by the same wicked snake near Conway town and Woodville mound and of course, Springfield Mountain.

When the comic versions filtered into the Connecticut Valley via sheet music, songbooks, or performances, they naturally influenced the original still in circulation. Since the original's distribution in all its variants was limited, the first effect of the stage ballad was to supplant the older forms by laughing them out of existence. The prestige of urban culture and the cynicism of the industrial world-view carried the day against the older native forms of the ballad.

After a point, however, resistance developed. In 1939 Alan Lomax took down from an itinerant scissor sharpener in Vermont a version of the ballad so close to the written text Barry's correspondent had produced from his father's hundred-year-old manuscript that it is hard to believe the man hadn't read the issue of the *Northeast Folk Song Society Bulletin* in which Barry had published the text a few years before.[20] Given other facts about Vermont folk traditions, perhaps he had.

The one irresistible influence of the new ballads in the valley was the introduction of Spear's dance tune that became the common tune for all versions. But who is to say that this originated in Boston and was not the valley standard before Spear set pen to paper?

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19. Sigmund Spaeth, *A History of Popular Song in America* (New York: Macmillan, 1938), 194-97.

20. Alan Lomax, *The Folk Songs of North America* (New York: Doubleday, 1975), 5:13.

There was some cross-breeding between the two basic kinds of ballad in the valley — for instance "Pesky Sarpent" was traded back and forth — but the two have remained distinct from each other.[21] The valley contained two opposing, indeed opposed, oral and written traditions of the ballad by the end of the nineteenth century. There is no evidence of how conscious this opposition was. It signifies no more than the cultural conservatism of the communities where the ballad was traditionally known and the fact that both versions served a purpose, the one religious, the other entertaining. In the end, one of the country traits that Boston parodists found most amusing in the valley farmers, their slowness to change, was the reason why the city's new "Springfield Mountain" could never move the original out of its homeland.

21. The corrupt text printed as the original in Merrick *General History*, p. 182, is, ironically, the best example of this crossbreeding. Someone has married stanzas from a "Molly" version with Stebbins's already "tampered with" text.

River Gods in the Making: The Williamses of Western Massachusetts

Kevin M. Sweeney

During the eighteenth century, the towns along the Connecticut River in western Massachusetts produced a succession of imposing aristocratic leaders, who came to be known as the "river gods." These men were part of a self-conscious gentry elite that embodied the region's clerical, political, and military leadership. Between 1733 and 1774, seven interrelated families — the Ashleys, the Dwights, the Partridges, the Porters, the Pynchons, the Stoddards, and the Williamses and their in-laws led the Hampshire Association of Ministers, controlled the county courts, commanded the local militia regiments, and represented the region in the general court in Boston. They owed their near monopoly of county offices to their families' prestige and influence; holding public offices, in turn, enhanced their own prestige and power. It was an almost self-perpetuating system, and by the 1760s the youngest members of these gentry families could look back on three unbroken generations of leadership in Hampshire County.

The most prolific and versatile of these gentry families were the Williamses. The Williams family's rise to prominence in the river towns of western Massachusetts embodies the story of the entire elite's rise and eventual fall. Marriage bound the Williamses closely to the six other gentry families; and three generations of public service tied the fate of the Williams clan to the changing fortunes of the ministry, the military, and the magistracy — the three institutional bases of the gentry's power in Hampshire County. The Williams family's story also makes clear the intimate relationship between the region's development and its elite, for the gentry class of which the Williamses were a part was the product of a distinctive region, a region that was for much of the colonial period both a relatively isolated military frontier and a cultural crossroads where the Bay and the River met. The gentry families that succeeded in this region, as the Williamses did, did so by identifying themselves with the region's particular religious outlook, by acting as intermediaries who preserved ties with both eastern Massachusetts and the Connecticut Colony, and by satisfying a need for military leadership.

The lives of the first Williamses to settle in the Connecticut Valley were shaped by choices made in Roxbury in eastern Massachusetts by the two initial generations of the family. Early Williams family patri-

archs built up ample estates and preserved them for succeeding generations by devising settlements that successfully balanced the desires of numerous sons with the needs of elderly parents. Williams fathers gave elder sons land, money, or an education as they came of age. Middle sons were given college educations or lands in eastern Connecticut. The youngest sons usually remained on the family homestead to care for aging parents and to inherit the family patrimony.[1] This apparently conscious practice of ultimogeniture minimized friction between generations and among siblings and preserved the family's cohesion and wealth across generations. The skillful maintenance of family patrimonies ensured the inner continuity of the lineal family over time and gave individuals a basis for attaining positions of leadership. The pattern of residency resulting from the family's estate practices also provided the Williamses in western Massachusetts with useful connections in both Connecticut and eastern Massachusetts *(Figures 1 and 2.)*[2]

The first Williamses to settle in western Massachusetts, the Reverends William and John Williams, established themselves in Hatfield and Deerfield in the 1680s. The Reverends Williams won recognition throughout New England as pastors and preachers: John Williams's account of his sufferings after the 1704 Deerfield massacre, *The Redeemed Captive Returning to Zion* (1707), became a New England "bestseller." The two cousins also made the most of their family legacies and of their clerical offices to lay the economic foundations for the clan's eventual position of pre-eminence in Hampshire County. Though rural ministers often had a hard time collecting their rather modest salaries, they did receive from their towns such capital assets as generous land grants, houses and barns, and, on occasion, slaves bought at public expense. In time such assets accrued in value. Between 1725 and 1750, ten ministers died in Hampshire County, and at least seven of them left estates that ranked among the top 10 percent

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1. Will of Robert Williams in Harrison Williams, *The Life, Ancestors and Descendants of Robert Williams of Roxbury, 1607-1693* (Washington, D.C.: W.F. Roberts Co., 1934), p. 44; will of Isaac Williams, 1708; Middlesex County Probate Records, 112:335-38; wills of Stephen Williams, 1719, and Isaac Williams II, 1738, Suffolk County Probate Records, 21:322-24, 43:119-200.

2. Bruce P. Stark, *Connecticut Signer: William Williams* (Chester, Conn.: Pequot Press, 1975), pp. 9-11; Francis S. Drake, *The Town of Roxbury: Its Memorable Persons and Places* (Boston: Boston Records Commission, 1905), pp. 20-30, 92-93, 115-20, 227-30, 235, 384-86.

3. In Ronald K. Snell, "The County Magistracy in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1971), Appendix 4, pp. 378-79; Hampshire County Probate Records, 5:18-21, 51-61, 153-56; 6:115-17, 120-21, 129-30; 7:231-32, 262-64.

4. William Williams to William Pitkin, 12 April 1759, Williams Papers, Box 1, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford.

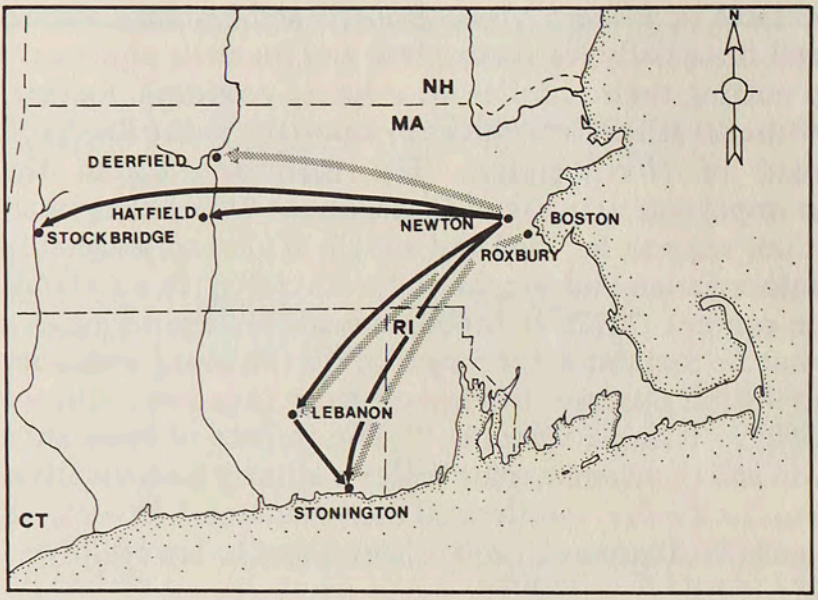

Figure 1 Movement of third-generation Williams family members: establishment of the Connecticut and Connecticut Valley branches. (Sons of Samuel I dotted lines; sons of Isaac I solid lines)

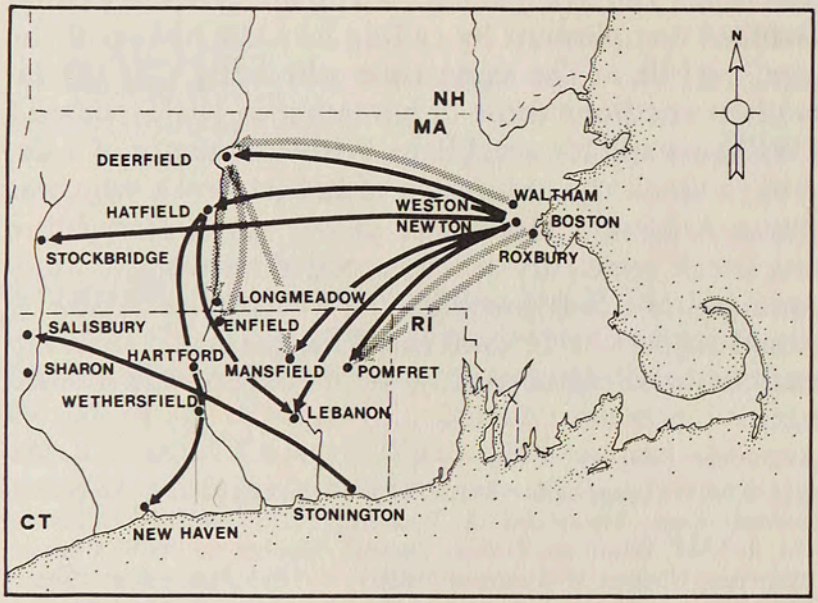

Figure 2 Movement of fourth-generation Williams family members. (Grandsons of Samuel I dotted lines; grandsons of Isaac I solid lines)

in the county in terms of wealth.[3] Included among these seven ministers were the Reverends John and William Williams, both of whom, in the words of a descendant, "with mean Sallarys, brought up 4 sons Each, to College, and left them and their other Children something pretty to remember Them [by]."[4] Williams offspring who

settled into pastorates in western Massachusetts and eastern Connecticut also did well financially for themselves and for their children.[5]

In addition to putting their families on a sound economic footing, the Reverends Williams allied themselves by marriage to the Reverend Solomon Stoddard of Northampton. The marriages bound the Williamses to an important network of Connecticut Valley clergymen and attested to their support for Stoddard's style of clerical leadership that was both authoritarian and prophetic, presbyterian in substance yet evangelical in content *(Table 1)*. Stoddard made his reputation as a "soul winner," but he maintained throughout his life that "authority must be kept up — and that we [ministers] must take heed that we don't Suffer people to trample upon us."[6] The impact of Stoddard's ideas on the region and the Connecticut Valley's affinity for revivalism were due in part to the loyalty, intellectual conviction, and fervor with which the Reverends Williams and their offspring and in-laws followed Stoddard's lead.

After Stoddard's death in 1729, William Williams was recognized as Hampshire County's clerical leader and spokesman for the network of Stoddard kin and in-laws that defended the county's commitment to a modified presbyterianism and evangelical Calvinism.[7] Foes in Boston gave him a backhanded compliment by calling him the bishop of the "see of Hampshire," while at the same time admitting that his intellectual powers often outshone those of his father-in-law Stoddard.[8] In 1735 William Williams and his son Elisha Williams, rector of Yale, mobilized their kin to block the ordination of Robert Breck who was suspected of holding Arminian views. Six of the seven Hampshire ministers opposing Breck were part of the extended network of Stoddard's relatives and in-laws that included the Williamses *(Table 1, Figure 3)*.[9] Additional support came from the Williamses and their kin in eastern Connecticut, who raised money, wrote letters, and lobbied

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5. See for example: Ebenezer Williams of Pomfret, d. 1753. *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard, 1877), 10:379-82; Eleazer Williams of Mansfield, d. 1742, Windham Probate District, Docket no. 4177, Connecticut State Library, Hartford; Chester Williams of Hadley, d. 1753, Hampshire County Probate Records, 8:111-12.

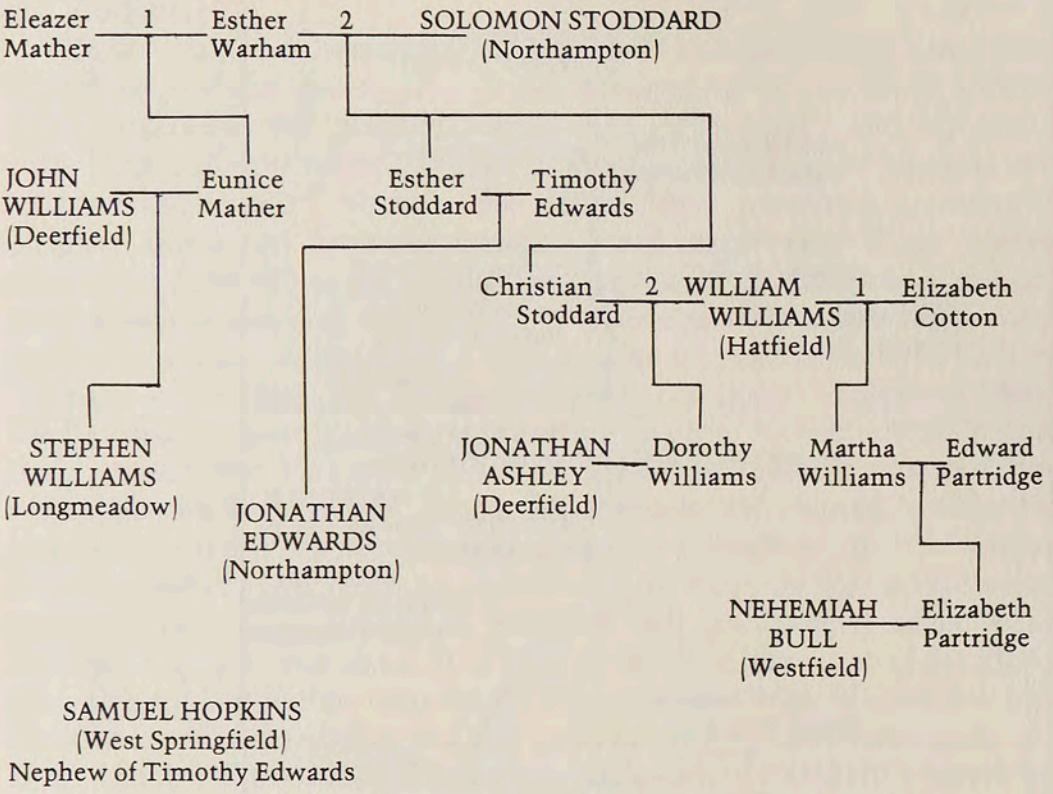
6. Diary of Stephen Williams, 10 August 1721, Longmeadow Historical Society.

7. For a reassessment of William Williams's importance, see Philip F. Gura, "Sowing the Harvest: William Williams and the Great Awakening," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 56, no. 4 (Winter 1979): 326-41.

8. William Cooper to Benjamin Coleman, 25 November 1735, Coleman Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Charles Chauncey to Ezra Stiles, 6 May 1768, *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1st ser. 10 (1809): 157.

9. Diary of Stephen Williams, 25 August 1735; Elisha Williams to Stephen Williams, 30 December 1735, Williams Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven; Elisha Williams to Stephen Williams, 30 June 1736, Whetmore Collection, Yale University Library.

Table 1 Hampshire County's Clerical Network, 1700-1740



to block Breck's Springfield ordination.[10] Two offspring, the Reverends Warham and William Williams, junior, who had settled in eastern Massachusetts, did not sympathize with the efforts to prevent Breck's ordination and were upset by Boston ministers' criticism of their kinsmen's actions.[11] Geographical distance and the attraction of competing cultural values could strain the bonds of kinship.

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10. Diary of Stephen Williams, 14 April 1736; Eleazer Wheelock to Stephen Williams, 26 August 1735, Eleazer Wheelock Papers, no. 735476, Dartmouth College, Hanover; Eleazer Wheelock to Stephen Williams, 3 November 1735, Wheelock Papers, no. 735603; Elisha Williams to Stephen Williams, 9 November 1735, Stokes Manuscripts, Yale University Library; Elisha Williams to Stephen Williams, 7 February 1737, Williams Papers, Beinecke Library, Yale University.

11. Diary of Stephen Williams, 19 December 1735, 4 and 28 February 1736; Warham Williams to Stephen Williams, 20 March 1735, photostatic copy at Massachusetts Historical Society; Warham Williams to Stephen Williams, 24 February 1736, Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pa.; Warham Williams to Stephen Williams, 4 August 1736, Gratz Collection.

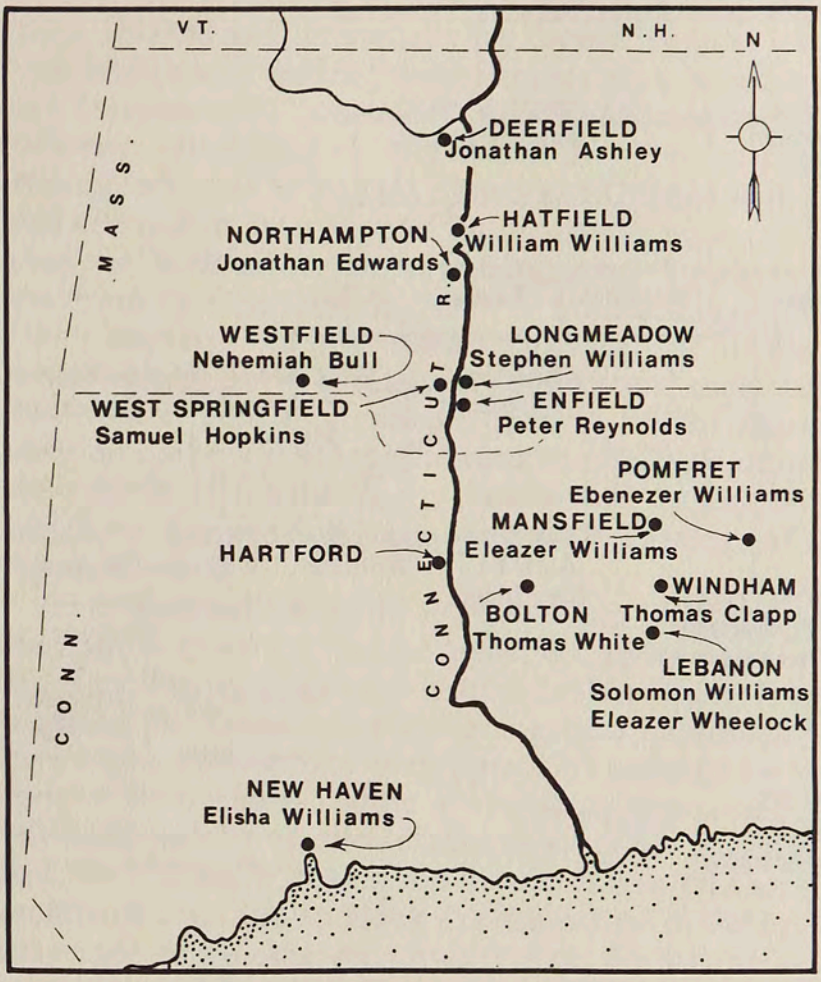

Figure 3 Location of Robert Breck's opponents, 1735-1736. Names are those ministers actively engaged in opposing Breck.

The campaign to keep Breck and his ideas out of Hampshire County eventually failed, but the effort demonstrated the Williamses' commitment to Calvinistic orthodoxy and helped to prepare for the evangelical revival that started in western Massachusetts and spread to eastern Connecticut during 1735. Several historians have noted the connection between the revival's beginning and the opposition to Arminianism;[12] it can also be argued that the mobilization of opposition to Breck in Windham County explains, in part, the rapid spread of the revival into eastern Connecticut. It is evident that several of the

12. Jonathan Edwards, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*, ed. C.C. Goen (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1972), vol. 4 *The Great Awakening*, pp. 17-18; Mary C. Foster, "Hampshire County, Massachusetts, 1729-1754: A Covenant Society in Transition" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1967), pp. 87-92.

Williamses and their kin in Hampshire and Windham counties followed the Reverend Jonathan Edwards's lead and preached to encourage conversions.[13]

The Williamses in western Massachusetts and Connecticut also promoted revivalism during the Great Awakening of the early 1740s. They followed the progress of George Whitefield, the itinerant revivalist, and invited him to Hampshire County.[14] In the wake of the "Grand Itinerant's" visit to the valley, they preached, exchanged pulpits, organized revival meetings, and comforted those under distress.[15] And when the legislatures of Massachusetts and Connecticut selected election day preachers during the spring of 1741, they both called upon Williamses to explain the surprising work of God.[16]

At the same time, the Williamses strove to uphold Solomon Stoddard's commitment to open communion in church admissions. When their cousin the Reverend Jonathan Edwards publicly changed his views on the question of church admissions and denied Stoddard's legacy by attempting to end open admission practices in the Northampton church, the Williams ministers and their clerical and lay kin actively challenged Edwards's position and encouraged those who worked for his dismissal.[17] Though it is clear that Edwards's parishioners needed no outside encouragement,[18] the Williamses did provide important intellectual and political support and once again affirmed their adherence to the entirety of Solomon Stoddard's legacy of open communion and evangelical Calvinism.

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13. Diary of Stephen Williams, 16 and 23 February 1735; William Williams *Directions to Such as are Concerned to Obtain a True Conversion* (Boston, 1736); Eleazer Williams, *Sensible Sinners Invited to Come to Christ* (New London, Conn., 1735).

14. Diary of Stephen Williams, 23 and 26 September; 11, 14, 15 October 1740; William Williams to Benjamin Coleman, 1 July 1740, Coleman Papers II, Massachusetts Historical Society.

15. Diary of Stephen Williams, 28 June, 7-9 July 1741; Stephen Williams to Eleazer Wheelock, 16 March 1741, Wheelock Papers no. 741216; Solomon Williams to Eleazer Wheelock, 8 May 1741, Wheelock papers no. 741308.2; Solomon Williams to Eleazer Wheelock, 22 May 1741, Wheelock Papers no. 741322.2; Eleazer Williams to Eleazer Wheelock, 8 December 1741, Wheelock Papers no. 741658; Joseph Maecham to Eleazer Wheelock, 20 July [1742], Wheelock Papers no. 742423; Chester Williams to Jonathan Edwards, 14 February 1742, Boston Public Library.

16. Solomon Williams, *A Firm and Immovable Courage to Obey God, and An Inflexible Observation of the Laws of Religion, the Highest Wisdom and Certain Happiness of Rulers* (New London, Conn., 1741) and William Williams, *God the Strength of Rulers and People, and Making Them to be so, To Each Other Mutually* (Boston, 1741).

17. Jonathan Edwards to Thomas Foxcroft, 19 February 1750, Boston Public Library; Jonathan Edwards to Sir William Pepperell, 30 January 1753, Edwards Manuscripts, Andover Newton Theological Seminary, Newton, Mass.

18. Patricia Tracy, "Jonathan Edwards, Pastor: Minister and Congregation in the Eighteenth-Century Connecticut Valley" (Ph.D. diss., University of Massachusetts, 1977), pp. 170-94.

The Williamses' adherence to Stoddard's views on ecclesiology and theology and the family's own clerical background in Hampshire County influenced the membership and character of the county's political leadership. Beginning in the 1730s, Col. John Stoddard, the Reverend Solomon's son, used his ties to royal governors and his patronage powers to fashion a political elite that was suited to his conservative political temperament and in agreement with his father's views on religious matters.[19] While members of seven interrelated families shared the colonel's favors, Stoddard's in-laws and the Williamses were especially favored, and they looked upon Colonel Stoddard as the "great benefactor."[20] When Stoddard died in 1748, Col. Israel Williams assumed his uncle's role as chief distributor of gubernatorial patronage in Hampshire County. Colonel Israel advanced his kinsmen in office and encouraged the continued growth of an elite whose members were distinguished from their Hampshire neighbors by their family backgrounds, education, wealth, and commercial interests *(Tables 2 and 3)*. From 1733 to 1774 members of the seven families and their in-laws filled 91 percent of the posts in the upper echelons of the county magistracy, provided half of the representatives who sat for the county's towns in the general court, and provided five of the six county residents elevated to the Governor's Council.[21] In the House of Representatives, the Hampshire County delegates constituted a recognizable voting block favoring a tight money policy and supporting military spending.[22]

While power groups comparable to the river gods of Hampshire County existed elsewhere in rural New England, a quick glance at the upper echelons of the magistracy in the neighboring counties of Worcester and Hartford underscores the special regional characteristics of the river gods' style of leadership. In both neighboring counties a relatively small group of interrelated families obtained a majority of the appointments as county judges, probate judges, and justices of the peace and quorum. Four families — the Chandlers, the Wards, the Wilders, and the Willards — and their in-laws accounted for

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19. Ronald K. Snell, "The County Magistracy in Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1971), pp. 268-85.

20. Will of Ephraim Williams, junior, 1755, in *Colonel Ephraim Williams: A Documentary Life*, ed. Wyllis E. Wright (Pittsfield, Mass.: Berkshire Historical Society, 1970), p. 157.

21. Computed from information in the *Journals of the House of Representatives*, 50 vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1919-1981); William H. Whitemore, *The Massachusetts Civil List for the Colonial and Provincial Periods, 1630-1774* (Albany, N.Y.: J. Munsell, 1870), pp. 54-63.

22. Robert Zemsky, *Merchants, Farmers and River Gods* (Boston: Bambit Press, 1971), pp. 32-33, 265.

Table 2 Hampshire County's Political Elite, 1733-1744.

	Appointment[1]	*Father's Status*	*College Education*	*Occupation*	*Military Rank*
Samuel Partridge	1692	Yeoman		Merchant	Colonel
John Stoddard	1719	Minister	HC 1701	Merchant	Colonel
John Pynchon III	1722	Justice	HC[2]	Merchant	Colonel
John Ashley	1723	Yeoman			
Ebenezer Pomeroy	1735	Justice			
Eleazer Porter I	1737	Justice		Merchant	Lt. Col.
William Pynchon, Jr.	1737	Justice		Merchant	
Timothy Dwight I	1737	Yeoman		Merchant	Colonel
William Pynchon, Sr.	1738	Justice		Merchant	Colonel
Joseph Pynchon	1741	Justice	HC 1726	Physician	Major
Ephraim Williams	1741	Yeoman		Merchant	Major
Thomas Ingersoll	1744	Yeoman			
Josiah Dwight	1750	Justice	YC 1736	Merchant	Lt. Col.
Joseph Dwight	1753	Justice	HC 1722	Merchant	Brigadier
Israel Williams	1758	Minister	HC 1727	Merchant	Colonel
Timothy Dwight II	1758	Justice	YC 1744	Merchant	Major
Edward Pynchon	1759	Justice		Lawyer	
Elija Williams	1761	Minister	HC 1732	Merchant	Major
John Worthington	1762	Yeoman	YC 1740	Lawyer	Colonel
Joseph Hawley	1762	Merchant	YC 1742	Lawyer	Major
Thomas Williams	1764	Justice	YC 1741[3]	Physician	Lt. Col.
Oliver Partridge	1768	Yeoman	YC 1730	Merchant	Lt. Col.
Moses Bliss	1771	Yeoman	YC 1755	Lawyer	

1 Indicates date of appointment as a judge of the court of common pleas, probate judge or justice of the peace and quorum.
2 John Pynchon III attended Harvard but did not graduate.
3 Thomas Williams's degree was an honorary master's.

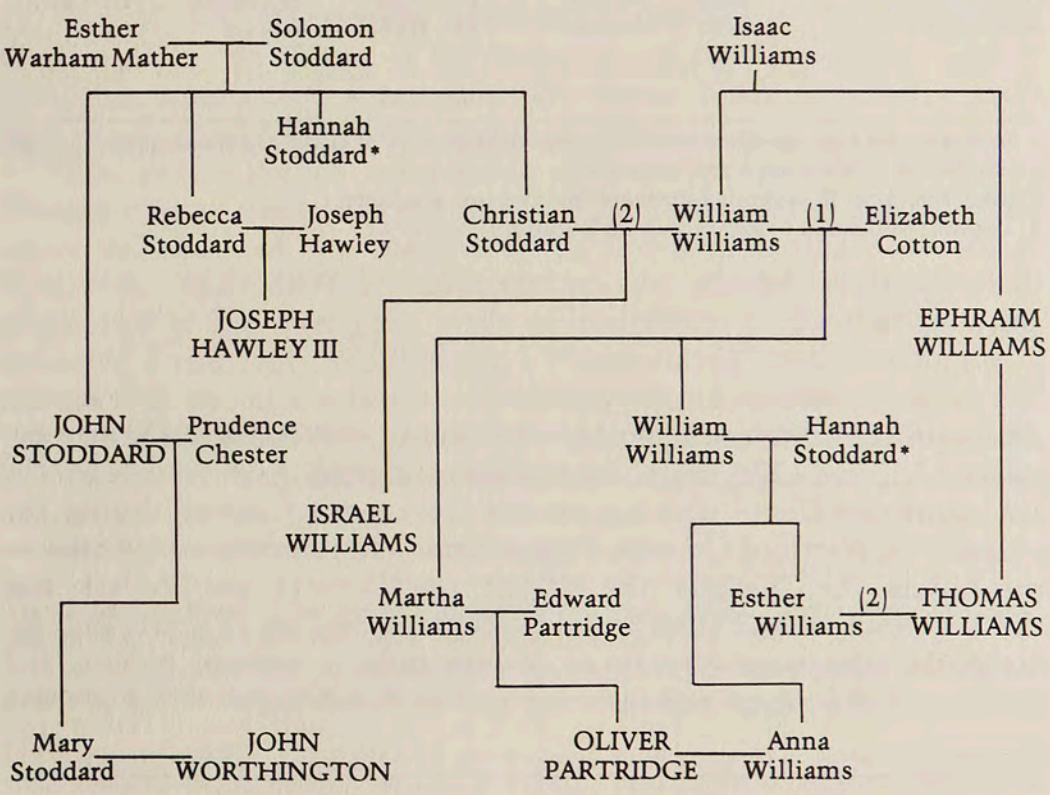
fifteen of the nineteen appointments made in Worcester County between 1731 and 1774; and these families and their in-laws provided the six county residents who sat on the Governor's Council during the period.[23] In Hartford County, Connecticut, six interrelated families — the Allyns, the Chesters, the Pitkins, the Talcotts, the Wellses, and the Wolcotts — and their in-laws provided sixteen of thirty-one individuals who were chosen as county judges, probate judges, and justices of the peace and quorum and provided eight of the sixteen

23. Based on information in Kevin MacWade, "Worcester County, 1750-1774: A Study of a Provincial Patronage Elite" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1974), pp. 21-64, especially list of justices of the peace and quorum on pp. 40-41. In my analysis I have added to the list county judges William Ward and William Jennison, who also sat during the period being analysed.

Hartford County residents elected to the Court of Assistants.[24] Wealth, college educations, family backgrounds, and commercial interests set these Worcester and Hartford justices apart from their neighbors and allied them to gentry families in Hampshire. Williamses from Hatfield and John Stoddard married into the Chester family of

24. Based on list of judicial office holders compiled from *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, 15 vols. (Hartford, Conn., 1850-1890), vols. 8-14; H. Franklin Andrews, *The Hamlin Family: A Genealogy of Capt. Giles Hamlin of Middletown, Connecticut, 1654-1900* (Exira, Iowa: Privately Printed, 1900); Bruce C. Daniels, *Connecticut's First Family: William Pitkin and His Connections* (Chester, Conn.: Pequot Press, 1975); A. P. Pitkin, *Pitkin Family in America* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard, 1887); S. V. Talcott, *Talcott Family Pedigree in England and America from 1558 to 1876* (Albany, N.Y.: Weed Parsons and Co., 1876); Chandler Wolcott, *Wolcott Genealogy: The Family of Henry Wolcott* (Rochester, N.Y.: Genesee Press, 1912); and Sherman W. Adams and Henry R. Stiles, *The History of Wethersfield*, 2 vols. (New York: Grafton Press, 1904).

Table 3 Hampshire County's Leading Magistrates: The Stoddard-Williams Connection. (The names of the magistrates are in upper case letters)



* Hannah Stoddard married William Williams, Jr.

Wethersfield, Connecticut; and two generations of Porters from Hadley married into the Pitkin family of East Hartford, Connecticut.[25] Because of the similarities among the gentry elites, members of these families were able to retain their status and access to office while moving from one county to another, even across colony borders.[26]

Despite the connections and despite the obvious similarities among the gentry elites in the three counties, it is possible to distinguish the river gods from their colleagues and kin in the neighboring counties. The family backgrounds of the elite groups differed significantly during the period from 1732 to 1774. Worcester's gentry families initially sprang from yeoman farmers who became large landowners or merchants; half of Hartford County's magistrates could trace their ancestry directly to the colony's founding magistrates; Hampshire County contained gentry families that could trace their origins to yeomen and seventeenth-century magistrates and, most significantly, to clergymen, which is not surprising given John Stoddard's role in choosing county magistrates *(Table 2)*.[27] In fact, none of the six leading families in Hartford nor the four prominent families in Worcester were founded by ministers; and throughout the period under study, Worcester's gentry families had few close ties by either blood or marriage to the local clergy.[28] The close ties of Hampshire's magistrates to the clergy help explain their involvement in such matters as the effort to block Robert Breck's ordination in 1735 and the dismissal of Jonathan Edwards in 1750 and probably accounts for the allusion to divinity in the term "river god."[29]

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25. Adams and Stiles, *Wethersfield*, 2:213-14; Sylvester Judd, *History of Hadley* (Springfield, Mass.: H.R. Huntting & Co., 1905); "Family Genealogies," comp. Lucius M. Boltwood, p. 113.

26. Joseph Dwight served as a county judge in Worcester, Hampshire and Berkshire counties. Elijah Williams served as a justice of the peace in Hampshire County, Massachusetts, and Hartford County, Connecticut. He also sat in the Massachusetts House of Representatives and the Connecticut General Assembly.

27. MacWade, "Worcester County, 1750-1774," pp. 45-64; Allyns, Chesters, Hamlins, Pitkins, Talcotts, Wadsworths, Wellses, and Wolcotts all sat on the Court of Assistants during the seventeenth century; for sources see fn. 24.

28. MacWade, "Worcester County, 1750-1774," pp. 45-64; other Hartford County magistrates, John Bulkley, Joseph Buckingham, Samuel Mather, Solomon Whitman, and Elisha Williams came from families with strong ties to the clergy.

29. In 1735 William Pynchon, junior, Col. John Pynchon, and John Worthington brought a civil action against Breck before judges John Stoddard, Ebenezer Pomeroy, and Timothy Dwight I. Foster, "Hampshire County, Massachusetts, 1729-1754," pp. 69-72; in 1750 Israel Williams and Oliver Partridge actively supported Jonathan Edwards's Northampton opponents; see fn. 17. For the term "river gods," see "Reminiscences of Samuel D. Partridge" in Daniel W. Wells and Reuben F. Wells, *A History of Hatfield, Massachusetts* (Springfield, Mass.: Gibbons, 1910), p. 278, and "Recollections of Childhood" in *Life and Letters of Catharine M. Sedgwick*, ed. Mary E. Dewey (New York: Harper, 1871), p. 49.

Another pattern distinguishing the Hampshire elite from the gentry in the neighboring counties was educational background. Hampshire's leading magistrates were more likely to have college degrees: 52 percent had college degrees in Hampshire County; 42 percent had college degrees in Worcester County; and only 32 percent had college degrees in Hartford County.[30] Hampshire County's college graduates were equally divided between the alumni of Harvard and Yale, and this pattern continued when they sent sons off to college *(Table 3)*. Even during the 1760s the Williamses sent sons to Harvard. Worcester's magistrates and their sons went almost exclusively to Harvard, and Hartford County's preference was, not surprisingly, for Yale. In each case the choice of colleges reflected the region's broader cultural orientation, and the divided preferences of the Hampshire magistracy reflected the dual cultural orientation and the need to maintain ties with both eastern Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Finally and most significantly, Hampshire County's magistrates were much more likely to hold military commissions and to participate actively in military affairs during the 1740s and 1750s. In Hampshire County almost three quarters of the gentry elite held field grade commissions — the rank of colonel, lieutenant colonel, or major — in the militia or the expeditionary forces raised to invade Canada; in Worcester County two-thirds held similar commissions; and in Hartford County only one-half of the higher magistrates held commissions and most of these commissions were in the militia.[31] Active participation in Connecticut's expeditionary forces could actually hurt one's political career. Joseph Spencer, probate judge for the Haddam district, was temporarily replaced because of his participation in a military campaign; and Gen. Phineas Lyman of Suffield probably lost his seat on the Court of Assistants in 1759 as a direct result of the absences caused by his active military service.[32] Just the opposite was the case in Worcester and Hampshire counties where members of the gentry maintained and advanced their political careers by military service; failure to accept the responsibilities of military command could diminish one's stature. When Eleazer Porter of Hadley hesitated to

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30. MacWade, "Worcester County," pp. 68-69; Franklin Dexter, *Biographical Sketches of the Graduates of Yale College with Annals of College History*, 6 vols. (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1885-1912); Clifford Shipton, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1933-1975), vols. 5-17; John L. Sibley, *Biographical Sketches of Graduates of Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts* (Cambridge, Mass.: Charles W. Sever, 1873-1885), vols. 1-3.

31. MacWade, "Worcester County," pp. 40-43; compiled from *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, 6:534; 8:279-80, 441; 9:84, 213; 10:198; 11:95, 96, 336; 12:88.

32. *Public Records of the Colony of Connecticut*, 11:247, 248.

assume command after Colonel Stoddard's death in 1748, he was ridiculed by Hampshire residents and replaced by Israel Williams who had acted decisively.[33]

For Colonel Williams and his kin control of the county militia regiments and control over the expeditionary forces raised and stationed in western Massachusetts gave the river gods their distinctive claims to leadership and the resources to sustain the claims. As long as Hampshire County remained an endangered military frontier, many of its residents depended for their survival and economic well-being on the colony's military establishments. Unlike militia officers in eastern Massachusetts and Connecticut, the colonels and captains who commanded Hampshire County's militiamen performed as active military officers, organized frontier defenses, raised expeditionary forces, mobilized logistical support for provincial troops, and on occasion led them in the field. Military rank was coveted, and in western Massachusetts successful officers were looked up to and respected. When the citizen soldiers in the militia and expeditionary forces, particularly those in Hampshire's exposed frontier towns, answered the call to arms, turned their backs on their homes and families, and marched off to face an uncertain fate, they in a very real sense voted with their feet. When the freemen of Hampshire County voted with ballots or with their hands for selectmen and representatives, they tended to vote for their commissioned and noncommissioned officers.

Military commissions brought their holders other rewards and advantages. Commissions in expeditionary regiments and in garrison companies stationed in forts along the Hampshire frontier gave officers a steady income and a financial incentive to raise troops.[34] Merchants who secured appointments as sub-commissaries received ready access to government bills of credit and the use of much-needed operating capital. During the 1740s and 1750s, four Williamses and two of their in-laws served as sub-commissaries. Military commissions and commissary contracts offered holders the opportunity to reap financial rewards beyond those allowed by the government. In addition to such mundane practices as inflating accounts submitted to the government, members of the Williams family concocted some rather imaginative schemes to use underemployed soldiers and unspent government funds for personal gain.[35]

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33. George Merriam, "Israel Williams: Monarch of Hampshire, 1709-1788" (Ph.D. diss., Clark University, 1961), pp. 27-33.

34. Michael Coe, "The Line of Forts: Archeology of the Mid-Eighteenth Century on the Massachusetts Frontier," *Annual Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife* (1977): *New England Historical Archeology*, pp. 44-55.

35. William Williams, Fort Anson Account Book, 1754, William Williams Papers, Berkshire Atheneum, Pittsfield, Mass.; William Williams to Ephraim Williams, junior,

Their control of the county's militia and of the expeditionary forces raised in Hampshire County gave the river gods extensive patronage powers. Acting as sub-commissaries, members of the Williams family decided which producers would sell goods to the troops. They also decided where the troops would be billeted. In the especially favored towns of Deerfield and Hatfield, the direct and indirect beneficiaries of the favors bestowed by the Williamses at government expense included a substantial portion of the population. Self-interest thus reinforced existing patterns of deference and brought artisans and humble yeomen into a network based on favor and reciprocal services.[36]

Control of military offices enabled the river gods to influence matters beyond their hometowns. The Reverend Jonathan Edwards, a man who knew well the power of the Williams clan and its reach, claimed that Col. Israel Williams's influence on "the principle (sic) men in the neighboring towns" could be traced directly to his being the "chief Colonel of the regiment, [for] all other military officers are dependent on him."[37] In fact some 150 officers in the Hampshire militia regiments and recipients of 250 to 300 commissions in the provincial forces that went to Hampshire County men during the 1740s and 1750s were indebted to Col. Israel Williams or his predecessor Col. John Stoddard.[38] In the most exposed frontier towns, residents whose survival depended on outside military assistance referred to Colonel Williams as "our father," and usually adopted a deferential attitude when dealing with him.[39] Because of their ability to direct the disposition of soldiers, military disbursements and officers' commissions, Colonels Stoddard and Williams were able to consolidate the Williams clan's dominance in the towns of Deerfield, Hatfield, and Stockbridge and to extend its influence beyond the boundaries of the family baliwicks and throughout the county.

This system of deference and reciprocal relations was severely strained during the later 1750s as warfare dragged on and stirred up opposition to the clique of Williamses that directed and often profited from Hampshire County's war effort. Foes of the Williamses formed

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25 October 1754, in Wright, *Colonel Ephraim Williams*, p. 81; Arthur L. Perry, *Origins of Williamstown* (New York: Scriber's, 1894), pp. 245-48.

36. Kevin M. Sweeney, "War on the Homefront: Politics and Patronage in Hampshire County, 1754-1760" (Paper delivered at Historic Deerfield Colloquium on Recent Research in Western Massachusetts History, Deerfield, Mass., 1978; copy at Historic Deerfield Library), pp. 6-11.

37. Jonathan Edwards to Thomas Foxcroft, 19 February 1750, Boston Public Library.

38. Sweeney, "War on the Homefront," tables 2 and 3.

39. Quoted in Shipton, *Graduates of Harvard*, 8:309; see also Inhabitants of Huntstown to Israel Williams, 27 May 1757, Israel Williams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

alliances with opposition factions in the Massachusetts General Court and for a time won the assistance of the royal governor, Thomas Pownall. The disputes did not irreparably damage the Williams family's prominent position, but the contention did carry with it intimations of the river gods' political mortality. The political power of the river gods ultimately rested on their roles as intermediaries between the river towns and the authorities in Boston. When they lost support in Hampshire County while authorities in Boston simultaneously withheld their support, there were no parties to mediate between; the Williamses and their allies became irrelevant and vulnerable.[40]

The termination of the fighting in North America in 1760 ended the political conflict engendered by the war, and during the early 1760s the Williamses assumed an apparently unassailable position in Hampshire County. After some difficulties adjusting to the loss of their roles as defenders of the western frontier, most family members prospered. Income from farming and commerce added to the family's wealth. Family members speculated in undeveloped lands and spent money on houses and furnishings that set them apart from their neighbors and affirmed their identity with gentry families throughout the Connecticut River Valley.[41] They continued to act as power brokers who served as intermediaries between local residents and authorities in Boston. The Williamses and their kin enjoyed a near monopoly of appointive offices in the county; family members and in-laws accounted for eight of eighteen justices of the peace in the county and for three of four places on the common pleas bench in 1768.[42] Col. Israel Williams sat on the Governor's Council, presided over the court of quarter sessions and over the county court of common pleas, and served as county probate judge. The colonel's political opponents in Boston invested him with the title "monarch of Hampshire."[43]

The story of the Williams family does not end with the achievement of unchallenged power. The political power accumulated by members of the clan slipped through their hands not long after they secured it. Close ties with the royal government in Boston turned into a deadly

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40. Sweeney, "War on the Homefront," pp. 11-28.

41. Robert Taylor, *Western Massachusetts in the Revolution* (Providence: Brown University Press, 1954), pp. 11-51; Kevin M. Sweeney, "Mansion People: The River Gods and Material Culture" (Paper delivered at Historic Deerfield Colloquium on Material Culture in the Connecticut Valley, Deerfield, Mass., 1982; copy at Historic Deerfield Library).

42. Based on Whitemore, *Massachusetts Civil List*, pp. 92-93, 140.

43. Oxenbridge Thatcher to Benjamin Pratt [1762] in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1st ser. 20 (1884) :47.

embrace in the 1770s. Because of the family's dependence on and support of royal authority, the Williamses lost the favor of voters in local elections; and when the royal government was swept away, they lost their hold on the county magistracy.[44] With the loss of office and the taint of loyalism went the loss of power, influence, and prestige; and some Williamses experienced financial hardship as well.[45]

It would be wrong, however, to attribute the Williams family's ultimate demise solely to the Revolution. In a sense the family's position had begun to decline before the Revolution, and the process continued into the early 1800s. The end of the French and Indian wars had removed the river gods' chief source of power and prestige. The waning of the clergy's influence undercut another institutional prop of the rural gentry class. Changes in the county magistracy brought about by the 1780 constitution of the newly independent state of Massachusetts prevented the recreation of the ruling clique that had controlled the county magistracy during the colonial era. Williamses of the fifth generation and their sons gained local political prominence and usually prospered, but the collective influence of the family and of the gentry class of which they were a part faded. Israel Williams's sons and grandsons never had the opportunity to establish themselves as river gods.

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44. Taylor, *Western Massachusetts*, pp. 52-74; Bruce G. Merritt, "Loyalism and Social Conflict in Revolutionary Deerfield, Massachusetts," *Journal of American History* 57, no. 2 (September 1970) :277-89.

45. See, for example, the fate of Israel Williams's son, William, in John Williams Memoirs, Williams Papers, Box 15, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association, Deerfield, Mass., p. 1.

Psalmody in Coastal Massachusetts and in the Connecticut River Valley

Peter Benes

When English Protestants of the seventeenth century set out to reform Elizabethan church practices, they included among their grievances what was derisively termed "fantastical" or "exquisite" singing. By this was meant a tradition of highly trained ecclesiastical choral singing that developed in the medieval church and which was refined and amplified during the Renaissance through the use of instrumental music. Scruples against exquisite singing remained with English Protestants long after the impetus of reform had led to a wholesale migration of Puritans to New England. In Boston's First Church as in London's Westminster Abbey, the assembled worshippers sang simplified "Scripture Psalmes" in the Lord's praise, translated into the vernacular tongue and without the benefit of musical training or instruments. Termed "psalmody," this plain-style participatory singing of metrical English translations of the Book of Psalms was practiced in both the established and dissenting churches in England as well as among the Puritan churches in the American colonies.[1]

In its seventeenth-century form, New England psalmody consisted of an exchange between a precentor, usually a deacon, who read a line of the psalm, and the congregation, which sung the same line after him; the deacon read the next line, and again the congregation followed with a sung line. Sanctioned by the 1644 Westminster Assembly and given qualified endorsement by the Boston clergyman John Cotton in 1647, "lining out" or "deaconizing" (as it was sometimes termed) satisfied the liturgical discipline of Puritan worship in New England and thrived in a setting where printed psalters were sometimes in short supply and where literacy may not have been widespread.[2] Simultaneously, however, psalmody became musically degraded as

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1. Henry Wilder Foote, *Three Centuries of American Hymnody* (1940; reprint ed., Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1968), chap. 1; Patrick Collinson, *The Essence of Puritanism* (London, 1967), p. 36; Horton Davies, *The Worship of the English Puritans* (Glasgow: University Press, 1948), chap. 10; Louis F. Benson, *The English Hymn: Its Development and Use in Worship* (1915; reprint ed., Richmond, Va.: John Knox 1962), p. 25 and ff.

2. Davies, *Worship*, pp. 165-67.

second-, third-, and fourth-generation Puritans forgot all but a handful of the most frequently used traditional tunes. Judge Samuel Sewall's distress in 1715 that his Boston congregation had "run into Oxford" after he had "set Windsor" was typical of his experience as singing leader. It is matched a decade later by Joseph Hawley's admission when accused of disorderly conduct in the Farmington meeting house that he could not tell "*bellum* tune from *pax* tune" and in any event "supposed the deacon had aimed at Cambridge short tune and set it wrong." Detractors complained that the method produced "indecent jargon," "odd noise," and "an ungrateful Jarr in the ears." Supporters countered that psalmody, like prayer, should have an element of spontaneity and that any improvements or changes to the existing method might bring with them "popery."[3]

Like other ecclesiological practices, New England psalmody of the eighteenth century gradually acquired academic and stylistic coherence. Stirred by lectures and by pamphlets written by clergymen,[4] congregations improved their praises through "regular" (that is, trained) singing taught by itinerant music masters. Later, these same congregations re-learned neglected tunes through the use of perforated notes and other musical notations; discontinued lining out the psalm; set aside special singing pews; and finally permitted the introduction of musical accessories or instruments such as the pitch-pipe, the bass viol, violin, melodeon, and organ. Each improvement took psalmody a step further from the plain-style practices of the seventeenth century; each was accompanied by greater or lesser controversy within the church and the community. While neither exquisite nor fantastical, psalmody of the early nineteenth century was a studied art form.[5]

In general, eighteenth-century improvements in psalmody first appeared in major port towns (Boston, Salem, Portsmouth, Roxbury) and thence dispersed into rural and inland areas. Regular singing, for example, which evoked major controversy in the Boston area in the 1720s,

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3. Samuel Sewall, *The Diary of Samuel Sewall, 1674-1729*, ed. M. Halsey Thomas, 2 vols. (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1973), 2:785 (6 February 1715); Julius Gay, *Farmington Papers* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood, 1929), p. 36; Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *Meetinghouse Hill 1630-1783* (New York: Macmillan, 1952), pp. 152-55; Thomas Symmes, *Utile Dulci or a Joco-Serious Dialogue concerning Regular Singing* (1723), in Foote, *Three Centuries*, pp. 101-2.

4. See Foote, *Three Centuries*, pp. 90-123, for the leading New England clerical advocates of regular singing.

5. Ola Elizabeth Winslow, "Victory in the 'Singing Seats,' " *New England Galaxy* 3, no. 3 (Winter 1962): 3-14; Increase N. Tarbox, "Musical History," in *One Hundredth Anniversary of the Congregational Church in West Newton 1781-1881* (Boston: Beacon, 1882), pp. 103-20.

had its greatest initial successes in eastern Massachusetts.[6] The lining out of the psalms was discontinued in five Boston churches, both Baptist and Congregational, before it was discontinued anywhere else.[7] Congregational churches in Boston, Newbury, Salem, Ipswich, and Hingham were the first in New England to reserve singing pews on the ground floor of the meeting house.[8] However, at least one psalmodic innovation reversed this pattern. This was Isaac Watts's translation of the psalms whose use originated in eastern Connecticut and the Connecticut Valley. This translation also exhibited regional traits. On the basis of known votes taken in one-third of New England's estimated four hundred church societies of all denominations from 1700 to 1823, Watts's *The Psalms of David imitated* was identified in the 1750s and 1760s with the Connecticut River Valley; and its competitor, Tate and Brady's *A New Version of the Psalms*, with eastern Massachusetts.

The origin of these regional preferences can be traced back several hundred years. First generation English immigrants to New England brought with them three metrical translations of the Davidic psalms: *The whole Booke of Psalms* (1556) by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, who composed the first Anglo-Genevan psalter of the sixteenth century; *The Book of Psalmes: Englished both in Prose and Meeter* (1612) by Henry Ainsworth, a leading Hebrew scholar living in the Netherlands; and *The Whole Booke of Psalmes* (1621) by Thomas Ravenscroft, who revised the earlier text of Sternhold and Hopkins. The churches at Plymouth and Salem are known to have used Ainsworth and Ravenscroft; others presumably used the so-called "Old Version" of Sternhold and Hopkins. In 1640 three clergymen (Thomas Weld of Roxbury, Richard Mather of Dorchester, and John Eliot of Roxbury) composed a metrical translation characterized by a high degree of accuracy to the original Hebrew. An immediate publishing success, *The Whole Booke of Psalmes Faithfully Translated into English Metre* (later known as the "Bay Psalm Book") displaced

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6. Cotton Mather to Thomas Hollis, 1723, in Foote, *Three Centuries*, p. 109.

7. Brattle (1699); New Brick (1753); South Church (1758); First Baptist (1759); Old Brick (1761). See *The Manifesto Church, Records of the Church in Brattle Square Boston 1699-1872* (Boston: Benevolent Fraternity, 1902), p. 5; Chandler Robbins, *A History of the Second Church . . . to which is added a history of the New Brick Church* (Boston: Wilson, 1852), p. 184; Hamilton A. Hill, *History of the Old South Church, Boston*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1890), 2:39; Nathan E. Wood, *History of the First Baptist Church, 1665-1899* (Philadelphia: American Baptist, 1899), p. 243; Arthur B. Ellis, *History of the First Church in Boston 1630-1880* (Boston: Hall and Whiting, 1881), p. 203.

8. Ellis, *First Church*, p. 204; *First Parish, Newbury* (Newburyport: News, 1935), p. 35; Joseph B. Felt, *Annals of Salem*, 2 vols. (Salem: Ives, 1849), 2:623; Joseph B. Felt, *History of Ipswich, Essex, and Hamilton* (Cambridge, 1834), p. 212; Calvin Lincoln, *First Parish in Hingham* (Hingham: 1873), p. 67.

earlier psalters in many, if not most, churches in the New England colonies. Revised by Henry Dunster in the late seventeenth century and by Thomas Prince in the mid-eighteenth century, the Bay Psalm Book remained the most common psalter in New England for over one hundred years and was still in use in some congregations as late as 1773 and probably after that date.[9]

Two newer translations had in the meantime appeared in print in England and America. Nahum Tate and Nicholas Brady's version, authorized in 1696 by William III as a substitute for Sternhold and Hopkins, was published in New York in 1710 and in Boston in 1713, becoming fairly general, although not universal, in the Church of England. Offering a more polished and less literal text, Tate and Brady's *A New Version of the Psalms of David* was recommended by the Lord Bishop of London to his diocese in 1698 and disseminated from London into the English countryside.[10] In the American colonies, Tate and Brady was first sung at Harvard College chapel in 1708. Five years later, in 1713, it was adopted by the rector of King's Chapel in Boston. In the meantime, it was circulating privately among academic and clerical circles in Boston outside of the Church of England. In 1719 Samuel Sewall gave a copy of Tate and Brady to the minister Nathaniel Eells of Scituate. Two years later (1721) Sewall noted that the version was sung four times at the occasion of Cotton Mather's singing lecture at the school house in Boston.[11]

When the New Brick Church was founded by dissatisfied members of Boston's Second Church in 1722, the congregation voted to sing Tate and Brady, the first reformed church in New England known to do

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9. The Bay Psalm Book also met with success in England. According to Thomas Prince who visited that country in 1717, a number of "eminent congregations" in England were still preferring the Bay version to newer English translations because the authors "not only had the Happiness of approaching *nearer* to the *inspired Original* than *all other versions* in *English rhyme*, but in many Places of excelling them in simplicity of Style and in affecting, being the word of God which more strongly touch the soul." Judging by the number of editions printed, the Bay Psalm Book was almost as popular in England and Scotland as it was in New England. Whereas twenty-seven editions of the Weld-Mather-Eliot translation were published in New England in the 122 year period from 1640 to 1762, no fewer than twenty editions were published in England from 1652 to 1754, and twenty-two editions in Scotland before 1759. See Thomas Prince, *The Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament* (Boston: Henchman and Kneeland, 1758), preface; Prince was writing forty-one years after his visit to England. Foote, *Three Centuries*, pp. 54-55; George Hood, *A History of Music in New England, with biographical sketches of reformers and psalmists* (Boston: Wilkins, 1846), pp. 25-27.

10 Foote, *Three Centuries*, pp. 37-39.

11. Sewall, *Diary*, p. 585; Henry Wilder Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel from the Puritan Age of New England to the Present Day*, 2 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown, 1882), 1:206; Sewall, pp. 922, 976.

so.[12] The New Brick's acceptance of a psalter visibly associated with the Church of England coincides with a point in Boston's history when the town was taking a new interest in London ecclesiastical architecture. Already three Puritan congregations in Boston (New North in 1714, Brattle in 1717, and New South in 1719)[13] had erected meeting houses furnished with standing belltowers — features that some English Protestants caustically termed "steeple houses."[14] When the Third (or South) Church in Boston voted to replace its meeting house in 1729, it erected a structure still seen on Washington Street whose standing belltower imitated seventeenth-century Renaissance-revival designs by the London architect Christopher Wren. In part, the selection of a Wren-style tower was influenced by the Cambridge-born merchant Jonathan Belcher (1681-1757), an intimate of English royalty and later provincial governor of Massachusetts. Belcher headed the parish committee delegated "to draw a Projection of the Building" and also headed the building committee. Nevertheless, the use of a Georgian steeple design and arched windows on a Boston meeting house was one more example, among others, of growing Puritan involvement with eighteenth-century Church of England ecclesiological and liturgical modes that were not shared by dissenting sects in England and was, in its own way, the architectural parallel to Tate and Brady.[15]

In the eighteen years following the New Brick's adoption of Tate and Brady, only one church in New England is known to have voted for the *New Version*. This was the Congregational society in Redding, Connecticut, located between Danbury, Newton, and Fairfield, which adopted the version in 1733. (Not surprisingly, Redding society had as many Church of England constituents as it had Congregationalists.) In 1740 the Baptist Church in Newport began singing the version; in 1746 it was adopted by St. Peter's in Salem.[16] In the decade following, at a

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12. Hill, *History of the Old South Church*, 2:19-20, fn. 2.

13. William Burgis, *A North East View of the Great Town of Boston* (Boston, 1723); Sewall, *Diary*, p. 857; George E. Ellis, *Commemorative Discourse on the New South Church December 25, 1864* (Boston: Dutton, 1865), p. 7. (The author wishes to thank Sarah Blank for pointing out Samuel Sewall's "Midsummer Day" entry for 1717: "Mr. Colman's New Steeple is raised."

14. Edward P. Cheyney, *Readings in English History from the Original Sources* (Boston: Ginn, 1908), p. 516.

15. Hamilton A. Hill, *History of the Old South Church (Third Church) Boston*, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1890), 1:428-29 437; Peter Benes and Philip D. Zimmerman, *New England Meeting House and Church: 1630-1850* (Boston: Boston University and The Currier Gallery of Art for the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, 1979), pp. 13-16.

16. D. Hamilton Hurd, *History of Fairfield County, Connecticut* (Philadelphia: Lewis, 1881), p. 601; Charles Burr Todd, *The History of Redding, Conn.* (New York: Gray Press, 1880), p. 102; Wood, *History*, p. 266; Felt, *Salem*, 2:623.

time when liturgical practices in New England were undergoing profound changes, Tate and Brady was adopted by Congregational denominations in most of the older towns in coastal Massachusetts (*Table 1*). Among them were Boston First, Boston New North, Roxbury, Brookline, Dedham First, Dedham Third, Ipswich First, Newbury First, Falmouth, and Kittery.[17] The *New Version* was simultaneously adopted by a handful of churches on the eastern and central coastline of Connecticut: Guilford Second, Norwich, Killingsworth, Wallingford, and New London.[18] In this respect, it paralleled the coastal dispersal of London-style belltowers, which also migrated from Boston to the Connecticut shoreline, beginning with Guilford, which voted in 1724 for a belltower "like that in Mr. Coleman's meeting house in Boston [Brattle]."[19] After 1763, Tate and Brady made gradual headway into rural eastern Massachusetts, its deepest penetration being Hardwick in 1765[20] (*Figure 1*). No church is known to have adopted Tate and Brady after 1779.

During this same period only one other translation besides Tate and Brady was replacing the Bay Psalm Book and the Old Version with any measure of success. This was a version composed in the early eighteenth century by Isaac Watts (1764-1748), a dissenting English minister, lyricist, and hymnodist who devoted his career to improving religious singing. Unlike his predecessors, Isaac Watts entirely abandoned the principle of adhering to the Hebrew text and instead rearranged and replaced phrases and ideas to suit eighteenth-century English and Christian sensibilities. His goal was to translate the verses "in such a manner as we have reason to believe David would have composed them if he had lived in our day." Published in England in 1719, Watts's *The Psalms of David imitated in the language of the*

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17. Ellis, *First Church*, p. 205; John Eliot, *Sermon delivered before the New North May 2, 1804* (Boston, 1804), p. 22; Walter E. Thwing, *History of the First Church in Roxbury, Mass. 1630-1904* (Boston: Butterfield, 1908), p. 339; William H. Lyons, *The First Parish in Brookline* (Brookline, Mass.: Riverdale, 1898), p. 19; Erastus Worthington, *History of Dedham* (Boston: Dutton, 1827), p. 107; George W. Cooke, *A History of Clapboard Trees or Third Parish of Dedham* (Boston: Ellis, 1887), p. 37; Felt, *Ipswich*, p. 212; William Willis, *The History of Portland from 1632 to 1864* (Portland: Bailey, 1865), p. 404; "The Records of the Church" (Kittery, Maine), ms. copy at New England Historic Genealogical Society Library, Boston, p. 21.

18. Bernard C. Steiner, *A History of the plantation of Menunkatuck and of the original town of Guilford* (Baltimore: Author, 1897), p. 354; Ezra Stiles, *Extracts from the Itineraries and other Miscellanies* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1916), p. 140; C. Bancroft Gillespie and George C. Curtis, *A Century of Meriden* (Meriden, Conn.: Journal, 1906), p. 146, fn. 3.

19. J. Frederick Kelly, *Early Connecticut Meetinghouses*, 2 vols. (New York: Columbia, 1948), p. 172.

20. Lucius R. Paige, *History of Hardwick, Mass.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1883), p. 185.

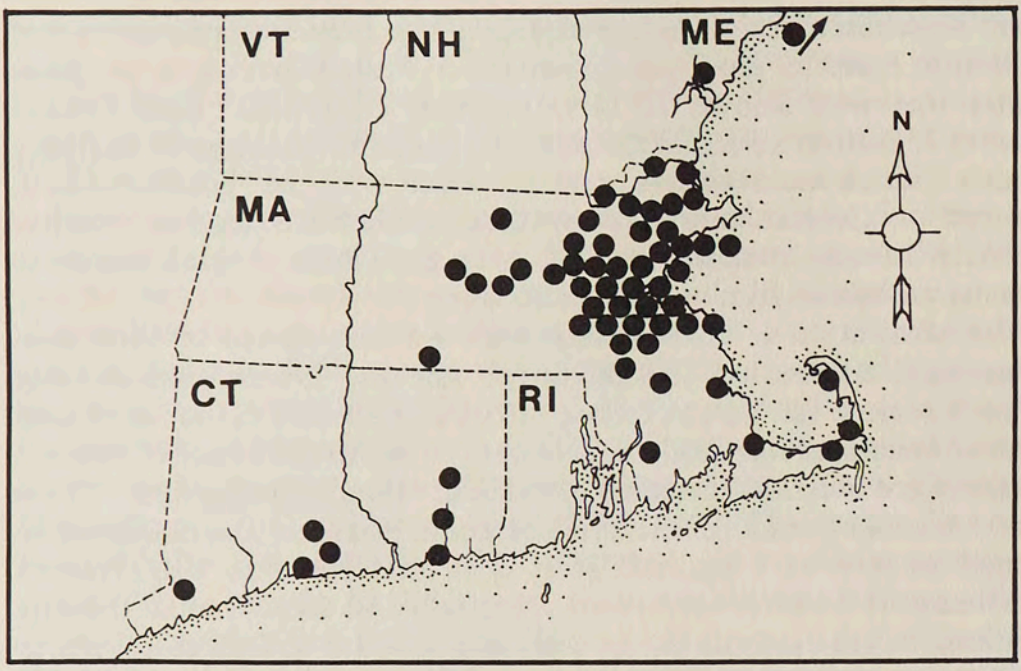

Figure 1 Location of churches voting to sing Tate and Brady's *A New Version of the Psalms*, 1713-1779.

Table 1 Dates at which Tate and Brady's *A New Version of the Psalms* were first sung.

1713	Boston/King's Chapel (CE)
1722	Boston/New Brick
1733	Redding CT
1740	Newport RI
1746	Salem/St. Peter's (CE)
1751	Dedham 1, Dedham 3
1752	Salem 1
1753	Boston/Brattle
1755	Boston/New North
1756	Falmouth ME
1757	Ipswich 1; Ipswich 3; Kittery ME
1758	Roxbury
1759	Eastham 3
1760	Pembroke 2; Brookline; Boston/Hollis
1761	Boston 1; Franklin; Newbury 1; Weston; Worcester; Norwich CT; Scotland CT; New London CT; Killingsworth CT; Guilford 2 CT
1762	Sandwich; Shrewsbury; Templeton
1763	Lancaster; Cambridge
1764	Harwich; Haverhill1; Methuen
1765	Needham; Leicester; Hardwick; Dorchester; Sturbridge; Andover 1
1766	Lexington; Rehoboth, Wallingford CT
1767	Boxford 1; Lincoln
1768	Medford; Hingham 1
1769	Truro
1770	Newton
1771	Westborough; Plymouth 1
1772	Salem/North; Charlestown
1773	Westminster
1779	Southborough

Key to symbols in Tables 1 and 2:

P	Presbyterian
CE	Church of England
B	Baptist
CT	Connecticut
NH	New Hampshire
RI	Rhode Island
ME	District of Maine

(Numerals refer to parish number; denominations not cited are Congregational; towns are in Massachusetts unless otherwise specified.)

New Testament first became available in the American colonies when Benjamin Franklin produced an edition in Philadelphia in 1729. Isaac Watts was well known to New England clergymen. Both Cotton Mather of Boston's Second Church and Benjamin Colman of Boston's Brattle Church maintained a correspondence with the "great Master in Poetry" (as Colman termed him). Cotton Mather's nephew, Mather Byles, who was installed in 1732 over the Hollis Street Church in Boston, addressed him as "Seraphic Watts."[21]

The admiration of Boston clergymen was not shared by their congregations: neither the Hollis Street nor the Brattle church sang Watts's psalms during the tenure of these ministers. So far as is now known, the first New England churches to approve the use of Watts's *Psalms* were two newly formed parishes in eastern Connecticut. These were Mortlake Parish (the second society in Pomfret) and Goshen (the second society in Lebanon), both of which voted to sing Watts's translation in 1741. (The Goshen vote proved so controversial that the Hartford North Association quickly advised the church to return to "our common version."[22] In the year following, Jonathan Edwards's congregation in the Connecticut Valley town of Northampton is known to have been singing Watts. The 1741 Boston edition of Watts's *Psalms of David imitated* had been printed "by G. Rogers and D. Foule for J. Edwards," presumably Jonathan Edwards; and indeed the Northampton congregation may have voted for its use before Mortlake and Goshen. Again, not all went smoothly. In a 1744 letter to Benjamin Colman, Edwards reported he had returned to Northampton to find his congregation singing Watts's hymns to the exclusion of the psalms. Edwards arranged a compromise by allowing hymns to be sung with the psalms, but this did not satisfy at least one offended traditionalist in his congregation, who walked out of the meeting whenever hymns were sung.[23]

Edwards's church was followed by others in Connecticut and the Connecticut River Valley (*Figure 2*). Northfield voted for the version in 1750; Farmington, in 1751; Gilead, the second society in Hebron, in 1752.[24] During the next decade (1753-1764), twenty-six ecclesiastical

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21. Davies, *Worship*, p. 176; Foote, *Three Centuries*, pp. 66, 70.

22. Ellen B. Larned, *History of Windham County, Conn.*, 2 vols. (Worcester: Hamilton, 1874), 1:351; George L. Walker, *The First Church in Hartford* (Hartford: Brown, 1884), p. 320.

23. Charles Evans, *American Bibliography* (1904; reprint ed., New York: Smith, 1941), entry 4672; Jonathan Edwards to Benjamin Colman, 22 May 1744, in *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 2nd ser. 10 (1895-1896):429.

24. J. H. Temple and George Sheldon, *History of the Town of Northfield* (Albany: Munsell, 1875), p. 277; Kelly, 1:160; Stiles, *Extracts*, p. 285.

societies in Connecticut voted for Watts's psalms, most of them in the years 1756-1757 and 1761-1762 (*Table 2*).[25] This was a liturgical revolution of unprecedented scale, and it ended almost as quickly as it began. Only six Connecticut churches are known to have voted for Watts after 1764.

Watts's *Psalms* met with success elsewhere in New England and gradually gained ascendency over all other versions (*Figure 3*). While precise figures cannot now be reconstructed, it is estimated that almost half of New England congregations of all denominations were singing Watts by 1780; one-quarter were singing Tate and Brady; and the remainder were singing Thomas Prince's 1758 revision of the Bay Psalm Book, or Ainsworth, or the Old Version itself. A handful of churches were singing new translations by the clergymen John Barnard of Marblehead (1752) and Josiah Flagg of Boston (1764), and by the potter and publisher Daniel Bayley of Newburyport (1764). Some were probably singing a version by the Boston composer William Billings (1770). Whatever version was sung, the process of retaining or replacing a particular translation involved experimentation, discussion, and voting. Having made a trial of Tate and Brady for several months in 1761, the church in Spencer, Massachusetts, voted in June of that year to sing Watts for four months and then to select the best of three versions. In September the vote ran thirty-three for the Bay Psalm Book, fourteen for Watts, and six for Tate and Brady. Eight years, three votes, and two trial periods later, Spencer voted sixteen to six for Watts over the Old Version. Raynham, Massachusetts, went through the same struggle between the years 1752 and 1764. In November 1752, "sundry of the brethern" of the Raynham church met and voted ten to seven to sing "Mr. Watts' psalms in publick." The following year the church body by a vote of thirteen to ten turned down a motion to reconsider this decision and chose to "Begin to sing them the first Sabbath after our next general fast, and that they should be sung once a day, att such time of the Day as the Pastour shall think most proper." This vote apparently did not prevail, however, until eleven years later (1764) when

> the Chh of Christ in this place having been regularly notified, met to determine what version of the psalm should be sung in the

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25. Data for the years 1756 and 1761 are drawn from Larned, *Windham County*, 1:522; Joseph P. Beach, *History of Cheshire, Conn.* (Cheshire, Conn.: Daughters of the American Revolution, 1912), p. 335; Alonzo B. Chapin, *Glastonbury for Two Hundred Years* (Hartford: Case, 1853), p. 78; Elizabeth H. Schenck, *History of Fairfield from 1700 to 1800*, 2 vols. (New York: Author, 1905), p. 104; Walker, *First Church*, p. 320; J. Hammond Trumbull, *Memorial History of Hartford County*, 2 vols. (Boston: Osgood, 1886), 2:231; Henry R. Stiles, *History of Ancient Wethersfield* (New York: Grafton, 1904), 1:849; Stiles, *Extracts*, pp. 140, 292; Kelly, *Conn. Meetinghouses*, 2:140; Steiner, *Menunkatuck and Guilford*, p. 354.

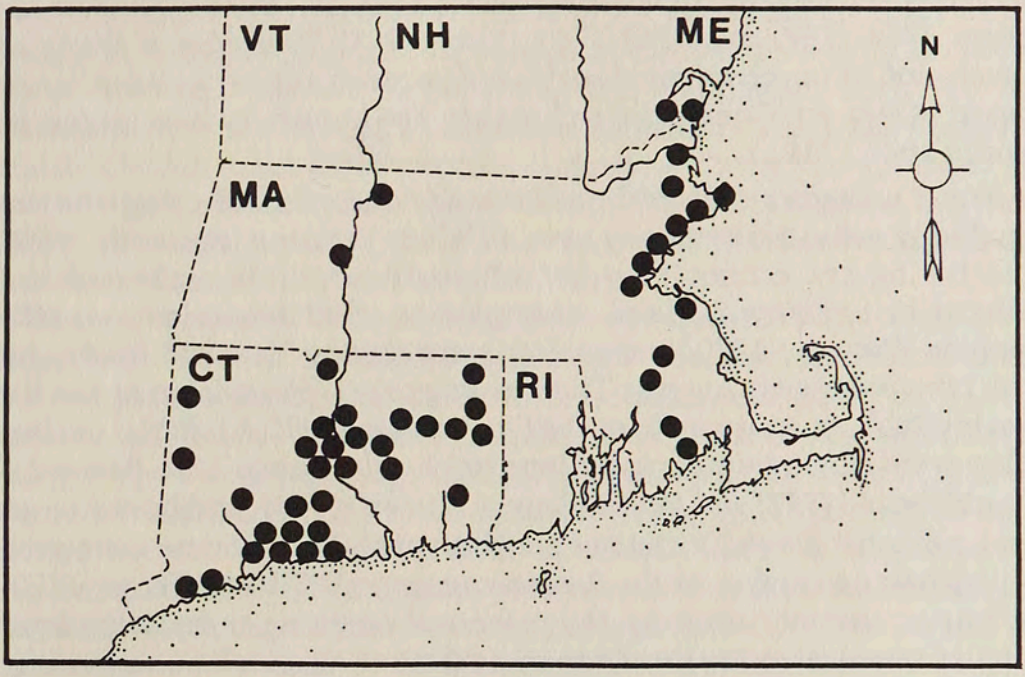

Figure 2 Location of churches voting to sing Watts's *The Psalms of David imitated*, 1741-1761.

Table 2 Dates at which Watts's *Psalms of David imitated* were first sung.

1741 Goshen CT; Pomfret 2 (Mortlake) CT
1742 Northampton
1746 Newburyport (P)
1747 Attleborough 2
1749 Chelsea
1750 Northfield; Stamford CT
1751 Boston/New Brick; Farmington CT
1752 Salem 3; Hebron 2 (Gilead) CT
1753 Hampstead NH; Manchester CT; Raynham; Canterbury CT
1756 Granby CT; Brooklyn CT; Fairfield CT; Cheshire CT; Saybrook CT; Wethersfield 1 CT; Bridgewater 5; Glastonbury 1 CT; Hartford 1 CT
1757 East Hartford CT; Wethersfield (Stepney) CT; North Bristol (North Madison) CT
1758 New Milford CT
1760 Killingly CT
1761 New Haven 1 CT; New Haven 2 CT; North Haven CT; Preston 2 CT; Braintree 1; Wallingford CT; Guilford 2 CT; Rochester 2 CT; East Haven CT; West Haven CT
1762 East Hampton NH
1763 Portsmouth NH; Rowley 2; Branford CT; Coventry CT
1764 Oxford CT; Mansfield 2 CT; Cornwall CT
1765 Franklin; Needham
1766 Beverly 1; Concord 1; Windsor 1 CT
1767 Pittsfield; Dover; Rockport
1768 Millbury
1769 Spencer

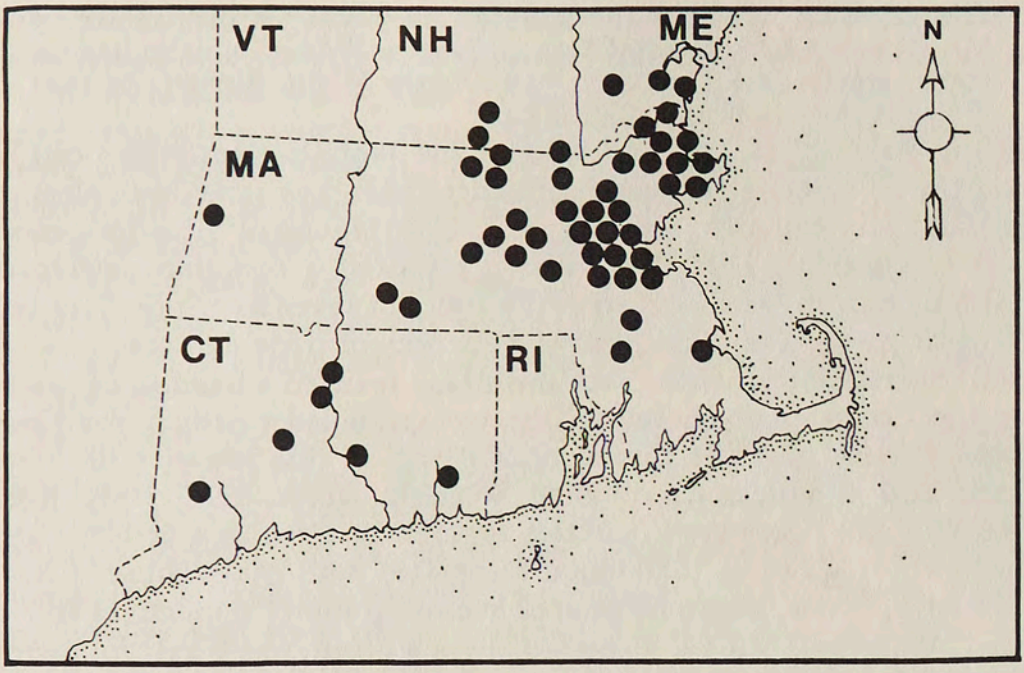

Figure 3 Location of churches voting to sing Watts's *The Psalms of David imitated*, 1761-1823.

1770 Beverly 2; Chester NH; Haverhill 3; Amesbury 2; Grafton; Boston (B)
1771 Boston/Brattle; Wenham; North Hampton NH
1772 Hamilton; Norwich CT; Hampton NH; Boxford 2
1773 Hartford 2; Bedford; Haddam CT
1775 Danvers
1777 Shirley
1778 Newtown CT
1779 Wrentham
1783 Marblehead 1
1785 Brimfield; Ipswich 2; Ipswich/Southside; Dunstable; Wolcott CT; Ware
1786 Boston 3; Plymouth 1
1789 Westborough; Braintree 3
1790 Newton 1; Rindge NH; Worcester
1791 Shrewsbury, Templeton
1792 Peterborough NH; Framingham
1793 Dorcester
1794 Weston; Winchendon
1797 Princeton
1798 Salem/North
1801 Boxford 1
1817 Cambridge 1
1823 Concord 2; Dedham1

> Congregation, whether the usual psalms brought into metre by Mr. Dunster, or Brady and Tate, or Doctor Watts. Dunster had six votes, Brady and Tate one, and Doctor Watts Eleven, so that Watts is now to be sung with us.[26]

In the dispersal of Tate and Brady's and Watts's translations can be recognized some of the same influences that may have been shaping cultural sub-regions in New England. Clearly, one of these influences was topography. The *New Version* followed a common pattern of cultural transmission that took the route of seventeenth-century settlement patterns and established networks of trade and communication. Significantly, while Tate and Brady reached a handful of towns on the Connecticut shoreline, the version failed to reach any town located on or near the Connecticut River. In this instance the river itself and the uplands dividing western Worcester County from Franklin and Hampshire counties apparently acted as a physical and cultural barrier to an innovation associated with Massachusetts Bay. Similarly, Watts, which originated in eastern rural Connecticut and in the Connecticut Valley, dispersed along a north/south axis following the fixed, well-traveled routes of settlement, commerce, and communication. Both versions thrived and were for a period of time representative of coastal and river-oriented cultural sub-regions in New England defined by terrain, by the movement of people, and by modes of transportation.

A second and more complex influence involved ideas. At the most basic level, both versions represented a substantive break with traditional reformed liturgy. Conservative or isolated parishes that continued to line out the psalms retained the Old Version or the Bay Psalm Book; forward-looking parishes that discontinued lining out at an early date voted for one of the new translations. Within this larger polarization, however, co-existed a more clearly defined contrast which pitted one style of ecclesiological innovation against another. As the psalter of the national church, Tate and Brady was initially accepted by Church of England parishes; by Puritan churches (such as Boston Brattle and Redding) that were under the influence of the Church of England; and by minority denominations (such as Newport Baptist) that were free of the usual restraints on Congregational practice and ecclesiology. After the 1740s, however, the version was accepted by numerous ministers and congregations associated with the formal end of the New England theological spectrum. Each one of the

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26. James Draper, *History of Spencer, Mass.* (Worcester: Howland, 1865), pp. 109-11; Raynham, Mass., Church Records (bound ms. at the First Church, Raynham), entries dated 17 November 1752 and 3 July 1764.

fifteen churches in coastal Massachusetts and Maine whose congregations voted to read Scripture from the pulpit (and whose choice of psalmody is known) sang Tate and Brady. "Dumb" reading (as it was once termed) was a formalist innovation that represented an important break with Puritan tradition. Many of these same churches were opposed to the Great Awakening religious revival. Boston's First Church, led by anti-revivalist Charles Chauncey, sang Tate and Brady after 1761 as did other older churches in nearby Dedham, Salem, and Ipswich. Boston's New North, which voted for Tate and Brady in 1755, was led by a clergyman known to call his itinerant colleagues "vagabonds."[27]

By contrast, Watts's version, which was circulated by the English intinerant preacher George Whitefield in his tours of New England in 1741 and 1745 (he also carried with him copies of John and Charles Wesley's *Hymns and Sacred Poems*), appears to have had ties to evangelism in both England and New England. Northampton, where the version was sung under Jonathan Edwards, was of course the recognized source of the revival in New England. Nearby Northfield was similarly affected. Mortlake Parish, which sang Watts in 1741, added one hundred six new communicants to its membership during 1741-1742. Farmington, which sang Watts after 1751, similarly experienced revival enthusiasm.[28] New England churches that sang Watts outside of the immediate area of the Connecticut Valley were usually led by ecclesiastical radicals or were themselves evangelical. The Presbyterian church in Newburyport, which adopted the version in 1746, was actually a separating evangelical church that had formed ties with the Boston Presbytery to avoid paying taxes supporting a rival minister. Attleborough Second, which adopted Watts in 1747, was a newly formed separating parish generated by and based on revival energies. Rumney Marsh (Chelsea), which adopted the version in 1749, did so at the urging of a newly hired Presbyterian enthusiast. Even Boston's New Brick, which replaced Tate and Brady with Watts in 1751, was "not unfriendly" to the revival and in the 1760s invited Whitefield to preach.[29]

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27. Churches that voted to read Scripture 1699-1769 included Boston Brattle, Boston New Brick, Boston First, Salem First, Boston Hollis, Sudbury, Worcester, Dorchester, Kittery, Sandwich, Medford, Brookline, Lincoln, Dedham First, and Newbury First (for sources, see annotation for singing data); Foote, *Three Centuries*, p. 149; Eliot, *Sermon*, p. 28.

28. Foote, *Three Centuries*, p. 146; Temple and Sheldon, *Northfield*, pp. 230-32; Larned, *Windham County*, 1:444; the impact of the Great Awakening on Farmington, Conn., is inferred from iconographic changes found on grave stones carved by Asa Hill of Farmington in the years 1741-1742.

29. Horace C. Hovey, *Origin and Annals of "The Old South" First Presbyterian Church*

In sum, the evidence suggests that the singing of Isaac Watts's *Psalms of David imitated* by a New England congregation after 1740 was one of several interrelated ecclesiological, sacramental, and iconographical innovations by which churches acknowledged the rationalism of the eighteenth century and more specifically signalled the "workings of the Spirit" of the revival decade and the two following. Identified under the general term "New Light," these new directions included "awakened" gravestone images; a high-pitched, half-sung sermon delivery; the practice of standing when receiving communion; and singing hymns in the service. A new folk aesthetic in ecclesiastical architecture may have been part of this, too. Gilead, which sang Watts after 1752, was one of several enthusiastic societies in Connecticut (among them New Haven Second, Bethany, and Columbia) that voted to paint their meeting houses "sky color" or "sky blue" in an apparent bid to give iconographical reinforcement to the likelihood of their salvation.[30] The designation of specific translations of the psalms as "signs" or standards of opposed theological or ecclesiological points of view was not restricted to New England. Whereas the national church in England continued to sing the Old Version and Tate and Brady, the psalmody of the estimated 350 to 400 Independent congregations in that country were wholly dominated by Watts after 1750. Watts had a comparable influence on English and Scottish Presbyterians and English Baptists.[31] In America, when Presbyterian churches in the middle and southern colonies split over the issue of the revival into "Old Side" and "New Side" factions, Watts and Tate and Brady together were favored by the evangelical New Side Presbyterians, while the Old Side group adhered to the 1641 psalter of Francis Rous.

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and Parish in Newburyport, Mass., 1746-1896. (Boston: Damrell, 1896), p. 53; Crane, *Second Church in Attleborough*, p. 10; Mellen Chamberlain, *Documentary History of Chelsea*, 2 vols. (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1908), 2:256; Robbins, *Second Church*, pp. 187, 316.

30. Peter Benes, *The Masks of Orthodoxy: Folk Gravestone Carving in Plymouth County, Massachusetts, 1689-1805* (Amherst, Mass.: University of Massachusetts Press, 1977), chap. 7; C.C. Goen, *Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740-1800* (1962; Reprint ed., Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1969), pp. 179-80; Lemuel Shattuck, *History of the Town of Concord* (Boston: Russell, 1835), p. 173, note; Stiles, *Extracts*, p. 245; Foote, *Three Centuries*, pp. 147-49; Peter Benes, "Sky Colors and Scattered Clouds: The Decorative and Architectural Painting of New England Meeting Houses, 1738-1834," *Annual Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife* (1979): *New England Meeting House and Church: 1630-1850*, pp. 51-69. "Awakened" societies in Connecticut were not the only ones to prefer the color blue. Ezra Stiles, pastor of the Second Congregational Church in Newport noted in 1759 that the "Temples of Jehova ought by no means to be gaudy & decorated with the whimsical false Taste of a French Palace; & with Respect to the Paintings, I think the Color of the Sky the most beautiful & just." ("On Constituting the British Provinces especially with Regard to religious Polity" 24 December 1759; Yale microfilm edition of Ezra Stiles's papers, reel 15, item 222, pp. 62-63. The author is indebted to Bruce E. Steiner, Professor of History at Ohio University, for pointing out Stiles's comments.)

31. Benson, *English Hymn*, pp. 122-54.

This struggle lasted well into the nineteenth century and caused serious divisions in the New York and New Jersey synods.[32]

Any attempt to draw precise geographic lines or to predict behavior on the basis of cultural zones must be qualified by known inconsistencies in the data. Typical of these is the role of Benjamin Colman who actively proselytized Watts's *Psalms* while serving as a pastor of a Boston church that sang Tate and Brady. Nevertheless, a number of tentative conclusions may be drawn that may shed light on the formation of cultural sub-regions in eighteenth-century New England. For one, the regional distribution of new psalm translations in New England was probably related to comparable patterns of distribution in the middle American colonies and in England. Second, Watts's origin in eastern Connecticut (or the Connecticut Valley) probably represents a special non-contiguous form of cultural transmission in which innovations that were too radical for the older towns in the immediate neighborhood of Boston and Salem first emerged in younger, interior communities beyond their reach. It may help explain why towns in the Berkshire hills of Massachusetts (Pittsfield) and those near the Rhode Island border (Taunton) should have been the first outside of Boston or Salem to adopt the innovative long-side pulpit/doorway alignment in their meeting houses. It may help explain, too, why towns on the outermost periphery of New England (such as the Vermont towns of Windsor and Middlebury) were so quick to accept sophisticated urban architectural modes.[33] Last is the personality of the Connecticut Valley itself. In its preference for Watts, as in the larger Great Awakening of which Watts was a part, the Connecticut Valley played out its historic role as rival to Boston's hegemony over Puritan north America. The singing of Watts was consistent with the original purposes of the Connecticut Colony settlements; with William Pyncheon's intransigence against the Massachusetts General Court; with Solomon Stoddard's controversy with Increase Mather over open communion; and with Jonathan Edwards's struggle with the Boston clergy over the nature of grace. It was probably consistent, too, with Connecticut Valley tastes in decorative arts and architecture. Like checked shirts, black-red-and-white check-woven coverlets, and scalloped table edges, the Christian lyrics of Isaac Watts were part of a household and ecclesiological aesthetic that gave regional cohesion to a dispersed population and made the River culturally and socially equal to the Bay.

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32. Ibid, pp 186-91; Foote, *Three Centuries*, p. 153.

33. Benes and Zimmerman, *Meeting House and Church*, pp. 28-29; Glenn M. Andres, "Lavius Fillmore and the Federal Style Meeting House," *Annual Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife* (1979): *New England Meeting House and Church: 1630-1850*, pp. 30-42. William N. Hosley, Jr., "Architecture and Society of the Urban Frontier: Windsor, Vermont, in 1800," in this volume.

Selected Regional Studies Bibliography

This bibliography lists works and source materials in the general field of regional studies in Europe and America with a primary focus on New England and a secondary focus on studies of the Connecticut River Valley and coastal Massachusetts. To give organization to what is otherwise a cross-disciplinary compilation, the list has been divided into the following six sections.

I Theory and Methodology
II European and English Regions
III American Regions
IV New England: Furniture
V New England: Architecture and Decorative Arts
VI New England: Language, Folklore, Social History, Economic History, Music, Religion, and Settlement Patterns

Because most New England town, parish, and local histories are not included in this list, readers are directed to *Bibliographies of New England History* currently under preparation by the Committee for a New England Bibliography (1976-). Titles in each section have been selected with the aim of providing a balance among a variety of disciplines that bear on regional culture. The editors wish to thank James L. Garvin, David R. Proper, Robert F. Trent, Kevin M. Sweeney, William N. Hosley, Jr., and Dell Upton for their assistance in preparing this list.

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Photo and Illustration Credits:

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The Bay and the River: 1600-1900

Conference Program, June 13-14, 1981

Furniture and Decorative Arts

Philip Zea, Historic Deerfield: *Clockmaking and Society at the River and the Bay: Jedediah and Jabez Baldwin, 1790-1820*

Myrna Kaye, SPNEA, Boston: *Concord Case Furniture: Cabinetry Twenty Miles from the Bay*

Robert F. Trent, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: *Style, Technology, and the Craftsmen: Assessing Regionalism in Seventeenth-Century New England Joinery*

John T. Kirk, Boston University: *English and New England Furniture: Coast and Valley*

Literature, Ballads, and Folk Symbols

Richard M. Swiderski, Bridgewater State College: *The Ballad "Springfield Mountain" from Valley to Bay*

Peter Benes, Concord Antiquarian Museum: *Psalmody and Resurrection Imagery in the Connecticut Valley and in Coastal Massachusetts*

Social and Religious History

Kevin M. Sweeney, Webb-Deane-Stevens Museum: *River Gods in the Making: The Willamses of Western Massachusetts*

Ross W. Beales, Jr., College of the Holy Cross: *Yale and Harvard in the Great Awakening*

Architecture

Amelia F. Miller, Deerfield, Mass.: *Eighteenth-Century Connecticut Valley Pedimented Doorways*

William N. Hosley, Jr., Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford: *Architecture and Culture in Windsor, Vermont, 1798-1815*

N. Sherrill Foster, Guild Hall, East Hampton, Long Island: *Reverend Samuel Buell of East Hampton: Tastemaker in the Connecticut Valley Tradition*

Economic History and Transportation

Cynthia H. Krusell, Marshfield, Massachusetts: *Tidal Estuaries: The Early Economic Development of the North (Plymouth County) and Connecticut Rivers*

Martin J. Butler, Southeastern Massachusetts University: *Massachusetts' Other Bays: Buzzards and Mount Hope Bays*

Gladys Macdonough, Wethersfield Historical Society: *The "Onion Maidens" of Old Wethersfield*

Caroline F. Sloat, Old Sturbridge Village: *Asa Knight Store of Dummerston, Vermont*

William H. Mulligan, Jr., Eleutherian Mills-Hagley Foundation: *Work Practices and Family Life: The Cordwainers of Lynn, Massachusetts*

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Volume 7, 1982: *Foodways in the Northeast* (in press)

Exhibition Catalogues:

New England Meeting House and Church: 1630–1850 by Peter Benes and Philip D. Zimmerman. A catalogue of a loan exhibition held at The Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, New Hampshire (177 pp.; illus.). $7.95

New England Prospect: Catalogue of a Loan Exhibition of Maps and Views Held at The Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, New Hampshire by Peter Benes. (160 pp.; illus.). $10

Occasional Publications:

Connecticut Valley Doorways by Amelia F. Miller (in press)

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