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A History Of Occupancy of the Ironworks Farm House In Saugus, Massachusetts, From 1681 To 1720, With Genealogical Background Of The Appleton Family of Ipswich

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Boston, August, 1982

Table Of Contents

Preface.....i-v

Chapter One -- Samuel Appleton: An East Anglian Oligarch...1-17

Chapter Two -- Samuel Appleton: A Brief Biography.....18-28

Chapter Three -- James Taylor.....29-34

Chapter Four -- The Functions of the Rooms.....35-43

Appendix One --

The Autobiography of Daniel Denison.....45-49

The Will of Daniel Denison.....50-51

Appendix Two --

Footnote to 1882 edition of Samuel Sewall's Diary, giving biography of James Taylor.....53-54

Probate inventory of James Taylor, 1716.....55-56

Appendix Three --

Summary of Dendrochronological Research on Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts Houses Conducted by Frank Demers and Abbott Lowell Cummings, 1966-1982.....57-61

Bibliography.....62-63

Genealogical Charts --

Chart One, Dudley-Winthrop-Reade.....4

Chart Two, Appleton-Glover-Winthrop.....6

Chart Three, Samuel Symonds.....7

Chart Four, Rogers-Denison.....9

Chart Five, Samuel Appleton.....10

Chart Six, John Appleton.....11

Chart Seven, Samuel Appleton.....13

Chart Eight, Samuel Appleton.....19

Preface

The formulation of a furnishing plan for the Ironworks Farm house is confused by a number of historical factors, not all of which can satisfactorily be resolved. A review of some of these factors will explain the content and structure of this analysis of historic occupancy.

First, since the 1950s the house has been interpreted as the "Iron Master's" or "Ironworks Agent's" house. The interpretation has employed furnishings obtained or loaned from various sources, and most of the objects do not date from 1643 to 1675 (the period during which the Ironworks was in operation). Their form and arrangement does not reflect period practice.

Second, Abbott Lowell Cummings' research on the property and his examinations of the building itself strongly suggest that the house might have been built in 1681 or 1682 by Samuel Appleton, Jr.[1] There is no absolute proof for Cummings' claim, and dendrochronological research on the building has not been completed as yet (see Appendix Three). In any case, the possibility that the house might post-date the Ironworks is present.

Third, the periods of occupancy by Samuel Appleton, Jr. (1681-1688) and James Taylor (1688-1716) lack a clear focus for interpretation. Both Appleton and Taylor represent intrusions into the Saugus area. Appleton was a third-generation member of the intermarried Appleton, Rogers, and Denison families of Ipswich, many of whom were also intermarried with important magisterial, clerical, and mercantile figures in northern Essex

County and in Boston. Taylor was a relative newcomer, a part of the royal governor's circle with few if any ties to the local elite. No documentation for the furnishings of the house during Appleton's occupancy exists, and his probate inventory made after his death in Ipswich in 1725 does not survive, if it was ever made. The inventory of Taylor's furnishings made after his death in 1716 indicates that the furniture was in the William and Mary style, and his biography suggests that he brought most of the furnishings to Saugus from Boston after his retirement in 1714. In other words, the inventory does not reflect the probable appearence of the house between 1688 and 1714.

Fourth, the house as it now stands reflects a heavy restoration undertaken by Wallace Nutting between 1915 and 1917. His impact on the building is not acceptable by today's standards of historic preservation or knowledge of period architectural practice. At the same time, Nutting and his colleagues William Sumner Appleton and Henry Dean today are recognized as pioneers of historic preservation, and it can be stated categorically that Nutting's work is no longer something to be covered up in interpreting the building, as it has been in the past. Reconciling his contribution with the need to interpret the house as a seventeenth-century structure therefore presents some problems.

A furnishing plan which takes into account all these factors cannot be based on the standard Park Service interpretive approach, which stresses comprehensive documentation of the site as the stage for a specific historical event or for the life of a historic personality. What is needed is a more abstract approach that will deal with the more significant aspects of the building without

making necessary substantial alterations (although the building itself is badly in need of structural repairs). After consultations with Jim Gott, Superintendant of the Saugus Ironworks National Historic Site; Edward Kallop, Regional Curator of the North Atlantic Region of the National Park Service; and Dwight Pitcaithly, Historian of the North Atlantic Region, the writer has formulated such an approach, the outlines of which will be stated here.

The plan will use five of the rooms in the house. Three of the rooms -- the parlor, parlor chamber, and porch chamber -- will be furnished in a mixture of period and reproduction objects. The period rooms will exploit the latest research to make important statements regarding light, color, texture, spatial organization, and function which are not evident in the current furnishings. The rooms will not represent in an absolute sense the tastes of Appleton or Taylor insofar as they can be documented, but will reflect the tastes of their relatives and peers among the Massachusetts gentry of the 1680-1690 period.

The plan will use the hall as a primer on seventeenth-century Massachusetts domestic architecture and how the Ironworks Farm house fits into the overall pattern. The visitor will be shown what scholars now think early buildings looked like, the nomenclature of the components, how the parts were fabricated, the raising procedure, exterior and interior finish treatments, and room use.

Finally, the hall chamber will deal with the restoration of the building in 1915-1917 and how it reflected ideas which were then current about early architecture and restoration ethics. The visitor will confront Wallace Nutting and his peers and will see

photographs of the building during restoration and quotes from books, notes, and correspondence.

The writer believes that these three focuses -- period rooms, architectural history, and history of historic preservation -- respect Nutting's work and yet point out its inadequacies. By setting aside the "Iron Master's House" approach, with its inherent rendency towards kitsch and its possible a-historicity, the plan will give the house a meaningful place in the overall interpretive scheme of the Ironworks Site. Because the Narbonne house in Salem is not open to the public and not suitable for heavy visitation, a strong treatment at the Ironworks Farm house is all the more necessary.

The writer has made extensive use of manuscripts written earlier in the research program of the house. Among these are John Albright's Historical Data, Orville W. Carroll's Architectural Data, Abbott Lowell Cummings' "The Ironworks Farm" in Saugus, Essex County, Mass., and Stephen Carlson's untitled study of historic occupancy. However, the strong genealogical thrust of this analysis of historic occupancy is the writer's own idea. The shadowy history of the Ironworks agents is of little help, but much can be learned about Samuel Appleton, Jr., from an investigation of his family and their possessions. The genealogical data presented here provides the basis for seeking out the probate inventories of his many relations and peers and setting them in the context of Massachusetts practice, as will be demonstrated in the evidence of original furnishings and recommended furnishings.

[1]Abbott Lowell Cummings, "The Ironworks Farm" in Saugus, Essex County, Massachusetts (Denver: National Park Service, 1977), pp. 371-373. The acrimony generated by Dr. Cummings' assertion that the Ironworks Farm house was built by Samuel Appleton, Jr., in 1681 or 1682 was intense, and the controversy was prolonged by the claims of Stephen Carlson, a volunteer at the Ironworks Site, that the house dated from 1646-1653 and was to be identified with the Leader-Gifford house listed in the 1653 inventory of the Ironworks holdings. The evidence is equivocal, and dendrochronological study of the building has not been fully explored. The writer made every effort to review the materials and secured the manuscripts written by Frank Demers on dendrochronology of seventeenth-century Massachusetts buildings. The writer has also secured permission from Demers to photocopy his manuscripts and the computer read-outs of the cores taken from the building in 1975. The writer has summarized Demers' research in a memo given to Jim Gott at the Ironworks Site office. Because the writer was in a position to secure evidence previously unavailable, the Park Service is now in a position to recognize the reduced feasability of ever securely dating the structure, while the data for further exploration of dendrochronological research is now in Park Service records.

Chapter One

Samuel Appleton, Jr.: An East Anglian Oligarch

Before exploring Samuel Appleton, Jr., during the period in which he may have built and certainly resided in the Ironworks Farm house, his background in Ipswich must be examined. Appleton belonged to the third generation of an extensive, intermarried network of merchants, clergymen, and magistrates in northern Essex County. Although the particular network to which he belonged was centered at Ipswich, it had ties to Boston merchants and made the presidency of Harvard College practically a family perquisite until the 1760s.[1]

The purpose of intermarriage was to cement ties between leading figures of the first generation, to insure the control of land, offices, pulpits, and counting houses by the second generation, and to create an aristocracy of blood. Marriages were not thought of as being based on affective bonding between the partners. The Ipswich marriage network rather suggests that many matches were arranged by the parents, although they could not force a son or daughter to marry someone he or she disliked.[2]

The founders of the Ipswich oligarchy were relatively few in number. Almost all originated in market towns and manors in East Anglia, along the Stour River separating Essex and Suffolk Counties.[3] Among the most important were Samuel Appleton, John Winthrop, Nathaniel Rogers, Daniel Denison, Samuel Symonds, Thomas Dudley, William and Robert Paine, John and Matthew Whipple, William Whittingham, Simin Bradstreet, Richard Saltonstall, Jonathan Wade,

and William Hubbard.[4] Most had been prominent merchants or manor lords in England. They were highly educated and, in a few instances, extremely prosperous, if not wealthy. Their motives for coming to New England were not purely religious in nature, although East Anglia was a hotbed of Puritan agitation and equally strong persecution by the Anglican bishops. A prolonged depression in the textile industry, a series of poor harvests, overpopulation, and dislocations in the London produce market all fed into the disaffection of these local gentry figures.[5]

When they first began arriving in New England, many of the future leaders of Ipswich settled in Watertown, but when John Winthrop, Jr., projected a town at Ipswich in 1634, the Essex-Suffolk group removed to the new town en masse. The group quickly set up an oligarchical form of town government controlled by the wealthiest among them and a land-holding system of large, consolidated farms typical of the area in England from which they came and distinctly unlike that of neighboring Rowley, which was settled by less prosperous people from Yorkshire and practiced a common field land system.[6]

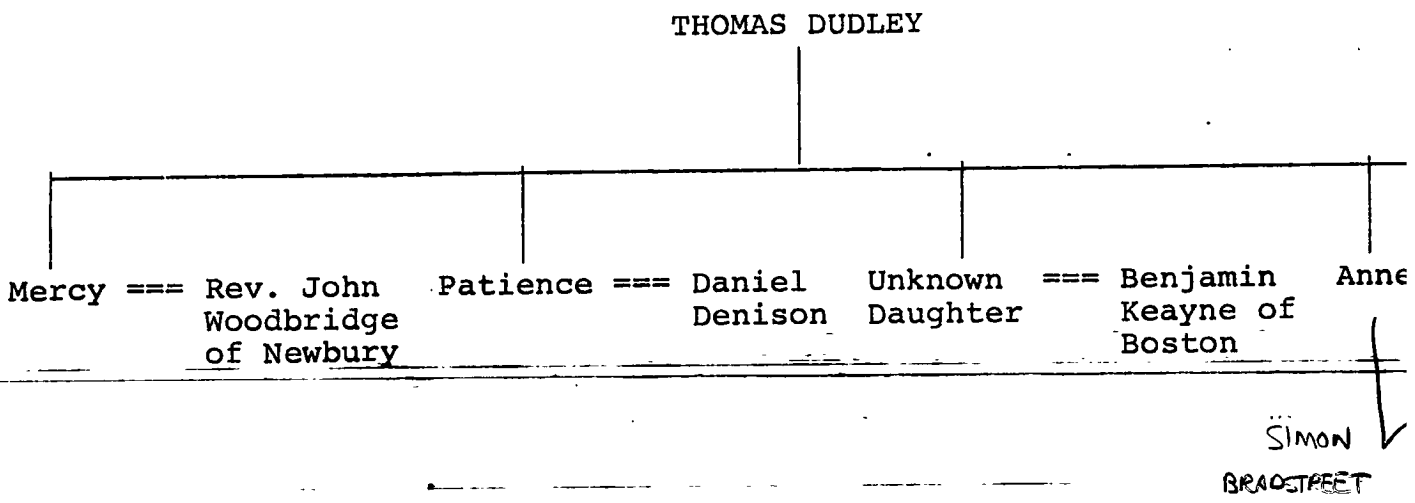
Another feature of the Ipswich settlement was its strong commercial bias. It was not at first apparent that Boston and Salem were to emerge as the major New England ports, and in fact Ipswich remained the second highest town on the Massachusetts tax rolls, after Boston, until the mid-eighteenth century. The Ipswich leaders established trade links with old associates in England, built wharfs and marked the channel in the Ipswich River, built sawmills and gristmills and fulling mills, and

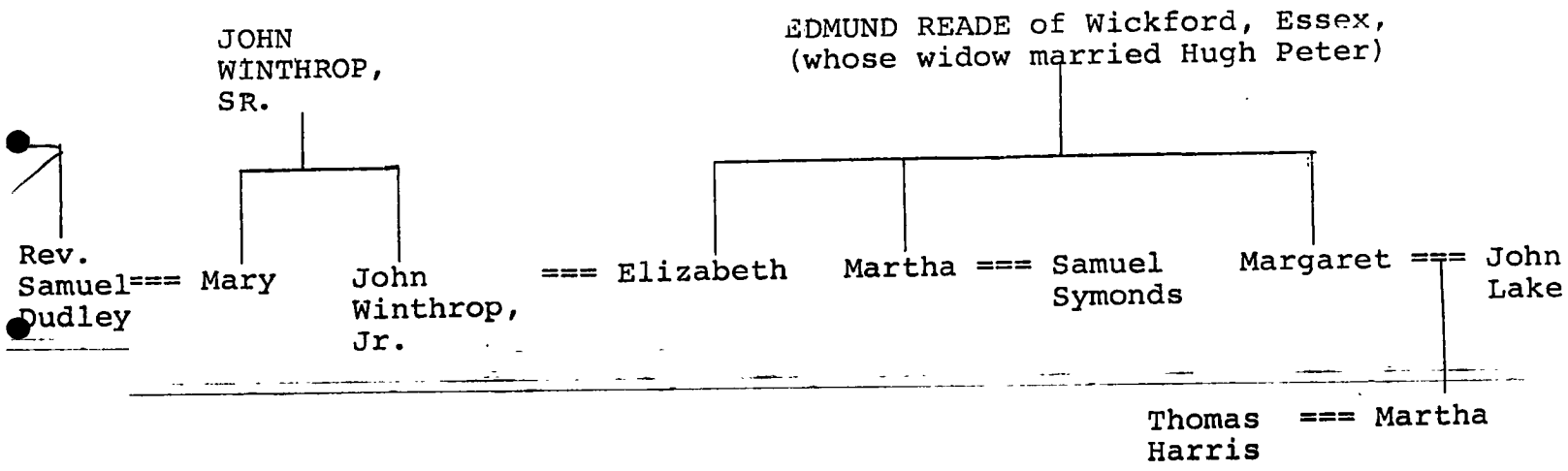
marketed cattle and hides in Boston. Naturally, the ministers of the Ipswich Church were among the most prestigious of New England, and a notable school was founded in the town to teach the rising generation of leaders and prepare them for Harvard College. By the 1750s, four presidents of Harvard were members of the Ipswich oligarchy by blood or marriage: Henry Dunster (president 1639-1654), John Rogers (president 1682-1684), John Leverett (president 1707-1724), and Edward Holyoke (president 1737-1769). A member of the oligarchy controlled the pulpit of the Cambridge Church (the Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Appleton, in office 1717-1779).[7]

The on-going process of forging family ties had already begun in England and was partly responsible for the emigration of some major figures; it continued in Ipswich without a break. A series of genealogical charts will trace the linkages among a number of sub-groups which in effect constitute one endless network, too complex to embody in a two-dimensional form. Three other charts will illustrate the marriages of the two principal sons of the second generation of the Appleton family and the marriages of the children of Samuel Appleton, Jr., possibly the builder of the Ironworks Farm house.

The entree of the Ipswich oligarchs into the highest levels of the Massachusetts Bay power structure were based on two related sub-groups of marriages. First, key members of the oligarchy were intermarried with the children of John Winthrop and Thomas Dudley (see Chart One, Dudley-Winthrop-Reade). Daniel Denison of Ipswich, by marrying Dudley's daughter Patience, became the brother-in-law of the Rev. John Woodbridge of Newbury, Benjamin Keayne of Boston,

CHART ONE, DUDLEY-WINTHROP-READE




JOHN WINTHROP, SR.
EDMUND READE of Wickford, Essex, (whose widow married Hugh Peter)
Rev. Samuel Dudley
Mary
John Winthrop, Jr.
Elizabeth
Martha
Samuel Symonds
Margaret
John Lake
Thomas Harris
Martha

Simon Bradstreet of Ipswich and later of Andover, and the Rev. Samuel Dudley of Exeter. The marriage of two of John Winthrop's children with children of both the Dudley and the Reade families linked all three groups. Edmund Reade, who died in England before he could emigrate, had three daughters, two of whom married the Ipswich merchants John Lake and Samuel Symonds, and one of whom married John Winthrop, Jr., the governor's son.[8]

The second sub-group of marriages (see Chart Two, Appleton-Glover-Winthrop) was of equal political significance. Samuel Appleton, the patriarch of the Appleton family in Ipswich, achieved a genuine coup by marrying his son John to Priscilla Glover, daughter of the Rev. Jose Glover and his wife Elizabeth Harris. Glover had been intended to be the first president of Harvard College but died during the voyage from England. His widow soon married Henry Dunster, the actual first president of the college. Her other two daughters by Glover married two sons of John Winthrop, the governor; Sara married Deane Winthrop, and Elizabeth married Adam Winthrop. Thus when the two sub-groups are united through the children of Governor Winthrop, it appears that the Appletons were bonded both to the Winthrops and to the Reades, one of whom was married to Samuel Symonds of Ipswich, and also to the Dudley relations, two of whom were Daniel Denison and Simon Bradstreet of Ipswich.[9]

A third sub-group linked to both these previous sub-groups was formed by the marriages of the daughters of Samuel Symonds (see Chart Three, Symonds). Each of his daughters married the son of an Ipswich merchant: Priscilla married Thomas Baker, son of John Baker; Ruth married the Rev. John Emerson, son of Thomas Emerson; Elisabeth married Daniel Epes, son of Daniel Epes; and

CHART TWO, APPLETON-GLOVER-WINTHROP

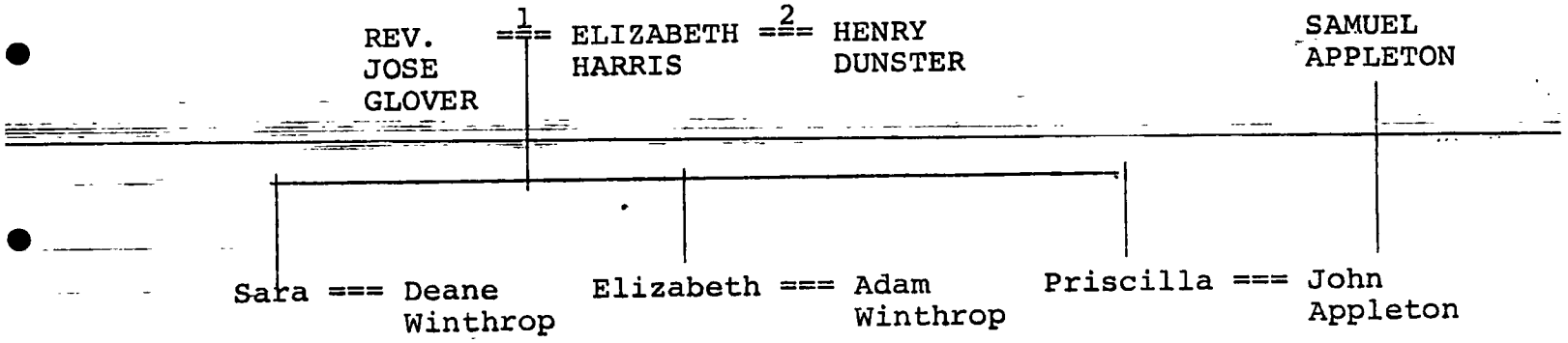
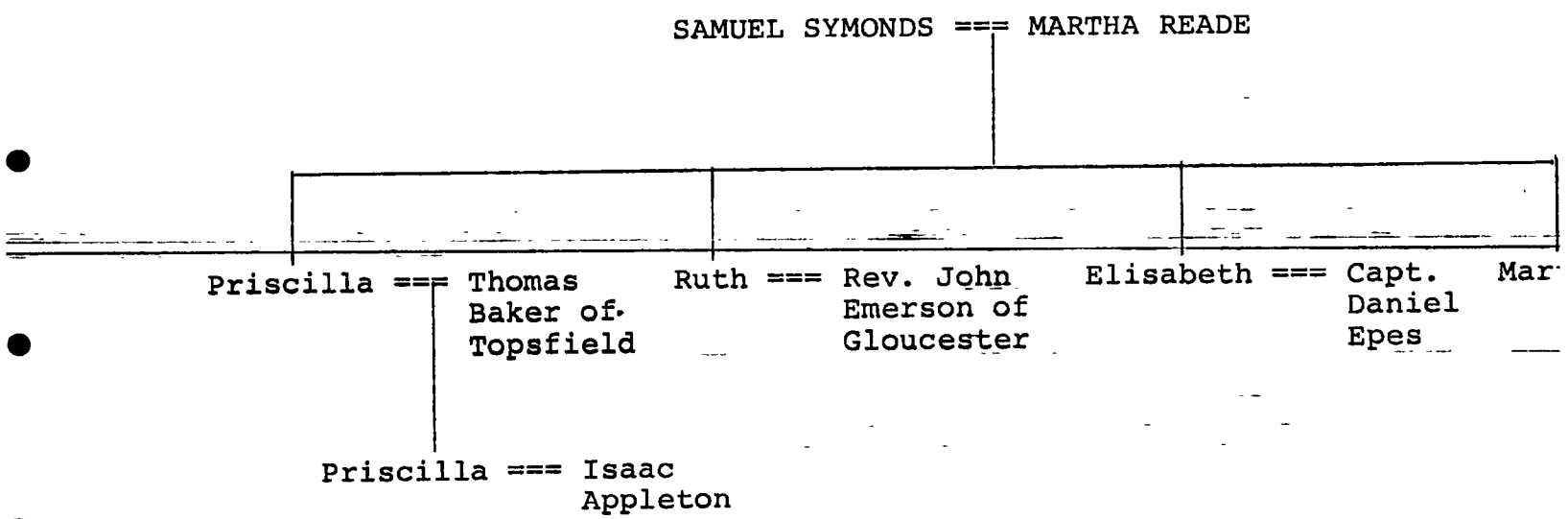
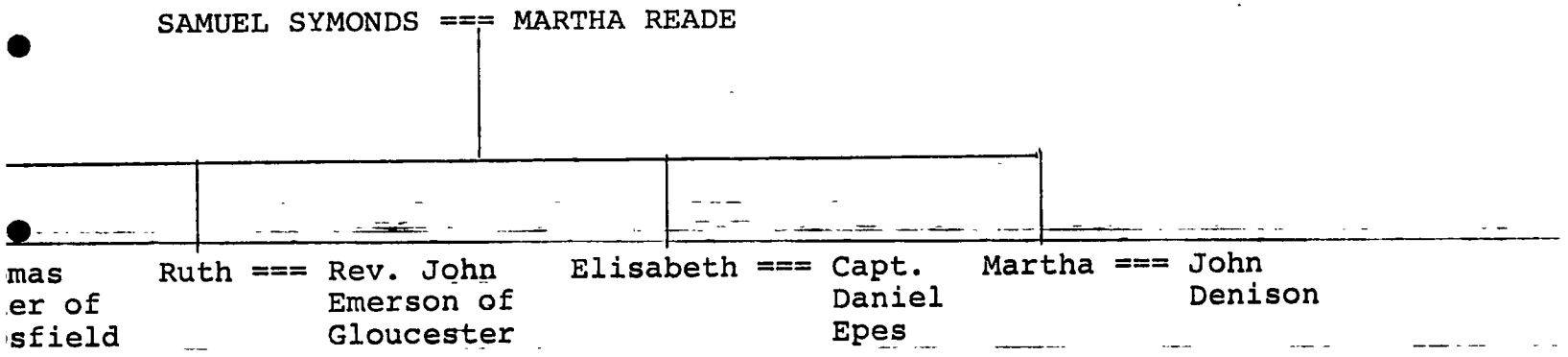


CHART THREE, SAMUEL SYMONDS



EL SYMONDS



== Isaac
Appleton

Martha married John Denison, son of Major-General Daniel Denison.[10]

A fourth sub-group linked at many points to the previous three is the extensive Rogers-Denison network (see Chart Four, Rogers-Denison). In the course of three generations, the descendants of Nathaniel Rogers and Daniel Denison intermarried extensively and drew into alliance members of the Ipswich merchant families of Appleton, Wade, Hubbard, and Whittingham. Least it be thought that these marriages simply "happened" and that these families were not keenly aware of their many relations, the reader is referred to the genealogy written by Daniel Denison for his grandchildren and to his will (Appendix One). Denison's intention in writing the genealogy is clear, that his orphaned grandchildren "might not be altogether ignorant of your ancestors, nor strangers to your near relations," who would function both as allies and as potential husbands and wives. The consequences are clear from the detailed "schedule" of bequests in Denison's will.[11]

With these all-important ties in mind, the core Appleton families of the first two generations can be approached. The patriarch, Samuel Appleton (1586-1670), married Judith Everard, member of a prominent Suffolk family, before he left his ancestral manor of Little Waldingfield, Suffolk, for New England (Chart Five, Samuel Appleton). Three of his daughters who survived to adulthood were married to suitable Massachusetts figures. Martha (born 1620) married the Ipswich merchant Richard Jacobs (died 1672). Sarah (born 1629) married the Rev. Samuel Phillips of Rowley (1625-1696), son of the Rev. George Phillips of Watertown, who was from Boxted, Essex, and graduated from Caius College, Cambridge. Judith was married to a natural ally among the Ipswich oligarchs, Samuel

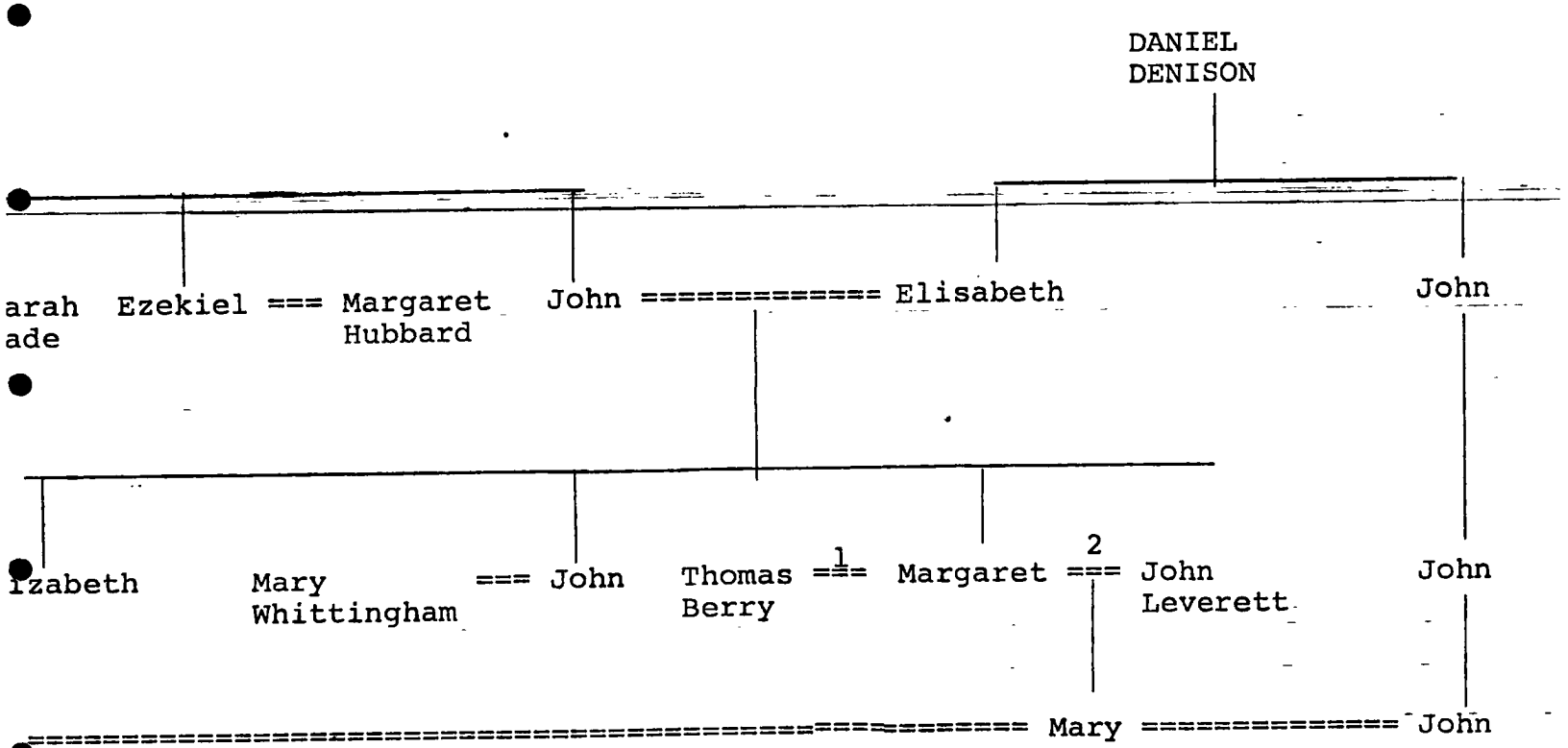

DANIEL
DENISON
arah
ade
Ezekiel === Margaret
Hubbard
John ========== Elisabeth
John
Izabeth
Mary
Whittingham
=== John
Thomas ==1== Margaret ===2=== John
Berry
Leverett
John
Mary
John

CHART FOUR, ROGERS-DENISON

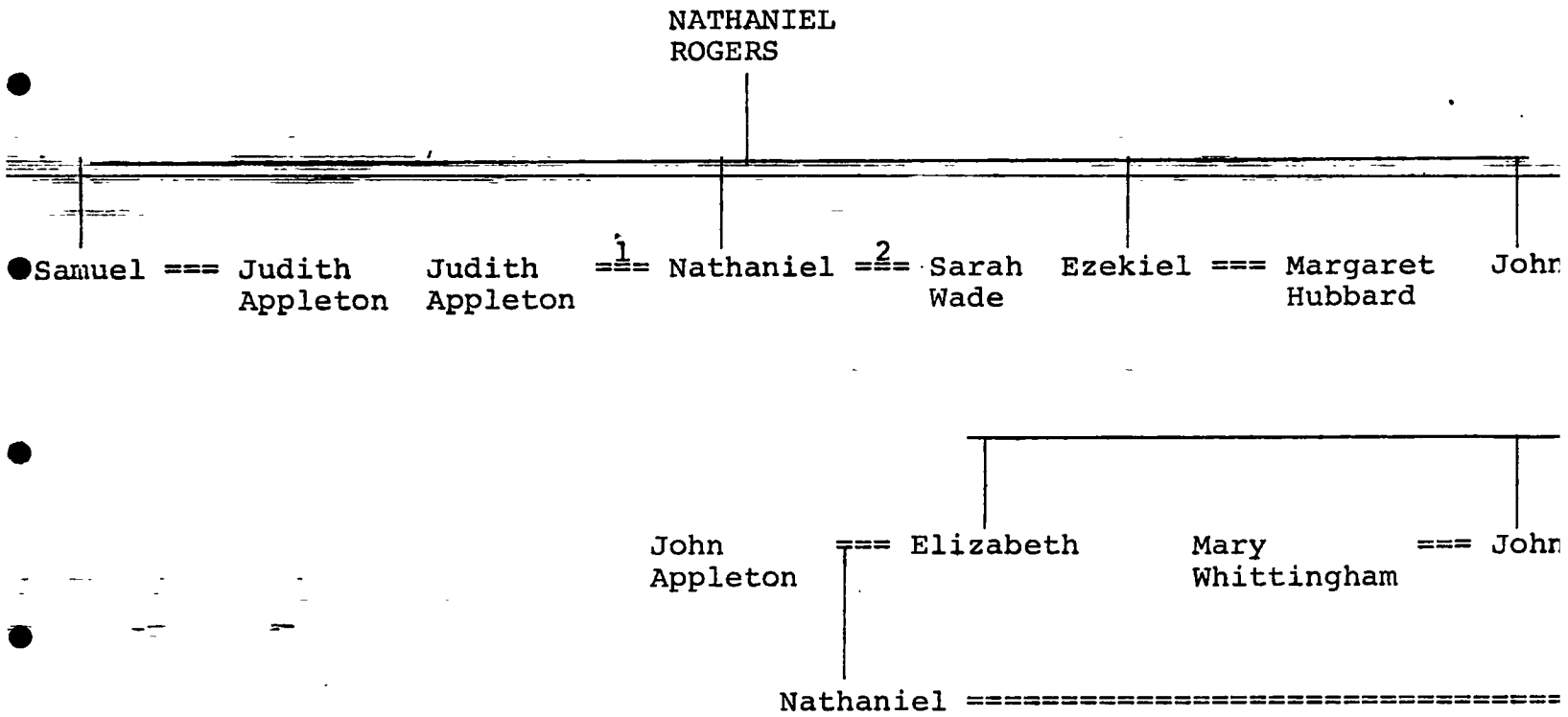
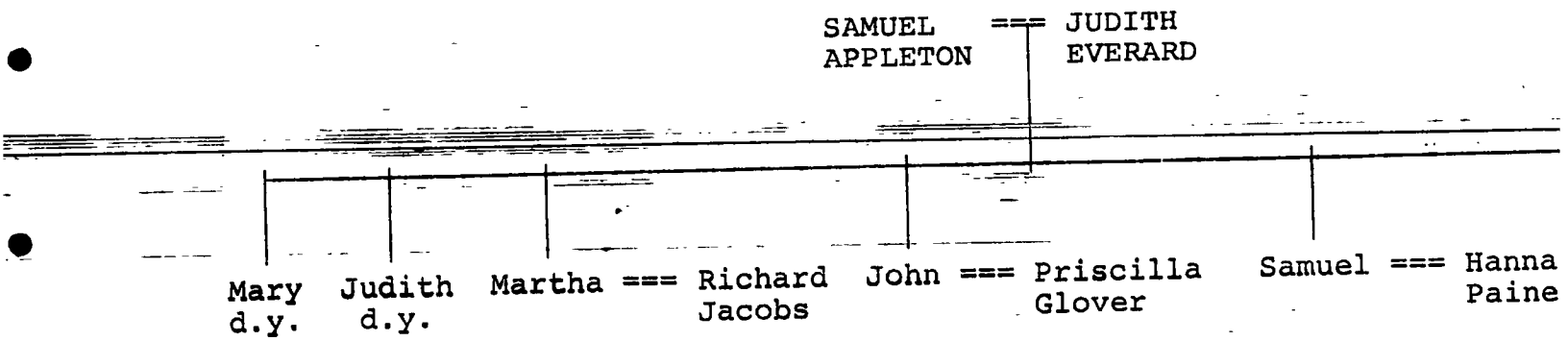


CHART FIVE, SAMUEL APPLETON



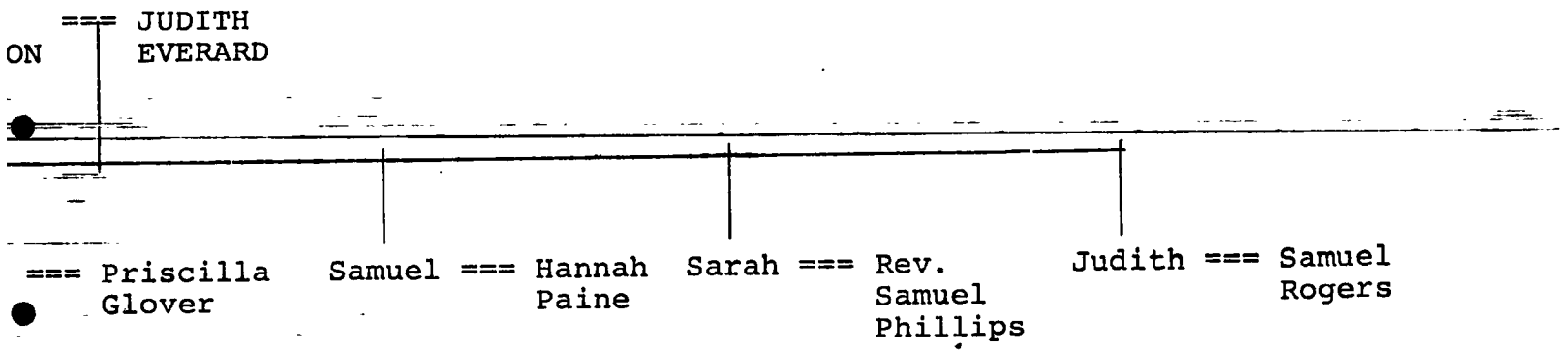
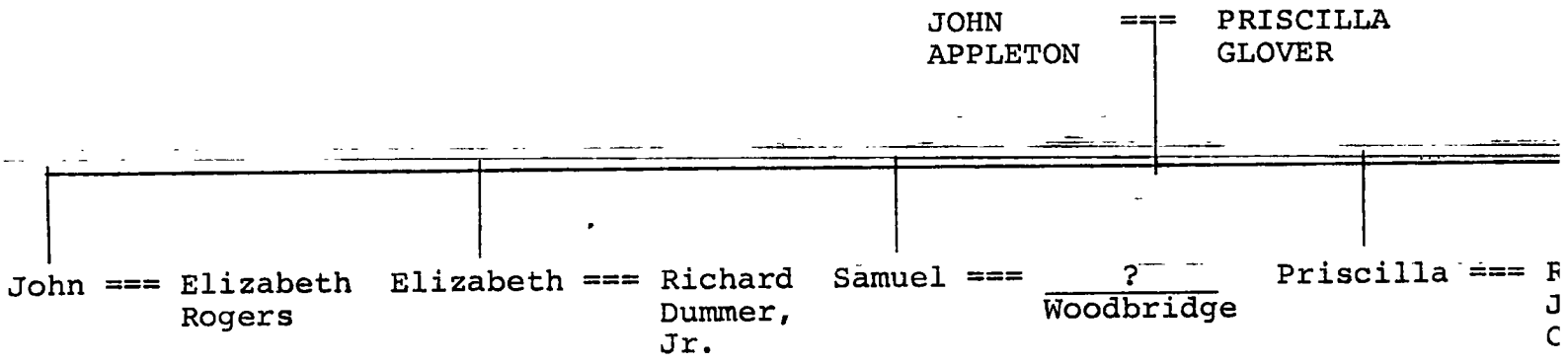
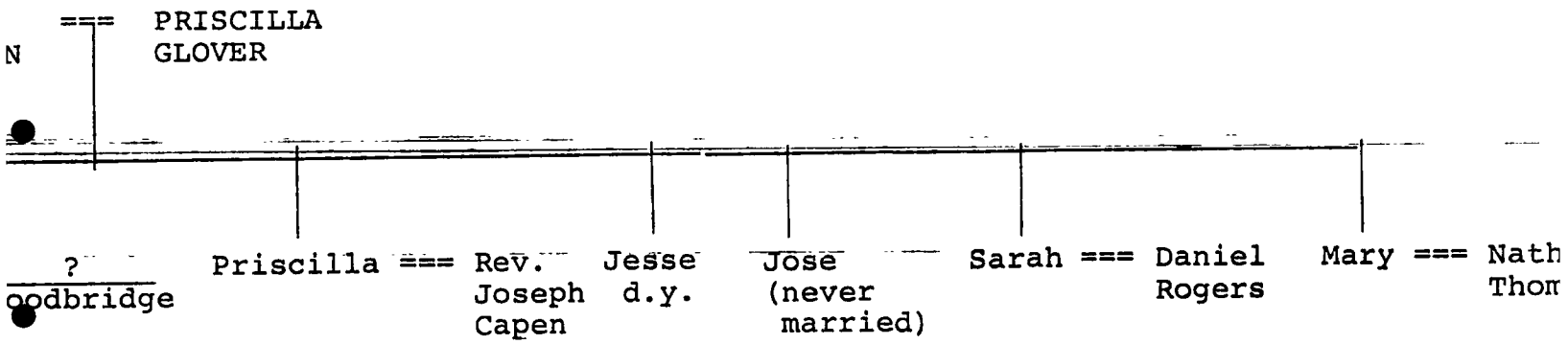

=== JUDITH
EVERARD
ON
=== Priscilla
Glover
Samuel === Hannah
Paine
Sarah === Rev.
Samuel
Phillips
Judith === Samuel
Rogers

CHART SIX, JOHN APPLETON



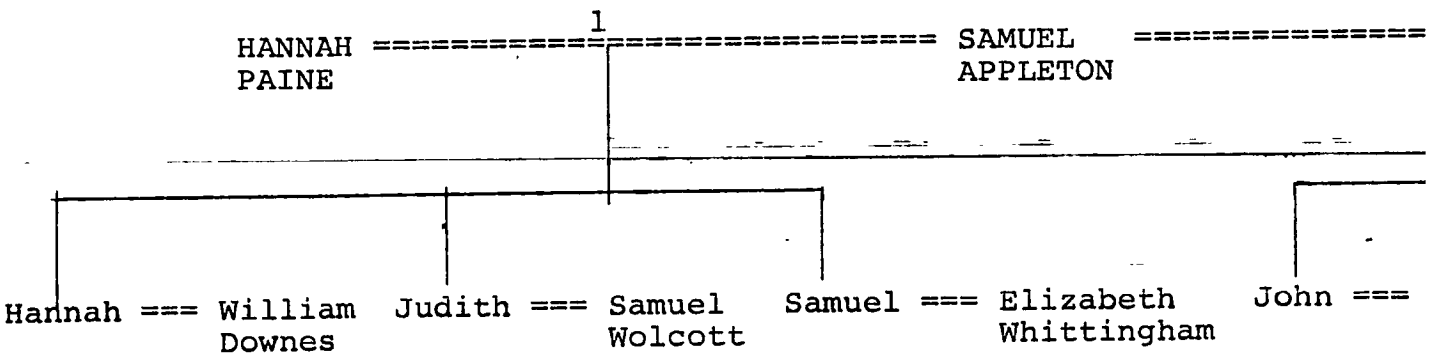

=== PRISCILLA
N GLOVER
? oodbridge
Priscilla === Rev. Joseph Capen
Jesse d.y.
Jose (never married)
Sarah === Daniel Rogers
Mary === Nath Thom

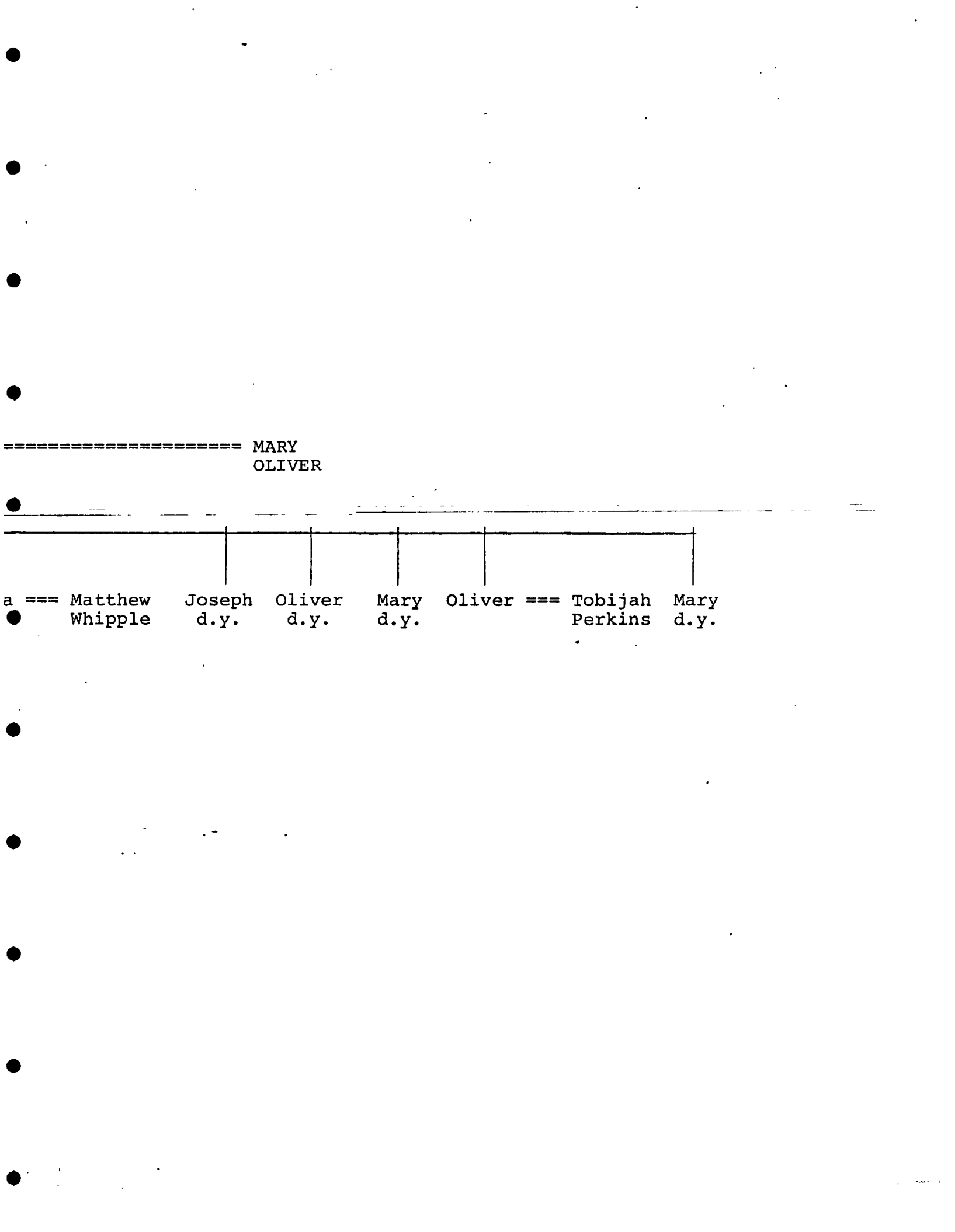
Rogers of Ipswich (1635-1693), son of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers (1598-1655), pastor of the Ipswich Church, who came from Bocking, Essex, and graduated from Emmanuel College, Cambridge.[12]

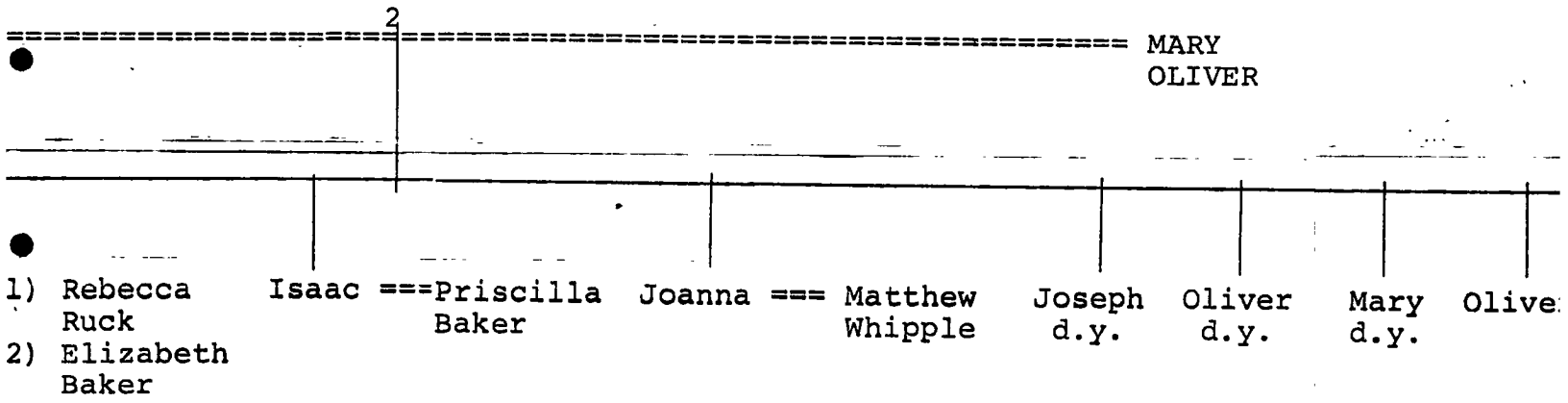
More significant were the marriages of Samuel's two sons and principal heirs, John (1622-1699) and Samuel (1625-1696). As noted above, John married Priscilla Glover. Samuel made perhaps the better match in economic terms by marrying Hannah, daughter of the extremely wealthy Ipswich merchant William Paine. This marriage eventually led to the bequest to Samuel's son, Samuel Appleton, Jr., of the Ironworks Farm, for William Paine became owner of a three-quarters interest in the Ironworks before his death in 1660.

John Appleton (1622-1699) made advantageous marriages for all his children (Chart Six: John Appleton). He had eight children by his wife Priscilla Glover Appleton. John Appleton, Jr. (1652-1739) married a daughter of President John Rogers (1631-1684) of Harvard College (see Chart Four, Rogers-Denison), which allied him with the husbands of his wife's sisters, Thomas Berry, a wealthy Boston merchant, President John Leverett of Harvard College, and the Rev. John Rogers of Ipswich. Elizabeth (born 1654) married Richard Dummer, Jr. (1650-1689), son of the most wealthy merchant of Newbury, Richard Dummer (1598-1679). Samuel (born 1656?-1693) married a daughter of the Rev. John Woodbridge of Newbury; her mother was a Dudley (see Chart One, Dudley-Winthrop-Reade). Priscilla married the Rev. Joseph Capen of Topsfield; her father built for the newly married couple a house still standing in Topsfield. A son Jose died young, and another of the same name became a Boston merchant and never married. (At his death in 1720, Jose Appleton made his nephew, the Rev. Nathaniel Appleton of Cambridge, his principal heir, an example

CHART SEVEN, SAMUEL APPLETON




MARY
OLIVER
a === Matthew Whipple
Joseph d.y.
Oliver d.y.
Mary d.y.
Oliver === Tobijah Perkins
Mary d.y.



1) Rebecca Ruck
2) Elizabeth Baker

Isaac ===Priscilla Baker

Joanna === Matthew Whipple

Joseph d.y.

Oliver d.y.

Mary d.y.

Olive

of why even an unmarried relative bore cultivating.) Sarah (born 1671) married Daniel Rogers (1667-1722) of the Ipswich family. Mary (born 1673) married out of the Essex County network, to Nathaniel Thomas of Marshfield, son of a merchant.[13]

Samuel Appleton (1625-1696), in addition to his first marriage to Hannah Paine, made a second marriage after her death to Mary, daughter of the Newbury merchant John Oliver. Some of Samuel's children made excellent marriages (see Chart Seven, Samuel Appleton); three were to sons of local merchants of the Downes, Whipple, and Perkins families, while one, that of Judith, was to a Wolcott of Windsor, Connecticut. Samuel Appleton, Jr. (1654-1725), married Elizabeth Whittingham, daughter of William Whittingham, a Boston merchant, granddaughter of John Whittingham of Ipswich, and great-granddaughter of William Hubbard of Ipswich. John (1660-1724) married first Rebecca Ruck of Salem and second Elizabeth, daughter of Ipswich merchant John Baker (a better match). Isaac (1664-1747) married Priscilla, daughter of Thomas Baker of Topsfield, a cousin of John's second wife.[14]

This involved recital of marriages brings the line to the central figure of the narrative, Samuel Appleton, Jr. (1654-1725). Because the time of his marriage coincides with his ownership of the Ironworks Farm, his genealogy will be given in the following chapter.

Notes to Chapter One

[1]See page three for the four presidents.

[2]The standard interpretation for family relations in this period is Lawrence Stone, The Family, Sex and Marriage In England 1500-1800 (New York: Penguin Books, 1979). Stone traces the development of the family, primarily among the propertied classes, and demonstrates how the process of marrying shifted from a purely dynastic mode in which the wishes of the individual were subordinate to family ambitions to the modern mode in which romantic love, or an affective bonding between partners, became the principal factor. The Ipswich oligarchy was probably conservative in their practices, since they came directly from an ambitious, propertied class in England. Another source which confirms the economic and political significance of marriage is Bernard Bailyn, The New England Merchants In The Seventeenth Century (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), where the intermarriage of the Boston mercantile elite is documented. However, it must be noted that all classes of New England society consolidated power by intermarrying. In Boston and in Charlestown, the woodworkers, for example, developed into crafts dynasties, with apprentices marrying daughters of their masters or widows of other woodworkers. See Benno M. Forman, "Boston Furniture Craftsmen 1630-1730," (Winterthur, Delaware: unpub. ms., 1969), and Robert F. Trent, "The Joiners And Joinery of Middlesex County, Massachusetts 1630-1730," (Winterthur, Delaware: M. A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1974).

[3]David Grayson Allen, In English Ways -- The Movement of Societies and the Transferal of English Local Law and Custom

to Massachusetts Bay in the Seventeenth Century (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1981), see map on p. 118.

[4]The standard genealogy for Ipswich families is Abraham Hammatt, The Early Inhabitants of Ipswich, Mass. 1633-1700 (Ipswich: 1880). Hammatt's work consisted of a manuscript genealogy left to the Ipswich Public Library in 1854, which was issued in 1880 as a series of pamphlets which were later bound together. Because the pagination of the pamphlets is not consistent, it should be consulted by the family name of the individual in question, since the genealogy is organized by families in alphabetical order. For the Appleton family, the two genealogies to consult are Isaac Appleton Jewett, Memorial of Samuel Appleton of Ipswich, Massachusetts; with genealogical Notices of Some of His Descendants (Boston, 1850), and Thomas Franklin Waters, The Old Bay Road From Saltonstall's Brook and Samuel Appleton's Farm and A Genealogy Of The Ipswich Descendants of Samuel Appleton (Salem: 1907). In addition, a useful appendix entitled "English Origins of Ipswich, Massachusetts, Commoners, 1642," is found in Allen, In English Ways, pp. 269-279.

[5]Allen, In English Ways, pp. 184-204.

[6]Allen, In English Ways, pp. 165-169.

[7]Allen, In English Ways, pp. 119-120, 129-131,and 132-138.

[8]See Hammatt, Early Inhabitants, for Dudley and Reade.

[9]Jewett, Memorial, pp. 7-9.

[10]Hammatt, Early Inhabitants, entry for Symonds.

[11]Hammatt, Early Inhabitants, entry for Denison and Rogers.

[12]Jewett, Memorial, pp. 7-9; Waters, Old Bay Road, p. 29;

and Allen, In English Ways, pp. 275 and 286.

[13]Waters, Old Bay Road, pp. 30-31; Allen, In English Ways, p. 262; Abbott Lowell Cummings, Massachusetts & Its First Period Houses (Boston, 1979), p. 187.

[14]Waters, Old Bay Road, p. 30; Hammatt, Early Inhabitants, see entries for Downes, Whipple, Perkins, Whittingham, and Baker.

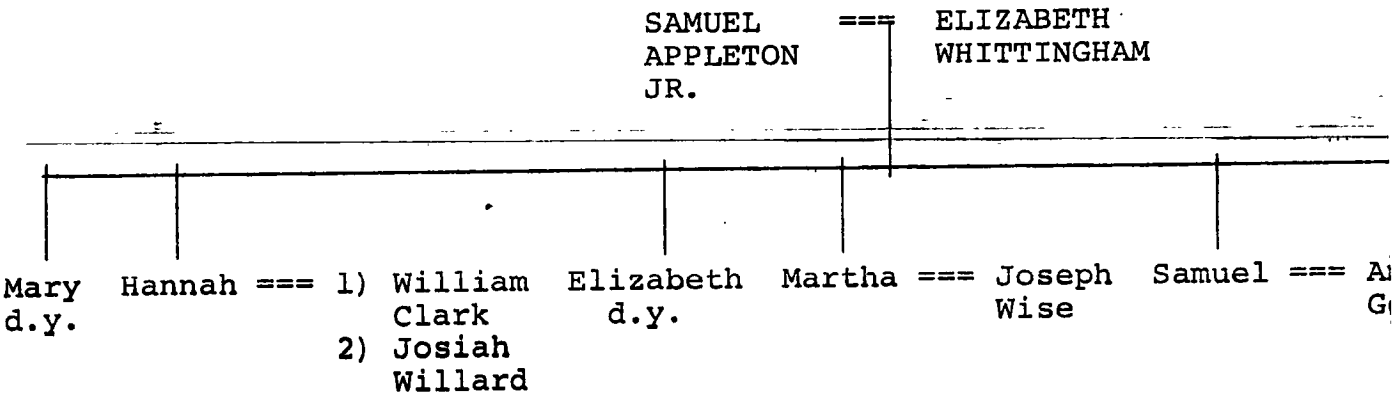
Chapter Two

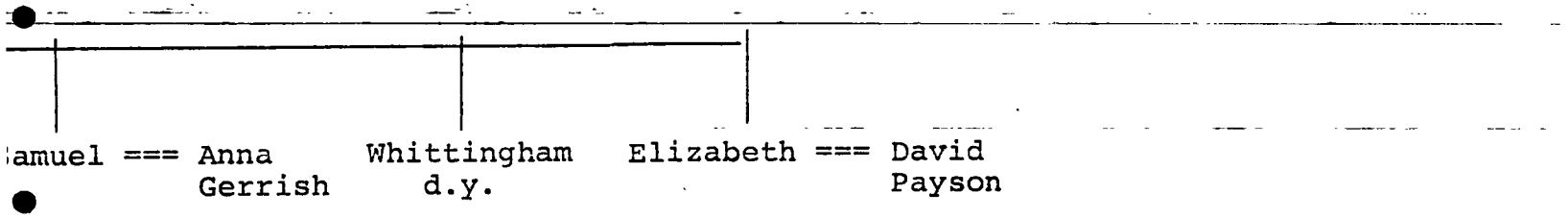
Samuel Appleton: A Brief Biography

A narrative of Samuel Appleton, Jr. (1654-1725) must begin with a consultation of Chart Seven, which gives the children of Samuel Appleton (1625-1696) and his two wives. The wife of interest in this case is Hannah Paine Appleton, who died in 1655. Before her death, she bore Samuel Appleton three children: Hannah, Judith, and Samuel. Since these three children were grandchildren of the wealthy Ipswich and Boston merchant William Paine, he took an active interest in their welfare, especially because their natural mother was dead. As Abbott Lowell Cummings has described it in his "Ironworks Farm" paper, William Paine's will contained provisions for bequests to his three Appleton grandchildren, 600 pounds to Hannah, 500 pounds to Samuel, Jr., and 400 pounds to Judith; these legacies were to be paid to each child when he or she either reached twenty-one years of age or when he or she married. These were enormous sums of money by any standard, and the father of the children aggressively secured their interest in Paine's assets by securing the Ironworks as the source of the bequests. Paine's son John was a notoriously poor businessman, as even his father's will admitted. Samuel Appleton therefore forced him to mortgage the Ironworks to Appleton in 1663, so that Appleton would receive them should the Ironworks fail.[1]

By the time Samuel Appleton, Jr., reached his majority in 1676, the Ironworks were a total loss. John Paine died early in that year, and the time was right for Samuel Appleton, Jr., and his father to seize the property. This they did by suing the manager of the Ironworks for refusing possession of the property on the basis of the 1663 mortgage between John Paine and Samuel Appleton. The ownership

CHART EIGHT, SAMUEL APPLETON, JR.




amuel === Anna Gerrish
Whittingham d.y.
Elizabeth === David Payson

of the Ironworks by Samuel Appleton, Jr., can effectively be dated from July 18, 1676, when the court awarded ownership of the farm to him.[2]

The only other serious challenge to Appleton's ownership was the one-quarter interest in the Ironworks owned by the powerful Boston merchant Thomas Savage. From 1678 to 1681, Savage and Appleton engaged in a bitter suit regarding the title which was not entirely settled until Savage died in 1682 and his heirs sold their interest in the farm to Appleton for 250 pounds.[3]

Testimony from the Savage-Appleton suits informs us that Appleton had begun exploiting the site almost immediately upon securing his interest in the Ironworks in 1676. Evidently he began dismantling the blast furnace machinery in order to sell the iron. This was termed "ruining the Iron works" by Savage, although the machinery and mills alreadt were a total loss. Appleton also began clearing land for cultivation and to sell lumber. If Appleton was residing on the farm at this period, he probably resided in one of two houses on the property, one of which may be the present building.[4]

The critical period for Appleton's ownership of the Ironworks farm and the possible building of the Ironworks Farm house extends from July 2, 1681, to June 19, 1682. The former date is the day Savage's heirs agreed to sell their interest in the farm to Appleton, and the latter date is the day Appleton married Elizabeth Whittingham. Because Appleton was assured of peaceable ownership of his property after the earlier date, and because marriages were contracted for well in advance, the inference is strong that if Appleton was the builder of the present structure, he might have contracted for the building of the house at this time, with the financial aid of his father and his future wife. The fall of 1681 is the most likely

time. Houses were planned most often in the fall, because the timber had to be felled while the sap was not running. A carpenter might have been engaged to begin hewing the house frame and to raise and enclose the house by the spring, so that it would be ready for the June wedding. A similar instance of a house being provided for a marriage is the Capen house in Topsfield, built in 1683 for a young minister who was to marry Priscilla Appleton, daughter of John Appleton (1622-1699).[5]

Appleton and his new wife moved into their house in the summer of 1682 and swiftly began to produce a family. Paradoxically, it was during this same period that Appleton became implicated in an alleged affair with Priscilla Wilson, granddaughter of Oliver Purchase, the last agent of the Ironworks. Priscilla apparently became pregnant in the fall of 1682. Appleton's wife Elizabeth became pregnant a month after they were married and gave birth to a daughter, Mary, on March 30, 1683, in Saugus. Appleton was not indicted for fornication with Proscilla Wilson until April, 1683, and he denied the charge. The court dismissed him in June, although he was ordered to pay half the court costs and half the cost of the birth, a clear indication that the judges believed Appleton guilty. Appleton may have become involved with Priscilla Wilson while his wife was in the advanced stages of pregnancy and unable to have intercourse with him.[6]

Appleton and his wife had two more children while they resided in Saugus: Hannah, born November 1, 1684, and Elizabeth, born July 10, 1687.[7]

With his taking up residence at the Ironworks farm, it might

seem logical that Appleton would attempt to exploit the extensive dam and waterways remaining from the Ironworks. Another reason for thinking that Appleton might have built the Ironworks Farm house well before his wedding to Elizabeth Whittingham in June, 1682, is the disastrous loss of the great dam above the Ironworks farm in May, 1682. Since 1678, the residents of Reading had petitioned to have the dam removed so that alewives might once more ascend the river to spawn (alewives were used as fertilizer). They decided that they were getting nowhere and resorted to three separate attempts to breach the dam at night, the second and third of which were successful. Some idea of the size of the dam may be gained from Appleton's description of the breach or break in the dam given in court: six and a half rods in length (about one hundred and seven feet), eighteen feet high, and seventy-six feet broad! Not only did the breach destroy the greatest single resource the land had to offer -- water power which could be harnessed to drive a mill -- but it destroyed fields below the dam and silted up the river for a mile downstream, so that Appleton could not load crops, cattle, and timber directly from his farm onto boats. That Appleton may have intended to exploit the waterpower available on the Ironworks farm may be inferred from the example of his father, who operated both a sawmill and a malt kiln and mill on his farm in Ipswich.[8]

While Samuel Appleton, Jr., was nominally the owner of the farm, his father seems to have acted as the owner on a number of occasions and undoubtedly told his son what to do in most business matters. After the destruction of the dam, both began trying to generate capital by either mortgaging the property or selling off

parcels. Samuel Appleton, Sr., mortgaged part of the farm to his relative Simon Bradstreet in February, 1683, and Samuel Appleton, Jr., mortgaged the remainder of the farm to two Charlestown merchants in October, 1683. In November, 1685, the younger Appleton sold twenty-two acres to a farmer from Rumney Marsh (Chelsea), and in August, 1686, he conveyed twenty-four more acres to John Higgs of Boston, who with his father-in-law William Habberfield set up a fulling mill on the river. Two other undeveloped marsh lots were disposed of by the younger Appleton in 1683 and 1687. The unwillingness of either the father or the son to invest any capital in developing the potential of the property is an indication of their lack of interest in it or of their inability to raise sufficient money to do so.[9]

Certainly throughout this period the Appleton family was distracted by political factors as well. With the revocation of the 1629 Massachusetts Bay Company charter on June 21, 1684, the entire power structure of Massachusetts was thrown into flux. As one of a group at Ipswich opposed to compromising with royal intrusions upon their local power base, Samuel Appleton, Sr., had quarreled with many of his relatives, including John Appleton, John Woodbridge of Newbury, and Richard Dummer of Newbury. All three were appointed Justices of the Peace under an interim government headed by Joseph Dudley (another relative) and eighteen councillors.

With the arrival of the new governor, Edmund Andros, in December, 1686, new problems arose. He and his appointive council passed a tax act in March, 1686/7, and instructed all the towns to appoint a tax commissioner to collect the tax. On August 23, 1687, the Ipswich town meeting, led by Samuel Appleton, Sr., and

the Rev. John Wise, refused to appoint a tax commissioner. Andros immediately issued warrants for the arrest of the Ipswich selectmen, including John Appleton. An arrest warrant for Samuel Appleton, Sr., was issued on September 19, 1687, and a similar warrant was issued for Samuel Appleton, Jr., on October 5, 1687, describing him as "Hideing & absconding himself & being informed that he now privily lurks & lyes hide within y^{e} Sd County /of Essex/.[10] The long imprisonment of his father and his prolonged hiding, as well as the fines imposed by Andros, undoubtedly had something to do with the final decision of both to sell the Iron-works farm. On February 15, 1688/9, Samuel Appleton, Sr., sold to James Taylor, a Boston merchant, the entire property, save for those parcels already sold to other individuals. Samuel Appleton, Jr., confirmed the sale on December 26, 1689. Presumably after this date Samuel Appleton, Jr., returned to Ipswich to his father's farm.[11]

* * * * * *

The last four children born to Samuel Appleton, Jr., and his wife Elizabeth were all born in Ipswich after 1690. These included Martha (born about 1690), Samuel (birthdate not known), Whittingham (born 1706), and Elizabeth (born 1712). Three of the children -- Mary, the first Elizabeth, and Whittingham -- died before reaching their majority. Three of the other children made advantageous marriages. Hannah married two successive wealthy Boston merchants, William Clark, and Josiah Willard. Martha married Joseph Wise, son of the Rev. John Wise of the Second Parish in Ipswich (later Essex), and an ally of the Appleton's during their resistance to Governor Andros. Samuel married Anna, daughter of the Boston merchant John Gerrish. However, Elizabeth, the youngest child, did not make a

good marriage, because she married after her father's death and after her brother Samuel underwent financial disaster which completely ruined his father's estate and left her without a suitable marriage portion or dower; she married David Payson of Rowley, an undistinguished yeoman.[12]

It is probable that Samuel Appleton returned to a portion of his father's great farm in Ipswich which had already been set off to him informally. His father's will, dated April 17, 1695, saddled Samuel as the eldest son with many onerous duties. First, the will stipulated that the widow was to have half the house and the farm for "her natturall life," assuming that she would not re-marry. Samuel as the eldest son was to supervise the operation of the farm, oversee the division of the farm among the four sons, and pay out of the movable estate and the produce of the farm large bequests to his sisters or their heirs. The will confirmed the sons John and Isaac in their portions of the farm which the father had deeded to them already, and made the receipt of Samuel's portion conditional upon his fulfillment of the terms of the will. Such portions of the land which were not specifically willed were to be divided after the widow's death among the four sons, with Samuel as the eldest receiving a double portion in traditional fashion.[13]

Samuel Appleton, Sr., died on May 15, 1696. Samuel Appleton, Jr., then began a four-year process of accounting for funeral expenses, fodder for the large Appleton herds, court expenses, the collection of outstanding debts and payment of debts owed by his father, and other duties. The death of his mother on February 15, 1698, further complicated matters, as did the death of his

uncle John, the Judge of Probate, the following year. He did not complete his duties until April 1, 1700.[14]

It would appear that the movable estate, including household goods, farming equipment, and livestock, were liquidated, as well as the house in the center of town (as opposed to the house on the great farm itself.) Although Samuel may have built a house on the part of the farm he inherited, he probably retained the house of his father on the farm. In 1702, he acquired a house in the town next to the Ipswich River abutting the site of the Choate Bridge. This house, of one-room plan and two stories high, had been built between 1672 and 1685 by Shoreborn Wilson. Samuel added a second room or half and raised the roof level and added a full leanto on the rear. In effect he re-created the essential form of the Ironworks Farm house, without the porch or gables. The house is still standing in Ipswich.[15]

From the time he returned to Ipswich from Saugus, Samuel undertook many public duties. He commanded a regiment in the Quebec expedition of 1690, served as the Commissioner for ransoming captives from Quebec in 1706, commanded a regiment with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the Port Royal expedition of 1707, served on the Governor's Council from 1703 to 1714, and assumed many local offices as well.[16]

Samuel made his will on December 5, 1718. The will had much the same stipulations as his father's. His widow was to have one-half of his house (presumably the house in town) for her use during her lifetime and all the household goods. The son Samuel was to be the principal heir, provided that he paid large legacies to his married sisters and to his brother Whittingham and his sister Elizabeth, who were both minors at the time the will was drawn up.

If an inventory of the estate was made, it has not survived.[17]

Unfortunately, Samuel Appleton the heir was a poor businessman and had so mismanaged his funds that on his death in London in 1728, his estate was deeply in debt. His creditors seized his estate in Ipswich in 1731 and sold it in 1751.[18]

Notes to Chapter Two

[1]Cummings, "Ironworks Farm," pp. 365-367.

[2]Cummings, "Ironworks Farm," p. 369.

[3]Cummings, "Ironworks Farm," p. 370.

[4]Cummings, "Ironworks Farm," p. 370. Contrast Cummings with Carlson, who states that Appleton "presumably" took up residence on the Ironworks farm as early as 1676, p. 4.

[5]Waters, Old Bay Road, p. 32; Cummings, First Period Houses, pp. 187 and 183-184.

[6]Waters, Old Bay Road, p. 32; Carlson, p. 5.

[7]Waters, Old Bay Road, p. 32.

[8]Cummings, "Ironworks Farm," p. 374; Thomas Franklin Waters, Ipswich in the Massachusetts Bay Colony 1633-1700 (Ipswich: Ipswich Historical Society, 1905), p. 78; Waters, Old Bay Road, p. 23.

[9]Cummings, "Ironworks Farm," pp. 374-377.

[10]Waters, Ipswich, pp. 225-250.

[11]Cummings, "Ironworks Farm," p. 377.

[12]Waters, Old Bay Road, p. 32.

[13]Essex County Probate Records, docket 815.

[14]Essex County Probate Records, docket 815.

[15]Cummings, First Period Houses, pp. 159-160.

[16]Waters, Old Bay Road, p. 32.

[17]Essex County Probate Records, docket 816.

[18]Waters, Old Bay Road, pp. 25-26 and 34.

Chapter Three

James Taylor

Remarkably little is known about James Taylor, who purchased the Ironworks farm from the Appletons in 1688. The nineteenth-century editors of Samuel Sewall's diary appended a lengthy footnote about Taylor to the entry in the diary where Sewall noted Taylor's death in 1716, which gives most of the facts which are known (Appendix Two). This chapter will treat some of the more important aspects of Taylor's impact on the Ironworks farm. The discussion will center principally on the inventory of Taylor's estate made after his death in 1716.

Taylor was the son of a London leather-dresser. He was apprenticed at about age twelve to John Cole of Ratcliffe, County Middlesex, just outside London, to learn navigation in 1664; whether the intention was that he become a sea captain or a merchant is not clear. This apprenticeship undoubtedly formed the basis of Taylor's accounting skills which later led to his being elected treasurer of the Province of Massachusetts Bay in 1693. He was married in 1673, although it is not known whether his marriage took place in London or in Boston. Certainly he was in Boston by 1674, when his first daughter was born there. Taylor married his second wife Rebecca, possibly a member of the Clark family, in 1679. By both his wives he had a total of thirteen children, eight of whom survived him.[1]

Taylor was apparently a successful merchant. At one time he owned three houses in Boston, in addition to the Ironworks farm. His acquisition of the farm can be interpreted as part of a program to fill the role of country gentleman, with a house in town for

business and a rural estate in the country for relaxation and eventual retirement.

The important facts about Taylor's use of the Ironworks farm and house can be deduced from his probate inventory, made on August 28, 1716, a little less than two months after his death.[2] Taylor had made his will on July 4, 1716. It stipulated that his widow was to live in his house in Boston, because of the "absolute Necessity y^{t} after my Decease my farme & Lande Scituate In y^{e} Township of Lyn within y^{e} County of Essex be Disposed off," presumably so that various cash bequests to three of his eight children could be met and also that the proceeds of the sale could be divided among seven of his children. (The eldest son, Christopher, a Boston merchant, was given only a cash bequest of fifty pounds, because he had already been given money to start his career and also because the father was enraged at Christopher for having fathered an illegitimate child with a domestic servant. Christopher unsuccessfully contested the will in September of 1716.)[3] The terms of the will were not carried out by the widow, who kept both the Boston town house and the farm until her death in 1718, and the farm was not divided among the heirs until 1724.[4]

The inventory of 1716 was worth over three thousand pounds. The farm was valued at sixteen-hundred-and-fifty pounds, and the house in Boston at thirteen hundred pounds. (By contrast, a new appraisal of the farm in 1718 valued the farm at twenty-one hundred pounds.)[5] Although the 1716 inventory described the farm buildings as being "all much out of repair," it is evident that the farm was being actively worked. The inventory lists farming equipment, crops, and livestock. It also includes a man servant, a maid, a boy, and an "Old Infirm negro man," which suggests that Taylor used slave labor

on his property. One of the five horses listed must have been used to pull the "Old Calash," or two-wheeled carriage, while the others were used with the "Sleighs" and "Sadles bridles and Pillions." Two yoke of oxen were present to draw the "Carts" and "Plows." The other livestock included fourteen cows worth seventy-one pounds, young cattle valued at forty-seven pounds, sheep and lambs appraised at fifty pounds, and thirteen swine at a pound apiece. Cash crops at twenty-three pounds were specified as "Indian & English grain, & Fruit (besides what is nesessary for the present use of the Family)."

The elaborate furnishings were undoubtedly all at the house on the farm. This can be demonstrated by the fact that Taylor had retired from office in 1714 and from the fact that his Boston house was divided into tenements in the spring of 1716, according to a letter written to Taylor by his son Christopher on May 21 of that year. The son related that "I have let /~rented_/ the lower part of the house to Mr. Harris the minister who comes in this day, he is a Sober man and hath but a small family, the garden I doe not let him save on pleasure for the use, but keep it for the upper end of the house where I live, and, is besides room enough for you and my mother when you come to town."[6] While only the beds are located in the rooms they stand in, the functions of the various rooms are clear. The most expensive bed was listed in the "westward Chamber," or hall chamber. This was the bed in which Taylor and his wife slept. Three less expensive beds in the "Eastward Lower room" (the parlor), the "Eastward Chamber" (the parlor chamber), and the "Porch Chamber" were used by the children, and cheap beds in the kitchen or leanto chamber and the garret were for the black slaves. Five different sets of seating furniture are

listed. The best were the couch, two armchairs, and twelve chairs, undoubtedly fashionable cane furniture made of beech or walnut. The next best were "12 Old Leather Chairs." The others are called "black Chairs" (probably bannister backs), "Low back" (perhaps old-fashioned upholstered chairs or joined chairs), and "bass bottom" (slat backs with splint seats). Expensive case furniture included a "Scriptore" (a desk and bookcase or large fall-front desk), a "Chest of Draws and Table" (a "highboy" and "lowboy," or high chest and dressing table), another chest of drawers, various tables, two stands and a looking glass for use with the dressing table, and two cabinets. Presumably the high chest, dressing table, looking glass, and stands were in Taylor's bedroom, while the set of cane seating furniture, one of the tables, and the other two looking glasses and four pictures were used in the hall for entertaining.

The cooking utensils must have been in the kitchen. The location of the family silver, money scales and weights, and books is impossible to tell. Much of this furniture and accompanying accessories must have been brought to the farm from Boston upon Taylor's retirement in 1714; in other words, the extremely fashionable furnishings do not, in all liklihood, reflect the state of the household for much of the period during which Taylor owned it.[7] Certainly they may have remained at the house until the widow's death in 1718, and they may have been there as late as the actual division of the estate in 1724. This division amplifies the description of some outbuildings near the main house, including a "Brick Kitching" near the house and a "Smith[s] Shop" next to the kitchen.[8]

The inventory makes it clear that Taylor had not altered the main house from the form it was built in. As the following chapter on room use and the forthcoming analysis of furnishings will suggest, he did impose upon the house owned by Appleton a use pattern which was specific to fashionable living among urban merchants, namely the pattern of a hall for entertaining, a dining room for formal taking of meals, and a heavily furnished hall chamber where the head of the household slept. This pattern, which first emerges in the 1670s, may also have influenced Appleton's household set up in the 1680s.

Notes to Chapter Three

[1]Diary of Samuel Sewall 1714-1729, vol. III, Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, fifth series, vol. VII, 1882, pp. 94-97.

[2]Essex County Probate Records, docket 27301.

[3]Essex County Probate Records, docket 27301; Carlson, p. 45.

[4]Essex County Probate Records, docket 27301; Cummings, "Ironworks Farm," pp. 380-388.

[5]Essex County Probate Records, vol. 312, p. 401.

[6]Sewall, Diary, p. 96.

[7]Essex County Probate Records, docket 27301; see also the letter of Christopher Taylor to James Taylor in Sewall, Diary, p. 96-97.

[8]Cummings, "Ironworks Farm," pp. 381-382.

Chapter Four

The Functions of the Rooms

While a detailed study of the evidence for the furnishings of the Ironworks Farm house will be presented in the evidence of original furnishings, some important abstract ideas about the way these earliest houses were used will be presented here. Insofar as documentary evidence and structural evidence reveals, the house consisted of a two-room plan, with a porch and one-story leanto. There may have been two gables in the south or front facade, in addition to the gable which formed the roof of the porch.

Without question, this was an ambitious building, with all the expensive "extras" or options available within the Mannerist or post-Medieval and pre-Georgian design tradition. It can be contrasted with a number of other smaller design types then current in eastern Massachusetts. First, there were a variety of one-story or story-and-a-half houses of one-room plan available to poorer members of society. While not strictly speaking temporary housing, since they had heavy-timber frames, such houses were inexpensive; they also probably constituted the bulk of the smaller houses built for the Ironworks employees.[1]

Second, there were larger houses of one-room plan and two full stories. As Abbott Lowell Cummings points out, many houses which were later expanded to a two-room plan often were first built in this form.[2]

Third, the one-room house could be expanded by the addition of a leanto at the rear, generally of one full story and a short room under the roof connecting the leanto to the roof of the main

house. Another option for expanding the one-room plan was the addition of a facade gable which increased the headroom and light of the garret.[3]

Fourth, the most developed plan available was the two-room plan with a room on either side of a chimney pile. In plainer versions of this type, there were no embellishments like facade gables, leantos, or porches. The presence of all these additional features in the Ironworks Farm house is one prime index of its expense and pretentiousness.[4]

Finally, the internal framing of the house could be amplified with a number of options. These include jetties, or overhangs, on the front and side facades; pendants, brackets, and pyramids or pinnacles on the jetties, eaves, end girts, and gable peaks; and moldings worked into exposed framing members on the exterior and interior and minor trim like scalloped or carved bargeboards on gables and end gables.[5] The Ironworks Farm house exploited certain of these details. It was framed with a jetty on the front facade, ornamented with pendants. There is no way of knowing whether the house originally had pyramids at the gable peaks like those introduced by Nutting in 1917. Period illustrations of English houses show pyramids of obelisk form, while Nutting modeled his on a pendant in the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities collection.[6]

Most buildings described in New England contracts were far smaller than the forty-four foot Ironworks Farm house. The high stud of the rooms, generally speaking an index of houses built later in the seventeenth century, is also unusual.[7]

Turning now to the nomenclature of the rooms, a fairly clear set of terms had emerged in eastern Massachusetts by the 1680s which can be applied with some confidence to the house. The porch and porch chamber are unambiguous, as are the cellar, garret, and leanto. Less certain are the terms applied to the four main rooms of the house. Period usage seems to have varied with the size of the house and the resultant shifts in internal function, but the four rooms in question were probably identified by Appleton and his family as follows. The two rooms in the east end of the building were probably the parlor and parlor chamber, while the two in the west end were in all likli-hood called the hall and hall chamber. This identification is based on the size difference between the two sets of rooms. The east rooms are approximately one foot shorter in width than the west rooms. This seemingly slight variation in size had overt cultural significance during the period, and in most houses, especially earlier in the century, was far more exaggerated.[8]

The size difference between the "hall" and "parlor" reflected their intended use. For the most part, the hall was intended as the room in which the family lived most of the time and ate their meals. In houses where there was no leanto, the hall also functioned as the kitchen. The parlor, on the other hand, was far more restricted and elevated in nature. It was generally speaking smaller, better furnished, and contained the bed in which the parents slept. Parlors were used for formal visits, events like baptismal parties, weddings, and funerals, and other ritual activities. They generally contained fixtures like cupboards and glass cases which were for the display of silver, ceramics, and glass. Portraits, looking glasses, wall hangings, and the best table linens and bed hangings

were also prominently displayed there, as were arms and armor.[9] In houses where this pattern of hall-parlor use was adhered to, chambers functioned in a number of ways. Often they were furnished with simpler beds slept in by the children. Chambers were also used for storage of a wide range of agricultural produce, crafts products (if the head of the household were a craftsman), and raw materials like wool or flax. Chests or trunks for bulk storage were often ranged around the walls.

However, at the socio-economic level of the Appletons, other uses for chambers might be introduced, especially later in the century. First, wealthier people tended to have leantos and other service extensions at the rear of the building to which extractive and cooking and storage functions could be relegated. The removal of cooking from the hall, especially, meant that the area was elevated from a working room to a less elevated version of the parlor. In other words, those who could afford more space could arrange the two groundfloor rooms as a better and lesser entertainment complex. At the same time, some elected to transfer some of the prestige surrounding the parlor to a chamber, sometimes the hall chamber, sometimes the parlor chamber. One important index of such a shift would be the location of the best bed, that of the parents, to a chamber. Another would be the use in a chamber of cupboards for display and glass cases for formal drinking rituals, as well as large tables and sets of chairs for entertaining. The most elevated levels of Massachusetts society also introduced at this period (the 1670s and 1680s) the idea of differentiating between a hall and a dining room on the first floor, a practice in which the hall took over many of the traditional functions of the parlor and the dining room became a formal

space furnished only with a large table and seating furniture used only for dining with guests. A variant of this practice employed the hall for entertaining, the dining room for eating, and the hall chamber for the parents' bedroom and for the location of cabinets, dressing boxes, looking glasses, stands for candlesticks, and other paraphernalia associated with extremely pretentious grooming rituals.[10]

The presence of a porch in the Ironworks Farm house introduces another possibility often found among gentry figures. While the display function of the entry on the ground floor, with its new-fashioned dog-leg or three flight staircase,[11] is evident, there is also the potential for a small room in the porch chamber known as a study. These were used by ministers and merchants to store their libraries and writing tables and often were placed in a porch chamber partitioned off from the staircase and the passage between the chambers, just as Wallace Nutting restored the porch on the Ironworks Farm house. Prominent magistrates and merchants used such rooms as a counting house or office.[12]

The leanto and cellar of the Ironworks Farm house also deserve consideration. Ordinarily leantos were partitioned into three rooms, a kitchen proper, a buttery or dairy, and a bedroom (the borning room of historic house lore). The function of the kitchen is obvious, but the dairy or buttery functioned in a variety of ways. In a house with no cellars, the room provided storage for both dairy products and beer and cider stored in barrels called butts. In houses with cellars, the butts were kept in the cellar and the dairy was restricted to milk products. The bedroom was used

most often for the ill or the aged, who needed to be near the fire which was kept burning in the kitchen hearth. Its nineteenth-century designation as a borning room, a term never encountered in seventeenth-century documents, probably derived from delivering babies in this room upon occasion. The bedroom may also have been used by servants in some households.[13]

The leanto chambers and the garrets also had specific uses. While the leanto of the Ironworks Farm house is too heavily rebuilt for any conclusions to be drawn regarding its original form, the nearly contemporary Boardman house in Saugus has small finished chambers in it dating from the time of the house's erection (or nearly so), and these were often the sleeping quarters of servants. A similar function was supplied by the garrets, which occasionally contained finished rooms and even fireplaces.[14]

The complexity of room use would also vary with the needs of the particular family residing in the house. This is pertinent to a contrast which might be drawn between the Appleton family and the Taylor family. At the period during which Samuel Appleton, Jr., lived in the house, his family consisted of only his wife, two or three children, and perhaps one or two servants. In those circumstances a large number of beds would not have been so pressing a need, and large areas of the house would have been vacant much of the time. When Taylor purchased the house in 1688, he already had seven children, perhaps five of which were alive at that time, in addition to a possible two or three black slaves and one or two indentured servants. By 1693, his office of treasurer meant that colleagues might be expected to come to the farm to "take the country air," as his son Christopher put it,[15] and presumably might stay overnight. His bedding requirements were therefore much more

pressing. By 1716, they were even greater. At that point in time Taylor still had five or six children who were under twenty-one years of age, four black slaves, and an even greater potential for visiting guests. As his inventory shows, he had beds in the "Eastward Lower Room" (the parlor), the "Eastward Chamber" (the parlor chamber), the "Porch Chamber," the "westward Chamber" (the hall chamber), the garret, and three beds in the "Kitchin Chamber" (the leanto chamber) for his black slaves. The high valuation of the bed in the "westward Chamber" indicates the location of Taylor's own sleeping quarters, probably the bed in which he died.[16]

As this brief analysis of the rooms in the house indicates, even without approaching the question of the exact practices followed by the Appletons and the Taylors a number of important insights into the functioning of spaces within a seventeenth-century house can be made. The variations of practice within the gentry class, specific to their ownership of larger houses with more rooms, are pertinent to the treatment which will be indicated by the evidence of original furnishings and the recommended furnishings. Although we possess an actual probate inventory for Taylor, his furnishings reflect quite specifically both the later William and Mary style and the fact that he had retired to his farm only two years previously. Although we possess no probate inventory for the house during Appleton's occupancy and not even one for his house in Ipswich, we do possess a great deal more information about his peers among the Ipswich and Boston gentry which can be used to flesh out both the probable use of the rooms in the house and the function of houses among his contemporaries in general.

Notes to Chapter Four

[1]Cummings, "Ironworks Farm," pp. 362-363, gives a list of houses mentioned in the litigation surrounding the Ironworks. The best example of the single-room plan, story-and-a-half house to survive is the Benjamin Clark house in Medfield, see Cummings, First Period Houses, pp. 162-163. Others which have been modified include the Balch house in Beverly and the two sections of the Austin-Lord house in Ipswich; see Cummings, First Period Houses, pp 126 and 153.

[2]Abbott Lowell Cummings, The Framed Houses Of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 22-30.

[3]Cummings, Framed Houses, pp. 30-33 (leanto) and 77-81 (gables).

[4]Cummings, Framed Houses, pp. 22-28.

[5]Cummings, Framed Houses, pp. 126-157.

[6]Cummings, Framed Houses, does not treat pyramids or pinnacles, as they were called, perhaps because no examples survive, but they are prominently mentioned in many meeting house contracts; see Marian Card Donnelly, The New England Meeting Houses of the Seventeenth Century (Middletown, CT.: Weslyan University Press, 1968.

[7]Cummings, Framed Houses, pp. 212-214 and 113; those houses of most importance in establishing high-studded rooms as a fashionable feature of the 1670s and 1680s are the later half of the Whipple house,Ipswich (1683), the later wing of the Turner house, Salem (1680), the Capen house, Topsfield (1683 or 1684), and the Boardman

house, Saugus (1687).

[8]Cummings, Framed Houses, pp. 22-33.

[9]Abbott Lowell Cummings, Rural Household Inventories (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1964), pp, xiii-xxi.

[10]Cummings does not discuss the significance of the introduction of the dining room into room nomenclature, but it was discussed by Irving W. Lyon in The Colonial Furniture of New England (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1891), pp. 215-216.

[11]Cummings, Framed Houses, pp. 162-168.

[12]Cummings, Framed Houses, pp. 147 and 224-225, 229, 231.

[13]Cummings, Framed Houses, pp. 28-33.

[14]Cummings, Inventories, pp. xviii-xix.

[15]Sewall, Diary, p. 96.

[16]Essex County Probate Records, docket 27301.

Appendix One

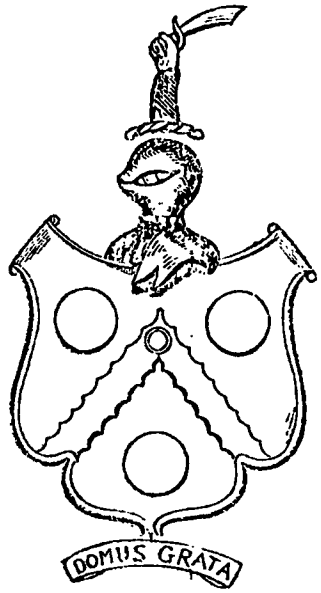
45-49: The Autobiography of Daniel Denison

50-51: Daniel Denison's will, Essex County Probate Records, 7549

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

MAJOR-GENERAL DANIEL DENISON.



BY

DANIEL DENISON SLADE.

BOSTON:
PRESS OF DAVID CLAPP & SON.
1892.

5'1

[Reprinted from the New-England Historical and Genealogical Register for April, 1892.]

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF MAJOR-GENERAL DANIEL DENISON.

THE following document, written by Major-General Daniel Denison to his grandchildren, and lately found among the effects of the Rev. Daniel Rogers of Exeter, is of historical importance, inasmuch as it substantiates facts heretofore problematical, while it supplies knowledge upon points which were very uncertain or entirely wanting.

Heretofore we have been unable to state from what portion of England the family came, nor were we sure of the exact date of emigration. Denison states that his brother John and himself were bred scholars at Cambridge and that his father suddenly "unsettled" himself, recalled them from Cambridge and removed to New England; that his father brought with him a very good estate, settling himself at Roxbury. The General gives us the date of his marriage to Patience Dudley—of which no previous record has been known to be in existence; and furnishes us many particulars in regard to kith and kin. There can be no doubt of the authenticity of the document, and its discovery is a happy circumstance.

To my Dear Grandchildren
John, Daniel, and Martha Denison

That you being left fatherless Children might not be altogether ignorant of your ancestors, nor strangers to your near relations, I thought meet to acquaint you with your predecessors, and your decent from them.

Your Great Grandfather Denison was born in England at Bishops Stratford in Hertford shier, in which Town he Married and lived till the Year of our Lord 1631, with two brothers Edward and George, who all of them had Children. George the youngest Brother had a son named also George, my cousen German, who was living in Stratford in the year 1672 as your uncle Harlackenden Symonds told me, who was that year in England, and spoke with him, My uncle Edward had also Children and in the year 1631, removed himself and family into Ireland, where he died and left a son called John Denison who was a souldier and a Major of a Regiment in the time of the Wars, and Deputy Governor of Corke, where Mr. Wainwright saw him.* I have received divers Letters from him, he was living in Dubline in the year 1670, your great Grandfather my Dear father whose name was William, had by my dear Mother whose name was Chandler six sons, and

* Possibly George Denison, who settled at Annisquam (Gloucester), Essex County, Mass. in 1725 and is said to have come from Dublin, Ireland, may have been a descendant. (See Baldwin and Clift's Denison Record, page 345).—EDITOR.

one Daughter, two of which (viz) one son and the Daughter died in their Childhood, one son who was the second named William about 18 years of age would needs goe a Souldier into Holland, in the year 1624 at the famous Seige of Breda when it was taken by Spinola and Count Mansfield had an army out of England, to have raised the seige, but the army miscarryed and my Brother William was never heard of since.

We were now but four Brothers left (viz.) John, Daniel, Edward and George. John and myself were bred schollars at Cambridge, where I continued till after I had taken my first Degree,* your Grandfather my father though very well seated in Stratford, hearing of the then famous transplantation to New England, unsetled himself and recalling me from Cambridge removed himself and family in the year 1631 to New England, and brought over with him myself being about 19 years of age, and my two younger Brothers, Edward, and George, leaving my eldest Brother John behind him in England, Marryed with a good portion, who was a minister, and lived about Pelham or in Hartford shier, not far from Stratford where we were born.

My father brought with him into New England a very good Estate and settled himself at Roksbury, and there Lived (though somewhat weakning his Estate) till the year 1653 in January when he died, having buried my Mother about Eight years before.

My two brothers Edward and George (who were your great uncles) had all the Estate my father left between them, being both marryed long before my father's death; my Brother George buried his first Wife in the year 1643, went into England was a Souldier ther above a year, was at the Battle of York or Marston Moor, where he did good service, was afterward taken Prisoner, but got free and having Married a second Wife he returned to New England, the year before our Mother died, and not long after removed himself to New London near whereunto (viz) at Stonington he now liveth, having 3 sons John, William, and George, 4 or 5 Daughters his eldest son John is married, and hath Children which are your Cousons, and 3 of his Daughters are Marryed to Stanton, Palmer, and Cheesebrook, all living at present in the same Town.

My brother Edward (your great uncle) also was Married about the same time with your uncle George about the beginning of the year 1641 and lived the rest of his Days at Roksbury in the same House my father built lived and died in, he to my great grief and loss departed this life in April in the year 1669, and left behind him but one son William of about 5 years old having buried four sons in their Infancy, he left also five Daughters of which one was married in his lifetime to Jachin Reiner who liveth at Rowley.

I was the eldest of the 3 Brothers that were brought to New England, and the next year after our arival (viz.) in the year 1632, on the 18th day of october on which day twenty years before I was Baptized at Stratford, and 7 years before I was admitted into the university of Cambridge, I Married your Grandmother, who was the second daughter of Mr Thos Dudley, who was a principal undertaker of this Plantation of the Massachusets and one of those first commers in the year 1630 that brought over the Patent, and setled the Government here he came over Deputy Gover-

* This is the first intimation I have found that Maj. Gen. Denison was a graduate of Cambridge University. Can any of our readers give further information of his elder brother, Rev. John Denison, who is here stated to have been also educated at Cambridge, and to have been a clergyman near Bishop's Stortford in Hertfordshire?—Editor.

nor, and was afterwards diverse times Governour, he then lived at Cambridge, removed to Ipswich, where he stayed but one year, being recaled again to live in the Bay. which then could not but want his help, he setled himself at Rocksbury, where he lived until he departed this life about the 30th Day of July, in the year 1653 having buried your great Grandmother about 10 years before, about the latter end of December 1643. She was a fine vertuous woman who loved your father in his childhood, and was born in her house, she had by her Husband one son—your great uncle Samll Dudley* who liveth at Exeter, and by 3 wives hath had many Children Cousen germans to your father, And beside your Grandmother Denison she had three Daughters (viz.) your Aunt Bradstreet† who died in September 1672 who left 4 sons and 3 Daughters liveing, beside her daughter Cotton who died before her, and left many children then your Aunt Woodbridg‡ now living at Newberry who hath five sons and five daughters living your fathers Cousen Germans as also were your aunt Bradstreets Children, the last was your aunt Sarah marryed to mr Keane§ both dead long since, and left one only daughter Hannah, Married to Mr Paige, and is now living at Boston your great Grandmother being dead your sweet Grandfather Dudley married a second Wife,‖ and by her had a daughter marryed to Mr Jonathan Wade, who liveth at Mistick, and two sons Joseph Dudley who now liveth at Rocksbury, in his fathers House, and Paul Dudley a Merchant who is upon a voyage to Ireland, these were your fathers uncles by their fathers side.

For myself after I was married to your Grandmother I lived about two years at Cambridge, and in the year 1635 I removed to Ipswich, where I have lived ever since with your Grandmother, we lived together without Children above 7 years till the sixteenth of January being Thirsday your dear father was born at Rocksbury, whether your Grandmother went to lye in at her mothers, and two years and a quarter after your aunt Rogers was born at Ipswich, on the 10th day of April 1642 about nine years after your Grandmother had another Daughter named Mary, who died about a quarter old, and three years after we had another our last named Deborah who died within a fortnight.

* The Hon. James Savage, in 1843 (see Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol. 28, page 248), conjectured that Thomas Dudley, a graduate of Cambridge (A.B. 1626, A.M. 1630), might have been a son of Gov. Thomas Dudley. It would seem from Gen. Denison's statements that Gov. Dudley had no wife before Dorothy, and that she had only one son, Samuel. If this be so, Thomas, the graduate, could not have been a son of Gov. Dudley. More than thirty years ago, Mr. Dean Dudley and myself had arrived at the opinion that Thomas was probably not the Governor's son. Our reasons were, that neither a son Thomas nor children of Thomas are mentioned in Gov. Dudley's will, and that Mrs. Bradstreet says, in her epitaph on her mother, that she "Of all her children, children lived to see."—(See Works of Mrs. Anne Bradstreet, Ellis's edition, page liii.)

For accounts of Gov. Thomas Dudley and his descendants, see Register, vol. 10, pp. 130–42; 337–44.—Editor.

† For accounts of Gov. Simon and Mrs. Anne (Dudley) Bradstreet and their descendants, see Register, vol. 8, pp. 312–25; vol. 9, pp. 113–21. For a biographical sketch of Gov. Bradstreet, see vol. 1, pp. 75–7.—Editor.

‡ For accounts of Rev. John and Mrs. Mercy (Dudley) Woodbridge and their descendants, see Register, vol. 32, pp. 292–6; also the "Woodbridge Record," compiled from the papers left by the late Louis Mitchell, Esq., by his brother Donald G. Mitchell, LL.D., New Haven, 1883, 4to, pp. 272.—Editor.

§ Sarah Dudley married Major Benjamin Keayne, son of Capt. Robert Keayne and nephew of the Rev. John Wilson of Boston. An abstract of the will of Robert Keayne is printed in the Register, vol. 37, page 231. For notices of the Keayne family, see Register, vol. 6, pp. 89–92; 152–8; vol. 35, pp. 277; vol. 37, pp. 231–5.—Editor.

‖ The maiden name of the second wife of Gov. Thomas Dudley was Katherine Dighton. For an account of her ancestry and relatives, see Register, vol. 45, pp. 302–4.—Editor.

In the year 1645 I was made Major of the Regiment of Essex, and in the year 1653 was Chosen an Assistant or Magistrate and about a year after was made Major General and continued so for about 7 or eight years after.

In the year 1660 my onely Daughter and your Aunt Elizabeth was Marryed to Mr John Rogers* who hath ever since lived at Ipswich, and hath now living five children, your Cousen Germans (viz.): Elizabeth, Margret, John, Daniel and Nathaniel, She had another Daughter named also Elisabeth that died about a year and quarter old.

Your Dear father my Dear and only son was Married to your Mother who was named Mrs Martha Simonds on the 2d or 3d of february 1663, and lived at the farm at Ipswich the remainder of his days, being above four and twenty years of age when he Marryed, and living sweetly and comfortably with your Mother near seven years, by whom he had 3 Children John the eldest, born the 22d of September 1665, Martha born the first of March 1668, and Daniel born the 14th day of April 1671, But about 3 Months before poor Daniel was born (viz) on the ninth of January 1670 it pleased the alwise God to take your dear father my dear and loving son to himself, thereby bereaving you and me of our greatest comfort and support he was taken with a most violent flux the first of January which held him nine days, with grievous torment, which he endured with admirable patience, committing himself to God, with assured confidence and took his last leave of me who was with him all the time of his sickness and of his loving Wife, and of his 2 Children John, and Martha, without any Preturbation, Blessing his Children and commending them to God the father Son and Holy Ghost, and Committing that which was unborn to my care, at his death he was not one and thirty, but wanted six days and about 15 hours, so early had he finished his Course and done his work, and if his work had then to have been done (as he then said) he had been Miserable but he had lived a Godly and examplary life, being a constant seeker of God. I have heard your Mother since say he used to pray five times a Day, a Dutiful Child a loving husband and father, a loving friend a good man in all his ways, and he departed most Christian like, and comfortably to the unspeakable grief and loss of me and all his friends, about 3 months after his death was Daniel born at the farm whose name his father ordered before his death, desiring his wife if she were delivered of a son it might be called Daniel, and if a daughter it should be called Patience, after the name of your Grandmother, more of your fathers sickness and gracious speeches I committed to Writing and left them with your Grandmother.

And now dear Children though God hath taken away your dear and loving father, yet he hath not left you fatherless, but according to your dear fathers desire and Blessing Commending you to God whom in his sickness he often called his Covenant God, Who is also your Covenant God and hath covenanted with every one of you in your Baptism, he hath been a father to you and mercifully provided for you and cared for you, when you could not care for not help your selves, as I shall acquaint you, And therefore dear children Let your chief care be as you grow to understanding to know the God of your fathers, and to serve him with a perfect heart and the Blessing of God will be with you both in life and Death, according to the blessing and Prayers of your dear father and Godly Ancestors.

* For genealogies of the Rogers family, see Register, vol. 4, p. 179; vol. 5, pp. 106–52 324, 311–30; vol. 12, pp. 337–42; vol. 13, pp. 61–9; vol. 39, pp. 225–30: vol. 41, pp. 158–88 —Editor.

Your father had not a present Estate Setled on him, but upon his Marriage with your Mother, I ingaged to provide for him, and after mine and your Grandmothers decease to give him my Farm at Che[bacco] where you were all born and also a ffarm 600 acres at Merrimack River, and accordingly during his life he partaked of all that I had and we lived with great content and satisfaction, and what I ingaged to him shall God willing be made good to you his Children, after your fathers decease I provided for you and your Mother above one year, at the ffarm where you all lived. But it Pleased God so to order that we Should be further parted. For the beginning of April 1672 your Mother having married with Mr Richard Martyne, went to live with him at Portsmouth, taking with her two Children, Daniel who then sucked and Martha, as I had contracted with them before that in Consideration of that Estate which your father left and your Mother had and Mr Martine with her, which was neere 300£, They should bring up two Children and be bound to give 100£ to Martha, when she coms to age or if she die before to Daniel and his Heirs, for which I have Mr Martyns Bond, and for some other Legacies in case your Mother dye before him.

For John he was to stay with me and his Grandmother, as he was to have done had his father lived to go to School. Thus you are quartered dear Children but yet through Gods goodness you are under there care that do tenderly love and will carefully provide for you, for which you will have cause to Bless God, That though you are bereaved of a loving father yet he hath not left you desolate.

Having given this account of your descent by the father side, I shall acquaint you with some of your relations by your Mothers side, hoping your mother who tenderly loves you will as she hath oppertunity instruct you not only in that particular but in other things of greater moment and advantage.

Your Mother was the eldest daughter of Mr Samuel Symonds, a Magestrate yet living in Ipswich, by his second wife who was the Widow of one Mr Eps, by whom she had your uncle Eps living at Ipswich, who hath many Children all your cousens, She had also 2 daughters one Marryed to Mr Chute, dead long since, another Marryed to Mr Duncan who lives at Glocester, and hath many Children.

Your Grandfather Symonds had a wife before, by whom he had divers Children, some dead and 3 yet living one daughter Marryed to Mr Eps your uncle by your grandmother as his wife is by your Grandfather, also 2 Sons Harlackeden now in England, and William that lives at Ipswich.

Your Grandfather had by your Grandmother one son, your uncle Samuel, who loved your father and Mother, and dyed before your father at sea as he was returning from England, whether he went the year before, he was a hopeful young man, he had also 3 daughters your good mother, whose name was Martha, was the eldest, the 2d was Marryed to Mr Emerson, Minister of Gloucester, where they live and have divers Children your Cousen Germans by the Mother side, his 3d daughter was Priscilla Marryed to Mr Baker, the same day your mother was Marryed to Mr Martyne, they live at Topsfield.

Your Grandmother Symonds dyed about two years before your Mother was Marryed, she had a brother Colonel Read, a great souldier in the Civil Wars in England, and Governour of Sterling in Scotland, she had also two sisters that lived in New England the eldest was your Aunt Lake, who dyed in September last, and left a daughter named Martha, wife of Thomas

Harris who hath many Children, your consens, her other Sister was Mr Winthrop the wife of Mr John Winthrop Governour of Conecticot, who is newly dead, at the writing hereof as the report is, She had two sons John and Wayte, and 4 or 5 Daughters one Marryed to Mr Newman who lived and dyed at Wenham in September last, another Marryed at Salem to Mr John Corwin all these are your Mothers Cousen Germans, and your Cousens and so are their children.*

I have done as much as I intended by which Dear Children you may perceive you need not be ashamed of your progenitors, who have in many respects been eminent in their times, It behoves you that you take care to be imetators of their piety and goodness, and that you doe not degenerate from those Roots from whence you are sprunge, in so doing the blessing and Prayers of your Godly Ancestors will fall upon you, and the God of your fathers will be your Covenant God who only is able to bless you here and make you happy hereafter, which is and hath been the Continual Prayer of all your godly Ancestors and particularly of your tender and loving Grandfather who wrote this the 26th Day of December in the year of our Lord 1672, in the sixtieth and one year of his age.

DANIEL DENISON.

[NOTES.—The foregoing confirms a guess I made a couple of years ago, that the New England family of Denison would be found to have belonged to Bishop's Stortford in England. The will of John Gace of Stortford, Herts, tanner (Montague 61, P. C. C.), proved in 1602, of which I hope to give a larger abstract one of these days, mentions George, Edward and William Denison, "children of my wife," and Elizabeth Crouch "a daughter of my wife." I paid a flying visit to Stortford, and, with much ado, succeeded in getting a sight of the parish registers, from which I took the following extracts:

The xvij of March, 1582, George Denyson son of John baptized.
George son of William Denizen baptized 20 October 1610.
George Denizon son of William and Margaret baptized 10 December 1620.†
William Denizen and Margaret Monck married 7 November 1603.

Very likely there were other Denison items there, but these were all that caught my eye, in my *very* hasty inspection at that time.—HENRY F. WATERS.

The Records of St. Michael's Parish Church, Bishop's Stortford, edited by J. L. Glasscock, Jr., were published in 1882. By this book we find that William Dennyson was churchwarden in 1606 (page 113) and George Dennyson in 1632, 1633, 1635, 1648 and 1649 (page 114).

In the Churchwarden's accounts among the receipts for the year 1582 is "of John Denyson lx *d*" (page 61).

In the Churchwarden's Book, 1642, the name George Dennyson is entered several times. Among the collections is found under "Water Lane" "Geo Dennyson iiij *d*" (page 146). Among the church rents due March 25, 1642, is "of Geo. Dennyson's house and yard vj *d*" (page 152). Under lease rents is "of Geo. Denyson for the Stalls in the Burly Hill for a yere at or Lady day 1643 xj *s*" (page 155).

The parish register is not printed in this volume.

On the 20th of September, 1882, the two hundredth anniversary of the death of Maj. Gen. Denison was commemorated at Ipswich, Mass. The proceedings on this occasion were printed in a pamphlet of 52 pages, entitled, "The Denison Memorial." Of this pamphlet, 25 pages are devoted to a carefully prepared and very full biographical sketch of Maj. Gen. Denison, by Dr. Slade, now of Chestnut Hill, who contributes the preceding article to the REGISTER. An historical sketch of Ipswich by the Rev. Augustine Caldwell is also printed there. Another biography by Dr. Slade appeared in the REGISTER, vol. 23, pp. 312–35. Gen. Denison's will is printed in the REGISTER, vol. 8, pp. 23–4. To these articles the reader is referred for information not found in the autobiography.

Mrs. Margaret Denison, the mother of Maj. Gen. Denison, died at Roxbury, Feb. 8, 1645–6. Her son states that her maiden name was *Chandler*. Mr. Waters finds on the Bishop's Stortford register (see above) the marriage, in 1603, of William Denison to Margaret *Monck*. This William Denison is probably the New England emigrant. The variation in the surname of his wife may be accounted for in two ways: Mr. Denison may have been married twice, or Margaret Monck may have been a widow in 1603. William Denison, father of the general, died at Roxbury, Jan. 25, 1653–4.

From Mr. Waters's extracts from the register of Bishop's Stortford, it would seem that the father of William Denison and grandfather of Daniel was named John. His widow seems to have married John Gace.

"A Record of the Descendants of Capt. George Denison, of Stonington, Conn.," a brother of the General, was published at Worcester in 1881, in an octavo of 424 pages.—(See REGISTER, vol. 36, p. 101.) The compilers were Hon. John Denison Baldwin and Hon. William Clift.—EDITOR.]

* For accounts of the Symonds and Reade families, see "Ancestry of Priscilla Baker," by William S. Appleton, Cambridge, 1870, sm. 4to. pp. 143. For the ancestry and connections of the Winthrop family, see REGISTER, vol. 18, pp. 182–6. For notice of the Epps and Lake families, see REGISTER, vol. 13, pp. 115–6. For pedigree of the Chute family, see REGISTER, vol. 13, pp. 123–4.—EDITOR.

† There has been a lack of agreement as to the year of Capt. George Denison's birth. Some say he was born in 1618, but his gravestone makes him 73 years old at his death, October 23, 1694. (See Baldwin and Clift's Denison Record, page 6.)—EDITOR.

I Daniel Denison of Ipswich in the County [illegible] in New England being in good health & memory
blessing the goodness of God, I and willing [illegible] the estate the Lord hath given me after my decease
[illegible] make & ordaine my last will & testament
To my daughter mrs Elizabeth Rogers, besides the [illegible] of [illegible], and other bindings she hath already
received, I give my farme of 500 acres lying [illegible] above Northampton & Hatfield
Also I give unto her 500 acres of land [illegible] me by the Gen^ll Court in October 1664 as appeareth
[illegible] records, also 20^li to be payd to her [illegible] given her by her Grandfather Dudley, also I give
unto my Grandchild Daniel Rogers [illegible] at the age of 21 years or sooner if my executor see
[illegible]
[illegible] my wife Patience Denison [illegible] the rest of my estate [illegible] houses lands tenements
horses, mares, cattle, sheepe, goods, moneys [illegible] her comfortable livelihood, support & maintenance
and for the education & maintenance [illegible] and for the [illegible] of my grandchildren
Daniel Denison & Martha Denison [illegible] made, for whose Education & maintenance I have
otherwise provided by a Covenant made [illegible] that married their mother. And after
the decease of my s^d wife I will that my [illegible] John Denison, shall have my farme at [illegible]
[illegible] with all the appur[illegible] and implements for husbandry, as carts
ploughs, yokes, chaines as also my [illegible] at [illegible] lying against Hogg Island
and [illegible] over the right of the farme [illegible] Also I will that my Grandchild Daniel Denison
have my farme at Merrimack of 600 acres [illegible] more [illegible] lands, which aforesd lands were
[illegible] upon the [illegible] And if any of my sd Grandchildren John or Daniel
should dye before they come [illegible], the Survivor shall have two parts of what is above
[illegible] to have the other third part
[illegible] John or Daniel my grandchildren [illegible] as above the third Martha
[illegible]
[illegible] I will that [illegible] my Grandchild Elizabeth Rogers [illegible]
[illegible] Grandchildren [illegible] Martha [illegible] shall
[illegible] the benefit of their portions till
[illegible] of age [illegible] the daughter [illegible], unless our [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] to take a liberty to gratify
[illegible] children or [illegible] either [illegible]
[illegible] I will that the whole remaining [illegible] above bequeathed consisting
in houses lands goods chattells moneys [illegible] debts & funeral expences being first
payd be equally and indifferently divided [illegible] parts [illegible] into five equal
parts [illegible] my books and [illegible] my two Grandchildren John
Denison & Daniel Denison [illegible] equally divided between them two) and that my daughter Elizabeth
Rogers [illegible] John Denison & Daniel Denison [illegible] of them [illegible] part, and my grandchild
Elizabeth Rogers have one fifth part and one halfe fifth part, and that my Grandchild Martha
Denison have the other halfe fifth part, to whom I have willed no larger a share, because
I have provided otherwise [illegible] payd her by Mr Richd Martyn her
father in law, and in case either of my [illegible] Grandchildren John Denison or Daniel Denison should
dye before they receive their share [illegible] my will is that the Survivor of them together
with their sister Martha should have [illegible] divided equally between them as also if Martha
Denison should dye in like manner that her two brothers John & Daniel should have her whole
[illegible] my grandchildren John Den[illegible]
& Daniel should dye before they [illegible] their fifth parts as abovesd my will is
that [illegible] their fifth parts [illegible] my daughter mrs Elizabeth Rogers & her heires
for ever, and the two shares bequeathed to them [illegible] sister Martha as abovesd, she paying
to my grandchild Elizabeth Rogers one hundred pounds or the farme of 600 acres at Merrimack
[illegible] within 6 months after demand made by her or on her behalfe or in the behalfe of her heires: and in
case any of my s^d grandchildren John Denison Martha Denison & Daniel Denison should all of them
dye before they come of [illegible] age [illegible] leaving behind them no issue of their bodyes lawfully
begotten my will is that my daughter mrs Elizabeth Rogers should have and enjoy the sd two
shares bequeathed to the sd John & Daniel Denison [illegible] her heires for ever, she
or they paying to my Grandchild Elizabeth Rogers [illegible] or the farme at Merrimack
as abovesd to my sd Grandchild Elizabeth [illegible]. Reserving liberty to dispose of some legacies
afterwards as I may see occasion. And [illegible] my last will & testament, revoking all former
wills & of this I make my dear wife mrs Patience Denison executrix desiring my loving
friends my son Mr John Rogers & Captn John Appleton to be my overseers to take care they will
be performed in witness whereof I have set to my hand & seale
This 18 Day of July: A. Domini 1673: Manu propria scripsi: Daniel Denison.

[illegible] my wife [illegible] executrix [illegible] July 23 1673 Daniel Denison

Appendix Two

53-54: Footnote to 1882 edition of Sewall's Diary, giving biography of James Taylor

55-56: Probate inventory of James Taylor, Essex County Probate Records, 27301

for pulling down the Throne of Antichrist, is so designed in the Revelation. Holland.

July, 25. I visited Mr. Henry Bromfield, and Mehetabel Thurston. Joseph and I Pray together in the Castle-Chamber p. m̄.

July, 26. Mr. Webb preaches from 1 Jn° 2. 15. Love not the World — made a very good Discourse of the Inconsistency of the Love of the World with the Love of God. Sung Ps. 49. 6–10.

27. 6. Mr. Pemberton invited me to his Meeting by his Son. I went.

29. Lord's Supēr, I was exceedingly affected that Christ should speak of his Spouse as Undefiled.

30. Last night Mr. Treasurer Taylor died at his House in Lin.[1] The Corps was brought in a Horse-Litter to the Ferry. From the Ferry on men's Shoulders to his House in Town.

31. Rid with the Chief Justice to the Ferry, then in a Calash to Cambridge Court, Mr. Brattle prayed.

Augt. 1, ditto.[2] Mr. Smith pleaded the Jurisdiction of

[1] James Taylor was Treasurer of the Province from June 17, 1693, to June 25, 1714, when Jeremiah Allen succeeded. His predecessor for one year was John Phillips, but from 1693 till the Revolution, only four persons held the office, viz.: Taylor, Allen, William Foye, and Harrison Gray. On Taylor's retirement the following vote was passed:—

Dec. 24, 1715. Council Records. "To Mr. James Taylor, the sum of Ninety pounds in consideration of his good and faithfull service for many years as Treasurer of this Province, and his frequently advancing his own money in the publick affairs and the considerable loss he has sustained in the execution of that Office."

[2] "Boston. — On Wednesday the first Currant, The General Assembly of this Province met here; And being His Majesty's King George's Accession to the Throne of Great Britain &c, At Noon the Artillery of the Fort at Castle William were Discharged, and at Night the Town-House was finely Illuminated where the Honourable *William Tailer*, Esq: Attended by the Honourable His Majesty's Council, the Representatives of the Lower House; The Gentlemen Officers of His Majesty's Revenue and Militia, &c. Drank His Majesty's Health, His Royal Highness George Prince of Wales, all the Royal Family, His Excellency Col. *Shute* our Governour &c." Boston News Letter, No. 642, Aug. 6, 1716. — Eds.

the Court of Admiralty; said their Comission was their Law. Chief Justice and J. Davenport went to the Funeral of Mrs. Mary Smith Corwin, who died on the Lord's Day p. m̄.[1] Was brought to bed the day before.

Augt. 2. To Cambridge again by reason of the Admiralty; so lost Dr. C. Mather's Lecture. Came home time enough to the Funeral of Mr. Treasurer Taylor.[2] Bearers,

[1] Mary, youngest child of John and Margaret (Winthrop) Corwin was baptized Sept. 1676, and married Captain Thomas Smith, May 9, 1701. — Eds.

[2] So little has been printed concerning James Taylor, the treasurer, that we are sure no apology is needed for the following note. From an indenture in the possession of Francis H. Lee, Esq., of Salem, it seems that Taylor was the son of Christopher Taylor, leather-dresser, of London. It is dated July 11, 1661, and binds him for six years to John Cole, of Ratcliffe, County Middlesex, to learn navigation. James Taylor endorsed on this document the following items: "Married the 28 January 1673, on a Thursday. Elizabeth Taylor, my daughter, died the 24th October, 1674, in the morning at 9 o'clock. My daughter Mary was borne the 25th of January, 1675. My son Christopher Taylor was borne the 16th December, 1677. I was married to my second wife Rebecca, the 26th Januarie 1679, being a Monday. My daughter Rebecca Taylor was borne the 18th Octob^r 1681, born the Tuesday at ½ hour past 3 in the after noon. My son James Taylor was born the 31st Novemb^r 1683 about 5 or 6 in the morning. My daughter Elizabeth Taylor was on Wednesday borne, the 16th Decem^r 1685 about 10 in the morning, and my son Samuel Taylor was borne the 5th Decemb^r 1687 at about 7 of the clock in the morning on a Monday."

Boston records add that his first wife was Elizabeth, by whom he had Elizabeth, b. Oct. 24, 1674. By wife, Rebecca, he had also Abigail, b. Aug. 2, 1690; Ann, b. Nov. 13, 1692; Sarah, b. May 19, 1695; William, b. June 19, 1696; Mercy, b. Nov. 18, 1700; and Mary, b. July 15, 1702. Mercy doubtless died soon. From the records cited at the end the following facts are ascertained (Deeds, lib. 33, f. 235), (Wills, lib. 30, f. 319), (Deeds, lib. 37, f. 80), and (Wills, lib. 33, f. 81): Two sons, Christopher and William, and six daughters survived the father. Of the latter, Rebecca married John Kellsoll, of New York, Aug. 1, 1709; Elizabeth married, first, David Craigie, March 17, 1714–15; and Abigail married Edward Pell, by whom she had one daughter. The oldest daughter, Mary, married William Payne, of Boston, October, 1694, and had Tobias and Mary Payne (wife of Jonathan Sewall), but she died Jan. 6, 1709, before her father, James. Of the other three daughters, Anne married William Robie, of Boston; Mary (second of the name) married Samuel Phips, of Charlestown, Nov. 1, 1728; and Sarah married, about 1735, Christopher Jacob Lawton, of Leicester.

Of the sons, Christopher seems never to have married; at least his will leaves all his property to his natural son, Charles Taylor, son of his servant, Anne Bell.

L^t Gov^r, Mr. Winthrop; Sewall, Mr. Eliakim Hutchinson; Mr. John Burrill, Speaker, Mr. Treasurer Allen. Skarfs

William Taylor, of Lynn, married Sarah, daughter of Samuel Burrill. He had two daughters only, viz: Rebecca, who married her second cousin, Timothy Orne, and Anne, who married Benjamin Parker, of Lynn.

The name thus became extinct in the male line, though represented now through females.

[The authorities are Suffolk Wills, lib. xxx. f. 919; lib. xxiii. f. 81; Suffolk Deeds, lib. xxxvii. f. 80. Essex Records, for which we are indebted to Henry F. Waters, Esq., of Salem. Wills. lib. xl. f. 208; lib. xii. f. 200, 208, 273; lib. xvi. f. 80; lib. xlv. f. 109, 214; lib. xlviii. f. 151; lib. liv. f. 91; lib. lxvi. f. 171. Deeds, lib. xxxiii. f. 271; lib. xlviii. f. 227; lib. liii. f. 33; lib. liv. f. 211; lib. lxi. f. 18; lib. lxiii. f. 175; lib. lxxii. f. 218, 219, 251; lib. lxxxiii. f. 235; lib. cxv. f. 86; lib. cxxvi. f. 7; lib. cxxviii. f. 63, 64, 191.]

By the inventory of Rebecca, widow of James Taylor, we learn she had "one silver tankard from her father Clark."

The following letter, from the original at the State House, seems worthy of preservation: —

Mass. Archives, b. 51, *leaf* 283.

"Boston, May the 21st: 1716.

"Hon^d S^r — The chief occasion of my now writing to you is to inform you that your house is now altered into two very convenient tenements and I can truly say I have done it the cheapest and best way I was capable off with my continuall attendance day and night. It wanted a great deale of repairs, which I have now search^t into from the bottom, and have finish^t, viz^t: the Celler floors, Chimneys, Hearths, underpinning of the house, a new necessary house, the old one being rotten, and many other things, when I have paid the whole shall bring or send you the accompt of the cost, Your fences want repairing and I hear there is right red ceder posts — at Lynn, and if you would send about a dozen I will get that done. I have let the lower part of the house to Mr. Harris the minister who comes in this day, he is a Sober man and hath but a small family, the garden I doe not let him save on pleasure for the use, but keep it for the upper end of the house where I live, and, is besides room enough for you and my mother when you come to town. I have in the yard run a pale fence to bound line. The bed &c. I have delivered to Hope Stone according to order, the cause of her going away was for that I had made some discoveries, and had great reason to suspect her honesty as well as many other faults and ill practices of her and the woman whose house she is now gone to lodge, and she has since that bin so spitefull to me as to goe and perswade a maid that was coming to live with me not to come and insinuated many many false stories of me to her and others. She hath allso endeavored to make a difference between me and Sister Abigail but hath not gained her ends, we being very good friends and agree well, Though she tells me she has not her health well in town, and intends [a]fter the washing is over to goe to the farm and divert her selfe, and take the country air for some time. She seems to be but a weakly person. Sister Molly will not learn to write, and because she would have an excuse for not going to schoole, has without saying a word to me, gone to Sister Craigies, I find I shall have a difficult task to please my relations let me doe all I can to serve them, However, I will by gods assistance persist in doing my duty, and leave the event to providence, and shall always endeavour to show you that I am Your obed^t son

"Chr. Taylor.

"The things you left with me to sell are not all sold but when they are, and the money rec^d, will send it."

James Taylor owned land in Boston, sold by his heirs. One house, sold by Christopher, was on School Street, next that of William Dummer. Two other houses were bounded west on Queen Street, east by Captain Thomas Brattle, north by William Payne and Captain Nat. Green, south by Jeremiah Belknap. He also was the owner of the iron-works at Lynn, called Hammersmith.

He used as his official seal a shield, bearing quarterly, (1) three castles; (2) three lions rampant; (3) three fleurs-de-lys; (4) three garbs. But we do not find these arms attributed to any family of the name. — Eds.

and Gloves. No Rings nor Escutcheons. I saw no Ministers at the house but Mr. Shepard and Mr. Wadsworth: They had Scarvs.

3. 6. The Case of Roxbury School was pleaded before the Gen^l Court. Mr. Walter, the Deacons, Major Howles and others appeared for the School: Mr. Valentine pleaded. Mr. Ruggles of Rochester read the plea of the Lessees with great Boldness. Council with a great Majority voted for the School, Judging the Lease for 500. years to be Unlawfull. Twas Negatived with the Deputies.[1] Court prorogued. I din'd this day at Mr. Hirst's.

Augt, 4. Bro^r Moodey and Northend return home.

Augt. 5. Dr. Increase Mather preaches in my Son's Turn. Mr. Pemberton was not at Meeting. Mr. Winthrop and Lady sat down at the Lord's Table at the Old Church, told me he was baptised there.

[1] A full account of this controversy is to be found in the History of the Roxbury Grammar School by C. K. Dillaway (Boston, 1860). The property was given by Thomas Bill; it was leased in 1687, by Joseph Dudley and others for five hundred years. In 1716, complaint was made, and the General Court was petitioned for relief. The Council granted it, but the House non-concurred. But, in 1717, the leases were amicably surrendered, and leases for fourteen years substituted. — Eds.

An Inventory of the Estate of Mr James Taylor late of Lynn Decd
as was given in by the Exec.rs and apprized by us the Subscribers this 26
of August 1716 as Vizt

Wearing Apparell		10....
Farm at Lynn with all y.e Buildings Fencing Corn Meadow being all much out of repair the Gattle with all Common Lotts belonging to said Farm		16.50....
Cart Tooles Utensils Carts, Plows, Sleighs, Chains, Forks, Rakes, Hoes, Saws Augers &c Iron Crow with many Small Husbandry Implements an Old Calash 2 grind Stones, Sadles Bridles and Pillions		38.3.10
Indian & English grain & Fruit (besides what is reserved for the present Use of the Family		23....
Bagg & wearing Cloths 55 Iron Ord.ce new 3 guns 2 Old Traps		12.10.1
1 pr Scales, 1 lb 20 Lead weights 34 14 brass weights and Sinkers		2.15.-
214 Pewter £16.1.- 75 Copper 5....		21.1.-
A man Serv.t 10 a boy 16 a Maid 5 and Old Indian negro man 6		31....
5 Horse Kind 1 yearling Colt		22....
4 Oxen £22.10.- 11 Cows 71.10.- young Cattle £17.6.-		141.6.-
Sheep and Lambs £50.... - 13 Swine £13....		63....
The Mansion House and Barn building thereto Lying in Boston		2003.16.-
fodder provided and grass standing		1300....
209 Ounces of Plate at 8/		83.12.
1 Scripture Ps.... - 1 Cabinett Chest of Drawrs and Table 10....		14....
1 Chest of Drawrs Cabinett and broken glass		5.10.
1 Couch 1 Elbow Chair and 12 Chairs £8.10.- Earthen ware and glass		9.10.
2 Tables 1 Dressing Box 2 Hand and Looking glasses		2.15.
		3.17.

6 Black Chairs 15/ 6 Low back Chairs 12/ 2 Oval Tables 4/ 1 [illegible]

12 Old Leather Chairs 36/ 6 Cain bottom Chairs 9/ 2 ffr. bellows 10/ 37 - 17 - 2.15.

Bed and Furniture belonging to the bed in ye. Eastward Lodge 7.10.

Bed and Furniture belonging to the bed in ye. mid. Eastward Chamber 6.10.

Bed and Furniture belonging to the bed in ye. Porch Chamber 5.10.

Bed and Furniture belonging to the bed in ye. westward Chamber 11....

Small bed and beding in the garrets 4....

2 Flock beds 1 feather bed in the Kitchin Chamber 3....

4 ffr. Curtins 1 rug 1 ffr. blankett 1 Calico Quilts 46 8.10.

30 ffr. Sheets most of them well worn 20....

14 ffr. pillow bears at 3/ 5 doz: Napkins at 1/ 8 Table Cloths 40/ 7.2.

3 doz. Towels 36/ 2 Looking glasses 4 picktures 40/ 3.16.

Cheese Press Churn oatty Stills pails and Old Lumber 4....

Iron bars 12/ Tongs and Fire shovel 20/ 2 Spitts 4/6 1

2 ffr. Andirons 5/ 2 ffr. brass Andirons 30/ Candlesticks 3/

Morter and Shillets 3/ 3 Skillets and Chafindish 14/

3 Iron pots 15/ Forks and knives 6/ Small money Scaily and weights 2.6.

2 ffr. bellows 2 Skimmers 2 Dorters 1 Skatter pot 2 pudding pans 1 Tin pott 2.3.

2 warming pans 1 gridiron Dripping pan 1 frying pan 2 14

Money Scaily and weights 256 Ounces 2.16.

Books and Mathamaticall Concerns 8....

3/11 of an Old Sloop 7.16.

Reophilus Burrill

Per Allen

Benjamin Potter

Appendix Three

Summary of Dendrochronological Research on Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts Houses Conducted by Frank Demers and Abbott Lowell Cummings, 1966-1982

This summary is based on the writer's examination of the data and analyses in the possession of Frank Demers. The summary will not address the dating controversy surrounding the Ironworks Farm house, and the opinions and suggestions forwarded here are entirely the writer's and do not necessarily reflect those of Demers or Cummings.

The general strategy of dendrochronology is to count annual growth rings to determine the age of the tree when it was felled; to measure the relative width of the rings amd to establish mean widths over time; to look for diagnostic groupings of narrow rings (called "signatures" by Demers) indicating periods of drought; and to correlate such diagnostic groupings among a series of samples in order to establish a cross-dated overall series for the region.

This method has been most successful in American regions with semi-arid climates, particularly the Southwest. Heavy rainfall is infrequent there and has a noticeable effect on tree growth (in the case of the Southwest, the diagnostic groupings represent heavy rainfall rather than droughts). In the Northeast, the use of the method is complicated because the region has a complacent climate (neither wet nor dry, hot nor cold), and therefore diagnostic groupings for droughts are not as clear. Also, the areas in which timbers for house construction were obtained in New England often

were swampy or near streams and rivers, and thus trees might not reflect a period of drought to any appreciable degree. Another limitation is the nature of the samples, that is, beams and lintels of houses, which often have ambiguous wainy edges (the outermost growth ring indicating the year the tree was felled), insect damage, dry rot, and so forth.

Dr. Cummings became interested in dendrochronology in the 1960s, when several breakthroughs in dating of English medieval buildings brought the method to his attention. His interest was based on two factors. First, many pre-1720 buildings have exposed beam ends or lintel ends which can be examined visually. Second, Dr. Cummings' documentary investigation of many buildings gave him a group of dated buildings which could be used to establish an overall chronology and possibly to cross-reference data to build up a long-term drought pattern for New England from 1500 to 1750.

Under Dr. Cummings' direction, Demers took photographs of exposed beam and lintel ends in the Boardman house in Saugus (c. 1687), the Fairbanks house in Dedham (c. 1637), the Gedney house in Salem (c. 1665), the Capen house in Topsfield (c. 1683), the Coffin house in Newbury (c. 1654), and the Cooper-Frost-Austin house in Cambridge (c. 1691). Largely on the basis of the Fairbanks lintel, Demers tentatively identified two drought signatures which, on the basis of a 1637 date for the house, fell in 1596-1598 and 1619-1621. These provisional signatures became the basis for a report submitted to Dr. Cummings on August 21, 1968, in which Demers graphed the seven examples employed on the basis of their documentary dates and found an apparent correlation of the 1619-1621 drought signature in all the samples.

Here matters rested until 1975, when Dr. Cummings and Demers again took up the question of dendrochronological dating. Cores were taken from beams in the Ironworks Farm house, the Capen house in Topsfield, the Narbonne house in Salem, the Capen house from Dorchester (now relocated in Milton), the Blake house in Dorchester, the Whipple house in Ipswich, the Austin-Lord house in Ipswich, and the Swett-Illsley house in Newbury. The samples were sent to the Laboratory of Tree Ring Research at the University of Arizona in Tucson for accurate measurement and computer analysis. The computer results were not completed until April, 1980. One important feature of the read-outs is their ability to calculate mean ring width by ten- or twenty-year intervals. Trees do not grow at a uniform rate through their lifetime, but begin with a substantial growth spurt and then slowly taper off as they reach maturity and obsolescence. The calculation of mean ring widths by ten- or twenty-year intervals provides data needed to develop a curve which aids the interpretation of the width of any group of rings relative to rings preceding it or following it. Certainly the accurate measurement of the ring widths provided an important data base.

Using the read-outs, Demers analyzed the patterns and attempted to come up with significant correlations of signature groupings. For example, he plotted the patterns for the three samples from the Ironworks Farm house. The trees were 196, 210, and 199 years old when they were cut. Plotting the ring widths of the three trees by twenty-year intervals revealed no consistent pattern of obsolescence among them. A year-by-year analysis identified signatures but failed to reveal a correlation of them among the three samples. However, Demers never took the analysis much further than initial

comparisons. The writer offers the following observations about the data and its possible future use.

Demers analyzed his data according to the supposed dates of the structures from which they came. This is not the ordinary method of cross-referencing samples. The usual method is to examine each sample to determine drought signatures without reference to date; the intention is to arrive at a floating series of drought signatures. These floating series are then correlated with floating series from other samples in the hope of arriving at a cross dated series which will constitute a drought pattern for the region. Fixing the date of the pattern must come after such a floating series is formulated, and in New England the series may have to be extended into the eighteenth century before secure dating can be obtained.

Obviously it was discouraging to find that no apparent correlation of drought patterns was forthcoming from three trees cut in the same year and in the same locale! However, the individual growth sites of the three trees may be a factor in this. A comprehensive analysis of the data with all samples treated as floating may still provide a useful drought pattern. Of course, the results might also upset the established dating of the houses.

There are some other samples available which might prove useful. Demers owns a slice of the so-called Avery oak in Dedham which dates from the late seventeenth century. The Ironworks site has two enormous trip-hammer bases which may be the only surviving oak samples of large size from the primary New England forests. These bases must be analyzed to give a context to the smaller trees used in house construction.

Structural repairs to be performed on the Ironworks Farm

house will undoubtedly expose all the front girt ends of the building. While it will not be possible to take cores from these timbers, carefully made photographs of the end grain (provided they are sanded smooth beforehand) may permit some measurements and visual assessments regarding the age of the trees and identification of drought signatures. A similar comparison of the exposed girts of the Cushing barn in Hingham, undertaken by the writer and Demers in 1981, revealed a strikingly consistent signature tentatively identified with the 1619-1621 signature of the Fairbanks house lintel. Counting forward from these signatures gave a date of felling for all the girts of 1698. Traditionally the structure was thought to date about a decade after the Cushing house (1679).

The writer is obtaining photocopies of Demers' data sheets for deposit at the Ironworks Site.

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Evidence Of Historic Furnishings For The Ironworks Farm House In Saugus, Massachusetts, Based On Probate Inventories of The Extended Family Of Samuel Appleton, Jr.

Robert F. Trent

Boston, August, 1982

Table Of Contents

Preface.....i-ii

Chapter One -- Evolutionary Trends in Eastern Massachusetts Room Nomenclature and Furnishings, 1630-1700: Five Frames of Reference.....1-27

Chapter Two -- Minor Decorative Forms use in Major Rooms of Ipswich and Boston Houses.....28-31

Chapter Three -- William Whittingham and William Paine as Mediators of French Taste...32-33

Appendix One -- Room Nomenclature of some Boston Probate Inventories 1652-1696.....34-38

Appendix Two -- Room Nomenclature of some Essex County Inventories 1655-1738.....39-41

Appendix Three -- Furniture Owned In Ipswich Between 1640 and 1710, With Some Examples Owned By The Appletons.....42-49

Appendix Four -- The Applied Style in the London Manner as practiced in Boston and the Appearence of Chests of Drawers made in Boston 1635-1700.....50-56

Appendix Five -- Conservative Case Pieces, Seating Furniture, and Tables Used in New England, with Illustrations and Identifying Notes.....57-64

Appendix Six -- Print Sources and Furniture Documenting the French Court Taste and its Adoption in Boston by New England Merchants 1630-1700.....65-86

Appendix Seven -- Miscellaneous Small Furniture Forms.87-95

Bibliography.....96-97

Preface

In the precceding history of occupancy of the Ironworks Farm house between 1681 and 1716, the biographies of the two owners, Samuel Appleton, Jr. (1654-1725) and James Taylor (in Boston 1674-died 1716) were presented. The biography of Appleton was augmented by a study of his origins in a group of powerful Ipswich families, here referred to as the Ipswich oligrachy, whose intermarriage over three generations secured an economic base in large capital farms and tenure of key positions in town, county, and colony government and access to important pulpits and the presidency of Harvard College.

The extended treatment of Appleton's family, summarized in eight genealogical charts, was made necessary by two factors: no probate inventory survives for Appleton, and the furnishings listed in Taylor's probate inventory were probably brought to the Ironworks Farm from his Boston townhouse two years before his death. Given these two factors, the writer has used the genealogy of Appleton's relatives to find their probate inventories. The writer has also selected a group of inventories of Boston merchants, some of whom were related to Appleton by marriage. These inventories have two interpretive functions. On one level, they provide room nomenclature and furnishings which influenced Appleton and his wife when they set up their household in Saugus in 1681. On another level, comparison of Essex County inventories with Boston inventories reveals significant differences in room nomenclature and furnishings, evidence for the divergent identities of an affluent country town and a commercial seaport and for a long-term stylistic evolution of room nomenclature and furnishings that occurred in eastern Massa-

chusetts between 1630 and 1730.

This evolution involved shifts of emphasis which are not readily apparent to the average reader; the evolution has not engaged the attention of the foremost authorities on early domestic architecture, partly because no Boston houses of consequence survive or were adequately documented before their demolition, and partly because the furnishings are what permit the isolation of the evolutionary process. The evolution is traced in terms of the number of rooms in the house, the names assigned the rooms, the location of the best bed in the house, the specific furnishings found in each room, and the form of the furnishings. Because the Appletons set up their household at a critical period of the evolutionary process, and because they were influenced by practices in Boston as well as in Ipswich, a furnishing plan based on what they might have owned provides an opportunity to present conservative and progressive tendencies within the evolutionary pattern as a whole, as well as to educate the visitor in the appearence of a well-to-do New England household. The three rooms of the Ironworks Farm house to be furnished in what we now believe to be appropriate furniture and fixtures will also provide a striking contrast to the treatments given the rooms by Wallace Nutting, to be dealt with in the section on recommended furnishings.

Chapter One

Evolutionary Trends in Eastern Massachusetts Room Nomenclature and Furnishings, 1630-1700: Five Frames of Reference

The plan of the post-Medieval house built by prosperous yeomen, merchants, and lesser gentry in East Anglia had evolved rapidly between 1540 and 1600, with the bridging over of a former great open hall to provide chambers and with the insertion of a chimney stack in the middle of the structure. As it reached a stable, mature phase about 1600 to 1620, the plan looked much like that familiar from eastern Massachusetts: a hall and a parlor on the ground story, separated by the chimney stack and a small entry and stairs, with chambers over each room (Fig. 1). The space of the house could be increased by the addition of cellars, leantos at the sides or rear, porches, gables in the garret, and service wings at the rear set perpendicular to the long axis of the house. While it is clear that many of the houses built in Massachusetts were originally built in a one-room plan, it is equally clear that the intention was to expand the house to a two-room plan at a later date.[1]

This analysis of room use and furnishings will be concerned exclusively with houses of two-room plan or larger, since the people under consideration were the wealthiest members of their communities. Some differences in room nomenclature and furnishings can be observed between major households in Ipswich and in Boston from the 1640s. These can be attributed to the English regional origins of the founders of both towns. As noted in the history of occupancy, the founders of Ipswich almost all originated in

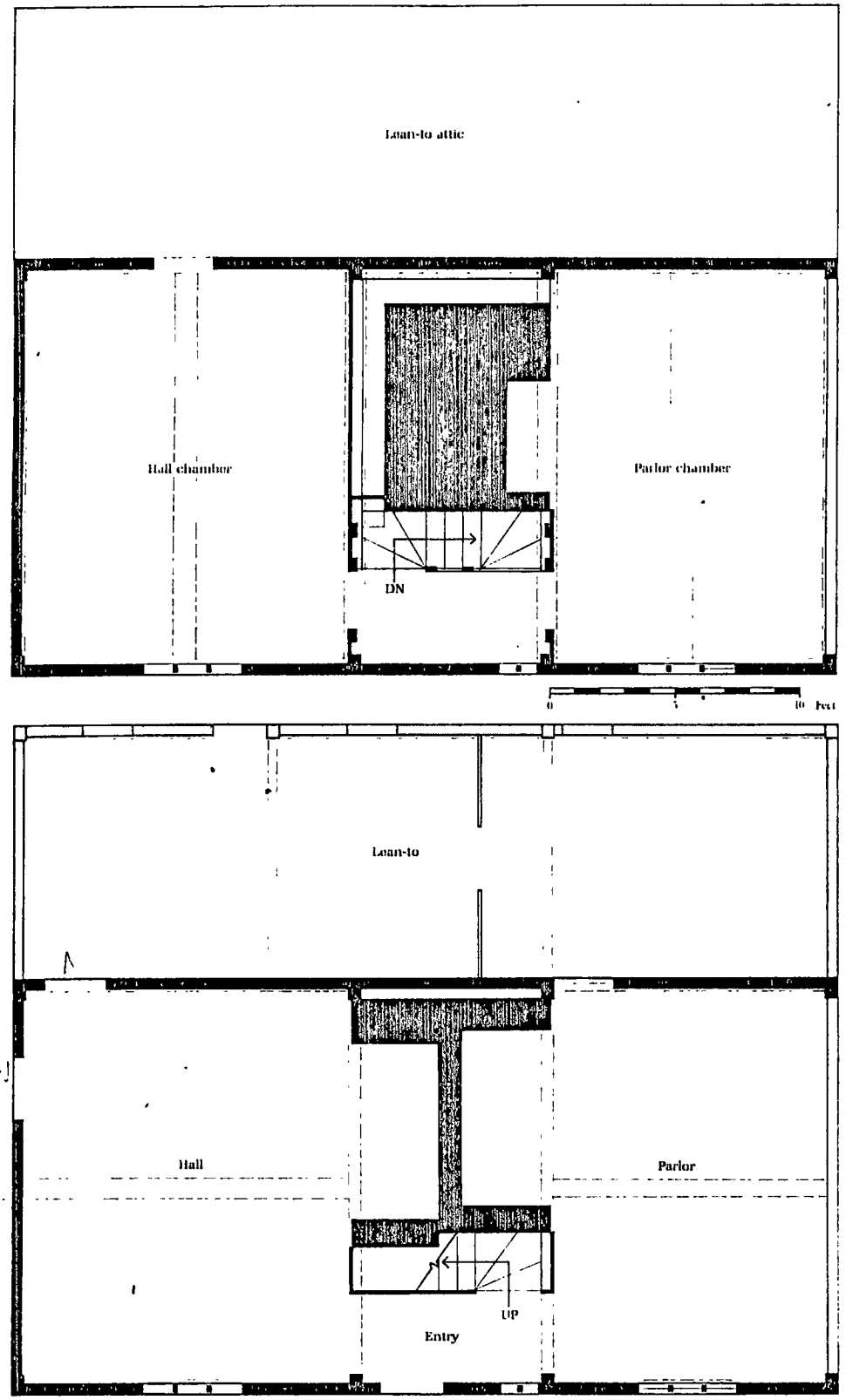


Figure 1
From Cummings, Framed Houses, p. 27.

the area around the Stour River which forms the border between Essex and Suffolk Counties in East Anglia;[2] hence their adherence to the two-room house plan formulated in that region. By contrast, many of Boston's founders were from London, where they had been exposed to the practices of the court and of extremely wealthy merchants. They this had seen far larger houses with a greater variety of rooms and avant garde furniture forms and arrangements.[3]

The differences between Ipswich and Boston practice break down into five interrelated categories:

a) Number of rooms employed

b) Nomenclature of rooms

c) Location of beds which identify the functions of rooms

d) Style of major case pieces

e) Style of beds, seating furniture, and tables.

While there were other factors which heightened or lowered the status of a household, these five factors were what permitted an aware visitor to sense the kind of household he was in and the appropriate behavioral patterns to assume in each room. Each factor will now be analyzed in turn, although in practice they became a single phenomenon.

Number of rooms employed

Study of records and of surviving architecture in Ipswich suggests that although there was some fairly temporary housing built in the first years of settlement and some story-and-a-half, one-room plan housing for those of lesser means, the prosperous founders like the Appletons, Rogers, Denisons, Symonds, and others soon built two-story houses of two-room plan with embellishments like porches, facade gables, leantos, and deep cellars. Although one remaining house appears to have been built by a West Country

carpenter,[4] most of the workmen in the town were of East Anglian origin and found no difficulty in building the house type their patrons were used to. Indeed, so deeply ingrained was the preference for the two-room plan that it remained standard throughout the seventeenth century and much of the eighteenth. A survey of the probate inventories of Samuel Appleton, Jr.'s relatives in fact demonstrates a lack of interest in recording the names of the rooms at all, since they were so predictable. In the three two-room plan houses whose rooms were listed in inventories -- those of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers (died 1655), John Denison (died 1684), and the Rev. Samuel Phillips (died 1696) of Rowley -- the classic pattern of hall, parlor, hall chamber, parlor chamber, and leanto appears. One minor variation is the occasional study, found in the inventories of Rogers and Phillips, both ministers. The study in Phillips' house appears to have taken the place of the hall chamber, but in Rogers' house it was probably located over a porch (see Appendix Two).

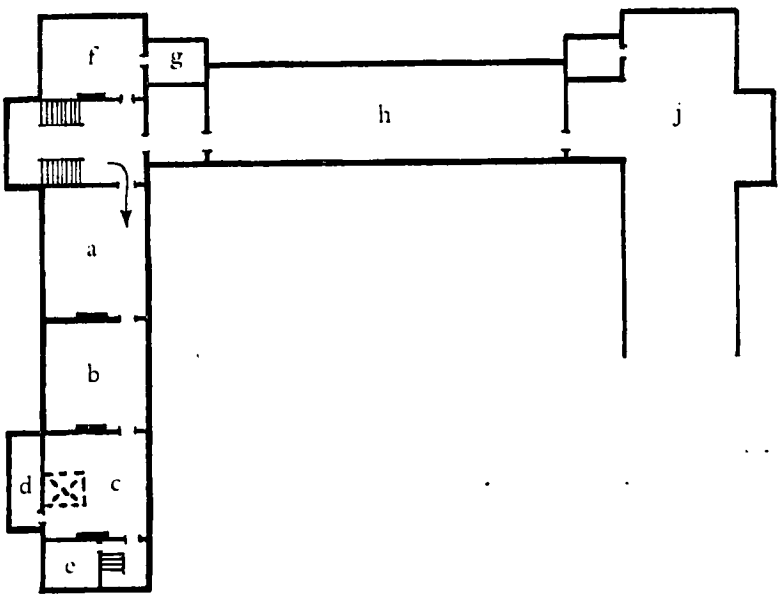
On this basis, the number of major rooms in the houses of the Ipswich oligarchs was usually four, with minor appendages like leantos, porches, or garrets expanded by gables. When, however, the inventories of the most wealthy Boston figures of the 1630-1700 period are examined, most appear to have required far more rooms for their establishments. One obvious explanation is that their houses were often adjacent to or incorporated in their warehouses or shops, and often a house gained an extra chamber over the warehouse. But even taking such chance additions of a room into account, the great Boston households seem to have made use of multiple parlors, numerous small chambers, and other rooms not encountered in Ipswich house plans. Some could have represented simple sub-

divisions of rooms by partitions, but these extra rooms have another dimension: they are referred to by a complex nomenclature never found in Ipswich or elsewhere in Massachusetts, with the possible exception of Salem later in the century.

Nomenclature of rooms

The names assigned rooms in Ipswich are clear from the preceeding discussion, but the reasons for the complex and idiosyncratic room nomenclature used in Boston must be suggested. The London origins of many of the merchants provide the answer; they had been exposed to a new and more complex house type based on French court practice. Architects working for Louis XIII and other tastemakers like Madame Rombouillet had made great advances in organizing the suites of rooms which formed royal or noble apartments, as they were called. Court ceremony and the rituals of the upper middle class which copied it were based on waiting on, or visiting, a royal or noble personage in his apartment. Often the center of activity was a state bedchamber, dominated by a richly furnished high bed, stools, chairs, couches, and other accessories. The approach to the state bedchamber was composed of a suite of rooms called the vestibule, antechamber, bedchamber, closet, garderobe or wardrobe, dining room, and gallery. Each room had an explicit role to play in controlling access to the royal or noble presence, since access to such people constituted the basis of patronage and prestige. Plans of the 1630s and 1640s (Fig. 2) demonstrate how the system operated. The vestibule was the entry from the exterior and often was dominated by a staircase, if the main suite of rooms was on the second story. From the vestibule one entered an antechamber or great chamber, which was a formal

54. Approach to a state bedchamber through a sequence of rooms with doors *en enfilade*. Note how the chimneypieces face one as one progresses. The bed was considered so important that its position is commonly shown on plans of the period, as here. *Salle* (a), antechamber (b), bedchamber (c), closet (d), *garderobe*. There is a smaller apartment on the other side of the staircase with only a bedchamber (f) and closet (g). In the symmetrical wing beyond the Gallery (h) lies á chapel (j).



55. Twin principal apartments as shown in a French book of architecture in 1647. Vestibule (a), antechambers (b), bedchambers (c), closets (d), *garderobe* (e) which has a bed in it, presumably for a lady-in-waiting. A subsidiary apartment has an antechamber serving as *salle à manger* (g) with bedchamber (h) which has an alcove and *garderobe* (j) beyond. The gallery (f) occupies the opposite wing.

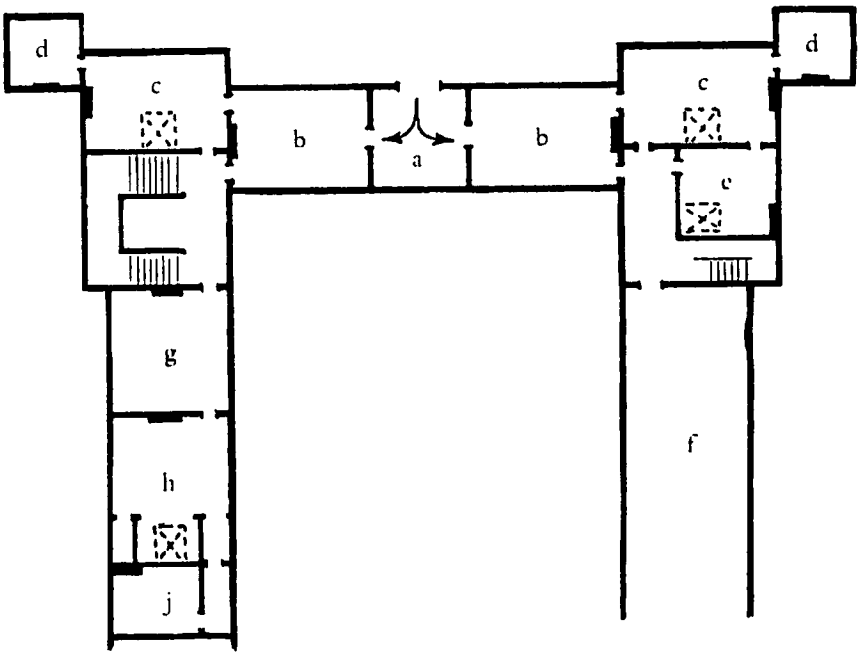


Figure 2

From Thornton, Interior Decoration, p. 56.

reception area outside the state bedchamber. Next one entered the state bedchamber itself, within which exacting rituals regarding bows, introductions, and forms of address for the person being waited upon were enforced. Sometimes the state bed was placed in a railed-off alcove which further restricted access and delineated degrees of favor.

Those who were the intimates of the owner of the apartment were granted more privacy and intimacy in rooms beyond the bedchamber. These were the dining room (sometimes located on the more public side of the state bedchamber), where larger gatherings were served; closets, where the most intimate conversations and gaming took place; garderobes or wardrobes, where clothing and textile fixtures were stored; and occasionally other closets where state business was conducted. A large room with many windows was occasionally found in a wing flanking the apartment suite, called a gallery. This was a public space where portraits were hung and games like indoor shovelboard were played.[5]

The formulation of these suites of rooms was not unknown in England in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, when the great prodigy houses were being built by members of Elizabeth I's court explicitly to entertain the queen, but what made the French designs of the 1600s so influential was the fact that they were published.[6]

While little is known of upper-middle-class housing in London before the Great Fire of 1666, great merchants must have built houses with small-scale versions of such formal suites of rooms. One prime piece of evidence for this is the nomenclature of Boston merchants for their rooms, which reflect the French model. They did not, certainly, build palatial suites with exactly the same

functions as the courtly prototypes, but they did alter the interior arrangements of their houses and employ some of the courtly terminology. Among such terms found in Boston inventories are great and little parlor, great and little chamber, gallery, closet, and dining room.

A grouping of great and little parlor with great and little chamber over them is found in the inventories of John Cotton (died 1652), Edward Gibbons (died 1654), Robert Keayne (died 1656), Henry Webb (died 1660), Edmond Downes (died 1669) and Antipas Boyce (died 1669). Although the exact configuration of the rooms listed is impossible to determine on the basis of their sequence in the inventory or their furnishings, great and little parlors and their corresponding chambers probably were made by dividing a single large room with a partition under a summer beam. A gallery appears in John Cotton's house, between an unusual leanto parlor and leanto chamber. This gallery, which probably faced the west, was probably lit by a gable or series of gables in the leanto roof. Cotton's house was built by Sir Harry Vane about 1636; Vane was a son of a powerful noble and served a term as governor of Massachusetts Bay. Vane may have intended the suite of parlor, gallery, and chamber to function as a suite in the grand manner, and accordingly he may have used his gallery for pictures. Cotton certainly had no such pretensions; he kept two great presses in the gallery which may have held his library or household linens.

The term closet appears in many of the same inventories which list great and little parlors. Evidently this term had only recently been adopted by the merchants who used it, for it was applied to at least three different types of room for which other terms

already existed. On the basis of the location and contents of the various closets cited, two of its applications represented pretensions to the aristocratic meaning of a closet as a small, intimate room. In the first, closet meant what was essentially a study, a small room in which books, writing equipment, and desks or cabinets and a few chairs and a table were placed. In the second, the term closet was applied almost arbitrarily to any bedroom or chamber, often the sleeping quarters of the head of the household, but not always. The third use of the term is the same as the modern meaning, a small storage area built into the walls of a large room or passageway.

The term dining room first appears in 1669 in the extraordinarily fashionable households of the merchants Antipas Boyce and Edmond Downes. In both cases the dining rooms are paired with halls and hall chambers furnished as the best bedrooms. Here in its purest form is a rejection of the parlor as a formal ground floor room in which the head of the household slept. The hall now became the principal ground story room for receiving, while the dining room was used exclusively for formal meals.

Other peculiar terms stemming from the particular circumstances of mercantile life in Boston are counting house, shop chamber, and warehouse chamber. A counting house was a merchant's study. The shop chamber and warehouse chamber reflect situations in which a merchant's house was connected to his commercial building and thus afforded an extra second-story room. One highly specialized term appears in the inventory of Major General Edward Gibbons: artillery room. In his capacity as head of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, an association of Boston merchants with pretensions to the extremely high status of the London organization of

the same name,[7] Gibbons stored some of the arms and armor of the Company in his large parlor. However, this same practice found its way into the rooms of many militia officers in Boston and elsewhere, who often displayed their personal arms and armor in halls, parlors, or studies.

Location of beds which identify the functions of rooms

As the preceeding analysis of room nomenclature demonstrates, the Ipswich oligarchs employed a relatively conservative number of rooms, conventionally defined, while the Boston merchants sought to reinforce their status through the sub-division of the standard rooms into smaller units with an eccentric and pretentious nomenclature. The question remains how a visitor to a house oriented himself in the rooms to which he was admitted. Because visiting was extremely formal and confined to rituals like dining, polite sampling of liquors, and business or political negotiations, the visitor had to identify the rooms into which he was admitted. Generally visiting took place in the main rooms of the ground story and less frequently in a chamber or a study. Setting aside the question of whether or not a visitor was confronted with a name for the room he was shown into, certain accepted fixtures identified the actual use of the room.

In the classic hall-parlor house favored in Ipswich, the two principal ground story rooms has well-understood functions and furnishings. The hall was the room in which the family spent most of its time and was used mostly for eating. In houses where no leanto was available to remove cooking functions from the hall, food preparation was done there as well, but most of the people under consideration here had removed the ungainly trammels, brass and iron pots, and other cooking equipment to a kitchen in the leanto.

Halls were dominated by at least one large table with seating furniture, a cupboard or side table or dresser for display of vessels and plates and for serving, and some polite ornaments like looking glasses, pictures, and lighting devices. The parlor, on the other hand, was a smaller, better-furnished room with restricted use and functions. It, too, had tables and seating furniture, but it also contained a cupboard or chest of drawers for display of silver, ceramics, and glass, clocks, arms and armor, and other status-enhancing objects. The single most conspicuous feature was the great bed of the head of the household, with its expensive textile hangings. Occasionally the great bed was accompanied by a trundle bed for children too small to place in sleeping quarters of their own upstairs.[8]

With rising standards of living and the continual pressure of the French royal and noble model, the bed of the head of the household began to migrate upstairs to a chamber, which was then furnished more handsomely. Whether the best bed was placed in the parlor chamber or the hall chamber is not always clear from the inventories of wealthy people, because they tended to have beds of high quality in several chambers, and often the only way to identify the principal chamber is to locate the personal apparel of the head of the household or to add up the value of the fixtures of each bed and identify the most expensive one.

The location of beds in general is a complex one. While the old saw about how every room had a bed in it is unquestionably incorrect, the inventories used in this study contain beds in many rooms. Certain overall trends can be isolated. In general, a bed is never found in a hall, because it would have interfered with the many activities which took place there. Among the wealthy

people being considered here, beds seldom appear in the parlor, a rejection of traditional practice which might have been urban in origin or a reflection of a desire to avoid appearing like a yeoman. Beds are commonly found in hall chambers and parlor chambers, almost invariably in garrets and kitchen chambers, and occasionally in a porch chamber. However, they almost never appear in a study or a closet being used as a study, whether it was located in a porch chamber or in the room usually designated as the parlor or hall chamber.

Examination of the Ipswich and Boston inventories under consideration here shows that the best bed was kept in different rooms in the two towns. The four most important Ipswich inventories taken room by room show that the Ipswich oligarchs were conservative and maintained an identification of the best bed with the parlor or the parlor chamber. The Rev. Nathaniel Rogers (died 1655) kept his best bed in the parlor chamber, as did the Rev. Samuel Phillips (died 1696). John Denison (died 1684) still kept his best bed in the parlor. The one Ipswich personality who did not maintain his best bed in a parlor or parlor chamber was William Paine (died 1660), who had moved to Boston before his death. His bed was in his hall chamber; however, there was no parlor in Paine's house, nor was there a parlor chamber. He had only two small rooms in a leanto addition where the parlor might ordinarily have been located, designated as little rooms.

Paine may have been influenced not only by the configuration of rooms in his house, but by the practice of his new neighbors. Almost all the Boston merchants kept their best beds in the hall chamber, and the persons who did not may in fact have been keeping their best bed in a room which <u>was</u> the hall chamber but was called

by another name. Henry Shrimpton (died 1666) kept his best bed in a great chamber, Robert Keayne (died 1656) kept his in a long chamber, and Edmond Downes (died 1669) may have kept his in one of two equally sumptuous green and purple chambers. One exception was William Whittingham (died 1672), father of Samuel Appleton, Jr.'s wife and grandson of a founder of Ipswich, who still had his bed in a parlor chamber.

With the removal of the best bed from the ground floor to a chamber, the visitor was deprived of the most readily identifiable index for differentiating between the hall and the parlor. The disparity in the location of the best bed between conservative Ipswich and avant garde Boston confuses the situation, as does the new nomenclature of rooms in Boston. In attempting to assess what new pattern is emerging during this period of flux, other fixtures must be examined which will make clear the direction in which the households of the wealthy were moving.

Style of major case pieces

This section will deal with major pieces of joined furniture which determined the space and function of rooms. These were chests, cupboards, and chests of drawers. As recent scholarship has made clear, chests and cupboards were relatively conservative forms, while the chest of drawers was a London innovation dating from about 1600. In addition, the chest of drawers was identified with a major stylistic innovation in English furniture design.

All seventeenth-century New England furniture was in a style now called Mannerism, which originated in Italy in the 1480s and spread across northern Europe by the 1550s. While it was explicitly classical in its vocabulary, Mannerism employed ornament which was derived from frescos discovered on the walls of Nero's Golden

House of 64-68 A.D., excavated in Rome in the 1480s. The frescos depict geometric grids, foliage, urns, disembodied architectural parts, and anthropomorphic or zoomorphic monsters, imps, and cupids. Because the buried vaults of Nero's palace were called grottos, or caves, this sort of ornament was called grotesque. Through the migration of artists and books of printed designs, these frescos became known throughout Europe, and by 1550 Antwerp in the Netherlands became a major publishing center for Mannerist grotesque designs.[9]

With the Protestant revolt against the King of Spain which broke out in 1566, hundreds of the best furniture craftsmen in the Netherlands and German cities along the Rhine fled to England as religious refugees. Many settled in London and other ports on the English Channel, where they introduced the Mannerist style to an entire generation of English apprentices. The classical proportions and grotesque ornament of their works displaced Late Medieval styles in England by the 1570s. Today the style is popularly known as Elizabethan or Jacobean.[10]

Most of the joiners who came to New England in the 1630s and later were trained in this carved style; the chests, boxes, chairs, tables, and cupboards they made are familiar from books on American furniture. Chests continued to be the major storage unit for clothing and household textiles, but cupboards assumed new prominence as display shelves for silver, ceramics, and glass. A number of chests and other objects in the carved style are documented to Ipswich, notably the work of Thomas Dennis and William Searle,[11] and although no carved cupboards have survived with Ipswich histories, their existence is amply documented (Appendix Three).

Distinct from chests and cupboards in the carved or grotesque style was the chest of drawers. It was a new furniture form, evolved in London about 1600, and it represented a later stage of Mannerist style. In the 1590s, furniture craftsmen from the northern Netherlands (Holland, Zeeland, and Friesland provinces) began emigrating to London in large numbers. They brought with them a new, severely architectural style of case piece known as the kas, which English joiners altered by substituting ranks of drawers for the shelves favored in the Netherlands. The facades of these first chests of drawers, which retained the great doors of their kas prototypes, were ornamented with architectural moldings and friezes, mitered moldings in the panels, and turned columns, all of which were glued to the surfaces of the cases. Thus this style is now designated as the applied ornament style.[12]

With few exceptions, the applied ornament style remained an explicitly London phenomenon until the 1620s and was not widely practiced outside London at the time the colonists left for New England. However, joiners and turners from London came to Boston in the train of the merchants who settled there, and the applied ornament style and the chest of drawers were known in Boston from the time of first settlement (Appendix Four).[13]

Because the chest of drawers can be identified as a London-oriented furniture form and can also be identified with Boston until the 1670s, the possession of a chest of drawers by those living outside Boston during the lifetime of the first generation is a fact worthy of note. In scanning the inventories of the Ipswich oilgarchs and their Boston merchant peers, the pattern of ownership and use of chests, cupboards, and chests of drawers can be used as a rough index of urbanity.

Surprisingly, chests of drawers appear in Ipswich inventories quite early. The Rev. Nathaniel Rogers (died 1655) owned one valued at two pounds ten shillings, a high valuation suggesting that it was a Boston- or London-made chest of drawers with doors. Richard Jacobs (died 1672) owned one valued at one pound fifteen shillings, as did John Whipple (died 1683). However, the chest of drawers never displaced the cupboard as a display stage in Ipswich, nor could it compete with large chests, trunks, and cupboards with drawers in the lower section as a storage unit. Many prominent Ipswich figures, like William Paine (died 1660), Samuel Symonds (died 1678), and Daniel Denison (died 1682) did not own one. The inventory of Samuel Appleton (died 1696), father of the owner of the Ironworks Farm house, contains a cheap chest of drawers, but it also lists one expensive cupboard with drawers and three other cheaper ones. Another important factor in Ipswich ownership of chests of drawers after mid-century is the presence of a joiner in Newbury who could provide chests of drawers and who did in fact make one dated 1678 for the Staniford family of Ipswich, as well as a number of large cupboards and two round leaf tables for members of the Appleton family (Appendix Three).

As might be expected, Boston merchants owned chests of drawers quite early. William Tyng (died 1653) owned an inexpensive and an expensive one. Henry Shrimpton (died 1666) had one in his great chamber worth one pound ten shillings, while Antipas Boyce (died 1669) had one worth two pounds in his little chamber and another worth four pounds in his hall chamber. In Boston, though, despite the presence of London-trained furniture craftsmen, the chest of drawers still had competitors, perhaps also made in the applied ornament style. Among these were presses (wardrobes),

cypress chests imported from Italy, Bermuda cedar chests (appreciated for their insect-repellant qualities), leather-covered trunks imported from London, and, most significantly, livery cupboards with drawers. Livery cupboards were extremely expensive, and while no Boston example in the London style is known to survive, London examples with a traditional cupboard head but a lower case fitted with drawers and doors are known (Appendix Four). In this form, a livery cupboard combined the display function of a cupboard with the storage capacity of a chest of drawers.

Style of beds, seating furniture, and tables

Paralleling the evolution of case pieces was another shift in taste which was of primary importance to the appearence and status of interiors. It was concerned with beds, seating furniture, and tables, all of which formed a decorative unit. The same French artistic sources influential in prompting a change in nomenclature and use of rooms were spreading a taste for uniformity and coordination of decorative schemes that was foreign to traditional English ways dating from the Late Medieval period.

Even after the first wave of Mannerist influence moved over England in the 1560s and 1570s, the forms of beds, seating furniture, and tables remained much as they were before, although the style of the objects was now classical in inspiration. Great beds with paneled headboards and testers and massive carved posts were still prestigious. Seating furniture retained the medieval design concept of a board seat softened by cushions; joint stools, joined forms, and joined chairs and cheaper turned stools and chairs were used in the most elevated contexts. Trestle tables, long or square joined tables, and even chair tables with a hinged top found favor among the newly prosperous yeomanry and rural gentry.

Another aspect of medieval usage which persisted was a lack of concern about whether the various fixtures in a room matched each other and an equally widespread indifference to the number of chairs or stools present in a room and how they related to the table or tables they were used with. A final factor was an assumption that noble or otherwise elevated company would not object to communal seating on long joined forms or benches built into the wall (Appendix Five).

The new French court standards of the 1620s and 1630s attacked this complex of decorative strategies at every turn. First, it emphasized the unification of each room by extensive use of one textile or coordinated textiles. The fashionable French bed was not a heavily carved wooden structure, but a simple, rectalinear highpost bedstead draped with a valance suspended from a light tester frame, two or four curtains hung on rods under the tester, a headcloth, a counterpain or coverlid (bedspread), and occasionally bases under the rails (dust ruffles). United with the bed were upholstered chairs, stools, and couches covered with the same textile as the bed hangings were made of. Massive tables were rejected in favor of smaller square or oval tables; the tables were covered with a carpet matching the bed and seating furniture, as did other fixtures like cushions, window curtains, cupboard clothes, and wall hangings.

The uniformity created by the use of textiles was complemented by a concern for sets of seating furniture. Chairs were used in sets of six or multiples of six. Thus the random number of chairs and stools formerly used was subjected to a new rigor, and communal seating on long joined forms or mural benches were rejected altogether, although window seats softened by cushions were acceptable. The

sets of chairs, armchairs, couches, and stools were placed around the walls of rooms in a rigid, frontal manner when not in use, to emphasize their role in the overall architectural character of the room. The lighter tables were usually moved against the walls when not in use, too -- hence the popularity of leaf tables which could be folded up and put out of the way.

A final aspect of French taste was a hierarchy of seating furniture which was developed as part of court etiquette. The bed was the most prestigious furniture form, as reflected in the practice of French kings and nobles of receiving while seated in bed. After the bed, the next most prestigious form was the great couch, often set on a dais and under a canopy. Because couches were flanked by stools upon which the favorites of the monarch were privileged to sit, stools had a prestige not apparent from their form. Armchairs and chairs completed the order of prestige.

While many aspects of court ceremony were not transmitted to middle-class circles, the unit of bed, seating furniture, and tables became the most influential decorative scheme by the 1630s. Naturally those from London were the first to become acquainted with it, while people from provincial areas of England did not become fully aware of the new mode until late in the seventeenth century. The great expense of furnishing rooms in this manner in fact put it well out of the reach of most of the population until far into the eighteenth century (Appendix Six).[14]

As with room nomenclature, room use, and case furniture, the merchants of Boston were far in advance of the Ipswich oligarchs in their understanding of the French taste. An examination of beds, seating furniture, and tables found in the Ipswich and Boston inventories demonstrates that although the Boston merchants made

some effort to conform to the new fashion from the 1640s on, the Ipswich oligarchs did not begin to absorb it to any appreciable degree until the 1660s.

The French style of textile bed had apparently displaced most wooden highpost beds with joined testers and headboards in England by the 1630s, for few of the inventories contain references to the joined wooden type. Samuel Symonds (died 1678) of Ipswich had an inlaid bedstead which was discarded in a garret, perhaps one he had brought from England, and William Tyng (died 1653) of Boston had an East Indian bedstead and a great bedstead, each worth ten shillings, both of which were no longer in use. Otherwise the beds conform to the French model. The forms of bedstead included lowpost bedsteads with no hangings, half-headed bedsteads hung with only two curtains and a valance, canopy bedsteads which were low bedsteads with one or two curtains suspended over them on an independent tester frame hung from the ceiling, and the high bedstead with four tall posts and a tester dressed with a valance, headcloth, four curtains, a counterpain or coverlid, and occasionally with bases. Colors of the hangings ranged from green -- by far the most popular -- to red, blue, yellow, striped, and even purple. The textiles included woolen fabrics like serge, say, baize, and camlet; woven woolen tapestry like darnix; cotton-linen material like fustian (the standard material for embroidery); printed cottons like calico and pantado, and silks like sarcenet. Damasks are listed, but a damask could be made of either wool or silk. A few inventories are detailed enough to mention lacing, galloon, and silk fringe, all standard trim for beds, seating furniture, table carpets, cupboard clothes, and window curtains. Ipswich does not seem to have differed much from Boston in the form of the bedsteads employed, the materials used

to hang them, or the expense of the hangings. One aspect of all the inventories worth noting is the high percentage of half-headed bedsteads employed, even in the best rooms; apparently they were considered as fashionable as a high bedstead with four curtains, although English authorities always assume they were not.

Ipswich lagged far behind Boston in adopting the use of upholstered furniture. Throughout the period Ipswich residents clung to joint stools, joined forms, joined great chairs, and turned chairs. A few people owned leather chairs which they mixed with other seating types indiscriminately. A few earlier residents, the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers (died 1655) and Samuel Symonds (died 1678), owned a couch. Later in the century two residents displayed a marked interest in upholstered furniture. John Whipple (died 1683) owned Turkey work for chairs and fringe but had not yet mounted the covers on frames. He also owned a scattering of leather chairs, "fringe" chairs, and six "wrought" or needlework chairs; these last are the first set of six upholstered chairs among the Ipswich inventories. Another interesting reference is found in the inventory of Samuel Rogers (died 1693), who owned twelve leather chairs and "A Turkiwork Loom." Rogers or his wife was making loom-woven, hand-knotted Turkey work exactly like the professional product manufactured in Norwich, Norfolk, for export. This is one of two known references to a Turkey work loom in a New England inventory.[15]

While individual practice varied somewhat in Boston, the French taste for sets of upholstered chairs was present from the first. William Tyng (died 1653) possessed a green couch laid with a case and a suite of six green chairs, two armchairs, and two low chairs in his hall; a set of four blue chairs and two blue stools in his porch chamber; and eight red leather chairs, two low chairs, four

low stools, and two high Turkey work stools in his parlor. Almost all subsequent inventories of merchants display the same regard for complete sets of chairs, many of them complemented by armchairs or a couch. Very often the chairs were en suite with the bed hangings of the room they are listed in, and the same rooms also contain table carpets, chimney cloths, window curtains, and wall hangings to match. After 1660, Boston supported its own upholsterers, and it became much easier for local merchants to furnish their houses with complete, coordinated suites of textile fixtures. The inventories of the wealthiest and most fashion-conscious merchants are remarkably consistent after that date, and the practice even arose of referring to a room by the color of its fixtures, for example, the purple chamber, or the green chamber.[16]

The use of tables evolved more gradually. Both in Ipswich and in Boston, the same general types of tables are listed, including long tables, square tables, round tables, and draw tables. All of these types consisted of a joined frame with an attached top and sometimes were quite massive. Often they were provided with a carpet matching the other fixtures in the room or made of a heavy tapestry like darnix or the ever-popular Turkey work. To a certain extent the use of great tables which were too heavy to be moved was inconsistent with the French model. However, in the 1669 inventory of Antipas Boyce, the most fashionable form of table for use with upholstered seating furniture appears, an oval table valued at three pounds ten shillings in the hall. This extraordinarily expensive table undoubtedly was an extremely large joined frame with two great leaves supported on gates which swung out when the leaves were lifted. It may have been made of walnut. Two such tables which may date to the early 1670s are in the collection of Pilgrim

Hall in Plymouth. Obviously the intention of the owners of these oval leaf tables was to fold them up and place them against the wall when not in use.

Another compromise with the French taste for removing tables from the center of the room when not in use was to use a number of small tables in the same room. The dining room of Antipas Boyce (died 1669) had a large cedar table which probably was fixed in place and a small table with drawers which could be set aside. John Freake (died 1675) used four small tables with his set of fourteen Turkey work chairs.

Summary

The preceeding analysis of five factors in evolutionary trends in room nomenclature and furnishings suggests an important number of interpretive clues to the interaction of the Ipswich oligarchy and their Boston peers. The Ipswich leaders, originating in East Anglia, intermarried mostly among themselves and remained attached to the hall-parlor house plan and nomenclature they had known in England. They persisted in a conservative placement of the sleeping quarters of the head of the household, either in the parlor or the parlor chamber. The case pieces, beds, seating furniture, and tables of their households remained "un-Frenchified" far longer than those of Boston merchants.

In contrast, the Boston merchants were mostly from London and aspired to new-fashioned French interior schemes and nomenclature. They placed their best beds in the hall chamber, and generally had more rooms furnished for specialized purposes. Their case pieces were derived from the avant garde London tradition, and their beds, seating furniture, and tables reflected French taste to a degree found elsewhere in New England only in the houses built by

the London founders of New Haven and in a few houses of merchants in Salem later in the century.

Other than the obvious relationship between the English regional origins of the two groups and their practices, what other factors might account for their behavior? Without question their relative economic positions had a great deal to do with it. The Ipswich oligarchs had their power base more in commercial farming than in mercantile ventures. Those who became more involved in trade eventually left the town for Boston or Salem, where they could be in closer touch with shipping and other merchants. Those families that elected to remain in Ipswich, like the Appletons, Rogers, and Denisons, were forced to maintain their establishments on the basis of their great farms, herds, and ownership of sawmills, gristmills, and fulling mills. Inevitably their economic power, while still considerable, declined relative to that of the merchants in Salem and Boston. However, the Ipswich oligarchs had other compensations, which they aggressively cultivated: their links to the clergy, magistrates, and presidents of Harvard University. These ties gave then a respectability not assigned to Boston's merchants, and furthermore their style of life in Ipswich remained close to the rural gentry role they had fulfilled in England.

The Boston merchants were commercially oriented from the start and aspired to a different role model, the great merchant princes of London. While they intermarried as consistently as their Ipswich counterparts, the Boston group also recruited new members from England like John Freake, or their sons married daughters of London merchants, as did Henry Shrimpton's son Samuel. They thus reinforced their London orientation and kept in touch with new trends there in a far more direct manner.

However, the gap between the accomplishments of the Boston merchants and their aspirations was great, and the continued preference of Massachusetts Bay inhabitants for leaders from the rural gentry must have frustrated the merchants' sense of their own place in society. Hence their cultivation of rituals like those of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, and hence also their maintenance of expensive, fashionable households. Certainly by the 1660s they had the economic power to command . . strikingly complete households, and the stylistic threshold represented by the inventories of Edmond Downes (died 1669) and Antipas Boyce (died 1669) is of great significance. Their highly articulated households, consistently furnished according to the French model, set the pattern for fashionable practice until the early 1700s, when the introduction of the double-pile house plan with a great central hall and four rooms on each floor took place.

Despite the diverging identities of these two groups, certain personalities provided a mediating role and slowly brought the Ipswich oligarchs into the French model. Among the most important of these were the merchants William Paine and William Whittingham and the Harvard presidents Henry Dunster, John Rogers, and John Leverett. Paine and Whittingham, grandfather and father-in-law of Samuel Appleton, Jr., undoubtedly had as much to do in forming Appleton's tastes and identity as had his father, Samuel Appleton, Sr., and they both bear further scrutiny in determining what Appleton's tastes might have been.

Notes

[1]Abbott Lowell Cummings, The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 22-39.

[2]David Grayson Allen, In English Ways (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1981), pp. 117-160.

[3]Bernard Bailyn, The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century (New York: Harper & Row, 1964), pp. 16-44; Darrett B. Rutman, Winthrop's Boston (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1965), pp. 98-201.

[4]Abbott Lowell Cummings, Massachusetts & Its First Period Houses (Boston: Colonial Society, 1979), p. 153.

[5]Peter Thornton, Seventeenth-Century Interior Decoration in England, France & Holland (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), pp. 52-96.

[6]Ibid., pp. 7-51.

[7]Bailyn, New England Merchants, pp. 37-38.

[8]Abbott Lowell Cummings, ed., Rural Household Inventories (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1964), pp. xiii-xxii.

[9]Jonathan Fairbanks, Robert F. Trent, et. al., New England Begins -- The Seventeenth Century (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1982), pp. 370-376.

[10]Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, pp. 501-509.

[11]Ibid., pp. 514-519.

[12]Ibid., pp. 522-524.

[13]Ibid., pp. 522-523.

[14]Thornton, Interior Decoration, pp. 25-51.

[15]Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, pp. 405-406.

[16]Benno M. Forman, "Boston Furniture Craftsmen 1630-1730," unpub. ms., 1969, pp. XI (1-8).

Chapter Two

Minor Decorative Forms used in Major Rooms of Ipswich and Boston Houses

While major case pieces, beds, seating furniture, and tables dominated the spaces of houses and established their functions, many minor forms were present which articulated the spaces. Because the concern of the recommended furnishings centers on a parlor, parlor chamber, and study, the minor forms found in these rooms will be suggested (Appendix Seven).

Cabinets

A cabinet was a small board or joined case piece, often with a door, containing generally nine small drawers or boxes. Cabinets were used to store cash, jewelry, documents, and writing materials like paper, pens and ink, pounce, and sealing wax. Occasionally women used them to store sewing materials. In the Ipswich and Boston inventories, they are found in studies, hall chambers, halls, and parlor chambers.

Glass Cases

Glass cases were simple structures with a grilled front and a board case. The front had one or two doors giving access to the interior, which was intended to be seen through the grill. As their name suggests, glass cases were used to store delicate blown glass drinking vessels, and the inventories cite their contents as glasses and earthenware vessels. They are found in parlors, dining rooms, and halls, convenient for polite sampling of wine or liquor.

Case of Bottles

Bottles for storage of beer, wine, or hard liquors were square and extremely fragile. To protect them a case was made which held three, six, nine, or twelve bottles. No seventeenth-century New England example is known, but later cases of bottles are usually plain, with partitions in the interior and a hinged lid with lock and key. In inventories they are found in closets, studies, parlors, and halls.

Clocks

Two basic types of clock are present in inventories, an expensive type with a tall case and a less expensive bracket type hung on the wall. Clocks are located in a variety of rooms, including parlors, halls, hall chambers, closets, and studies.

Dressing Boxes, Dressing Stands, And Stands

Dressing boxes and dressing stands were used in the principal bedrooms and were associated with grooming rituals. Dressing boxes are small case pieces with a hinged lid giving access to an upper compartment with small partitions and drawers underneath. Dressing stands are essentially the same form set on legs with stretchers. An important grouping found in the 1696 inventory of Thomas Berry of Boston consists of a table, two stands, a dressing box, two powder boxes, and a large looking glass. The two stands are small tables with a round or polygonal top supported by a post and feet. They are undoubtedly intended to hold candlesticks to illumine the face of the woman or man.

Pictures

Various unidentified pictures worth roughly a shilling apiece are found in halls, hall chambers, and parlors. Most were prints,

and their valuation undoubtedly reflects the cost of the frames, not the actual prints themselves. Occasionally prints are identified as maps, and in those cases they may have been attached to pairs of turned poles suspended from cords.

Curiously, portraits are not listed in seventeenth-century inventories, even when a person is known to have owned them. For example, the well-known portraits of John and Elizabeth Freake are not listed in Freake's 1675 inventory. Frames from Boston portraits of this period survive.

Looking Glasses

This is the period term for what is now called a mirror. They range from small examples worth a few shillings to gilded or ebony-framed examples worth a pound or more. The large examples tended to be in public rooms like halls, parlors, and hall chambers, and they may have been fitted with candle branches to illumine the rooms. Small looking glasses appear in closets, studies, and garrets. Print sources reveal that the usual form of a looking glass was square, with a heavy molding. The same moldings used for portrait frames are appropriate for a looking glass frame, save that picture frames often did not have a rabbet on the rear surface, while a looking glass frame would.

Musical Instruments

Nathaniel Rogers (died 1655) had a treble viol in his parlor. This is a small six-stringed instrument played with a bow and was held between the knees, rather than under the chin. Two Boston merchants owned virginals, a small keyboard instrument. They were kept in upper rooms and mounted on frames. Virginals were associated with the education of young women.

Hearth Equipment

The hearths in public rooms and chambers usually were fitted out with a standardized set of equipment. Firedogs or andirons with wrought iron bases and brass shafts or finials were common, but some inventories note cast andirons, perhaps made at the Saugus Ironworks. Andirons were accompanied by a shovel or firepan, a pair of tongs, and sometimes a poker and a hearth brush. Fenders are not listed but appear in some print sources, and wire screens were not used, although wicker screens mounted on iron stands or hand-held wicker screens like a ping-pong paddle were used to protect the faces of those near the fire. Better households often had a cast back or iron back behind the andirons to protect the brick in the chimney and to radiate heat into the room. These are <u>never</u> called by the modern term fireback. An occasional reference to a pan or firepan may refer to what is now called a bed warmer.

The 1655 iron back presently in the parlor of the Ironworks Farm house has the initials "EH" and the date "1655." It was probably made for Edward Hutchinson, agent for the Ironworks in the mid-1650s. Two iron backs are listed in his 1675 inventory, in the kitchen chamber (not a servant's room, in this case) and in the hall. Hutchinson's andirons were also cast, probably an Ironworks product.

Chapter Three

William Whittingham and William Paine as Mediators of French Taste

In seeking the formative influences on Samuel Appleton, Jr.'s tastes, the inventories of his immediate family are of little help. The probate inventory of his father, taken in 1698 after his mother's death, was not listed room by room and is not very descriptive. However, some of its contents can be reviewed here to place the Boston inventories of William Whittingham and William Paine in perspective.

Samuel Appleton, Sr.'s inventory was taken on July 5, 1698. It was worth a total of 116 pounds and was only for the movable estate, not for the real estate. The reason why the inventory was made after Appleton's mother's death and not after his father's death is the stipulation in his father's will that the movables be sold after the mother's death. The inventory is therefore something like an auction catalogue. The furniture forms listed are jumbled up with livestock, farm equipment, and crops and follow no recognizable order; it is even possible that some of the objects were no longer in the father's house.

The beds listed included "a featherbed & two pillows, a Coverlid & bedsted" and "A Trundle bedstead & Cord," "A Bed & furniture," and "A Flock Bed & things." No curtains or valences are listed, although they might be implied by the term furniture used in referring to one bedstead. Case pieces include four cupboards, one of which had drawers, a chest of drawers, and a chest. Various unspecified chairs and tables are mentioned, as is a form. All of these furnishings are conservative and probably were old.

Far more significant are two inventories of Boston residents who were related to Samuel Appleton, Jr. William Paine (died 1660), Appleton's maternal grandfather, and William Whittingham (died 1672), Appleton's father-in-law, both adhered to some degree to the French style of furnishing, but both were conservative in terms of room nomenclature and placement of the best bed in a parlor chamber. This conservatism is a direct result of their Ipswich backgrounds; they may have had Boston merchants for neighbors and peers, but they did not necessarily identify with them.

William Paine died in 1660. At the time of his death, he owned several warehouses in Boston, a small dwelling house, part of several gristmills and sawmills, and three-quarters of the Ironworks at Braintree and Saugus. His estate was worth a total of 4,239 pounds. For a man of means, Paine lived in an extraordinarily modest house, with a hall and two little rooms on the ground floor, a hall chamber, a garret, and a kitchen in the cellar. Each of the two little rooms on the ground floor was furnished as a modest bedroom, and the plan suggests that they were in a leanto, since no chambers are listed over them. The hall and hall chamber were the principal rooms and contained the following furniture forms:

<u>Hall</u>

cupboard

table and carpet

four leather chairs, two other chairs

settle

four stools

clock

Hall Chamber

red serge high bed

two cupboards

table

four red stools

two red chairs with fringe

three leather chairs

great chair

seven pictures

trunk

chest

As this abstract suggests, these rooms were not fashionably furnished by Boston standards. They resemble a modest Ipswich house in most respects. The only concession to the French style is the coordination of the bed, stools, and chairs with red serge covers in the hall chamber. If Paine had lived in a house with a parlor chamber, he might very well have placed his best bed there, instead of in a hall chamber.

Appleton's father-in-law, William Whittingham, died in 1672, nine years before Appleton's marriage to his daughter Elizabeth. His house was organized much like any hall-parlor house in Ipswich, a reflection of his father's origins in that town. In fact, the layout of his house is identical to that of the Ironworks Farm house. This suggests that if Appleton was the builder of the Ironworks Farm house, his wife may have dictated the plan of the house when she was negotiating the terms of their marriage. The following abstract of the principal rooms and their furniture is therefore an extremely important index of Elizabeth Whittingham's possible contribution to the decoration of the Ironworks Farm

house when the newly-married couple moved into it in 1682.

Parlor

two small square tables

fourteen Turkey work chairs

Hall

draw table

small square table

eight Russia leather chairs

six calf leather chairs

child's high chair

looking glass

glass case

Kitchen

cupboard

square table

two joint stools

six chairs

cradle

Parlor Chamber

half-headed serge bed

one serge armchair

six serge chairs

gilded leather hangings

desk with frame

round table

walnut square table

looking glass

Hall Chamber

six baize chairs

small square table

cupboard

two trunks with frames

green baize canopy bed

green hangings

Kitchen Chamber

green half-headed bed

three trunks on frames

virginals on frame

three pictures

four needlework stools

Porch Chamber

books

desk and frame

While Whittingham's house follows many of the French practices of Boston merchants in the use of sets of upholstered chairs, in the coordination of textile fixtures, and in the removal of the best bed from the ground floor rooms, he follows Ipswich practice in room nomenclature and the placement of his best bed in the parlor chamber. A contrast can be drawn between Whittingham's practices and those of Edmond Downes (died 1669), father of Samuel Appleton, Jr.'s brother-in-law, William Downes. The Downes inventory, one of two extremely significant inventories showing the mature French style of decoration (the other being that of Antipas Boyce, who died the same year), lists no less than three pretentiously furnished chambers referred to as red, purple, and green after the colors of the textile furnishings, a dining room, and a great and little parlor. Downes had adopted not only the use of coordinated textiles and sets of chairs, but also the French style of room

organization and nomenclature. His best bed was in either the red or purple chamber.

What the inventories of Downes, Boyce, and Whittingham have in common is a series of rooms which are remarkably undifferentiated. Save for the presence or absence of a bed or cupboard, Whittingham's parlor, hall, parlor chamber, and hall chamber are remarkably alike. All have sets of chairs, all have square or oval tables, and two have hangings. Certain key additional objects define the function of each room. Under the French style, the parlor is no longer the bedroom of the head of the house nor the area in which precious objects necessarily are displayed. It is now a fairly anonymous reception area for large numbers of people to sit in and requires few special fixtures. The hall has become a dining room, with two different tables to handle larger and smaller groups and a glass case to hold glasses for drinking rituals. The parlor chamber, the sleeping quarters of the head of the house, is distinguished by a desk, but the personal wearing apparel is kept in three trunks in the kitchen chamber. The hall chamber with its cupboard functions as a more intimate reception area, and silver may have been displayed there. Polite activities are located in specialized rooms, a women's room in the kitchen chamber and a man's room, a study over the porch.

On the basis of all the Ipswich inventories, Samuel Appleton, Jr., might be expected to display conservative tastes. On the basis of all the Boston inventories, Elizabeth Whittingham and some of Appleton's relations were far more fashionable. The household which Appleton and his wife set up in 1682 probably represented a compromise between two extremes. There is no way to tell how the compromise might have been worked out, but for the pedagogical purposes of a furnishing plan, the two styles -- conservative and avant garde --

will be represented by separate rooms. The rooms to be furnished as period rooms in the Ironworks Farm house are the parlor, parlor chamber, and study or porch chamber. The following generalizations about the plan can be made here.

The parlor will be conservative in terms of the furniture forms displayed there, but will not include a bed. It will consist of seating furniture like joined forms, joint stools, and a joined great chair, with perhaps some turned chairs; a long joined table; a cupboard; a clock; and a looking glass. The parlor chamber will be in the French style. It will have coordinated textile fixtures in the most popular cloth and color, green serge. The furniture will parallel that seen in Whittingham's inventory: a canopy bed; six upholstered chairs, an armchair, two stools, and a couch; a cupboard with drawers; a square table and carpet; an oval table set against the wall; a looking glass, small table, and stand to suggest the grooming ritual; and two portraits in frames. The porch will be fairly utilitarian in character, with books, a small table and several chairs, a cabinet and a box, and perhaps some arms and armor and a virginals on stand. The hearths of the principal rooms will have appropriate fixtures. Additional options for other details will be suggested, with priorities indicated to allow for budget adjustments.

Appendix One

Room Nomenclature of some Boston Probate Inventories 1652-1696

(All inventories are from the Suffolk County Probate Records and are located by volume and first page.)

Rev. John Cotton, 1652, II: 68.

Little Parlor
Hall
Great Parlor
Great Chamber
Garret over the Great Chamber
Little Chamber over the Porch
Garret over the Little Chamber and Porch
Garret over the Study
Study
Leanto Chamber
Gallery
Leanto Parlor
Kitchen
Larder
Cellar

Adam Winthrop, 1652, II: 66.

Hall Chamber
Hall
Kitchen

William Tyng, 1653, II: 99.

Hall
Chamber over the Parlor
Counting House /a room/
Entry /porch/
Parlor
Kitchen
Closet between the Kitchen and Parlor /a small storage area/
Closet at the Stair's Head /a room/
Garret
Little Room /in the Garret/
Over the Kitchen

Bozone Allen, 1654, II: 87.

Hall
Cellar
Hall Chamber
Garret
Shop Chamber

Edward Gibbons, 1654, II: 147.

Kitchen
Hall
Cellar
New Hall Chamber
Great Chamber over the Artillery Room
Little Chamber over the Artillery Room
Garrets
Study /probably over a porch/
Artillery Room
A Hole by the Staircase /an alcove for fire buckets/

Robert Keayne, 1656, III: 103.

Entry /probably a porch/
Cellar under the Hall
Hall
Kitchen
Hall Chamber
Long Chamber
Little Chamber next to the Long Chamber
Little Chamber next to the Study
Old Garret Closet
Other Closet in Garret
Little Room in the Garret
Study /probably in a porch chamber/

John Coggan, 1658, III: 122.

Hall
Parlor
Kitchen
Shop
Hall Chamber
Closet /a small storage area/
Shop Chamber
Porch Closet /a study/
Warehouse Chamber
Garret
Two other Garrets
Kitchen Chamber

Jacob Sheaffe, 1659, III: 177.

Closet /a study/
Hall Chamber
Shop Chamber
Hall
Kitchen
Kitchen Chamber
Cellars

Henry Webb, 1660, IV: 44.

Garret
Hall Chamber
Closet /a study/
Parlor Chamber
Little Chamber over Kitchen and Parlor
Little Chamber over Kitchen
Hall
Little Closet in Hall /a small storage area/
Parlor
Kitchen
Brewhouse
Cellar
Yard
Warehouse

Henry Shrimpton, 1666, V: 15.

Closet /a study/
Great Chamber
Closet over Entry /a porch chamber/
Green Chamber
Entry Chamber /another porch chamber/
Kitchen Chamber
Kitchen Garret
Kitchen
Hall
Cellar under the Hall
Garret
Chamber Entry /a small storage area/

Edmond Downes, 1669, V: 171.

Upper Garret
Next Garret
Maid's Chamber
Next Chamber
Red Chamber
Purple Chamber
Dining Room
Great Parlor
Green Chamber
Hall
Little Parlor
Kitchen

Antipas Boyce, 1669, V: 178.

Kitchen
Dining Room
Little Parlor
Little Closet adjoyning the Little Parlor /a small storage area/

Antipas Boyce, cont.

Hall
Hall Chamber
Dining Room
Little Chamber
Closet / a study /
Garret

William Whittingham, 1672, VII: 227.

Parlor
Hall
Kitchen
Cellar
Porch Chamber
Hall Chamber
Kitchen Chamber
Porch Chamber
Garret

Jonathan Oxenbridge, 1674, V: 225.

Hall
Kitchen
Cellar
Hall Chamber
Chamber over the Storeroom
Chamber over the Study
Garret
Study
Storeroom

Samuel Scarlett, 1675, V: 262.

Hall
Lodging Room
Bachelor's Hall
Kitchen
Bed Chamber
Kitchen Chamber
Garret

Leonard Hoar, 1675, V: 292.

Green Chamber
White Chamber
Study
Garret
Cellar
Parlor
Kitchen

Edward Hutchinson, 1676, V: 287.

Kitchen Chamber
Closet /a room/
Street Chamber
Garrets
Hall
Kitchen

Nathan Raynesford, 1676, V: 322.

Hall
Parlor
Garret
Mrs. Raynesford's Chamber
Kitchen Chamber
Kitchen
Parlor Chamber
Porch Chamber

Thomas Berry, 1698, Docket 2417.

Hall
Dining Room
Kitchen
Bedroom at end of Kitchen
Hall Chamber
Dining Room Chamber
Kitchen Chamber
Porch Chamber
Cellar
Garret

Appendix Two

Room Nomenclature of some Essex County Inventories 1655-1738

(All inventories are from the Essex County Probate Records and are located by docket number or by volume number and first page.)

Nathaniel Rogers, Ipswich, 1655, Docket 24043.

Hall
Parlor
Kitchen
Cellar
Parlor Chamber
Hall Chamber
Garret over the Parlor
Study
Chamber over the Kitchen

William Paine, Boston and Ipswich, 1660, Suffolk County Probate Records, III: 223.

Hall
Little Room
Other Little Room
Closet /a small storage area/
Hall Chamber
Garret

Thomas Emerson, Ipswich, 1666, Docket 8947.

Parlor
Chamber
Other Chamber

Richard Jacobs, Ipswich, 1672, Docket 14725.

/The inventory mentions only the parlor as the location of the best bed, but the objects and order of listing indicate a hall-parlor house with chambers and a kitchen in a leanto./

Ezekiel Rogers, Ipswich, 1674, Docket 23988.

Parlor
Hall
Cellar
Chamber
Little Room

Samuel Symonds, Ipswich, 1678, Docket 27134.

/The inventory mentions only the best bed in the parlor chamber, but the objects and order suggest a hall-parlor house with chambers and a leanto with a dairy and bedroom flanking a kitchen./

Daniel Denison, Ipswich, 1682, Docket 7549.

/The inventory is not listed room-by-room, but contains six beds and sufficient furniture and fixtures to suggest a hall-parlor house with chambers and a leanto./

Captain John Whipple, Ipswich, 1683, Docket 29490.

/The inventory is not listed room-by-room, but the house still stands in Ipswich and consists of a hall-parlor plan with chambers and a leanto and gables in both garrets./

John Denison, Ipswich, 1684, Docket 7558.

Hall
Parlor
Chamber over the Hall
Chamber over the Parlor
Chamber over the Back Room /The back room was probably the leanto./
Cellar under the Parlor.

John Rogers, Ipswich and Cambridge, 1684, 304: 106-107.

/The inventory is not listed room-by-room, but contains six beds and sufficient furnishings to suggest a hall-parlor plan with chambers and a leanto./

Richard Dummer, Jr., Newbury, 1689, Docket 8360.

/The inventory is not listed room-by-room, but contains seven beds and groupings of furniture which suggest a hall-parlor plan with chambers and a leanto./

Samuel Rogers, Ipswich, 1693, Docket 24062.

/The inventory is not listed room-by-room, but the objects are grouped in a way which suggests a hall-parlor plan with chambers and a leanto./

Jonathan Woodbridge, Newbury, 1695, Docket 30545.

/The inventory is not listed room-by-room, but contains groupings of chairs and beds which suggest a hall-parlor plan with chambers and a leanto./

Rev. Samuel Phillips, Rowley, 1696, 305: 265-267.

Kitchen
Hall
Parlor

Rev. Samuel Phillips, cont.

Kitchen Chamber
Parlor Chamber
Study

Capt. John Whipple, Ipswich, 1722, Docket 29494.

Kitchen
Parlor
Hall
Back Chamber
Parlor Chamber
Hall Chamber

Maj. John Whipple, Ipswich, 1722, Docket 29493.

Hall
Bedroom Below
Chamber
Bedroom Above
Kitchen Chamber
New Chamber
Kitchen

Major Matthew Whipple, Ipswich, 1738, Docket 29516.

Hall
East Kitchen
Parlor Chamber
Hall Chamber
Back Kitchen
Kitchen Chamber
Parlor
East Cellar
Great Cellar
Dairy Room

Appendix Three

Furniture Owned In Ipswich Between 1640 and 1710, With Some Examples Owned by the Appletons

The furniture made or owned in Ipswich falls into two great groups, based on the production of two major shop traditions. The first shop tradition is that of William Searle and Thomas Dennis, two West Country joiners who came to the town in the 1660s. A group of five objects which descended in Dennis's family provides the key documentation for the group as a whole. It includes two great chairs, one box with drawer, a chest, and a tape loom. None of the remaining Searle-Dennis furniture possesses a solid history of ownership, although many of the examples were found in the Ipswich area or in families with Ipswich ancestors.

Clearly the style of this furniture is the carved style which spread to Exeter in the West Country from the Dutch craftsmen working in Southwark, a suburb of London. By the 1660s such heavily carved furniture was out of fashion by London standards, but continued to be made in provincial areas.

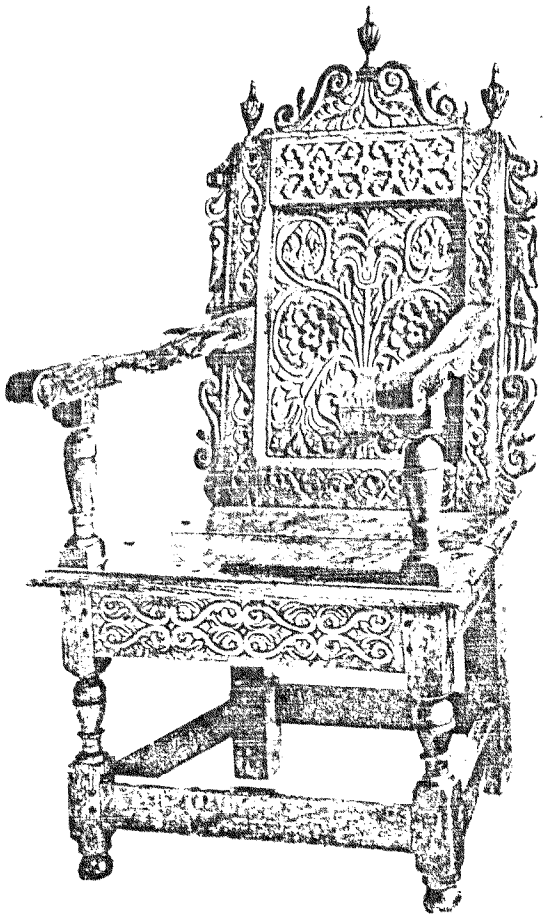
Sources: Trent, Pilgrim Century Furniture, pp. 53-94; Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, pp. 514-519.

The second group of Ipswich furniture was made by a large group of shops in Newbury founded by John Emery. It consists of some twelve or more cupboards, five chests with a drawer, two leaf tables, two dressing boxes, and three chests of drawers. Dated examples run from 1678 to 1701. One cupboard with drawers, one cupboard, and two leaf tables have a history of Appleton ownership. The others were owned by other prominent people in Ipswich,

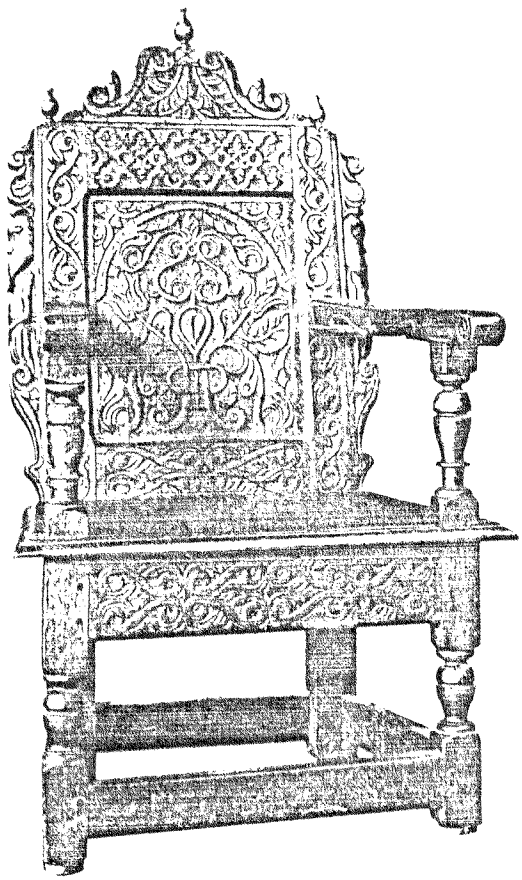
Newbury, Beverly, and Andover. One reason for the popularity of the Emery shops was the strong intermarriage of Ipswich and Newbury families. Emery worked for Richard Dummer at his sawmill, and Dummer's son was married to an Ipswich woman, as was the Rev. John Woodbridge of Newbury.

Emery's work is in the applied moldings style but is not as elevated in style as Boston work. He employs oak moldings, poplar date and initial panels, and walnut plaques, but the cases of his furniture are made of oak, with pine and sycamore secondary woods. His cupboards are particularly inventive in format and form a perfect counterpart to the heavy architectural ornament being employed on Ipswich houses at this time.

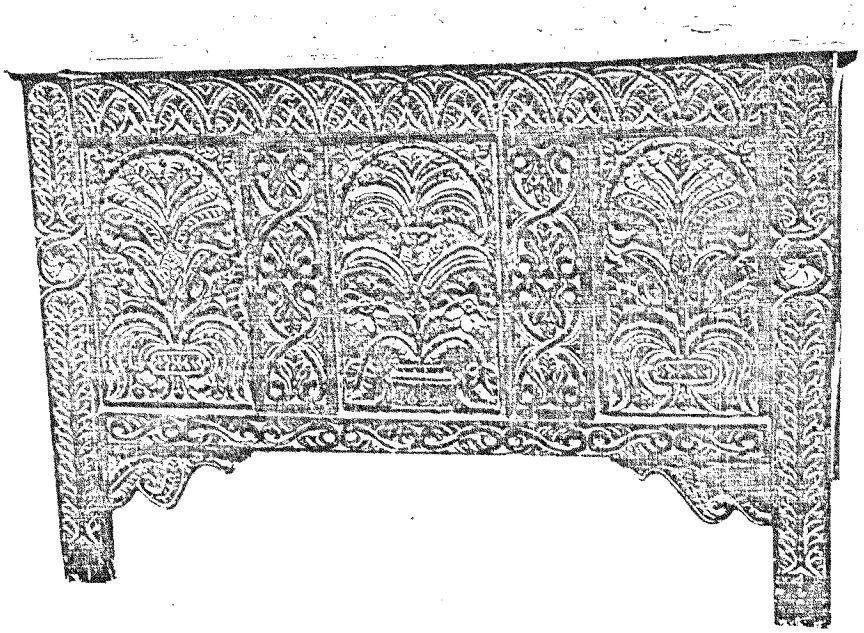
Sources: Trent, Pilgrim Century Furniture, pp. 66-78; Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, pp. 530-532.



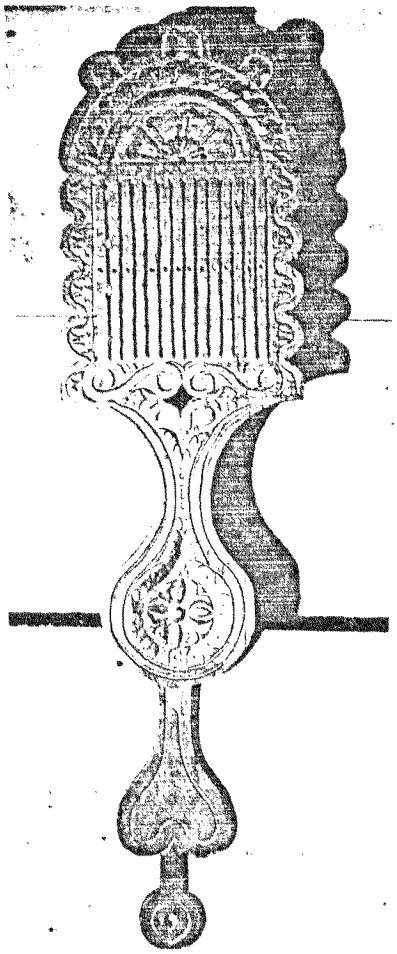
The first of the Dennis family great chairs, probably made by William Searle between 1663 and 1667. Now at Bowdoin College Art Museum. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 514.



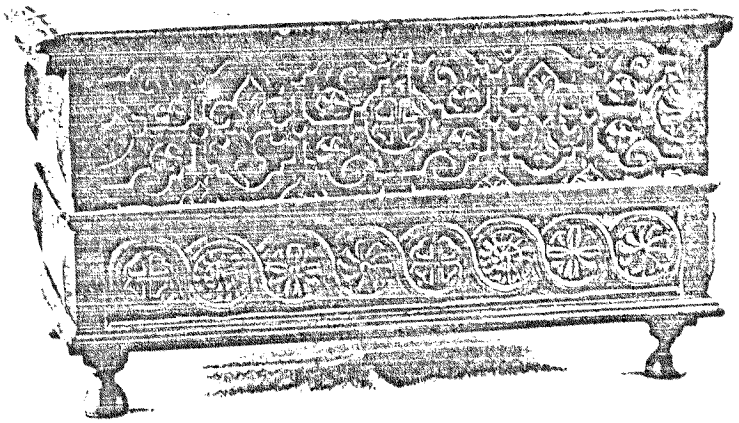
The second of the Dennis family great chairs, probably made by Thomas Dennis about 1667 to 1675. Now at Essex Institute. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 516.

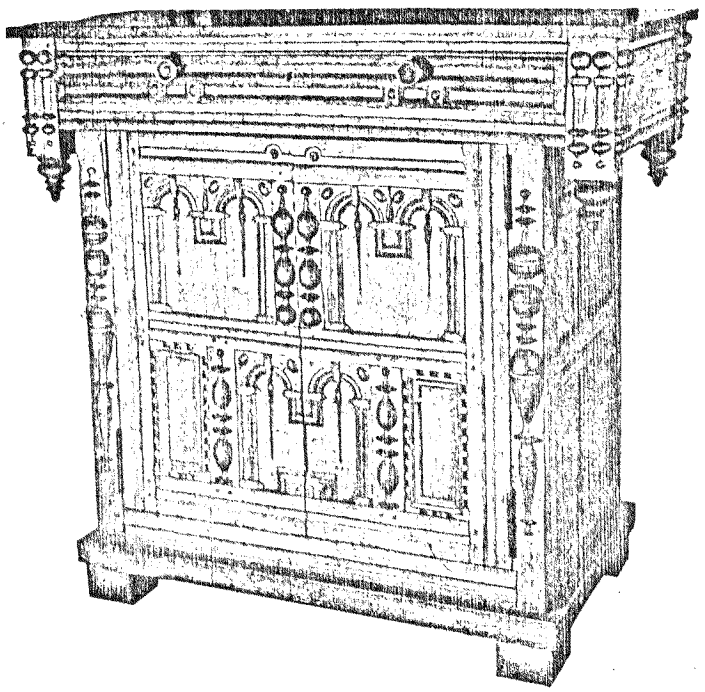


The Dennis family chest, probably made by William Searle about 1663 to 1667. Owned by Dennis descendant Mrs. L. Owen Meserve. From Trent, Pilgrim Century Furniture, p. 57.

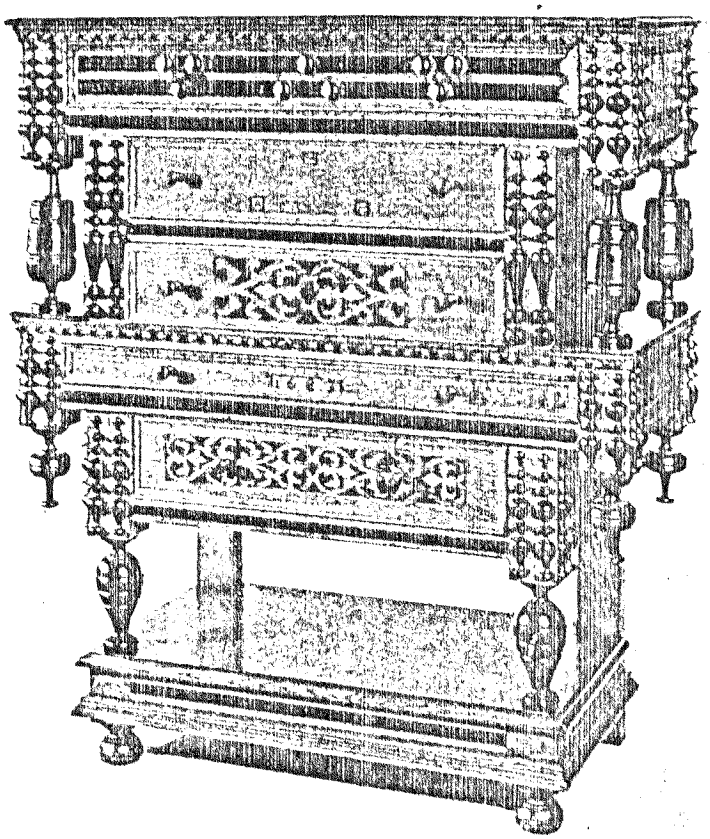


The Dennis family box with drawer and tape loom. Box by William Searle, 1663-1667, and loom by Dennis, 1667-1670. Owned by Dennis descendant H. Ray Dennis. From Trent, Pilgrim Century Furniture, pp. 58 and 84.

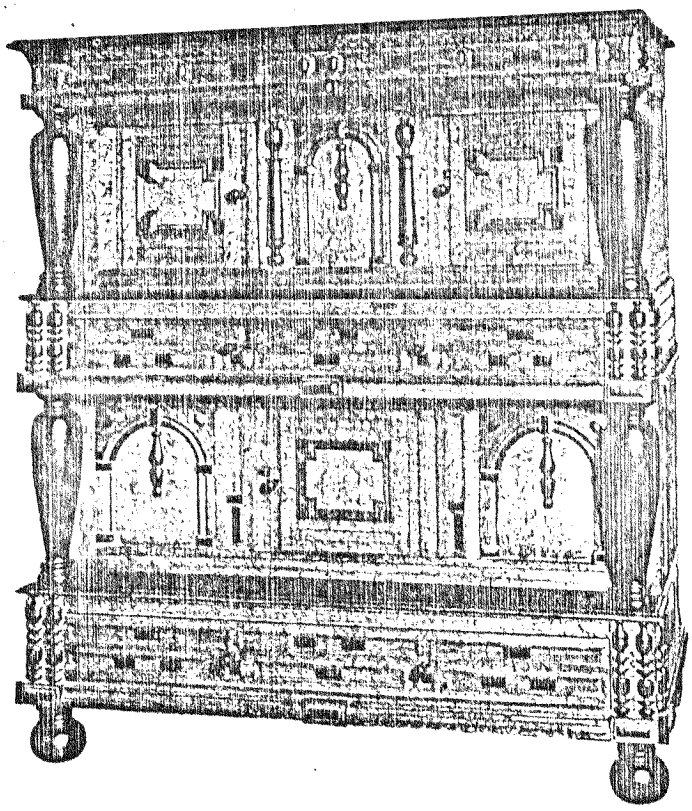




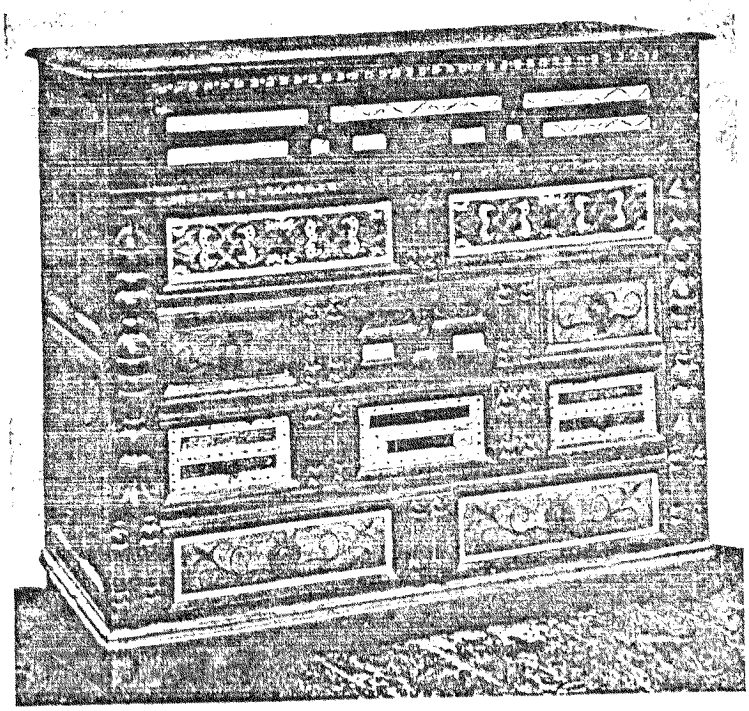
Cupboard fragment, made by Emery shops for John and Elizabeth Rogers Appleton upon their marriage in 1681. Owned by Harvard University. From Trent, Pilgrim Century Furniture, p. 67.



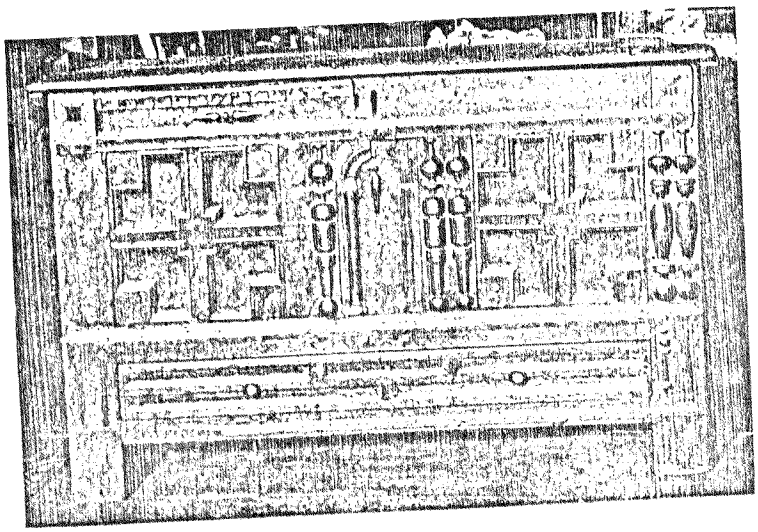
Cupboard made by Emery shops for Abraham and Hannah Perkins of Ipswich in 1683. Private collection. From Trent, Pilgrim Century Furniture, p. 67.



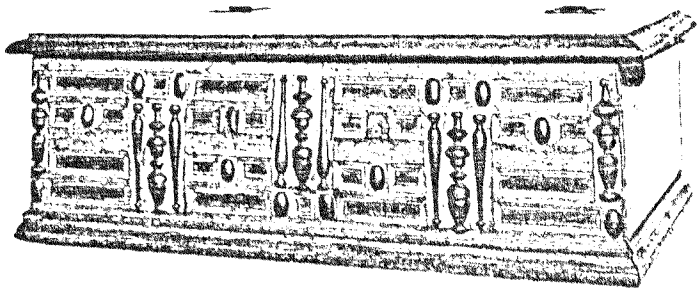
Cupboard by Emery shops with no history, but closest in form to unpublished "MH" or Kidder-Appleton cupboard at Ipswich Historical Society. This example at Yale University Art Gallery. From Trent, Pilgrim Century Furniture, p. 68.



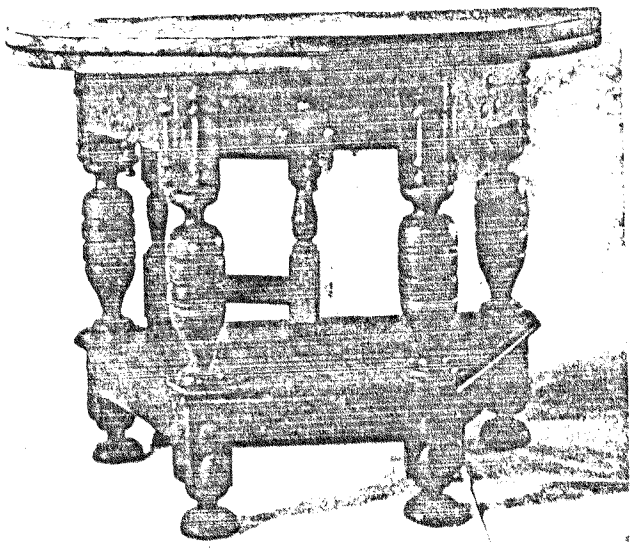
Chest of drawers by Emery shops, made in 1678 for John and Margaret Staniford of Ipswich. Now at Winterthur Museum. From Trent, Pilgrim Century Furniture, p. 66.



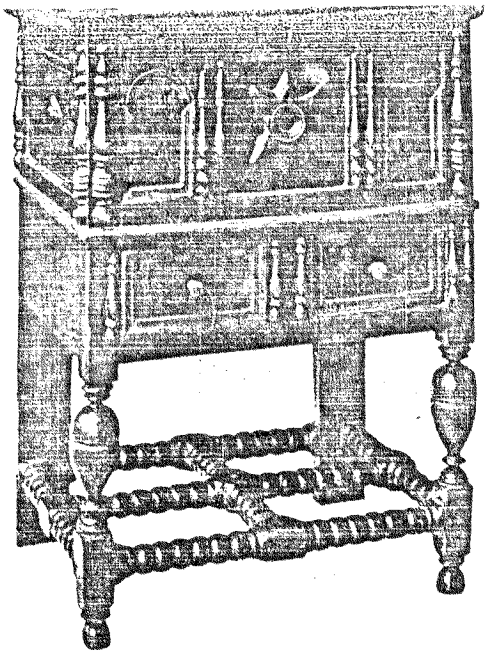
Chest by Emery shops made for John and Hannah Brown of Ipswich in 1685. Owned by Mrs. Chester Bolles. From Trent, Pilgrim Century Furniture, p. 69.



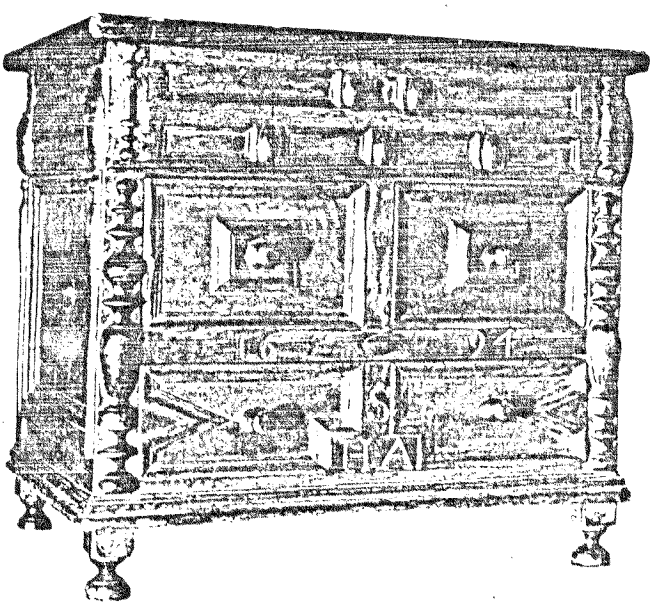
Box by Emery shops with no history. Now at Wadsworth Atheneum. From Trent, Pilgrim Century Furniture, p. 69.



Leaf table or oval table by Emery shops, with history in Appleton family. One of a pair, this example is at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, while the other is still owned in the family. From Trent, Pilgrim Century Furniture, p. 75.



Dressing stand by Emery shops, with no history. Owned by Metropolitan Museum of Art. From Trent, Pilgrim Century Furniture, p. 75.



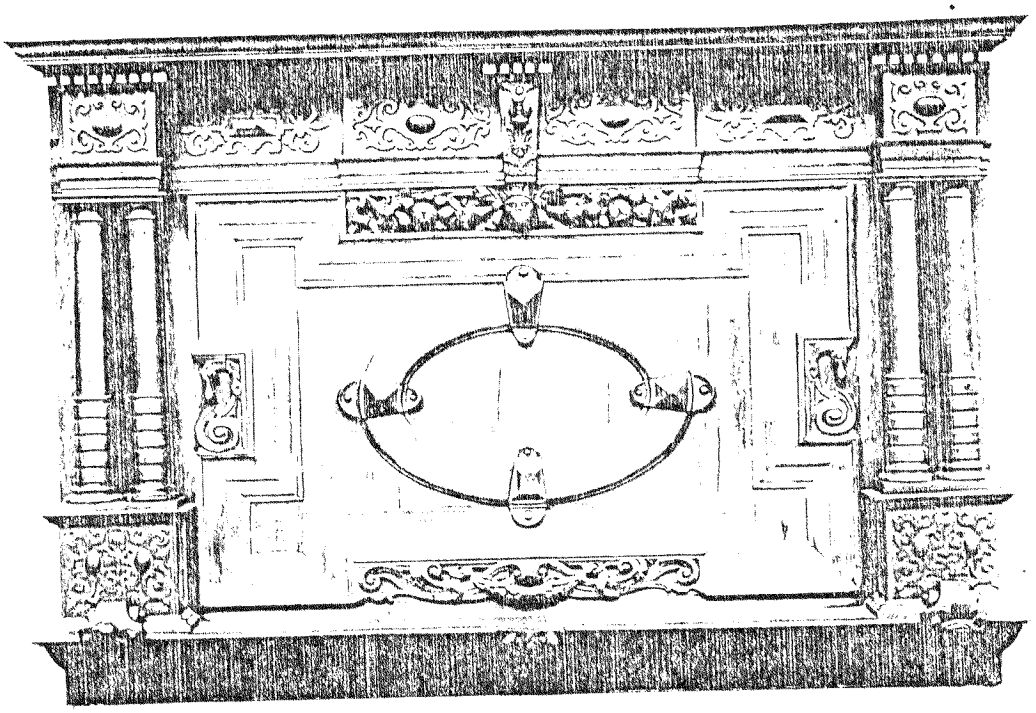
Dressing box by Emery shops, made for Henry and Anne Short of Newbury in 1694. Owned by Winterthur Museum. From Trent, Pilgrim Century Furniture, p. 69.

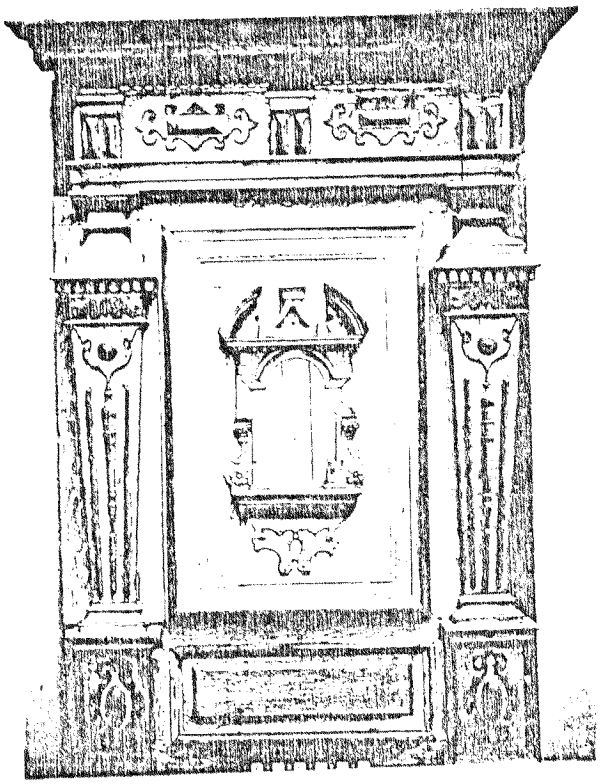
Appendix Four

The Applied Style in the London Manner as practiced in Boston and the Appearence of Chests of Drawers made in Boston 1635-1700

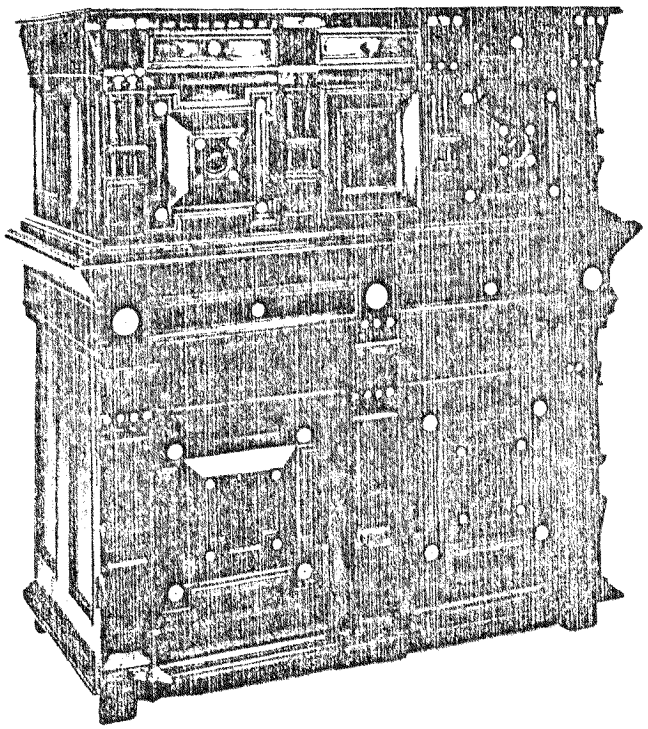
The London-style joinery school of Boston was founded by Ralph Mason and Henry Messinger, and London-style turning was transmitted to Boston by Thomas Edsall. Mason and Edsall arrived in Boston by 1635 and Messinger was there in 1641. All three workmen were active until the late 1670s, and all trained many sons and apprentices. The style they worked in was formulated in London about 1600 by northern Dutch joiners working in the liberty or suburb of Southwark. Some examples of joined interior paneling and case pieces made in London are shown here to demonstrate how close the Boston examples are to their prototypes. Both the London and the Boston examples display facades veneered with exotic woods like palisander, ebony, lignum vitae, cedrela, and cocobolo, as well as walnut, cedar, and ebonized maple. While the most elaborate examples have doors covering the drawers of the lower case, some were made without doors fairly early, and almost all later Boston examples lack doors. No New England example of a cupboard with storage areas and pillars in the upper case and doors behind doors is known, but an English version is included here; such a cupboard might correspond to some references to cupboards with drawers or livery cupboards seen in Boston inventories. The great size and elaborate decoration of these case pieces made them very expensive, from two to seven pounds.

Sources: Forman, "Continental Furniture Craftsmen;" Forman, "The Origins of the Joined Chest of Drawers;" Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, pp. 503 and 522-524 and 536-537.

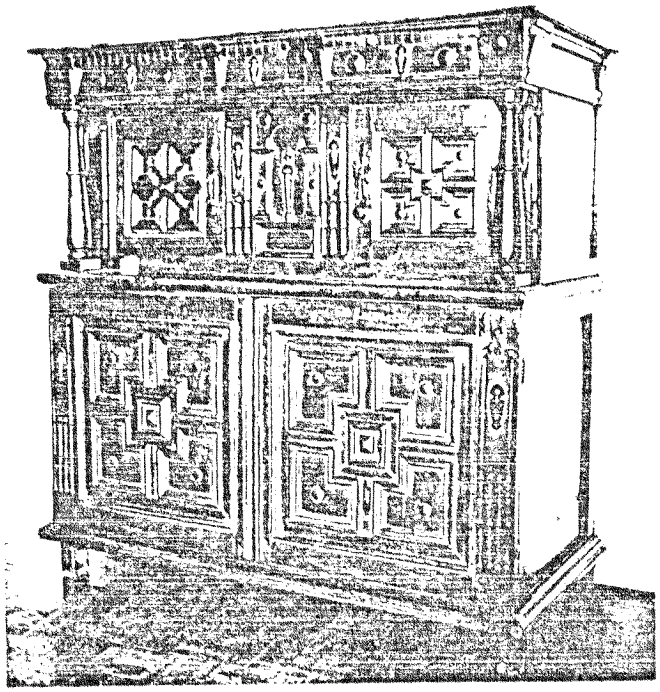




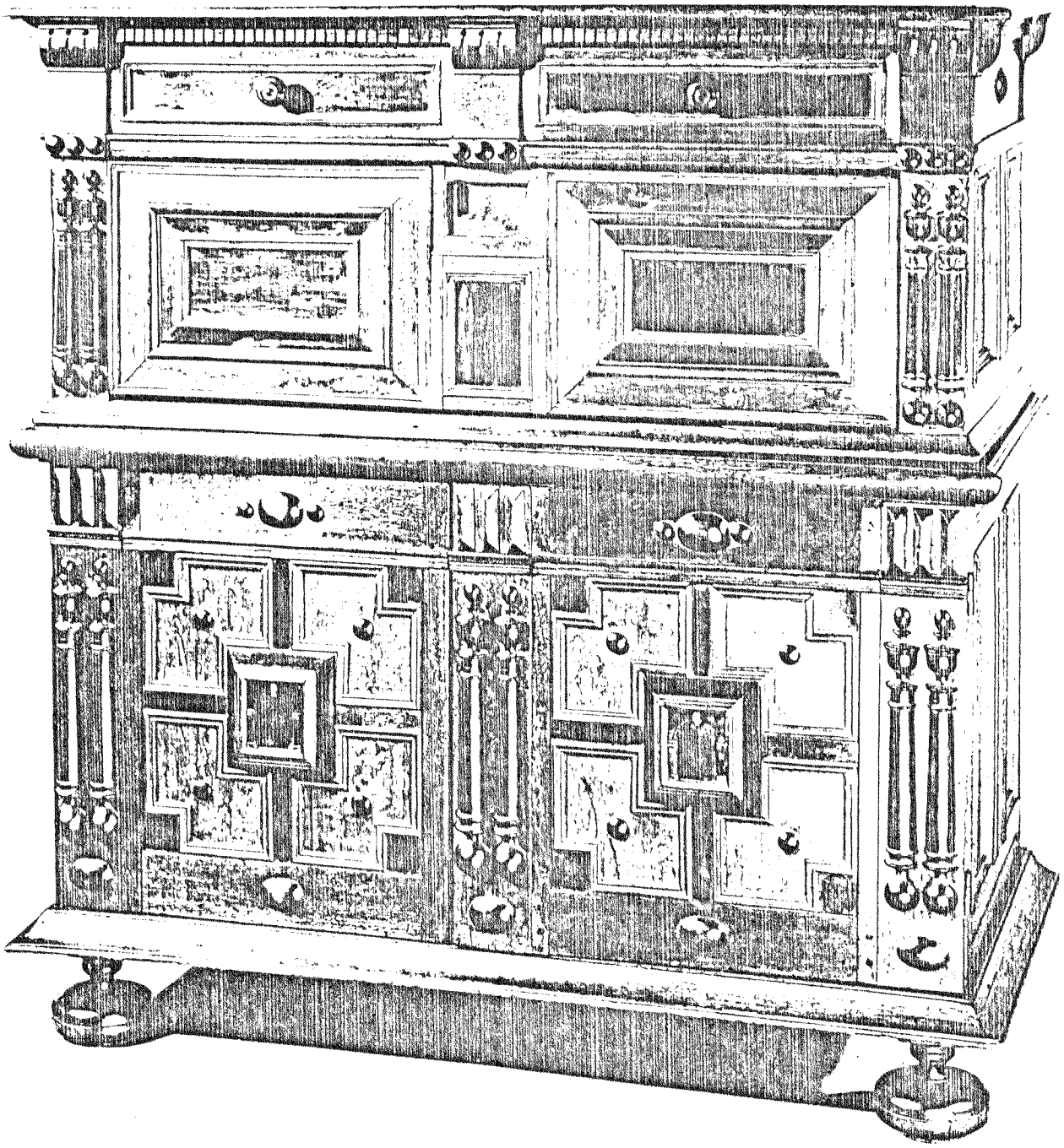
Two fragments of joined interior paneling from a 1620-1640 house in Lime Street in London. Now in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Note the applied fretwork on the surbases and friezes, which is not found on Boston case pieces but is found on cast backs made at the Saugus Iron-works with wooden molds made by the Boston joiners and turners. From Chinnery, Oak Furniture, p. 435.



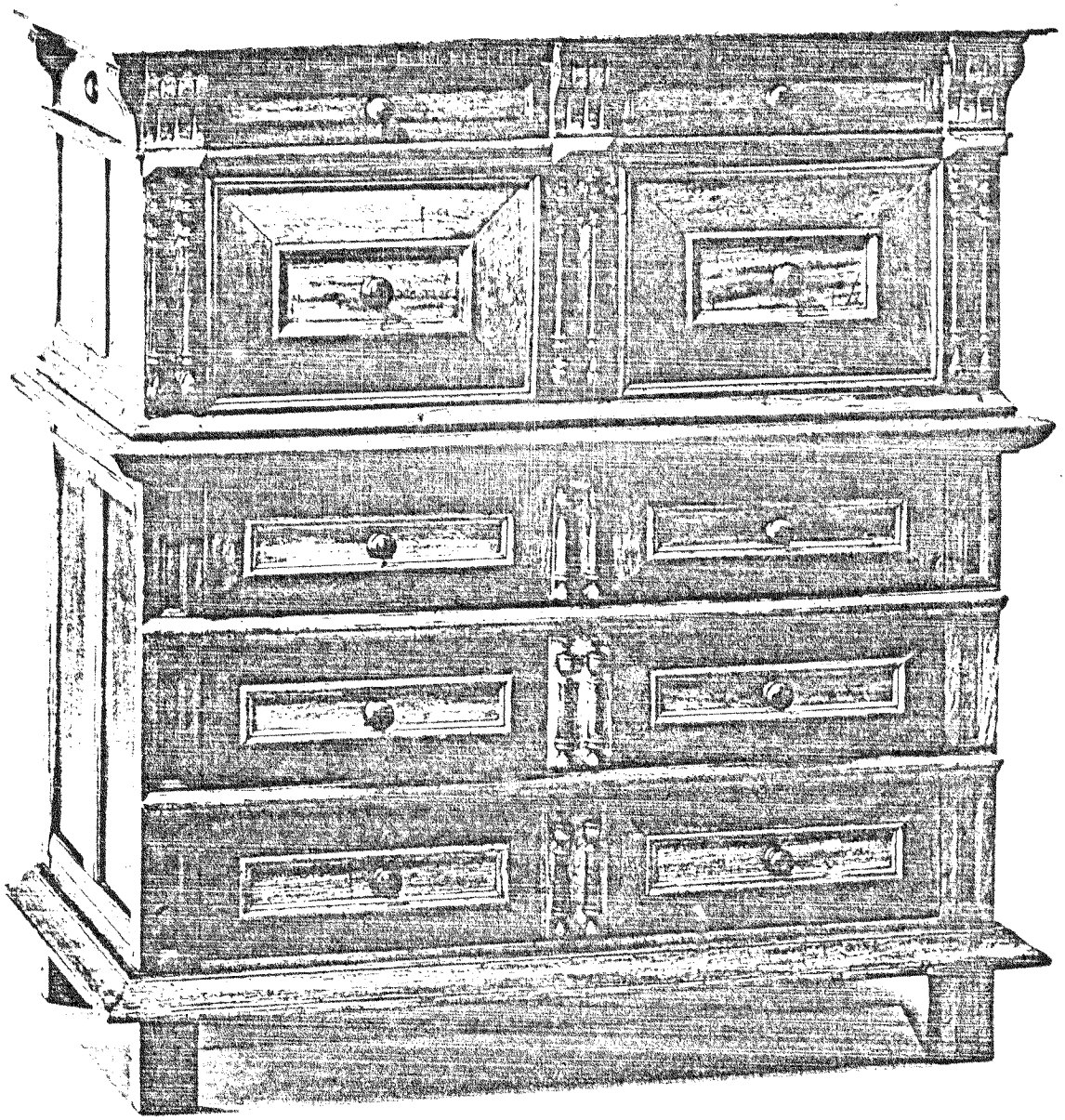
A London chest of drawers with doors, with veneers of rosewood and ebony and ivory bosses and guttae. Private collection. From Chinnery, Oak Furniture, p. 437.



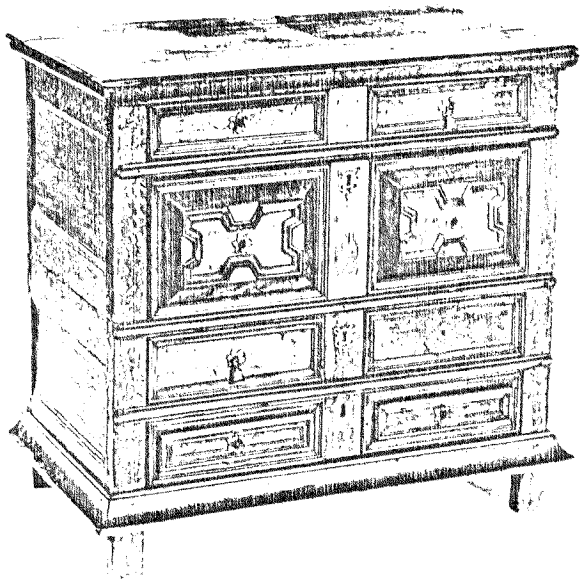
A London cupboard with drawers and doors, with somewhat simpler applied decoration of walnut and cedar. The exact same patterns of paneled work appear on two Boston case pieces. Private Collection. From Chinnery, Oak Furniture, p. 439.



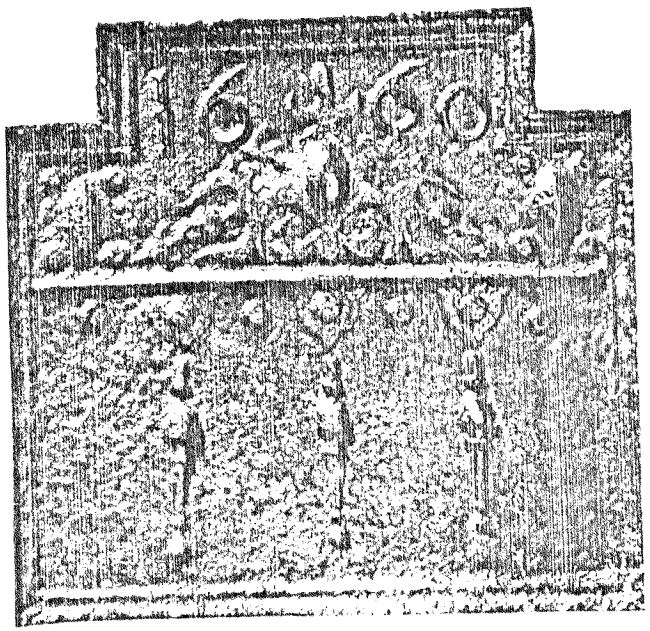
A Boston chest of drawers with doors, with applied decoration made of palisander and perhaps cocobolo and knobs of lignum vitae. Owned by Yale University Art Gallery. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 523.



A Boston chest of drawers, with veneers and facade components of walnut and cedrela, applied columns of ebony, and columns and knobs of walnut. Now at Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 538.



A plain Boston chest of drawers dating from 1670 to 1700, made of walnut and red cedar. Note that later versions have only two drawers in the bottom case. Owned by Milwaukee Art Museum. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 265.

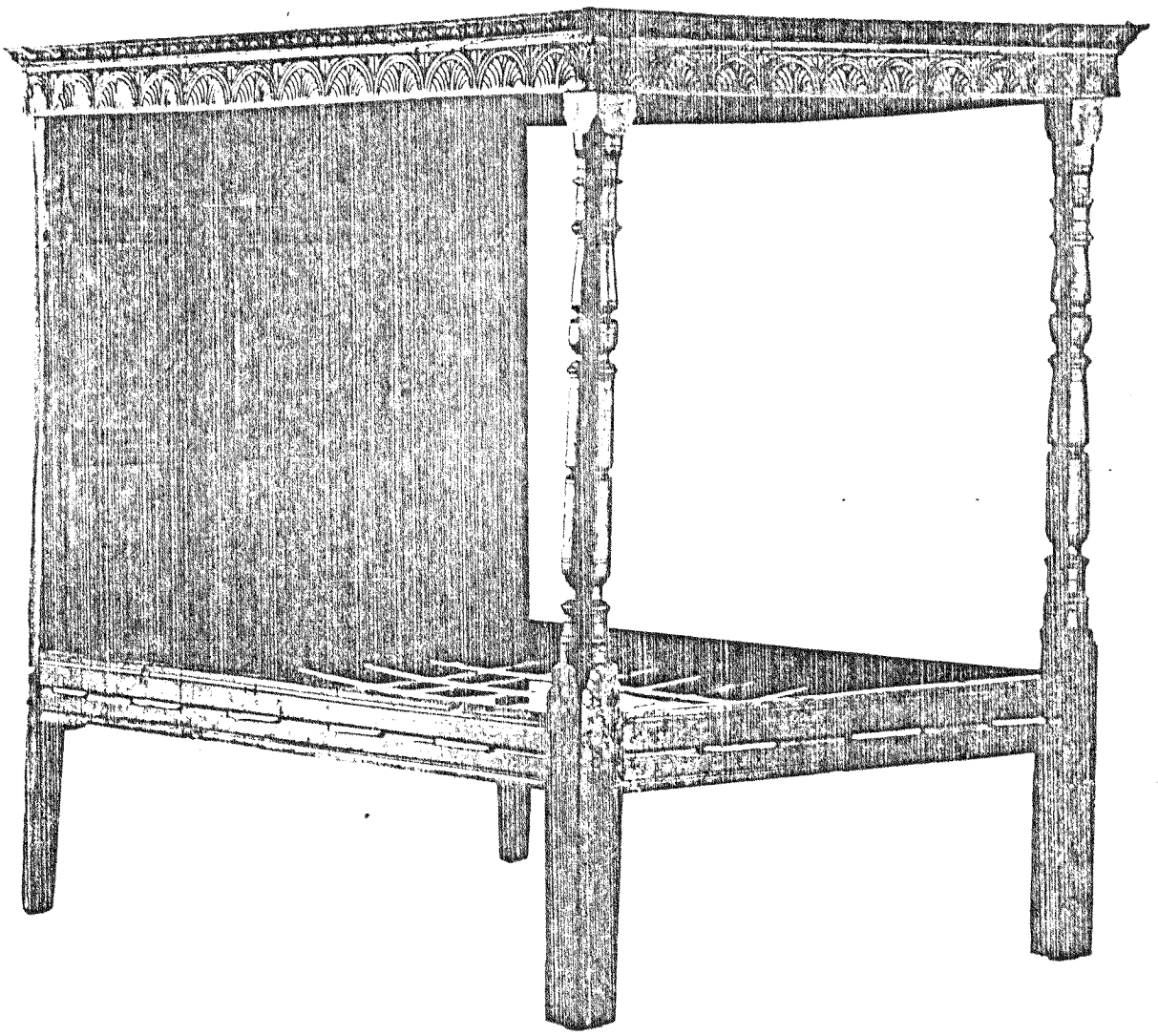


A cast back from the Saugus Ironworks, made from a wooden mold with applied fretwork and bosses close to those of the Lime Street paneling shown above. Owned by Pilgrim Society, Plymouth. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 359.

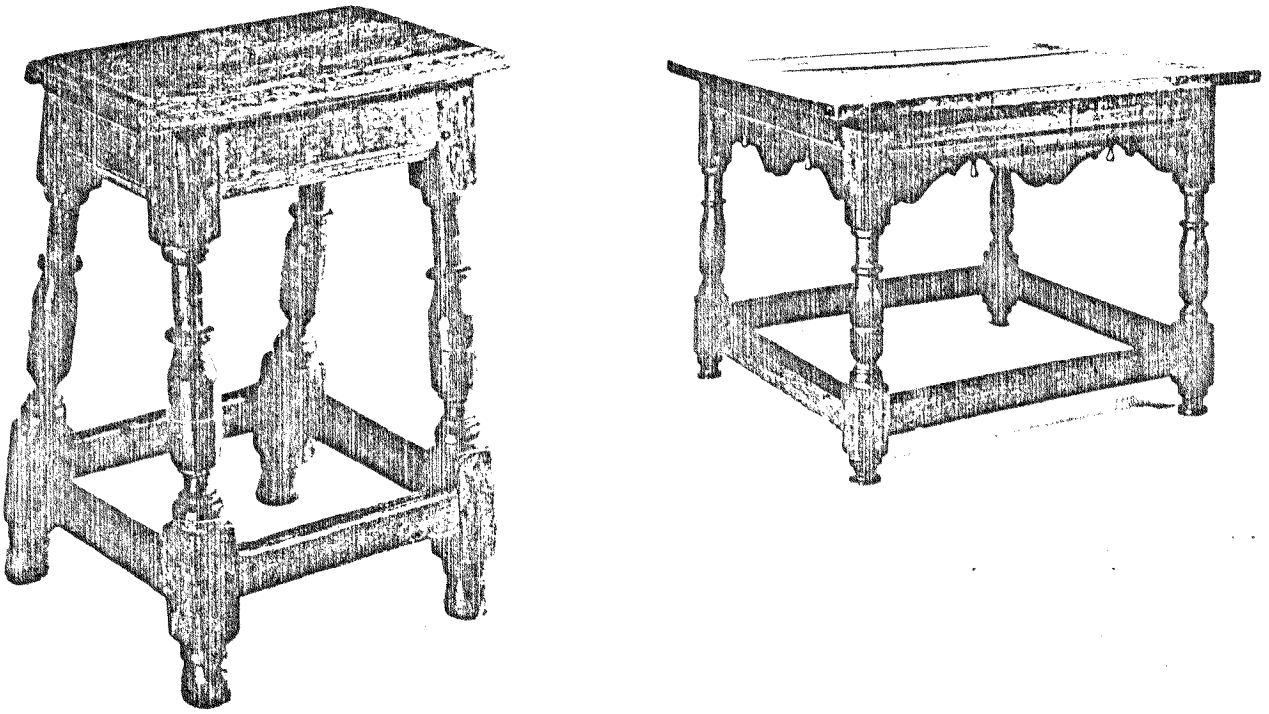
Appendix Five

Conservative Case Pieces, Seating Furniture, and Tables Used in New England, with Illustrations and Identifying Notes

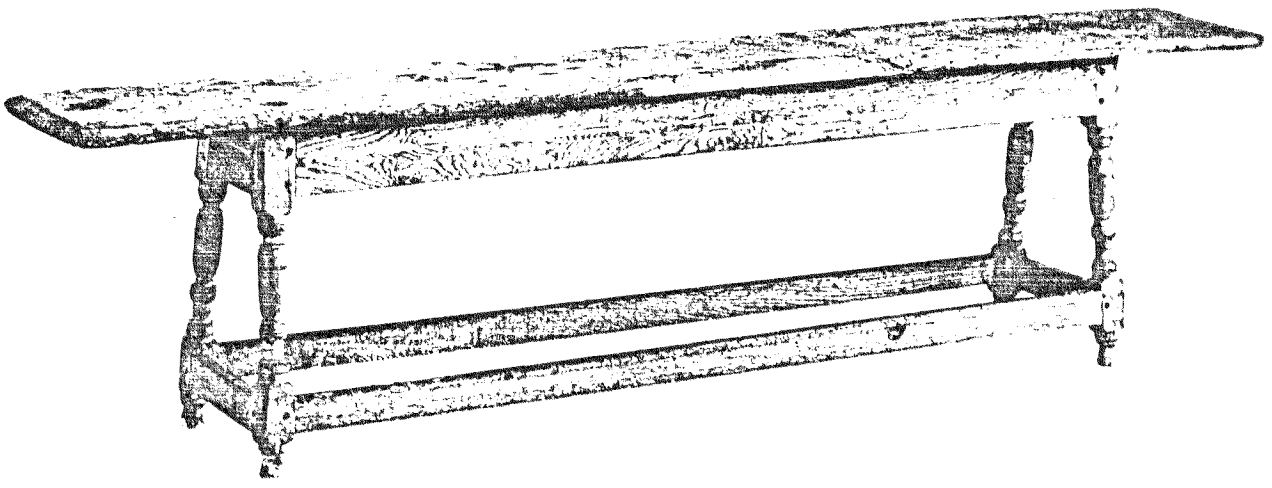
This brief catalogue of conservative furniture forms in the carved style provides examples for comparison with advanced forms shown in Appendix Six. Some of the Ipswich furniture shown in Appendix Three is also conservative in style, notably the Searle-Dennis examples. As noted in the text, some table forms remained in favor for use with upholstered seating furniture, especially square tables, but in the more fashionable households the larger table forms like the long table and the draw table began to be rejected after 1670 in favor of oval tables with folding leaves. Turned chairs were cheaper than joined chairs and were not considered fashionable in high-style rooms after 1600 in England; in New England they almost never appear in fashionable Boston households but continued in use in Ipswich throughout the period.



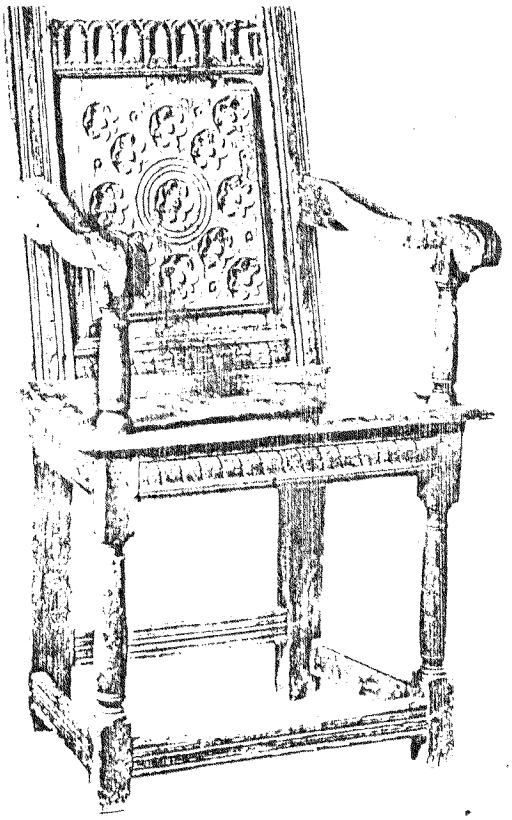
A great joined bed made in England and dated 1661. Note the joined headboard and tester. The turned pillars resemble some New England cupboard pillars, and carving comparable to that of the tester frieze boards is seen on furniture from Plymouth County. Such bedsteads were fitted with four curtains and a valance. Owned by the Edison Institute (Greenfield Village and the Henry Ford Museum). From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 257.



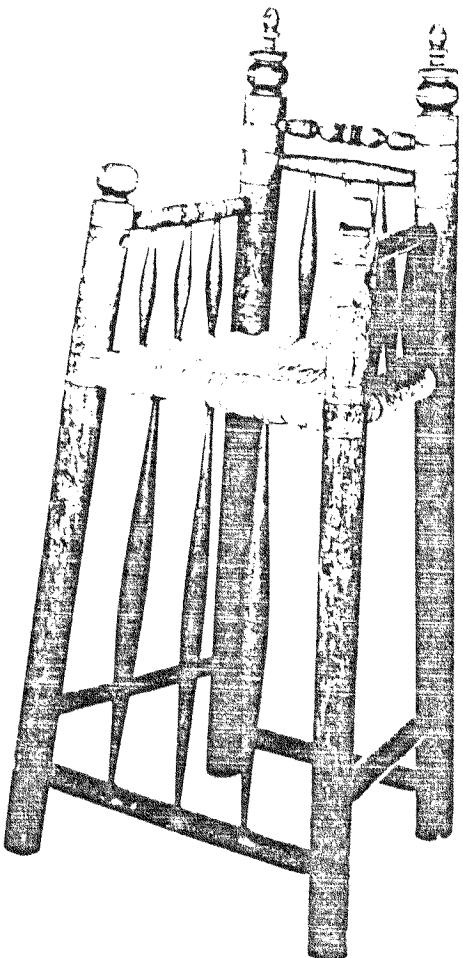
A joint stool and square table by Stephen Jaques of Newbury, dating 1680 to 1710. Note how the same decorative forms are employed on two furniture forms made by the same craftsman. Joint stool: Winterthur Museum; table: Historical Society of Old Newbury. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 215.



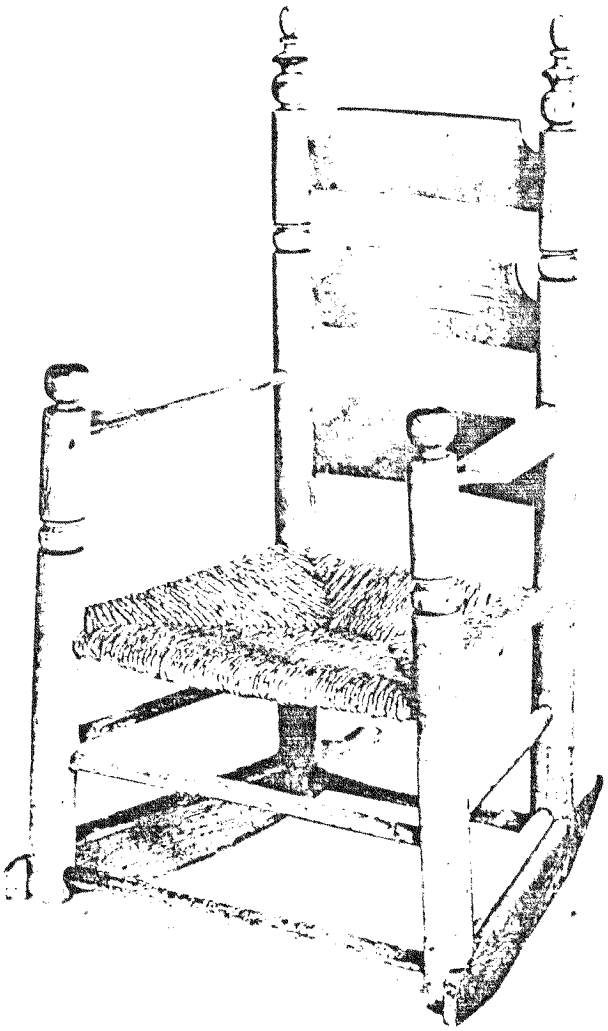
The only surviving New England joined form, made by the North River shops in Scituate, Massachusetts. Not all forms were this long, nor did they all have oversailing tops. Owned by Winterthur Museum. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 218.



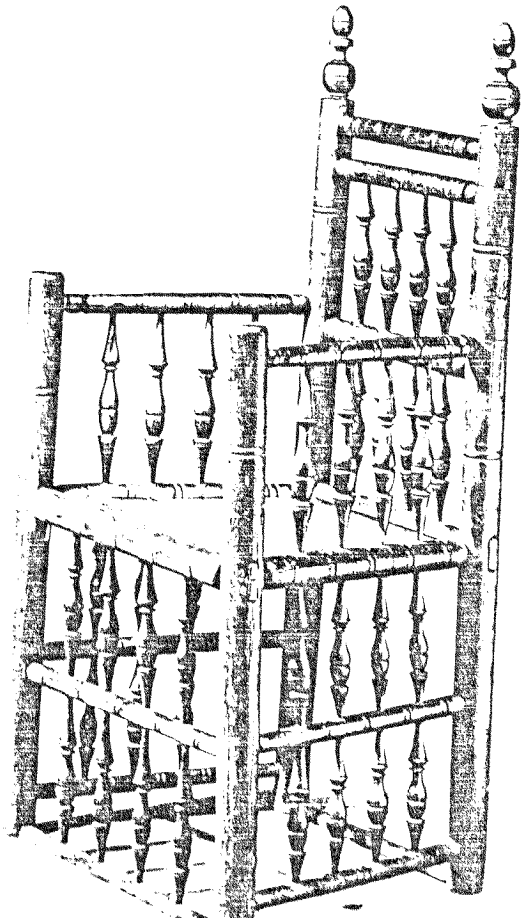
A joined great chair made in Hartford about 1660-1670 by Nicholas Disbrowe. A crest and finials are missing. Owned by the Connecticut Historical Society. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 217.



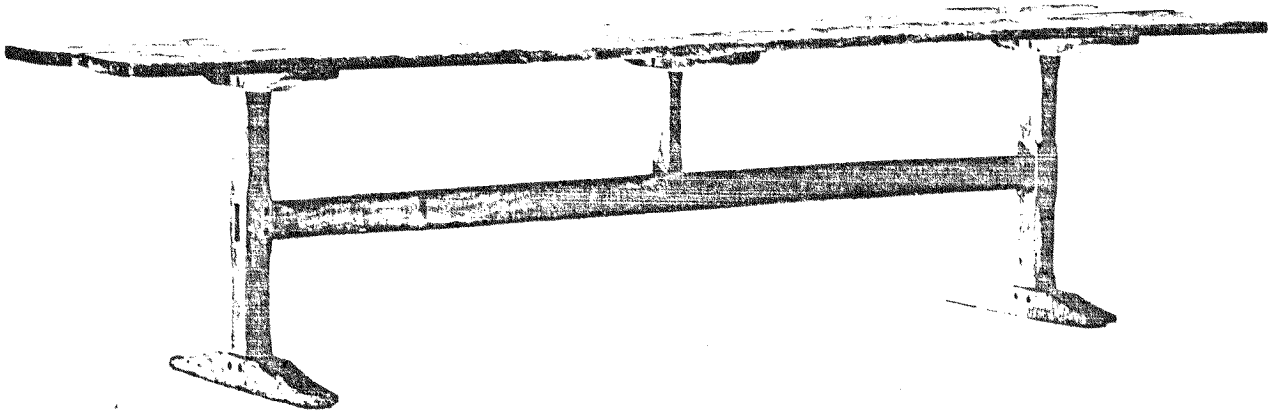
A turned high chair or child's chair made in Boston between 1640 and 1670. A foot rest and guard bar are missing. Owned by American Antiquarian Society. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 220.



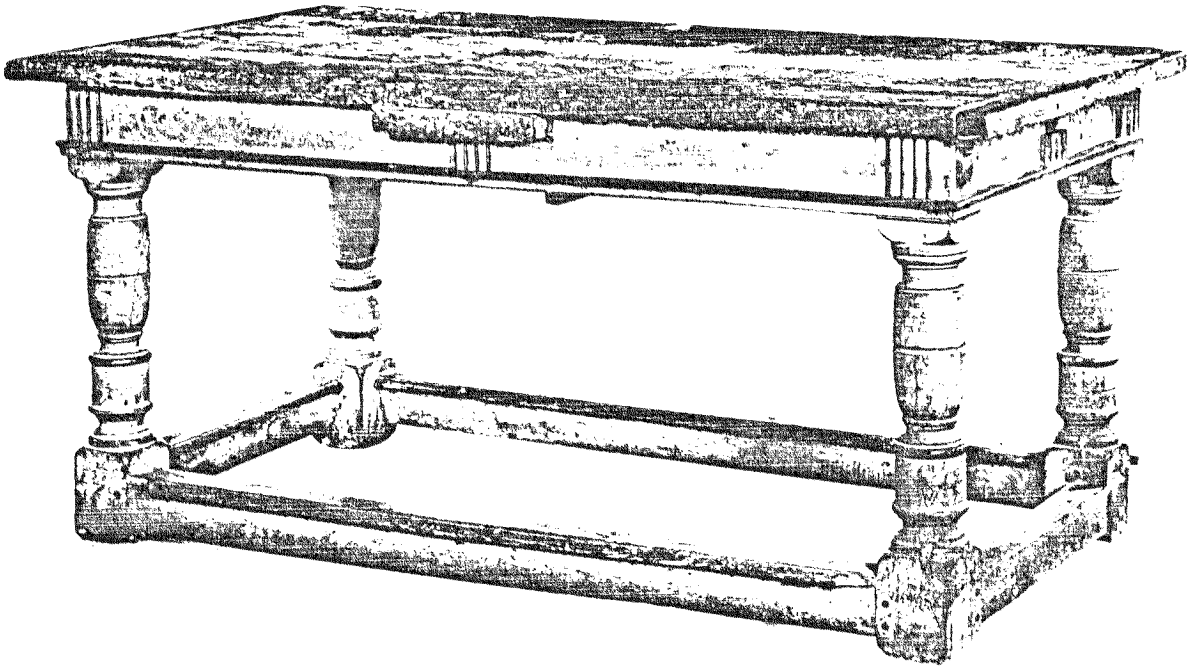
A turned great chair with three slats made in Boston about 1650-1700. The oak graining and rockers are later alterations, but the rest of the chair is remarkably well preserved. Owned by Ipswich Historical Society. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 216.



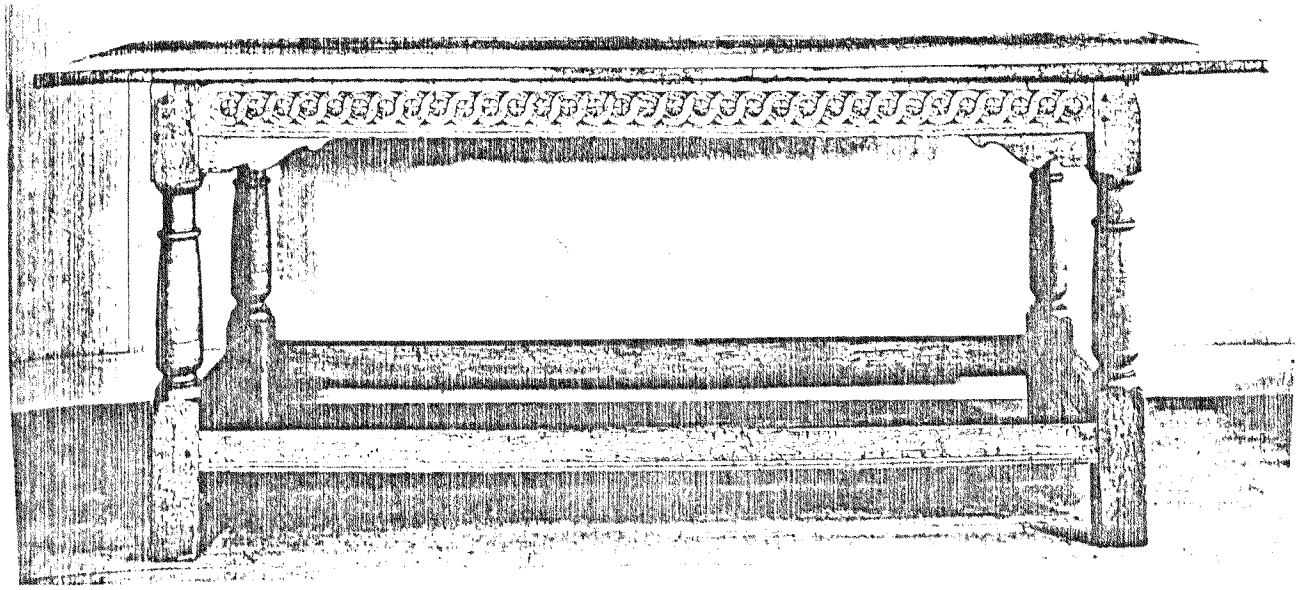
Turned great chair with spindles made in Plymouth or Boston before 1655. The pommels are missing and the top back rail and board seat and several of the spindles are replacements. Owned by the Pilgrim Society, Plymouth. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 550.



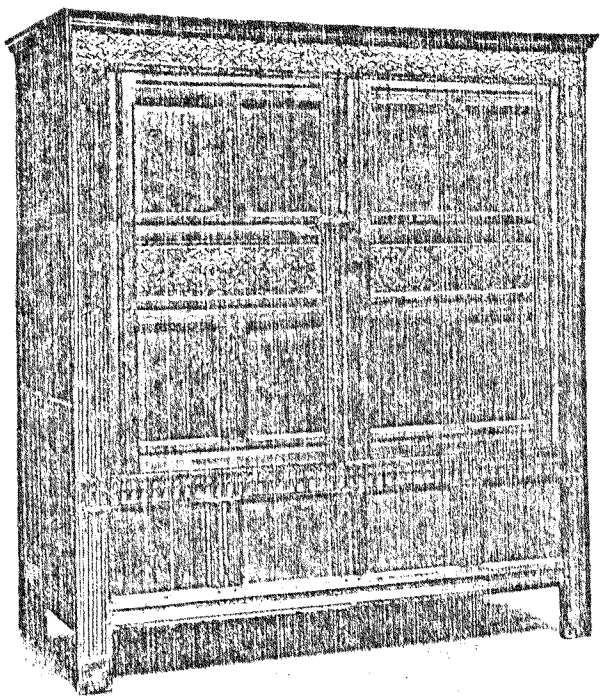
Board and trestles made by Benjamin Clark of Medfield, Massachusetts, about 1690 to 1720. A conservative, low-status furniture form not much used outside kitchens and halls in this period. Owned by Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 214.



Draw table made in Windsor, Connecticut, about 1635 to 1670. This is the only known New England example. The draw leaves, lopers, and feet are missing. Owned by Connecticut Historical Society. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 290.



Long table made in Salisbury, Massachusetts, about 1660-1700. Owned by Wadsworth Atheneum. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 139.



Joined press, England, circa 1650-1700. Virtually identical to two presses made by the Hall shops in Middletown, Connecticut. This is a clothes press with hanging pegs, but the same form fitted with shelves was used for books. Private collection. From Chinnery, Oak Furniture, p. 328.



A small table with a drawer made in Hampshire County, Massachusetts, about 1680-1720. Such small tables were used in chambers, closets, and studies as a writing surface or a dressing table. Private collection. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 306.

Appendix Six

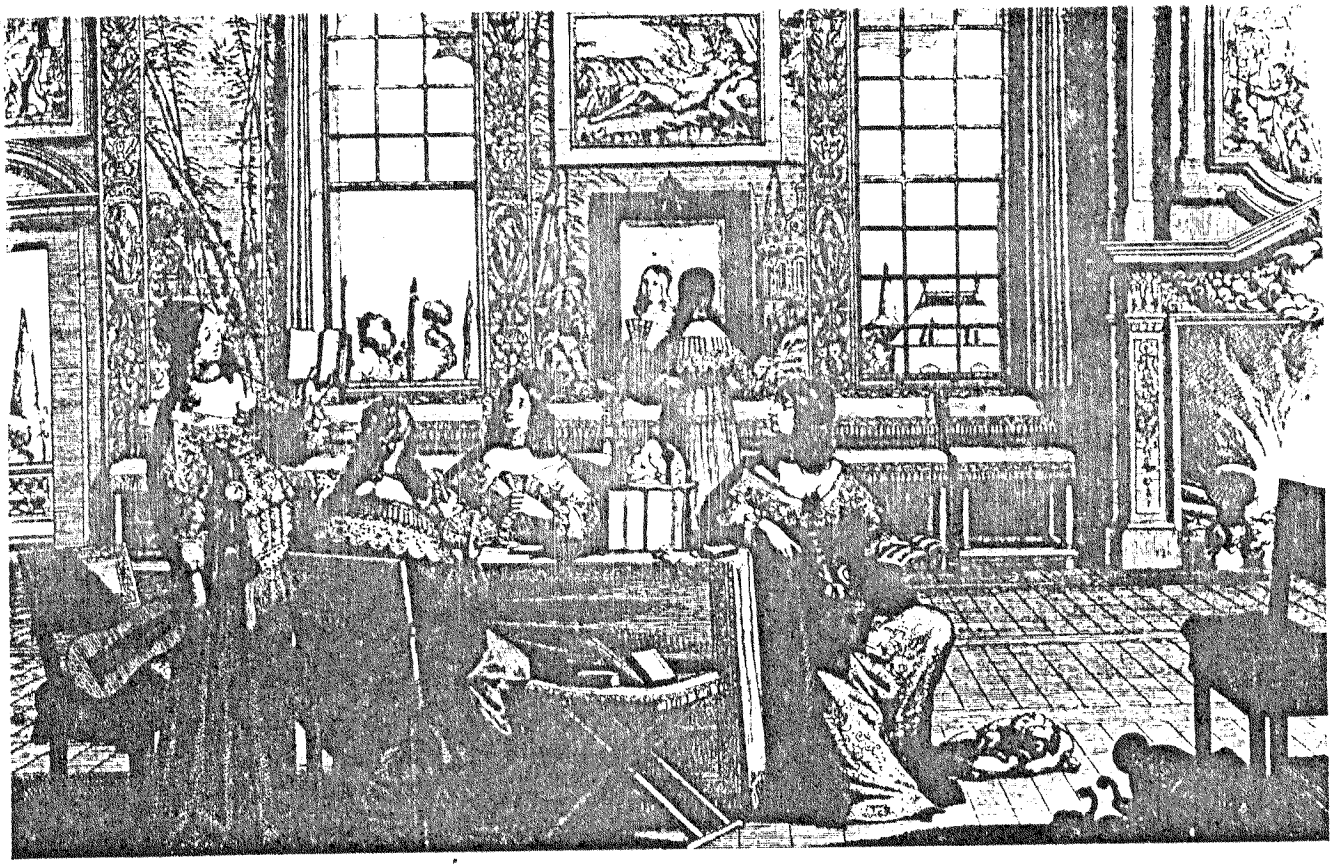
Print Sources and Furniture Documenting the French Court Taste and its Adoption in Boston by New England Merchants 1630-1700

Among the most important and well-known sources of documentation for the new decorative style formulated at Louis XIII's court in the 1630s are a series of allegorical prints by Abraham De Bosse, a Parisian engraver working in the 1630s and 1640s. These invaluable depictions of interiors of the Paris haute bourgeoisie were intended to be satires of their attempts to ape royal and noble practices. In them are shown all the fixtures also found in Boston inventories of this period: high beds with hangings, sets of chairs, couches and lis de repos (couches with only one high end, or daybeds), square tables with carpets, cupboard cloths, window curtains, pictures, looking glasses, and wall hangings. One difference, however, is the extremely elevated classical architectural context of the Paris hôtels, or grands apartments, which were far larger and higher studded than New England rooms.

Other paintings or prints will also be given which illustrate details not seen in the De Bosse prints.

The furniture included here illustrates New England upholstered furniture, beds, and tables. An important series of descriptions from Randle Holme's Academy of Armory (1682) give an English middle-class description of what the appropriate furnishings of a dining room, bed chamber, and bed were.

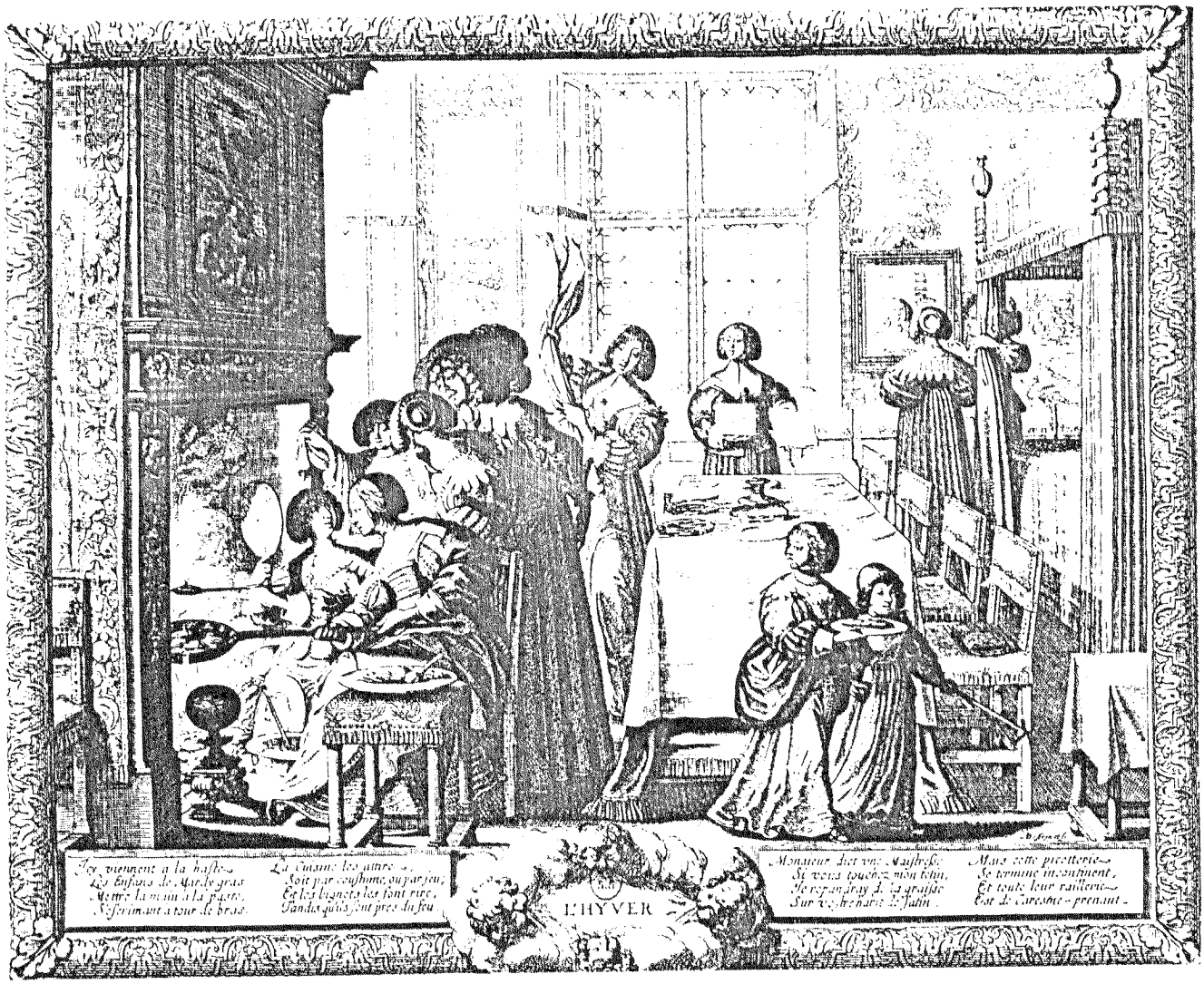
Sources: Baumgarten, "The Textile Trade in Boston, 1650-1700;" Chinnery, Oak Furniture; Cummings, Bed Hangings; Jourdain, English Decoration; Symonds, "Charles II Couches, Chairs, and Stools 1660-1670;" Thornton, "Back-stools and Chaises a Demoiselles;" Thornton, Interior Decoration; Trent, "Turkey Work Couch;" Trent, "The Endicott Chair;" Trent, "Boston Upholstery;" Trent, "Salem Upholstered Chairs."



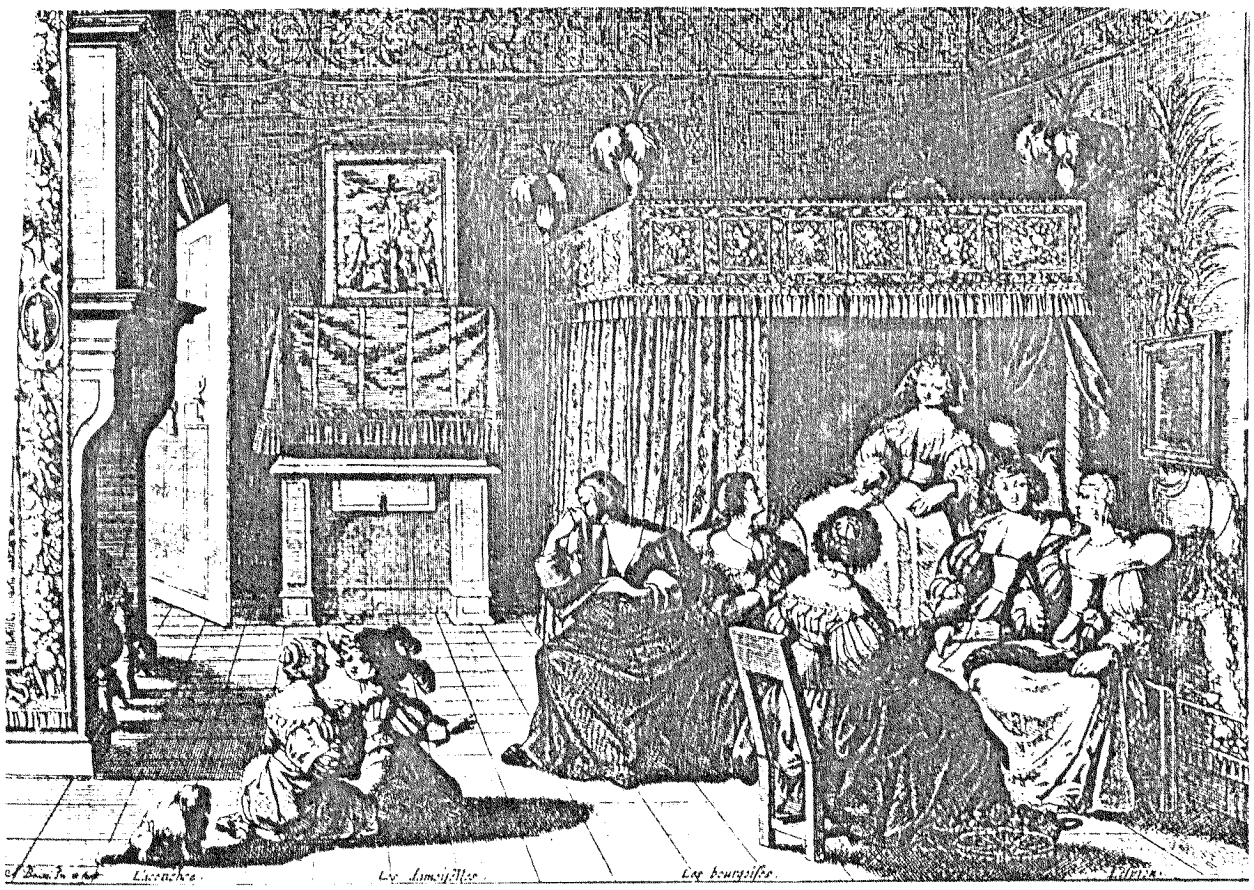
An antechamber or great chamber by De Bosse. From left to right: wall hangings; a row of upholstered chairs against the wall; a square table and carpet; a folding stool; a looking glass. From Thornton, Interior Decoration, p. 9.



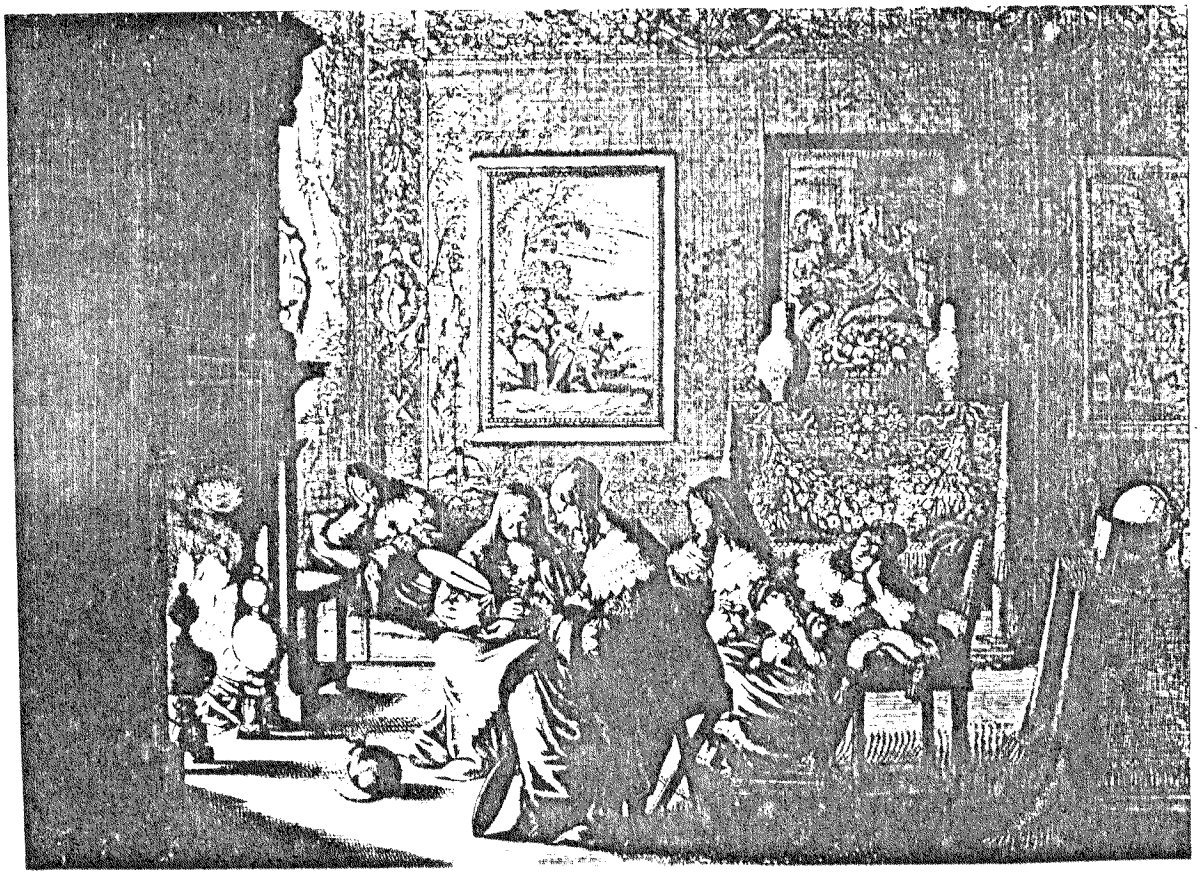
A state bedchamber or closet by De Bosse. From left to right: a high bed; an upholstered chair with cushion; wall hangings; a looking glass; a row of upholstered chairs against the wall; a square table with linen tablecloth for eating. From Thornton, Interior Decoration, p. 9.



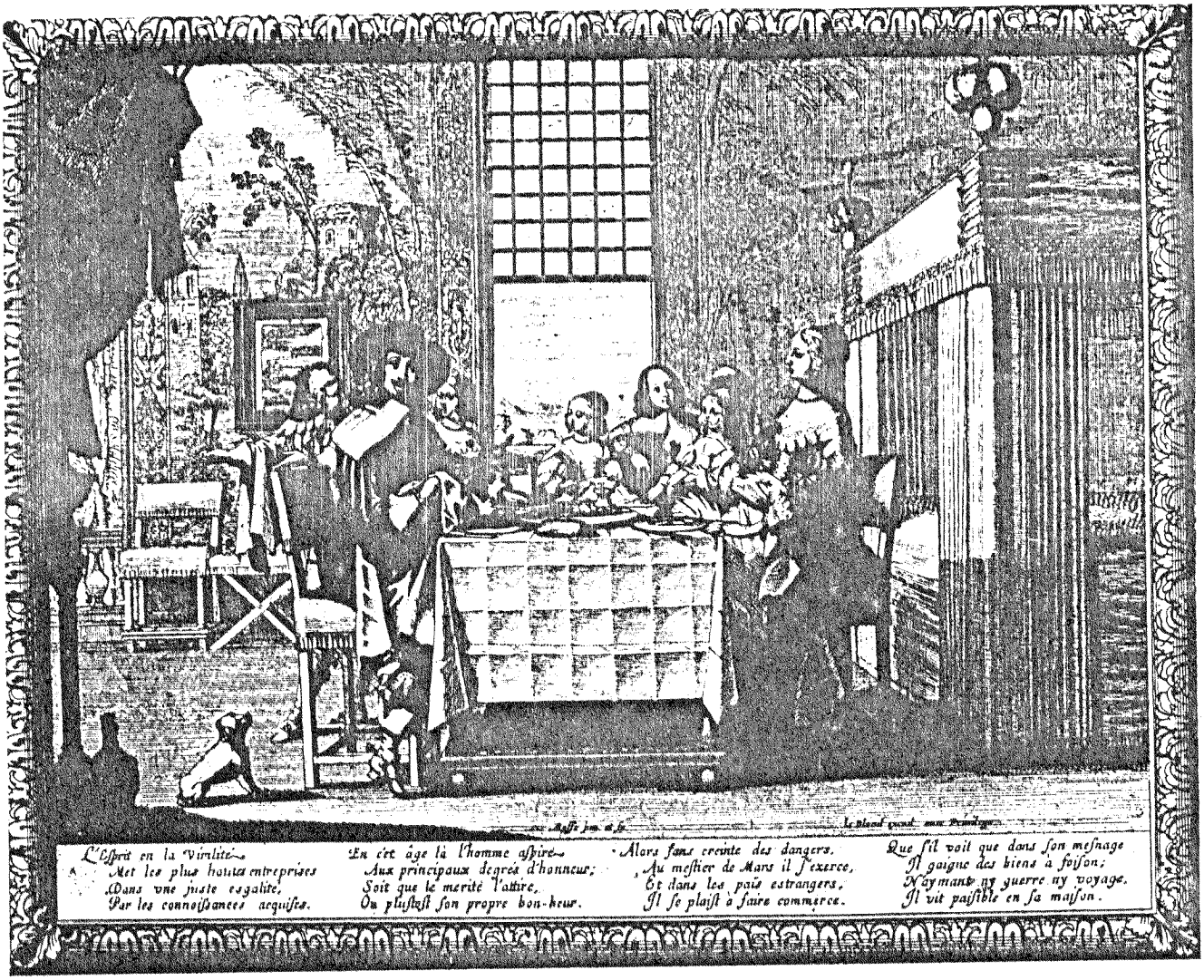
A closet being used for an informal pancake party by De Bosse. From left to right: an upholstered chair set against the side of the chimney; an upholstered stool; wall hangings; a long table with carpet and linen tablecloth and four upholstered chairs; a row of upholstered chairs along the wall; a looking glass; a small side table with linen table cloth; a high bed. From Thornton, Interior Decoration, p. 82.



A reception in a closet by De Bosse. From left to right: a chimney breast with a painting; wall hangings; a cupboard or dressing stand with a carpet; a high bed (note that the owner is receiving guests seated in the bed); ladies seated on upholstered chairs; a looking glass. From Thornton, Interior Decoration, p. 11.



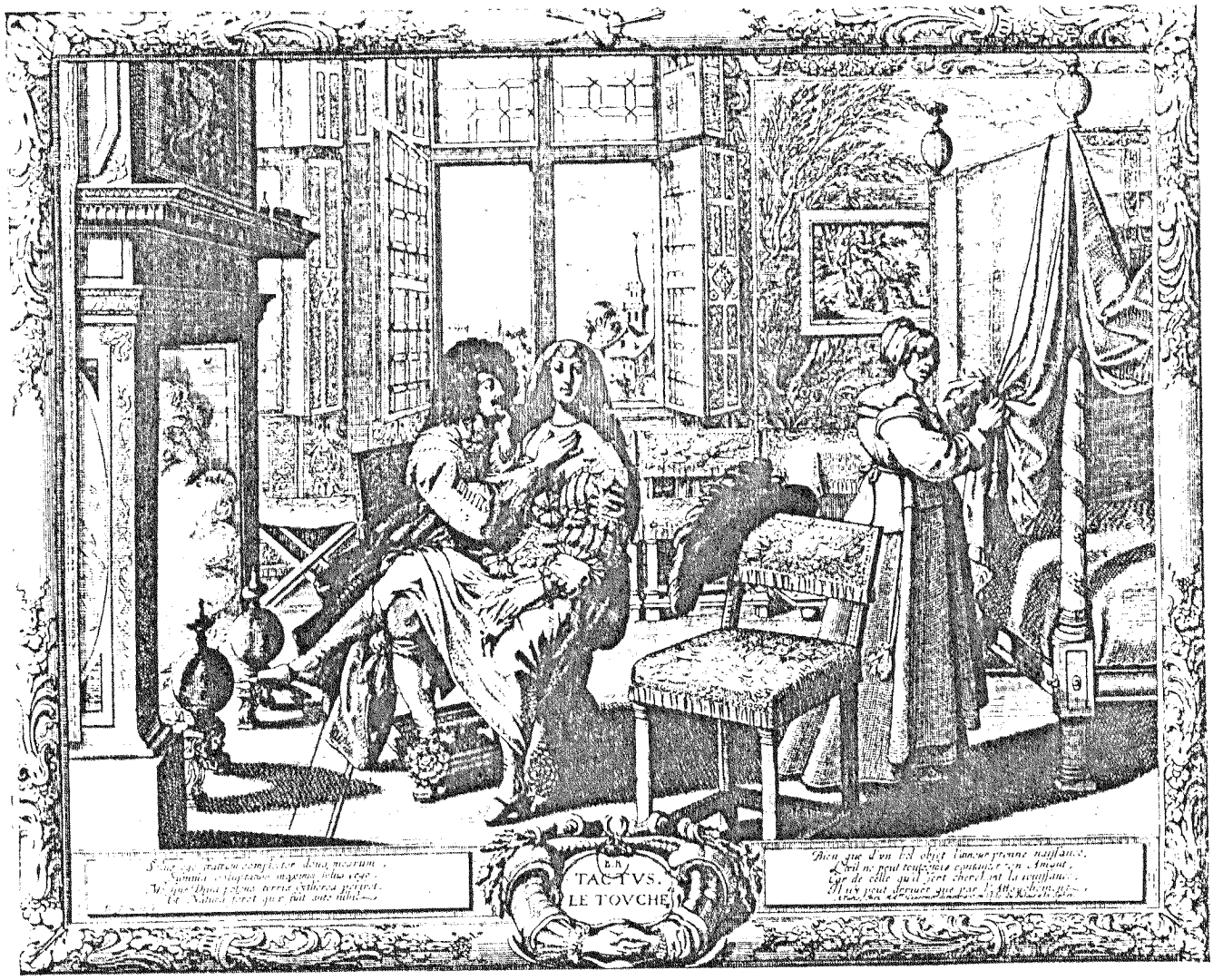
A withdrawing room at night by De Bosse. From left to right: wall hangings; an upholstered stool; a cushion; ladies seated on folding stools, stools, and chairs; a cupboard and carpet; a table and carpet. From Thornton, Interior Decoration, p. 11.



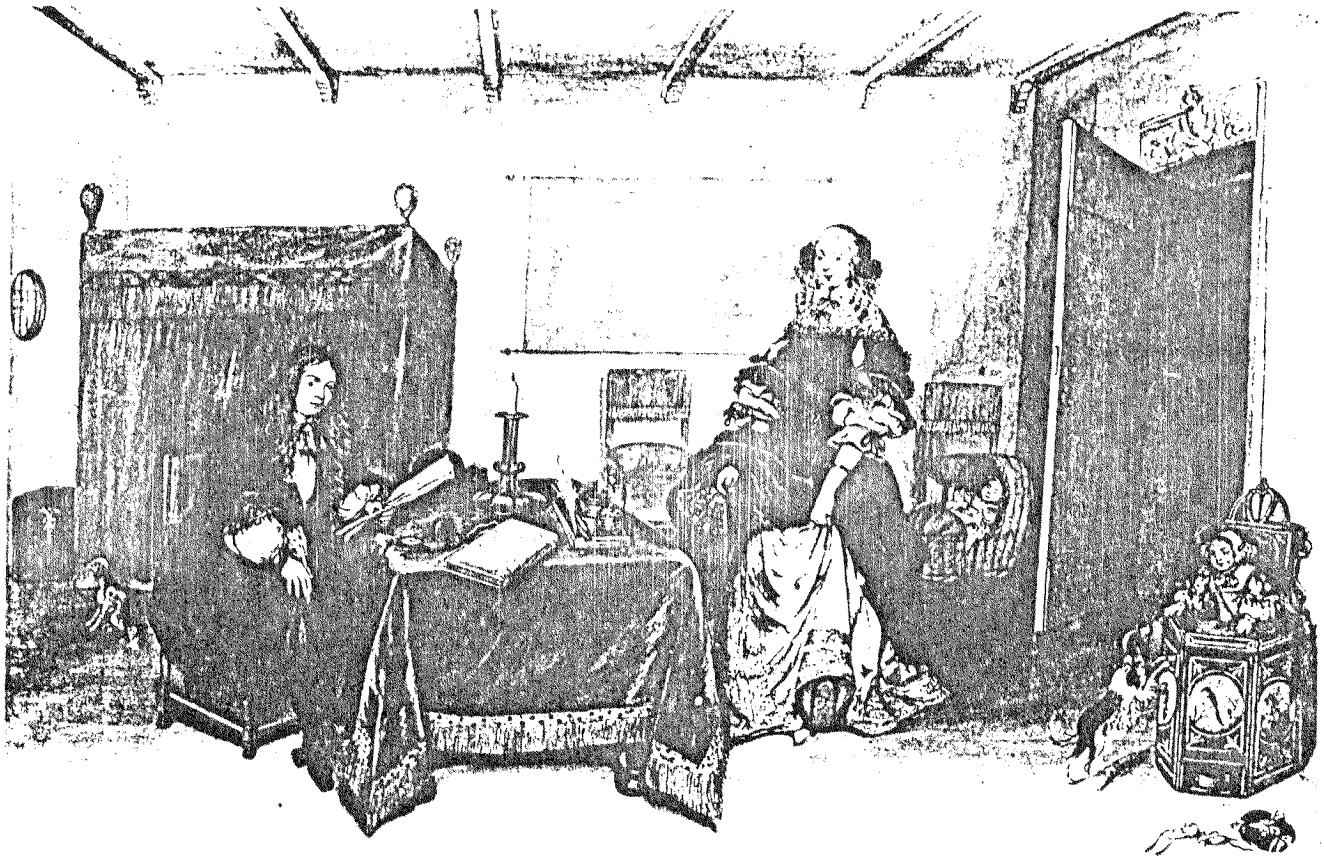
A middle-class family eating in a closet by De Bosse. Note the poem mocking bourgeois selfishness and domesticity. From left to right: wall hangings; a looking glass; upholstered chair and folding stool against the wall; chairs drawn up to the table; a long table with linen tablecloth; a high bed. From Thornton, Interior Decoration, p. 83.



A closet of a lady by De Bosse. From left to right: wall hangings; a small table and carpet with second carpet for dressing ritual; a great chair or armchair; a high bed; an upholstered stool; two great chairs against the wall. From Thornton, Interior Decoration, p. 160.



A fashionable closet by De Bosse. From left to right: folding stools and chairs against the wall; wall hangings; a high bed. From Thornton, Interior Decoration, p. 161.





Two middle-class Dutch interiors of the 1660s, illustrating coordinated beds, table carpets, and chairs. Above shows a high bed, to the left shows one type of canopy bed. From Thornton, Interior Decoration, pp. 158 and 241.

Description of a dining room, bed, and bed chamber from Randle Holme's Academy of Armory (1682), quoted in Chinnery, Oak Furniture, pp. 547-548.

Things necessary for and belonging to a dineing Rome.

The Rome well wanscoted about, either with Moontan and panells or carved as the old fashion was; or els in larg square pannell.

The Rome hung with pictures of all sorts, as History, Landskips, Fancyes, &c.

Larg Table in the midle, either square to draw out in Leaves, or Long, or Round or oval with falling leaves.

Side tables, or court cubberts, for cups and Glasses to drink in, Spoons, Sugar Box, Viall and Cruces for Viniger, Oyle and Mustard pot.

Cistern of Brass, Pewter, or Lead to set flagons of Beer, and Bottles of win in.

A Turky table cover, or carpett of cloth or Leather printed. Chaires and stooles of Turky work, Russia or calves Leather, cloth or stuffe, of of needlework. Or els made all of Joynt work or cane chaires.

Fire grate, fire shovell, Tongs, and Land Irons all adorned with Brass Bobbs and Buttons.

Flower potts, or Allabaster figures to adorn the windows, and glass well painted and a Larg seeing Glass at the higher end of the Rome.

A Faire with-drawing Rome at the other end of the dineing Rome well furnished with a Table, Chaires and stooles &c.

80. ...a Bed Royall, the vallance, curtaines (turned about the posts) and counter pane laced and fringed about: with a foote cloth of Turky worke about it: the Tester adorned with plumbes, according to the colours of the bed. This I have not seen in a coat, but for the badge and cognisance of an house in the citty of London, whose Indweller I suppose, was the Kings, or Queenes Maiesties, Upholsterer.

Things usefull about a Bed, and bed-chamber.

Bed stocks, as Bed posts, sides, ends, Head and Tester.

Mat, or sack-cloth Bottom.

Cord, Bed staves, and stay or the feet.

Curtain Rods and hookes, and rings, either Brass or Horn.

Beds, of chaffe, Wool or flocks, Feathers, and down in Ticks or Bed Tick.

Bolsters, pillows.

Blankets, Ruggs, Quilts, Counterpan, caddows.

Curtaines, Valens, Tester head cloth; all either fringed, Laced or plaine alike.

Inner curtaines and Valens, which are generally White silk or Linen.

Tester Bobbs of Wood gilt, or covered suteable to the curtaines.

Tester top either flatt, or Raised, or canopy like, or half Testered.

Basis, or the lower Valens at the seat of the Bed, which reacheth to the ground, and fringed for state as the uper Valens, either with Inch fring, caul fring, Tufted fring, snailing fring, Gimpe fring with Tufts and Buttons, Vellem fring, &c.

The Chamber

Hangings about the Rome, of all sorts, as Arras, Tapestry, damask, silk, cloth or stuffe: in paines or with Rods, or gilt Leather, or plaine, else Pictures of Friends and Relations to Adorne the Rome.

Table, stands, dressing Box with drawers, a large Myrour, or Looking glass. Couch, chair, stooles, and chaires, a closs-stoole.

Window curtaines, Flower potts.

Fire grate, and a good Fire in the winter, Fire shovel, Tongs, Fork and Bellows.

81. ...a Bed with...blankett or Cadow or Rugg: or covering: the sheets turned down, and boulster...this is a bed prepared for to lodge in, but haveing no Tester. Such are termed Truckle beds, because they trundle under other beds: or being made higher with an head, so that they may be set in a chamber corner, or under a cant roofe, they are called a field Bed or cant Bed. If it be soe, that it may have a canapy over it (that is a halfe tester) then it is termed a Canapy Bed: to which bed belongs curtaines and Vellance.

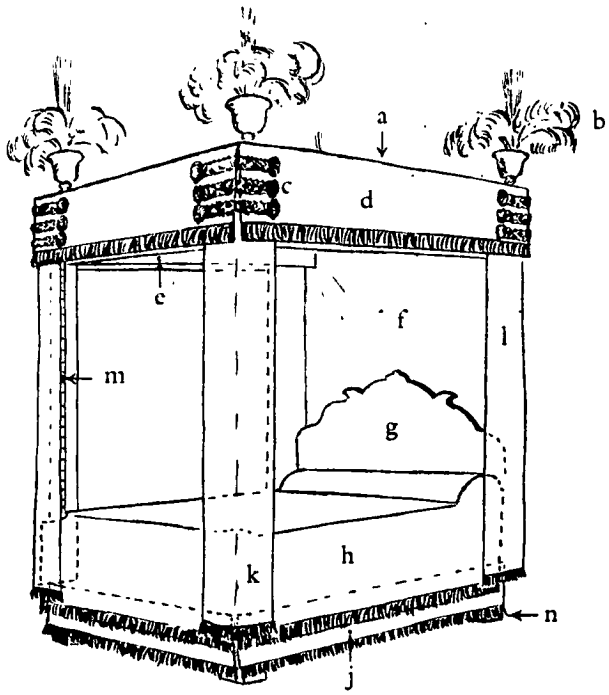
In the base of this square ly's a Bed staffe, of some termed a Burthen staffe.

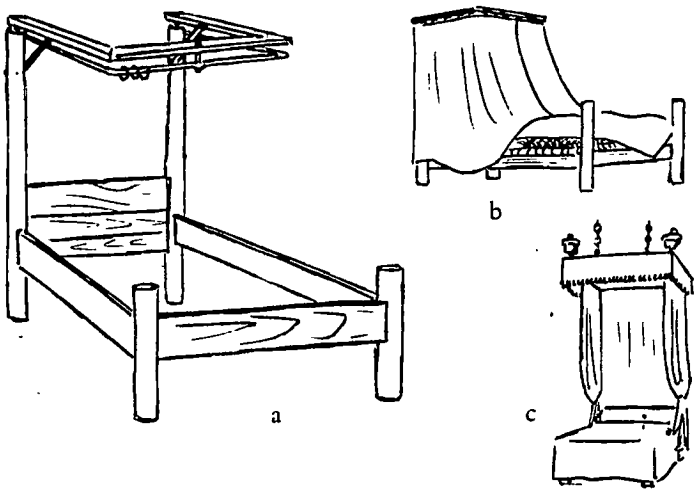
88. ...(lower half) an Arke or safe: a kind of little house made of wood, and covered with haire cloth, and so by two rings hung in the midle of a Rome, thereby to secure all things put therein from the cruelty of devouring Rats, mice, Weesels and such kind of Vermine. Some have the pannells of the Arke made all of Tyn, with small holes for aire, others of woode.

91. ...a Stand: a little round table, set upon one pillar, or post, which in the foote branches it selfe out into three or foure feete, or toes. It is used for to set a Bason on whilest washing, or a candle to read by.

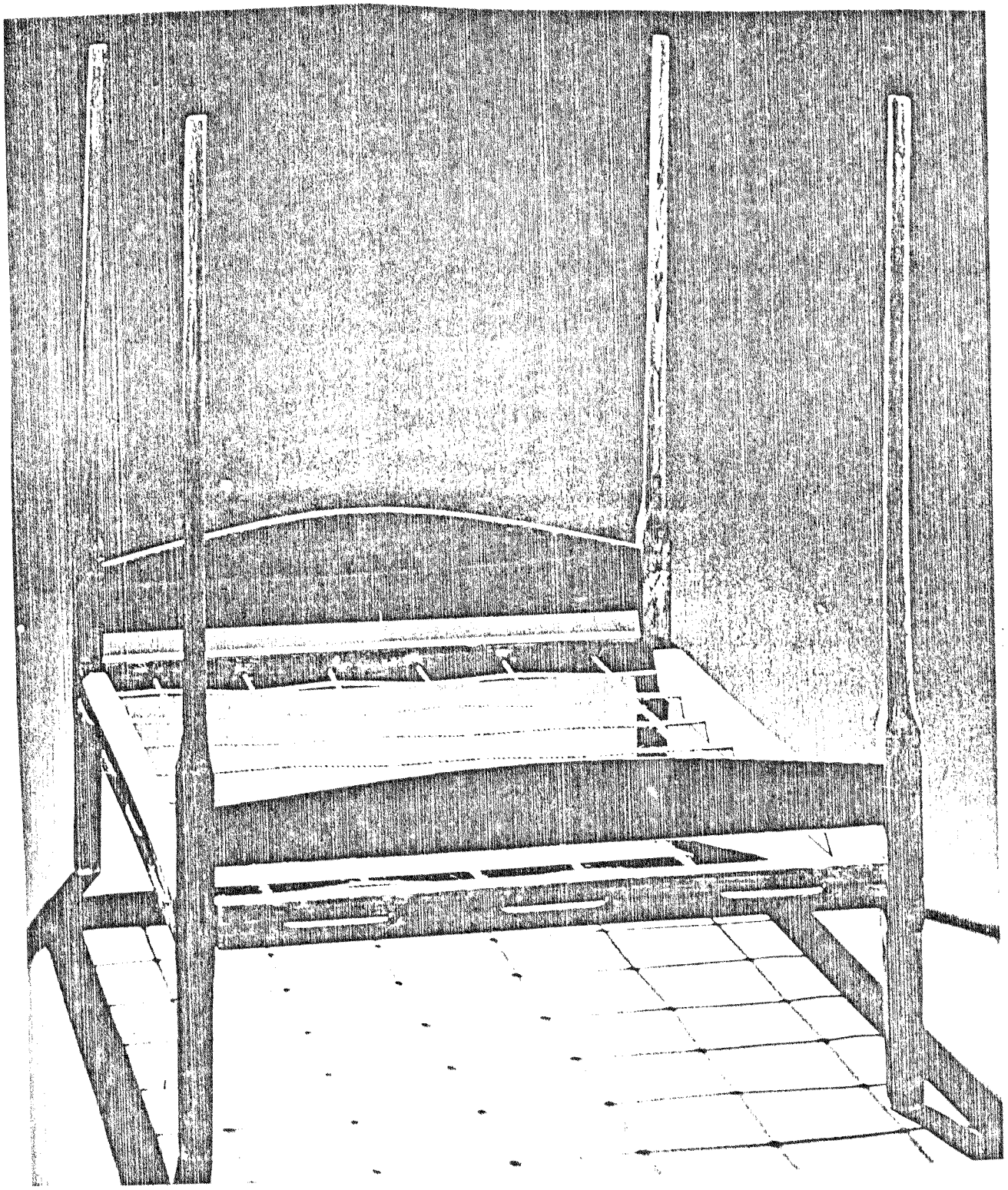
Form and nomenclature of beds, from Thornton, Interior Decoration, pp. 150 and 171.

118. Diagram showing the parts of a seventeenth-century bed with the main bed-curtains omitted for the sake of clarity.
a. Tester.
b. Cup with plumes (ostrich feather *panaches*, and *aigrettes*).
c. Buttons and loops (originally linked the valances but became decorative, as here).
d. Outer valance (*pente*).
e. Inner valance (*pente*).
f. Headcloth (*dossier*).
g. Headboard.
h. Counterpoint.
j. Base valance (*pente* or *soubassement*).
k. Cantoon (*cantonnière*).
l. Bonegrace (*bonnegrâce*).
m. Post with its case.
n. Feet, the lowest part of the bedstock.



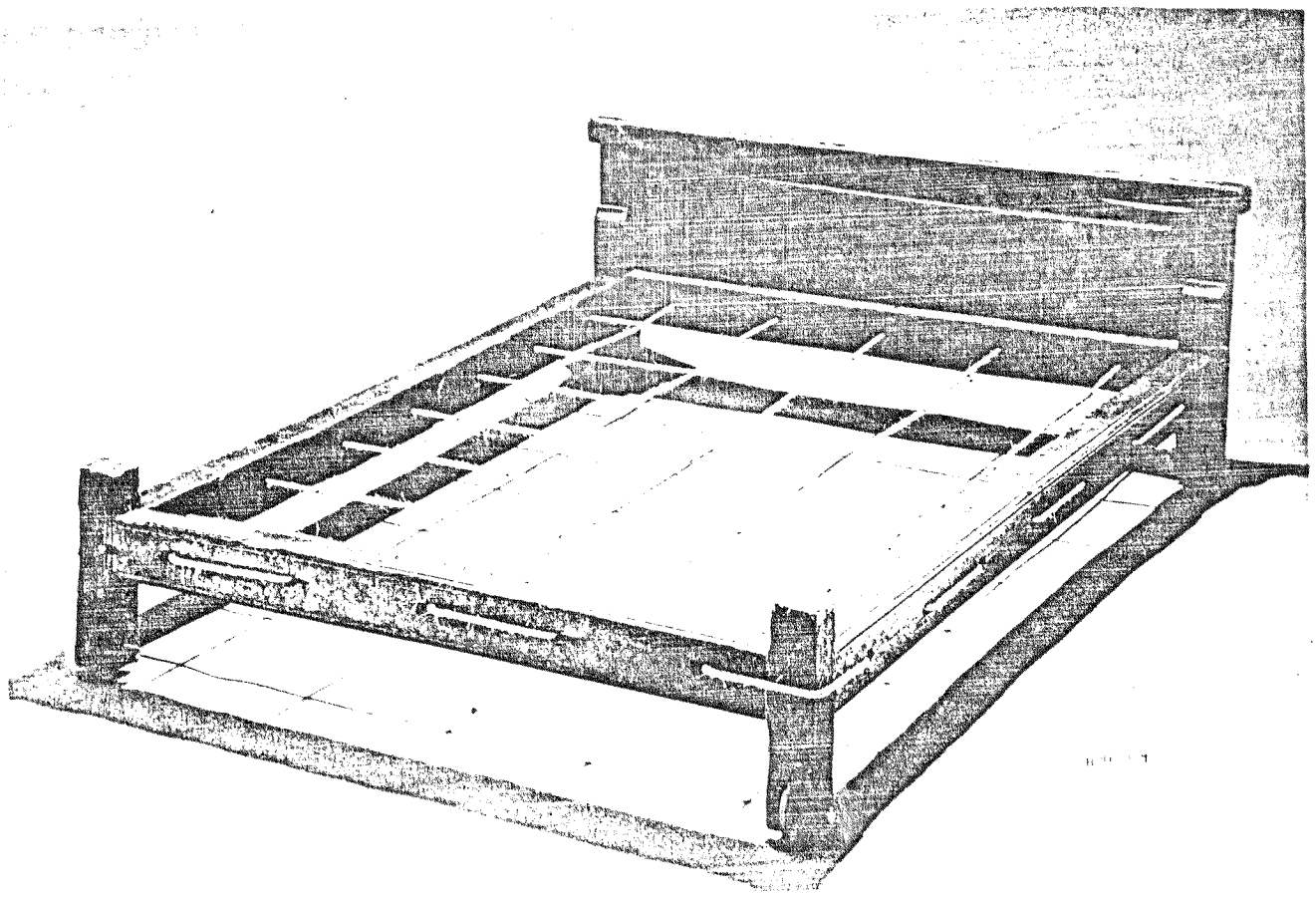


145.
a. Sketch of a simple bed with a half-headed tester at Hardwick Hall dating from the seventeenth century.
b. How the bed presumably looked when furnished with hangings.
c. Sketch of a grander type of half-tester with the chains suspending the tester from the ceiling indicated.

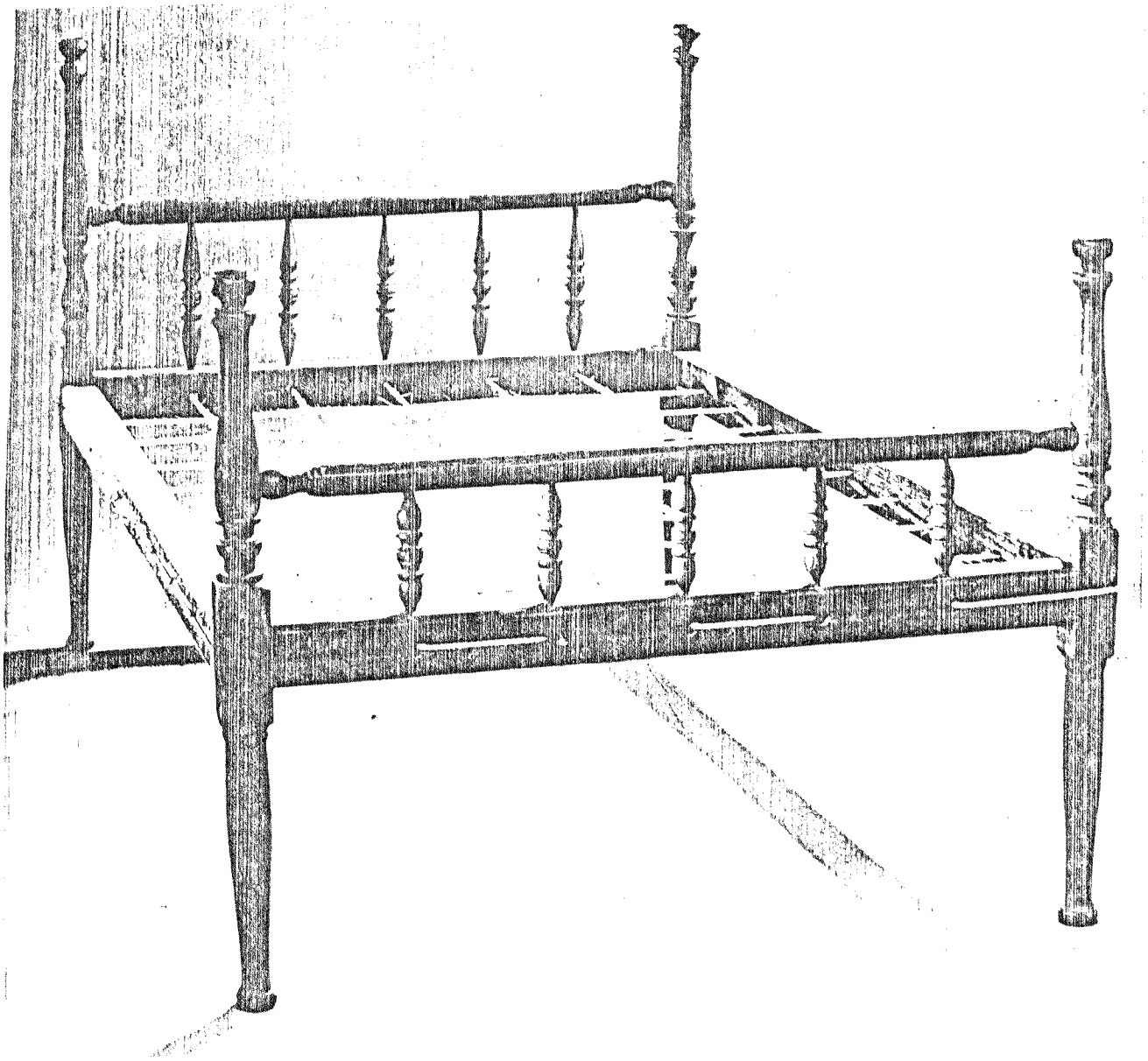


A New England ash high bedstead dating from 1690 to 1750.

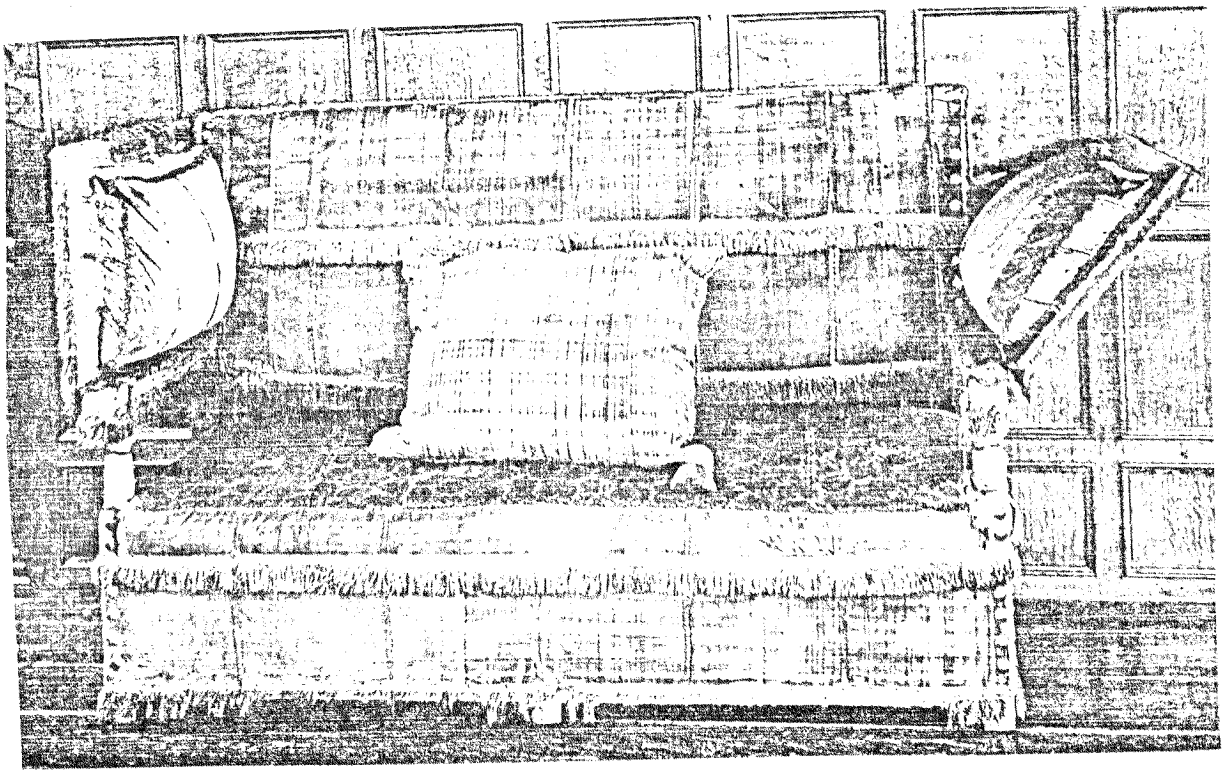
From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 255.



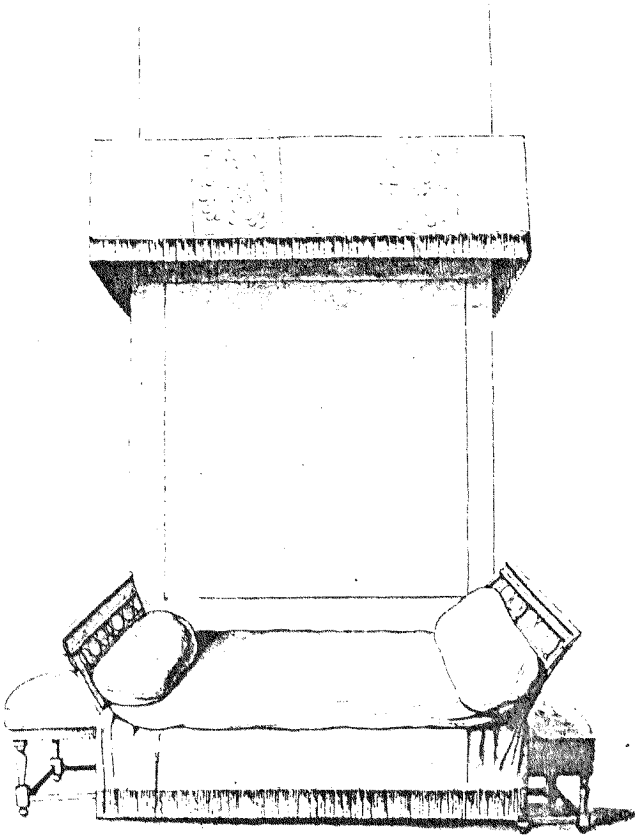
A New England maple and pine trundle bedstead. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 256.



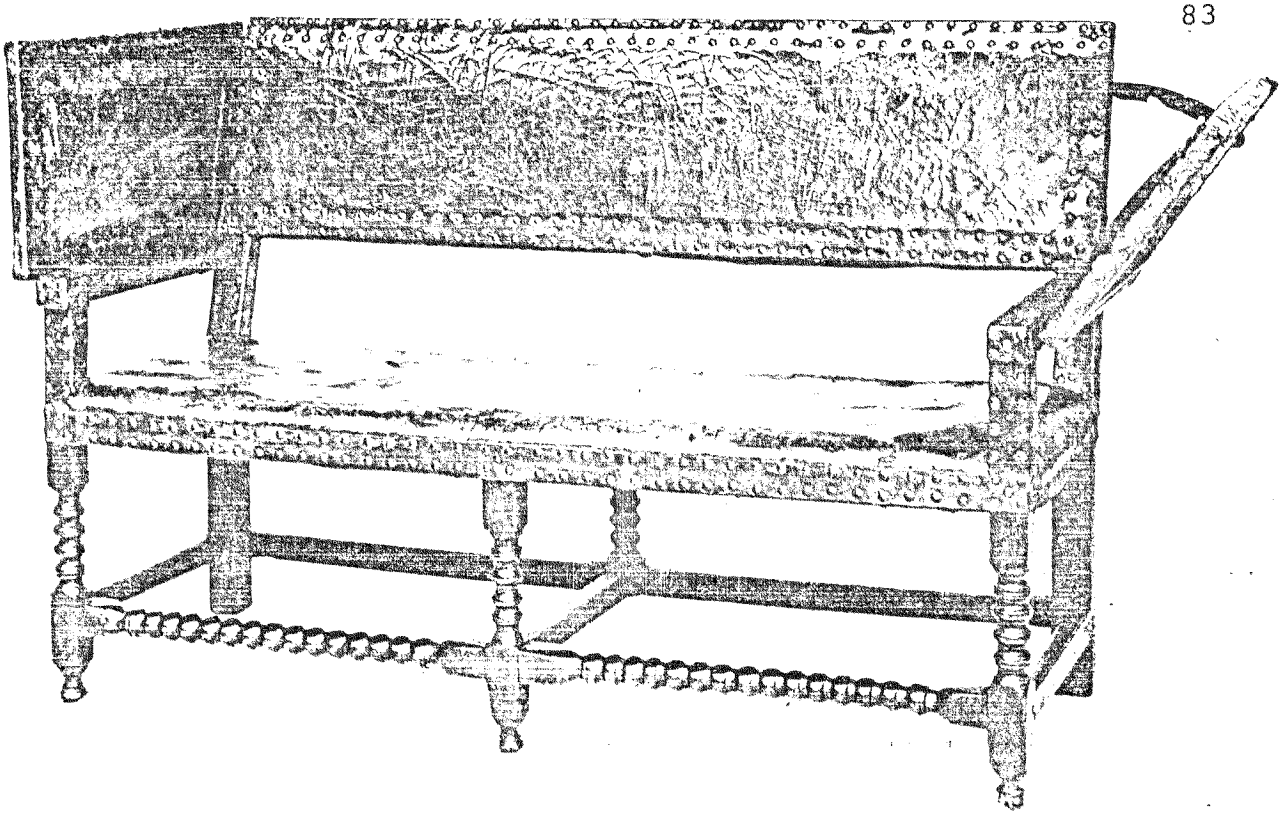
A New England turned ash bedstead with low posts. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 297.



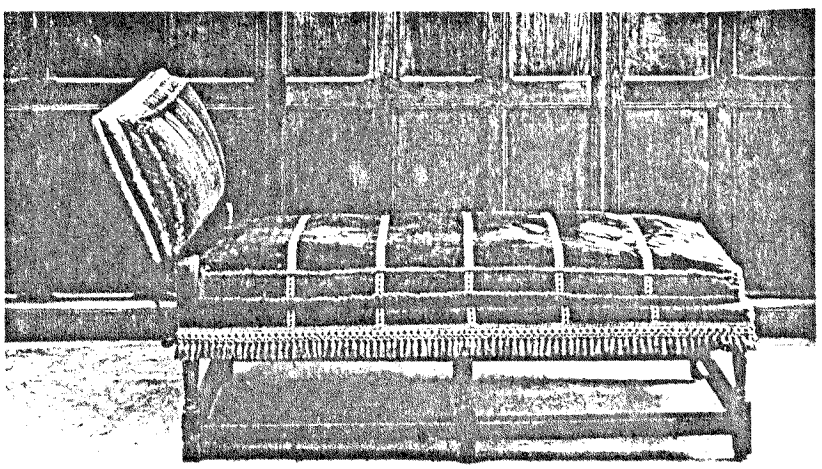
A great couch laid with a case, with falls padded with cushions. This is a royal couch, but differs from middle-class examples only in the richness of the textiles. From Chinnery, Oak Furniture, p. 129.



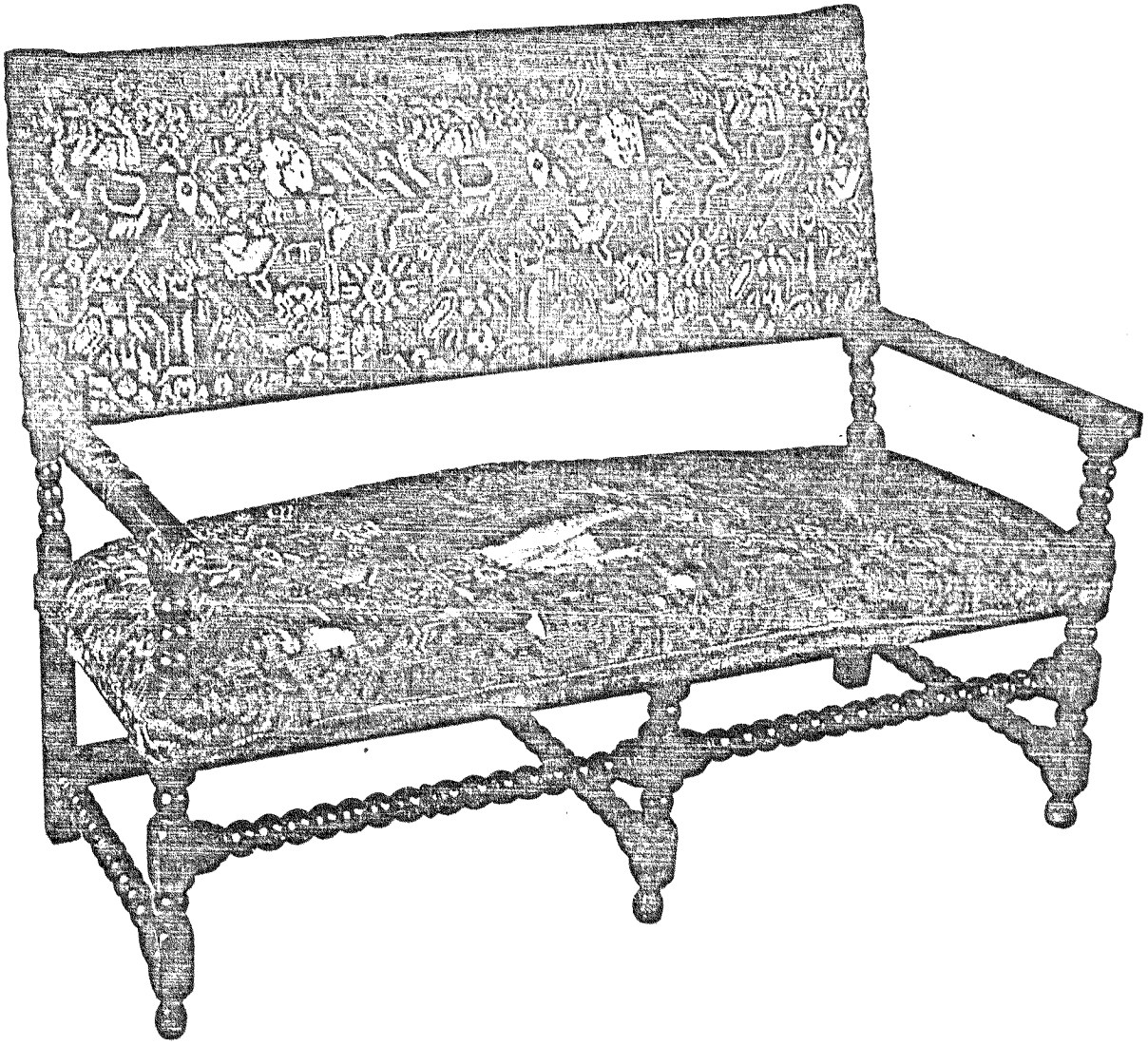
A sketch showing the aristocratic grouping of couch with case and cushions, two stools, and canopy of state. From Thornton, Interior Decoration, p. 171.



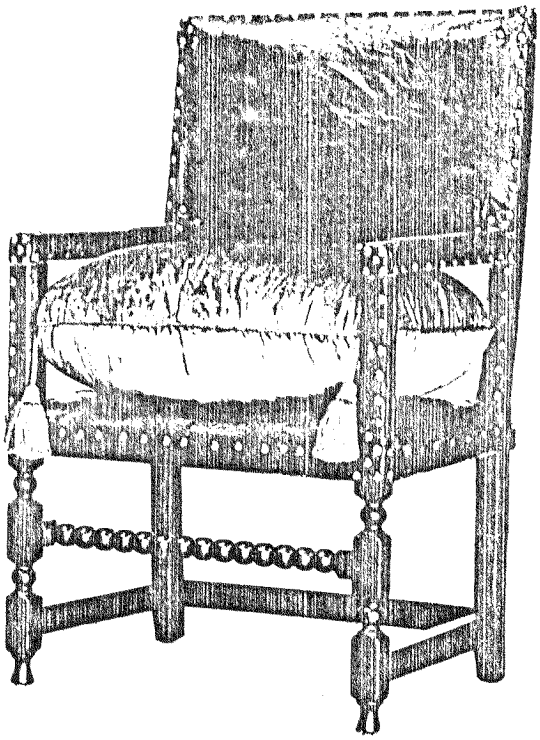
A middle-class English couch with falls covered in leather. From Chinnery, Oak Furniture, p. 139.



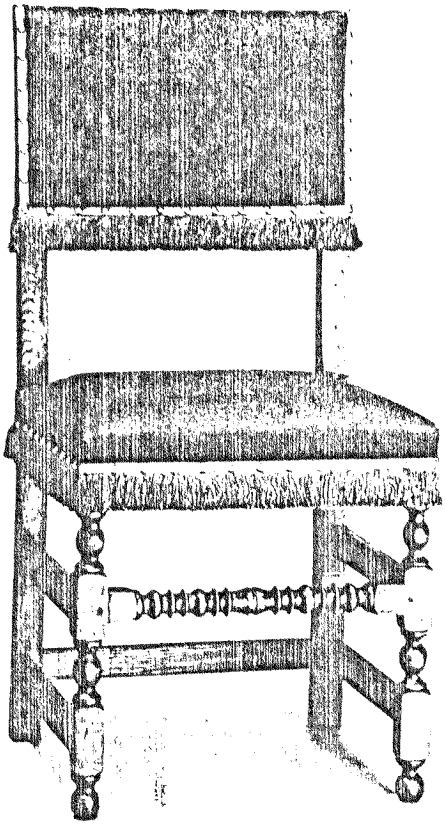
An aristocratic English lis de repos or daybed, laid with a case. From Thornton, Interior Decoration, p. 216.



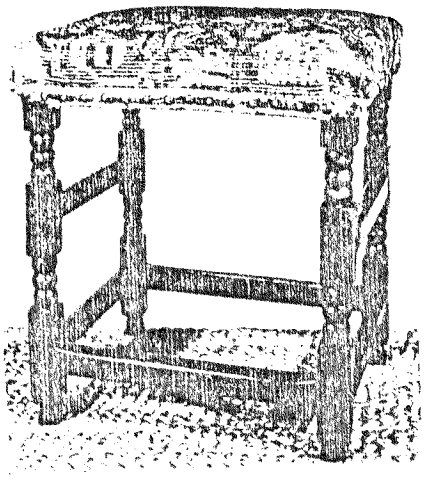
A Boston Turkey work couch, missing its case and falls. It was made in 1697 for John Leverett, a member of the Ipswich oligarchy through his marriage to the widow Margaret Rogers Berry. One other couch frame without original upholstery of this form is known. Owned by Essex Institute. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 442.



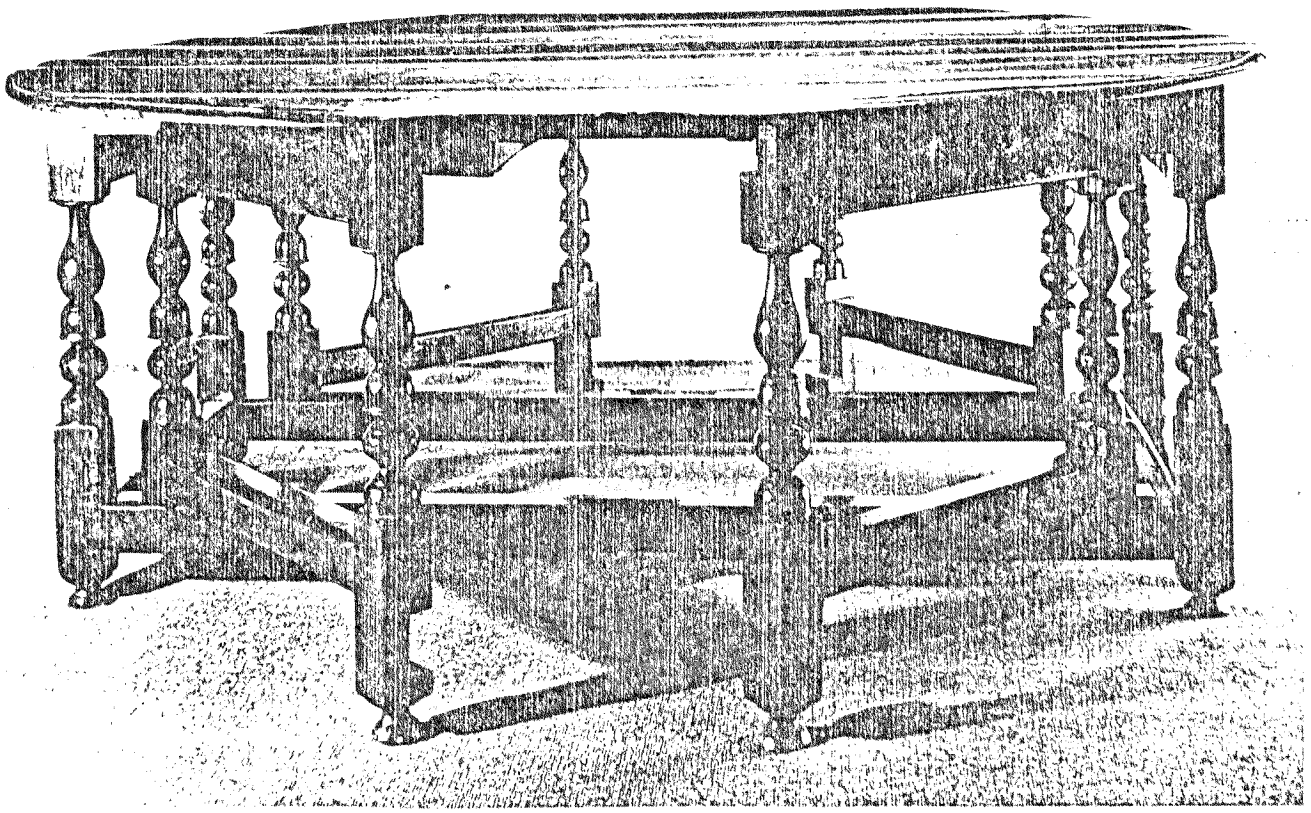
A Boston leather great chair made about 1660-1680 for Zerrubabel Endicott of Salem. The cushion is modern. Owned by Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 533.



A Salem green serge chair, made about 1685-1695. The upholstery and covers are modern, executed by the writer and Andrew Passeri on the basis of prints and tacking evidence on the frame. Owned by Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 289.



An English upholstered stool, essentially two chair fronts set back-to-back. No New England example survives, although they certainly existed. From Chinnery, Oak Furniture, p. 273.

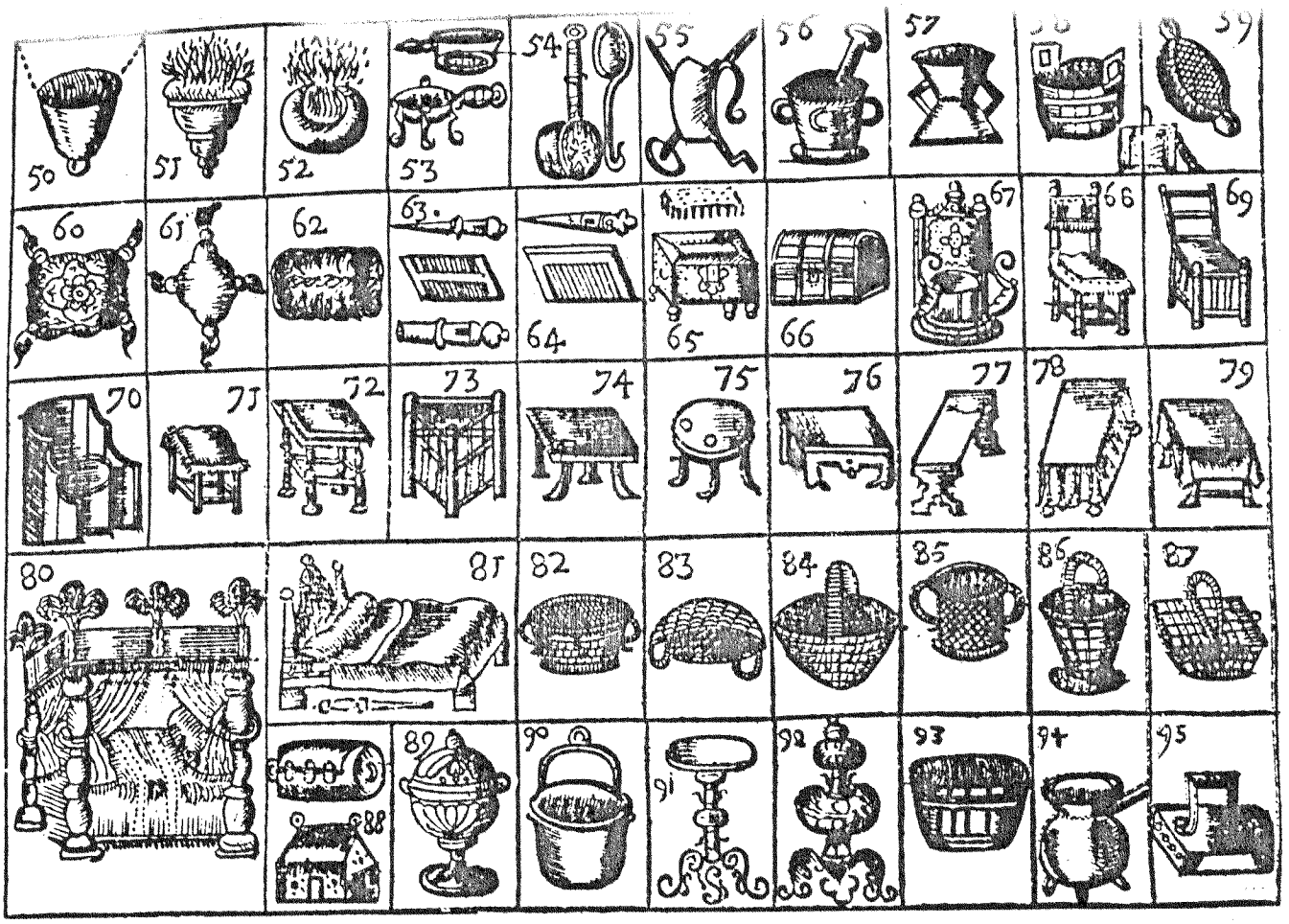


An English oval table with four gates and two leaves. Nearly identical examples at Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, belonged to the Winslow family and were made in Boston about 1680. From Chinnery, Oak Furniture, p. 310.

Appendix Seven

Miscellaneous Small Furniture Forms

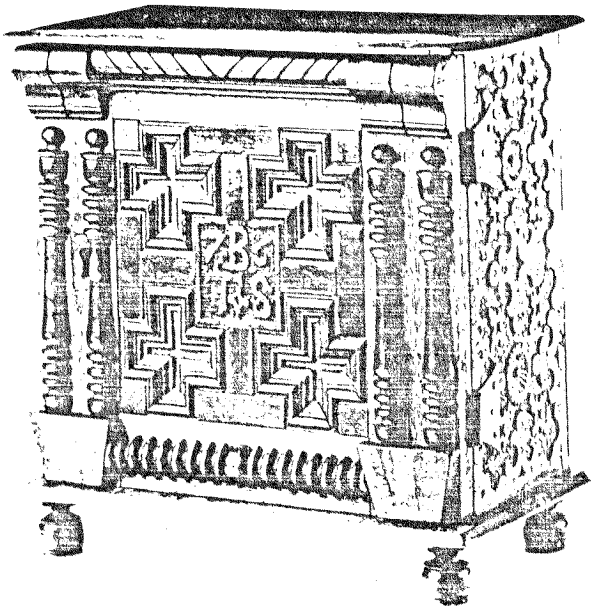
A page from Randle Holme included here identifies many small fixtures used in homes. Also shown are cabinets, glass cases, stands, looking glasses and portraits, clocks, musical instruments, fireplace equipment, a small print showing use of a candle as a night light. The use of these fixtures is documented in inventories and corroborated by prints like the De Bosse series in Appendix Six. In the furnishing plan, these generalized statements will be amplified with detailed descriptions of suitable objects in the Ironworks Site collection or otherwise available for purchase.



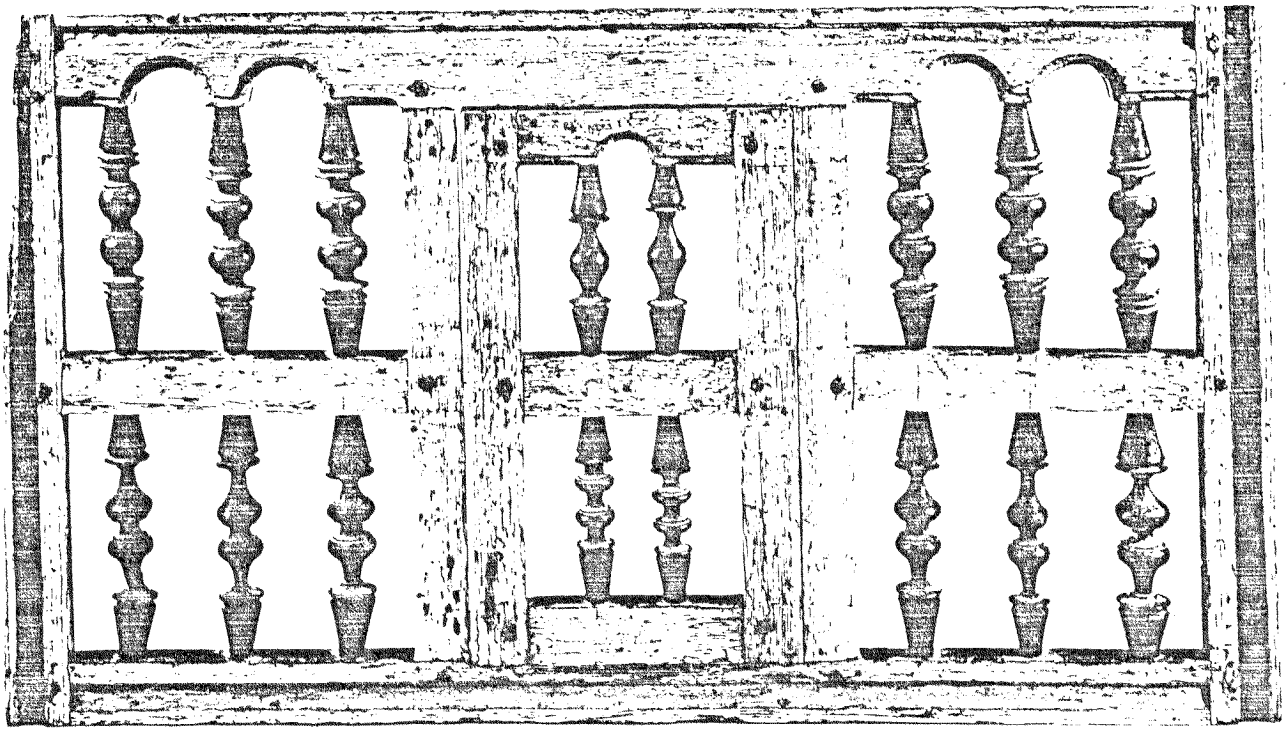
319. Mid-seventeenth-century English household furniture and utensils.

50–52 lamps
53 colander and chafing-dish. The purpose of the latter was 'to hold hot coales of fire in, and to set dish-meates thereon, to keepe them warme till the tyme of serving them up to the table . . .'.
54 warming pan and frying pan. The former was for airing beds.
55 a 'steel to strike fire', used in association with a tinder-box, and two spits for roasting.
56 & 57 mortars, one with its pestel
58 'A tub or turnell with handles' of the sort used by laundry-maids. It could also be used as a bath.
59 'a twiggen basket'
60 & 61 cushions
62 bolster, laced lengthways 'for the greater adornment and beauty of it'
63 two-sided head-comb and a bodkin, the latter to hold up long hair
64 single-sided comb and a bodkin
65 'a Bristle brush' and a 'kind of cabinett . . . such as ladyes keep their . . . jewells in; it stands constantly on the . . . dressing table . . .'.
66 coffer (with a curved lid). 'If it have a flat cover, it is called a Chest'.
67 throne 'or a cathedre'
68 'a stoole-chair, or back stoole'. If all made of joiner's work, then called 'a Joynt chaire, or a Buffet chaire'.
69 a 'turned chaire'
70 ancient form of chair, sometimes called a 'settle chair'. A variant made of osiers was a 'twiggen chaire'.
71 stool
72 'Joynt stoole', has wooden seat. In Cheshire called a 'buffit stool'.
73 'turned stoole'
74 'country stoole', also called a 'plancke or blocke stoole'
75 round 'country stoole'
76 nursing stool
77 'Joint forme, or bench'
78 long table
79 square table covered with a carpet
80 'a bed royall'
81 bed without a tester. Below is a 'bed staffe'.
82 'voyder basket' for carrying delicate clothes
83 'cloathes basket'; rough versions were for coal.
84 'hand basket'; might be coloured
85 fruit basket
86 'twiggen basket' for collecting eggs
87 egg or butter basket; has two lids and a partition
88 'port manteau' of tanned leather and an ark 'of wood and covered with haire cloth', which could be suspended from ceiling to 'secure all things . . . from the cruelty of devouring rates, mice, weesels and such like vermine'. Instead of horse-hair, panels of pierced tin might be used.
89 covered cup
90 hanging kettle or cauldron
91 'little round table . . . for to set a Bason on whilest washing, or a candle to read by, with many other uses for a chamber. Some call it a dressing table.'
92 andiron, 'for ornament more than profitt'.
93 tub
94 'posnett', used for boiling liquids
95 smoothing iron.

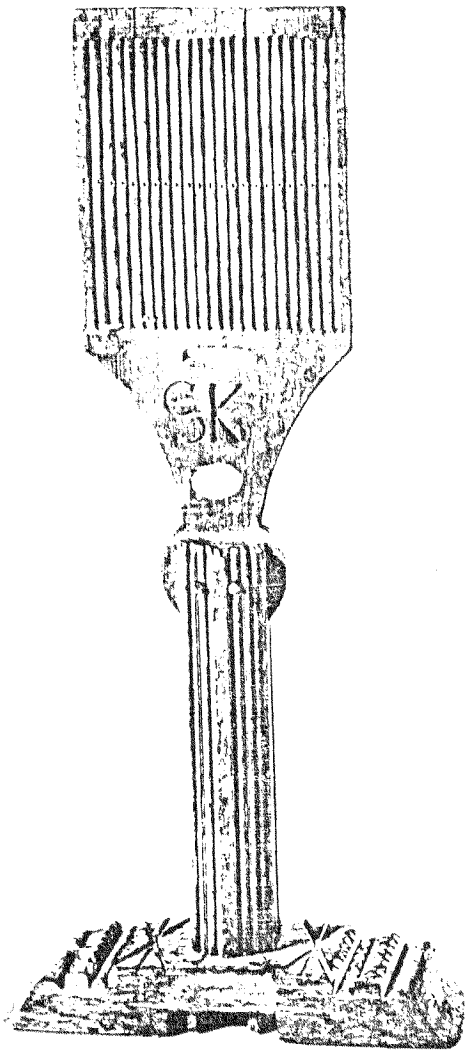
A page from Randle Holme's Academy of Armory (1682), from Thornton, Interior Decoration, p. 327.



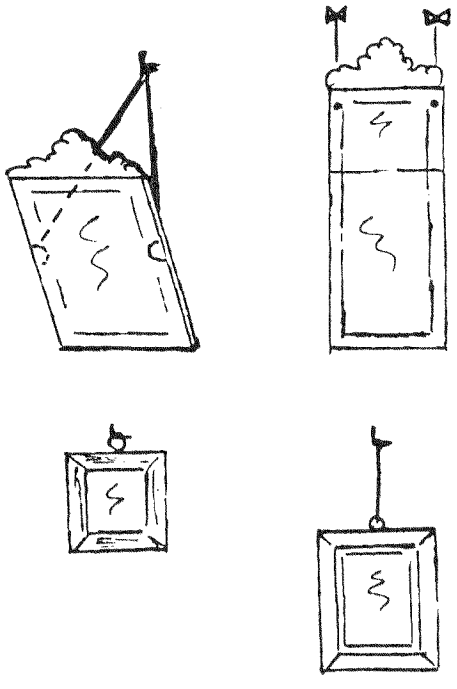
A Salem cabinet dated 1676. Behind the doors are nine boxes or drawers. A number of Boston examples are known. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 528.



A glass case made by a joiner trained in Salem for the Rev. Joseph Capen of Topsfield, who married an Appleton. This is the grill front only; the top, sides, bottom, and feet would have resembled those of the cabinet above. Owned by Topsfield Historical Society. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 280.



An Ipswich tape loom on stand. Dressing boxes and dressing stands are shown in Appendix Three, but this object is shown here for the form of the stand. Many fakes of turned stands made early in this century are in museum collections, but this stand is indisputably of the period. By lengthening the shaft and providing it with a top based on English examples, a suitable stand could be formulated. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 328.



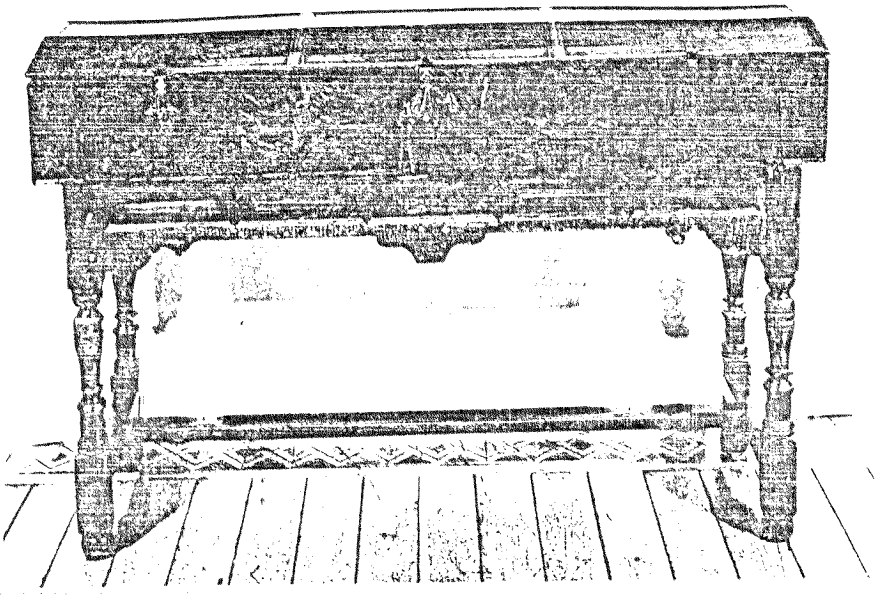
This sketch shows some typical ways of hanging pictures during the period. Often they were tipped outward from the wall far more than modern practice allows. From Thornton, Interior Decoration, p. 253.

In the course of research for New England Begins, five of the portraits investigated were found to have period frames. Three different types were found: a conservative flat type embellished with two moldings and made of oak; a similar profile executed in pine; and an ogee molding made of pine. These moldings were reproduced for framing the other paintings in the exhibition, and extra lengths of the molding are available. The intention is to make one or two square looking glasses of the type seen in the De Bosse prints. Also, in order to give visitors some idea of what a merchant and his wife looked like, photo-blowups of two pendant portraits will be made from color negatives and framed in reproduction frames.

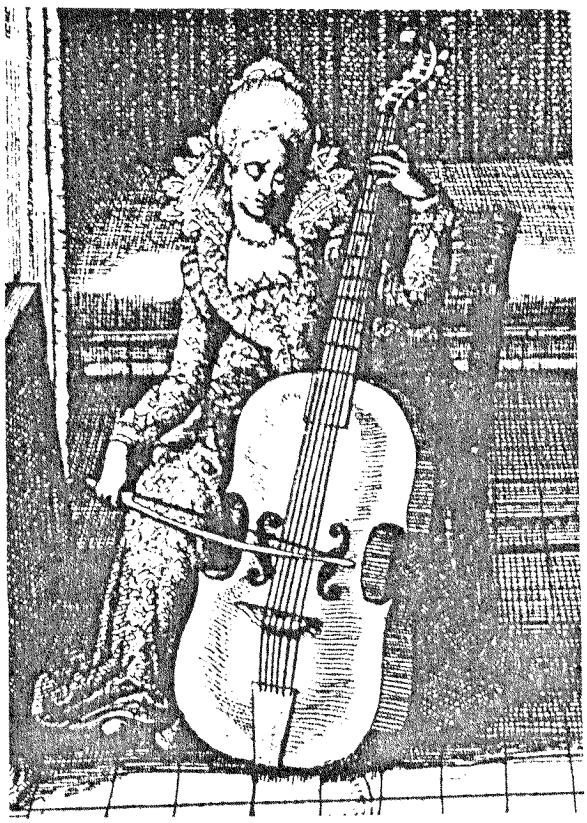
The portrait on the following page is an unknown man who functions as a pendant portrait to "Elizabeth Paddy Wensley" at Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth. Both were painted in Boston in the 1680s. Both have their original frames. The paintings are relatively plain by comparison with other contemporary paintings of Boston merchants. They are nevertheless brightly colored and artistically fine. The writer knows of no museum or historic house where a Boston portrait of this period is displayed in a proper context, so these reproductions will have an important interpretive function.

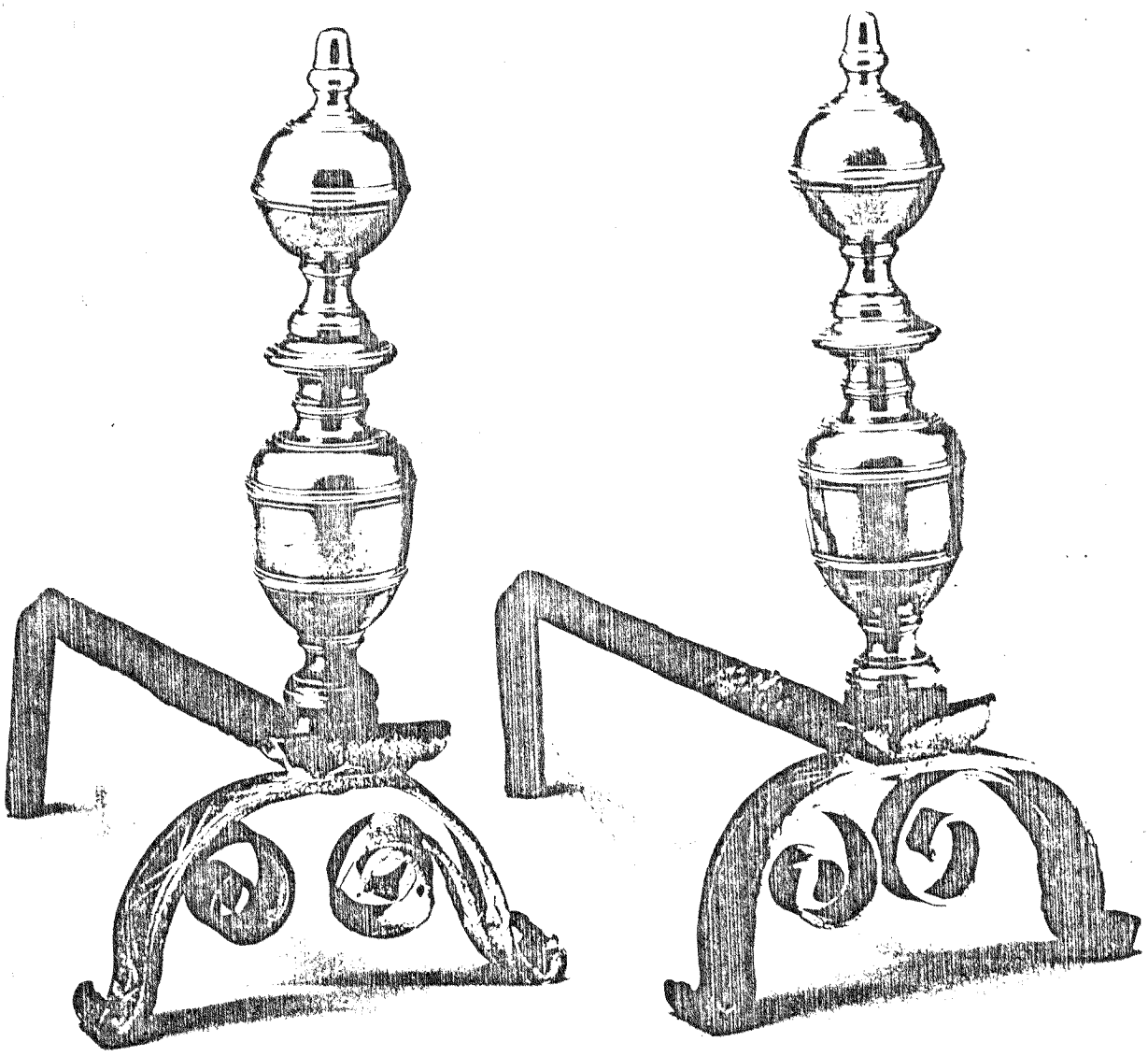
Illustration of painting from Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 436.



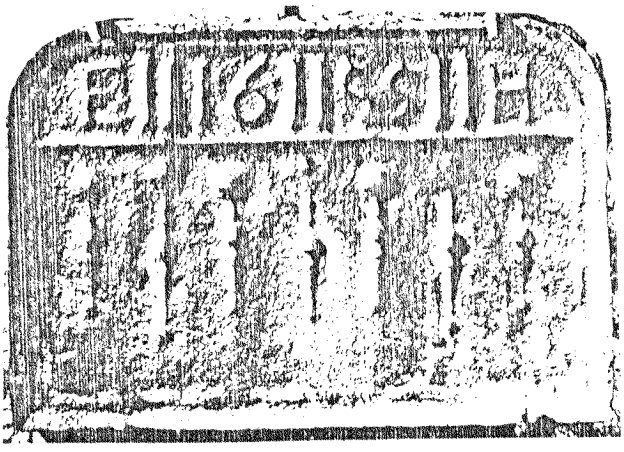


A virginal on stand. William Whittingham, father-in-law of Samuel Appleton, Jr., was the grandson of an Ipswich settler who had been a choirmaster at the court of James I, and his ownership of a virginal is therefore of great interest. From Chinnery, Oak Furniture, p. 312. The second illustration shows a women playing a tenor viol, and the inventory of Nathaniel Rogers of Ipswich contains a treble viol. These viols have six wire strings and were much favored by court musicians and young women. They are not nearly as common in New England inventories as virginals, however. From Thornton, Interior Decoration, p. 162.

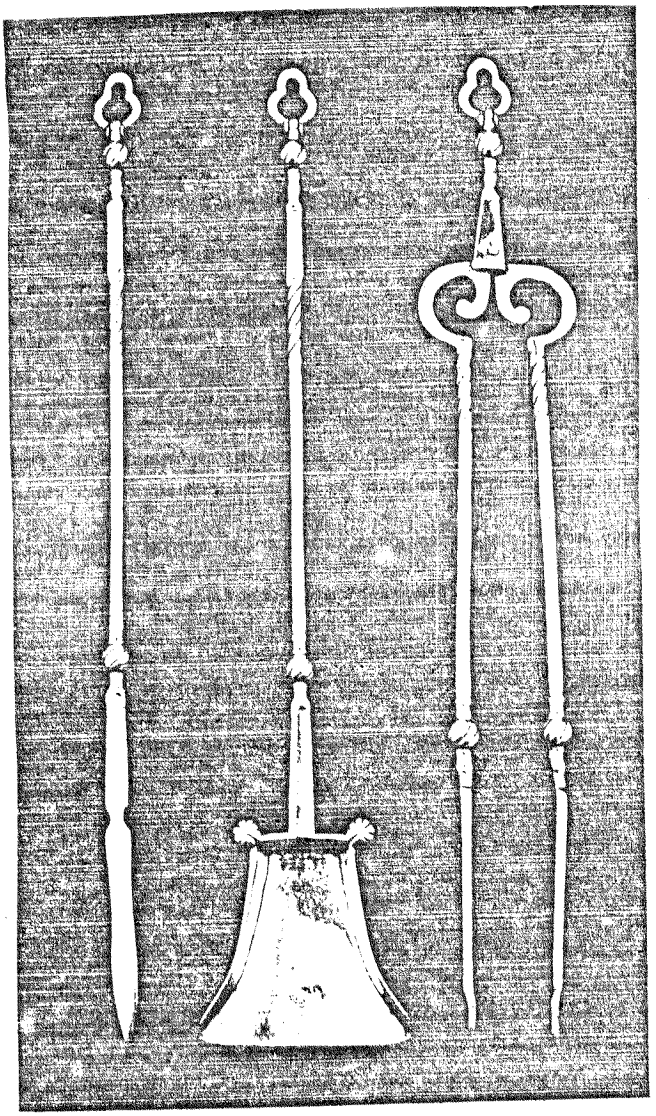




A pair of English or Dutch brass andirons with iron bases. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 285.

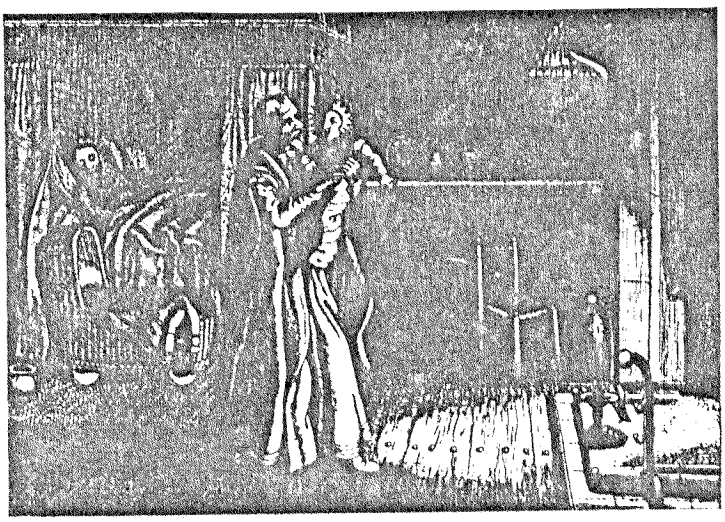


The 1655 Edward Hutchinson iron back, Saugus Ironworks National Historic Site. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 358.



An all-brass fireplace set of tongs, poker, and shovel, made in England about 1675-1700. All-brass equipment like this is rare, and New England sets tended to be all iron or iron with brass finials and rings. From Fairbanks and Trent, New England Begins, p. 286.

A Dutch interior showing a bed, wicker cradle, and hearth with fire dogs and a candlestick placed for safety on the hearth. From Thornton, Interior Decoration, p. 271.



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Recommended Furnishings For The Ironworks Farm House In Saugus, Massachusetts, With Specifications

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Boston, August, 1982

Table Of Contents

Preface.....i-iv

Chapter One -- The Parlor Chamber.....1-23

Chapter Two -- The Parlor.....24-40

Chapter Three -- The Study.....41-48

Chapter Four -- Interpreting the Period Rooms.....49-63

Chapter Five -- The Architecture and
Wallace Nutting Rooms.....64-98

Chapter Six -- Before Entering the
Ironworks Farm House.....99-101

Appendix One --

Sources and Contacts for Implementing
the Furnishing Plan.....102-104

Appendix Two --

Materials Available for purchase from the
Department of American Decorative Arts,
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, made for or
in conjunction with the exhibition
New England Begins -- The Seventeenth Century.....105-107

Appendix Three --

Bibliography of Sources on Wallace Nutting
and William Sumner Appleton.....108

Preface

The furnishings recommended here reflect the broad outlines given in the history of occupancy and evidence of historic furnishings for the Ironworks Farm house in Saugus, Massachusetts. The plan includes specifications and cost estimates for three period rooms and for two abstract interpretive rooms dominated by graphics and labels. These last two rooms are made necessary by the architectural significance of the Ironworks Farm house, both within the Park Service holdings and within the context of surviving seventeenth-century New England domestic architecture, and by the importance of Wallace Nutting and William Sumner Appleton as pioneers of historic preservation. The visitor must be made aware of the overall structure of the building, the complex nomenclature of the frame components, and the probable original appearence of the building. To a certain extent the visitor must be acquainted with the difficulties encountered in trying to date the building, since the house is part of the Ironworks Site interpretation and the presence of the building on the Site must be explained. At the same time, the visitor must be informed that the present exterior and much of the interior are the result of Nutting's restoration of 1915-1917 and that the motives behind Nutting's efforts are a clue to its success and to its limitations. The writer feels that the rooms can be arranged for a mixture of guided interpretation in the period rooms and self-guided reading in the two interpretive or graphics rooms. However, the material will be presented so that the Park Service can elect to include the texts in the graphics or use the texts as a tour text spoken by the guides.

The formulation of the period rooms must be explained. The plan did not begin from scratch. The Ironworks Site had an extensive collection of furnishings collected by various administrators of the site since the early 1950s. Some were donated by patrons, some were given by local residents, and some were purchased. The two cupboards on loan to the Site are of extreme importance; the writer has been in touch with the owner for over nine years and has attempted to persuade the owner to make a gift or bequest of the cupboards to the Site.

The heterogenous nature of the existing furnishings, many of which are inappropriate, is a great problem. Some of the objects are implicated in delicate patronage situations requiring great tact; in particular, the two above-mentioned cupboards are potentially a gift or bequest in memory of one of the deceased patrons of the Site who donated many of the objects. Some of the objects were given by otherwise humble Saugus residents because the objects had a history of ownership in Saugus. It would be inappropriate for these objects to be dispersed. While the writer has selected certain objects from the existing collections for use in the furnishing plan, the ultimate fate of the other objects will require careful analysis of their provenance if they are to be disposed of or put into a general Park Service pool of objects. There are no suitable storage facilities for these objects at the Site.

The stipulations for the use of both period and reproduction objects in the period rooms might give some Park Service personnel reason to question the plan, and the writer will make a statement regarding the policy followed in furnishing the rooms. Of course the writer was trying to employ objects in the Ironworks Site

collections, so it was not advisable to consider using only reproductions. Cost is also a factor. The writer sees no contradiction in juxtaposing (if such is the case) period objects and reproductions. The point of a period room is to give a sense of space, light, color, and function, and the principal difference between a period object and a reproduction resides in surface qualities, not in the above-mentioned qualities. The problem with most period furniture is that the surfaces are never in an original state. In other words, the idea of an "untouched" object, as the popular expression among dealers and aesthetes goes, is invalid. Even if the surfaces have not been intentionally altered, they have changed chemically and through abrasion. If the surfaces have been altered by later owners, they rarely conform to the intention of the object's maker. The writer has stipulated that some of the objects in the Ironworks Site collections have their surfaces restored and that others be left as is since more alteration might operate to their detriment. Insofar as the seventeenth century is concerned, the surface qualities of furniture are of far less significance than the textile fixtures with which the furniture was surrounded, and a glance at the specifications shows that the textile fixtures constitute the principal expense of the period rooms.

The writer has suggested sources, craftspeople, and other data for implementing the plan in an appendix. Those craftspeople involved in formulating reproductions for New England Begins, who have been trained under the writer's supervision, are unquestionably the most accurate and the least expensive. The writer had a budget to adhere to in that effort, as well. The writer has tried to secure

photocopied materials, publications, and contacts for the Site which are of permanent significance to the building and to the collections. Finally, the writer has offered a good deal of connoisseurship of the Site's collections, which, while not strictly speaking part of the job, is an indication of the writer's interest in the Site and in seventeenth-century research in general. It is to be hoped that the Park Service will move swiftly to implement the plan and to stabilize the structure of the house as well, for it is badly in need of careful work.

Chapter One

The Parlor Chamber

The second story room in the east end of the Ironworks Farm house will be called the parlor chamber. The room is furnished to show the features associated with the French taste in interior decoration as it was practiced among Boston merchants and their relations about 1675-1695. While the exact form of the furnishings stipulated here is entirely the writer's responsibility, the general idea for such a room has been in circulation since 1974, when Linda Baumgarten, in a paper analyzing textile fixtures in seventeenth-century Boston houses, gave the following suggestions for rooms in period houses:

> Inventory surveys cannot provide all the data necessary for furnishing a period room, but they do suggest some general characteristics of the seventeenth-century interior. The evidence indicates that the greatest proportion of textiles used in a museum period room of the seventeenth century should be plain woolens and serges, with some watered fabrics. Many of the fabrics should be green. Indian calicoes should also be represented. A period room should show the many uses of textiles in the seventeenth century, especially as cupboard cloths, table carpets, napkins, and tablecloths. Some of the upholstered chairs in the room should be trimmed with silk fringe. Fat cushions heavily stuffed with feathers should be used on chairs and on stools with wooden or woven-bast seats. Such a period room should be a vehicle representing the great importance of textiles not only in the personal lives of the colonists but in their commercial trade relationships as well.[1]

This plan will follow the dictates of Baumgarten's suggestion; following these stipulations will give the Ironworks Farm house <u>the only properly furnished seventeenth-century New England room in the French taste in any American museum or historic house.</u>

As it happens, Baumgarten's sample of Boston inventories included the 1672 inventory of William Whittingham, Samuel Appleton, Jr.'s father-

in-law. It did not include, however, the two exceptionally important 1669 inventories of Antipas Boyce and Edmond Downes; Downes was the father of Appleton's brother-in-law William Downes. All three of these inventories contain rooms identical to the parlor chamber being described here. The uniformity of practice seen in the Boyce and Downes inventories is particularly striking, and although Whittingham's inventory was conservative in room nomenclature and placement of the best bed in the parlor chamber, the room themselves follow the French taste with fidelity. The chambers, whether over the hall, parlor, or dining room; have a bed with hangings (often a half-headed or a canopy bed), six chairs and one armchair and two stools in matching covers, a chest of drawers or cupboard or trunks on frames, a square table with a carpet, window curtains, a looking glass, and various accessories like cabinets, desks, and wall hangings.

The writer used these exact inventories in formulating the reproductions made for New England Begins, and since a documentary tie exists between Appleton and two of the three men whose inventories are cited above, the same furnishings are entirely appropriate for suggesting what Appleton might have used in a fashionable room.

Major Components

The following specifications for a canopy bed are based on the bed fixtures the writer formulated with Andrew and Mary Passeri for New England Begins. The prices are cited on an "at cost" basis. The serge unit price is the list price of Constance LaLena, Grand Junction, Colorado, from whom the serge was obtained. The cost of dyeing the cloth is part of the list price. The unit prices stated for fringe and tape include the Scalamandre list price plus a dyeing charge by LaLena. The prices for rods, pintels, tester frame, and brass rings are estimates based on the writer's experience. Note that in almost all upholstery and drapery work, the standard procedure is to order at least two extra yards of material, and although the spec-

ifications for each component are stated with exactitude, some tolerance for unforeseen difficulties must be allowed.

Because these beds will not be turned down, the bed linens and blankets can be omitted at a considerable savings in materials and labor. The color chosen is green, and the cloth chosen is serge; according to Baumgarten's study, green serge was overwhelmingly the most popular textile for these furnishings. [2]

The Ironworks Site collection includes an early eighteenth-century New England oak and pine low bedstead, painted red. The date of the bedstead is suggested by the contour of the headboard. However, as in many bedsteads of this type, the edges of the rails are run with conservative moldings, and the overall form of the bedstead is not unlike plain seventeenth-century English examples. The outside dimensions of the bedstead are 19 inches to the top of the rails, 29 inches to the top of the headboard, 50 inches in width, and 76 inches in length. Fortunately, a bed (mattress), bolster, and two pillows for the bedstead exist and are of appropriate form. The low bedstead is exactly the type used in making a canopy bed, where the hangings are suspended over the bedstead on an independent frame attached to the ceiling joists. The following specifications suggest what the proper components of such a bed are, based on the dimensions of this bedstead.

The height of the parlor chamber under the joists is 87 inches. The formulation of the exact length of the curtains will depend on the location of the hanging tester frame, because the house has settled and the joists display a noticeable sag towards the center of the room. The first part is the tester frame itself, a simple lapped pine frame made of 4" by 1" boards, with outside dimensions of 56 inches wide by 36 inches deep. The frame is 6 inches wider than the bedstead so that the curtains can slide freely. This frame will be sheathed in the same green serge as the hangings, with four cuts requiring three yards at $47.00 per yard. The frame itself

will cost about $25.00.

On the underside of the frame, set about an inch back from all four sides of the frame's edge, four lengths of rod will be suspended on pintels. Peter Thornton of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London says that rods were generally made of iron and often coated with brass. Identical modern rods are commercially available in twelve-foot lengths, at approximately $15.00 per rod. Modern rods are suspended with screw sockets mounted on L-shaped brackets, but period rods had eyes worked on the ends by a blacksmith and were hung on L-shaped pintels droven into the tester frame or the bedposts. The Ironworks Site has a blacksmith on retainer who could work the eyes onto the modern rods and fabricate the eight pintels needed, at a cost of perhaps $100.00. However, in the beds fabricated for New England Begins, this time-consuming process of formulating a period detail was rejected in favor of modern brackets, because the brackets are not visible to any great extent behind the hangings. The frame can be suspended from four cords which will not be visible. These can be made of upholsterer's welt cord sheathed in green serge, at a cost of $10.00. The cords can be affixed to the frame with cuphooks, which were used during the period, and the upper ends can be attached to the ceiling joists with similar hooks or with wrought iron hooks of any form which does the least damage. One cord will be at each corner, although the exact location will depend on the spacing of the joists to which they are attached. The mounting of the tester frame must be done with careful attention to varying the length of the cords to level the frame in relation to the sagging joists and the uneven floor of the room.

The second part will be the valance. On the basis of period prints and the scale of the room in the house, the valance should be some 20 inches deep. It will consist of three pieces of green serge, two of 36 inches in length and one of 56 inches in length. These will be seamed to correspond to the front corners of the tester frame. The serge required comes to

3½ yards at $47.00 per yard, although the narrow cuts will leave strips which can be used for other parts, possibly the counterpain. Running along the bottom edge of the valance will be 4-inch silk fringe dyed to match the serge. The fringe will be mounted so that the total depth of the valance is 20 inches, inclusive of the fringe. This requires 4 yards of fringe at $19.40 per yard. In period practice, valances were often attached to the tester frame by simply tacking them to the frame along their upper edge. For museum purposes this is unacceptable, and the obvious alternative is to attach the valance by means of velcro strips sewed to both the tester frame and the valance. This requires 8 yards of velcro at approximately $10.00. Note that in fabricating the valance, the upholsterer will have to allow some extra length at the corners to prevent the valance from drawing or puckering, a problem experienced with the high bed formulated for New England Begins.

The third part will be the headcloth. This will be suspended from the rear rod of the tester frame and will fall to the level of the rear rail of the bedstead, behind the headboard. It will be 56 inches wide and 74 inches in length. It will be made of two cuts of green serge, requiring 4 yards at $47.00 per yard. The seam between the two cuts will be butt-sewn along the selvedges, in the period manner. This seam must be hand-sewn. The outer edges are turned. The headcloth, like the two curtains, is suspended from brass rings sliding on the rear rod. The rings will be attached to the headcloth by means of silk tapes looped around the rings and sewn to the heading of the headcloth. The fifteen brass rings required cost approximately $8.00, and the yard of silk tape dyed to match the serge costs $1.05 per yard. About one inch of tape should separate the rings and the heading. The tapes and rings should be spaced about 4 inches apart.

The fourth part is a pair of curtains. Each will be about 64 inches wide by 85 inches long. They will be made of 9½ yards of green serge at $47.00 per yard. They will be fitted with the same rings and tapes as

the headcloth, requiring 32 rings at about $16.00 and 2 yards of tape at $1.05 per yard. The seams between cuts of the serge must be butted at the selvedges and hand-sewn, as in the headcloth. Running around the bottom edge and front sides of each curtain will be 2-inch silk fringe dyed to match the serge, requiring 8½ yards of fringe at $12.10 per yard. When closed, the front train of the two curtains will lie on top of the counterpain, while the sides will hang to the floor. When opened, the curtains will slide back and fall completely to the floor.

The fifth part is the counterpain. It will be made of six separate panels: a top panel, two side falls and one fall at the foot reaching to the floor, and two triangular gussets sewn between the top panel and the side falls to conform to the rise of the bolsters and pillows. The specifications given here will state the yardage, but in practice the upholsterer must measure the bed (mattress), bolster, and pillows in situ to insure that the counterpain fits properly. The top panel will be made of two cuts of green serge, butt-sewn along the selvedges. The other seams can be turned. Because the foot posts of the bedstead project up, it may be necessary to fit small pockets at the junction of the bottom of the top panel and falls at the foot to fit around the foot posts. The falls are attached to the two sides and foot of the top panel, but are not sewn together at the corners. The top panel must also extend some 12 inches beyond the gussets at the head so that the resultant flap can be tucked over the pillows and bolster. The bottom edges of the falls will be trimmed with 2-inch fringe, requiring 7½ yards of fringe at $12.10 per yard. The green serge required is 11 yards at $47.00 per yard. For exact specifications for details of the counterpain, curtains, valance, and headcloth, the upholsterer employed will have to consult the bed fabricated by Andrew and Mary Passeri for New England Begins, in the Department of American Decorative Arts and Sculpture, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The approximate labor charge for the upholsterer will be fifteen

days' work, at approximately $100.00 per day.

Canopy bed sub-total	
Bedstead (Ironworks Site collection)	----------
Green Serge, 31 yards at $47.00/yard	$1,457.00
4-inch fringe, 4 yards at $19.40/yard	78.40
2-inch fringe, 16 yards at $12.10/yard	193.60
silk tape, 3 yards at $1.05/yard	3.15
velcro, 8 yards	10.00
tester frame	25.00
Rods, brackets, hooks, and cords	45.00
Labor, 15 days at $100.00/day	1,500.00
	$3,312.15

(Note: The Department of American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, now owns 20 yards of green serge. The Department also owns enough fringe and tape dyed to match to fulfill the requirements of this bed and of the curtains. The Park Service will have to order additional green serge from Constance LaLena, but could purchase the materials owned by the Museum directly. The purchase of these extra materials will save labor and clerical costs of ordering fringe and tape from Scalamandre and shipping it to LaLena, who would then charge a dyeing fee. Also, it is customary for upholsterers to charge 5% extra on a total charge for planning, travel, and other expenses. This cost could be greatly reduced by contracting with Andrew and Mary Passeri of Revere to make the hangings, since they have the experience of making such hangings and are only six miles from the Ironworks Site, which will greatly reduce travel, fitting, mounting, and other expenses.)

The Ironworks Site also owns a plain eighteenth-century turned trundle bedstead, which would be appropriate for use with the canopy bedstead. The only fixture necessary for it is a counterpain, requiring 7 yards of green serge at $47.00 per yard. The labor cost would be approximately

two days at $100.00 per day. The counterpain is simply one panel without falls or gussets, butt-sewn on the center seam and turned on all four outer edges. It is tucked under the bed (mattress), bolster, and pillows.

Trundle bed sub-total	
Bedstead (Ironworks Site collection)	----------
Green serge, 7 yards at $47.00/yard	$329.00
Labor, 2 days at $100.00/day	200.00
	$529.00

The third major component for the parlor chamber consists of a set of upholstered seating furniture covered in the same green serge and silk fringe and galloon (tape) as the bed. While no New England example of a cloth-covered chair survives, numerous examples covered in their original foundations and leather or Turkey work covers are known. The writer is the acknowledged authority on these early upholstered chairs, and in formulating the design for a set of upholstered seating furniture for New England Begins, owned by the Department of American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and available for purchase, he consulted numerous period prints and conducted a lengthy correspondence with Peter Thornton, Keeper of the Department of Furniture and Woodwork, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, the acknowledged authority on early upholstery. The writer also consulted probate inventories, wherein are found references to cloth covered chairs trimmed with silk fringe and galloon (tape).

In formulating the reproductions, the writer began with a standard Boston upholstered chair frame dating between 1660 and 1695. He brought the period example to Douglas Campbell of Newport, Rhode Island, who used the frame as his working model. In order to draw up specifications for matching stools, armchairs, and couch, the writer consulted the only surviving New England upholstered armchair (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) and the two surviving New England couch frames (Essex Institute; Winterthur

Museum). The armchair and couches are in a high-backed variant of the style dating from the 1680s; this high-backed style is unlike the low-backed style prevalent between 1660 and 1685. Consultation of English examples showed that armchairs and couches were also made in the low-backed style, and by using the measurements of the New England examples but altering their frames to correspond to a low-backed side chair frame, a consistent set of frames was formulated. No New England upholstered stool survives, but many English examples are simply two fronts of a side chair frame set back-to-back. This was the solution used in the stool frames. Campbell accordingly made six side chairs, two stools, one armshair, and one couch. They are accurate in every detail, including form of the parts, woods, and finish.

The upholstery was formulated on the basis of the upholstery foundations of surviving examples and covers and trim shown in period prints. The writer obtained fringe and galloon (tape) from Scalamandre and sent them to Constance LaLena, who dyed them to match the green serge she was making. Upon receiving the materials, the writer and Andrew Passeri covered the frames purchased from Campbell with the covers and trim. The configuration of the fringe, galloon, and brass nailing were derived from both Boston leather chair formulas and from print sources.

One detail worth consideration is the form of the couch and two stools. These were treated as a unit, since English print sources often show a couch flanked by two stools. The famous couch at Knole, Sevenoaks, Kent, made for Charles I, is fitted with a case, or long boxed cushions attached to them. A number of Boston inventories have references to couches which must have been of this elaborate form. William Tyng (died 1653) owned a green serge couch laid with a case worth two pounds ten shillings; the couch was <u>en suite</u> with two armchairs, six side chairs, and two low-backed chairs. Henry Webb (died 1660) had a couch in his parlor valued at an extraordinary seven pounds. These couches were undoubtedly of the same

form as the reproduction formulated by the writer, with two falls or wings, with attached cushions, a case, and two loose cushions. The stools made by the writer also have attached cushions.

The following sub-totals give the cost breakdowns for the seating furniture formulated. Not included in the costs are research and consultation fees, which would represent an additional cost factor should the Park Service choose to put the seating furniture out to bid instead of purchasing the set available from the Museum of Fine Arts.

Side Chair (Unit Cost) Sub-total	
frame	$350.00
green serge, 2 yards at $47.00/yard	94.00
2-inch fringe, 2 yards at $12.10/yard	24.20
tape, 5 yards at $1.05/yard	5.25
stock, including hair muslin, brass nails, etc.	55.00
labor, 5 days at $100.00/day	500.00
Unit cost per completed chair	$1,028.45
Sub-total of set of six chairs	$6,170.70
Armchair Sub-total	
frame	$425.00
green serge, 2½ yards at $47.00/yard	117.00
4-inch fringe, 5 yards at $19.40/yard	97.00
2-inch fringe, 3 yards at $12.10/yard	36.30
tape, 10 yards at $1.05/yard	10.50
stock, including hair, muslin, brass nails, etc.	53.00
labor, six days at $100.00/day	600.00
	$1,339.30

Stool Sub-total (per unit)	
frame	$450.00
green serge, 3 yards at $47.00/yard	141.00
2-inch fringe, 2 yards at $12.10/yard	24.20
tape, 2 yards at $1.05/yard	2.10
stock, including hair, muslin, brass nails, etc.	55.00
labor, 5 days at $100.00/day	500.00
Unit cost per completed stool	$1,172.30
Sub-total for two stools	$2,344.60
Couch Sub-total	
frame and irons	$550.00
green serge, 15 yards at $47.00/yard	705.00
4-inch fringe, 8 yards at $19.40/yard	155.20
2-inch fringe, 5 yards at $12.10/yard	60.50
tape, 20 yards at $1.05/yard	21.00
stock, including hair, muslin, brass nails, etc.	163.00
labor, 19 days at $100.00/day	1,900.00
	$3,554.70

The fourth major component is a square table and carpet. The square table made for New England Begins, available for purchase from the Museum of Fine Arts, is a reproduction by Douglas Campbell of an example in the Nutting collection at the Wadsworth Atheneum. Although the table was found in Andover, there is a good chance that it was made in Boston. It is the most sophisticated New England example of its type. The reproduction Campbell made is exact in every detail, including the use of hand-riven oak for the top boards, a detail which required two years' advance planning by the writer and Campbell. The finish given the table is a veridgris pigment in a lactose vehicle, the single most common seventeenth-

century painted finish on joined furniture.

In fabricating the table carpet for the table, which is available for purchase, the writer consulted print sources. Generally these carpets reached the floor and were trimmed with fringe. They were extremely sumptuous and expensive, and often were en suite with the other textile fixtures of the room. The carpet made by Andrew Passeri contains 11 yards of green serge at $47.00 per yard and 14 yards of 4-inch fringe at $19.40 per yard.

Table and Table carpet Sub-total	
Table	$1,800.00
green serge, 11 yards at $47.00/yard	517.00
4-inch fringe, 14 yards at $19.40/yard	267.60
labor, 3 days at $100.00/day	300.00
	$2,884.60

The fifth major component is a cupboard with drawers, an example of which is on loan to the Ironworks Site collection. As the evidence for original furnishings indicated, Boston inventories often list chests of drawers, but just as often they list expensive cupboards with drawers. The Ironworks Site example is a Scituate or Marshfield example, but it is in the applied ornament style derived from London work and is not inappropriate. The cost of purchasing a genuine Boston chest of drawers or having a reproduction made would not be cost effective. A period example would cost at least $8,000.00 and would require restoration, while a reproduction would run $4,000 to $6,000.

The cupboard will be decorated with a cupboard cloth on its head. This cloth, which is available for purchase from the Museum of Fine Arts, is relatively inexpensive. It is based on print sources and inventory references.

Cupboard and Cupboard cloth Sub-total	
Cupboard (Ironworks Site)	----------
green serge, 1 yard at $47.00/yard	47.00
4-inch fringe, 1 yard at $19.40/yard	19.40
labor, 1 day at $100.00/day	100.00
	$166.40

The sixth major component are two window curtains for the two banks of casements in the room. Generally the inventories suggest that only one curtain was used per window. The two casements measure approximately 48 inches wide and 68 inches wide respectively, and both are 36 inches high. These measurements are inclusive of the frames. The curtains will be of green serge with 4-inch silk fringe on the bottom edge. They require 3½ yards of serge at $47.00 per yard and 3½ yards of 4-inch fringe at $19.40 per yard. They will be suspended from iron rods held in wooden brackets or iron brackets. The brass rings and tapes along the headings will be identical in form to those used on the bed curtains.

Window curtains Sub-total	
Green serge, 3½ yards at $47.00/yard	$164.50
4-inch fringe, 3½ yards at $19.40/yard	67.90
tape, 2 yards at $1.05/yard	2.10
brass rings, 29 at approximately	15.00
rod, one twelve-foot length at	15.00
iron or wooden brackets, four at approximately	25.00
	$287.50

The seventh major component is an oval table. The standard practice was to fold these tables up when not in use and set them against the wall. The Ironworks Site collection includes a good late seventeenth-century

Boston oval table which requires some restoration to the surface, which has been bleached by chemical stripping. Recoloring the surface walnut color with French polish and earth colors will cost about $500.00. No table carpet will be required.

Oval table Sub-total	
Oval table (Ironworks Site)	----------
Restoration	$500.00

The next major component is a dressing stand. The Ironworks Site collection includes an unusual narrow chest with drawer in the applied ornament style which was probably made in Boston about 1680 to 1700. It is in the same style as upholstered chair frames, dressing stands, and chests made by shops affiliated with the Mason-Messinger shops in Boston but not featuring high-quality joinery. For example, the drawers are nailed together, not dovetailed. The entire case is made of pine which was painted and grained. Some examples display walnut squiggle graining on the frames, with red panels decorated with sprig painting; for example, a dressing stand at the Brooklyn Museum has such decoration. The Ironworks Site chest with drawer has been stripped. It requires the replacement of one small molding on the drawer and the restoration of its painted decoration using reversable alcohol colors and pigments. The important fact about the chest with drawer is that its scale suggests that it was used as a dressing stand. It is therefore appropriate for use in a chamber.

Dressing stand Sub-total	
Dressing stand (Ironworks Site)	----------
Restoration of molding and decoration	$600.00

Minor Components

The first minor component will be a looking glass for use with the dressing stand. A period looking glass would be extraordinarily expensive, at least $2000-$3000, since they are very desirable to collectors. A reproduction can easily be constructed on the basis of a picture molding reproduced for the Museum of Fine Arts on the basis of three different moldings which survive on seventeenth-century Boston portraits. The looking glass should be 32 inches square at the outer edge, with modern glass. It will be painted black, the standard color. It should be hung with cords attached to the girt in the room, as described in the evidence on original furnishings.

Looking glass Sub-total	
Frame and glass	$150.00
Cord and hanging hook, sheathed with serge	20.00
	$170.00

The second minor component will be two reproduction portraits. These will be made with 8 x 10 transparencies of two portraits available from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for donation to the Ironworks Site. The purpose of the portraits is to give visitors some idea of what prosperous seventeenth-century people looked like. The two portraits selected from the available images are two somewhat plainer portraits of Elizabeth Paddy Wensley and an unknown man who functions as her pendant. Both are in their original frames, which have been copied for use in New England Begins. The photo-blowups will be Sebachromes at $264.00 each, dry-mounted on museum-board at $32.00 apiece. This process gives an image of relatively long life compared to other enlargements. Both are to be blown up to 36 inches high by 32½ inches wide. It may be necessary to crop the woman's portrait slightly to make it the same size; the man's image is relatively

shorter and broader. With the reproduction frames, the portraits will be 44 inches high, about the tallest size that can be mounted under the girts in the room and still clear the furniture underneath. The frames can be made from reproduction molding available from the Museum of Fine Arts at a cost of $100.00 apiece.

Portraits Sub-total	
Photo blowups, 2 at $264.00 each	$528.00
dry-mounting on museum board, at $32.00 each	64.00
Frames, at $100.00 each	200.00
	$792.00

The third minor component is a set of six glasses and a caudle cup to dress the cupboard's head. It is not feasible to suggest silver reproductions for a silver garniture, since it is not cost effective, poses security problems, and does not reflect the period practice of putting silver away when not in use. Period practice did apparently make use of glass and ceramics for permanent displays, and cupboards are often listed with glasses and ceramics. The glasses will be blown reproductions of a simple Venice glass, examples of which are illustrated in many histories of glass. A particularly suitable example is the Sayward family glass owned by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. An approximate unit cost is $100.00 per glass. The Ironworks Site collection contains an excellent tin-glazed earthenware caudle cup with chinoiserie decoration, probably German, and dating to about 1685-1710. This is the only high-quality seventeenth-century ceramic vessel in the Site's collection and is entirely appropriate.

Cupboard Garniture Sub-total	
Six glasses, at $100.00/glass	$600.00
Caudle cup (Ironworks Site)	-------

The fourth minor component is two brass candlesticks in the Ironworks Site collection, a matched pair, perhaps Iberian in origin, dating to 1690-1730. These will be placed on the cupboard shelf. Burns on the underside of the cupboard's head, commonly found on cupboards of this period, indicate that candles were often placed there.

The fifth minor component is a brass shaving bowl in the Ironworks Site collection, perhaps Iberian or Dutch, of a form seen in seventeenth-century prints but possibly dating as late as 1800. The shaving bowl will be placed on the dressing table to indicate its function as a grooming area.

The next minor component is a chamber pot. Almost every print source of this period shows a chamber pot set next to a bed, often on the floor, but sometimes on a chair. A reproduction chamber pot copying white tin-glazed earthenware examples can be obtained for a relatively moderate price, perhaps $75.00.

Chamber pot Sub-total $75.00

The sixth minor component is the hearth garniture. A minimal set includes a pair of andirons, a shovel, a pair of tongs, and an iron back. The pair of andirons can be obtained from the Ironworks Site collection. The tongs and shovel currently in the room are not of period form, and suitable reproductions can be obtained from the blacksmith on retainer at the Site for approximately $150.00 per unit. These should be of brightly polished iron. The expense of obtaining brass tipped or solid brass equipment for the hearth is prohibitive. Fortunately, the Ironworks Site collection includes two excellent cast backs, one of which is in the parlor; the other example in the hall can be moved to the parlor chamber.

Hearth garniture Sub-total

Shovel and pair of tongs, at $150.00 each $300.00

Parlor Chamber Total

Canopy bed	$3,312.15
Trundle bed	529.00
Six upholstered chairs	6,170.70
Armchair	1,339.30
Two stools	2,344.60
Couch	3,554.70
Table and carpet	2,884.60
Cupboard and cupboard cloth	166.40
Two window curtains	287.50
Oval table (restoration)	500.00
Dressing stand (restoration)	600.00
Looking glass	170.00
Two portraits	792.00
Six glasses	600.00
Chamber pot	75.00
Shovel and tongs	300.00
	$23,615.95

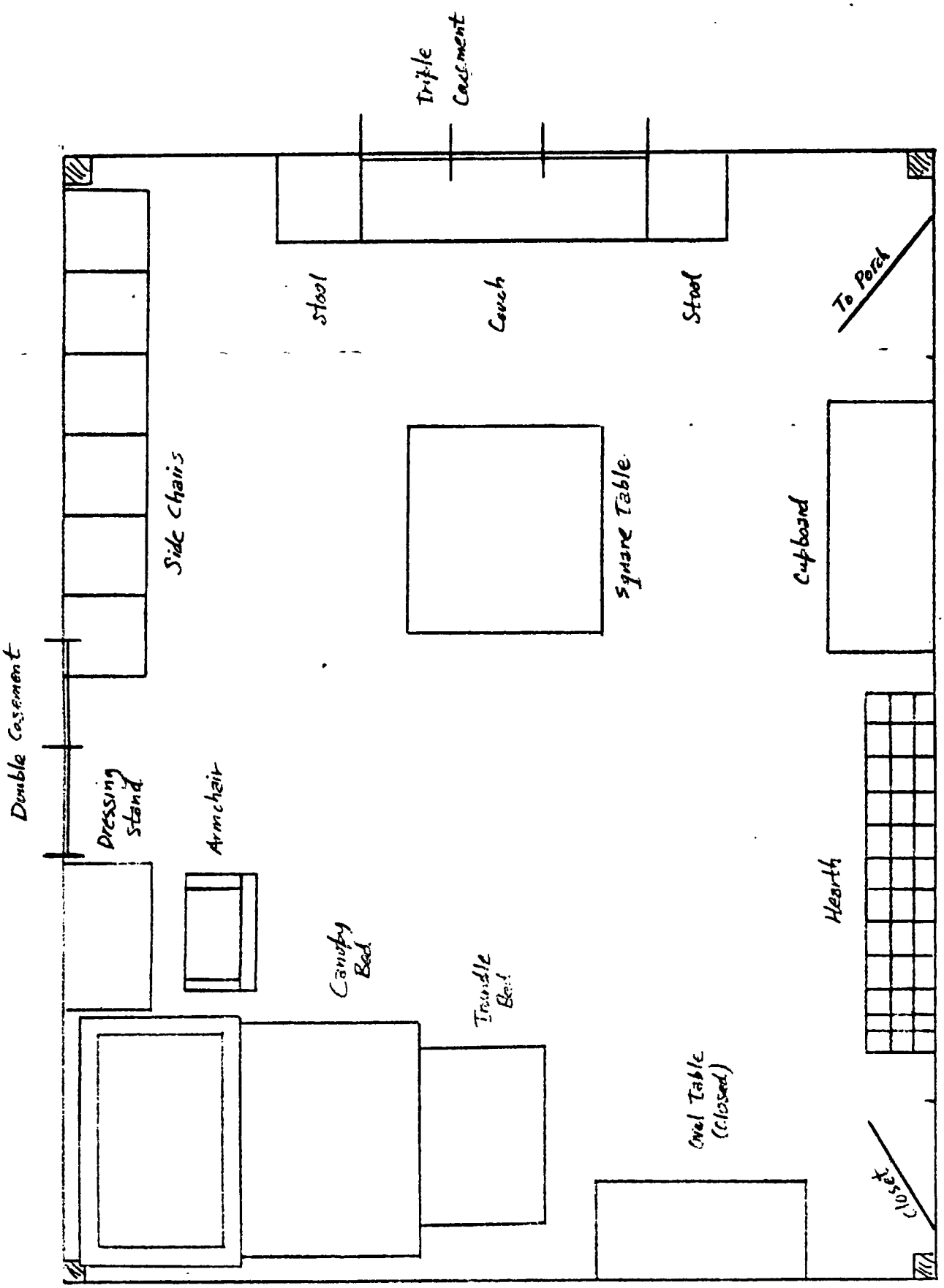
One cost not cited here is white-washing the room. There is ample evidence that seventeenth-century rooms were white-washed, and evidence exists on the beams of the Ironworks Farm house for whitewash which Nutting evidently removed in 1915 to 1917; the stains from the acid used to remove the whitewash are plainly visible. However, because extensive structural repairs are to be made to the building, and because a study of the chemistry of the whitewash will have to be made before it is applied to the beams, this plan will stipulate that the room is to be whitewashed, but will leave the expense of it to be included in a structural repairs budget. The whitewash will be applied to all walls and to all wooden

structural members. The only areas not to be whitewashed are the bricks of the hearth and the floor.

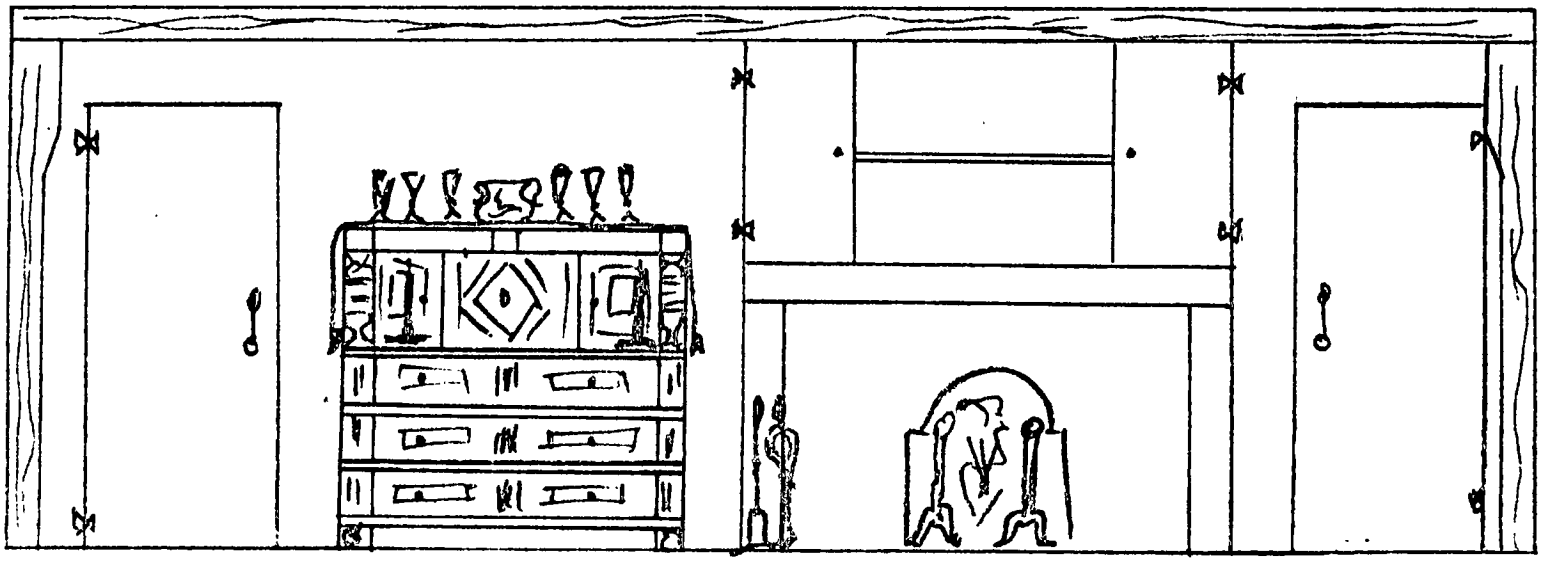
As the total budget for the room makes clear, the textile components account for the largest expenses, but this is a reflection of period practice and expense. The display of textiles is the most striking feature of the room.

[1]Linda R. Baumgarten, "The Textile Trade In Boston, 1650-1700," Arts of the Anglo-American Community in the Seventeenth Century (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1975), p. 234.

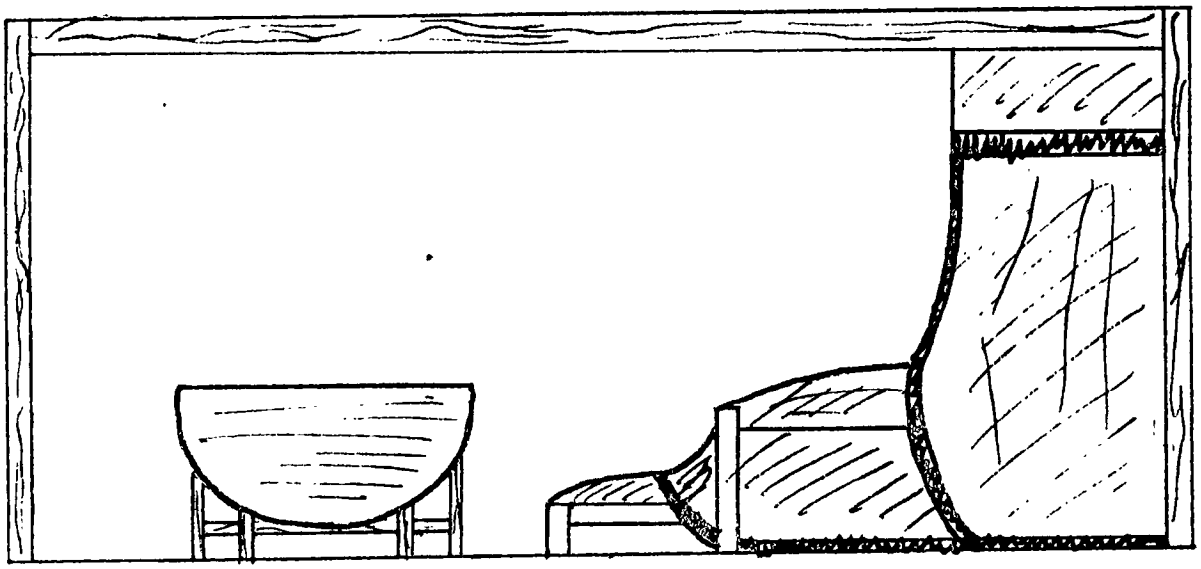
[2]Baumgarten, "Textile Trade," pp. 259-267.



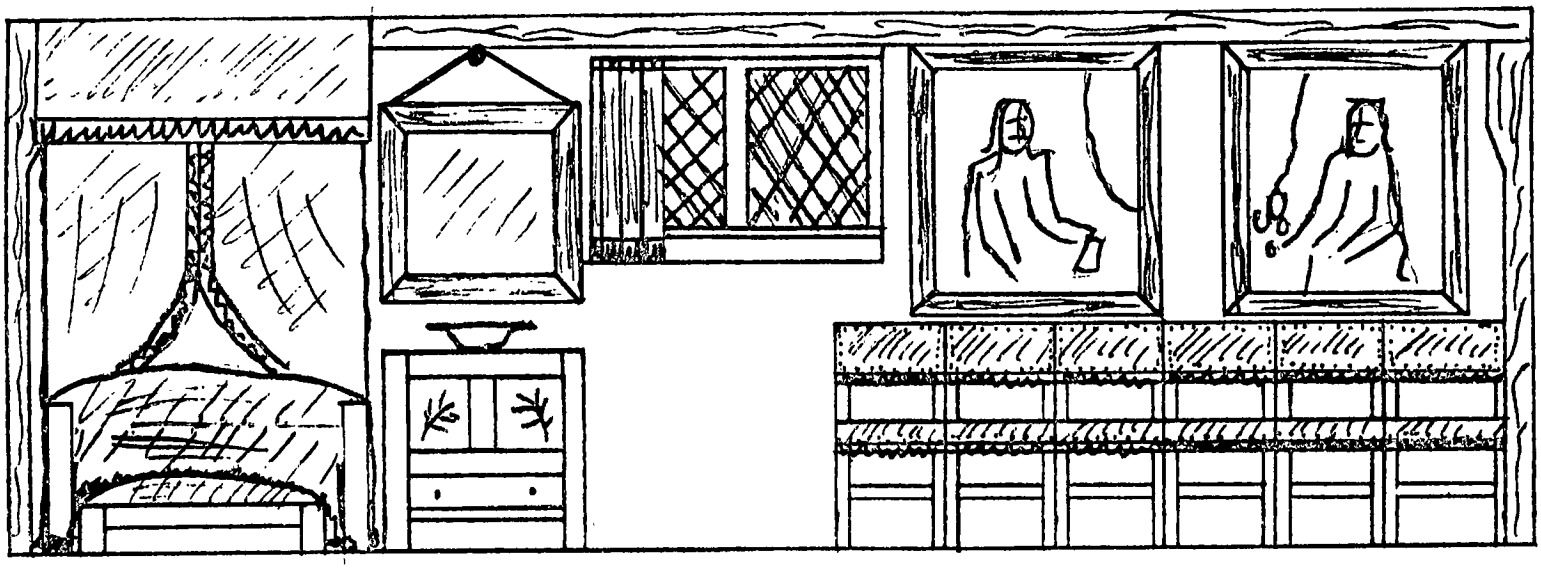
Parlor Chamber, Plan



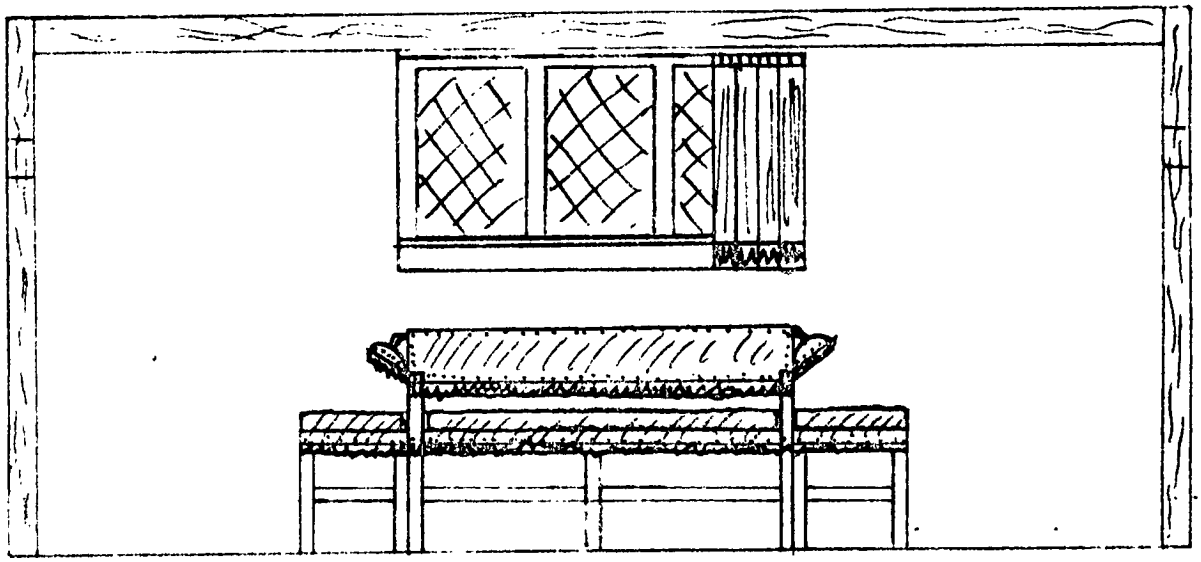
Parlor Chamber, West Elevation



Parlor Chamber, North Elevation



Parlor Chamber, East Elevation



Parlor Chamber, South Elevation

Chapter Two

The Parlor

The ground story room in the east end of the Ironworks Farm house will be called the parlor. The room is to be furnished with fixtures associated with the conservative style favored in Ipswich and practically everywhere else in eastern Massachusetts (save in Boston) during the seventeenth century. The Ipswich inventories of Samuel Appleton, Jr.'s relatives contain the same types of fixtures indicated here: large tables, board seated joined seating furniture and rush-seated turned chairs, cupboards, and chests. Textile fixtures are required here to give the requisite color and to prevent the visitor from getting the impression that this represents a lower-class room, rather than a conservative one. Fortunately, the Ironworks Site collection contains a number of suitable fixtures for the room which considerably reduce its cost.

Major Components

The first major component is a long table. Such tables were set in the center of the room and dominated the space. An alternative use of long tables was to set them near a wall for use with a mural bench, but the installation of such a bench would represent too much of an intrusion on the original architectural elements. A long table was made by Douglas Campbell of Newport, Rhode Island, for use in New England Begins and is available for purchase from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. It is based on the Salisbury long table in the Nutting collection at the Wadsworth Atheneum, perhaps the finest New England example to survive. Campbell makes the table

as part of his regular furniture line, but this example was made in an especially accurate manner, with a hand-planed top and to the exact dimensions of the prototype. It is painted with verdigris or green pigment in a lactose vehicle, the most common finish given joined furniture. The table is carved on one side rail, exactly like the prototype.

Long Table Sub-Total

Table $700.00

The second group of major components for use with the long table are two joined forms, two joint stools, and a joined great chair. Examples of these forms were made by Douglas Campbell for New England Begins and are available for purchase from the Museum of Fine Arts. The intention was to make a unified set that appears as if one joiner made it. One of the best joined great chairs to survive is the Gov. Benedict Arnold chair at the Newport Historical Society, which the writer obtained the loan of for Campbell to consult in his shop. The chair is a product of a joiner of the North River shops in Scituate and Marshfield, Massachusetts, who were influenced by both the conservative carved style and by the avant garde applied moldings style. The writer adjusted the height of the chair's seat to correspond to the height of the Salisbury table. The table is 34 inches high, and the correct ratio of seat height to table height is between ten and twelve inches. The feet of the Arnold chair are missing, but with correct feet it is 22 inches high at the seat. The woods, shape of the framing members, and carved ornament are all accurate, a result which could not have been achieved had not Campbell had the prototype frame in his shop for continual reference.

To make stools and forms to match the chair, examples of North River joint stools and the only known New England joined form (a North River shops product at Winterthur Museum) were examined and measured. Some variation exists in the turned ornament of these examples, but all follow the general vocabulary seen on the Arnold chair. The rake of the legs, shape of parts, and woods were all followed closely. Details like the pegging of tops and frames were adhered to. The length of the joined forms was made to match the table's length. These are probably the most accurate reproduction stools and forms ever made. The chair, stools, and forms were painted with verdigris in a lactose vehicle. A suitable arrangement is to set the forms along the long sides of the table and the two stools at both ends. The joined chair can be set aside for use, or substituted for one of the joint stools if a joint stool is required for use with the virginal in the study.

Joined Seating Furniture Sub-Total	
Armchair	$700.00
Two joint stools	600.00
Two joined forms	900.00
	$2,200.00

The third major component is a cupboard on loan to the Ironworks Site. The writer has been familiar with this example since 1973, when he was researching his M. A. thesis. It is a product of the Harvard College joiners working in Cambridge and dates to about 1680-1700. While the basic structure of the cupboard is intact, all the applied ornament is missing except for the applied columns on the storage compartment of the upper case. The surface is now covered with a heavy coat of dark nineteenth-century varnish.

Because the cupboard is not the property of the Ironworks Site, a restoration of the ornament and finish is not possible at this time, but the writer has provided the Site with copies of his article on the Harvard College joiners for use in a restoration when and if the cupboard becomes the property of the Site.

The fourth major component is a plain board chest in the Ironworks Site collection. The chest is English and dates to about 1600 to 1650. It is made of elm. The chest is extremely conservative in style and resembles board chests generally dated to 1550 to 1600. However, it is not unlike plain pine New England chests and is appropriate.

The fifth major component is a Welsh joined chest with drawer dated 1726 in the Ironworks Site collection. Although the object post-dates the period under consideration, Welsh joinery was extremely conservative in style, and the object is an excellent example of its type, perhaps the finest case piece in the Ironworks Site collection. The writer proposes to use it with a cupboard cloth draped over the edge of the top to conceal the date carved on the upper rail.

The sixth major component is a turned child's chair in the Ironworks Site collection. The chair is a reproduction dating from early in the twentieth century, but it is not a Nutting product. It is fairly accurate and was probably based on the Mather chair at the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts.

The seventh major component will be a group of textile fixtures for the room. These include two cupboard cloths, a table carpet, and nine cushions (eight for use with the stools and forms, one for the great chair). No window curtains were used in most conservative rooms. The textile fixtures present a problem in

interpretation. The textile fixtures in conservative rooms were heterogenous in terms of coverings. However, most of the typical period textiles used are not available in facsimile. The most popular types of cushion covers were Turkey work and needlework. Table carpets were made of Turkey work and of a wool tapestry called darnix. A number of solutions are available. First, Constance LaLena of Grand Junction, Colorado, makes a variety of facsimile textiles like baize, plain-woven serge, fustian, and kersey. She also makes a variety of striped cotton which is appropriate. These textiles could be ordered, dyed in other common period colors like russet, blue, red, and purple. Two or three cushions of each color was not unusual. Another solution would be to ask the New England Needleworkers' Guild to make and donate needlework cushion covers of an appropriate pattern to the Site. They have undertaken such projects for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in the past quite successfully. They might also be asked to make an embroidered facsimile of a Turkey work table carpet, a major undertaking. The writer has also worked in the past with Miriam Chesley of Hingham on reproducing tapeloom-woven tapes and fringes made of crewel, which could be used to trim cushions and table carpets.

For the purposes of the furnishing plan, the writer will suggest the form and appropriate materials for the fixtures based on fabrics which can be ordered from LaLena, with trim ordered from Scalamandre. Trim from Scalamandre must be mailed to LaLena to be dyed with the corresponding covers.

The cupboard cloth for the cupboard should be identical in form to that made for the parlor chamber. A popular material for cupboard cloths was red velvet of either silk or wool, with a yellow fringe 4 inches long at each end. Both of these materials

are available from Scalamandre in the appropriate colors. The cloth for the Cambridge cupboard should measure 22 inches in width and 92½ inches in length, inclusive of the fringe.

Cupboard Cloth Sub-Total

Velvet, 3 yards at approximately $50.00/yard	$150.00
4-inch fringe, 1½ yards at $19.40/yard	29.10
labor, one day at $100.00/day	100.00
	$279.10

The cupboard cloth for the Welsh chest can be a full 36 inches in width and 62 inches in length. It will be made of the same materials as the cupboard cloth for the cupboard. It will require about 2 yards of cloth and two yards of fringe.

Cupboard Cloth Sub-Total

Velvet, 2 yards at approximately $50.00/yard	$100.00
4-inch fringe, 2 yards at $19.40/yard	38.80
labor, one day at $100.00/day	100.00
	$238.80

The table carpet will be similar in form to the carpet made for the square table in the parlor chamber, but table carpets did not tend to be floor-length in conservative practice. A carpet which fell half-way to the floor was more usual. A carpet for the long table requires 7 yards of cloth and 10½ yards of fringe. In the absence of Turkey work or darnix, a suitable material is a red or blue wool cloth, either baize or plain-woven serge, with 4-inch silk fringe dyed to match. The carpet will be 62 inches wide and 123 inches in length, inclusive of the fringe.

Table Carpet Sub-Total

Baize or serge, 7 yards at $50.00/yard	$350.00
4-inch fringe, 10½ yards at $20.00/yard	210.00

labor, approximately 3 days at $100.00/day	$300.00
	$860.00

The cushions for the stools and forms should be rectangular rather than square. The stool cushions should conform to the dimensions of the stool tops within the molding (10 3/8 inches wide by 17 inches long) and the form cushions should be identical in size. The cushions should be knife-edged, not boxed. They should not be buttoned and should be stuffed full enough to have a crown of about three inches. The upholsterer should adjust his pattern so that the cushions do not draw up into four pronounced ears at the four corners; this means making the outer edges of the pattern rounded rather than straight. The cushions need not have silk or wool tassels. For the sake of economy, the cushions can be stuffed with a dacron sheet down substitute. This can be made of two or three layers quilted together. The dacron breathes and yields like down, unlike chopped foam or other substitutes. Down is now so expensive that it is weighed by the gram, and even down jacket manufacturers have turned to dacron. Two types of cloth and two different colors of cloth should be used, perhaps a blue serge and a striped cotton. Each cushion requires a yard of cloth.

Stool and Form Cushions Sub-Total

Serge and cotton, 8 yards at approximately $50.00/yard	$400.00
Upholsterer's stock, approximately $100.00	100.00
labor, 9 days at $100.00/day	900.00
	$1,400.00

The cushion of the great chair is more difficult to formulate. It must conform to the trapezoidal shape of the seat. A cushion covered in green twill-woven serge, made by Andrew Passeri for New England Begins for use with the great chair, is available for

purchase from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Great Chair Cushion Sub-Total	
Green serge, 2 yards at $47.00/yard	$94.00
Upholsterer's stock	12.00
labor, 1¼ days at $100.00/day	125.00
	$231.00

Minor Components

The first minor component consists of pictures. The Ironworks Site collections contain three period maps which are exactly the kind listed in inventories. The maps must be framed in a black molding about one inch wide of ogee or cyma recta profile. The maps must be hinged on acid-free cardboard, and a narrow mat must be made for each which is not visible when the maps are framed, to keep them away from the glass.

Map Sub-Total	
Framing at approximately $100.00/frame	$300.00

The second minor component is a pair of tin branches. The Ironworks Site collections contain a pair of tin branches which are probably nineteenth-century in date, but their oval reflecting pans and simple branches are not out of keeping with tin branches used during the seventeenth century. Certainly elaborate brass branches with punched and engraved decoration were also used, but they would be expensive and would not greatly enhance the interpretation of the room.

The third minor component is a chafing dish in the Ironworks Site collection. It is brass with a wooden handle on an iron tang, probably Iberian or Dutch, perhaps eighteenth-century in date. It is not out of keeping with earlier forms, but requires an iron stand with a catch basin for ashes. Because a period chafing

dish would cost about $2,000 or more, the writer suggests that the blacksmith on retainer at the Ironworks Site make a stand for the chafing dish based on the example illustrated in New England Begins catalogue, at an approximate cost of $150.00.

Chafing Dish Sub-Total

Stand $150.00

A fourth minor component is a garniture of ceramics to dress the cupboard's head, in lieu of silver or pewter holloware. Period delftware is rare and extremely costly. A suitable group of reproductions could be made for the Ironworks Site by either Richard Schalck of Marblehead or Ellsworth Wheeler of Portsmouth, both of whom have wide experience in reproducing early earthenware and stoneware forms. The writer knows of other potters but has found them too expensive. Schalck in particular is inexpensive and has worked closely with the writer in experimenting with period materials and glazes.

The forms suggested here are four in number. First, four galley pots will be needed, the ubiquitous vessel used for relishes, herbs, ointments, and other decoctions during the period. They are often listed in inventories on a cupboard's head. Another form of great interest are bottles, or small jugs, used for wines and liquors. A third form is a great salt of reel form with three knops or scrolls on the rim. A fourth form is a large sillibub pot, an ogee-shaped vessel with a curved pipe or spout and two ears or handles, often with a cover with a knob or finial. Schalck and Wheeler are both familiar with these forms from their participation in New England Begins crafts demonstrations, and examples of each of these forms are illustrated in the catalogue. They should all be made of buff or red earthenware with white slip. They can be

undecorated, save for the galley pots, which were almost always painted with blue, yellow, red, and green stripes.

Ceramics Sub-Total

4 galley pots	$100.00
2 bottles	60.00
Great salt	30.00
Sillibub pot with cover	50.00
	$240.00

A fifth minor component is a set of pewter dishes which is in the Ironworks Site collections. It includes three large plates, seven small plates, and two basins. These are all eighteenth-century in date, but do not vary appreciably from seventeenth-century forms. They are currently displayed in the hall in a built-in set of shelves dating from Nutting's restoration and on the cupboard in the same room. During the period only holloware vessels were displayed on cupboards, while dishes and basons were displayed on dressers, either built-in or free-standing. A suitable plain dresser could be made of pine boards nailed together and painted red, based on surviving dressers in the Fairbanks house in Dedham or the Winslow House in Marshfield. The dresser should be about five feet long, with an enclosed storage area below and three shelves above run with plate grooves. Specifications are included here. The pewter itself should be cleaned, as is current practice among collectors.

Pewter and Dresser Sub-Total

Cleaning pewter	$200.00
Dresser reproduction	$500.00

The sixth minor component is a bracket clock recently donated to the Ironworks Site. It is engraved on the dial with the name of Nathaniel Washbourne of Gloucester, England. He is not listed in

standard books on English clockmakers, but the clock is a typical seventeenth-century type with one hand. The writer has given the Ironworks Site staff the name of Robert Cheney of Worcester, who services clocks at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Whether or not the cost of cleaning the clock and restoring the missing pendulum is properly part of this furnishing plan is unclear, but an approximate figure is $500.00. The clock has no wooden mounts to suggest that it was once in a tall case; often such clocks were mounted on oak boards with slots for the weight chain and pendulum and two brackets to support them on the wall. Cheney can suggest an appropriate form for the board and brackets and fabricate them in his shop or instruct a cabinetmaker to make them. The bracket will cost approximately $200.00.

Clock Sub-Total	
Cleaning and restoration	$500.00
Wooden bracket	200.00
	$700.00

The last minor component is the hearth garniture. The Ironworks Site collection already includes a suitable pair of andirons and the "E 1655 H" cast back probably made for Edward Hutchinson, agent of the Ironworks in the mid-1650s. The hearth ought to have a shovel and tongs of appropriate form, made by the blacksmith on retainer at the Site.

Some question exists as to whether or not the 1655 cast back should remain in the hearth of the parlor. The brickwork is always damp and has promoted some corrosion of the back, as did a leak in the chimney cap during the mid-1970s. Because the back is unquestionably the most important Ironworks artifact in the Site's collection, the writer recommends that it be removed to

the museum of the Site for safe-keeping and that a fiberglass substitute be put in its place. The Site already has contracted for conservation of the cast back, and molds could easily be made from it while it was being conserved. Parallel efforts to cast gravestones have been quite successful. A casting will probably cost about $300.00.

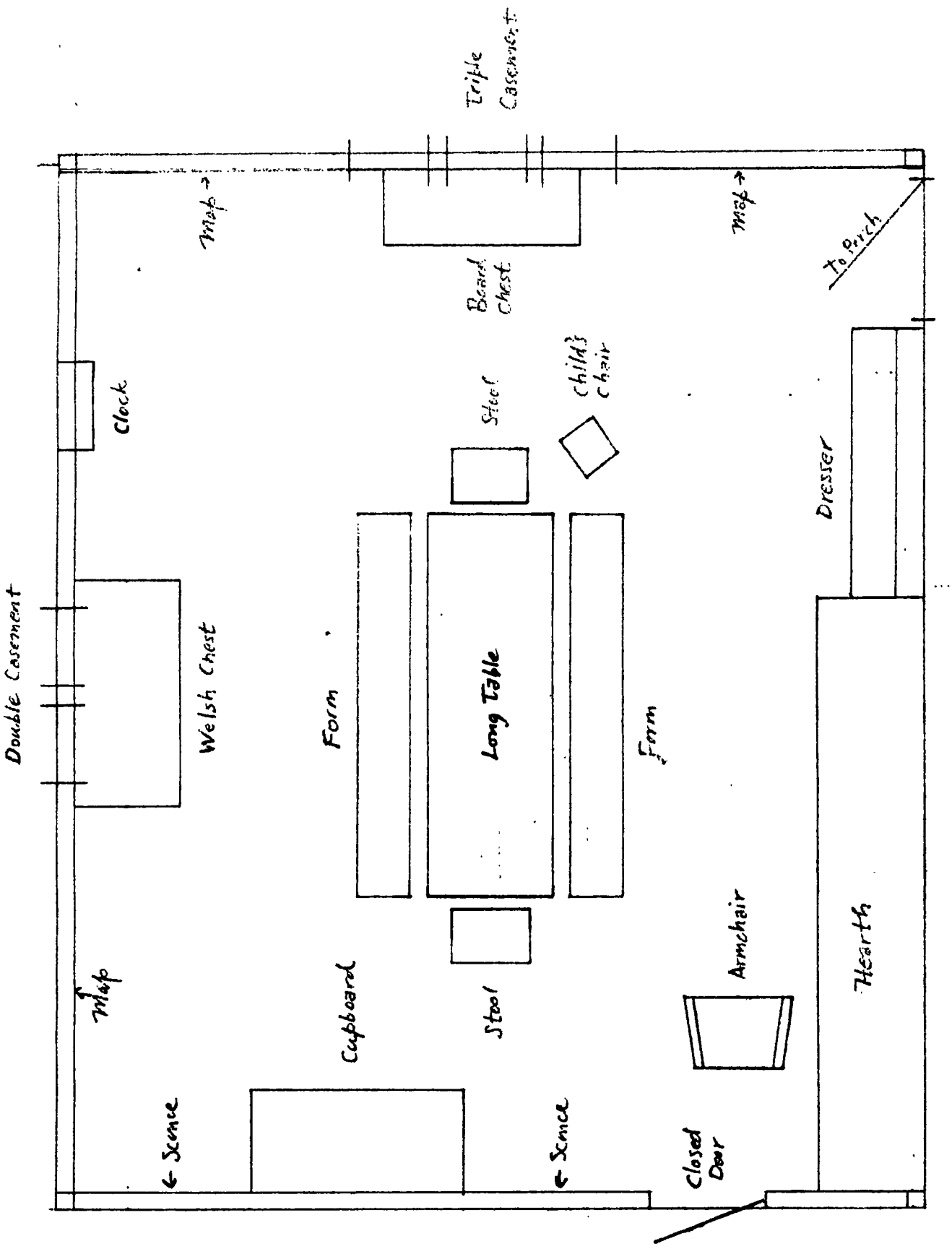
Hearth Garniture Sub-total	
Shovel and tongs	$300.00
Casting	$300.00
	$600.00

Parlor Total	
Long table	$700.00
Joined seating furniture	2,200.00
Cupboard cloth for cupboard	279.10
Cupboard cloth for Welsh chest	238.80
Table carpet	860.00
Stool and form cushions	1,400.00
Great chair cushion	231.00
Map frames	300.00
Chafing dish stand	150.00
Ceramics garniture	240.00
Pewter and dresser	700.00
Clock and bracket	700.00
Hearth garniture	600.00
	$8,598.90

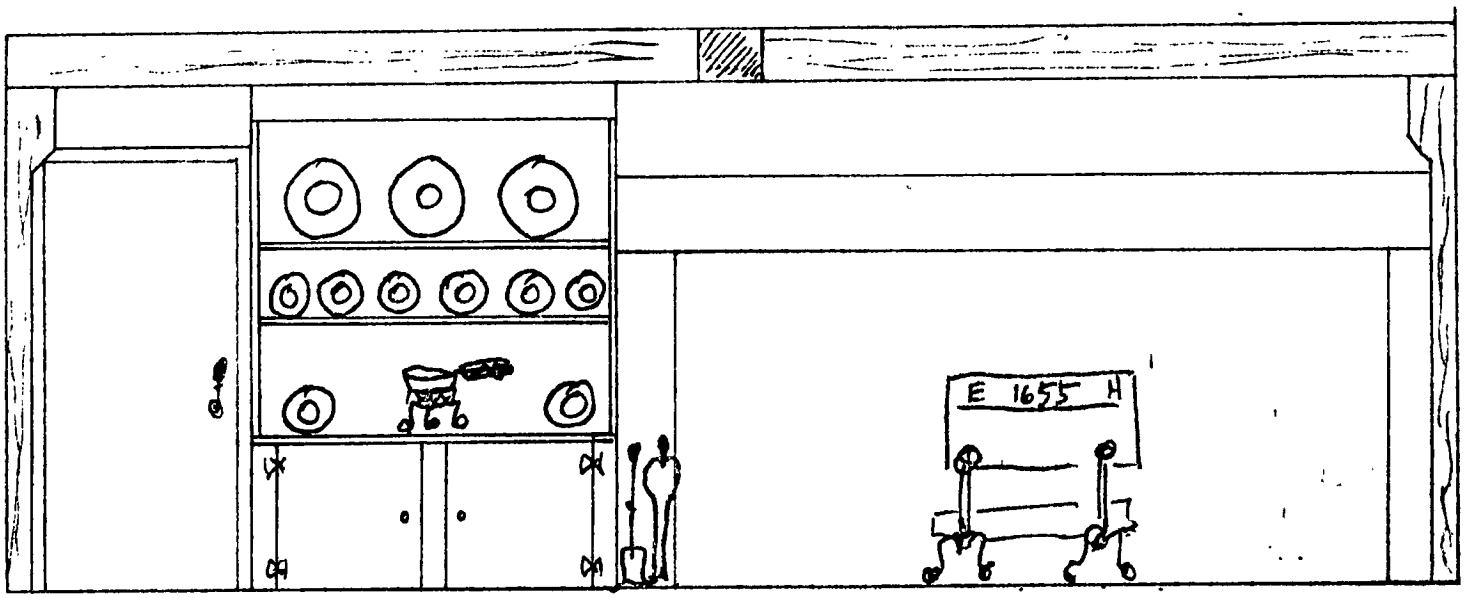
This estimate does not include the cost of whitewashing the room. The whitewash will cover all walls and framing, except for the bricks of the hearth and the floor. Another architectural

restoration would be the replacement of the lath and plaster on the underside of the floorboards between the joists. This is probably the original treatment, as indicated in the architectural report. It might be advisable to restore the plaster in dry wallboard rather than actual lath and wet plaster, since dry wallboard would be cheaper to install and less likely to crack from the vibration of traffic above.

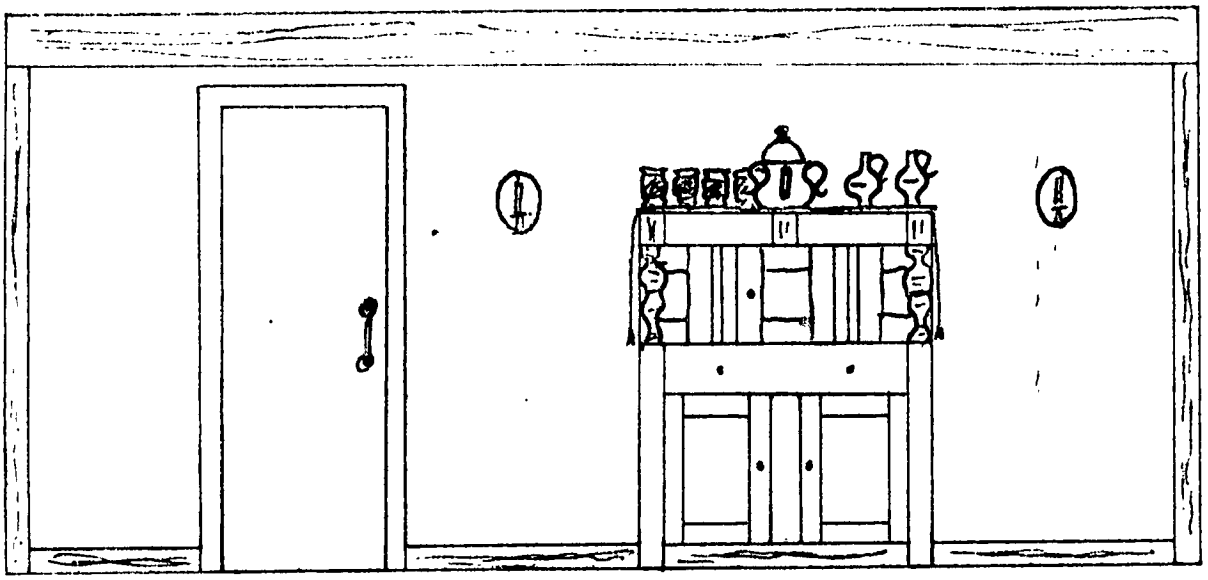
The parlor might seem starker and less furnished than the parlor chamber, but the overall starkness of the room reflects period practice and does not reflect twentieth-century cluttered period rooms. Parlors became fairly anonymous rooms with the removal of the best bed to a chamber, and the textile fixtures indicated here will do much to enliven the room, as will the whitewashing.


Triple Casement
Map
Map
To Porch
Bead Chest
Stool
Child's Chair
Clock
Dresser
Double Casement
Welsh Chest
Form
Long Table
Form
Map
Cupboard
Stool
Armchair
Hearth
Settle
Settle
Closed Door

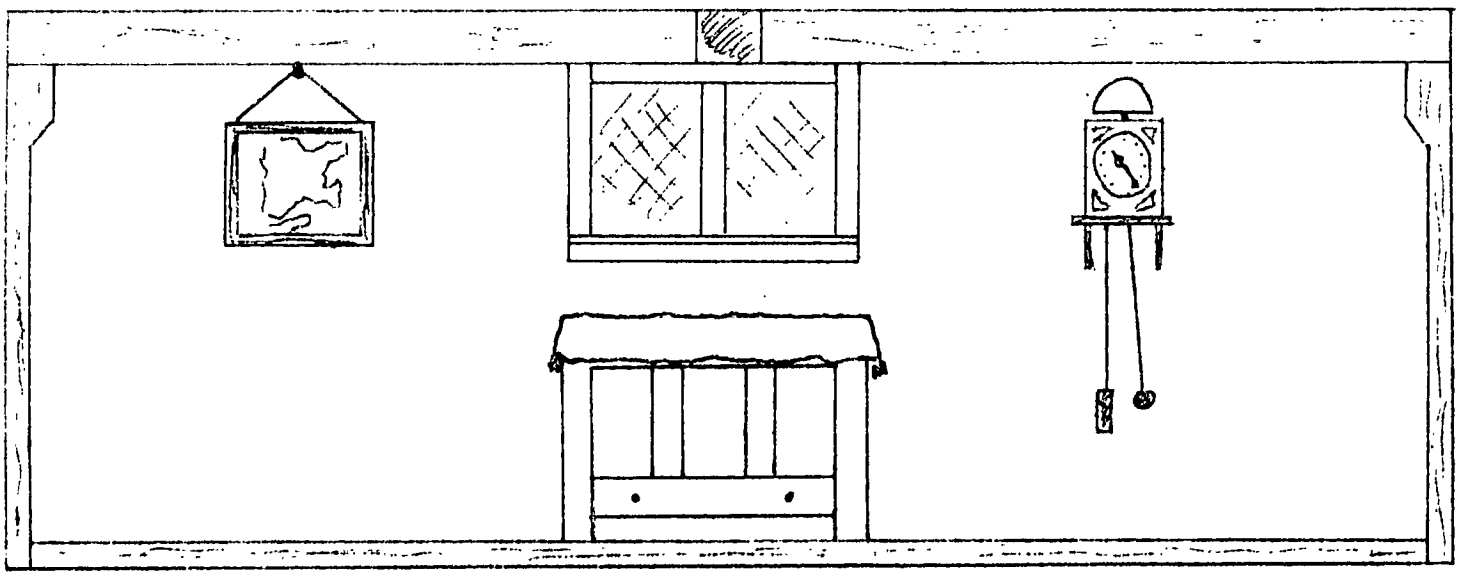
Parlor, Plan



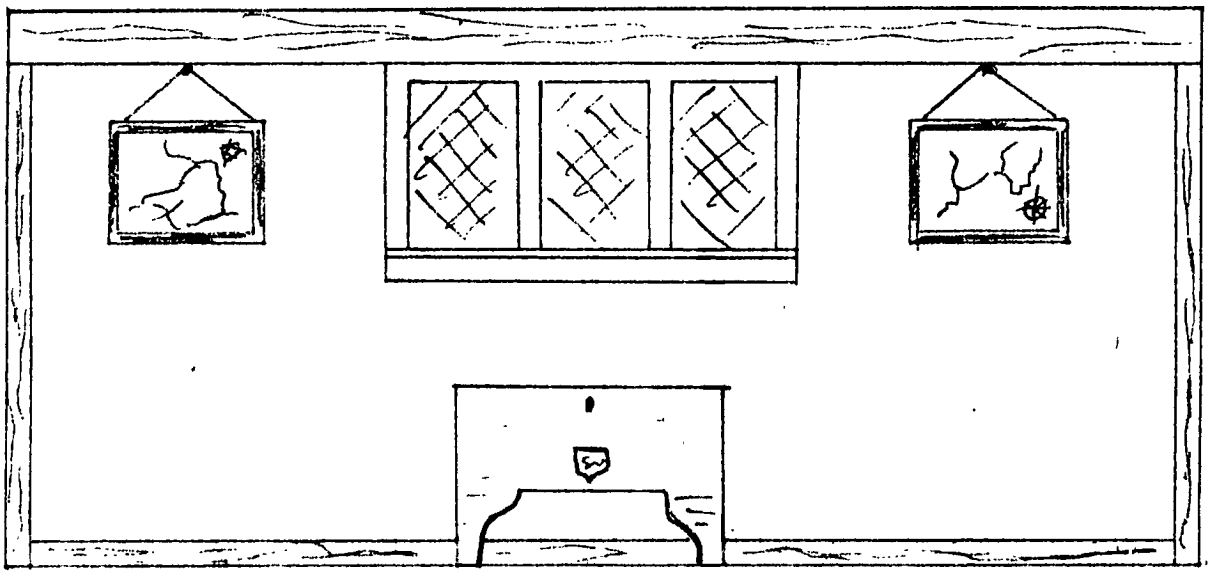
Parlor, West Elevation



Parlor, North Elevation



Parlor, East Elevation



Parlor, South Elevation

Dresser Specifications

a) To be made of 3/4" pine boards, nailed with wrought iron clinch nails.

b) No backboards are necessary.

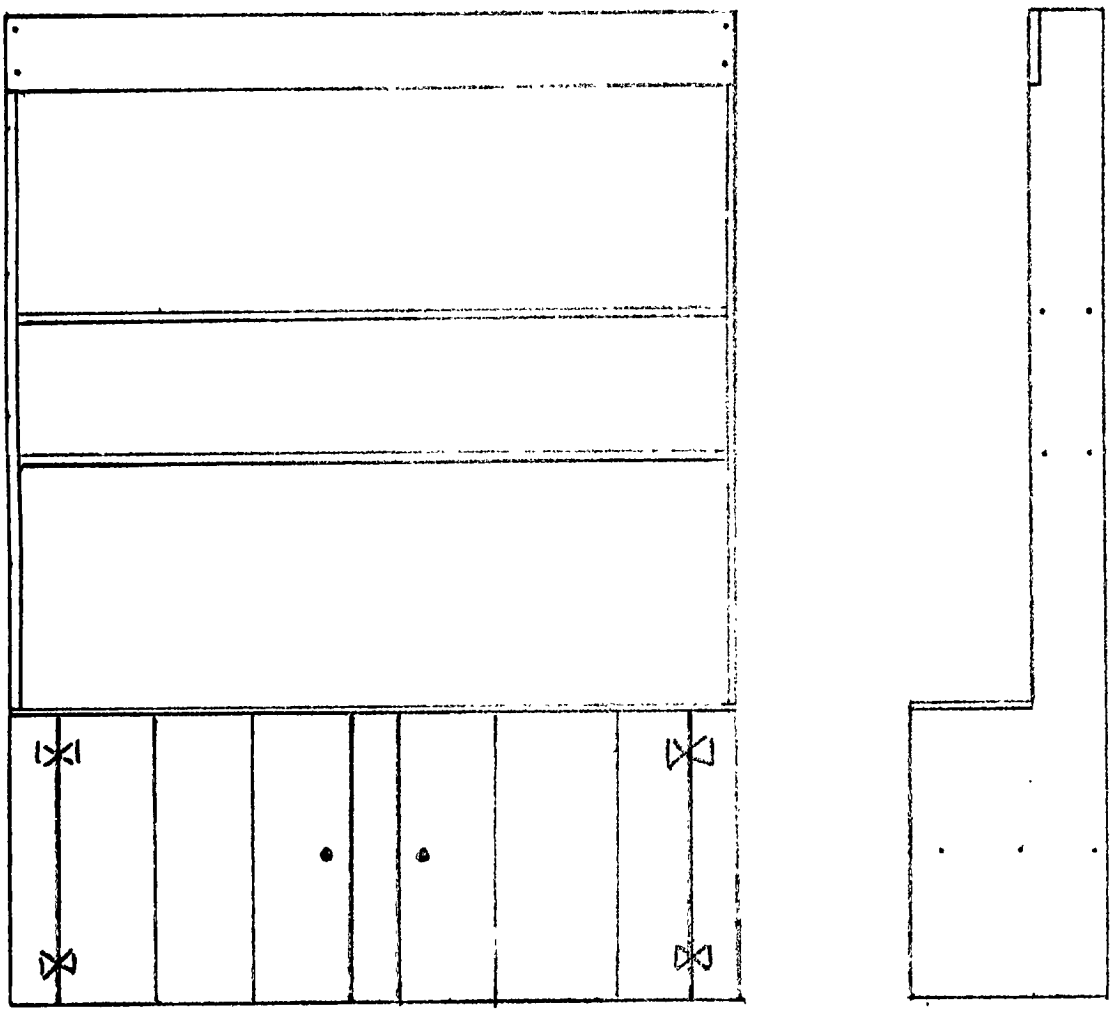
c) The first central shelf to be run with plate groove 2" from rear of shelf. The second or upper central shelf to be run with plate groove 1" from front of shelf.

d) The doors to be made of random width boards held together with narrow chamfered cleats on inner surface, attached with clinch nails. Butterfly hinges and turned knobs. A bottom board is required, as is a shelf behind the doors, as indicated by nails on side board.

e) The lowest shelf over doors to be nailed down on top of side and middle muntins and through the sides.

f) The entire outer surface to be painted vermillion, including hardware.

g) Edges are to be left sharp. No distressing is necessary.



6/8" = 1'

Chapter Three

The Study

The porch chamber will be called the study. In the case of a merchant like Appleton, the study would have functioned as a place for reading of religious books and for casting accounts. In William Whittingham's 1672 inventory, the study functioned as a male retreat, while the kitchen chamber was a female retreat, with a virginal on stand and needlework stools. However, Whittingham was the grandson of an accomplished musician and may have been the one playing the virginal, so there is no reason not to place a virginal in a study. In the case of Appleton and his wife Elizabeth Whittingham, it was Elizabeth who was most likely to have been musically inclined.

Some of the components listed here will have to be explored within the Park Service collections, in particular, arms.

The first component is a cabinet in the Ironworks Site collections. The case is made of pine with dovetailed construction, and the case never had a door covering the drawers or boxes. The cabinet may have been made in Boston about 1700 and had either veneered or grain-painted decoration; grooves cut around the drawer fronts, which align with exposed dovetails, indicate the location of veneer strips or moldings. The cabinet is now painted red and blue and has restored feet. The writer feels it should not be restored, since its original form is not clear. It

is acceptable for use as is.

The second major component is a dome-lidded coffer in the Ironworks Site collection. The coffer is made of oak with chip carving. The chip-carved style dated from the Late Medieval period and persisted in the seventeenth century in England. It remained a Scandanavian tradition to the twentieth century. The writer believes the coffer to be a Scandanavian example, dating from 1680 to 1800. Such chip-carved boxes were used in New England and made here during the seventeenth century, so the coffer is appropriate for use in the study to hold a large book.

The third component will be a table. The Ironworks Site collection includes two small tables of mid-eighteenth century date, one with a replaced rectangular top and one with an original oval top. They are clearly much too late in date for use in the study. A suitable reproduction of a table with drawer, like one illustrated in the New England Begins catalogue, could be reproduced by Douglas Campbell or another cabinetmaker for about $700.00. The table should have a carpet requiring five yards of cloth and nine yards of fringe.

Table and Carpet Sub-Total

Table	$700.00
Serge, 5 yards at $50.00/yard	250.00
Fringe, 9 yards at $20.00/yard	180.00
labor, 3 days at $100.00/day	300.00
	$1,430.00

The fourth component is books. The Ironworks Site collection contains some five seventeenth-century books with appropriate new bindings which can be placed on the table or in the coffer. None appears to be especially scarce or valuable in the writer's experi-

ence with seventeenth-century imprints. If one is displayed open, it will have to be turned frequently to prevent any one page from fading.

The fifth component consists of two turned chairs in the Ironworks Site collection. One is from the Boston-Salem turned chair tradition, while the other is from the Tinkham shop tradirion in Middleboro, Massachusetts. Both are of the period but have suffered losses or replacements. The Boston-Salem example has lost the pommels or handgrips on the front posts and the upper portions of the finials. Two of the slats are old replacements. The Tinkham example has replaced pommels and has been stripped. The writer suggests that both chairs be left as is. One will be drawn up to the table, while the other will be placed to one side.

The sixth component is a joined oak chest in the Ironworks Site collection. It is a period New England example, but has lost some five inches in height off the feet and has been stripped and varnished. Examination reveals that the chest has traces of verdigris or green paint under traces of a later coat of white, but the writer recommends that the only restoration be the removal of the varnish with alcohol.

Chest Sub-Total

Restoration $200.00

The seventh components consists of four modern reproduction cushions in the Ironworks Site collections. These were made by Kathleen Catalano of the Longfellow National Historic Site in Cambridge, using cloth first reproduced under the writer's supervision in 1978 by Constance LaLena. The cloth was featured at the 1978 upholstery conference held at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, where Catalano learned of the cloth from samples the writer dis-

tributed at the conference. It is a wool worsted dyed a dark green, the prototype of which was discovered on an early eighteenth-century Boston easy chair frame. Two of the cushions are large, with crewel tassels and central buttons. They are stuffed with down. The writer recommends that the inappropriate buttons be removed. The two large cushions will be used on the turned chairs. The two smaller cushions are plain and can be used on top of the chest, to suggest that it was used as auxiliary seating.

The eighth component is arms. The writer suggests that Jim Gott contact Colonial National Historic Park to see if the Jamestown Site has extra muskets, swords, and sword belts. If not, Gott should contact Peter Cook of Plimoth Plantation regarding the source of the reproductions used there. Cook has informally told the writer that a reproduction musket and sword will cost about $1,200.00, while a belt and scabbard will cost about $250.00. Plimoth Plantation makes its own belts and scabbards.

Arms Sub-Total	
Musket and sword	$1,200.00
Scabbard and belt	250.00
	$1,450.00

The ninth component is a virginal. The writer has spoken with Barbara Lambert, Curator of Musical Instruments at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, regarding sources and costs of a virginal. Lambert suggests two makers in the Boston area who are nationally known and respected. They are Lynette Tsiang and Allan Winkler. Both maintain separate shops at one address, 6 Vernon Street, Somerville, Massachusetts 02143, and can be reached at 776-5200. Lambert says that a complete virginal in working order costs about $3,000.00. A dummy virginal, that is, one without any

works, still costs about $2,000.00, because the principal expense is in the fashioning of the ebony and ivory keys. It is the writer's opinion that the Ironworks Site should purchase a working model, which can be used in concerts at the Site.

The two inventories containing virginals specify that they had stands. Often a virginal would be placed on a table, but a table would cost as much as a stand and a suitable carpet would be much more. A suitable stand with turned posts, stretchers, and upper rails cut with a rabbet to accomodate the virginal case will cost about $600.00. The usual seating furniture used with a virginal as depicted in prints is a joint stool, and one of the stools from the parlor can be used here.

Virginal Sub-Total	
Virginal with works	$3,000.00
Stand	600.00
	$3,600.00

The tenth major component is a small looking glass. The writer is arranging to have a looking glass made of the same picture molding to be used for the portrait frames in the parlor chamber to be donated to the Ironworks Site.

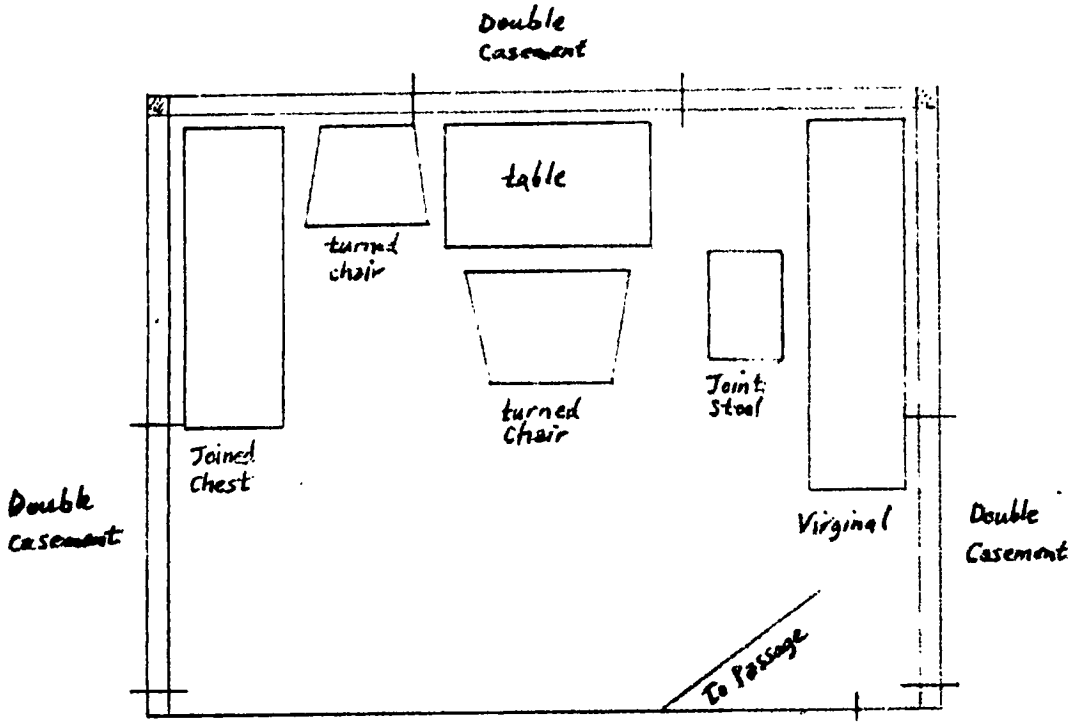
The final component is a candlestick. Many brass companies make trumpet-shaped sticks of appropriate form, which cost about $75.00.

Candlestick Sub-Total	
Candlestick	$75.00

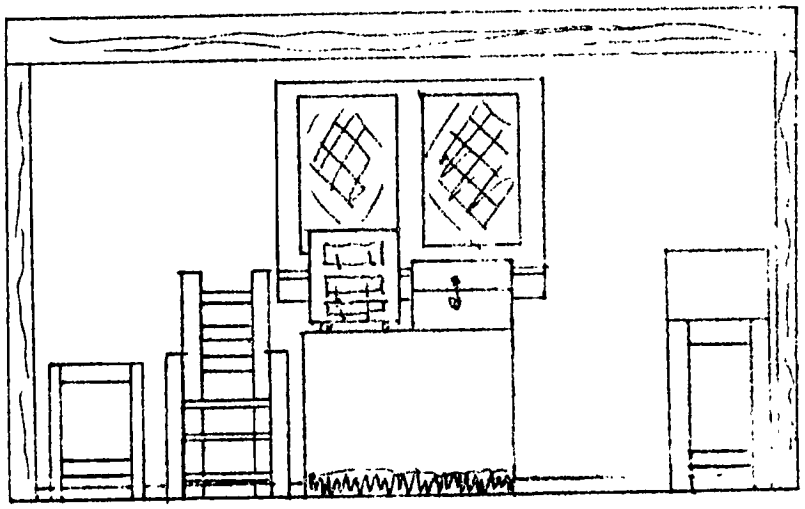
Study Total

Table and carpet	$1,430.00
Chest restoration	200.00
Arms	1,450.00
Virginal and stand	3,600.00
Candlestick	75.00
	$6,755.00

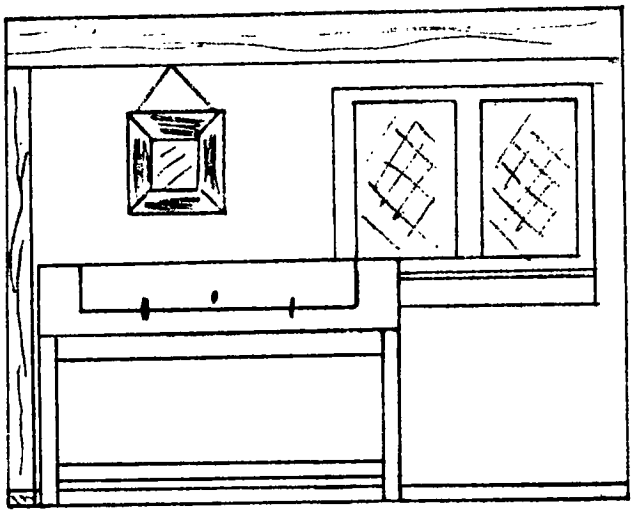
The writer has not included the cost of whitewashing the room. All walls and structural timbers are to be whitewashed, with the exception of the floor. The whitewashing can be budgeted into the structural repairs to be done to the building.



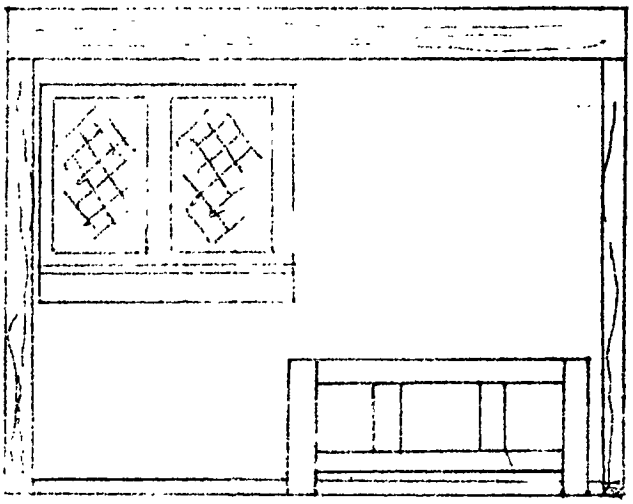
Porch Chamber, Plan



Porch Chamber, South Elevation



Porch Chamber, West Elevation



Porch Chamber, East Elevation

Chapter Four

Interpreting the Period Rooms

Included at the end of this chapter are three probate listings for the parlor, parlor chamber, and study. These can be handwritten by a calligrapher who will study the photocopies of probate inventories on file at the Ironworks Site and draw up the inventories in italic script, following the general period manner but using modern spelling and punctuation. These can then be photocopied and given out to visitors for consultation during the tour. The nomenclature of the furnishings and their values follow period practice, and guides should make note of significant entries, groupings, and relative values, as well as identifying the objects. Visitors can enter the parlor and parlor chamber, but will not enter the study. The guide is to repeatedly warn visitors not to touch the objects, explaining that some of the objects are period objects and some are expensive reproductions. Guides will not use the popular terms "antique" or "piece" in referring to objects. The impulse of many visitors to handle textiles will be very strong, and it must be explained to them that textiles absorb grease and dirt from hands. By keeping the visitors occupied with the inventories, the chances for their getting bored or moving independently of the group will be reduced.

The following are sample tour texts for each room.

Parlor Interpretation

This is the parlor. It is one foot shorter in width than the hall. The parlor is furnished in the conservative style

favored by people from provincial England and by people living in New England towns outside Boston. The practices associated with the conservative style dated from the Late Medieval period. Board- or rush-seated seating furniture was softened by cushions. Seating was often communal, like the long joined forms by the table. The parlor was dominated by a long table in the center of the room, with its stools, forms, and chair. These fixtures remained in the center of the room when not in use.

The parlor was used almost exclusively for formal receiving of guests. In many conservative homes, the parlor also contained the best bed where the heads of the household, the husband and wife, slept. In this house, the best bed is in the parlor chamber, a concession to a new-fashioned French style of decoration we will see there.

The seating furniture was mixed in form, and the numbers of each form present were not assigned any particular significance, that is, whether there were two or four stools, and so forth.

The beams of the room were whitewashed. During the early 1900s, when antiquarians like Wallace Nutting began restoring houses, they thought of the settlers as rough pioneers who appreciated unfinished wood surfaces, but actually seventeenth-century people preferred artificial surfaces and often painted wood to conceal it. The ideal was masonry construction, and many of the beams have chamfers and other ornaments adopted by carpenters from masonry forms. When whitewashed, these rooms become light-filled, larger looking, and abstract, completely unlike the dark, small, informal spaces Nutting advocated.

Looking at the inventory, it can be seen that the people who appraised the estates of deceased people often listed the

objects in houses room by room and had a system wherein they noted major fixtures first, either the largest objects or the most valuable ones. Sometimes they gathered all the silver or pewter in one room to weigh it, but generally things were listed where they stood. The inventory for this room and the other two period rooms were written on the basis of the furnishings chosen for the rooms, but they reflect period names and values. It is important to note the relative values of objects. Textiles were far more valuable than wooden objects, as you can see from the high values assigned the table carpet, cushions, and cupboard cloths in this room.

The furniture here, as in all the period rooms, is a mixture of period objects and modern reproductions. The reproductions are painted -- like the architecture, furniture was made of wood but was meant to resemble masonry. That is why the furniture is organized like so many small classical buildings, with bases, columns, and entablatures. The green color was called verdigris and was made of a copper resinate pigment. The red color of the dresser was called vermillion and was made of special burned clays. These were the two most common colors for furniture, although black was often used to pick out details. Once more, Nutting preferred the raw wood and often stripped the paint from period furniture he acquired.

The seating furniture includes joined forms, joint stools, a joined great chair or armchair, and a turned child's chair. The case pieces are a cupboard used for the storage of linens and for the display of silver, ceramics, and glass; and a joined chest and a board chest for storage of other textiles. "Joined" means made with mortise-and-tenon joints held with pegs, like

the joints of the house frame, while "board" furniture means case pieces made of boards pegged or nailed together.

The seats and the table top are extremely high by modern standards. In winter, the flow of hot air going up the chimney flue drew cold air across the room from where it seeped in around door and window frames. This created a constant draft of cold air moving along the floor towards the hearth. This blanket of cold air was as much as four to six inches thick, and people had to get their feet off the floor and rest them on the stretchers of tables or on small foot stools. Today we associate comfort with rugs on the floor and low, heavy couches, but you can see why seventeenth-century people thought otherwise. Also, because so much of their daily lives was spent in a natural environment with which they constantly had to struggle, people disliked being near the ground. They associated it with dirt, cold, dampness, and the habits of animals. Their houses were their principal means of rejecting the natural environment and animalistic behavior they distrusted. The house asserted the artificial, man-made order they valued and their strong moral and theological or religious convictions. If this room seems stiff, upright, and formal, it is because these people believed in upright posture, an abrupt manner of speech, cool and limited physical interaction, and tightly-controlled emotions. They explicitly mentioned being disgusted with the loose posture, long-winded speech, warm and expressive physical contact, and occasional violent dancing of the Indians they met here, and they also rejected the low, round, temporary wigwams of the Indians, who sat on mats or lay on low platforms built inside the wigwams. Imagine how strange it must have been for a Puritan to enter an Indian wigwam for the

first time, or how equally strange the white man's houses must have seemed to Indians. Often Indians simply refused to sit on these high chairs and stools or to eat sitting at a table when they visited whites.

The parlor was designed to control visitors by giving the owner of the house an opportunity to display his wealth and to express his civilized behavior in certain rituals. The inviting of guests into rooms was called receiving. Guests were promptly seated at the table. If the head of the household, usually the husband, was the most important person there, as he usually was, he sat in the great chair, which retained throne-like associations with power and authority. The guests would be seated on the stools and forms. Today we associate sitting on a long bench with being disciplined or at least crowded, but most people during the 1600s did not view it that way. Physical distance from other people was a privilege, especially if you were not born to an aristocratic family or great wealth. Women, as a rule, were perceived as inherently inferior in status and were seated on stools or benches. In this room, the wife would probably sit on a stool, at the opposite end of the table from her husband.

However, seating order would vary in some circumstances. If the husband and wife were receiving an honored guest like a minister or a governor, the husband would surrender the armchair to the honored guest. The husband might surrender the armchair to a female guest of higher status, or perhaps to his father or mother, for parents and older people in general were treated with great respect.

The rituals people practiced when receiving guests were few in number and extremely formal. The accessories in the room

illustrate some of them. The cupboard was used to display silver or ceramic vessels used in drinking rituals. These were not rowdy beer parties, but involved polite sampling of small quantities of beer, wine, or liquors, sometimes as part of a meal. The small, jar-like vessels on the cupboard are galley pots, used for relishes, preserves, and various herbal dressings, some of which were thought to be medicinal rather than simply tasty. Most food was smothered with these dressings because it was preserved or salted and tasted bland or tough without them. The name galley pots dated from when such pots were imported from Italy and Spain to England in rowed galleys. The two little jugs were called bottles and were used to serve wine. The great salt was used to serve salt on the table. The position of a guest in relation to the salt was another way of judging how he or she stood in the order of status. If the guest was seated nearer to the host and on his right hand, he was more favored than if he or she sat farther away and on the left hand of the hi host, and if he or she sat between the great salt and the host, he or she was more honored than those seated below the salt. The knops on top of the salt held up a napkin or a dish of fruit. The largest vessel with a spout or pipe is a sillibub pot, used for drinking a warm mush or pudding with liquor in it. The pot was passed from hand to hand and drunk through the spout, and naturally those who drank first were more honored than those who drank afterwards.

The pewter plates on the dresser were set on the table when in use and displayed in the dresser the rest of the time. A great deal of attention was pain to how well polished pewter was, a sign of the industry and patience of the housewife.

The maps and the clock were symbols of knowledge of the world and of time. People were limited in the amount of traveling they did, since it was dangerous and time-consuming and since they had to work continually near their houses and shops. Most people sensed the passage of time by the position of the sun rather than by a watch or clock. Because clocks were expensive and rarely seen, the sight and sound of one ticking in the parlor was impressive. Clocks also had associations with mortality, for Puritanism stressed the shortness of life and the need to put every minute to good use. In fact, hourglasses, clocks, and sundials were common symbols of death, and the expression often seen on gravestones was fugit hora, latin for time is passing, or time has past. Everyone would be reminded of this as they listened to the clock tick or counted the hours as they were struck on the bell.

The many expensive textile fixtures in the room were lavish displays of cloth. Most high-quality textiles were imported, as were many of the ceramics, the pewter, and other finer objects. Many could have been made here, but to a colonist they stood for the mother country and for an awareness of the world at large. Textiles came from all over Europe. The white-glazed pottery seen here was called Delft after the town in the Netherlands where much of it was made, and the textiles often had odd names derived from the towns in Europe where they were first made.

The fixtures in the hearth include a pair of andirons, a shovel and tongs, and a cast back. Despite the large size of the chimney opening, the fires were usually small and were carefully tended. Firewood was precious and took a great deal of time and effort to cut and prepare. It was used in short pieces

about two feet long, which were split. It was never used in the form of the huge logs we associate with Christmas festivals, except on those rare occasions when wood was deliberately being wasted for display purposes. The cast back protected the bricks from the fire and reflected heat into the room. This example, with the date 1655 and the initials EH was probably made for Edward Hutchinson, the agent of the Ironworks in the mid-1650s, and was cast at the blast furnace at the bottom of the hill. It is one of five known examples with dates ranging from 1655 to 1662 and was made by pressing a wooden pattern into clay or loam, which was baked and used as a mold for the molten iron. This cast back is the single most important Ironworks artifact in the Ironworks Site collection.

Parlor Chamber Interpretation

This is the parlor chamber. The chamber is furnished in the avant garde French style favored by Boston merchants, many of whom originated in London and had seen the new fashion practiced at the court and in wealthy merchants' homes. As developed at the court of Louis XIII in the 1620s and 1630s, the French style emphasized uniformity imposed by textile furnishings. The bed, set of six chairs, armchair, couch with stools, table carpet, window curtains, and cupboard cloths are all made of green serge, the most popular color and textile used in Boston throughout this period. Obviously the expense of furnishing a room in this style was great, as you can see from the values in the inventory.

The principal fixture is the bed. The type seen here, often used in Boston, is a canopy bed, a low bedstead with an independent tester frame suspended over it. Other types were the half-headed bedstead, where the short tester was held up by two tall posts

at the head, and the full high bestead, with a full-length tester held up by four posts. Canopy and half-headed bedsteads had only two curtains, while high bedsteads had four. Other fixtures used on beds were the valance around the tester and the counterpaine or coverlid. The counterpain covers an interlaced rope or cord, a feather bed or mattress, a long pillow across the head called a bolster, and two pillows. These were covered by linen sheets, blankets, and thick rugs. The edges of the outer fixtures are trimmed with expensive silk fringe. The value of all these fixtures on the bed is almost one-quarter the value of everything in the room.

The set of six chairs, an armchair, a couch, and two stools is upholstered in the same green serge with silk fringe and galloon and single rows of brass nails. The set was also extremely expensive and cost as much as the bed. In French court practice, the various seating forms were carefully graded as to the status of those permitted to sit in them. Most prestigious was the couch, which is laid with a case or boxed cushion and has two adjustable falls or wings. Couches were not used for lounging. They were chairs of state, a kind of throne. In aristocratic houses in England, they were often set under a canopy, a sign of high rank. This was the seat occupied by the heads of the household and by honored guests. Curiously, the stools were the next most prestigious seats. The two stools set beside the couch were often used for the king's favorites at court, and the high value placed on being close to the most powerful person in the room remained with them in New England. The armchair was the next most favored seat, followed by the chairs.

In contrast to the conservative style we saw in the parlor,

where the seats remained around the central table when not in use, the French style emphasized placing seating furniture against the wall when not drawn up to the table. The square table with floor-length carpet is another expensive feature. By the 1670s, square or rectangular tables began to be replaced by another type, the oval table. You can see an oval table folded up and set against the wall by the chimney. Oval tables were only brought out into the center of the room and opened up when they were used.

While few conservative rooms had window curtains, they came to be consistently used in the French style. They are hung on iron rods with brass rings and tapes, just like the curtains of the bed. Only one curtain was used at each window and was drawn to one side to admit light.

The bed, seating furniture, and tables are the principal fixtures of the room, but other objects articulate the room and were used in rituals. The cupboard with drawers, in addition to providing storage for table linens and wearing apparel, served as a display shelf, much like the cupboard in the parlor. This example is dressed with a cupboard cloth, six Venice glasses, and a caudle cup. The glasses could actually have been made in Venice, but they were copied in the Netherlands and England as well. These glasses were used for wine, but other kinds were made for beer or liquor. The caudle cup was used to serve a drink made with eggs, sugar, wine, and spices. Like the sillibub pot in the parlor, it was passed from guest to guest. Burn marks on cupboards indicate that candlesticks were often set on the lower shelf of the cupboard, next to the pillars.

The two portraits are copies of two period portraits of a Boston merchant and his wife. The frames are copies of the frames

on the original portraits. While the probate inventory lists the portraits, often portraits were not listed in inventories, for reasons which are not clear today. The portraits were intended to hang next to each other, and the poses, dress, and backgrounds match. The man is dressed in relatively somber colors and holds a book, while the woman is dressed in brightly colored clothing and holds a fan. The elaborate laces, puffed sleeves, and jewelry the two people are wearing are a far cry from our traditional image of Puritans as drab, tasteless, unattractive people. In fact, these two examples are among the plainer seventeenth-century portraits to survive.

Another ritual which may have taken place while guests were present was the grooming ceremony. The dressing stand next to the bed came into fashion with the French style. Usually it was set under a looking glass, and often it was set next to a window to take advantage of the light. The dressing stand held combs, perfumes, make-up, and other accessories, and this one has been set with a man's shaving bowl.

The hearth has much the same set of fixtures as the one in the parlor, although the cast back here is an English example.

Before you leave the parlor, notice the chamber pot next to the bed. Period prints show chamber pots left out in the open, even in very formal rooms, a frank practice which strikes us as odd.

Study Interpretation

The small chamber over the porch was called a study. Here the heads of the household could retire to read, write, and amuse themselves with genteel hobbies. Ministers always had a study filled with books kept in great cupboards called presses.

Merchants used studies to cast their accounts and conduct business, and occasionally they called them counting houses.

This study is furnished with a table and two turned chairs, a few books, the musket and sword the husband used in militia drills, and a virginal. The two small case pieces on the table are a cabinet and a coffer. Both were used for books, papers, writing materials and cash. The virginal is a small keyboard instrument which sounds like a harpsichord, only softer. Puritans had musical interests other than the psalms they sang in church, and many owned musical instruments. The name virginal was given to this instrument because young women were often trained to play them.

In the Parlor Chamber	£	S	D
1 canopy bedstead with headcloth, feather bed and bolster and 2 pillows, cord and tester frame and iron rods	06	00	00
A pair of fine linen sheets, bolster cover and two pillowbiers, a pair of white kersey blankets	02	00	00
A counterpain and a pair of curtains and valance of green serge with silk fringe	05	00	00
6 green chairs, 1 chair with arms, 2 stools, 1 couch laid with a case, all with fringe and galloon	12	00	00
1 square table and a green table carpet with silk fringe	04	00	00
1 oval table four feet long	01	15	00
2 window curtains with silk fringe	02	00	00
2 pictures with black frames	01	00	00
1 cupboard with drawers, 6 Venice glasses and a Delft caudle cup upon the cupboard's head, a green cupboard cloth, a pair of brass candle-sticks	02	15	00
A suite of damask table linens and wearing apparel in the cupboard	20	00	00
1 dressing stand with things in it, 1 brass shaving bowl	02	10	00
1 large looking glass with black frame	01	00	00
A pair of andirons with brass tops, shovel, tongs, and cast back	01	05	00

A Delft chamber pot	00	02	00
	£ 61	07	00

In the Parlor

1 long table with a table carpet of blue baize with silk fringe	03	00	00
2 joined forms and 2 joint stools	00	15	00
1 joined great chair	00	10	00
9 cushions, 1 of green serge, 4 of blue serge, and 4 striped ones	01	07	00
A cupboard and a red velvet cupboard cloth with silk fringe	02	10	00
Table linens in the cupboard	08	00	00
A little board chest	00	02	00
A large joined chest with drawer	00	10	00
wearing apparel in the chest	06	10	00
A red velvet cupboard cloth with silk fringe on the chest	01	00	00
A dresser with 3 large pewter plates, 7 small ones, and 2 basins	03	00	00
A turned child's chair	00	03	00
3 maps with frames	00	03	00
A clock	02	00	00
A pair of tin branches	00	02	00
A brass chafing dish	00	12	00
4 Delft galley pots, 2 bottles, a great salt, and a sillibub pot with a cover	00	08	00
	£ 31	02	00

In the Study

A small table	00	98	00
A table carpet of purple serge with silk fringe	00	15	00
A cabinet and a coffer	00	12	00
5 books and writing things in the cabinet and the coffer	02	00	00
2 turned great chairs	00	10	00
A joined chest	00	08	00
A musket and a cutting sword with a belt	01	15	00
A virginal on a stand	05	00	00
A joint stool	00	04	00
1 small looking glass	00	10	00
A brass candlestick	00	06	00
4 sad green worsted cushions, two with tassles	02	15	00
	£ 15	03	00

(Note: If the joint stool is taken from the parlor for use with the virginal in the study, the deletion must be noted in the inventory of the parlor. Obviously some of the contents of the cupboards and chests do not actually exist, and the guides will have to explain this if a visitor asks to see them.)

Chapter Five

The Architecture and Wallace Nutting Rooms, Photographs and Texts

The hall (west ground-floor room) and hall chamber will be used to give the visitor information about the architecture of the house and Wallace Nutting's restoration. This will be accomplished through photo-murals and texts. A single groundplan will be given for both rooms, indicating the location of the mural panels and the order in which they will be viewed. Both rooms are essentially the same size, although the hall chamber is one foot deeper because of the jetty. Measuring the walls and trying out various sized panels led to the formulation of two standardized panel sizes which can be executed at the Harper's Ferry Center. As indicated on the plan, the first panel in each room, designated as 1, is to be 54 inches tall by 30 inches wide; this is made necessary by the doors which open into both rooms from the porch. All other panels will be 54 inches square. Without auxiliary hanging space, each room can only accomodate one small panel and five large panels. The writer has therefore designed a central pylon for each room, made up of two equilateral triangles set point-to-point, which provide six additional large panels. These pylons not only provide more wall space, but also provide springing for lights for the entire room. The wiring for the pylons in both room can be snaked down from the garret; the wiring for the hall chamber will go directly from the garret to the pylon, while the wiring for the hall will pass from the garret through the hall chamber pylon to the hall below. It will in all liklihood be possible to get the wiring through the floor boards

without drilling holes, but local building codes may dictate that holes be drilled with ceramic insulators lining the holes. Lighting is absolutely necessary; on a cloudy day, the rooms are extremely dark. On the other hand, no lighting is stipulated for the period rooms, because the intention is to show period light levels and because those rooms will be whitewashed, thereby gaining almost twice as much light through reflection of light off the white surfaces. It is the writer's opinion that when the structural repairs are made to the building, all the rooms, both period rooms and photo-mural, must have their casements provided with ultraviolet filters, either in the form of separate plexi sheets or in the form of applied films adhered directly to the glass quarrels of the casements. Otherwise the textiles of the period rooms, which are dyed with photo-sensitive organic dye-stuffs, will rapidly fade, and the photo-murals will deteriorate at far too rapid a rate. As with the whitewashing, the writer suggests that the ultraviolet film be included in the structural repairs budget rather than in this furnishing plan, especially because the casements will undoubtedly need repair at that time.

The writer will list in the appendix on sources the locations of the negatives from which the photo-murals will be made. By far the most significant archive is the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, although a few local photographers are also involved.

As stated in the preface, it is the writer's intention that visitors read the photo-murals on their own, rather than receive a spoken tour from the guide. This will provide a break from the machine-gun delivery of interpretation they will receive in the parlor, parlor chamber, and study. Because the groups will be

limited to ten people each, this should not prove to be a problem in terms of traffic flow. As long as groups are kept on separate floors, the building can accomodate two groups at one time. The weight distribution of the frame is such that the group on the ground floor is being supported by the heavily reinforced floors of that story, while the weight of the group on the second floor is distributed by the summers and joists to the front and rear girts and the end and chimney girts, which bear no relation to the load-bearing structure of the rooms below but are supported by the posts and sills.

The panels will be numbered 1 through 12, as indicated on the plan. This of course corresponds to the intended order of reading and will guide the visitors through the panels. The numbers are to be incorporated in the design of the murals, with each successive number placed on the upper left-hand corner of each mural. Investigation in situ suggests that a height of about six inches for the numerals is the appropriate size.

The writer has examined the various photographs and drawings to be used on the murals and has calculated an appropriate size for each for placement on the murals. The size and placement of each is given in the specifications below. Sizes are also indicated for the texts for each panel. An appropriate type face is an italic boldface. Some of the drawings from Abbott Lowell Cummings' book Framed Houses have captions on them in the actual book, but the drawings themselves probably do not have the captions printed on them. The Harper's Ferry Center will therefore be able to choose a uniform typographical style for the murals when they are designed and laid out.

The writer suggests that the murals be made as single sheets; this will require the assemblage of images and texts on a single sheet. An alternative is the mount each component of a panel separately and then mount them on a large panel. The large panels can be made of foam core reinforced on the rear surface with wooden battens.

The costs of the blow-ups is calculated at a commercial rate of $5.00 per square foot; the rate charged by the Harpers Ferry Center may be lower. The mounting is calculated at a rate of $32.00 per panel, again a commercial rate. A total for blow-ups and dry mounting will be included at the end of the chapter, as will an estimate for wiring and lighting fixtures. A plan of the pylons will be provided as well. The pylons can be fabricated as four separate units, with the plan reading as an equilateral triangle 56 inches on each side overall. This leaves an inch on either side of the 54 inch square panels. The pylons can be made of pine and painted white. They should be 6 feet 10 inches tall, the clearance under the summer beam in both rooms. A substantial 2-inch by 4-inch frame must be provided for the backing of the pylon structure, since the pylons must also support lighting devices.

HALL PANELS AND TEXTS

"1": Overall dimensions: 30 inches wide by 54 inches high. Image: A redrawn version of the isometric exterior view in Carroll's architectural data on the Ironworks Farm house. The new drawing will differ from the present drawing in the following ways. It will be drawn without pyramids or pinnacles at the gable peaks. It will show the house with clapboards on the exterior walls, with characteristic diminution of the weather

interval towards the skirtboards. It will have tapered or curved shingling in the gable and porch roof gutters, as is shown on the present drawing. The pitch of the porch roof will be altered to conform with the angle of the cut in the original roof boards. The fenestration will follow the precedent of the Boardman house as indicated in Cummings' Framed Houses in figure 201, unless Carroll thinks structural evidence suggests that the current fenestration is appropriate. The logical choice of a draftsman is Carroll himself, who is thoroughly familiar with the building.

Size of photomural: 30 inches by 30 inches.

Size of text: 24 inches high by 30 inches wide. The text will be set underneath the image.

Text: "1" in upper left corner. "This drawing illustrates the probable original appearence of the house. It differs from Nutting's treatment in a number of ways. No pyramids or pinnacles are at the gable peaks -- such decorations are only found in New England meeting house contracts of this period. The pitch of the porch roof is lower, to conform to valley rafter evidence which Nutting ignored. The shingles of the gutters along the gables and porch roof are swirled, a treatment known to survive in the original roof gables of St. Michael's Church in Marblehead, built in 1714. Also shown here is the form of the original full-length, one-story attached leanto at the rear of the building.

"2": Overall dimensions: 54 inches by 54 inches.

Image: Figure 27 of Cummings' Framed Houses, showing the first and second story plans of the Boardman house in Saugus. The garret plan will be omitted. The names of the rooms as indicated in Cummings book will be retained, but the caption will be

omitted.

Size of photomural: 54 inches high by 30 inches wide.

Size of text: 54 inches high by 24 inches wide. The text will be set on the right side of the panel, and the image will be on the left.

Text: "2" in upper left corner. "The typical house plan of most New England houses built before 1720 was a hall-parlor arrangement first formulated in the counties north of London called East Anglia about thirty years before the colonists left for the New World. The hall was generally larger than the parlor, although houses from late in the seventeenth century tended to downplay this size difference. Both rooms had a corresponding chamber over them. This plan is of the Boardman house in Saugus, which was built about 1687, perhaps by the same carpenter who built the Ironworks Farm house. If a porch is added, it is virtually identical in plan. Note the three rooms in the leanto; the "milkroom," so called in a 1696 inventory of the Boardman house, was more often known as the dairy. Drawing from Abbott Lowell Cummings, Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725."

"3": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Image: Two plates from Joseph Moxon, Mechanick Exercises or the Doctrine of Handyworks, illustrating carpenter's tools (plate 8) and joiner's tools (plate 4). The negatives for these plates may be obtained from the Boston Public Library. Other copies are at Winterthur Museum and the Folger Library, and the Smithsonian Museum's collections may also contain a copy. The original identification letters can be omitted, since detailed identification will not be given in the label

text.

Size of photomurals: Each 40 inches high by 27 inches wide.

Size of text: 14 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Text: "3" in upper left corner. "Joseph Moxon's Mechanick Exercises or the Doctrine of Handyworks, first published in London in 1682, was one of the first manuals to identify and describe the use of pre-industrial woodworkers' tools. The probate inventories of joiners and carpenters in early New England demonstrate that they brought all these tools with them -- there was no frontier period of reduced technological ability. Victorian historical pageants may have set up the stereotype of the rustic log cabin in the mud, but in fact houses like the Ironworks Farm house have the most heavily constructed, complexly jointed frames ever built in this country." Add credit line for the institution from whom the negatives are obtained.

"4": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Image: Figure 49 of Cummings' Framed Houses, showing the nomenclature of house frame components. The names for the beams may have to be re-set if they are not present on the original drawing.

Size of photomural: 32 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Size of text: 22 inches high by 54 inches wide. The text is to be set under the image.

Text: "4" in upper left corner. "The heavy posts, beams, and braces of house frames were referred to by a complex set of names which varied with the functions of each part. This view of the Gedney house frame in Salem, built in 1665 and added to in 1700, shows two different roof and room support

systems used in one building. The left section (1665) has no jetty or overhang, crossed summer beams, and a principal rafter-common rafter roof system brought from eastern England. The right section (1700) has a jetty, single-story studs, and a common rafter-trenched purlin roof, a type brought from the west of England which became the most common New England roof type after 1690. Most of these components were made of oak until after 1720, when pine came to be used for the smaller parts. Drawing from Abbott Lowell Cummings, Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725."

"5": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Images: Figures 75 and 76 of Cummings' Framed Houses, showing the frame of the Boardman house in Saugus, which is virtually identical to that of the Ironworks Farm house. The captions will be omitted. The two figures are drawn on the same scale and should be reproduced as they are in the book, aligned and at the same darkness level.

Size of both images: 26 inches high by 54 inches high, taken as one unit.

Size of text: 28 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Text: "5" in upper left corner. "The frame of the Boardman house in Saugus (1687) is virtually identical to that of the Ironworks Farm house. The same jetty or overhang, gables, and leanto are present. The Boardman house lacks a porch. As this south elevation and cross section of the frame show, the posts and rafter units of the roof divide the frame into bays. The central bay, where the chimney pile is located, is wider than the other four. The studs which are cut off indicate the location of casement windows. The leanto frame is added to the main house

rather than built into it -- for example, the leanto rafters are pinned onto the main house rafters and are not continuations of them. Although no pendants or ornamental drops are shown on the bottoms of the front posts in the second story, they were present originally. The following panels depict details of this frame too complex to be indicated here. Drawing from Abbott Lowell Cummings, Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725."

"6": Overall Dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Image: Figure 77 of Cummings' Framed Houses, showing rearing of Boardman house frame. If letters indicating order are not on original drawing, they must be set. Caption omitted.

Size of image: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Size of text: 12 inches high by 27 inches wide. The text is to be tipped into the blank space in the lower left corner of the image.

Text: "6" in upper left corner. "The order of rearing the frame of the Boardman house. The complex procedure was made necessary by the framing of the jetty or overhang. The entire raising was accomplished in one day, using prefabricated components. From Abbott Lowell Cummings, Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725."

"7": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Images: Figures 79 and 80 of Cummings' Framed Houses. The two images are to be shot as one, on the same scale. The captions are to be omitted.

Size of both images in one: 36 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Size of text: 18 inches high by 54 inches wide. The text is to be set underneath the images.

Text: "7" in upper left corner. "The jetty or overhang on the

front facade required two sets of complex joints. Those on the left are cut into the framing components at the end of the building, while those on the right are cut into the framing components on a middle bent or post and beam unit. When secured together by wooden pins, the joints interlock to form one unit which can support the jetty and resist gravity and outward pressure exerted by the wind and by the weight of the roof. In the left group, the corner post of the second story fits over a mortise on the end of the horizontal beam, while in the right unit, the second-story post sits on an overhanging girt which in turn rests on the end of the beam. From Abbott Lowell Cummings' Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725."

"8": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Images: Figures 86 and 87 in Cummings' Framed Houses, showing two types of scarf joints. These are to be used without the captions and are to be set side-by-side, rather than superimposed as in the book.

Size of each image: 20 inches high by 27 inches wide.

Size of text: 34 inches high by 54 inches wide. The text will be set under the images, but need not fill the entire space indicated.

Text: "8" in upper left corner. "The long horizontal beams which bind the vertical posts together, called plates, were not made of a single length of wood, but were made of two lengths joined together with an interlocking joint called a scarf. The upper plate of the facade of the Boardman house is joined with a bladed scarf, seen on the left, while the lower plate on top of the posts under the jetty is joined with a bridled scarf. The bladed

scarf is relatively simple and is held together by four pegs. The bridled scarf is more complex, with a concealed shelf as shown in the detail. This shelf was needed to prevent the plate from twisting apart under the stresses imposed on the first-story plate by the weight of the jetty. Structural studies have shown that these plates joined with scarf joints are stronger than a plate made with a single length of wood. The front plate of the Ironworks Farm house was mostly replaced by Wallace Nutting, but the rear plate remains, and its scarf joint is visible in the parlor chamber."

"9": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Image: Figure 89 from Cummings' Framed Houses, showing gable framing. The caption will be omitted.

Size of image: 36 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Size of text: 18 inches high by 54 inches wide. The text will be set underneath the image.

Text: "9" in upper left corner. "The original facade gables of both the Ironworks Farm house and the Boardman house probably were removed before 1800, but framing evidence in the roofs of both structures and the plate of the Boardman house suggest that the gables were framed with an independent sill, rafters, and studs like those shown here. These rested on the ends of the girts and summers, much like the support system used to frame the jetty below. As the rafters and purlins behind the gables demonstrate, these gables were not necessarily intended to provide more headroom in the garret, but were essentially ornamental and also admitted more light through casements. Gables on other houses are far more substantially framed than these and were joined directly into the plate, without the

separate sill. Drawing from Abbott Lowell Cummings, Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725."

"10": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Images: Figures 174 and 176 from Cummings' Framed Houses, showing original clapboards and nogging and configuration of clapboards and skirtboards on the Boardman house. The captions are to be omitted. The photograph used in 174 can be obtained from Richard Merrill.

Size of images: Figure 174 will be 42 inches high and 25 inches wide. Figure 176 will be 42 inches high and 15 inches wide. The photomural of 174 will be on the upper left of the panel and the photomural of 176 will be on the upper right. The text will be below.

Size of text: 12 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Text: "10" on upper left corner. "Original clapboards survive on the rear wall of the Boardman house under a later leanto roof. As seen on the left, they were nailed directly to the studs without any intervening sub-siding. Also visible is the soft brick nogging used as insulation in most seventeenth-century houses. On the Ironworks Farm house, the clapboards were nailed over feather-edged sub-siding. The deep skirtboards which Nutting restored on the exterior were undoubtedly based on original skirtboards at the Boardman house, a diagram of which is on the right. Skirtboards provided a convenient way of ending the clapboards and protecting the sills behind them. Drawing of skirtboard from Abbott Lowell Cummings, Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725."

"11": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.
Image: Figure 256 from Cummings' Framed Houses, showing original sheathing in Boardman house. Caption will be omitted.
Size of image: 27 inches high by 54 inches wide.
Size of text: 27 inches high by 54 inches wide. Text will be set under image.
Text: "11" in upper left corner. "The interior sheathing of the Ironworks Farm house was replaced by the mid-eighteenth century, but the Boardman house retains most of its original interior woodwork. Shown here is the fireplace wall in the hall chamber, made of vertical boards with planed ornament and applied cornice moldings. Generally this treatment was only found on fireplace walls -- the other walls were covered with lath and plaster. Occasionally more elaborate joined paneling may have been used, but none survives. Nutting was inspired by the Boardman paneling to some extent in his restoration of the Ironworks Farm house, but he was not too careful about details of finish. Drawing from Abbott Lowell Cummings, Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625-1725."
"12": Overall measurements: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.
Images: Figures 44a and 266 from Cummings' Framed Houses. Both show whitewash evidence, and 44a shows pit-sawing on joists. Both are to have the caption omitted. 44a can be obtained from William W. Owens, Jr., through Cummings' office at the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. 266 can be obtained directly from Richard Merrill.
Size of images: Each will be 32 inches high by 27 inches wide.
Size of text: 22 inches high by 54 inches wide. The text will be set under the images.

Text: "12" in upper left corner. "Almost all seventeenth-century houses have evidence of whitewash on their walls and beams. Wallace Nutting actually used mild acid to remove the whitewash from the beams of the Ironworks Farm house when he restored it, but much of the whitewash remains in crevices or in closets Nutting did not bother to strip. The joists and floorboards of the hall chamber of the Boardman house retain their whitewash, as does most of the rest of the house. The detail of spot painting illustrates a floorboard from the Blaney house in Swampscott (built about 1700; demolished 1914); this same treatment is used in the upper entry of the Boardman house. Such strange wall decorations fit in with the basic distaste for raw wood surfaces characteristic of seventeenth-century people."

HALL CHAMBER PANELS AND TEXTS

"1": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 30 inches wide.
Image: Photograph of Wallace Nutting from his autobiography.
Size of photomural: 20 inches high by 16 inches wide.
Size of text: 34 inches high by 30 inches wide. Text set under image.
Text: "1" in upper left corner. Directly under center of image: "Wallace Nutting (1861-1941)". In paragraph below: "Wallace Nutting, who restored the Ironworks Farm house between 1915 and 1917, was perhaps the most famous -- if not notorious -- figure of the Colonial Revival and early historic preservation. After retiring from his first career as a Congregationalist minister due to a nervous breakdown in 1904, Nutting began photographing country landscapes and colonial interiors which he marketed successfully. By 1912, he had bought four early New England houses and started his reproduction furniture business. Perhaps

his best known activities are his many books, including Furniture of the Pilgrim Century (1921), Furniture Treasury (1928), and the States Beautiful series. These publications secured Nutting's reputation as an eccentric, egotistical, and somewhat pompous personality, and in his last years Nutting became bitter and isolated due to the controversies he had been involved in and the failure of his businesses. Nevertheless, Nutting's tastes influenced an entire generation of collectors, and his books remain a basic source of information."

"2": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Images: Photograph of William Sumner Appleton from the April, 1940 issue of Old-Time New England, and a photograph made by Appleton at the Ironworks Farm house in 1915, owned by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (#1112a).

Size of images: Appleton photograph: 28 inches high by 22 inches wide. SPNEA #1112a: 22 inches high by 22 inches wide.

Size of text: 26 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Text: "2" in upper left corner. "William Sumner Appleton (1874-1947)" directly under his portrait. Text in a paragraph below: "William Sumner Appleton, a member of a wealthy branch of the Appleton family of Ipswich, left a career in real estate to found the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities in 1910. Under Appleton's leadership, the SPNEA swiftly grew into the most powerful architectural preservation organization in New England, with a collection of houses in all the New England states. In its early years, the SPNEA was plagued by lack of funds, and Appleton was severely disappointed when Wallace Nutting bought the Ironworks Farm house before the SPNEA

could raise the purchase price. Appleton visited the house frequently to keep track of the restoration, and the photographs he took are invaluable documents. This example on the right shows a photographer and a tall man who may be Wallace Nutting in 1915, before the restoration began."

"3": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide. Images: This panel will have four images. The first is the Framingham print from Nutting's furniture catalogue, which can be obtained from a Nutting collector or from Winterthur Museum. The second and third are a view of Nutting's collection installed at the Wadsworth Atheneum and a printed invitation to the opening of the installation, both of which can be obtained from William Hosley at the Atheneum. The fourth is a tag from Nutting's furniture business, a negative of which can be obtained from William Dulaney of Lancaster, Pennsylvania. Size of images: Framingham print: 26 inches high by 26 inches wide. Installation view: 9 inches high by 13 inches wide. Invitation: 9 inches high by 13 inches wide. Tag: 26 inches high by 13 inches wide. The images are to be arranged as follows. The Framingham print will be at the upper left, the installation view and invitation will be in the upper center, with the installation view set over the invitation, and the tag will be on the upper right. The text will be set under the images. Size of text: 20 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Text: "3" in upper left corner. "Wallace Nutting's furniture business in Framingham was run as a combination artist's colony and traditional workshop. Nutting took a patriarchal attitude towards his workmen and posted moral statements on the walls over their work benches. The publicity for the firm often took

this same strident moral tone, as suggested by the tag from his furniture. Nutting assembled a major collection of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century furniture which he was forced to sell to the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford in 1924, because he wanted to buy back his furniture business from other owners who were using his name on inferior products. The Nutting collection opened to the public in 1924 with great fanfare, and Nutting exploited the publicity in his advertising thereafter."

"4": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Images: These will consist of the cover of Nutting's photograph catalogue and two of his photographs. The catalogue cover negative can be obtained through the Wallace Nutting Society. The photographs can be purchased or donated by members of the Nutting Society.

Size of images: Catalogue cover: 24 inches high by 36 inches wide. Two photographs: approximately 8 inches high by ten inches wide. The catalogue cover will placed at the upper left, while the two photographs will be placed at the upper right, with one set over the other. The text will be underneath the images.

Size of text: 34 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Text: "4" in upper left corner. "Nutting's photographs were the mainstay of his business. He could not have gone into the furniture reproduction business if he had not had the steady income generated by the sale of photographs. The business was first set up in Southbury, Connecticut, in 1906 and was transferred to Framingham, Massachusetts, in 1912, where the furniture company was opened in 1917. Nutting specialized in rural scenes and colonial interiors featuring young women in period

costume. Often Nutting used his own furniture and houses as props, as well as the hooked rugs manufactured by his own company. The photographs were hand-tinted by "Nutting Girls," employees who often doubled as models. The titles given the photographs were extremely sentimental, a reflection of Nutting's often tasteless romanticism. The women who tinted the photographic prints also signed Nutting's signature. Thousands upon thousands of the photographs were sold, and today they are regarded as important documents of the taste of a generation."

"5": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Image: Two architectural elevations of the proposed restoration of the Ironworks Farm house, drawn by Henry Charles Dean, owned by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities and included as numbers 13 and 14 in John Albright's paper on historical data.

Size of images: The two drawings are to be blown up to the same scale and aligned, with the front elevation to the left and the side elevation to the right. The total size of both as one image will be 18 inches high by 48 inches wide. The text will be below.

Size of text: 34 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Text: "5" in upper left corner. "The Boston architect Henry Charles Dean drew proposals for the restoration of the Ironworks Farm house, perhaps as early as three or four years before Wallace Nutting purchased the house in 1915. Dean undoubtedly visited the house with William Sumner Appleton while formulating these drawings, for the plans call for the replacement of the facade gables, a detail Dean could only have known about if he had seen the evidence for them in the roof frame of the actual

building. Examining the roof structure also led Dean to propose reducing the height of the leanto from two stories to one story. The peculiar and inaccurate pineapple pinnacles Dean embellished the gable peaks with may have given Nutting the idea of placing his own versions on the roof. Other important inaccuracies include the use of single leaded glass casements placed where the eighteenth-century sash windows of the house were, the lack of a porch (the evidence for a porch was not exposed until the walls were opened up), and the exact roof pitch and size of the gables. Later drawings by Dean corrected some of these errors."

"6": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Images: A before-restoration view of the Ironworks Farm house circa 1910 by S. C. Holman, SPNEA #2631a, and a post-restoration view of the house in 1923 by C. Park Pressey, SPNEA #2631d.

Size of images: Each photograph to be 20 inches high by 24 inches wide. The two images are to be placed side by side in the upper portion of the panel, with the "before" view on the left side. The text will be set below.

Size of text: 34 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Text: "6" in upper left corner. "When Nutting purchased the Ironworks Farm house in 1915, it had undergone numerous external and internal alterations. The principal changes probably were made about 1800, when the gables and porch were removed, the leanto was raised to two stories in height, and the leaded casements were replaced with sash windows. The two side doors dated from when the building was sub-divided into tenements, and the front porch dated from the mid-nineteenth century. Nutting's restoration reversed most of these later changes.

In formulating the external features, Nutting relied on a variety of sources. A nineteenth-century drawing of the Corwen house in Salem provided a general precedent for the gables and porch and for the arched doorway. The casements may have been based on structural evidence in the walls. The skirtboards probably were based on those of the Boardman house in Saugus, and the form of the pendants under the jetty and the pinnacles at the gable peaks was modeled on period examples in the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities collection. The bell may have been mounted over the door because Nutting liked the imagine the Ironworks agent calling the workers with one."

"7": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Images: Before-restoration view of hall of Ironworks Farm house, in the SPNEA collection, shown as figure 273 in Cummings' Framed Houses, and a post-restoration view of the same room by William W. Owens, Jr., shown as figure 274 in Cummings' Framed Houses.

Size of images: Each image will be 20 inches high by 24 inches wide. They will be set in the upper portion of the panel, with the before-restoration view on the left. The text will be set below the images.

Size of text: 34 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Text: "7" in upper left corner. "The interior of the Ironworks Farm house had been repeatedly altered to accomodate new doors, partitions, and stairways. The seventeenth-century walls had disappeared behind later walls and layers of paint and wallpaper. The large fireplace openings had been filled in with smaller fireplaces, and the large wooden lintels may have been removed. Nutting reversed most of these changes, principally by stripping

off later layers of trim and ceilings. However, because of Nutting's belief that the exposed beams were left unfinished during the period, he also washed down the structural units with acid to remove the original whitewash. The general impression of dark, bare rooms which Nutting fostered remains a basic flaw in period rooms of seventeenth-century houses."

"8": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Objects: The one remaining original Nutting pinnacle and the fragment of a door, possibly the Nutting front door, both in the Saugus Ironworks National Historic Site collections.

Size of objects: The pinnacle is about 24 inches in height, and the door is 36 inches square. These will be mounted on the large panel, which in this case will be made of plywood. The pinnacle will be placed on the upper left, and the door on the upper right. The text will run down the narrow space under the pinnacle and then continue across under the door when it reaches that level.

Size of text: Space under pinnacle approximately 24 inches high by 18 inches wide. Space under door 18 inches high by 36 inches high.

Text: "8" in upper left corner. "Nutting was restricted in the amount of money he could spend on detailed fixtures for the house. Most of the external cladding, including the clapboards and shingles, was not riven and draw-shaved in the period manner, but was only commercially milled lumber. The nails used in the structural repairs were commercial cut nails. However, Nutting did go to some expense with certain features. The summer beam, joists, and floorboards in this room, for example, are careful restorations. This one surviving pinnacle

or pyramid and fragment of a door date from 1915 to 1917. The hollowed pinnacles, based on a pendant from a Newbury, Massachusetts, house, were custom made. They do not appear in photographs of the house until 1917, so Nutting must have left them for last. The location of the door in Nutting's restored building is not known, but he went to some trouble to replicate the nailing in a diamond pattern known from a fragment of the original door of the Turner house in Salem."

"9": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.
Images: All four pages of the Boardhearth pamphlet published by Nutting, available from the Wadsworth Atheneum.
Size of images: Each page will be 18 inches high and 12 inches wide, making a continuous panel 48 inches wide. The four pages will be set at the top of the panel, with the text underneath.
Size of text: 36 inches high by 54 inches high.
Text: "9" in upper left corner. "While Nutting owned the Ironworks Farm house, he used it as a residence for his blacksmith and as a showroom for period furniture. The pamphlet he wrote to advertise the site, which he dubbed with the title "Broadhearth," is typical of Nutting's stilted and pompous writing style. The features he emphasized are those popularized in all his efforts: the large size, solid workmanship, and complete authenticity of the house were spoken of as absolutes, despite the many questions surrounding the house's history and restoration. One outstanding falsehood in the pamphlet is Nutting's claim that "all the hardware in this house is of the seventeenth century." Insofar as examination and the testimony of his blacksmith's son reveal, all the hardware in the house was made for the restoration of 1915-1917."

"10": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.
Images: Five different interior views of five rooms in the Ironworks Farm house which appeared in Nutting's Pilgrim Century Furniture, the first or 1921 edition. This book can be obtained in the American Decorative Arts office at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The MFA copy also contains the Edward Guy broadside referred to below. The views include the parlor (page 307), the hall (page 453), the porch (page 437), the hall chamber (page 322), and the parlor chamber (page 328).
Size of images: The various pictures have been assigned sizes based on their proportions and position on the panel. The parlor view will be on the top left and the hall chamber will be underneath it. Both will measure 12 inches high by 16 inches wide. The parlor chamber will be in the upper center and the porch will be below it. Both will measure 12 inches high by 16 inches wide. The hall view will be on the right and will measure 20 inches high by 16 inches wide. The text will be under the images.
Size of text: 27 inches high by 54 inches wide.
Text: "10" in upper left corner. "Nutting used many views he had photographed in the Ironworks Farm house in his publications. These five views are from Furniture of the Pilgrim Century, published in 1921, and depict all the rooms now on view in the house. The furniture shown includes most of the examples described by Nutting in his Broadhearth pamphlet, and it may be that he wrote the pamphlet while looking at these very photographs. The fixtures and arrangements in these views became standard practice in New England's many historic houses. The rooms are extremely sparse, with furniture scattered

about in the Victorian manner. The hooked rugs were a product of Nutting's Framingham factory and were designed by his wife. In his usual manner, Nutting included female models posed in each of the rooms, in a manner which today seems stilted. Much of the furniture in the rooms is now in the Nutting collection at the Wadsworth Atheneum."

"11": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Images: The Edward Guy statement dated April 1, 1922, and one of the illustrations mentioned in the statement, from Pilgrim Century Furniture, page 559. Both may be obtained in a copy of the book in the American Decorative Arts Department, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Size of images: Guy statement: 24 inches high by 20 inches wide. PCF page 559: 24 inches high by 28 inches wide. The Guy statement will be set in the upper left of the panel, and the photograph will be on the upper right.

Size of text: 27 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Text: "11" in upper left corner. "Edward Guy, a blacksmith, worked for Nutting's company reproducing wrought iron between about 1916 and 1921. Guy lived in the leanto of the Ironworks Farm house and continued to live there after his business relationship with Nutting was ended. After the publication of Furniture of the Pilgrim Century in 1921, Guy issued a statement which implied that Nutting attempted to pass off iron made by Guy as genuine period work. In the 1924 edition of the book, Nutting eliminated most of the illustrations Guy singled out in his statement, but the collection of iron Nutting sold to the Wadsworth Atheneum contains many questionable examples which may also be Guy's work. The photograph reproduced from Nutting's

book shows the iron candleholders Guy claimed to have made. There is little question that Nutting was guilty on several occasions of passing off fakes as genuine objects, a fact which has clouded his reputation ever since."

"12": Overall dimensions: 54 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Images: A chair in the 1921 edition of Furniture of the Pilgrim Century, page 218, on the right, and another view of the same chair as recently restored under the writer's direction, which is available from the Wadsworth Atheneum.

Size of images: FPC page 218: 30 inches high by 24 inches wide.

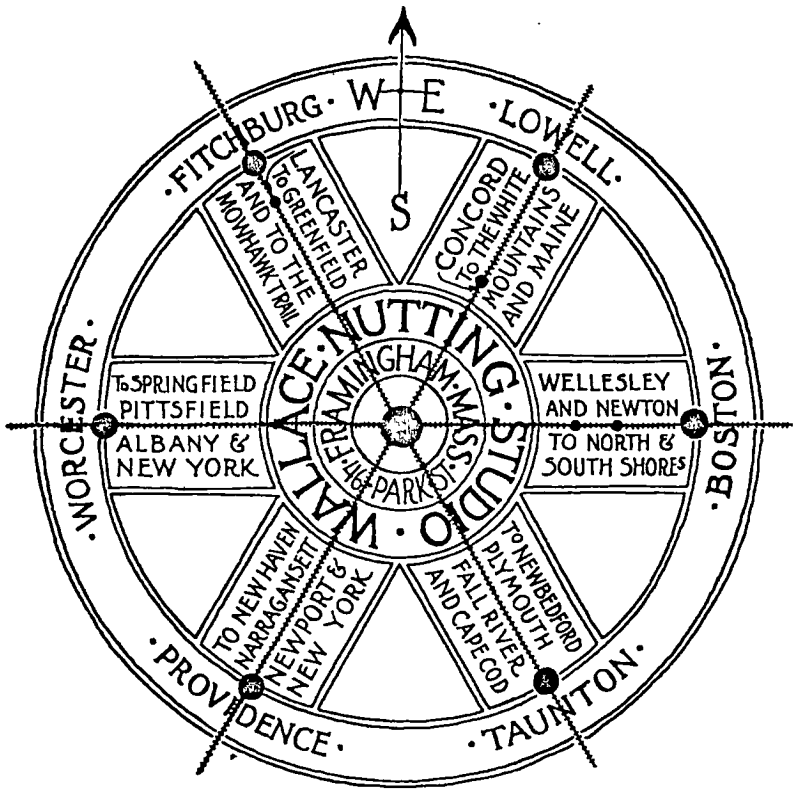
Wadsworth photograph: 30 inches high by 24 inches wide.

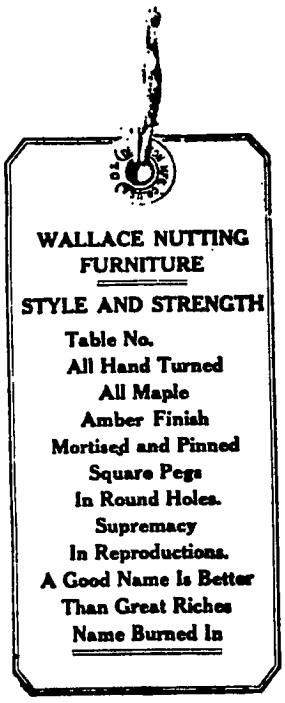
Size of text: 24 inches high by 54 inches wide.

Text: "12" in upper left corner. "Today Nutting's egotism and continual embroilment in controversies seem ridiculous to museum professionals, but as a pioneer of decorative arts and architectural history and historic preservation, Nutting did more than any other figure of his time to popularize interest in the artifacts of America's past when most other collectors were interested in European traditions. What is more, the houses and artifacts Nutting preserved are still being studied and restored by scholars. The photograph on the left shows a chair in the Nutting collection at the Wadsworth Atheneum which was neglected ever since Nutting sold it to the museum. The chair recently has been recognized as a rare New York upholstered chair and has been restored and recovered in appropriate textiles. Despite the efforts of scholars to base their work on detailed documentary research and connoisseurship, the restorations of today may be viewed as harshly fifty years from now as Nutting's efforts of the 1920s are viewed today."

Estimated Costs of Hall and Hall Chamber

pylons	500.00
wiring	1,000.00
lighting fixtures	500.00
panels	2,000.00
architect's drawing	500.00
blowups	3,000.00
dry-mounting	2,250.00
type-setting	1,500.00
internegatives and photography	2,000.00
assembly	3,000.00
	$15,850.00


W
E
S
·FITCHBURG·
·LOWELL·
·WORCESTER·
·BOSTON·
·PROVIDENCE·
·TAUNTON·
LANCASTER
TO GREENFIELD
AND TO THE
MOHAWK TRAIL
CONCORD
TO THE WHITE
MOUNTAINS
AND MAINE
To SPRINGFIELD
PITTSFIELD
ALBANY &
NEW YORK
WELLESLEY
AND NEWTON
TO NORTH &
SOUTH SHORES
TO NEW HAVEN
NARRAGANSETT
NEWPORT &
NEW YORK
To NEWBEDFORD
PLYMOUTH
FALL RIVER
AND CAPE COD
WALLACE·NUTTING·STUDIO·
FRAMINGHAM·MASS·U·S·A·
PARK ST.


WALLACE NUTTING
FURNITURE
STYLE AND STRENGTH
Table No.
All Hand Turned
All Maple
Amber Finish
Mortised and Pinned
Square Pegs
In Round Holes.
Supremacy
In Reproductions.
A Good Name Is Better
Than Great Riches
Name Burned In



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WALLACE NUTTING AND JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN
IN THE MORGAN MEMORIAL ON MONDAY EVENING
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TRUSTEES

MORGAN B. BRAINARD
CHARLES HOPKINS CLARK
WILLIAM R. C. CORSON
HENRY W. ERVING
GEORGE A. GAY
CHARLES A. GOODWIN
WALTER L. GOODWIN
CHARLES WELLES GROSS
JOHN PIERPONT MORGAN
FRANCIS PARSONS
HENRY S. ROBINSON
CHARLES F. T. SEAVERNS
GEORGE DUDLEY SEYMOUR
ARTHUR L. SHIPMAN
NORMAN C. STEVENS

HARTFORD
FEBRUARY 9TH 1925



The cover from a Wallace Nutting Picture Catalog
sent to us by Tom Griffin, East Granby, Conn.

Broadhearth

THE IRON WORKS HOUSE

BUILT 1646

137 CENTRAL STREET, SAUGUS CENTER,
three miles from Lynn and nine miles
from Boston; about three-eighths of
a mile from the monument
in the Square

WALLACE NUTTING, INCORPORATED
Framingham Center, Massachusetts

2

BROADHEARTH

HERE was seated the first successful iron works in this country. The first casting, a kettle made in 1642, is still in existence. The field behind the house yet shows traces of the pits whence the iron was dug, it being bog ore, the best sort, now imported as Swedish iron. The foundry site is opposite. About the house are several pieces of ore.

The Leonards here carried on successfully for a hundred years their iron work, and then removed to Easton Furnace, in this state, where they still continue the same business, a remarkable instance of the success and persistence of a family in one occupation. The old deed still exists transferring the field for the purpose of a house site for the iron master.

Several remarkable features of the architecture are the overhang, the huge chimney, the gables, the framing, the pitch of the roof, and the size of the rooms.

There are just a dozen other houses known in America with the framed overhang on the side. Some of these houses are ruinous, in some the overhang is concealed behind new work. The origin of the overhang is very early, being Gothic. The object of it is in part to afford protection of the lower story from sun and rain, making as it were a narrow porch. But another object is obvious still in European towns, where the houses were densely huddled, and the overhang reached over the street and afforded larger rooms upstairs.

In its American location space was ample for Broadhearth, and a porch was added, with a porch bedroom in the second story. The porch is a restoration, the mortise holes found in sill and girt and the roof boarding indicating the size and location. The gables, the drops representing the lower ends of the posts (like second story newel posts), the finials, and one summer beam, with the windows and fireplace lintels, are the other restorations, the frame being intact. Some parts of the stair were also supplied. The original pinholes for the window frames and part of a frame were found.

The middle gable is lower than the others, perhaps to avoid collision with the great chimney. The other gables extend to the height of the main roof and are of the same pitch. The knocker is from a seventeenth century house.

The noble chimney stack shows panelling and exhibits the various flues, one or two added perhaps around 1700. Some have thought it the best central chimney remaining to us.

In the restoration of the fireplaces, which had been bricked up, a fine sawtoothed trammel, iron shelves, a kettle, various small iron articles, and a seventeenth century muster roll were found.

The main rooms, two on each floor, are very large, and the ceiling is

(over)

3

low enough to give a fine effect of depth to the rooms. The frame is of oak, some timbers being fourteen inches thick and beautifully quartered, as one may see.

The fireplaces are caverns, being nearly ten feet in the opening and three and a half feet deep.

The kitchen (hall, fireroom, dwelling room) shows the marks in the fireplace of a series of firebacks. The opening to the sky is so large that clear shadows are thrown on the hearth by the pots depending from the lug pole, which preceded the crane. The little iron side shelves in this and the other room are from iron made here.

In this room is one of the most remarkable pieces of furniture known in America — the trestle-board table, otherwise called "a table board and frame." It may date from the sixteenth, certainly from the early seventeenth century. There is a table something like it in the Metropolitan Museum, and it had been regarded as unique in America. The table here has a special interest also from the manner in which its two spindles rise from the stretcher and form a truss. In the Middle Ages these tables were common, and our expression "to sit at board" arises from them, as they were always made of one board. Our modern tables, designed as they are to remain always set up, were called in the seventeenth century standing tables. This table was taken down and placed out of the way.

It was part of the furnishing of the Richardson tavern in Millis (formerly Medway) and would have disappeared like others of its style, but was put away in the attic because Washington had once sat at it. Some years since it was sold at auction for a small sum and came from the purchaser directly to the present owner. It is all original except one cleat (left uncolored). The end that is square may have been made thus, to go against the wall, or may have been cut off. So far as known this is the only table of the kind in private hands.

The wooden plates are trenchers and were the ordinary plates of the period. Earthenware was hard to transport from England, and china was not made there for almost a hundred years after.

The chair, or monk's table of oak, is probably of the sixteenth century. At table only the head of the house had a chair, low benches or forms being used by the other members of the family.

The Windsor chairs in this room are of the earliest type, with very heavy legs and deep turnings. In the parlor we find, rather oddly, a fireplace of the same size, possibly indicating that one of these rooms was an office for the iron works; otherwise one fireplace would naturally have been smaller. The little recesses in the rear of the fireplace were for the tinder and tinder box.

The pilgrim chair in this room is said to be the finest known, partly owing to its perfect preservation. There are thirty-six spindles, none of which have had to be replaced within the memory of Mr. Tufts of Sherborn, who has graciously allowed the ownership of the chair to be

transferred, that it may be preserved. It has been in his family for at least eight generations. Only the balls for the tops of the front posts are missing. The pins have been renewed.

The great oak Cromwellian drawing table is a notable piece. The beautiful iron-bound chest, very appropriate in this house, was brought in before the door casings were put on, and is too large to pass out of the room. A fine writing-arm Windsor and other worthy pieces deserve attention, especially a unique variant of the butterfly table, with leaf bracket like a crane. It is in crackled black paint. It was saved from fire when Medfield was burned by the Indians in 1688. It came directly from the family who inherited it for generations.

The porch or entry (never called hall) had a partition not yet restored, on the line of the main house front. The original triangular panel of the stair is interesting. In this room is a seventeenth century ancestor of the card table. It is triangular and has a split-leg gate.

The kitchen chamber shows in the corners, as elsewhere in the house, the gunstock post, and here only a part of the floor girt shows in front.

The simple early bed is as near as may be to the early time. Great English oak beds were not brought to America often enough to leave us an example. The settlers built plain frames for themselves. The fine chest, however, came over the water. A very good hard-pine ball-turned, small gate-legged table is also in this room with other good pieces.

The parlor chamber has a "grandpa and grandma" bed (headboard being scrolled for two persons), with trundle bed under. An early candle stand, chairs, etc., are good and rare. An idea of the size of the chimney, even when it is narrowing, may be gathered from the lean-to attic (out of this room) and from the attic above, which should be visited for this and other attic revelations.

In the lean-to is a fireplace whose remarkable feature is that it enters the same side of the chimney as the parlor fireplace. This is evidently a reminiscence of the great stone end chimneys, and in a brick chimney is scarcely to be found elsewhere.

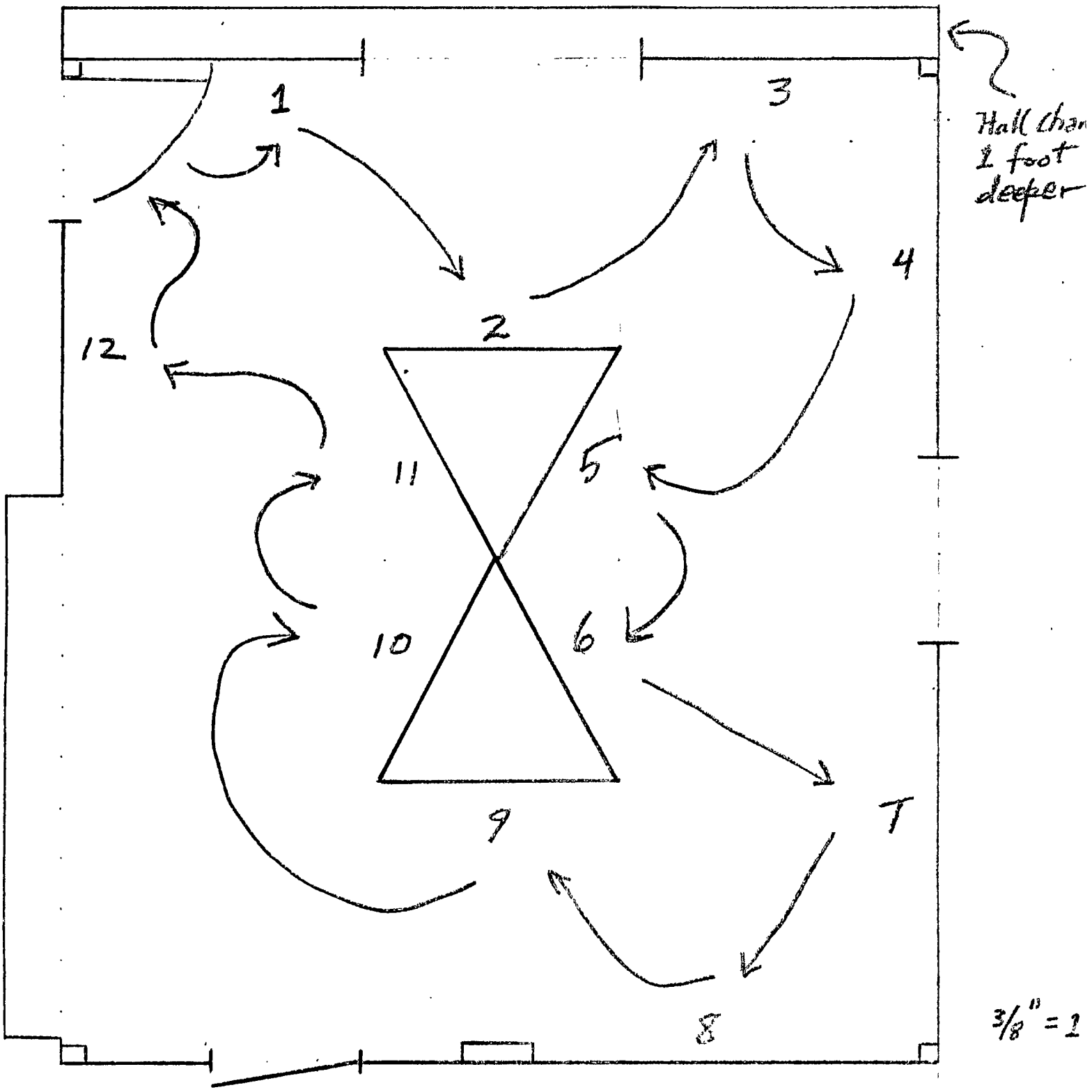
All the hardware in this house is of the seventeenth century, and a part was in the house. The hinges are rich in examples of the "strap-and-butterfly," the "strap-and-scroll," the "strap-and-wedge," the "strap and U," and the plain "butterfly." The latches and andirons are of like date. In the lean-to a collection of early hardware is kept, from which copies may be had. The windows in this room are from the John Winthrop, Jr., house (1734) at Ipswich. They carry 5 × 7 glass, but of course were later than that house.

THE SAUGUS IRON WORKS

It has seemed fitting to make a start at reëstablishing the Saugus Iron Works. A master smith of rare skill, whose family are caretakers, will copy any iron work in the house, or other old examples.

The ell, while of some age, is not antique and is private.

Groundplan of hall and hall chamber, giving location of text panels and traffic pattern.



Pylon specifications

a) The pylons will consist of four separate upright enclosed structures, triangular in plan and 6 feet 10 inches in height. The height corresponds to the clearance under the summer beam in each room.

b) The triangular plan will be an equilateral triangle 56 inches on each side.

c) The three sides will be made of 3/4" pine boards with planed surfaces, set vertically in random widths. The outer surfaces will be whitewashed. They can be blind-nailed.

d) The inner framing will be made of 2" x 4" lumber. The uppermost framing members must come even with the top of the outer boards so that lights can be attached to them.

e) The pylons are to be set in the hall and hall chamber in pairs. They are to be set point-to-point in the exact center of the room. The center can be taken to be where the exact centers of the south and west casements intersect.

f) It will probably be necessary to pre-fabricate the pylons in Harpers Ferry or at the chosen contractor's shop, but they must be assembled <u>in situ</u>, because they will not fit in the doors of the building or go up the stairs. They should be constructed with screws so that they can be readily taken down and set up.

Chapter Six

Before Entering the Ironworks Farm House

Some statement is needed for delivery by the guides before taking visitors into the house. The writer also has a number of recommendations to make regarding the present state of the building and the tours.

The guides should be well briefed in order to avoid the remarkably inaccurate tours now given. Whether they are briefed through reading the furnishing plans or through excerpts, they must have enough background to answer questions.

The present path to the building is made of cinders. This is completely unacceptable. The cinders are filthy. In wet weather, they are tracked into the house, where they visibly and audibly grind the floorboards like sandpaper. They have done considerable damage to the building in the last thirty years. The writer strongly recommends that they be removed and replaced with crushed stone or some other material that will not do such damage. This is particularly important if the building is to be furnished with valuable textiles.

The groups should be taken around the house before entering it, so that they can see Nutting's exterior and orient themselves inside the building. It should be noted that the building faces south.

Statement

This house is an important heavy-timber framed dwelling dating from the seventeenth century. Traditionally the house was always thought by local people to have built sometime

between 1646 and 1653 by one of two agents who managed the Ironworks, but no secure documentation in the form of a building contract or an entry in court records or deeds survuves to confirm that date range. Recent investigation of the structure of the house, as well as of the history of the Ironworks Farm after the Ironworks was dismantled in 1676, suggests that the house may have been built by Samuel Appleton, Jr., an Ipswich merchant who owned the property between 1676 and 1688, or by James Taylor, a Boston merchant who owned the property from 1688 until his death in 1716. In any case, the house is now interpreted without reference to exactly when it might have been constructed, and it is now referred to as the Ironworks Farm house.

The exterior of the house as it now appears is the result of an extensive restoration undertaken by Wallace Nutting between 1915 and 1917. When Nutting bought the house in 1915, it had been altered by a succession of owners, and Nutting intended to reverse most of these later changes. The main features Nutting restored were the two facade gables and the projecting porch. He also restored the skirtboards, clapboards, roof, casement windows, doorway, and the pendants under the jetty or overhang. The pinnacles or pyramids at the gable peaks were a Nutting addition for which there was no evidence. Investigation of the frame reveals that the house had a full-length, one-story leanto at the rear which Nutting did not restore accurately. Overall it can be said that Nutting did a fairly accurate job, but his treatment was far too drastic by today's standards. Architectural historians are now far more concerned

with preserving the changes a building has undergone over the years and are far less interested in trying to take buildings back to their probable original appearence. Thorough restorations like Nutting's have proven to be too destructive of valuable evidence, and they are difficult to record accurately.

The tour will consist of six rooms in the main house. The leanto currently is being used for offices and is not open to the public. The rooms we will see are a porch or entry, a parlor, and a hall on the ground story and a study, a parlor chamber, and a hall chamber on the second story. Three of the rooms are furnished as they might have been during the seventeenth century. Two other rooms contain displays on the architecture of the building and on Nutting's restoration. I am now giving you fictitious probate inventories drawn up to suggest what the furnishings of the three period rooms might have been called during the seventeenth century, and we will consult them during the tour. Some of the objects in the period rooms are genuine seventeenth-century objects, while others are exact reproductions made especially for the rooms. All are extremely valuable and fragile, and we ask that you do not touch any of the furnishings during the tour. Please feel free to ask questions. Finally, please be careful to wipe your feet on the doormat before entering the house.

Appendix One

Sources and Contacts for Implementing the Furnishing Plan

The following persons are mentioned in the text and should be contacted regarding various aspects of the plan.

Dr. Abbott Lowell Cummings, Director, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 141 Cambridge Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02114

Dr. Cummings will have to be asked for permission to use the illustrations from his book, for permission to reproduce the Sayward glass, and for several photographs in the SPNEA library. He may have to be consulted regarding the use of dendrochronological materials in the future.

Susan Metzger, Belknap Press, Harvard University, 495-2619

The Belknap Press was the publisher of Cummings' book, and although the actual drawings are in Dr. Cummings' possession, the copyright is in the name of the Belknap Press.

Frank Demers, 95 River Road, Box 75, Topsfield, Massachusetts 01983

Demers conducted the dendrochronological research for Cummings and may be contracted with at some time to study the problem further.

Constance LaLena, Sunflower Studio, 2851 Road B½, Grand Junction, Colorado 81503

LaLena is the recognized expert at reproducing period textiles and will have to be consulted in ordering more cloth and dyeing trim.

Scalamandre, 420 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02116

Scalamandre is the source for fringe.

Richard Schalck, 77 Elm Street, Marblehead, Massachusetts 01945

Schalck is the best source for inexpensive, accurate reproduction pottery.

Douglas Campbell, 31 Bridge Street, Newport, Rhode Island 02840

Campbell is the best reproduction furniture maker in New England.

Andrew and Mary Passeri, 367 Proctor Avenue, Revere, Massachusetts 02151

The Passeris are the acknowledged masters of historical upholstery work in this country. They are affiliated with the Department of American Decorative Arts at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Robert Walker, Furniture Conservation Laboratory, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 02115

Walker will have to be consulted about fabricating the looking glass and portrait frames to be made from molding owned by the Department of American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, as well as about furniture conservation.

Lynette Tsiang and Allan Winkler, 6 Vernon Street, Somerville, Massachusetts 02143

These are the best virginal makers in the area, according to Barbara Lambert, Curator of Musical Instruments, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

William Hosley, Associate Curator of Decorative Arts, Wadsworth Atheneum, 600 Main Street, Hartford, Connecticut 06103

Hosley will have to be consulted regarding the use of Nutting documents in his department's collection.

Robert C. Cheney, 183 Warner Avenue, Worcester, Massachusetts 01604

Cheney will have to be contacted regarding conserving the clock.

William L. Dulaney, Carnegie School of Journalism, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania 16802

Dulaney has done extensive research on Nutting and owns negatives of important Nutting materials. He has many contacts in the Nutting Society, as well.

Peter Cook, Plimoth Plantation, Warren Avenue, Plymouth, Massachusetts 02360

Cook is an important contact for arms and armor and for a broad range of reproductions in general. The Saugus Ironworks Site should make every effort to cultivate him.

Appendix Two

Materials Available for purchase from the Department of American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, made for or in Conjunction with the exhibition New England Begins -- The Seventeenth Century

The writer has made continual reference to reproductions and materials available for purchase from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. The writer trusts that his research and planning have made it abundantly clear that these materials are accurate and appropriate and economical. The writer has spent the last five years researching and developing the exhibition, and in the process a top team of restoration and reproduction craftspersons has been trained. The writer strongly recommends that the Park Service exploit this group while it is still active and available, for the writer has learned by sad experience how difficult it is to achieve the desired effects with craftspersons who are unfamiliar with seventeenth-century materials.

The person to contact regarding these materials is Jonathan L. Fairbanks, Curator of American Decorative Arts and Sculpture, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts 02115.

The following is a schedule of those materials available for purchase, with a schedule of the costs. The writer wishes to emphasize that these materials are offered at cost and that the Park Service will make an approximate savings of between five and ten thousand dollars in research and development, mailing and clerical costs, and price rises.

Textiles

These materials are available because the writer purposely ordered extra yardage in case of damage or unforeseen problems in making the reproductions for New England Begins. A considerable savings will accrue to the furnishing plan's budget if these are purchased. There will be no necessity to order fringes and tape from Scalamandre, a notoriously slow and inefficient firm. There will be no necessity to mail the fringes and tape to LaLena in Colorado, with its attendant delays and dyeing charges. The Park Service will also have extra lengths of the various trims to make repairs in the future. The extra green serge will reduce the costs of the overall project by permitting work to begin on the bed while the other materials are being made. An alternative is to retain the extra green serge as back-up material for future repairs.

Textiles Sub-Total	
Green serge, 20 yards at $47.00/yard	940.00
4-inch fringe, 12 yards at $19.40/yard	232.80
2-inch fringe, 37 yards at $12.10/yard	447.70
Tape, 27 yards at $1.05/yard	28.35
	$1,648.85
Upholstered Suite Sub-Total	
6 chairs	6,170.70
armchair	1,339.30
2 stools	2,344.60
couch	3,554.70
table and carpet	2,884.60
cupboard cloth	166.40
	$16,460.30

Joined Suite Sub-Total	
long table	1,700.00
armchair, 2 stools, 2 forms	2,200.00
armchair cushion	231.00
	$3,131.00
Total of all MFA materials	
textiles	1,648.85
upholstered suite	16,460.30
joined suite	3,131.00
	$21,240.15

Other components which should be ordered through the ADA Department and made by Robert Walker are the tester frame, looking glass, and picture frames. The looking glass and picture frame are to be made of moldings reproduced for New England Begins. Walker should also be considered for the dresser, the clock bracket, and the restoration of various objects.

Appendix Three

Bibliography of Sources on Wallace Nutting and William Sumner Appleton

Comstock, Helen. "Wallace Nutting and the Furniture Treasury in retrospect," Antiques, 80 (November 1961), pp. 460-463.

Dulaney, William. "Wallace Nutting -- Collector and Entrepreneur," Winterthur Portfolio, 13 (1979), pp. 47-60.

Freeman, John, ed. Wallace Nutting Checklist of Early American Reproductions. Watkins Glen, New York: American Life Foundation & Study Institute, 1969.

Maynard, Henry P. "The Wadsworth Atheneum and Wallace Nutting," The Connecticut Antiquarian, 13 (December 1961), pp. 13-20.

Schiffer, _____, ed. Supreme Edition -- Wallace Nutting General Catalog. Exton, Pennsylvania: Schiffer Ltd., 1977.

"Tribute to William Sumner Appleton," Old-Time New England, 30 (April 1940), pp. 46-52.

"William Sumner Appleton, 1874-1947," Old-Time New England, 38 (April 1948), pp. 70-74.

The writer suggests that the Ironworks Site contact William N. Hosley, Jr., Associate Curator of Decorative Arts, Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut. Hosley has reviewed all Nutting materials in preparation for a catalogue of the Nutting collection to be issued in 1984.