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**The Tory joiner of Middleborough, Massachusetts: Simeon
Doggett and his community, 1762–1792**

Hofer, Margaret Kugelman, M.A.

University of Delaware, 1991

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**THE TORY JOINER OF MIDDLEBOROUGH, MASSACHUSETTS:
SIMEON DOGGETT AND HIS COMMUNITY, 1762-1792**

by

Margaret K. Hofer

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of the University of Delaware in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Early American Culture**

June 1991

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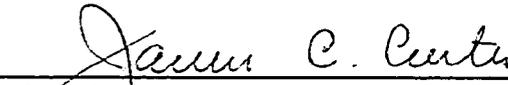
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Robert F. Trent

Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the Advisory Committee

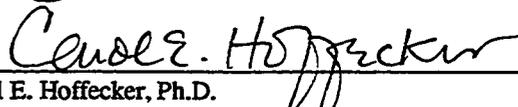
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ABSTRACT

Studies of rural artisans have emphasized how the craftsman's experience reflects the homogeneous and cyclical qualities of traditional agricultural communities. Kinship networks, bartering of goods and labor, and seasonal work rhythms have all been identified as characteristics of the archetypal rural artisan. This study examines a woodworking craftsman whose experience suggests an alternative view of the provincial artisan. The account book and papers of Simeon Doggett (1738-1823), a joiner and housewright working in Middleborough, Massachusetts, reveal, for instance, how in Doggett's case kinship connections played no role in determining patronage or master/apprentice relationships, and how a thriving iron industry transformed the agricultural economy. While some aspects of Doggett's experience remained typical of the rural craftsman, other aspects present a strikingly divergent view. In addition to account book analysis and fieldwork, this project involved probate inventory research to identify other woodworking artisans in the southeastern Massachusetts region.

INTRODUCTION

An unassuming, pocket-sized account book in the library of the Connecticut Historical Society provided the starting point for this thesis. Robert F. Trent, who suggested the topic to me, recognized the account book as an unusually detailed document of an eighteenth-century rural craftsman and as a valuable starting point for the study of the much-neglected furniture of eighteenth-century southeastern Massachusetts. Simeon Doggett's accounts portray an ordinary man who made his living by farming, making furniture, and building houses. At the same time, his account book and additional primary sources reveal a portrait of an unusual individual who was imprisoned on his own farm during the Revolution for his loyalist beliefs and who travelled approximately twenty miles on Sundays to attend an Anglican church. The account book provides an image of a thriving local economy in which goods and services replaced cash, and iron served as a medium of exchange. Finally, it depicts the web of human relationships between master and apprentices, father and sons, and craftsman and clients.

In recent years, American decorative arts scholars have devoted increased attention to vernacular traditions, redressing earlier scholars' bias towards urban, high-style objects. Preoccupation with masters and masterpieces is giving way to an interest in the working lives of rural artisans. Because provincial woodworkers in pre-industrial America were more numerous than their urban counterparts, analysis of their experience should be an essential aspect of American decorative arts scholarship. An understanding of the behavior of non-urban artisans will enable more accurate and meaningful evaluation of the objects they produced.

Studies of rural craftsmen by Charles Hummel and Philip Zea have focused on the effects of geographical isolation and agricultural rhythms on artisans' lives. Charles F. Hummel's *With Hammer in Hand* (1968), a study of three generations of the Dominy family of eastern Long Island, was a pioneering investigation of the rural craftsman.¹ The Dominys served a remote agricultural community in which an

artisan's versatility was imperative. Surviving documents and artifacts related to the careers of the Dominys, including furniture, tools, patterns, and accounts, have allowed a remarkably in-depth view into the working lives of one family of rural craftsmen. Philip Zea's essay "Rural Craftsmen and Design" further explores the life of the farmer/artisan.² Using account books, Zea demonstrates that the patterns of a rural artisan's activity conformed to the seasonal cycles dictated by farming. The repetition which governed the daily lives of rural artisans also affected the objects they made, cultivating conservatism and an adherence to accepted forms and styles.³

Robert F. Trent and Edward S. Cooke have made important contributions to the study of vernacular traditions, combining object-based analysis with consideration of the craftsman's intentions or cultural biases. In *Hearts & Crowns*, Trent examines a coastal Connecticut chairmaking tradition from the perspective of the individual craftsman, rejecting high-style approaches for vernacular objects.⁴ Edward Cooke's *Fiddlebacks and Crooked-backs*, a study of the products of joiners in Newtown and Woodbury, Connecticut, considers the furniture made in these towns as reflections of the cultural values of the two communities.⁵ Cooke reveals how design choices, created through interaction between craftsman and client, gave expression to the beliefs and values of the community as a whole.

Other recent studies of rural craftsmen have involved an examination of the artisan in the context of his community. Surviving account books lend themselves to studies of this nature, because they are essentially documents of relationships between people. Timothy Loomis (1724-1786) of Windsor, Connecticut and John Dunlap (1746-1792) of Goffstown and Bedford, New Hampshire are two craftsmen whose working lives have been illuminated by the analysis of surviving account books.⁶ These studies have revealed not only the cyclical patterns of artisanal life, but also information about the nature of patron-client relationships, the importance of kinship ties, and the supply and demand of bartered goods.

Eighteenth-century Plymouth County has received very little scholarly attention, save for the usual town histories written by antiquarians around the turn of the twentieth century. The land of the Pilgrims has held little interest for historians after the merging of Plymouth Colony with Massachusetts Bay in 1691.⁷

Southeastern Massachusetts, has, for the most part, been dismissed as a rural backwater, or, at best, a homogeneous region of traditional subsistence farming. Population figures belie this notion and instead suggest that at least some were finding prosperity in central Plymouth County. In 1784, Middleborough's population made it the fifth largest town in Massachusetts. Only Boston, Dartmouth, Bridgewater, and Salem had a higher number of free white males.⁸ Between 1765 and 1790, the population of Plymouth County increased by thirty percent, while increasing only twenty-six percent in Essex County and twenty-two percent in Suffolk County during the same period.⁹ In light of this large and growing population, the bias among historians and decorative arts scholars towards Boston and North Shore towns seems unjustified.

Robert St. George laid the groundwork for the study of southeastern New England furniture with *The Wrought Covenant*, a study of seventeenth-century woodworking craftsmen.¹⁰ St. George identified several regional woodworking traditions and developed a checklist of over four hundred woodworking craftsmen active between 1620 and 1700. St. George's discoveries provide clear evidence of active schools of furniture-making in Plymouth County and other areas of southeastern Massachusetts. Despite the wealth of material relating to seventeenth-century craftsmen, however, no eighteenth-century Plymouth County woodworking traditions have been identified, nor have any individual furniture makers in the region received scholarly attention.¹¹

This analysis of the career of Simeon Doggett (1738-1823) of Middleborough, Massachusetts will begin to fill the gap in the decorative arts of eighteenth-century Plymouth County and will present an alternative view of the craftsman in his community. Placing Doggett's career within the context of the traditional rural craftsmen described by Zea and others, I will emphasize the ways in which Doggett's career differed from those previously analyzed. Doggett worked in a town characterized not by simple subsistence farming, but by a dynamic economy driven by a thriving ironworks. Iron in Middleborough was not simply an industry; it had also become an important medium of exchange for ironworkers, woodworkers, and farmers alike.

Doggett's involvement in the Middleborough community reveals the increasing complexity of eighteenth-century village culture. Most traditional rural craftsmen were typically deeply embedded in their

community and shared the cultural values of the people they served.¹² Doggett, however, was a religious and political dissident. In a town composed largely of Congregationalists and patriots, Doggett was an Anglican and a Tory. His interaction with clients was thus more complex, and his products cannot be considered simple expressions of the cultural values shared by Doggett and his community.

In terms of his background and training, Doggett also differed from the traditional rural craftsman. He was the first artisan in a long line of farmers. As the fourth son, Doggett was probably forced to adopt a trade due to a shortage of land on which to settle all the sons. Unlike the traditional craftsman, Doggett did not train with a member of his family, nor did he marry the daughter of a woodworking craftsman. In addition, the trade adopted by Doggett was not carried on by future members of his family; instead, Simeon Doggett had higher aspirations for his progeny.

In many ways, then, the career of Simeon Doggett displays a movement away from the traditional towards what might be called "modern" behavior. Doggett was involved in a dynamic economy, belonged to a community which tolerated diverse religious and political beliefs, did not cultivate kinship ties, and had lofty ambitions for his family. An analysis of his career, then, will shed light on the role of a rural craftsman within a community that does not conform to established notions of traditional society.¹³

The primary source for this study is the account book of Simeon Doggett, covering the years 1762-1792, which is located in the library of the Connecticut Historical Society. Additional family papers, located at the New England Historic Genealogical Society, provided important materials such as apprentice indentures, correspondence, a recipe book for paints and finishes, and furniture measurements. Other historical and genealogical works were crucial for reconstructing Doggett's client base and the major events in his life. In particular, Thomas Weston's *History of the Town of Middleboro, Massachusetts* and the Middleborough Vital Records were indispensable.

The career of Simeon Doggett represents only one of hundreds of woodworking craftsmen in the region, whose experiences may have differed greatly. In order to promote further study of the artisans in this region, I conducted a search of the probate records of Plymouth and Bristol Counties from 1760 to 1810,

reading through approximately thirty thousand inventories in order to identify woodworking craftsmen.¹⁴ The resulting checklist (appendices 1 and 2) of over four hundred names, based on a person's title and/or the ownership of woodworking tools, is by no means complete, but offers insights into important clans of woodworking artisans and concentrations of specialized workers in certain geographical regions. The probate inventories also served as a guide to furniture nomenclature, relative valuation of objects, and the appearance, disappearance, and frequency of certain furniture forms.

Notes to Introduction

1. Charles F. Hummel, *With Hammer in Hand: The Dominy Craftsmen of East Hampton, New York* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968).
2. Philip Zea, "Rural Craftsmen and Design," in Brock Jobe and Myrna Kaye, *New England Furniture: The Colonial Era* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984), 47-72.
3. *Ibid.*, 49.
4. Robert F. Trent, *Hearts & Crowns* (New Haven: New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1977).
5. Edward S. Cooke, Jr., *Fiddlebacks and Crooked-backs: Elijah Booth and Other Joiners in Newtown and Woodbury 1750-1820* (Waterbury, CT: Mattatuck Historical Society, 1982), 18.
6. William N. Hosley, Jr., "Timothy Loomis and the Economy of Joinery in Windsor, Connecticut, 1740-1786," in *Perspectives on American Furniture*, ed. Gerald W.R. Ward (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988), 127-151; and Ann W. Dibble, "Major John Dunlap: The Craftsman and his Community," *Old-Time New England* 68 (Jan.-June 1978): 50-58.
7. Among the historical analyses of seventeenth-century Plymouth Colony are: Darrett B. Rutman, *Husbandmen of Plymouth: Farms and Villages in the Old Colony, 1620-1692* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1967) and John Demos, *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony* (New York, 1970). An example of the view that descendents of the Pilgrims were "but subsistence farmers" can be found in Douglas R. McManis, *Colonial New England: A Historical Geography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 31.
8. Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 41-45. Middleborough had 970 male polls in 1784; Boston had 3,174, Dartmouth 1,408, Bridgewater 1,123, and Salem 1,043.
9. *Ibid.*, 21, 46. The population of Plymouth County grew from 20,733 in 1765 to 29,535 in 1790; Essex County went from 42,706 to 57,913 and Suffolk County from 34,997 to 44,875.

Notes to Introduction (continued)

10. Robert Blair St. George, *The Wrought Covenant: Source Material for the Study of Craftsmen and Community in Southeastern New England 1620-1700* (Brockton, Mass.: Brockton Arts Center/Fuller Memorial, 1979).

11. The career of woodworker Samuel Wing (1774-1854) of Sandwich, Barnstable County provides a starting point for the study of artisans in post-Revolutionary southeastern Massachusetts. See Henry J. Harlow, "The Shop of Samuel Wing, Craftsman of Sandwich, Massachusetts," *Antiques* 93 (March 1968): 372-377; and Zea, "Rural Craftsmen and Design," 61-63.

12. St. George, *Wrought Covenant*, 16-17 and Cooke, *Fiddlebacks*, 18.

13. For a definition of "traditional" versus "modern" societies, see Richard D. Brown, *Modernization: The Transformation of American Life, 1600-1865* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976), 7-16.

14. Plymouth County Probate Records, vols. 15-51; Bristol County Probate Records, vols. 16-58. Microfilm copies of the volumes, obtained through the Family History Library of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints in Salt Lake City, Utah, are in the collections of the Winterthur Library.

Chapter 1

FROM APPRENTICE TO MASTER

Simeon Doggett's training as a joiner and housewright and the training he offered his apprentices conforms in part to the "typical" experience of the rural craftsman but also differs in significant ways. While Doggett's experience confirms that artisans in Middleborough still adhered to the institution of indentured apprenticeship, it also suggests that the traditional mode of training was being altered in subtle ways. Specifically, kinship ties in Doggett's and his apprentices' training are conspicuously absent, the terms of apprenticeship are surprisingly short, and the function of guardianship within apprentice training had acquired greater importance.

Simeon Doggett's family arrived in Middleborough in 1742, when he was four years old. His family, originally from Marshfield, was probably drawn to Middleborough by cheaper and more plentiful land. Simeon's father Thomas sold his homestead lot in Marshfield, consisting of fifty acres with an additional pasture and wood lot, for £850; the same year, he purchased an eighty-eight acre farm in Middleborough for £450.¹ At the time of his move, Thomas Doggett had four sons and two daughters between the ages of one and twelve. His move to Middleborough, where he had a better chance of settling his sons on a good-sized plot of land, was most likely prompted by concern for the future welfare of his children.²

Thomas Doggett's choice to settle his son Simeon in a trade may have resulted from a concern that he possessed an inadequate amount of land on which to establish all four sons. Three previous generations of Doggetts had all labored as farmers and mariners; Simeon appears to be the first Doggett to train as a skilled artisan.³ Thomas Doggett's selection of a master for Simeon necessitated looking outside the extended family; with no artisans in the family, he probably was unable to exploit any kinship connections. Most likely, Simeon Doggett's master was a local artisan with some other form of ties to the Doggett family. The one potential clue to Doggett's training ends up providing more questions than

answers. His book of recipes for paints and finishes bears the inscription: "For Mr. Simeon Doggett in Middleborough/August 24th 1768/Written by Shubael Tinkham."⁴ Tinkham's recipe for "gould size" includes the instruction: "use your gould with cotten as I have directed," indicating that Tinkham may have personally demonstrated the process to Doggett.

Although the recipe book suggests that Doggett may have apprenticed with Tinkham, the two Shubael Tinkhams who lived in Middleborough during the eighteenth century are unlikely candidates for his master. The first Shubael Tinkham (1692-1739) died when Doggett was only one year old. The second Shubael Tinkham (1743-1776), grandson of the first, was five years younger than Doggett and thus unlikely to be his master. The younger Shubael Tinkham, author of the recipe book, must have served an apprenticeship under a painter/gilder. Finishing his apprenticeship in 1764, he might have offered, four years later, to share some of his recipes with his Middleborough colleague. The working relationship between Tinkham and Doggett is substantiated by the fact that Shubael signed the indentures of Doggett's apprentices John Cobb and Joseph Churchill in 1762 and 1765, respectively.⁵

Although Doggett probably maintained professional relationships with his master and with Tinkham, these relationships did not penetrate his life in ways which might be expected of the traditional rural craftsman. No marriages took place between Doggetts and Tinkhams; in fact, Simeon Doggett married the daughter of a blacksmith with whom he apparently had no professional relationship.⁶

Doggett's apprenticeship was interrupted by his service in the French and Indian War in 1758.⁷ He must have returned promptly to Middleborough to complete his apprenticeship, for his marriage intention was published just five months after he had reached the age of 21 in January 1759.⁸ Equipped with the skills of a trade, Doggett had the resources and independence to marry and start a family early. By 1762, he had commenced his business as a "shop joyner and housewright" and taken on his first apprentice.⁹

The patterns which emerge from an analysis of Doggett's apprentices indicate a departure from traditional training practices.¹⁰ As Philip Zea has pointed out, apprenticeships in rural areas tended to be

shorter than those in cities, as the exigencies of farming life prompted families to make use of their sons' labor.¹¹ Although the standard age for beginning a formal apprenticeship in an urban area was fourteen, one of Doggett's apprentices began at age eighteen, four at age seventeen and two at sixteen. The average length of these apprentices' training was four years and six months, as opposed to the traditional seven years (see table 1.1). Another significant pattern which emerges is the apprenticing of orphans who were under the care of a guardian. At least five of Doggett's seven apprentices were fatherless at the time that they became indentured. Joseph Churchill of Plymouth, under the guardianship of his step-father Archippus Fuller, was apprenticed to Doggett at the age of seventeen. According to the Churchill genealogy, he was "brought up by Mr. Daggett, of Middleboro', and lived with him until he was twenty-one years of age."¹² Although Churchill's indenture with Doggett specifies that he was to learn "the art or Trade of Shop Joyner and Housewright", the description of Doggett's role in the genealogy suggests that he played the role of surrogate father as well as that of a skilled master.

The other four fatherless apprentices were under guardianship at the time they were indentured to Doggett. John Cobb's father died when he was five years old. At the age of seventeen, he was apprenticed to Simeon Doggett by his step-father William Cushman. Similarly, Walter Rickard, son of the deceased Isaac Rickard, was apprenticed to Doggett by his guardian Job Macomber, a neighbor and regular client of Doggett's. The father of Jeremiah and Moses Samson of Plympton died when they were one and five years old, respectively.¹³ Although they were appointed different guardians, both were apprenticed to Doggett when they reached their late teens.

The indentures of these orphaned apprentices clearly indicate voluntary, as opposed to compulsory, apprenticeships. These boys had all been assigned legal guardians by the probate court and were not threats of liability to their towns.¹⁴ Exactly why Doggett's shop attracted so many orphaned boys is not entirely clear. He may have gained a reputation as a benevolent master at a time when apprentice abuse was not uncommon, or he simply may have tolerated orphaned apprentices where other masters did not. Whatever the reason for his numerous orphan-apprentices, Doggett's role within the

master/apprentice relationships, with its increased paternal responsibilities, was more complex than simply instructor of a trade.

The various towns from which Doggett's apprentices came provide clues to the magnitude of his reputation. Despite the fact that nearly all of his clients lived in Middleborough and a great number lived within his neighborhood, at least four and possibly six of Doggett's apprentices and journeymen came from other towns. Apprentices Moses and Jeremiah Samson and journeyman Jabez Soule came from Plympton, a town lying to the east of Middleborough. Living in the western portion of Middleborough (now Lakeville), Doggett would probably not have had regular contact with Plympton. Even further to the east was Plymouth, the home of apprentice Joseph Churchill. Two other workers, journeyman John Allen and apprentice Ephraim Peirce, are not recorded in the Middleborough Vital Records birth lists, and may have also come from other towns. Doggett's reputation, then, extended beyond Middleborough borders.

Doggett's responsibilities as a master were numerous. According to the five surviving indentures, which all outline the same duties, Doggett was required to:

... learn his said apprentice the art or trade of Shop Joyner & Houseright; and also to learn his said apprentice to read and to write; and also to learn him to cypher as far as the Rule of three; and also to procure & provide for his said apprentice sufficient meat, drink, apparel, washing & lodging both in sickness and health fitting for an apprentice.¹⁵

It is impossible to ascertain from existing documents whether Doggett successfully fulfilled all these obligations, but his account book provides some insight into the types of tasks that he assigned his apprentices and the amount of supervision he gave.

Although not mentioned in the indentures, agricultural labor was an important aspect of an apprenticeship under Doggett. The account book contains entries for agricultural labor performed by apprentices, often alongside Doggett's own sons. For instance, Doggett employed his son Thomas and apprentice Jeremiah Samson at hoeing one day in April 1773 for his neighbor Samuel Reed.¹⁶

Undoubtedly, the apprentices also spent time doing agricultural labor on Doggett's own farm, for which

no entries were made in the account book. Based on exchanges described in the accounts, apprentices would have spent time hauling and cutting wood, clearing brush, plowing with Doggett's oxen, weeding, hoeing, hilling, harvesting, threshing, and swingling flax. While this type of work may seem unrelated to the trade of a joiner and housewright, it would have served the boys well; all of them eventually settled in rural areas where farming was an essential part of an artisan's existence. An apprenticeship under Doggett was not just training for woodworking, but also training for life.

Aside from agricultural tasks, Doggett's apprentices divided their time between house carpentry and shop work. Unfortunately, the account book does not document the apprentices' work in the shop to the extent that it details involvement in house carpentry jobs. While Doggett meticulously recorded the number of days each week an apprentice worked on a specific carpentry job, he only documented sales of objects rather than the labor that went into making them.

Doggett's use of his apprentices in the building of the Oliver house in 1768-1769 provides an example of how apprentice labor was at times heavily concentrated on carpentry. Doggett employed himself, journeyman Jacob Miller, and apprentices Joseph Churchill and Moses Samson on the Oliver house job (see table 1.2). Churchill worked alongside Doggett for twenty-one straight weeks between July and December, usually putting in six day weeks. A hiatus between December and April gave Churchill time to work on furniture in the shop, but in April he returned to the Oliver House for thirteen more weeks of work. Moses Samson joined Doggett and Churchill in November and resumed with them in April. Although this project gives the impression that the apprentices concentrated on carpentry at the expense of joinery, there are long stretches of time in which no major building projects were recorded in the account book. During these periods, it is safe to assume that the apprentices were devoting most of their time to shop joinery. Before Churchill began at the Oliver House in July 1768, he had not worked on a large house carpentry project since November 1767, and when he completed the Oliver job in July 1769 it was five months before his assistance in another carpentry project was recorded. Division of work between carpentry and joinery, then, depended on the availability of work rather than on a fixed

schedule pre-determined by the master.

Analysis of Doggett's valuation of apprentice and journeyman labor provides insights into the apprentices' increasing skill level over time as well as the job-based pricing structure used by Doggett. While a general increase in the valuation of apprentices' work is visible over several years, no clear-cut pattern emerges. The range in value of apprentice labor spanned one shilling six pence to three shillings per day, the most commonly assigned value being two shillings eight pence (see table 1.1). The value of Doggett's labor was almost invariably three shillings four pence. The rates Doggett assigned himself and his workers probably resulted from a combination of efforts: trying to charge maximum allowable rates while still remaining competitive with other woodworkers. Doggett was restricted by town legislation to as to how much he could charge for his own carpentry and joinery work, and this law dictated the pricing structure of his whole work force. In 1777, the selectmen of Middleborough passed an act which fixed the maximum price of carpentry and joinery work at three shillings four pence per day.¹⁷ Yet competition from other woodworkers prohibited Doggett from always charging this amount. When he built a house for Isaac Cushman in 1769, for example, he valued his own labor at 3s, his apprentice Moses Samson's at 2s 8d, and his apprentice Walter Rickard's at 1s 6d. While lowering the cost of his own labor from his standard 3s 4d, he maintained Samson's at its usual value, and assigned an unusually low value to the work of Rickard. His choice of price structure was clearly a result of bargaining with his client Isaac Cushman and maintaining a hierarchy within the ranks of his apprentices.

An analysis of two apprentices' labor throughout their indenture reveals the idiosyncrasies in Doggett's valuation of their work (see table 1.3). Jeremiah Samson first began working for Doggett when he was fifteen years old, and as a "green" apprentice, his work on the Silas Wood house project was valued at only 1s 6d. Nine months later, when Doggett's crew did some carpentry work for Abner Bourne, Samson's labor was valued at 2s. Jeremiah had been working for three years before his labor was valued at the standard apprentice rate of 2s 8d, and never exceeded that amount. While Samson's labor value shows a gradual increase over time, other apprentices experienced a devaluation of their labor.

Nathaniel Morton began working under Doggett in August 1785, and was soon laboring steadily at 3s per day. In July 1786, his price dipped down to 2s 6d, then rose again to 3s in August, and dipped once more to 2s 8d in June 1788. The reason for this variation is difficult to pinpoint. Doggett may have been involved in competitive bargaining, may have been discounting the value of labor for cash payment, or may have been adjusting his valuations based on the type of labor performed.

While Doggett's account book does not reveal much information about the types of tasks performed by apprentices during house carpentry jobs, it does indicate some patterns in Doggett's system of training. Generally, three and sometimes four men were employed on any given job: Doggett, one or two seasoned apprentices or journeymen, and a newer apprentice. In building the Silas Wood house in 1771, Doggett began the project with himself, an apprentice with three years' experience, and an apprentice with two years' experience. The first week Doggett supervised both apprentices each of the six days they worked. After that week, Doggett's contributions fell off to four or five days a week while the apprentices continued working full six day weeks. Although Doggett put in work during each of the nine weeks the house was under construction, his two apprentices consistently spent more time on the project than he did.¹⁸ Presumably, Doggett kept a schedule that allowed him to oversee projects by directing his apprentices' work, but still enabled him to see to other business matters.

In some instances, Doggett left the final weeks of work entirely to his apprentices. While working on a building project for Lemuel Ransome in 1766, Doggett employed apprentices Joseph Churchill and John Cobb. Work began in August with Doggett putting in a few days each week. During the fifth week, Doggett worked three days but then left apprentice Joseph Churchill to finish the job, which extended for eight weeks. Numerous other entries indicate that once an apprentice had been with Doggett for a year or so, he was assigned tasks to complete unsupervised. While Doggett believed in careful supervision of his apprentices, he also tried to maximize the entire force's labor potential by entrusting work to his seasoned apprentices. In some cases it is clear that his absence from a carpentry job was attributable to a large order of shop work. For instance, the building project for Zachariah

Weston which began in early June 1770 commenced with very little of Doggett's supervision: in the first four weeks he put in only two days. This atypical behavior is explained by Doggett's sale of six chairs, a case of drawers, a square table, a tea table, and six fourback chairs on June 22, 1770.¹⁹ By early July, Doggett was back working six day weeks with his apprentices on the Weston house.

The success of Doggett's instruction in the trades of joinery and carpentry is difficult to measure quantitatively, but the future careers of his apprentices in these fields offer some clues. At least four of Doggett's trainees can be documented as housewrights later in their lives. Most likely, they combined carpentry with joinery, as their master had done. Joseph Churchill and Moses Samson emigrated to Woodstock, Vermont shortly after the Revolution, joining a large contingent of former Middleborough residents. They had become brothers-in-law in 1772, after Moses married Joseph's sister. Moses' career was cut short when he was accidentally shot and killed in 1781, but Joseph Churchill went on to become "the most celebrated house painter in these parts."²⁰ Churchill became known for his "durable red" paint color, as well as for the house he kept as a tavern.²¹ Undoubtedly, Churchill's profession as a house painter grew out of his work as a carpenter, and the two trades were most likely carried on simultaneously. Churchill's son Joseph, Jr. adopted his father's trade and went to Windsor, VT in 1795 to serve an apprenticeship. While in Windsor, he may have come in contact with the sophisticated architecture of Asher Benjamin.

Two other Doggett trainees whose careers are known remained in Plymouth County. Jeremiah Samson worked as a housewright in Kingston, where he accumulated a respectable estate by the time of his death in 1830.²² Jabez Soule, who served as Doggett's journeyman for a year, worked as a housewright in Halifax until his death in 1827. His "mechanic tools" were bequeathed to his son Jabez.²³ Most likely, all the boys trained under Doggett continued to practice the trades of carpentry and joinery, because the skills they learned were invaluable in a region of increasing population and decreasingly productive land. The evidence that can be gathered concerning the education of these boys indicates that Doggett prepared his orphan-apprentices well for leading the life of a rural craftsman.

Notes to Chapter 1

1. Samuel Bradlee Doggett, *A History of the Doggett-Daggett Family* (Boston: Press of Rockwell & Churchill, 1894), 377-378.
2. Philip Greven's study of rural Andover, Mass. reveals the necessity that fathers settle their sons on land, and describes the options they had to choose from when land became scarce. Philip J. Greven, Jr. *Four Generations: Population, Land, and Family in Colonial Andover, Massachusetts* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970).
3. Doggett, *The Doggett-Daggett Family*, 325-377. While there were some craftsmen in distant branches of the Doggett family, there are none known to have descended directly from Simeon's great-great grandfather Thomas Doggett, who came to New England from East Anglia in 1637.
4. Recipe Book, Simeon Doggett Papers, Leonard Collection, New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.
5. Apprentice Indenture of John Cobb, 1762, Simeon Doggett Papers, NEHGS.
6. Doggett married Abigail Pratt in 1760. She was the daughter of David Pratt of Chowan County, North Carolina, formerly of Middleborough. Doggett, *History of the Doggett-Daggett Family*, 398.
7. Thomas Weston, *History of the Town of Middleboro, Massachusetts* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1906), 92-93.
8. *Middleborough, Massachusetts Vital Records*, Vol. II (Boston: The Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants, 1990), 55.
9. Apprentice Indenture of John Cobb, 1762, Simeon Doggett Papers, NEHGS.
10. Carl Bridenbaugh, *The Colonial Craftsman* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950), 129-141.
11. Philip Zea, "Rural Craftsmen and Design," in *New England Furniture: The Colonial Era*, by Brock Jobe and Myrna Kaye (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984), 67-68.
12. Gardner Asaph Churchill and Nathaniel Wiley Churchill, *The Churchill Family in America* (Published by the Family of Gardner A. Churchill, n.d.), 40.
13. John Adams Vinton, *Genealogical Memoirs of the Sampson Family in America* (Boston: Henry W. Dutton & Son, 1864), 26-27.
14. Bridenbaugh, *Colonial Craftsman*, 131. Compulsory apprenticeship was often used as a means of gainfully employing orphaned boys who might otherwise require financial support from their town.

Notes to chapter 1 (continued)

15. Apprentices indenture of Joseph Churchill, 1765, Simeon Doggett Papers, NEHGS.
16. Simeon Doggett Account Book, 1762-1792, Connecticut Historical Society.
17. Weston, *History of Middleboro*, 222-223. The act also prescribed prices for agricultural labor, other trades, and various goods and services.
18. Simeon Doggett Account Book, CHS.
19. Ibid. Doggett sold these items to Capt. Nathaniel Smith.
20. Henry Swan Dana, *The History of Woodstock, Vermont, 1761-1886* (1889; reprint, Taftsville, VT: The Countryman Press, 1980), 44-45.
21. Ibid., 40, 43.
22. Plymouth County Probate Records, Plymouth County Registry of Probate.
23. Ibid.

Table 1.1

SIMEON DOGGETT'S APPRENTICES AND OTHER WORKERS

Apprentice	Town	Dates	Indenture	Dates worked	Age at indenture	Length of apprenticeship	Value of labor
Churchill, Joseph	Plymouth	(1748-1824)	Oct. 31, 1765	8/66 - 12/69	17	4 years, 2 months	0:2:6 - 0:3:0
Cobb, John	Middleborough	(1745-1822)	March 29, 1762	5/66 - 10/66	17	4 years, 7 months	0:2:8 - 0:2:10
Morton, Nathaniel	Middleborough	b. 1769	June 20, 1783	8/85 - 9/89	14	6 years, 3 months	0:2:0 - 0:3:0
Peirce, Ephraim	?	?	none	5/84 - 9/89	?	5 years, 4 months	0:2:0 - 0:2:8
Rickard, Walter	?	b. 1753	none	10/69 - 10/73	16	4 years	0:1:6 - 0:3:0
Samson, Jeremiah	Plympton	(1755-1830)	April 16, 1772	9/71 - 11/75	16	4 years, 2 months	0:1:6 - 0:2:8
Samson, Moses	Plympton	(1751-1781)	Dec. 12, 1769	11/68 - 11/71	18	3 years	0:2:8 - 0:3:0
<u>Other workers</u>							
Allen, John	?	m. 1781	none	11/73 - 10/74			0:2:8 - 0:3:0
Miller, Jacob	Middleborough	b. 1745	none	7/68 - 7/70			0:2:4 - 0:3:0
Morton, Caleb	?	m. 1792	none	11/75 & 6/79			0:1:4 & 0:3:0
Soule, Jabez	Plympton	(1752-1827)	none	7/72 - 10/72			0:2:8

Table 1.2

CALENDAR OF WORK FOR THE OLIVER HOUSE PROJECT, 1768

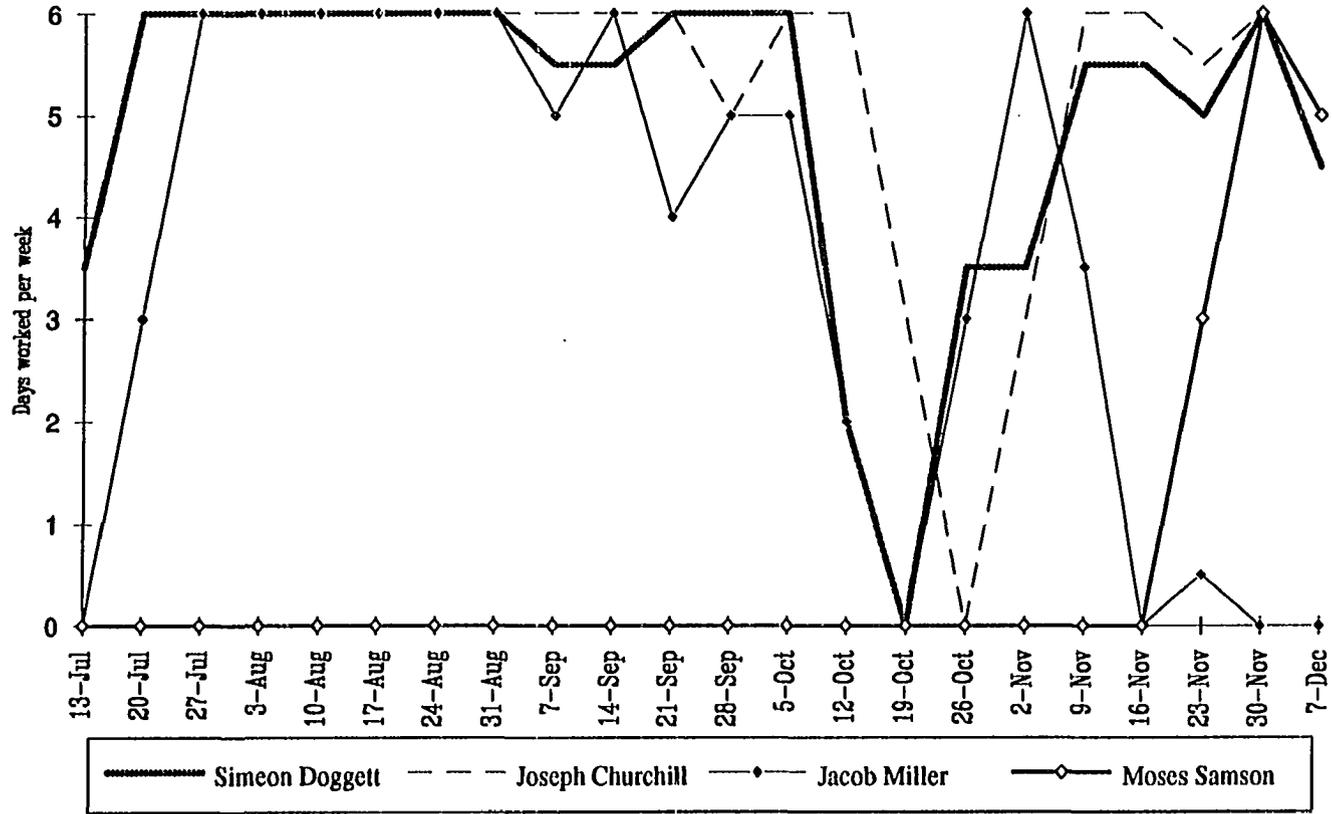
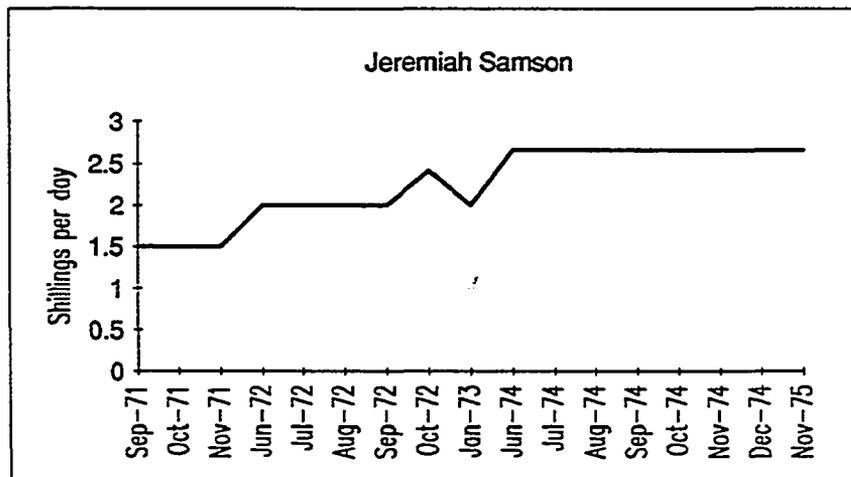
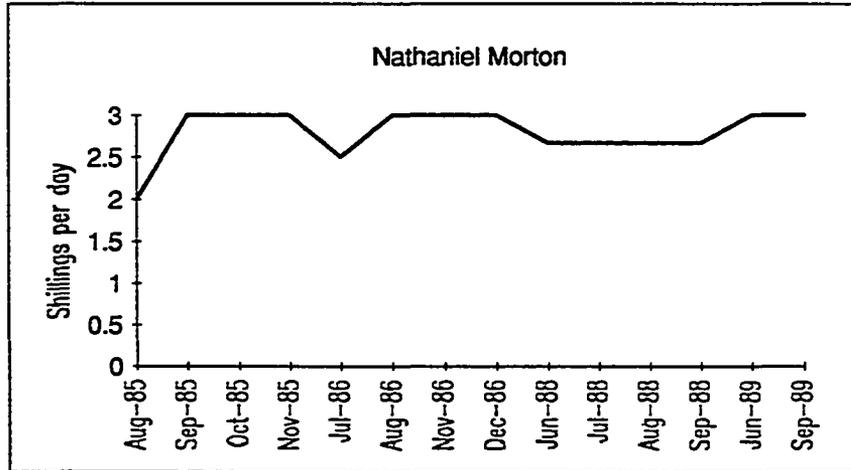


Table 1.3
VALUATION OF APPRENTICE LABOR:
NATHANIEL MORTON AND JEREMIAH SAMSON



Chapter 2

SIMEON DOGGETT AND THE MIDDLEBOROUGH COMMUNITY

In addition to describing master/apprentice relations, Simeon Doggett's account book also provides a record of the relationships between Doggett, his clients, and his community. The patterning of these transactions suggest what factors were important to establishing business relationships in Middleborough. Doggett's roster of clients indicates that he served people from a variety of locations and with varying occupations, religions, and political beliefs. An examination of how belief, kinship, status, and geographical proximity shaped Doggett's client relationships will illuminate both his position within Middleborough society and the general social atmosphere of the town.

The profile of a craftsman's clients often reflects his own status, background, or beliefs. Joiner Timothy Loomis (1724 -1786) of Windsor, Connecticut, served a group of entrenched landowners who were almost all involved in commercial agriculture.¹ In New Hampshire, Major John Dunlap (1746-1792) and his brother Samuel (1752-1830) served primarily clients who shared their Scotch-Irish background.² Urban artisans were just as likely to have connections with their clients. In Newport, Rhode Island, one-third of Job Townsend's (1726 -1778) patrons were kin, and close to half were Quakers like himself.³ In contrast to those of Loomis, Townsend, and the Dunlaps, Doggett's clients are not easily characterized by one or two traits, nor were a large portion of them tied to Doggett by kinship or religious beliefs. On the contrary, factors such as kinship and belief appear to have played almost no part in shaping Doggett's clientele, while practical matters such as geographical proximity played a large role in determining patronage.

Kinship ties are conspicuously absent in Doggett's account book. Although many family members and extended relatives were living in Middleborough during the period he kept his account book, Doggett recorded transactions with only two relatives: his brother Jabez and nephew John. His brother Seth and father Thomas do not appear in the account book at all, nor do the husbands of Doggett's two younger sisters, Experience and Joanna. Even the transactions recorded with Jabez and John are relatively concentrated and few. Jabez Doggett made fourteen debit transactions between 1786 and 1788, consisting mostly of carpentry work and use of oxen, and his son John made fourteen debit transactions in 1780. Doggett's extended family were also not among his clientele. The families of his sons' wives were from neighboring towns and did not transact business with Doggett, and the father of his son-in-law Thomas Weston transacted business with Doggett on only one occasion.⁴ Doggett's independence from his kin reflects one of the non-traditional aspects of his trade and perhaps indicates one of the ways in which Middleborough was moving away from traditional community structures.

Religious beliefs also played a very small role in determining Doggett's clientele, probably because Middleborough was fairly tolerant of dissenting religions. Although the vast majority of Middleborough inhabitants attended one of the three Congregational churches, the town also tolerated small numbers of Baptists, Quakers, and Anglicans. Doggett was baptized in a Congregational church and purchased a pew in Middleborough's First Congregational Church around 1760; however, he changed religions upon marrying an Anglican.⁵ The extent of Doggett's religious commitment is evident in the fact that he travelled to Scituate, the nearest Anglican church, to attend services.⁶ Despite Doggett's devotion to Anglicanism, the preponderance of Congregationalists in Middleborough meant that Doggett counted a large number of them among his patrons. At least twenty-three, or one-quarter, were members of the church, although a much larger number were undoubtedly attenders. Several deacons and a minister may also be found among Doggett's clients. In fact, two of his most active clients, Ichabod Morton and Abner Bourne, were both deacons at the First Congregational Church.

While there is no evidence that Doggett served any Quakers, he did have at least four clients with ties to the Baptist Church.⁷

While kinship and religion played almost no role in determining patronage in Middleborough, the simple matter of location was a major factor determining Doggett's business relationships. A geographic survey of Doggett's clients reveals that almost all lived in Middleborough, and a large percentage lived in the so-called Four Corners neighborhood, a short distance from Doggett's house and shop. Of his ninety-three clients, all but six lived in Middleborough. The exceptions included John Lamson from Topsfield in Essex County, whom Doggett showed how to crib a well in 1782, and the representatives of the South Precinct in Plympton, for whom Doggett built a meeting house in 1774. Over one-third of his clients lived within an approximate two mile radius of Doggett's house in what might be called his neighborhood, residing either east of Doggett's home near the Four Corners, or west of his home in what later became Lakeville.⁸ Other clients were scattered throughout the town, which then encompassed approximately one hundred square miles.⁹ Clients who did not reside near the Four Corners lived at Muttock, about two miles northeast, Titicut, about four miles north, or other subsidiary villages within the large town of Middleborough.

An examination of the types of tasks Doggett performed for neighbors and non-neighbors reveals how geographic location affected his business relationships. Most of the agricultural labor and leasing of farm animals entered in Doggett's account book is debited on neighbor's accounts. Doggett's neighbor Samuel Reed, for instance, regularly leased Doggett's oxen and used his sons' labor for plowing, weeding, and hilling between April 1773 and August 1775. Neighbors Ebenezer Blackman, Abner Bourne, and Ichabod Morton also used Doggett's oxen and sons on a regular basis. Before Doggett acquired his own oxen, he relied heavily on his neighbor Isaac Cushman. Proximity influenced the method and timing of payment as well. When Doggett built the South Precinct Meeting House in Plympton in 1774, the distance required that he remain in Plympton ten out of the twenty-one weeks he worked on the project. Because he did not have a regular business relationship with John Shaw, who represented the South

Precinct, he was paid in full immediately upon completion of the project.⁸ With neighbors, however, he often accepted partial payment of goods or services he particularly needed, and he often carried debts for long periods of time. The pragmatic matter of location clearly had more influence over Doggett's patronage than kinship or religious belief. Practicality, though, was not the only force shaping business relations; political convictions had a great impact on community and client relationships.

Because Doggett kept his account book before, during, and after the Revolution, the question of political beliefs in determining patronage is particularly relevant. While Middleborough may have been tolerant of dissenting religions, it was not at all tolerant of non-patriotic views. As a Loyalist, Doggett became the target of many of his fellow townsmen's wrath, and his own writings about this period lead one to believe that his reputation was seriously impaired by his continued refusal to fight against the British. Doggett's trials began soon after the battle at Lexington in April, 1775. Because he refused to "take up arms" against the British, Doggett was confined to his farm for over a year, from July 1775 to December 1776. Subsequently, he was forced to pay a ten pound fine for refusing to serve in the army. In June 1777, Doggett stood trial for his beliefs and, being found guilty, was delivered to Boston for banishment. After eight weeks on board a prison ship, Doggett was allowed to return home, but an angry mob drove him out of Middleborough. Doggett wandered for more than a year until the fury of his townsmen had subsided, and finally returned home in early 1779.⁹ In a letter written shortly after the war, presumably to the exiled Judge Peter Oliver in England, Doggett summarizes the treatment he received and the current state of his business:

...I have passed through many trying scenes of trouble & difficulty on account of my Loyalty to the...Government of Great Britain; such as being dragged before Committees & the American army then confined to my own farm, insulted, execrated, & my life threatened, then impressed into the American army or obliged to pay a heavy fine, then confined a close prisoner on board their ships, then sent home by the then authority, then expelled again from any habitation & drove out of town, in the most ignominious manner, with reproaches, ringing of bells, by my own townsmen to seek my living among these sons of violence...by which means I am rendered poor, & my little interest is much lessened & diminished... My situation in Middleborough is rendered very unhappy & uneasy to me, and I am tempted to seek out an habitation in some place & without insult ...¹⁰

Middleborough's nineteen other loyalists probably received similar treatment during the Revolution. In a town of more than 4,000 people, the loyalists constituted a tiny fraction of the population and were easily besieged by the patriotic majority.¹³

Doggett's roster of clients indicates that he transacted business with a large percentage of the identified loyalists, but the vast majority of his clients were still patriots. Twelve of the men either suspected or known to be loyalists were Doggett clients, most of them having begun their relationship with Doggett long before the War. His Tory clients ranged from the prominent Oliver family to neighboring yeomen like Lemuel Ransome and Silas Wood. By contrast, Doggett also did business with a number of prominent Revolutionary soldiers, such as Lieutenants Archippus Cole and Elias Miller, Major John Nelson, Captains Nathaniel Smith, Gideon Southworth, and Robert Sproat, and Colonel Ebenezer Sproat. Several of Doggett's clients appear to have been directly involved in his persecutions: William Harlow served on the local committee which identified local Tories, and Elias Miller warned Doggett that he was required to appear for military service. Doggett's relationships with the prominent local patriots occurred primarily before the War; few of them continued their patronage afterwards. It is interesting to note that, while only three of Doggett's fifteen most active clients were confirmed Tories, none of these clients can be documented as serving in the Revolution. Political beliefs then, appeared to have played some role in shaping Doggett's business relationships. Although he served a number of ardent patriots, his regular customers probably either shared or were sympathetic with his loyalist views.

The fact that Doggett did not ultimately leave Middleborough but continued to live there and carry on his business indicates that he was eventually accepted back into the community. According to town historian Thomas Weston, Doggett and his neighbor Lemuel Ransome "regained the esteem and confidence of their fellow citizens" after the Revolution ended.¹⁴ Doggett's status not only recovered from the blow of the War, but even continued to rise late in his life. His family's rising status is indicative of the changes occurring within the Middleborough community, which affected both his career and his client relationships.

Doggett's rising social status is evident in his own activities, but is perhaps best summarized by the achievements of his offspring within his own lifetime. Doggett's three sons broke with convention by marrying women from towns other than Middleborough. Thomas, the eldest, carried on his father's trade and remained in Middleborough. Elkanah became a prominent merchant, and died at the age of twenty-seven having acquired the title of "gentleman" and amassed an estate worth over one thousand pounds. Doggett's son Simeon graduated from Providence College (Brown University), served as a tutor there, and became a minister as well as the first preceptor of the Bristol Academy in Taunton. Abigail Doggett, the youngest child, married Thomas Weston, who owned the former Oliver ironworks and later became a Judge. In 1798, Abigail and Thomas Weston moved into the Dr. Peter Oliver House, which Doggett had built almost thirty years earlier. With the possible exception of his eldest son Thomas, Doggett's children quickly attained a high level of success, whether it be through business acumen, a good education, or an advantageous marriage.

The level of self-consciousness with which Doggett and his offspring pursued the improvement of their social station is clearly evident in surviving correspondence between Simeon, Jr. and his older brother Thomas. In a series of letters written in 1793 while he was a tutor at Providence College, Simeon, Jr., then twenty-eight years old, expressed concern to his thirty-two-year-old brother about Thomas' apparent disinterest in improving himself and becoming part of the "society" in Middleborough.

...I should advise you, Brother, to contemplate becoming a member of the Society in Middleborough. When you have corrected those bad habits of which I have taken the liberty to remind you, I should suppose you might, with propriety, contemplate being a member. Finding yourself connected with them, you would soon get a taste for reading & improvement...The present is an age of improvement & refinement. By the time you are fifty years old, I think you will find, that a man can't be very respectable, without considerable more improvement, than what now gives respectability. This, I think, is a consideration which ought to have great weight...You would be very unhappy, at fifty, to be sunk in standing to what David Thomas & the Millars & that class of man are now. What has sunk them, & raised others above them? It is improvement - improvement in *manners*, & in mind. Twenty or thirty years hence, your family must take their standing from yourself, not from Father, or any of your friends; be very careful then, that you do not oblige them to step down hill, by your neglect.¹³

Although Simcon's letters take on the preachy tone of his profession and seem at times unbearably arrogant, they plainly describe the Doggett family's rise in status and self-consciousness about their position in society. In a previous letter, Simeon, Jr. refers to "the pleasure of looking up to a Father, who, considering the amazing embarrassments [through] which he has laboured, is a very... respectable man." Simeon's adulation of his father and some other "respectable" men and his insulting descriptions of other Middleborough families indicate a tension within the society between those on the rise and those "sinking" in status. Doggett's relationships with his clients and neighbors were undoubtedly colored by this tension, which separated not just the rich from the poor, but the "refined" from the common.

The portrait of community seen through Doggett's account book and other sources reveals the contradictions of a society in the midst of change. While the local nature of his business is typical of a rural artisan, the lack of kinship connections distinguishes Doggett from traditional craftsmen. Also, the fairly tolerant attitude towards religious beliefs is at odds with the belligerently intolerant behavior towards dissenting political convictions. Perhaps what most clearly distinguishes Doggett and members of his community from traditional societies is their dissatisfaction with the status quo and desire for self-improvement and advancement. This outlook, so clearly expressed in the words and actions of Doggett's family, is inherently incompatible with the cyclical, unchanging nature of rural life.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. William N. Hosley, Jr., "Timothy Loomis and the Economy of Joinery in Windsor, Connecticut, 1740-1786," in *Perspectives on American Furniture*, ed. Gerald W.R. Ward (New York: W.W. Norton, 1988), 146-147.
2. Philip Zea, "Rural Craftsmen and Design," in Brock Jobe and Myrna Kaye, *New England Furniture: The Colonial Era* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984), 67.
3. Margaretta M. Lovell, "'Such Furniture as Will Be Most Profitable': The Business of Cabinetmaking in Eighteenth-Century Newport," *Winterthur Portfolio* 26 (Spring 1991): forthcoming.

Notes to Chapter 2 (continued)

4. Doggett's eldest son Thomas married Phoebe Dean of Taunton in 1788; Elkanah married Lucy Fearing of Wareham in 1789; Simeon married Nancy Fobes of Raynham in 1797; and Abigail married Thomas Weston of Middleborough in 1798. Thomas Weston's father Edmund supplied Doggett with maple slitwork, maple boards, and white pine boards in March 1782.

5. Doggett paid £14.10.8 for pew number thirty-two in the meeting house. Thomas Weston, *History of the Town of Middleboro, Massachusetts* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1906), 450-451. He married Abigail Pratt in 1760, who was brought up as an Anglican in North Carolina. Samuel Bradlee Doggett, *A History of the Doggett-Daggett Family* (Boston: Press of Rockwell and Churchill, 1894), 397.

6. William Willard Wheeler, the rector of St. Andrew's Church in Scituate, wrote a letter of introduction to the Episcopal Clergy of Nova Scotia in 1784, in which he described Doggett as "a sober, honest, worthy good man, well attached to the Episcopal Church, and a constant & frequent communicant of the same..." Other correspondence between Wheeler and Doggett indicates that they had an on-going relationship. Simeon Doggett Papers, NEHGS.

7. John Allen, John Nelson, John Reed, and Samuel Reed all had ties with the Baptist Church. Nelson founded the Second Baptist Church in Lakeville and the others were married by Baptist ministers.

8. Thomas Weston's *History of Middleboro* was the primary source used to determine client location. Chapters on each of the villages describe the major individuals and families in that area. Weston cites an 1838 memoir describing all the houses and their owners at the Four Corners, which includes the Doggett home and the homes of seventeen of his clients.

9. Weston, *Middleboro*, xvii. During the eighteenth century, Middleborough was the largest town in the state, with the exception of Plymouth. It measured over eleven miles from north to south and fourteen from east to west.

10. Doggett received £41.2.8 in goods and cash, including the care of his horse for ten weeks and four days.

11. Simeon Doggett Memoir, Simeon Doggett Papers, NEHGS. Doggett calls the memoir of his experience during the Revolution a "journal" of his "various trials."

12. Letter written by Simeon Doggett, Simeon Doggett Papers, NEHGS. The contents of the letter lead me to believe that it is addressed to Peter Oliver. Doggett refers to the fact that the person has been exiled from his native country, calls the person a neighbor, and asks to be remembered to "your good son the Doctor." Doggett also hints that the recipient of the letter might be able to secure for him some sort of compensation from the British Government.

13. According to the 1776 census, Middleborough's white population was 4,119. Evarts B. Greene and Virginia D. Harrington, *American Population Before the Federal Census of 1790* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932), 34.

14. Weston, *Middleboro*, 153.

15. Simeon Doggett, Jr. to Thomas Doggett, June 19, 1793, Simeon Doggett Papers, NEHGS.

Chapter 3

BARS OF IRON AND BUSHELS OF CORN: PORTRAIT OF A LOCAL ECONOMY

The system of exchange documented in Simeon Doggett's account book seems typical of an eighteenth-century New England agricultural community. Very little cash changed hands in Middleborough; instead, goods and services were offered as payment for Doggett's joinery and carpentry. In addition, the accounts reveal Doggett's involvement in other areas of exchange: almost twenty percent of the debits he recorded were for goods or services unrelated to his trade. Doggett and his clients participated in face-to-face exchanges, were less interested in maximizing profits than in acquiring needed goods, and were primarily concerned with the welfare of their families.¹ Yet the existence of a thriving ironworks in Middleborough colored the local economy by providing a local unit of exchange, employing large numbers of people at non-agricultural trades, and involving the town in the larger market economy. While Doggett was not directly involved in iron production, the presence of an ironworks had a profound effect on his business, as it did on the entire economic structure of Middleborough.

Judge Peter Oliver was the dominant figure behind the success of the iron industry in Middleborough. With a Boston upbringing, Harvard education, and the position of Chief Justice of Massachusetts, Oliver stood apart from, and above, the rest of the local population. He first became interested in Middleborough in 1737 when the Nemasket Indians petitioned the General Court for permission to sell their lands at Muttock, an Indian reservation located on the Nemasket River in Middleborough.² In 1744, Oliver purchased three hundred acres at Muttock and moved his family there from Boston. Recognizing the potential for large-scale iron production, Oliver enlarged the existing dam and erected a blast furnace, slitting mill, and forge. Although his was not the first blast furnace in

Middleborough, the slitting mill was one of only two in the Colonies.³ By 1756 or earlier, the furnace was in operation, supplying ammunition to the British for use in the French and Indian War.⁴

Middleborough, as well as other towns throughout Plymouth and Bristol Counties, was equipped with the natural resources for iron production. Numerous bogs and ponds throughout the region supplied an abundance of bog iron and iron ore, the raw materials smelted in blast furnaces. Middleborough's Assawampsett Pond alone yielded six hundred tons of iron ore a year.⁵ In addition, plentiful forests provided the fuel for firing the furnaces. Most important, the numerous streams and rivers, like the Nemasket, supplied the water power which generated blasts of air for the furnace and powered the trip hammers of the forges.

As correspondence between Peter Oliver and the British Government reveals, the Oliver ironworks brought Middleborough's economy into the international arena. His contracts to supply the Crown with cannon, mortar, howitzers, shot and shell brought large profits for himself as well as a great many jobs for both skilled and unskilled laborers.⁶ Ironically, Oliver was still supplying cannon and ammunition to British troops at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, even though Middleborough was predominantly a town of patriots opposed to British rule. After continuous threats prompted by the Oliver's Loyalist sympathies forced them to flee the country in 1776, the ironworks continued in operation under new direction. Around 1798, the works were purchased by Doggett's son-in-law Thomas Weston and his deceased son's former partner Abiel Washburn. Weston and Washburn operated a "large and successful business" which involved the operation of a sawmill, forge, slitting mill, grist mill, hammer and finishing shop, large blacksmith's shop, shovel factory, and several coal and iron houses.⁷

The pervasiveness of iron in the lives of Middleborough residents is well illustrated by its importance as a commodity in Doggett's own life. At the time of his death in 1788, Thomas Doggett willed to his son Simeon "all my rights to Iron ore in Assawamscott Pond and elsewhere in Middleboro."⁸ As the ore in Assawampsett Pond was of great importance to the production of iron in Middleborough, Doggett's rights were a great financial asset. Although there is no evidence linking Doggett's iron ore

rights to his frequent selling of bar iron, it is probable that a direct connection exists. Doggett may have exchanged his raw iron ore for refined bar iron, or he may have been able to save himself the labor of digging the ore by leasing his rights to the ore directly to the proprietor of the ironworks. The profitability of owning rights in Assawampsett Pond is clearly illustrated by the town of Middleborough's own use of iron ore to raise funds. In 1747, the town meeting voted to elect a committee to dig and sell fifty tons of iron ore from Assawampsett Pond "to the best advantage they can...the product thereof to be paid into the Town."⁹ The town of Middleborough literally profited from its iron resources as early as the 1740s.

Doggett's sales of bar iron were an important source of income; his account book indicates that iron sales were the third most profitable aspect of his business, after carpentry and furnituremaking (see table 3.1). The profitability of iron over agricultural labor, tool making, and repair work reveals the extent to which Doggett's working life differed from that of other rural woodworking artisans whose careers have been analyzed.¹⁰ Doggett recorded twenty-five debit transactions between 1765 and 1788, in which he sold iron to twelve different men. The most common transaction was the sale of a "hundred of refined iron," probably referring to a hundredweight. The standard price for a "hundred" remained £1.6.8 during the 1760s and 1770s, with the value depreciating to £1.4.0 around 1788. A large number of the iron transactions involved blacksmiths. For instance, Elias Miller, who was part-owner of a forge, purchased two hundreds of iron in November, 1767, and two years later purchased a piece of refined iron weighing twenty-five pounds.¹¹ Doggett's most active iron client was blacksmith Jacob Tillson, who purchased several hundreds of refined iron and a hundred of rods.¹²

Doggett's account book does not contain as many references to credits for iron as it does debits, which indicates that he was not simply selling surplus amounts received as remuneration. He posted nine iron transactions between 1767 and 1780, received as payment from six individuals. Isaac Cushman gave Doggett 204 pounds of blume iron in 1772 as partial payment for the house Doggett and his apprentices built him in 1769. Bartlett Murdock, who operated the Charlotte Furnace in Plympton, supplied two tons of iron hollow ware worth £21.6.8 as part of the payment towards Doggett's work on

the South Precinct Meeting House in 1774. The Charlotte Furnace, which Murdock began in 1760, specialized in the production of iron hollow ware such as pots, kettles, cauldrons, and andirons.¹³ Other clients paid Doggett in hundreds of refined iron, possibly the same iron that he was selling to local blacksmiths.

If iron was Doggett's most profitable business after joinery and carpentry, his most active one was the exchange of labor. Labor, mostly agricultural, was the most common form of payment among Doggett's clients and comprised twenty-four percent of his credit income (see table 3.2). The timing of labor exchanges in Doggett's account book reveals less about the seasonal rhythms of an agricultural community than it does about the conflicting schedules of house carpentry and harvesting. Doggett's busiest time of the year was invariably late summer through the end of the fall. August and September, his busiest months, coincided with the harvest time for wheat, rye, peas, and corn, crops he most likely grew on his farm. Instead of cutting back on his carpentry jobs during harvest, however, Doggett took advantage of the labor of clients indebted to him. The greatest value of credits received as labor occurred during the month of September. By contrast, Doggett offered his own (or his sons' or apprentices') labor most often during May, which was a slow month for carpentry and joinery, but a busy time for planting. Doggett was clearly trying to strike a balance between fulfilling his own business obligations and meeting the needs of an agricultural community. The large number of debits posted for agricultural labor in November, one of his most hectic months, indicates that Doggett sometimes had to stretch himself thin in order to attend to his own business priorities as well as provide assistance for his neighbors.

Many aspects of Doggett's exchanges with his clients are typical of an artisan working in an agricultural community. The exchange of sons' labor, the leasing of animals, and the selling of surplus farm products are all evident in his account book. The labor of his three sons -- Thomas, Elkanah, and Simeon -- was a necessity for Doggett; it allowed him to maintain a good-sized farm while pursuing his joinery and house carpentry. In fact, the majority of debits for non-carpentry work in his account book indicate his sons' rather than his own labor. When his sons reached the age of about eight, their labor

became an exchangeable commodity. In April 1773, for instance, Doggett debited the account of his neighbor Joshua Reed for the labor of his two younger sons. Elkanah, age eleven, spent two days driving Doggett's oxen, while Simeon, age eight, spent two days "riding hors(e) to plow for weeding." Doggett also recorded "the little boys helping hilling."¹⁴ While Doggett "leased" his sons' labor, he also accepted the labor of his clients' sons as payment for his work. Doggett credited Isaac Cushman in 1780 for "his boy and oxen harrowing." Jabez Doggett, Simeon's brother, had credits posted to his account for his sons' time spent weeding, hilling, threshing, and harvesting on Doggett's farm.

A regular source of income for Doggett was the leasing of his oxen and horses. Numerous entries reveal that Doggett's team of oxen were used by neighbors Joshua, John and William Reed, Ebenezer Blackman, and Ichabod Morton for plowing land, and by other clients for hauling goods to towns such as Bridgewater or Taunton. Before Doggett acquired his own oxen around 1773, he relied heavily on Isaac Cushman, who owned four oxen. Doggett's horse was leased regularly to his clients for trips to other towns. His horse made the journey to Dartmouth, Bridgewater, Taunton, Rochester, and Freetown, among other locations. The charge for leasing the horse was based on the distance travelled.

Exchanges of surplus farm products also identify Doggett's economic relationships as typical of a pre-industrial agricultural community. The region where his farm was located was known for its "remarkable productiveness of grain," which resulted in large quantities of corn, rye, and flax.¹⁵ That Doggett grew these three crops is evidenced by his sale of large amounts of corn and rye, and the credits posted in his account book for swingling flax. Other entries provide further illustration of relationships within a farming community. Client Abner Bourne, for instance, was debited nine shillings in 1773 for "damage his hogs did me in my corn." The destruction caused by Bourne's hogs must have been extensive, for the amount charged him was equivalent to more than two and a half days work by a skilled artisan.

Doggett began selling large quantities of corn, wheat, and rye after the Revolution, possibly to supplement his ailing woodworking business. His confinement from 1775 to 1776 forced him to suspend

house carpentry and allowed time to concentrate on cultivation, while the decline of business following his political ostracism probably motivated Doggett to shift his focus towards agricultural pursuits. The town of Middleborough governed the exchanges of agricultural products by setting standard prices. Bushels of "Good Indian Corn" were set at 3s 4d a bushel, "Good Merchantable Wheat" at 6s 4d, and "Good Merchantable Rye" at 4s 2d.¹⁶ Slight variations in Doggett's prices probably indicate that the quality of his produce varied with each harvest. Artisans made up a large portion of the clients who regularly purchased grain from Doggett. For instance, local blacksmith Lemuel Bourne regularly purchased bushels of corn and rye from Doggett between 1780 and 1787. Sales of grain were also made to artisans such as carpenter Caleb Morton and journeyman housewright Jabez Soule. Earning their living primarily through the practice of a trade, these men may have had insufficient land on which to grow their own staple crops.

While some of Doggett's clients were dependent upon exchanges of agricultural products, he was largely dependent on clients for supplies of wood needed to carry out his trade. After labor, wood was the most common form of payment recorded in Doggett's account book (see table 3.1). Entries for wood describe not only the varieties Doggett preferred to use in his building and joinery, but also reveal the extent to which his wood products were received in usable or unfinished form. White pine and maple dominate, while pitch pine and cherry exchanges are occasionally recorded as well. Doggett received his wood in various states, ranging from logs and planks to finished joists, clapboards and shingles. Numerous entries for maple boards and slitwork indicate that maple was Doggett's preferred wood for joinery.

Doggett's exchanges with his clients provide a summary of a local economy which continued its agricultural focus while being dramatically altered by the commodification of iron. Middleborough artisans and merchants were profoundly affected by iron as both a medium of exchange and an introduction into international markets. Common laborers found a regular source of employment in the ironworks, which nearly resembled a modern factory.¹⁷ Yet while the modernizing influence of an

ironworks altered some aspects of the Middleborough economy, it did not change the general nature of face-to-face barter exchange. Doggett's account book makes clear that the pre-modern character of Middleborough remained intact despite changes wrought by the iron industry.

Notes to Chapter 3

1. For the characteristics of local exchange in northern agricultural communities, see James Henretta, "Families and Farms: *Mentalité* in Pre-Industrial America," *William and Mary Quarterly* 35 (January 1978): 14-32.
2. Thomas Weston, *History of the Town of Middleboro, Massachusetts* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1906), 359-360.
3. Peter Bennett and Francis Miller erected the Fall Brook Furnace around 1735; Weston, *Middleboro*, 305. The first slitting mill in the Colonies was located in Milton. According to tradition, Peter Oliver sent a spy to Milton to learn the secret of how to construct a slitting mill. *Ibid.*, 361-362.
4. *Ibid.*, 360-361.
5. Fredrika A. Burrows, *Cannonballs & Cranberries* (Taunton, Mass.: William S. Sullwold, 1976), 31.
6. Weston, *Middleboro*, 360-361.
7. *Ibid.*, 378.
8. Will of Thomas Doggett, proved October 6, 1788, Plymouth County Probate Records, 30: 456. Assawampsett Pond, the largest body of fresh water in Massachusetts, was within two miles of Doggett's farm in what is now Lakeville.
9. Weston, *Middleboro*, 574.
10. As discussed in the Introduction, these other woodworking artisans include the Dominys of East Hampton, Long Island; Timothy Loomis of Windsor, Connecticut; John Dunlap of Bedford and Goffstown, New Hampshire; and Samuel Wing of Sandwich, Massachusetts.
11. Weston, *Middleboro*, 288. Elias Miller built a forge by the Nemasket River with Silas Wood and others around 1762.

Notes to Chapter 3 (continued)

12. Jacob Tillson's son Sylvanus Tillson owned a smith shop, which was recorded in the 1798 Direct Tax Census.

13. Henry S. Griffith, *History of Carver, Massachusetts* (New Bedford: E. Anthony & Sons, 1913), 62, 197-199.

14. Simeon Doggett Account Book, 1762-1792, Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut.

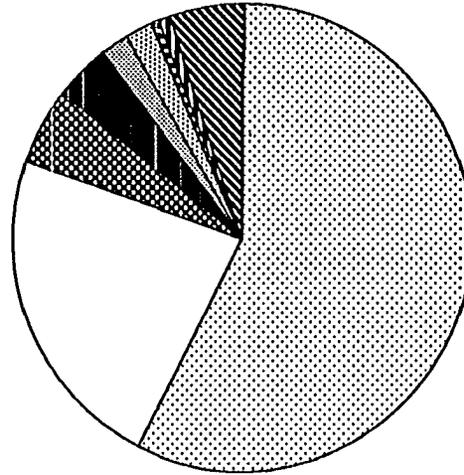
15. Duane Hamilton Hurd, *History of Plymouth County, Massachusetts* (Philadelphia: J.W. Lewis, 1884), 319.

16. Weston, *Middleboro*, 222.

17. Edwin J. Perkins, *The Economy of Colonial America* (2nd ed; New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 130. Perkins claims that colonial ironworks were a "legitimate precursor of the nineteenth-century industrial factory," because they required a large initial investment, employed large numbers of people, required labor discipline, and had a small managerial class.

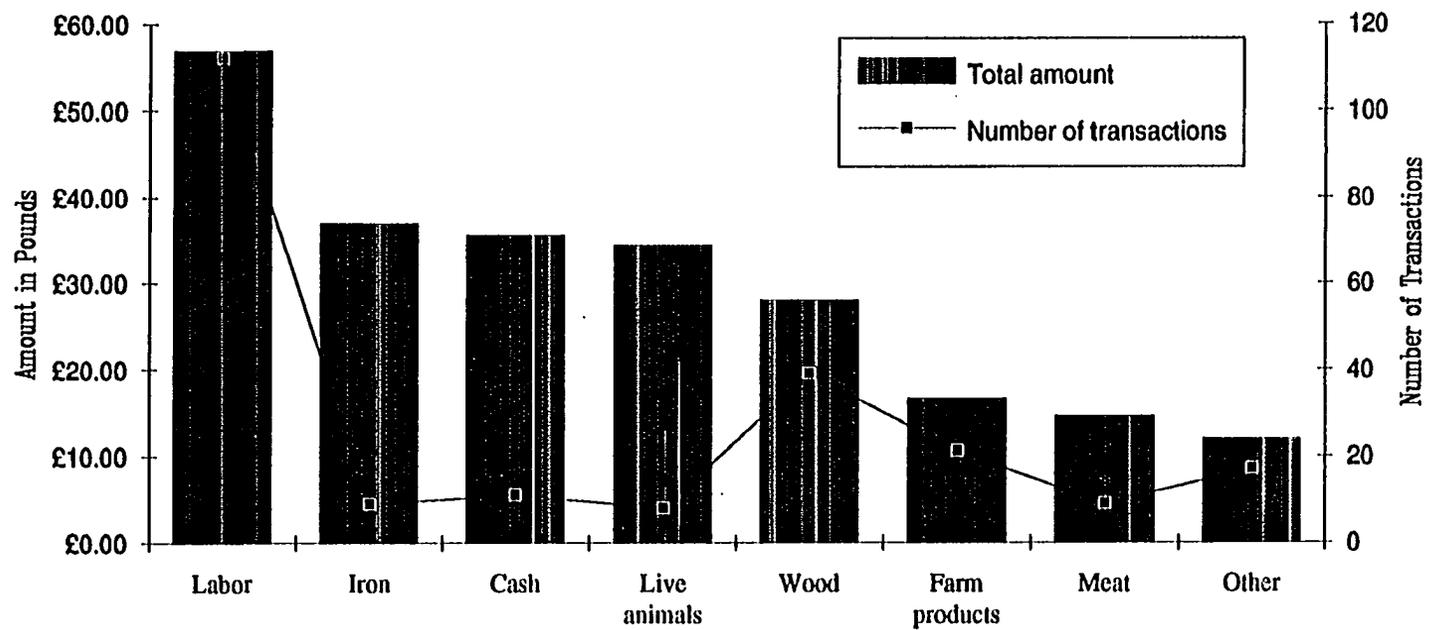
Table 3.1

DISTRIBUTION OF DOGGETT'S REVENUES
1762-1792



 Carpentry 57.6%	 Furnituremaking 22.9%	 Sales of iron 5.2%	 Sales of grain & other farm products 3.9%	 Tools, making & repairing 2.0%
 Agricultural labor 1.7%	 Furniture repair 0.7%	 Painting 0.7%	 Other 5.3%	

Table 3.2
FORM AND VOLUME OF PAYMENTS
RECORDED IN DOGGETT'S ACCOUNT BOOK



Chapter 4

DOGGETT'S JOINERY AND CARPENTRY

Although only a small number of objects associated with the career of Simeon Doggett have survived, these artifacts, considered along with his account book and his booklet of paint recipes and furniture measurements, provide important insights into Doggett's career as a joiner and housewright. Doggett's account book is particularly descriptive of his joinery business: it reveals the types of objects in his repertoire, the frequency with which he produced each form, the fluctuation of his prices, and the repeated sales of specific groupings of objects. His recipe book and furniture measurements provide a more focused view of his products and suggest how Doggett learned and practiced certain aspects of his trade. Since the furniture of eighteenth-century Middleborough has not been previously examined, surviving Doggett and/or Middleborough objects not only illustrate what he recorded in the account book, but also begin to suggest the stylistic tendencies of Plymouth County furniture makers.

While Doggett's woodworking business emphasized house carpentry, he also produced a considerable amount of furniture. Doggett recorded sales of approximately four hundred objects during the period of time he kept his account book, and undoubtedly made additional unrecorded furniture.¹ He appears to have specialized in chairmaking, for fully sixty percent of his furniture production consisted of chairs. The next largest category was tables (10%), followed by case pieces (8%), bedsteads (8%), and coffins (6%). The remaining 8% consisted of miscellaneous objects such as bread troughs and bottle cases (see table 4.1). Furniture sales remained stable throughout the year. Predictably, winter was the busiest season, but summer, spring and fall also witnessed strong sales. Twenty-nine percent of Doggett's furniture sold during the winter months, and the remainder of his sales were divided nearly evenly

between the three other seasons. The objects Doggett was called upon to make were typical products of a rural craftsman. He rarely made desks and clock cases and may have never used mahogany; instead, he devoted a good portion of his time to making affordable chairs and tables out of local woods. His large production of coffins provides evidence of the practical, sometimes unglamorous nature of his joinery business.

Table 4.1 summarizes the furniture forms Doggett made, their frequency, and the prices he charged. Doggett's nomenclature is not always easily interpreted and challenges some of the assumptions of decorative arts scholars. His descriptions of chairs, for instance, are sometimes ambiguous. Unspecified chairs, "common" chairs, and "plain" chairs are most likely turned slat-backs. The adjective "plain" or "common," which invariably occurs in entries following the description of another type of chair, is simply used to distinguish these chairs from their more elaborate relatives. Since Doggett's "fourback" chairs cost a shilling more than his unspecified chairs, it is likely that these common chairs had three slats.

Aside from "great" chairs, which were probably more substantial slat-backs with arms, Doggett made two additional varieties of chairs: "bannister back" chairs and "caneback" chairs. Doggett's bannister backs probably resembled the Middleborough chair with yoke crest, turned stiles and molded bannisters in figure 4.1. Bannister backs, which Doggett produced between 1768 and 1782, appear to have been the expensive option until he began making "caneback" chairs around 1780. "Cane back" chairs appear in Plymouth County inventories by 1760, and are usually valued between four and six shillings per chair. They occur primarily in the affluent coastal towns such as Plymouth and Scituate.² Given their relatively high value and prominent placement within the inventories, it seems unlikely that these canebacks refer to the cane chairs of the early eighteenth century. "Crow foot" chairs and "open back" chairs appear in the probate inventories around the same time as canebacks, and also receive values of four to six shillings.³ This parallel suggests that Plymouth County "cane back" chairs may simply be a variety of Chippendale chair, so-named because of a perceived cane-like aspect to the pierced back.

The chair in figure 4.2, supposedly made by Doggett as a wedding gift for his daughter, provides further evidence that he was making Chippendale-style chairs.

Similar ambiguities emerge with Doggett's terminology for tables and case pieces. His dimensions for a square table, twenty-five by eighteen inches, suggest that his names for objects were not necessarily accurately descriptive (appendix 1). While the terms for "round," "square," and "wing" tables seem self-evident, "tea" tables and "tea table stands" are not quite as obvious. The eight or nine shillings Doggett charged for tea tables indicates that they were smaller or less elaborate than his round, square, or wing tables. His dimensions for a tea table are eighteen by fourteen inches, which is hardly a large enough surface on which to serve tea, and is closer in proportion to what we would call a candlestand today.⁴ Doggett's tea table stand, valued at two to three times his tea table, may have been a round table with a tilting top and tripod base. Another ambiguous term Doggett uses is "case of drawers," which could refer to a high case of drawers, a chest-on-chest, or a case of drawers on stand. Given the popularity of this form among Doggett's customers, the frequency with which it appears in Plymouth County inventories, and the large number of surviving high cases from southern New England, the term probably refers to a flat top high case of drawers.⁵

Doggett's clients rarely purchased one piece of furniture at a time; instead, they bought groups of objects which were used together within the home. The clustering of certain types of furniture provides insights into the domestic environments of Doggett's clients and suggests certain values held by the Middleborough community. Doggett made several transactions of large amounts of furniture which can be documented as wedding gifts for daughters, and other similar purchases were probably related to marriages as well. Captain Abner Bourne, a regular client of Doggett's, purchased six plain chairs, four caneback chairs, a bread trough, bread peel, bedstead, trimming for a case of drawers, wing table, tea table stand, and colored bedstead on the occasion of his daughter Mary's marriage to Benjamin Thomson in 1788.⁶ Six years earlier, Bourne had made a purchase of a case of drawers, wing table, tea table stand, six caneback chairs, and a bedstead, presumably for another daughter's marriage. The similarities

between the two purchases indicate that certain forms were deemed suitable for setting up a new house. Abner Bourne's will, probated in 1806, reveals the importance of supplying new wives with appropriate material goods: he arranged to give his unmarried daughter Elizabeth "suitable Furniture & materials for housekeeping which shall be equal in goodness & value to what either of my two oldest daughters have heretofore received of me, & to be delivered to her at her marriage day..."⁷

When Silas Wood's daughter Priscilla married Isaiah Washburn in 1775, Wood purchased from Doggett a similar group of objects. He bought Priscilla a case of drawers, small table, bedstead, six chairs, a square table, and a bread trough. John Morton bought his daughter Hannah a case of drawers, square table, six bannister back chairs, three plain chairs, one great chair, and a kneading trough when she married Abial Edson of Bridgewater in 1775. Each of these wedding gifts contains the same core of objects: a case of drawers, one or two tables, a set of chairs, a trough, and usually a bedstead. The ritual giving of these specific objects reveals what Middleborough people considered necessary household items, and also reveals certain assumptions about a young woman's role within her marriage. Not all fathers were able to give equally, as slight variations of these gifts show. Ebenezer Cobb's purchase of a low case of drawers made of pine, six plain chairs, a bedstead, a white chair, and a square table suggests that he was unable, or perhaps unwilling, to spend as much on a wedding gift as Isaac Cushman, who purchased a case of drawers with trimming, a tea table, wing table, six plain chairs, six caneback chairs, a colored bedstead, and a bread trough.

Family tradition suggests that Doggett provided wedding furniture for his own daughter Abigail, who married Thomas Weston in 1798. The Chippendale side chair in figure 4.2 is still owned by a direct descendent of Simeon and Abigail Doggett. In 1913, the chair was owned by Doggett's great-grandson Thomas Weston, the author of Middleborough's town history. Weston's personal inventory of his house, recorded that year, includes the entry, "1 Chippendale (sic) chair made by my great grandfather Dogett (sic) and given to my grandmother upon her marriage in 1794."⁸ The inventory mentions two other chairs by Doggett: "1 Chippendale chair rush bottom made by my great grandfather Dogett and for many

years in his house from my Cousin Hatty Leonard," and "1 black cane seat Chippendale chair made by my great grandfather." The family believes that the chair in figure 4.2 is the one referred to as the wedding gift to Abigail Doggett. A conflicting oral history has been associated with the same chair. Descendents have long referred to this chair as one of a set of applewood chairs that Doggett made for each of his children while he was confined to his farm during the revolution. Given the style of the chair, and the fact that it is made of cherry, not apple, the oral history seems less plausible than the written one. Doggett did not record making any Chippendale ("caneback") chairs until 1780, and given his distance from urban centers, it is more likely that he produced this chair during the 1790s than during the 1770s.

The design of the chair is related to plate 9 of Robert Manwaring's *The Cabinet and Chair-Maker's Real Friend and Companion* (London, 1765), but is probably based on an American chair inspired by Manwaring, rather than on the English printed design. While this splat pattern appears in New York, Philadelphia, and north shore Massachusetts chairs, it was most popular in Rhode Island. Chairs with this splat design, often with a cross-hatched shell at the center of the crest rail and stop-fluted legs, have been attributed to Newport (figure 4.3).⁹ A set of chairs attributed to Grindal or Joseph Rawson Sr. of Providence are similar in conception to the Doggett chair.¹⁰ The Doggett and Rawson chairs are simplified versions of urban prototypes: both have broad, solid proportions, unadorned back splats, no carving in the center of the crest rail, and no molding or fluting on the straight legs. One of the Rawson chairs has a history which dates it to 1801, three years after Doggett presumably made his chair.¹¹

Two other chairs which descended in the Doggett/Weston family could possibly have been made by Simeon Doggett. The roundabout chair in figure 4.4 is said to have been owned by Thomas Weston I (1770-1834), Doggett's son-in-law.¹² The turnings of the chair, which are similar in conception to the turnings of the balusters on the 1769 Oliver House stairway (figure 4.5), suggest that the chair was made for someone in the generation preceding Thomas Weston. It may have belonged to Thomas' father Edmund Weston, or could have been Doggett's own chair, which descended to his daughter and son-in-

law upon his death. The third chair with a Doggett history is the "fourback" chair in figure 4.6.¹³ The "ball-reel-collar" finials and heavily scribed lines on the posts relate to earlier traditions of turned chairs in the Middleborough area,¹⁴ while the tightly compressed turnings are unusual for the area. Despite the number of chairs which have been linked to Doggett, no case pieces can be attributed to him.

Doggett's measurements for "sundry sorts of shoup work" (appendix 1) fill in some of the gaps created by the lack of surviving objects.¹⁵ Although attached to the recipe book written by Shubael Tinkham in 1768, they are clearly in Doggett's hand. The six items listed, a high case of drawers, desk, round table, square table, bedstead, and tea table, were the basic joined objects in Doggett's repertoire when he began his business in the 1760s. As Doggett's career progressed, he experimented with variations, such as wing tables, tea table stands, and clock cases. Doggett did not write down any guidelines for his turned chairs, which were probably laid out with the use of a strike pole.¹⁶ The furniture measurements are not complete, but apparently provided all the information Doggett needed to fully conceive these objects. His dimensions for a high case of drawers and a desk, for instance, do not include a dimension for case depth. Presumably, Doggett's apprenticeship included instruction in how to proportion furniture according to the classical orders, which allowed him to conceive an object from a few rudimentary measurements.

Few conclusions can be drawn from Doggett's measurements, but they do provide a general picture of his furniture (figure 4.7). Doggett's high case of drawers is unusually narrow, which would seem to lend it a strong vertical thrust.¹⁷ His high cases may have resembled the high case of drawers in figure 4.8, made in Marshfield for Mary Little around 1770. The Little case of drawers is also relatively narrow (37 3/4"), but the large drawers of the upper case, with little graduation and no side-by-side drawers, give an emphasis to breadth over height. Rhode Island area high chests tend to have narrow proportions, especially when compared with their Massachusetts counterparts. A survey of dimensions of Boston area and Newport area high chests in four museums shows that the Rhode Island chests averaged 38.6" wide, while the Massachusetts chests averaged 41".¹⁸ Given Doggett's proximity to Rhode Island,

and the Rhode Island characteristics of the chair attributed to him, it is tempting to hypothesize that his high cases and possibly other joined objects displayed characteristics of Rhode Island work.

Doggett's measurements for a desk reveal that he made full-size desks rather than desks on frames. Again, his case was relatively narrow but of average height. The dimensions do not include guidelines for the desk interior, which Doggett probably laid out according to the depth of the "head," or uppermost section. Doggett also did not record measurements for feet; presumably, he had standard patterns for feet which were easily modified to suit a particular object. The "roun table" Doggett provided his clients was a standard two-and-a-half-foot diameter table, probably with two leaves (figure 4.7).¹⁹ Although known today as drop-leaf tables, Plymouth County inventories establish that these tables were simply referred to by their shape ("round" or "square"), or occasionally by the joint between the top and the leaves ("rule joint").²⁰ The inconsistencies in Doggett's guidelines for furniture suggest that he was not yet fully fluent in making joined objects. His round table, for instance, includes a dimension for the frame and the leg, while his square and tea tables include no frame or leg measurements and only specify the "leaf running over," or the overhang of the tabletop. On the other hand, the measurements for a bed show the precision with which Doggett laid out his parts for joining: his bed was six feet long and four feet wide "between jounts" and the legs were nineteen inches "to the uper side of the mortes." Doggett's measurements are invaluable not only for the way they illustrate some of the objects in his account book, but also because they document the way he mentally conceived his furniture. As joinery was traditionally taught through instruction in proportion, demonstration, and the use of pre-cut patterns, a written record describing how to lay out furniture is a rare document.

Judging from his account book, Doggett's work as a housewright was the most lucrative and time-consuming aspect of his career. He completed a dozen major building projects during his career and did innumerable small carpentry jobs. As with his furniture, only scattered evidence of Doggett's housewright activity remains: two extant houses, photographs of buildings no longer standing, period

descriptions of local dwellings, and a recipe book for paint colors. One of the difficulties in analyzing Doggett's career as a housewright is the lack of information regarding his role in each project. His account book is mostly silent on this question, and very little external evidence remains describing whether Doggett worked primarily as a master builder or member of a large crew, and whether he was a generalist or might have specialized in interior joinery or erecting house frames.

One of the high points of Doggett's building career was undoubtedly his work on the Dr. Peter Oliver house (figure 4.9) from 1767 through 1769. The house, which still stands, is an elegant Georgian double-pile structure, with much original detail still intact. The history of its building has long been obscured by local legend. According to Weston's *History of Middleboro*, it was built in 1762 by Judge Peter Oliver for his son.²¹ Recent owners of the house uncovered evidence that the house was actually completed seven years later: they found a penny dated 1769 under the sill of the front door, the date 1769 scratched in the cement of the foundations of one chimney, and the same date scrawled on the wall in an upstairs closet.²² Peter Oliver, Jr.'s diary explains the circumstances of the building of the house. It was actually begun in 1767 by Daniel Oliver, Peter's older brother. Daniel was ill when he began the house: according to his brother, the physician, he had been "in a languishing way three years - spit blood at times."²³ After Daniel died in 1768 during a voyage to the Canary Islands for his health, Peter took over his brother's house. He recorded in his diary: "I took my Brother's House which he had erected previous to his Departure -- employed some People at it in the Winter of 1768 & 1769 -- & engaged all sorts of workmen upon it from April 1769 to Oct^r following, when I made it tenable." There is no evidence that Judge Oliver, Peter's father, was involved in the building or financing of the house.

Doggett's entries in his account book correspond closely to the dates in Oliver's diary and indicate that he was involved in almost every stage of the project. He began working for Daniel Oliver in October 1767 and worked until December of the same year. While interior joinery may not have begun by this point, the frame of the house was probably complete: Doggett recorded making twenty-seven window frames and 372 squares of sashes. He resumed working on the house in July 1768 under the

employ of Peter Oliver and worked straight through until early December. In April 1769 work recommenced, and Doggett continued working for Peter Oliver until July 1769. It appears that some details remained unfinished until the following year, for Doggett charged Oliver for "molding for his stairs" in June, 1770. The fact that Doggett did not participate in the final three months of building (August through October) may indicate that he was uninvolved in the final details of the interior woodwork. More likely, carpentry ceased in July, and activities such as wallpapering and furnishing the house occupied Oliver's "workmen" through October.

It is unlikely that Doggett served as the master builder on the Oliver House project. He was only twenty-nine years old when he began working for Daniel Oliver in 1767, and had completed only one other building project by that time: a one-story, 864-square-foot house for his neighbor Lemuel Ransome.²⁴ As a young builder among a team of experienced "workmen," Doggett undoubtedly absorbed new ideas during his tenure at the Oliver House. Peter Oliver, Jr. may have brought skilled carpenters from Boston to work on his house; his courtship of Sally Hutchinson, Governor Thomas Hutchinson's daughter, had begun in 1765 and brought him to Boston on a regular basis, as did his friendship with his Harvard classmate Elisha Hutchinson, Sally's brother. Certainly Peter's father had spared no pains securing the finest workers and materials for his own Middleborough house, Oliver Hall, built in the 1740s. The frame for Oliver Hall was supposedly shipped from England, and "the interior decorations, carvings, wainscotting, and hangings [were] made expressly for it in London."²⁵ Although Peter Oliver, Jr.'s house was clearly not as extravagant as this, its design and workmanship were far more advanced than any other house in Middleborough at the time. Undoubtedly, Doggett's involvement in this project was one of the most important influences shaping his career.

Besides the Oliver House, the other extant Doggett building is the Silas Wood house (figure 4.10), built between July and September of 1771. In this case, Doggett was most likely the master builder. Not unlike the cape he built for Lemuel Ransome in 1766, the Wood house is a central chimney dwelling with a symmetrical facade. Instead of a steeply pitched roof, however, the Wood house has a

gambrel roof, affording more space in the second floor rooms. The appendage on the west end of the house appears to be part of the original structure, and may have been the location Silas Wood's store.²⁶ The interior ornamentation of the Wood house is kept to a minimum; only the fireplace wall in each of the main rooms received paneling, and the balusters of the stairway are unornamented. Unlike the Oliver House, a symmetrical square with two rooms flanking each side of a full-length central hallway, the Silas Wood house has a hall-parlor plan with a long kitchen at the back. The simple paneling surrounding the fireplaces in the Wood house (figure 4.11) was not the height of fashion for late eighteenth-century Plymouth County, but represented a conservative approach to interior finishing.

The contrast between the Peter Oliver and Silas Wood houses provides an excellent example of the range of projects Doggett was involved in during his career. The Peter Oliver house, at 1600 square feet, was one of the largest, and certainly one of the most formal houses Doggett worked on. As a two-story dwelling, it belonged to a tiny minority of such houses in Middleborough. According to a study based on the 1798 Federal Direct Tax Census, ninety percent of Middleborough's six hundred houses were one story.²⁷ If the Oliver house represents the exception in Middleborough housing, the Silas Wood house embodies the most popular dwelling form in Middleborough. In building at least three two-story houses during his career, Doggett was probably unusual for an eighteenth-century Middleborough housewright. Coincidentally, all three of these two-story houses were built for Middleborough physicians: Drs. Peter Oliver, Joseph Clark, and Thomas Sturtevant.²⁸ Most of Doggett's clients, however, were farmers, not physicians, and their houses reflected their more humble profession.

The size, appearance, and value of the houses Doggett's clients occupied can be gleaned from an analysis of the 1798 Federal Direct Tax Census, which included description and valuation of all private dwellings. Thirty-four of Doggett's clients had their houses assessed in this census. If their houses can be considered representative of Doggett's clientele, he was serving people who lived in one-story frame houses averaging 1,035 square feet, 15 windows, and a value of \$315. Doggett's own house provides an interesting contrast to the dwellings of his clients: it was a one-story, 1,456-square-foot dwelling with 23

windows and an estimated value of \$500. The above-average size of Doggett's house can be partially explained by the fact that an addition had been built to accommodate his son Thomas and daughter-in-law Phoebe Dean, who had married in 1788. Nevertheless, Doggett's house received the fifth highest valuation in the town of Middleborough, an amount equal to that of the Peter Oliver House, then occupied by his son-in-law Thomas Weston.²⁹

A photograph of the Doggett house (figure 4.12), taken before it was demolished in 1925, shows a rambling cape with symmetrical facade, steeply pitched roof, and overhanging eaves on the gable end.³⁰ The house was apparently doubled in size when the addition was added in 1788; the facade of the house is punctuated by two symmetrically placed doors balanced by a pair of windows on either side. The three dormer windows, echoing the three bays of windows in the first story, may have been built at the time of the addition. Visible in the photograph is an extension at the rear of the house with a separate entry, which must have been the location of Doggett's 20' x 16' joiner's shop.³¹ The size and value of Doggett's house correspond more closely with houses of physicians and lawyers than with artisans. The fact that he was a woodworker does not necessarily explain the relative opulence of Doggett's home. Middleborough joiner Abraham Thomas, whose estate was also valued in 1798, had a joiner's shop of similar dimensions to Doggett's (15' x 20'), but his house was valued at \$200 and his forty-eight-acre farm at \$480. Doggett's house, at \$500, was worth more than twice Thomas', as was his eighty-seven-acre farm. The large estate, both real and personal, which Doggett had acquired by the age of sixty attests to the success of his woodworking and farming endeavors and again suggests his climb up the Middleborough social ladder.

As mentioned earlier, Doggett's account book provides little evidence of the specific tasks Doggett attended to on large carpentry projects. Most likely, he was a generalist, equally comfortable hewing a house frame, laying floors, or fashioning the panelling to surround a fireplace. One aspect of the trade which Doggett appears to have concentrated on is "coloring," or painting house interiors and

furniture. Numerous account book entries suggest that Doggett applied his painting skills to a variety of wooden surfaces: chairs, cases, chests, in addition to chimney pieces, doors, and walls of rooms. Several terms are used in the account book to describe the application of a finish to a wooden surface: "coloring" and "painting" are used most often, while "staining" and "shining" each appear only once. Doggett may have distinguished between coloring and painting: coloring was most often used to describe the finishing of furniture and small areas such as chimney pieces. Painting, however, was used more often in reference to large interior areas or objects subject to heavy wear. Doggett "painted" doors, entire rooms, hogsheads, and a chaise.

Doggett's painting activity is illuminated by his recipe book for paint colors and finishes, written for him by Shubael Tinkham in 1768 (appendix 2). The booklet, inscribed "The art of Painting & c.", contains twelve recipes with instructions for preparation. Included are instructions for blue, cedar, lead, wainscot, olive, and chocolate colors, as well as instructions for boiling oil, making varnish, and applying gold size. A few basic ingredients produced a large variety of colors. White lead, Spanish brown, lampblack, and yellow ochre are the most frequently used ingredients in Tinkham's recipes. In addition to these coloring agents, "boyled oyl" was essential in mixing the colors. All of the ingredients mentioned by Tinkham were readily available from area merchants. If certain pigments were not available in Middleborough, Doggett could make the trip to Plymouth or Taunton where merchants stocked a wide variety of paint ingredients. Merchant Nicholas Tillinghast of Taunton, for instance, located approximately ten miles from Doggett, stocked white lead, Spanish white, red lead, white vitriol, patent yellow, verdigris, Spanish brown, copperas, Prussian blue, vermilion, stone yellow, yellow ochre, Spanish white, blue vitriol, and lampblack.³²

The Tinkham recipe book provides insights into how information was learned and transferred among artisans in rural areas. Tinkham's use of language creates the impression of home recipes concocted by an isolated rural craftsman. Imprecise measurements and the encouragement of experimentation suggest that the process of making paints was subjective and inconsistent. An analysis

of printed instruction manuals suggests, however, that Tinkham was aware of such sources and derived some of his recipes directly from them. John Smith's *The Art of Painting in Oil* was first published in London in 1685 and was reprinted numerous times throughout the eighteenth century. Smith's recipes, primarily for house paints, are directed towards "such Gentlemen as live far remote from Cities and Towns where Painters usually reside."³³ Like Tinkham, Smith does not suggest measurements for paints, but only lists the pigments that are required for making a particular color. His most specific recommendations call for "a little" of one pigment. Smith's instructions for applying gold size are quite similar to Tinkham's: he gives the recipe for size, made out of yellow ochre and oil, and advises to "let it remain till it be sufficiently dry to gild upon, which you will know, by touching it with the end of your finger; for if your finger sticks a little to it, and yet the colour comes not off, then it is dry enough..." Smith recommends applying the gilding with "a bunch of cotton, or a hare's foot."³⁴ Shubael Tinkham's instructions are a more concise version of Smith's: "To make gould size, boi'd oyl & yallow oker. Lay it very smooth & when you put your hand to the worke & [it] feels stickee it will receive your gould. Use your gould with cotten as I have directed." Despite some similarities between Smith and Tinkham, none of their paint color recipes are exactly the same. For instance, Tinkham makes a "lead coullour" from lampblack and white lead, while Smith makes it from indigo and white lead. Both make a color from yellow ochre and white lead, but Tinkham calls it wainscot and Smith calls it buff. It is evident, however, that Tinkham's recipe book is a product of the transmission and dilution of information contained in printed books such as Smith's.

The art of painting was one of the skills that Doggett passed on to his apprentices. Entries in the account book establish that painting jobs were sometimes entrusted to apprentices. For instance, in February 1770, Doggett debited the account of Deacon Ichabod Morton for "Moses coloring a chimney." Very likely, Doggett's apprentices were taught to mix colors and varnishes as well as apply paint, and they may have started out their own careers with a recipe book much like their master's. The career of Joseph Churchill confirms that Doggett's apprentices received a useful education in paint mixing.

Churchill moved to Woodstock, Vermont around 1777, eight years after completing his apprenticeship with Doggett. According to *The History of Woodstock*, Churchill was in his day "the most celebrated house painter in these parts."³⁵ One of the Woodstock buildings Churchill painted was the store and dwelling of merchant Roger Williams, which he colored with "the durable red for which [he] was famous."³⁶ The paints which brought Churchill fame in Woodstock were undoubtedly a product of his training under Doggett, and indirectly under Tinkham. Although his renowned "durable red" may not have been a Doggett recipe, the skills in grinding, mixing, and applying colors were surely learned during his apprenticeship with Doggett.

Doggett's recipe book and furniture measurements are unusual sources which provide a window into his woodworking career and the way in which eighteenth-century rural craftsmen learned, practiced, and passed on the skills of their trade. Although few examples of Doggett furniture have come to light, his life has been illuminated by the unusual array of written sources relating to his joinery, house carpentry, and daily life. More furniture made by Doggett, which is bound to surface in the near future, will further unravel his career and will hopefully redress some of the misconceptions or biases which result from a heavy reliance on written sources. The evidence available to date suggests that Doggett was strongly rooted in vernacular traditions, but at the same time was absorbing urban influences from Boston, Newport, and indirectly, London. His cape-style houses and slat-back chairs derive from entrenched regional traditions, while his work on the Oliver house and his Newport/London-inspired chair indicate that cosmopolitan influences shaped Doggett's career as well. Even his furniture measurements, which suggest a reliance on established systems of proportion, and the recipe book, with its echoes of John Smith, suggest that ideas originating in urban centers infiltrated the life of the rural artisan in southeastern Massachusetts.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. Furniture paid for in cash most likely went unrecorded, as Charles Hummel points out in the case of the Dominys of East Hampton, Long Island. Charles F. Hummel, *With Hammer in Hand: The Dominy Craftsmen of East Hampton, New York* (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1968), 233. Doggett's production of furniture, which averages thirteen items a year, is comparable to the output of the Dominys, who made on the average of twelve a year.
2. Plymouth County Probate Records, 15:455, 16:234,
3. *Ibid.*, 24:456, 28:147, 28:402, 30:52, 30:150, 30:360
4. Recipe book for paints and finishes, with measurements for furniture, Simeon Doggett Papers, NEHGS.
5. The term "case of drawers" appears frequently in Plymouth County probate inventories, and is regularly valued higher than chests of drawers. See 15:544-545, 20:26-67, 20:516, and 30:266. Cases of drawers also appear a number of times in conjunction with "chamber tables." See 19:109 and 20:467. The term "high case of drawers" is occasionally used, but the value assigned is not greater than the average value of regular cases of drawers. See 9:7, 30:286-287, 31:276-277, 31:416-417, 33:262.
6. Information about marriages of Doggett's clients is taken from the *Middleborough Vital Records*. Mary Bourne 2nd and Mr. Benjamin Tomson were published August 10, 1788 and were married on August 31 by the Congregational minister Joseph Barker. Vol. II, pp. 111, 150.
7. Plymouth County Probate Records, 40:459
8. Thalia Weston Miller, correspondence with author, 30 November 1990. Thomas Weston's inventory is now in the possession of his grand-daughter Thalia Weston Miller. The line of descent runs as follows: Abigail Doggett (1775-1830), m. Thomas Weston I 1798; Thomas Weston II (1804-1888); Thomas Weston III (1834-1920); Thomas Weston IV (1875-1959); Thalia Weston Miller; William Miller.
9. John T. Kirk, *American Chairs, Queen Anne and Chippendale* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), no. 182; *John Brown House Loan Exhibition of Rhode Island Furniture* (Providence: Rhode Island Historical Society, 1965), 12-13; Ralph E. Carpenter, Jr., *The Arts and Crafts of Newport, Rhode Island* (Newport, RI: The Preservation Society of Newport County, 1954), 30; Robert Bishop, *Centuries and Styles of the American Chair* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1972), 160; David B. Warren, *Bayou Bend: American Furniture, Paintings, and Silver from the Bayou Bend Collection* (Houston: The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 1975), 45; Brock Jobe and Myrna Kaye, *New England Furniture: The Colonial Era* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1984), 409-410.
10. See Eleanore Bradford Monahan, "The Rawson family of cabinetmakers in Providence, Rhode Island," *Antiques* 118 (July 1980): 136; and Ralph E. Carpenter, Jr., "Catalog of the Rhode Island Historical Society Furniture Collection," *Rhode Island History* 14 (October 1955): 128-129. The similarities between the Rawson and Doggett chairs were suggested to me by Christopher Monkhouse, Curator of Decorative Arts at the Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.
11. Monahan, "Rawson family," 136.

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12. Thalia Weston Miller, correspondence with author, 30 November, 1990.
13. According to Eleanor Weston Danforth, a direct descendent of Doggett, the chair has always been referred to by the family as the Simeon Doggett chair. Eleanor Weston Danforth, correspondence with author, 14 November 1990.
14. Robert St. George, "A Plymouth Area Chairmaking Tradition of the Late Seventeenth-Century," *The Middleborough Antiquarian* 19 (December 1978): 6-7.
15. Recipe book, NEHGS.
16. Robert F. Trent discusses the conception of turned chairs and the turner's use of the strike pole in *Hearts and Crowns: Folk Chairs of the Connecticut Coast, 1720-1840* (New Haven: New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1977), 25-29.
17. Doggett's measurements may be misleading, especially when compared with catalog measurements, because they do not necessarily refer to the maximum height, width, or depth. His figure for width, for instance, is undoubtedly case width, rather than the outside width created by a cornice or midmolding.
18. Measurements for high chests were taken from catalogs of the collections of Historic Deerfield, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Yale University Art Gallery, and the Winterthur Museum. See Dean A. Fales, Jr., *The Furniture of Historic Deerfield* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1976), 210-213; Morrison H. Heckscher, *American Furniture in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Random House, 1985), 241-247; Gerald W.R. Ward, *American Case Furniture in the Mabel Brady Garvan and Other Collections at Yale University* (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1988), 249-272; Joseph Downs, *American Furniture: Queen Anne and Chippendale Periods* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1952), 190-191.
19. Dean Fales illustrates three "2 1/2 foot" tables, which are all drop-leaf tables with cabriole legs. Fales, *Historic Deerfield*, 120.
20. PCPR, examples of "round tables": 19:483, 20:224, 20:516, 38:158-159; examples of "rule joint" tables: 30:390-393, 37:215.
21. Weston, *History of Middleboro*, 373.
22. Peter Oliver, "Judge Oliver and the Small Oliver House in Middleborough," *Publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 38 (1950), 292.
23. Peter Oliver, Jr., diary, British Museum, microfilm at Massachusetts Historical Society.
24. Information regarding the size of houses Doggett built is taken from the 1798 Federal Direct Tax Census, NEHGS. Lemuel Ransome's house is pictured on page 153 of Weston's *History of Middleboro*, and appears to have ten windows, as described in the tax census.
25. Oliver, "Small Oliver House," 300.

Notes to Chapter 4

26. According to Paul Malcolm, examination of the foundation of the Silas Wood House has indicated that the two sections were built at the same time. Thomas Weston claims that Silas Wood kept a store "a little to the south" of his house. Weston, *History of Middleboro*, 273.

27. Michael Steinitz, "Rethinking Geographical Approaches to the Common House: The Evidence from Eighteenth-century Massachusetts," in Thomas Carter and Bernard L. Herman, eds., *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture III* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1989), 25.

28. Doggett built the 896-square-foot Clark house in 1785 and 1786, and the 1660-square-foot Sturtevant house in 1788. Both Dr. Joseph Clark and Dr. Thomas Sturtevant served the Doggett family; Elkanah Doggett's estate paid the two doctors for attending to his illness before his death in 1789. PCPR, 31:241.

29. The owners of the highest valued dwellings were: John Nelson \$900, Abiel Washburn \$900, Thomas Sturtevant \$800, Reverend Joseph Barker \$650, and Isaac Thompson \$600. Nelson, Sturtevant, and Barker were Doggett's clients, and Abiel Washburn was the business partner of Doggett's late son Elkanah.

30. The photograph appears in Weston, *History of Middleboro*, 153, and Gladys DeMaranville Vigers, *History of the Town of Lakeville, Massachusetts* (Lakeville: Lakeville Historical Commission, 1983), 168. The house was torn down to make room for additions to the Lakeville State Sanatorium. The projecting eaves of the gable end, similar to those on the Leonard house in Taunton (c. 1752) have been noted as a feature peculiar to the Taunton area. Christine White, Philip R. LaFrance, and Lisa Compton, eds., *Taunton Architecture: A Reflection of the City's History* (Taunton, Mass: 1981), 18.

31. Doggett was assessed for "1 joiners Shop 20 by 16" in the 1798 Direct Tax Census.

32. Bristol County Probate Records 35: 51-53. The inventory of the estate of Nicholas Tillinghast is dated May 27, 1797.

33. John Smith, *The Art of Painting in Oil* (9th edition; London: J. Bew, 1788), preface.

34. *Ibid.*, 68.

35. Henry Swan Dana, *The History of Woodstock, Vermont 1761-1886* (1889; reprint, Taftsville, VT: The Countryman Press, 1980), 43.

36. *Ibid.*, 40.

Appendix 1

MEASUREMENTS FOR FURNITURE, C. 1768

The weath of sundry sorts of shoup work and heath and lenth

A highcace is six feet high, the ouper part is three feet and two inches, the lore part is sixtene inches, and leag is eighttene inches to the knew, weath tow feet and (e)leven inches

A deaske is tow feet and (e)leven inches in weath, tow feet and (e)leven inches loung, that is the end peases, the head is tene inches

A roun table is tow feet and half, the fram seven inches to the jount, the leag must be tow feet and three inches

A square table is tow feet and 1 inches long and eightene inches weid, the leaf rouning over five inches and half

A bedstead is six feet long between jounts, four feet weid between jounts, nintene inches to the uper side of the mortes

A taetable is eightene inches and fourteen inches, the leaf rouning over seven inches

Appendix 2

RECIPE BOOK OF PAINT COLORS AND FINISHES, 1768

For
Simeon Doggett
In Middleborough
In the County of
Plymouth

Recipes
For Mr. Simeon Doggett
in Middleborough
August 24th 1768
Written by Shubael Tinkham

For
Mr. Simeon Doggett
Middleborough

The art of Painting & c.

How to make a blue: take white lead & a little Prussian blue & mix them together as you like & you must put read lead to make it dry

To make a ceader coullour: white lead & Spanish brown and mix as you like

Lead coullour: lamblack & white lead

To make a staining or wood: roase pink & boyld oyl & use a sponge

To make a wainscout coullour: yallow oaker & white lead and a little lamblack as you like

To boyl oyl: to one gallon half pound read lead & one ounce white coperus & when it burns a feather the oyl is done

Read seader coullour: white lead & a little Spanish brown to your liking. Don't [make] it too dark.

To make one quart of vernish: quarter of a pound rozen & one pint of linseed oyl and a half pint of turpentine and boil it under a moderate fire

To make an oylive coullour: take yallow oker & white lead and a little lamblack to your liking

To make a chocolate coullour: take Spanish brown & lamblack

Use your oyl in all your coullours

How to prime new worke: Make your size as it will bair an egg & put a little Spanish brown till you see tis deep to your liking

To make a gould size: boild oyl & yallow oker lay it very smooth & when you put your hand to the worke & [it] feels stickee it will receive your gould. Use your gould with cotten as I have directed.

Table 4.1

FURNITURE LISTED IN DOGGETT'S ACCOUNTS

	Number	Years	Usual price
<i>Chairs</i>			
unspecified	104	1765-1784	0:2:8
common/plain	36	1773-1792	0:2:8-0:3:0
great	5	1766-1789	0:7:0
round	1	1765	0:6:8
bannister back	32	1768-1782	0:4:0-0:6:0
threeback	4	1779	0:2:9
fourback	18	1770-1774	0:3:0
caneback	28	1780-1791	0:6:0-0:18:0
little	2	1780-1782	0:1:6-0:2:8
folding	1	1768	0:6:8
<i>Tables</i>			
unspecified	2	1773&1780	0:5:0-0:8:0
square	11	1766-1791	0:9:0-0:12:0
round	4	1766-1775	1:1:4-1:2:0
small	1	1775	0:8:0
wing	4	1781-1791	0:18:0-1:10:0
tea	10	1765-1789	0:8:0-0:9:0
tea table stand	4	1776-1788	0:18:0-1:10:0
card	1	1784	0:15:0
<i>Chests</i>			
unspecified	2	1765&1780	0:9:0-0:9:4
plain chest, colored	1	1785	0:10:0
chest of drawers	3	1768-1774	1:4:0-1:8:0
<i>Case pieces</i>			
case of drawers	16	1766-1791	2:0:0-3:3:0
high case of drawers	1	1788	3:14:0
low case of drawers	2	1780&1792	1:10:0-2:2:0
half a case of drawers	1	1783	1:16:0
desk	3	1766-1775	2:14:0-3:0:0
clock case	2	1775	1:16:0-2:2:0
<i>Bedsteads</i>			
unspecified	18	1766-1789	0:9:4-0:3:0
colored	2	1788&1789	0:12:0
trundle	2	1779&1786	0:7:0-0:12:0
for the camps	1	1772	0:6:8
cocktenant	1	1786	0:12:0
cradle	2	1767-1779	0:5:0-0:12:0
<i>Troughs</i>			
bread	7	1772-1789	0:4:4-0:6:0
kneading	2	1773&1775	0:4:0-0:4:8
cider	2	1776	0:6:0
<i>Miscellaneous</i>			
book case	2	1767&1774	0:2:0-0:8:0
cupboard	1	1771	0:18:0
coffins	22	1766-1789	0:9:4

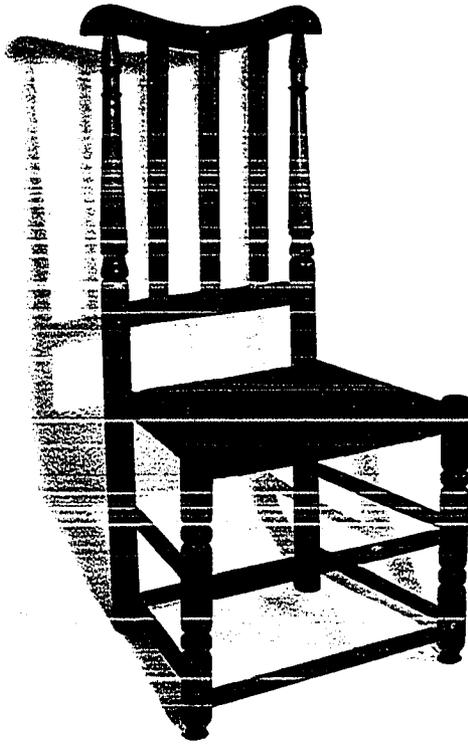


Figure 4.1. Bannister-back chair. Middleborough, Massachusetts, 1760-1800. Maple; H. 38 1/2", W. 19", D. 14". (Middleboro Historical Museum: Photo, Margaret K. Hofer)

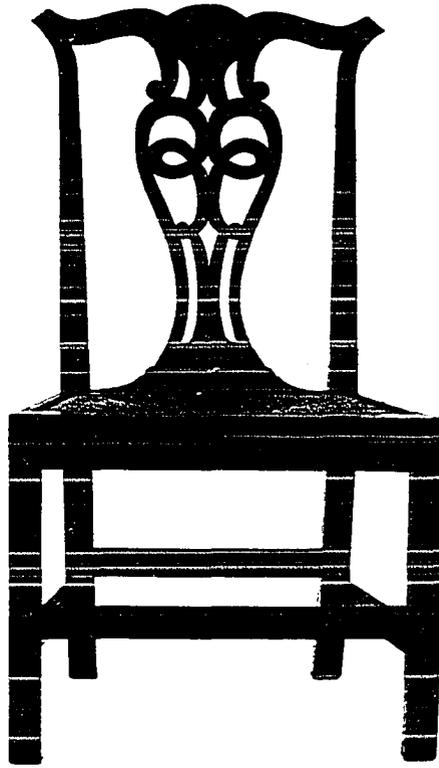


Figure 4.2. "Caneback" chair, attributed to Simeon Doggett. Middleborough, Massachusetts, c. 1798. Cherry, maple; H. 37", W. 19 3/4" D. 15", seat height 16". (Private collection: Photo, Margaret K. Hofer.)



Figure 4.3. Side chair. Probably Newport, Rhode Island, 1760-1775. Mahogany; H. 37 3/8", W. 21", D. 18 3/4". (Courtesy, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, gift of Mr. and Mrs. William K. Wallbridge)



Figure 4.4. Roundabout chair, possibly by Simeon Doggett.
Middleborough, Massachusetts, c. 1770. Maple; H. 31 3/4", W. 15
3/4", D. 15 1/2", seat height 17". (Private collection: Photo, courtesy
of owner.)



Figure 4.5. Balusters from Oliver House stairway, possibly by Simeon Doggett. Middleborough, Massachusetts, 1768-1769. (Photo, Margaret K. Hofer.)



Figure 4.6. "Fourback" chair, possibly by Simeon Doggett.
Middleborough, Massachusetts, 1765-1790. H. 44", W. 18 7/8", D. 14
7/8", seat height 16". (Private collection: Photo, courtesy of owner.)

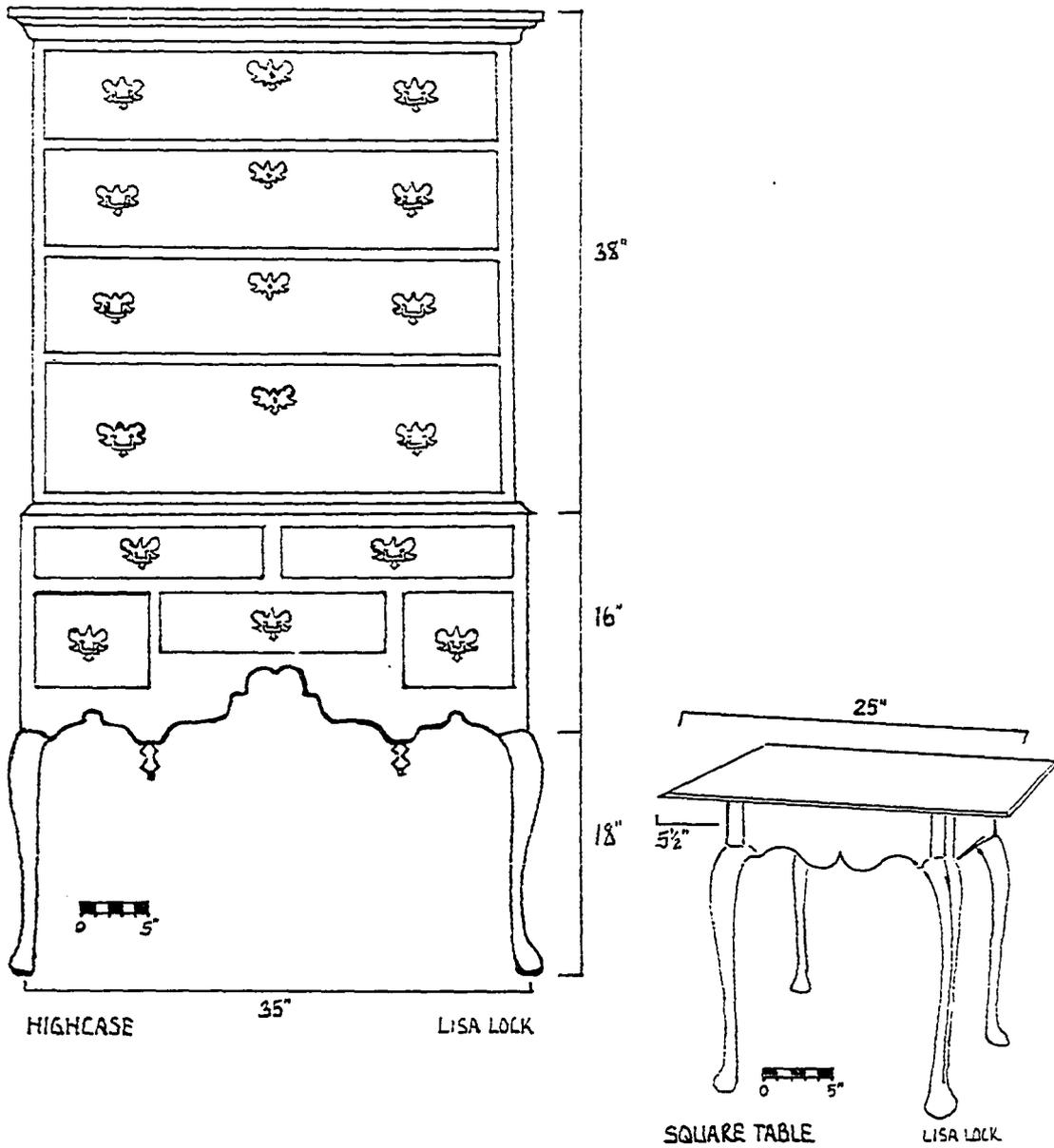


Figure 4.7. Interpretive drawings based on Doggett's furniture measurements. (Drawings by Lisa Lock.)

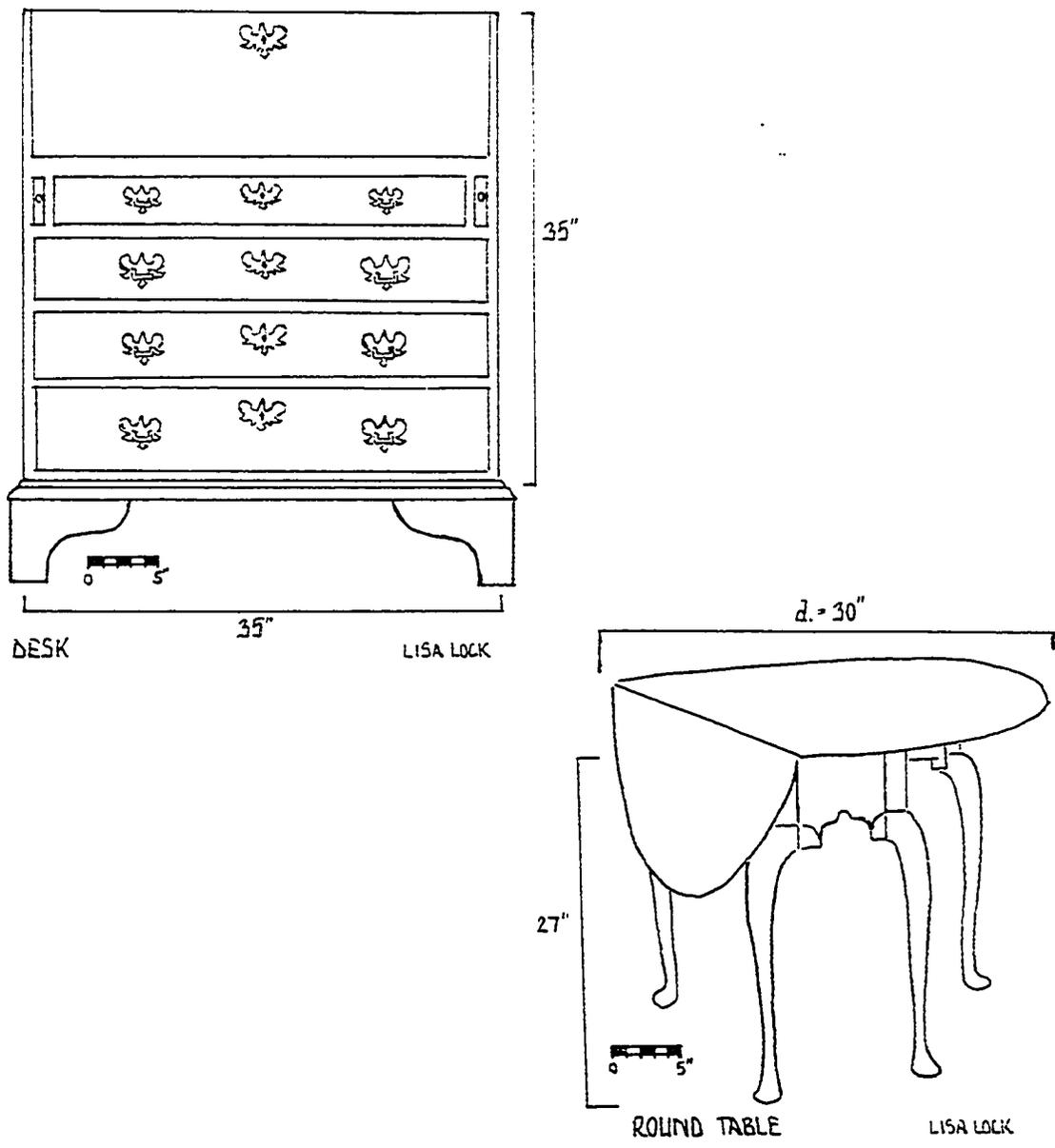


Figure 4.7 continued

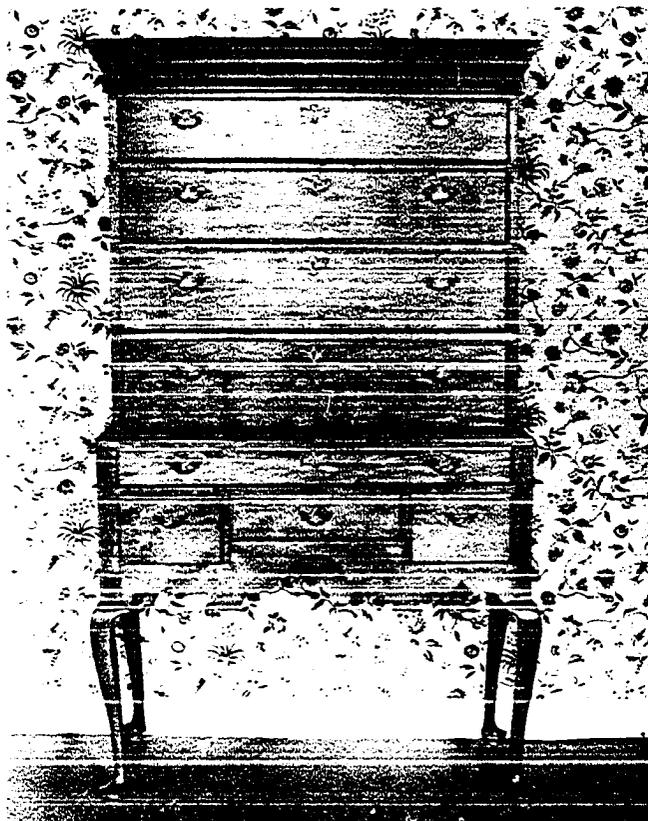


Figure 4.8. Case of drawers, made for Mary Little of Marshfield, Marshfield, Massachusetts, 1760-1780. H. 67", W. 37 3/4", D. 16 1/2". (Historic Winslow House: Photo, Margaret K. Hofer.)



Figure 4.9. Dr. Peter Oliver house. Middleborough, Massachusetts, 1767-1769. (Photo, Margaret K. Hofer.)



**Figure 4.10. Silas Wood house. Middleborough, Massachusetts, 1771.
(Photo, Margaret K. Hofer.)**

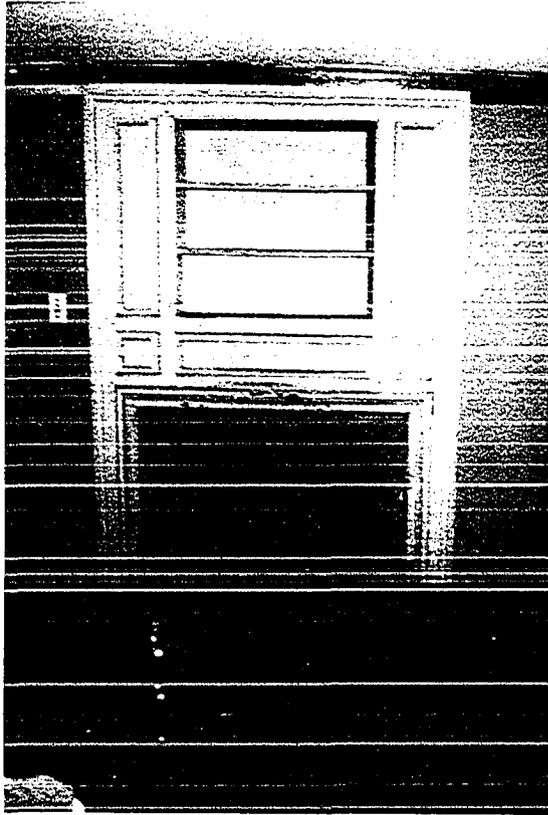


Figure 4.11. Silas Wood house, panelling in east chamber, 1771.
(Photo, Margaret K. Hofer.)



Figure 4.12. Simeon Doggett house. Lakeville, Massachusetts, c. 1765; enlarged c. 1788; demolished 1925. (From Thomas Weston, *History of the Town of Middleboro Massachusetts*, p. 153.)

Chapter 5

WOODWORKING ARTISANS IN SOUTHEASTERN MASSACHUSETTS, 1760-1810

To fully understand Simeon Doggett's experience as a Middleborough craftsman during the last half of the eighteenth century, it is necessary to place him in the broader context of artisan experience in southeastern Massachusetts. The region, which includes Plymouth and Bristol counties (figure 5.1), has been largely overlooked by decorative arts scholars. For example, Ethel Hall Bjerkoe's *The Cabinetmakers of America*, published in 1957, does not list a single maker working in Plymouth County after 1680 and identifies only two Bristol County craftsmen working during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹ More recent scholarship, such as Elton Hall's study of New Bedford furniture and cabinetmakers, has begun to redress the neglect of craftsmen who worked in these counties after the seventeenth century.² Hall's checklist of New Bedford cabinetmakers is derived primarily from newspaper advertisements, a source which is not available for the more rural towns of the region. In order to piece together the activity of all types of woodworkers in Plymouth and Bristol Counties, I conducted a thorough search of the probate inventories of these counties between 1760 and 1810, looking for evidence of woodworkers in the ownership of tools or the direct reference to joiners, coopers, and other woodworking artisans. The resulting checklist of over four hundred artisans reveals not just a list of names, but evidence of a thriving population of craftsmen who served an integral function in their regional economy. The estates of these woodworkers reveal patterns in the experiences of southeastern Massachusetts artisans and suggest the ways in which Simeon Doggett's career was both typical and atypical for the region.

Doggett's immediate community was one which supported a large number of woodworking craftsmen, including several in quite specialized trades. During the time Doggett was active, at least twenty-eight different men worked as joiners, housewrights, coopers, shipwrights, and wheelwrights.³

Twelve of these men were either fathers, brothers, or sons of another Middleborough woodworker. Although there was a healthy population of woodworkers in Middleborough, they were overshadowed within the artisan community by an extremely large number of craftsmen working in iron-related trades. The Direct Tax Census report for Middleborough, taken in 1798, recorded thirteen smith shops and two trip hammer shops but only two joiner and three cooper shops. If the census report is a reliable indicator, artisans in the iron trades may have outnumbered their woodworking counterparts in Middleborough by a ratio of five to one.

As a joiner and housewright in Middleborough, Doggett did not play an integral part in the local iron-making industry. In other Plymouth and Bristol County towns, however, woodworkers played a vital role in the local economy by directly supporting the primary industry. In the North River towns of Scituate, Hanover, and Pembroke, for instance, large numbers of shipwrights supported a burgeoning shipbuilding industry. Scituate, with the largest number of woodworkers in Plymouth County, supported at least fifteen shipwrights. The Rochester shipbuilding industry, begun by craftsmen migrating from the North River towns, also employed a high percentage of woodworkers in the shipbuilding trades.⁴ The importance of the shipbuilding industry in Plymouth County is reflected in the numbers of woodworkers in that trade: next to housewrights, shipwrights were the most commonly found artisan in the Plymouth County probate records.

Although Bristol County supported the same approximate number of woodworkers as its neighbor and also had a strong maritime orientation, its artisans were distributed differently among the various woodworking trades. Shipbuilding was not a major industry in Bristol County; in fact, many of the ships which set sail from Bristol County ports were built along the North River or in Rochester. Instead, whaling, fishing, and coastal and West Indian trade dominated ports like Dartmouth and New Bedford. The large number of coopers employed in Bristol County reflects the dominant industry of this area, where traded goods like whale oil and other whale and fish products required a never-ending supply of casks for transport. In Bristol County, coopers outnumbered shipwrights and boat builders by a ratio

of more than two to one, while in Plymouth County, there were at least three times as many shipbuilders as coopers.

Throughout the region, woodworkers combined their trade with other vocations in order to insure a stable existence. In the interior towns, such as Middleborough, woodworkers most often combined their trade with farming, as had Simeon Doggett. Rural woodworkers tended to invest a large portion of their wealth in land and livestock, and often owned a large collection of husbandry tools in addition to the tools of their trade. John Fisher, a Norton joiner, did extensive farming in addition to joinery. His inventoried estate, which included a yoke of oxen, cows, sheep, poultry, hogs, and considerable stores of potatoes, turnips, cider, apples, corn, and rye, was typical of farming artisans.⁵ In coastal towns, fishing or whaling may have substituted for farming as a secondary vocation. Honewell Hathaway, a Dartmouth cooper, owned half a sloop outfitted with "whale craft."⁶ Dartmouth and New Bedford also supported a number of woodworkers who supplemented their trades by serving as mariners. "Mariner" Thomas Duncan of New Bedford died at sea in 1800, and his inventoried estate included a complete set of cooper's tools valued at \$18.⁷ Similarly, mariner William Delano of New Bedford, who died in Havana in 1800, owned a chest of cooper's tools worth \$21.⁸ These men may have left their trades behind for the more exciting life of seafaring, but more likely they combined both vocations, either doing cooperage while not at sea, or serving as a cooper on board ship, making and repairing casks as the need arose.

The clustering of specific types of artisans according to regional industries is a phenomenon which begins to appear in Plymouth and Bristol Counties in the middle of the eighteenth century, when industries such as iron manufacturing, shipbuilding, and whaling were organized and implemented on a large scale. Despite the increasing specialization and organization of craftsmen throughout this period, however, some of the traditional aspects of artisan life remained intact. Kinship networks thrived during the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, and in some cases families of woodworkers can be traced back to the seventeenth century.⁹ Eastern coastal towns such as Hingham and Scituate

perpetuated family clans such as Beals, Lincolns, Stodders, and Cushings for nearly two centuries.

Strong kinship groups did not necessarily trace their origins to the seventeenth century, however. Clans such as the Claps and Torreys of Scituate or the Blankinships of Rochester developed during the second half of the eighteenth century and continued into the nineteenth. The particularly strong family networks in the Quaker communities of Dartmouth and New Bedford, including the Allen, Delano, Hathaway, Russell, Shearman, and Tripp families, suggests that religion could have played a role in the persistence of kinship ties in those towns.

In addition to the perpetuation of kinship networks, woodworking craftsmen in Plymouth and Bristol Counties also persisted in their reliance on land. Throughout this period, the vast majority of artisans concentrated their wealth in real as opposed to personal property. Typically, an artisan's land holdings and dwelling made up about two-thirds of his net worth, while the tools and materials of his trade constituted only a tiny fraction of his estate. Daniel White, a Middleborough joiner who died in 1761, had an estate valued at £98.16.4.¹⁰ White invested £57.0.0 or fifty-eight percent of his estate in land and £10:4:0 in farm animals. His joiner's tools were valued at £4.4.0 and his part of a joiner's shop at £2:0:0, which together totalled only about 6 percent of his estate. Well-off artisans also tended to concentrate their wealth in real estate as opposed to personal goods. Jabez Carpenter, a house carpenter working in Rehoboth, owned 166 acres of land valued at £1280, comprising seventy-three percent of his real and personal estate. His sixteen pounds worth of carpentry tools, however, made up less than one percent of his property.¹¹ An analysis of woodworkers' estates throughout the fifty-year period reveals little change in the ratio of real to personal property owned by woodworkers. An example from the end of the period typifies the continued concentration on land ownership and farming. Stephen Nye, a housewright working in Rochester in 1810, owned an estate worth \$2739.15, \$1800 of which was real estate. His livestock totalled \$171, while his carpenter's tools, lathe, and work bench totalled around \$60.¹²

Craftsmen living in more densely populated coastal towns where land was less plentiful found ways to invest money in fishing or trade ventures rather than land. John Souther of Hingham, for instance, supplemented his shipbuilding with an investment in a fishing venture. His inventory listed no animals or farming tools, but included one-third of a share in the ownership of a fish house.¹³ Cooper Benajah Wilkerson of Dartmouth owned a house and lot in town with no additional acreage, but his estate included four pounds worth of shares in "goods from London" at his death in 1767.¹⁴ The inventory of Jacob Beal, Jr. is exceptional in that his investments were almost entirely trade-related. Beal, a Hingham chairmaker, owned an estate worth \$4033.19 at his death in 1805.¹⁵ His dwelling house and homestead were valued at \$2500, while a shop at a separate location was valued at \$750. Beal owned no additional acreage, animals, or husbandry tools. Instead, a large proportion of his estate was connected with his trade. In addition to his costly chairmaker's shop, Beal owned tools and materials totalling around \$100 and stock in his shop valued at \$112.58. Beal, Souther, and Wilkerson were exceptions rather than the norm; in most cases, woodworking artisans throughout the period maintained their reliance on farming and land acquisition.

The checklist of woodworking artisans is meant to be only a starting point for the study of craftsmen in Plymouth and Bristol Counties. Ideally, it will encourage further study of this region by serving as a reference from which further inquiry can begin. Many areas of study remain to be more fully explored. First of all, the identification of more objects associated with these craftsmen, or with the region in general, will provide information about such topics as the persistence of vernacular traditions and/or the infiltration of urban influences. So far, of the 110 joiners, cabinetmakers, and chairmakers in two counties, only four of the names have any objects associated with them; undoubtedly, there are more discoveries waiting to be made.¹⁶ Additional studies based on account books will broaden the understanding of southeastern Massachusetts craftsmen, and could also be used to test the typicality of Simeon Doggett's experience. The account book of house and ship carpenter Bartholomew Akin of New

Bedford, for instance, might provide an interesting comparison with the experience of Doggett or of the career of Dartmouth cabinetmaker Lemuel Tobey.¹⁷

In addition to studying individual craftsmen and their products, there is a need for the study of relationships between craftsmen during this period. Clearly, family networks remained a dominant force in the training of woodworkers. Further genealogical study may turn up more evidence linking some of the dominant family groups. The prevalence of Quakers in Dartmouth presents an opportunity for the study Quaker craftsmen outside of Newport, Rhode Island and the connections between Newport and Dartmouth Quaker craftsmen. Newport cabinetmaker John Goddard was born in Dartmouth in 1723, and his uncle, a joiner by the name of Beriah Goddard, worked in Dartmouth until his death in 1781.¹⁸ Given the clannishness of the Goddard family, it is safe to assume that connections were maintained between the Newport and Dartmouth contingents of the family, possibly affecting the nature of Beriah Goddard's joinery business. Another issue to be explored is the migration of craftsmen between towns. Movement between Dartmouth and Newport, Scituate and Rochester, and other towns suggests that ideas about style and construction migrated along with the artisans. While some craftsmen moved within the region, others went in search of cheaper and more plentiful land in places like western Massachusetts or Vermont. Doggett's two apprentices who settled in Woodstock, Vermont after the Revolution are evidence of a much larger trend of out-migration which furthered the transmission of ideas into and out of the southeastern Massachusetts region.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. Ethel Hall Bjercoe, *The Cabinetmakers of America* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1957). Bjercoe cites joiners John Alden, Samuel Jenney, Phineas Pratt, and Kenelm Winslow as working in Plymouth during the seventeenth century, and she lists Robert Crossman (1707-1799) and John Padelford (w. 1806) as working in Taunton.

2. Elton W. Hall, *New Bedford Furniture* (New Bedford, Mass: Old Dartmouth Historical Society, 1978).

Notes to Chapter 5 (continued)

3. It should be kept in mind that the numbers of craftsmen cited throughout this chapter are lower than the actual figures. Probate records, while possibly the best source for identifying artisans, have their own biases. Craftsmen who reached an advanced age and retired from their trade before their death may have no longer owned tools, or may not have been inventoried at all. In addition, artisans at the lowest end of the economic scale were probably not inventoried either. The numbers cited probably reflect a high proportion of woodworkers who died prematurely and who were actively involved in their trade at the time of death.

4. *Mattapoissett and Old Rochester Massachusetts* (New York: The Grafton Press, 1907), 282. Shipwright Gideon Barstow, a great-grandson of one of the earliest North River shipbuilders, went from Hanover to Rochester around 1765 and "gave a new start to the industry."

5. Bristol County Probate Records, 20:414.

6. BCPR 22:261.

7. *Ibid.*, 37:180-182; 38:209-210.

8. *Ibid.*, 38:165-167.

9. Robert Blair St. George, *The Wrought Covenant* (Brockton, MA: Brockton Art Center, 1979), 70-102. A comparison of St. George's checklist of woodworking craftsmen in southeastern New England, 1620-1700 with the 1760-1810 list reveals the persistence of certain artisan families throughout the two periods.

10. Plymouth County Probate Records, 16:111.

11. BCPR 25:216-218

12. *Ibid.*, 43:331-332.

13. *Ibid.*, 42:162. Souther's inventory was taken at his death in 1807.

14. BCPR 20:144-146

15. *Ibid.*, 40:329.

16. The four craftsmen are Simeon Doggett of Middleborough, Reuben Swift of New Bedford, and Robert Crossman and John Padelford of Taunton. For information on Swift, Crossman, and Padelford, see Marilyn Johnson Bordes, "Reuben Swift, cabinetmaker of New Bedford," *Antiques* 112 (October 1977): 750-752; Esther Stevens Fraser, "The Tantalizing Chests of Taunton," *Antiques* 23 (April 1933): 135-138; and *Antiques* (November 1940).

17. Bartholomew Akin account book, 1776-1828, Joseph Downs Collection, Winterthur Library. Lemuel Tobey's account book is discussed in Philip Zea, "Rural Craftsmen and Design," in *New England Furniture: The Colonial Era*, by Brock Jobe and Myrna Kaye (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1984), 64-65.

Notes to Chapter 5 (continued)

18. Beriah Goddard was born in Jamestown, Rhode Island, married in Dartmouth in 1720 and died there in 1781. He was the brother of Daniel Goddard (d. 1764), housewright of Jamestown, and uncle of John Goddard I (1723-1785), the Newport cabinetmaker who was born in Dartmouth. BCPR 26:403-404; *Vital Records of Dartmouth, Massachusetts to the Year 1850* (Boston: New England Historic Genealogical Society, 1930).

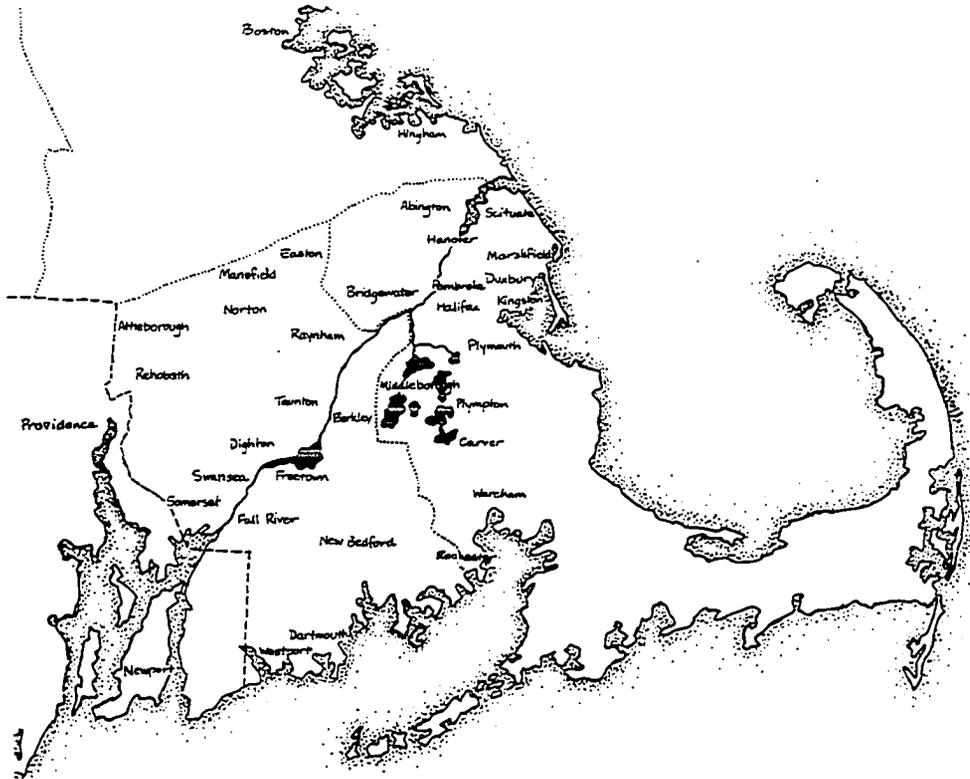


Figure 5.1. Map of Plymouth and Bristol Counties. (Drawn by Caitlin McQuade.)

Table 5.1

WOODWORKING CRAFTSMEN BY TOWN AND TRADE, 1760-1810

<u>Plymouth County</u>			
Scituate	34	housewright	98
Middleborough	28	shipwright	61
Bridgewater	19	joiner	25
Plymouth	19	cooper	19
Hanover	13	carpenter	3
Rochester	13	wheelwright	3
Hingham ¹	12	chairmaker	2
Pembroke	11	millwright	2
Duxbury	10	boat builder ⁵	1
Kingston	9	cabinetmaker	1
Plympton	9	house carpenter	1
Marshfield	7	ship joiner	1
Carver ²	6		
Halifax	5		
Abington	4		
Wareham	3		
<u>Bristol County</u>			
New Bedford ³	48	house carpenter ⁶	67
Dartmouth ³	45	joiner	53
Rehoboth	31	cooper	45
Taunton	20	cabinetmaker	14
Easton	9	shipwright	13
Swansea	8	housewright	9
Dighton	7	boat builder	5
Attleborough	6	chairmaker	5
Freetown	6	carpenter	3
Norton	6	wheelwright	3
Raynham	6	millwright	2
Berkley	4	ship carpenter	2
Somerset	4		
Westport ³	3		
Fall River ⁴	2		
Mansfield	2		

NOTES

1. Hingham, originally part of Suffolk County, was annexed to Plymouth County in 1803.
2. Carver, the southerly part of Plympton, was incorporated as a town in 1790.
3. In 1787, Dartmouth was divided into Westport, Dartmouth, and New Bedford.
4. Fall River was set apart from Freetown in 1803.
5. Boat builders are distinguished from shipwrights in that they make small craft as opposed to large sailing vessels.
6. The term "house carpenter" was preferred in Bristol County, whereas "housewright" was more commonly used in Plymouth County. There was probably no distinction between the two trades.

Appendix 3.

CHECKLIST OF WOODWORKING CRAFTSMEN IN PLYMOUTH COUNTY, 1760-1810

Number	Name	Trade(s)	Dates	Location	Source
1	Ashley, Thomas	housewright		d. 1762 Rochester	PCPR 16:332
2	Atwood, Isaac	housewright		d. 1762 Plympton	PCPR 16:385; 17:85
3	Banges, John	cooper		d. 1792 Rochester	PCPR 33:18-21
4	Barden, Consider	carpenter	b. 1741	d. 1779 Middleborough	PCPR 25:524
5	Barker, Elisha	shipwright		d. 1787 Hanover	PCPR 30:105
6	Barker, Robert	joiner	housewright b. 1712	d. 1759 Scituate	PCPR 58:221-222
7	Bames, Joseph	cooper	b. 1736	d. 1795 Plymouth	PCPR 34:34
8	Barrows, Andrew	housewright		w. 1813 Carver	PCPR 41:138
9	Barrows, James	housewright		d. 1806 Carver	PCPR 32:301; 39:75; 40: 515
10	Barstow, Gideon	shipwright	b. 1738	d. 1826 Hanover/Rochester	Briggs 97-99; Mattapoisett 282
11	Barstow, Thomas	shipwright	b. 1732	d. 1797 Scituate	PCPR 36:269; Briggs 97-99
12	Bassett, Joseph	shipwright		d. 1813 Hingham	PCPR 39:391
13	Beal, Jacob, Jr.	chairmaker	b. 1774	d. 1805 Hingham	PCPR 39:25; 40:329
14	Beal, Laban	housewright		d. 1818 Hingham	PCPR 41:341
15	Bennet, Elkanah	cooper	b. 1754	w. 1798 Middleborough	DTC
16	Bennet, Thomas	housewright		w. 1796 Middleborough	PCPR 32:55
17	Bishop, Hudson	housewright		d. 1758 Pembroke	PCPR 15:78
18	Blankinship, Barnabus	shipwright	b. 1774	d. 1799 Rochester	PCPR 34:209; 36:548-549
19	Blankinship, Charles	shipwright	b. 1738	d. 1810 Rochester	PCPR 43:347-348
20	Blankinship, Perez	housewright	m. 1798	d. 1803 Rochester	PCPR 38:445
21	Bonney, Daniel	housewright		w. 1801 Pembroke	PCPR 34:262
22	Bradford, Nathaniel	housewright		d. 1761 Plymouth	PCPR 18:50
23	Breck, Moses	boat-builder		d. 1807 Plymouth	PCPR 39:131
24	Bryant, Caleb	housewright	m. 1767	d. 1778 Middleborough	PCPR 23:188
25	Bryant, Micah	housewright	b. 1719	d. 1776 Middleborough	PCPR 24:206-207
26	Burr, Jonathan	cooper		d. 1797 Bridgewater	PCPR 36:58-60
27	Cary, Eliphalet	joiner		w. 1766 Bridgewater	PCPR 17:169
28	Cary, Jonathan	joiner		d. 1766 Bridgewater	PCPR 17:169; 19:411
29	Chandler, Josiah	housewright		w. 1778 Plympton	PCPR 23:195
30	Chubbuck, Jeremiah	housewright		d. 1801 Scituate	PCPR 34:284; 37:493
31	Chunhett, Ephraim	cooper		d. 1762 Plymouth	PCPR 17:59
32	Church, Richard, Jr.	joiner	housewright m. 1746	d. 1772 Rochester	PCPR 24:277-278
33	Churchill, Joseph	joiner	housewright b. 1748	d. 1824 Middleborough/Woodstock, VT	SDP; Dana 43
34	Churchill, Peleg	cooper		d. 1810 Duxbury	PCPR 39:276; 43:362

35	Clap, Charles	housewright		d. 1793	Scituate	PCPR 27:423; 33:362-363	
36	Clap, James	joiner	housewright	b. 1759	d. 1803	Scituate	PCPR 38:357
37	Clap, Joseph	housewright			d. 1770	Scituate	PCPR 20:392
38	Clap, Joseph Stowers	housewright			d. 1804	Scituate	PCPR 40:41
39	Clap, Perkins	shipwright		b. 1779	d. 1811	Scituate	PCPR 39:344
40	Clark, James	housewright			d. 1794	Pembroke	PCPR 34:12
41	Clark, Nathaniel	housewright			w. 1794	Pembroke	PCPR 34:12
42	Clifton, Savery	shipwright		b. 1756	d. 1817	Rochester	PCPR 41:310
43	Cobb, John	joiner	housewright	b. 1745	d. 1822	Middleborough	SDP
44	Cobb, Nathan	housewright			w. 1817	Carver	PCPR 41:303
45	Cobb, Thomas	housewright			w. 1806	Carver	PCPR 32:301
46	Cobb, Timothy	housewright			d. 1806	Carver	PCPR 40:439
47	Cole, Isalah	shipwright			d. 1811	Middleborough	PCPR 39:281
48	Cook, Sylvanus	housewright			w. 1805	Kingston	PCPR 39:1
49	Curtis, Reuben	shipwright			d. 1806	Scituate	PCPR 39:103
50	Curtis, William	housewright			d. 1800	Hanover	PCPR 34:241; 37:359-360
51	Cushing, Bela	housewright		b. 1773	d. 1810	Scituate	PCPR 39:255
52	Cushing, Nathaniel	shipwright			d. 1789	Middleborough	PCPR 17:31; 31:28
53	Cushing, Pickles, Jr.	housewright		b. 1769	w. 1810	Scituate	PCPR 39:255
54	Cushman, Amariah	housewright			w. 1774	Kingston	PCPR 22:155
55	Dakman, Constant Fobes	housewright			w. 1801	Marshfield	PCPR 34:296
56	Daman, Calvin	housewright			w. 1796	Scituate	PCPR 32:42
57	Daman, Eels	housewright			d. 1805	Hanover	PCPR 38:367-368; 39:18
58	Daman, Zacharius	housewright			d. 1771	Scituate	PCPR 20:472
59	Delano, William	shipwright		b. 1770	d. 1815	Scituate	PCPR 41:314
60	Doggett, Simeon	joiner	housewright	b. 1738	d. 1823	Marshfield/Middleborough	SDP
61	Doggett, Thomas	joiner	housewright	b. 1761	d. 1831	Middleborough	SDP
62	Donham, George	cooper		m. 1771	d. 1801	Plymouth	PCPR 34:261
63	Donnel, Charles	housewright	shipwright		w. 1808	Hanover	PCPR 41:23,300
64	Drew, Joseph	shipwright			d. 1808	Duxbury	PCPR 39:215
65	Drew, Stephen	shipwright			w. 1807	Kingston	PCPR 39:112
66	Dunbar, Benjamin	housewright			w. 1810	Hingham	PCPR 41:68; 43:412
67	Dunbar, Hosea	shipwright			w. 1773	Halifax	PCPR 23:14
68	Dunbar, Samuel	cooper			w. 1798	Middleborough	DTC
69	Eaton, Jabez	housewright			d. 1805	Plympton	PCPR 39:24
70	Eels, Nathaniel	housewright		b. 1746	d. 1806	Scituate	PCPR 39:84; 40:543
71	Ellis, Timothy	shipwright			d. 1811	Rochester	PCPR 39:333
72	Foster, David	shipwright			d. 1806	Pembroke	PCPR 39:88
73	Frazar, Samuel Alden	shipwright			w. 1797	Duxbury	PCPR 34:118
74	Gilbert, Benjamin	housewright			d. 1763	Halifax	PCPR 16:395; 17:92

75	Gilbert, Benjamin	shipwright		d. 1800	Halifax	PCPR 34:250; 37:352	
76	Gross, Joshua	shipwright		d. 1812	Scituate	PCPR 41:115	
77	Gross, Peeks	shipwright		w. 1812	Hanover	PCPR 39:342	
78	Gross, Thomas	shipwright	b. 1745	d. 1811	Scituate	PCPR 39:323	
79	Hall, Asa	housewright		w. 1816	Bridgewater	PCPR 41:274	
80	Hall, Job	shipwright		d. 1810	Pembroke	PCPR 39:275; 41:82	
81	Harlow, John	housewright	b. 1762	w. 1811	Plymouth	PCPR 39:282; 41:19	
82	Harlow, Seth	housewright	b. 1736	w. 1767	Plymouth	PCPR 17:188	
83	Harlow, Silvanus	housewright	b. 1769	w. 1811	Plymouth	PCPR 39:282	
84	Haskins, Enoch	housewright	w. 1810	m. 1815	Middleborough	PCPR 39:270	
85	Haskins, Mirick	housewright	m. 1810	d. 1810	Middleborough	PCPR 39:270; 41:104	
86	Hatch, James	cabinetmaker		w. 1817	Bridgewater	PCPR 41:321	
87	Hatch, William	cooper		d. 1811	Hingham	PCPR 39:297; 43:470	
88	Hathaway, David	shipwright		w. 1812	Rochester	PCPR 39:375	
89	Hearsey, Hearsey	housewright		d. 1759	Abington	PCPR 58:377	
90	Holmes, Ebenezer	shipwright		w. 1813	Rochester	PCPR 41:40	
91	Holmes, Jeremiah	housewright	b. 1728	d. 1802	Plymouth	PCPR 17:1	
92	Howard, Amasa	joiner	chaimaker	d. 1797	Bridgewater	PCPR 36:216-218	
93	Howard, Daniel	housewright		d. 1782	Bridgewater	PCPR 28:459	
94	Howard, David	joiner		d. 1760	Bridgewater	PCPR 15:502	
95	Humphrey, Richard	housewright		w. 1776	Scituate	PCPR 22:108-110	
96	Jacob, James H.	shipwright	b. 1787	w. 1811	Scituate	PCPR 39:314	
97	Jacob, Joseph	shipwright	b. 1781	d. 1811	Scituate	PCPR 39:314	
98	Jacob(s), Loring	housewright	b. 1771	w. 1812	Scituate	PCPR 41:114	
99	Keen, Benjamin	shipwright		w. 1797	Marshfield	PCPR 34:131	
100	Keen, Charles	millwright		w. 1810	Bridgewater	PCPR 39:247	
101	Keen, Joseph	shipwright		w. 1810	Hanover	PCPR 41:45	
102	Keith, Isaiah	housewright		d. 1775	Middleborough	PCPR 24:393	
103	Lamstead, James	shipwright		w. 1813	Carver	PCPR 41:157	
104	Lanman, Peter	shipwright		w. 1797	Plymouth	PCPR 34:134	
105	Lanman, Samuel	shipwright	b. 1756	d. 1797	Plymouth	PCPR 34:139; 36:247	
106	Lewis, William, Jr.	shipwright	b. 1778	d. 1806	Plymouth	PCPR 39:79	
107	Lincoln, Enos	cooper		w. 1810	Hingham	PCPR 39:264	
108	Lothrop, David	shipwright		w. 1775	Plymouth	PCPR 23:77	
109	Lucas, Nathan	housewright		w. 1796	Kingston	PCPR 34:77	
110	Magoun, John, Jr.	housewright		d. 1806	Hanover	PCPR 39:105; 42:14	
111	Magoun, Seth	shipwright		d. 1810	Pembroke	PCPR 39:271	
112	Mann, Levi	housewright		w. 1808	Hanover	PCPR 41:23	
113	May, John	joiner	housewright	b. 1723	d. 1769	Plymouth	PCPR 20:440-441
114	Morton, Joseph	cooper		d. 1762	Plymouth	PCPR 17:60	

115	Morton, Nathaniel	joiner	housewright	b. 1768	m. 1791	Middleborough	SDP
116	Nash, Simcon	shipwright		b. 1717	d. 1764	Scituate	PCPR 17:136
117	Nye, Stephen	housewright			w. 1810	Scituate	PCPR 41:362; 43:331-332
118	Packard, Bamabus	housewright			d. 1799	Bridgewater	PCPR 36:499-500
119	Packard, Nathan	cooper	carpenter		d. 1798	Bridgewater	PCPR 36:376, 30:92
120	Paddock, Thomas	housewright		b. 1723	d. 1787	Middleborough	PCPR 30:92; 30:205-7
121	Paine, Stephen, Jr.	housewright			d. 1778	Abington	PCPR 23:183
122	Palmer, Thomas	shipwright			d. 1779	Halifax	PCPR 23:218
123	Parker, William	cooper		m. 1745	d. 1764	Middleborough	PCPR 17:127
124	Peterson, Isaac	housewright			d. 1785	Scituate	PCPR 27:202; 29:387
125	Perkins, Jacob	housewright			w. 1806	Bridgewater	PCPR 32:86
126	Phillips, Christopher	housewright			w. 1806	Pembroke	PCPR 39:51
127	Pratt, Thomas	house carpenter			d. 1777	Bridgewater	PCPR 24:440-441
128	Prior, Benjamin, Jr.	shipwright			w. 1818	Duxbury	PCPR 41:359
129	Prouty, David	shipwright			d. 1807	Scituate	PCPR 42:231
130	Randall, Ephraim	housewright			d. 1800	Pembroke	PCPR 37:204-205
131	Randall, Elijah	housewright		b. 1789	w. 1811	Hanover	PCPR 39:287
132	Randall, Elijah, Jr.	shipwright		b. 1758	d. 1811	Hanover	PCPR 39:287
133	Randall, Perez	housewright			d. 1786	Kingston	PCPR 27:210
134	Raymond, Joshua	cooper		b. 1735	d. 1787	Middleborough	PCPR 30:155
135	Reed, Benjamin	cooper		b. 1746	w. 1775	Middleborough	PCPR 23:60
136	Reed, William, Jr.	cooper		b. 1715	d. 1776	Middleborough	PCPR 24:351-352
137	Rickard, Walter	joiner	housewright	b. 1753	w. 1774	Middleborough	SDP
138	Ripley, Solomon	housewright			d. 1810	Bridgewater	PCPR 39:251
139	Ripley, Timothy	housewright			w. 1768	Plympton	SDP
140	Rogers, Israel	shipwright			d. 1812	Marshfield	PCPR 39:343
141	Rogers, Peleg, Jr.	shipwright			d. 1805	Marshfield	PCPR 30:40; 40:4-5
142	Russell, Stephen	wheelwright			w. 1807	Duxbury	PCPR 39:213
143	Ryder, Joseph	housewright		b. 1733	d. 1794	Plymouth	PCPR 35:293-294
144	Sampson, Howland	ship joiner			d. 1813	Duxbury	PCPR 39:416
145	Samson, Jeremiah	joiner	housewright	b. 1753	d. 1830	Plympton/Kingston	SDP
146	Samson, Moses	joiner	housewright	b. 1751	d. 1781	Plympton/Woodstock, VT	SDP; Dana 33, 44
147	Samson, Nathaniel	housewright			w. 1763	Middleborough	PCPR 18:85
148	Sampson, Thomas	housewright			w. 1776	Plympton	PCPR 22:76
149	Sean, Stephen, Jr.	housewright			d. 1809	Rochester	PCPR 39:235
150	Shurtliff, Ablel	housewright			d. 1783	Plymouth	PCPR 27:109
151	Silvester, Israel	shipwright		b. 1717	d. 1812	Scituate	PCPR 39:342
152	Silvester, Israel, Jr.	wheelwright		b. 1780	w. 1814	Scituate	PCPR 41:171
153	Silvester, Warren	shipwright			w. 1812	Wareham	PCPR 39:364
154	Smith, Peter	shipwright		b. 1752	d. 1797	Rochester	PCPR 36:202-203

155	Snow, Samuel	joiner	housewright	b. 1752	d. 1827	Plympton/Halifax	SDP
156	Soule, Jabez	joiner	housewright		w. 1817	Plympton	PCPR 41:320
157	Soule, Josiah	housewright			w. 1809	Hingham	PCPR 39:219
158	Souther, Elijah	shipwright			d. 1807	Hingham	PCPR 42:162
159	Souther, John	shipwright			d. 1809	Duxbury	PCPR 39:176; 42:515
160	Southworth, George	shipwright			d. 1761	Kingston	PCPR 17:31
161	Stetson, Elisha	shipwright			d. 1763	Abington	PCPR 16:536
162	Stockbridge, Micah	housewright			d. 1802	Scituate	PCPR 38:98-99
163	Stockbridge, Stephen	joiner	housewright	b. 1747	d. 1801	Scituate	PCPR 37:532-533
164	Stodder, Hezekiah	carpenter			d. 1810	Hingham	PCPR 39:264; 43:288
165	Stodder, Jacob	shipwright		b. 1760	w. 1814	Scituate	PCPR 37:175-176; 41:199; 42:2
166	Stodder, Obadiah	millwright			d. 1809	Hingham	PCPR 43:12
167	Stodder, Seth	housewright			d. 1773	Bridgewater	PCPR 23:23
168	Sturtevant, Jesse	housewright		b. 1747	d. 1800	Scituate	PCPR 34:244; 37:539
169	Thomas, Abraham	joiner		b. 1768	d. 1848	Middleborough	DTC
170	Thomas, Daniel	wheelwright		b. 1743	d. 1811	Middleborough	PCPR 39:336
171	Thomas, William	shipwright			d. 1802	Pembroke	PCPR 34:333; 38:267-268
172	Thomson, Nathaniel, Jr.	cooper		b. 1750	w. 1798	Middleborough	DTC
173	Tilden, John, Jr.	housewright			d. 1792	Marshfield	PCPR 33:62
174	Tirrel, Thomas	joiner			d. 1773	Abington	PCPR 21:355
175	Tolman, Benjamin	housewright			d. 1807	Marshfield	PCPR 39:99; 40:8
176	Torrey, David	shipwright		b. 1787	w. 1813	Scituate	PCPR 39:425
177	Torrey, George	shipwright		b. 1758	d. 1813	Scituate	PCPR 39:425; 41:171
178	Torrey, George	shipwright		b. 1785	w. 1813	Scituate	PCPR 39:425
179	Tower, Isalah	cooper			d. 1814	Hingham	PCPR 39:425; 41:190
180	Tower, Isalah, Jr.	cooper			d. 1807	Hingham	PCPR 42:159
181	Tribell, Joseph, Jr.	shipwright			d. 1817	Plymouth	PCPR 41:236; 41:327
182	Turner, William	housewright			d. 1808	Marshfield	PCPR 42:413
183	Wadsworth, Cephas	housewright			w. 1808	Kingston	PCPR 32:350; 34:174
184	Wadsworth, Samuel	shipwright			d. 1809	Duxbury	PCPR 39:179; 43:403
185	Washburn, Eleazer	joiner	housewright		d. 1762	Bridgewater	PCPR 16:300
186	Washburn, Jabez	housewright			d. 1799	Kingston	PCPR 34:174; 36:496
187	Wateman, John	housewright			d. 1781	Plymouth	PCPR 27:80; 28:327-328
188	Wetherell, Theophilus	joiner			d. 1759	Pembroke	PCPR 58:252
189	Weston, Eliphas	shipwright			d. 1762	Duxbury	PCPR 17:78
190	Weston, Warren	shipwright		w. 1778	d. 1799	Duxbury	PCPR 17:78; 23:216; 34:212
191	White, Daniel	joiner		b. 1734	d. 1761	Middleborough	PCPR 16:111
192	White, Micah	joiner			d. 1795	Bridgewater	PCPR 35:245-246
193	Whittemore, Richard	shipwright			w. 1778	Rochester	PCPR 22:141, 226
194	Wing, Clifton	housewright			d. 1765	Wareham	PCPR 19:240

195	Winslow, Josiah	housewright	d. 1803	Bridgewater	PCPR 38:37
196	Whiting, Justus	housewright	d. 1806	Hanover	PCPR 39:104
197	Whiting, Thomas	housewright	d. 1805	Hanover	PCPR 38:428; 40:471
198	Whitmarsh, Jacob	housewright	d. 1803	Bridgewater	PCPR 38:326
199	Wood, Manassah	joiner	b. 1729	d. 1764 Middleborough	PCPR 19:284; 20:551; 21:356
200	Young, Solomon	shipwright	d. 1817	Wareham	PCPR 39:364; 41:320

Key to sources:

BCPR	Bristol County Probate Records, vols. 16-58. Bristol County Court House, Taunton, Massachusetts.
Briggs	Briggs, Lloyd Vemon. <i>History of Shipbuilding on North River, Plymouth County, Massachusetts</i>. Boston: Coburn Brothers, 1889.
Dana	Dana, Henry Swan. <i>The History of Woodstock, Vermont, 1761-1886</i>. 1889. Reprint. Taftsville, VT: The Countryman Press, 1980.
DTC	Massachusetts and Maine Direct Tax Census of 1798. New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.
Mattapoisett	<i>Mattapoisett and Old Rochester Massachusetts</i>. New York: The Grafton Press, 1907.
PCPR	Plymouth County Probate Records, vols. 15-51. Plymouth County Court House, Plymouth, Massachusetts.
SDP	Doggett, Simeon. <i>Papers, 1638-1830</i>. Leonard Collection. New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.

Appendix 4.

CHECKLIST OF WOODWORKING CRAFTSMEN IN BRISTOL COUNTY, 1760-1810

Number	Name	Trade(s)	Dates	Location	Source
1	Akin, Bartholomew	house carpenter ship carpenter	b. 1750	w. 1776-1828 New Bedford	Akin
2	Allen, Ebenezer	cabinetmaker		d. 1793 New Bedford	32:209-211; Hall, 17
3	Allen, Eleazer	boat builder	b. 1753	w. 1788-1793 Dartmouth	Akin
4	Allen, John	house carpenter	b. 1733	w. 1761 Dartmouth	Ellis, 57
5	Allen, Sylvanus	cooper	m. 1764	d. 1794 New Bedford	BCPR 33:31-32
6	Andrews, Elkanah	cooper		d. 1787 Dighton	BCPR 29:370
7	Andrews, John	house carpenter		d. 1763 Norton	BCPR 18:378-381
8	Andrews, William	house carpenter	m. 1780	d. 1795 New Bedford	BCPR 33:447-449
9	Babcock, George	house carpenter cooper	b. 1692	d. 1771 Dartmouth	BCPR 21:661-662; 24:68-69
10	Babcock, Jethro	cooper	b. 1750	d. 1799 New Bedford	BCPR 36:182-184
11	Babcock, Spooner	house carpenter	m. 1786	d. 1797 New Bedford	BCPR 34:348-349
12	Baker, Job	house carpenter		d. 1782 Dartmouth	BCPR 27:216-217
13	Baldwin, Jonathan	house carpenter	b. 1728	d. 1765 Rehoboth	BCPR 19:72-73
14	Bamey, John	house carpenter	b. 1740	d. 1807 Taunton	BCPR 43: 143-144
15	Bates, James	ship carpenter		d. 1779 Dartmouth	BCPR 26:277-278
16	Bates, William	chairmaker		w. 1804-1822 New Bedford	Hall, 18 & 24
17	Bishop, Joseph	joiner		d. 1760 Norton	BCPR 16:559-560
18	Bliss, Zenas	house carpenter	b. 1779	d. 1806 Rehoboth	BCPR 42:371-372
19	Blossoni, Samuel	cabinetmaker	m. 1798	d. 1803 New Bedford	Hall, 18; Bordes, 751
20	Boum, Samuel	cooper		d. 1810 Somerset	BCPR 46:146-149
21	Briggs, Oliver	house carpenter		d. 1786 Dartmouth	BCPR 29:184-185
22	Briggs, Thomas	house carpenter		d. 1800 Berkley	BCPR 37:4-6
23	Brown, Seth	cooper		d. 1810 Swansea	BCPR 45:439-441
24	Brown, William	cabinetmaker chairmaker		w. 1803 New Bedford	Hall, 18-19
25	Bucklin, John	house carpenter	m. 1764	d. 1792 Rehoboth	BCPR 32:16
26	Buffington, Benjamin	joiner		d. 1760 Swansea	BCPR 17:34-35
27	Bullock, John	house carpenter	b. 1735	d. 1788 Rehoboth	BCPR 30:13-16
28	Burt, Seth	house carpenter		d. 1761 Berkley	BCPR 17:561
29	Camp, John	joiner house carpenter		d. 1777 Dighton	BCPR 25:58-59
30	Campbell, John	house carpenter		d. 1787 Rehoboth	BCPR 30:138-140
31	Carpenter, Isaac	house carpenter		d. 1810 Norton	BCPR 45:322-323
32	Carpenter, Jabez	house carpenter	b. 1731	d. 1778 Rehoboth	BCPR 25:216-218
33	Carpenter, Samuel	house carpenter		d. 1803 Rehoboth	BCPR 40:251-252
34	Cartwright, Daniel, Jr.	joiner		d. 1807 Dighton	BCPR 42:469
35	Chase, Elisa, 2nd	cooper		d. 1784 Swansea	BCPR 28:264-265

36	Chase, George, Jr.	joiner		d. 1780	Swansea	BCPR 26:246
37	Chase, Jeremiah	shipwright	b. 1769	d. 1801	Dartmouth	BCPR 38:460-461
38	Chase, Richard	shipwright		d. 1810	Somerset	BCPR 46:223-224
39	Chase, Simeon	shipwright		d. 1803	Dartmouth	BCPR 39:482-483
40	Cole, Aaron	house carpenter		d. 1799	Rehoboth	BCPR 36:498-500
41	Cooper, David	joiner	b. 1756	d. 1809	Rehoboth	BCPR 45:102-103
42	Comell, Amos	housewright		d. 1805	Dartmouth	BCPR 41:522-523
43	Covell, William	cooper		d. 1811	New Bedford	BCPR 46:516
44	Crane, George	house carpenter	b. 1758	d. 1807	Taunton	BCPR 43:130-131
45	Crossman, Robert	joiner	b. 1707	d. 1799	Taunton	Fraser; Bjerkoe, 72-73
46	Crossman, Thomas	joiner		d. 1765	Raynham	BCPR 19:201-202
47	Cushman, Ezra	housewright	b. 1772	d. 1802	Rochester/New Bedford	BCPR 39:345
48	Daggett, Daniel	joiner		d. 1797	Attleborough	BCPR 35:37-40
49	Daggett, Israel	joiner		d. 1777	Rehoboth	BCPR 25:6-7
50	Davis, Abraham	cabinetmaker		w. 1784-1787	Dartmouth	Akin
51	Davis, Eleazer	housewright		d. 1798	Taunton	BCPR 36:340-341
52	Davis, Thomas, 2nd	shipwright		d. 1807	Fall River	BCPR 43:12-13
53	Delano, Nathaniel	cooper	b. 1758	d. 1797	New Bedford	BCPR 36:425-426
54	Delano, Richard	cooper	b. 1733	d. 1797	New Bedford	BCPR 35:138-139
55	Delano, Timothy	cabinetmaker		w. 1804-1827	New Bedford	Hall, 20; Bordes, 751
56	Delano, William	cooper	m. 1794	d. 1800	New Bedford	BCPR 38:165-167
57	Dexter, William	house carpenter		d. 1805	New Bedford	BCPR 41:251-252
58	Dillingham, Benjamin, Jr.	cabinetmaker	m. 1799	w. 1799-1801	New Bedford	Hall, 20; Bordes, 751
59	Doty, Theodore	cooper	m. 1793	d. 1801	New Bedford	BCPR 38:180-181
60	Downie, John	joiner		d. 1780	Taunton	BCPR 26:342-343
61	Drake, Isaac	joiner		d. 1800	Taunton	BCPR 38:76-77
62	Drown, Frederick	joiner	m. 1767	d. 1804	Rehoboth	BCPR 42:373-374
63	Duncan, Thomas	cooper	m. 1794	d. 1800	New Bedford	BCPR 37:180-182; 38:209-210
64	Durfee, Thomas	joiner		d. 1772	Freetown	BCPR 22:162-163
65	Emerson, Joseph	cooper		d. 1784	Rehoboth	BCPR 28:206-207
66	Faunce, John	cabinetmaker	b. 1772	w. 1797	New Bedford	Hall, 21
67	Fisher, John	joiner		d. 1768	Norton	BCPR 20:412-415
68	Foster, Alexander	house carpenter		d. 1809	Attleborough	BCPR 45:326
69	Foster, Peter	housewright		d. 1809	New Bedford	BCPR 44:531
70	French, Elkanah	joiner	b. 1757	d. 1809	Rehoboth	BCPR 44:496-497
71	Gibbs, John	cabinetmaker	b. 1777	d. 1819	New Bedford	Hall, 21; Bordes, 751
72	Gifford, Joseph, Jr.	house carpenter		d. 1809	Dartmouth	BCPR 45:148-150
73	Gladding, Stephen	housewright		d. 1810	Rehoboth	BCPR 46:152
74	Goddard, Beriah	joiner	m. 1720	d. 1781	Jamestown, RI/Dartmouth	BCPR 26:403-404
75	Goff, Constant	joiner		d. 1790	Rehoboth	BCPR 30:472

76	Goff, Robert	cooper		d. 1776	Rehoboth	BCPR 24:300-301
77	Goff, Samuel	cooper	carpenter	d. 1808	Rehoboth	BCPR 43:420-421
78	Grover, Jesse	cooper		d. 1802	Mansfield	BCPR 39:45-46
79	Gushee, Abraham, Jr.	joiner		d. 1776	Raynham	BCPR 24:163-164
80	Hack, Nathan	house carpenter	b. 1733	d. 1809	Taunton	BCPR 45:255-257
81	Hall, John	house carpenter		d. 1766	Raynham	BCPR 20:179-180
82	Hall, Jonathan	joiner		d. 1792	Raynham	BCPR 31:452
83	Hammond, Jabez	cooper	b. 1738	d. 1809	New Bedford	BCPR 45:410-411
84	Harris, Joseph	house carpenter		d. 1763	Norton	BCPR 18:249-250
85	Harvey, John	cooper		w. 1771	Taunton	Pruitt, 620
86	Hathaway, Honewell	cooper	b. 1703	d. 1772	Dartmouth	BCPR 22:259-262
87	Hathaway, Isaac	cooper		d. 1801	New Bedford	BCPR 38:196
88	Hathaway, Isaac	cooper		d. 1804	New Bedford	BCPR 41:73-74
89	Hathaway, Jonathan	cooper	b. 1758	w. 1790	New Bedford	Akin
90	Hathaway, Obed	cooper		d. 1774	Dartmouth	BCPR 23:189-191
91	Hathaway, Phillip	boat builder	b. 1742	d. 1769	Dartmouth	BCPR 21:101-102
92	Hawes, Shubael	house carpenter		d. 1781	Dartmouth	BCPR 26:497-498
93	Hill, Jabez	house carpenter		d. 1769	Rehoboth	BCPR 21:380
94	Holladay, William	joiner		d. 1764	Dartmouth	BCPR 18:411-412
95	Hone, Samuel	house carpenter		d. 1776	Easton	BCPR 24:418-419
96	Hood, Benjamin	shipwright		d. 1806	Taunton	BCPR 42:239
97	Horton, James	house carpenter	m. 1764	d. 1793	Rehoboth	BCPR 32:445
98	Horton, Lewis	joiner	house carpenter	d. 1759	Rehoboth	BCPR 16:524
99	Horton, Solomon	house carpenter	b. 1742	d. 1776	Rehoboth	BCPR 24:241-243
100	Howland, Isaac	cooper	house carpenter	d. 1767	Dartmouth	BCPR 20:170
101	Ide, John	millwright		d. 1792	Rehoboth	BCPR 31:561
102	Jenne, Ignatius	cooper	b. 1702	d. 1763	Dartmouth	BCPR 18:270
103	Jenne, Jethro	shipwright	b. 1751	d. 1799	New Bedford	BCPR 36:411-414
104	Jenne, Samuel	boat builder		d. 1768	Dartmouth	BCPR 20:246
105	Jones, Timothy	cooper		d. 1800	Easton	BCPR 37:45-46
106	Kimball, Samuel	wheelwright		w. 1798	Easton	PCPR 34:172
107	Kinsley, Silas	joiner		d. 1775	Easton	BCPR 24:39-40
108	Lapham, Nicholas	house carpenter	m. 1759	d. 1795	Dartmouth	BCPR 33:307-309
109	Latta, William	joiner		w. 1779	Taunton	BCPR 26:91
110	Lindley, John	joiner	house carpenter	d. 1800	Rehoboth	BCPR 37:82-83
111	Lindsey, James	house carpenter		d. 1786	Easton	BCPR 29:7-9
112	Linkon, Elijah	joiner		d. 1766	Dighton	BCPR 19:441
113	Linkon, Nathaniel	house carpenter	b. 1684	d. 1761	Taunton	BCPR 17:443-447
114	Long, David	house carpenter	m. 1747	d. 1784	Taunton	BCPR 23:201-202
115	Loring, Joshua	house carpenter	b. 1741	d. 1786	Dartmouth	BCPR 29:86-88

116	Loudon, John	shipwright		w. 1761	Rochester/Dartmouth	Ellis, 56
117	Luscombe, Richard	cooper	b. 1768	d. 1825	Taunton/New Bedford	BCPR 40:189
118	Luther, Child	wheelwright		d. 1793	Swansea	BCPR 32:349-350
119	Luther, Eleazer	joiner	house carpenter	d. 1769	Swansea	BCPR 21:112-114
120	Macomber, Stephen	shipwright		d. 1811	Taunton	BCPR 46:153
121	Manchester, Lemuel	house carpenter		d. 1797	Westport	BCPR 35:175-176
122	Manley, Thomas	joiner		d. 1785	Easton	BCPR 28:466-467
123	Manner, Tobey	cooper		d. 1794	New Bedford	BCPR 33:25-27
124	Martin, Benjamin	cooper		d. 1791	Rehoboth	BCPR 31:265-267
125	Martin, Daniel	millwright		d. 1796	Swansea	BCPR 34:396-398
126	Mason, Benjamin	joiner		d. 1807	Somerset	BCPR 43:235-236
127	McPherson, John	cabinetmaker	b. 1773	d. 1803	New Bedford	BCPR 40:131; Borden, 751
128	Merrihew, Preserved	joiner	house carpenter	d. 1792	New Bedford	BCPR 31:432
129	Milk, David	house carpenter	b. 1750	d. 1770	Dartmouth	BCPR 21:221-222
130	Miller, Job	shipwright	b. 1720	d. 1792	Freetown	BCPR 33:370
131	Miller, John	shipwright		w. 1761	Freetown	PCPR 18:60
132	Myrick, Barzillai	shipwright		w. 1761	Dartmouth	Ellis, 57
133	Myrick, Benjamin	shipwright		d. 1779	Dartmouth	BCPR 26:155-156
134	Newland, Israel	boat builder	b. 1743	d. 1776	Mansfield	BCPR 24:128-129
135	Norse, James	joiner		d. 1768	Taunton	BCPR 20:242-243
136	Padelford, John	cooper		d. 1768	Taunton	Bjerikoe, 166
137	Parker, Avery	cabinetmaker		w. 1806	Taunton	BCPR 33:279-280
138	Pasmore, John	house carpenter		d. 1794	New Bedford	BCPR 33:85-86
139	Pearson, Benjamin	house carpenter		d. 1794	Rehoboth	BCPR 36:290-292
140	Phillips, Edward	joiner		d. 1799	Norton	BCPR 35:339-341
141	Phillips, Ralph	joiner		d. 1798	Taunton	BCPR 39:358-360
142	Pitts, Abner	wheelwright	carpenter	d. 1792	Taunton	BCPR 31:461-463
143	Pratt, Abijah	cooper	joiner	d. 1800	Taunton	BCPR 37:274-276
144	Pratt, William	house carpenter	joiner	d. 1807	Easton	BCPR 42:470-471
145	Randall, Ephraim	house carpenter		d. 1806	Easton	BCPR 42:427-428
146	Randall, Lemuel	house carpenter		d. 1802	Easton	BCPR 39:405
147	Ray, Daniel	housewright	m. 1774	d. 1811	Rehoboth	BCPR 46:494-495
148	Reed, William	house carpenter		d. 1810	Easton	BCPR 45:315-317
149	Riggs, John	joiner		d. 1774	Attleborough	BCPR 23:191-192
150	Riggs, Jonathan	joiner		d. 1759	Attleborough	BCPR 16:513-515
151	Riley, Amos	shipwright		d. 1805	New Bedford	BCPR 41:433-434
152	Rowland, Smith	joiner		d. 1760	Swansea	BCPR 17:146-148, 407-412
153	Rude, William	house carpenter		d. 1779	Rehoboth	BCPR 26:87-88
154	Russell, James	cooper	house carpenter	d. 1764	Dartmouth	BCPR 18:425-426
155	Russell, Josiah	cooper	b. 1716	d. 1791	Dartmouth	BCPR 31:232

156	Russell, William, Jr.	chairmaker		b. 1765	w. 1800-1823	New Bedford	Hall, 24-25
157	Russell, William, Sr.	chairmaker			w. 1791-1803	New Bedford	Hall, 25
158	Shaw, Abraham	cooper			d. 1782	Dighton	BCPR 26:64-65
159	Shaw, Nathaniel	joiner			d. 1804	Raynham	BCPR 41:550-551
160	Shaw, Nathaniel	joiner			d. 1805	Rehoboth	BCPR 41:69-70
161	Shaw, Peleg	cabinetmaker			w. 1810	New Bedford	Hall, 21
162	Shearman, Ebenezer	cabinetmaker		b. 1776	w. 1807-1808	New Bedford	Hall, 26; Bordes, 751
163	Shearman, George	housewright		b. 1749	d. 1808	New Bedford	BCPR 44:417-418
164	Shearman, Jabez	joiner		b. 1700	d. 1774	Dartmouth	BCPR 23:331-332
165	Shearman, Nathaniel	housewright		b. 1782	d. 1809	New Bedford	BCPR 45:409-410
166	Shepard, David	cooper			d. 1788	New Bedford	BCPR 30:51-54
167	Shepard, John	joiner		m. 1719	d. 1759	Dartmouth	BCPR 17:53-56
168	Shepard, John	joiner		b. 1728	d. 1804	Dartmouth	BCPR 41:111-114
169	Slead, Baker	cooper			d. 1807	Somerset	BCPR 43:173-174
170	Smith, Deliverance	joiner		m. 1756	d. 1778	Dartmouth	BCPR 25:309-311
171	Smith, Gilbert	house carpenter			d. 1798	Freetown	BCPR 35:239
172	Spooner, John	house carpenter		b. 1715	d. 1778	Dartmouth	BCPR 25:281-282
173	Spooner, Simpson	cooper			d. 1810	New Bedford	BCPR 45:394-395
174	Stratton, John	joiner	chaisemaker		d. 1811	Fall River	BCPR 46:223-224
175	Swift, Elijah	shipwright	carpenter	b. 1774	w. 1814	New Bedford	Bordes, 751
176	Swift, Reuben	cabinetmaker		b. 1780	d. 1843	New Bedford	Bordes, 750-752
177	Taber, Benjamin	boat builder			w. 1761	Dartmouth	Ellis, 56
178	Talbot, Elkanah	joiner			d. 1806	Dighton	BCPR 42:173-176
179	Talbot, Josiah	house carpenter			d. 1809	Dighton	BCPR 45:23-24
180	Tallman, David	cooper			d. 1771	Dartmouth	BCPR 22:425
181	Thayer, William	joiner		b. 1731	d. 1779	Taunton	BCPR 26:511-515; 31:170-175
182	Tilson, Stephen	cooper			d. 1774	Dartmouth	BCPR 23:351
183	Titus, Hezekiah	house carpenter		b. 1726	d. 1782	Rehoboth	BCPR 27:152-153
184	Tobey, Avery	house carpenter		m. 1798	d. 1801	New Bedford	BCPR 38:185
185	Tobey, Lemuel	cabinetmaker		b. 1747	d. 1829	Dartmouth	Zea, 64-65
186	Tobey, Silvanus	cooper			d. 1768	Dartmouth	BCPR 20:241-242, 331
187	Tompkins, Benjamin	shipwright			d. 1802	Freetown	BCPR 39:318
188	Tripp, Ablel	house carpenter			d. 1764	Dartmouth	BCPR 18:441-443
189	Tripp, Giles	joiner			d. 1795	Westport	BCPR 33:265-266
190	Tripp, Ichabod	house carpenter			d. 1799	Westport	BCPR 36:178
191	Tripp, William	cooper			d. 1771	Dartmouth	BCPR 21:499-501
192	Washburn, William	chairmaker		b. 1774	d. 1810	New Bedford	BCPR 46:16
193	Webster, Simeon	joiner			d. 1807	Freetown	BCPR 43:294-295
194	Webster, Stephen	joiner	house carpenter		d. 1782	Berkley	BCPR 27:306-309
195	Wellman, Elijah	cooper			d. 1790	Attleborough	BCPR 31:139-141

196	West, Henry	cooper		d. 1798	Rehoboth	BCPR 35:458-459
197	West, John	house carpenter		d. 1790	New Bedford	BCPR 31:45
198	West, Stephen	joiner		d. 1769	Dartmouth	BCPR 21:93-96
199	Wheaton, James	house carpenter		d. 1778	Rehoboth	BCPR 25:328-329
200	White, John	joiner	house carpenter	d. 1759	Raynham	BCPR 17:319-321
201	Whiting, David	house carpenter		d. 1800	Attleborough	BCPR 37:50-52
202	Wilkerson, Benajah	cooper		d. 1767	Dartmouth	BCPR 20:144-146
203	Williams, Bradford	housewright		d. 1809	New Bedford	BCPR 45:413
204	Williams, Jonathan	house carpenter		d. 1796	Taunton	BCPR 33:543-544
205	Winslow, Bailey	house carpenter		d. 1803	Freetown	BCPR 40:210-211
206	Wood, Luthan	cabinetmaker	b. 1736	w. 1786-1802	New Bedford	Hall, 27

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Appendix 5

SELECTED INVENTORIES OF WOODWORKERS' TOOLS AND MATERIALS

Jonathan Baldwin, house carpenter
 Rehoboth, BCPR 19:72-73
 taken August 6, 1765

	£ s. d.
best handsaw	00:04:00
one ditto	00:02:06
ditto	00:02:06
iron square & pease	00:02:09
compasses	00:00:06
joynter	00:13:00
two fore plains & smoothing plane with their irons	00:03:00
window hasticle	00:05:00
panel plane	00:02:00
groving plow	00:05:00
adds	00:04:06
two inch chizzels & 2 broad	00:06:00
3/4 auger & half inch	00:03:00
spike gimlet	00:00:04
three paring chizels	00:04:06
2 pannel guages & 1 casement chizel	00:01:06
one half inch & 1 quarter inch chizel	00:01:06
two small gimblets & old compass saw	00:01:02
glue pott	00:02:06
two wooden squares and sundry slip & set guages	00:03:00
old ax & old hatchet	00:01:06
1 hammer	00:01:00
17 thin plains for sundry uses	01:00:00
window frame & casement	00:12:00
grindstone	00:01:06
oak boards	00:04:00
Total value	£05:08:03

Benajah Wilkeson, cooper
 Dartmouth, BCPR 20:144-146
 taken May 14, 1767

	£ s. d.
43 fish barrells in four hoops	04:02:08
10 fish barrells	01:05:04

76 oyl ditto	12:13:04
20 oyl barrells not hoopt	02:16:08
91 1/3 of barrells @ 3/4	15:03:04
100 barrell hoops	02:12:09
1 1/2 hundred heading	00:09:00
1900 staves	02:17:00
3/4 of hundred hogshead hoops	00:03:00
100 barrell hoops	00:02:00
1/2 hundred staves and 3/4 hundred heading	00:08:03
1/2 hundred heading	00:03:00
2 joynter stocks	00:03:04
2 small truss hoops	00:03:04
6 drawing knives	01:00:00
1 howel	00:02:08
3 coopers axes	00:10:06
joynter irons	00:08:00
2 hand saws	00:05:04
1 tap borer	00:00:04
1 bung ditto	00:01:00
2 froes	00:05:08
1 marking iron	00:10:00
coopers vice & compasses	00:02:00
2 joynters	00:06:00
2 hogsheads	00:10:00
4 oyl casks	00:13:04
2 fish barrells	00:04:00
10 large truss hoops	00:02:08
1 crose	00:02:08
grindstone & crank	00:10:06
three coopers adses at 3/	00:09:00
	Total value £49:06:08

Samuel Jenne, boat builder
Dartmouth, BCPR 20:246
taken February 20, 1768

	£ s. d.
some boat timber	01:01:08
some oak plank	00:16:08
cedar clabboards	02:11:00
8 feet more of plank	00:01:06
a broad ax	00:06:00
a carpenters adds	00:08:00
two saws	01:01:00
4 gimblets	00:01:09
one pair compasses	00:00:06
a corking iron	00:01:00
2 files	00:00:08

a carpenters rule	00:01:03
a hammer	00:01:00
5 chisils & a gogue	00:03:00
a drawing knife	00:03:00
planes & gogue & groveing plough	00:12:00
200 feet gunel timber	01:04:00
six pair wooden tongs	00:02:00
a steeming box & refuse timber	00:02:06
2 augers	00:03:00
several parcels of nails	00:19:04
	Total value £10:00:10

Stephen West, joiner
Dartmouth, BCPR 21:93-96
taken July 21, 1769

	£ s. d.
coopers joyntures	00:02:00
crooked frow	00:01:06
stone hammer	00:01:06
trowel	00:01:00
five turning chisels & 4 gouges	00:07:06
six chair chisels	00:02:08
2 pairing gouges	00:01:00
iron gouge	00:00:04
two pareing chisels	00:00:08
turning lave and the wooding implements used for making chairs	00:15:08
one broad ax	00:06:00
one small ditto	00:02:00
great stock & 4 bitts	00:05:00
2 framing chisels	00:03:00
narrow chisels	00:00:04
five augers	00:11:10
bedstead chisel	00:01:00
large pairing chisel	00:00:10
one iron chisel	00:00:08
carpenters adds	00:03:08
iron square	00:03:00
compasses	00:00:06
3 drawing knives	00:07:00
block makers gouge	00:00:06
raining gage	00:00:04
two joyners dogs	00:01:04
hammer	00:01:00
spoke shave	00:02:00
groveing plow	00:03:04

philister	00:01:08
twelve plains	01:06:00
five spare irons	00:01:06
two joyntures	00:06:00
2 bevel squares	00:00:06
two wooden squares	00:01:08
three erasers	00:02:00
crosscut saw	00:15:00
one hand saw	00:05:00
block saw	00:04:00
4 small saws	00:02:00
compass saw	00:02:00
two froes	00:05:00
iron maul	00:04:00
mallet and wooden mauls	00:01:06
small grindstone	00:01:00
3 gimblets	00:05:00
chalk line & bob	00:00:04
one pair of pinchers	00:00:06
eight files	00:02:04
dowel bit & gimblet	00:00:04
pinchers crooked knife and bullet mould	00:01:06
saw set	00:00:08
coopers compasses	00:01:04
two old shoe knives	00:00:06
rasp	00:01:00
taper bit	00:00:08
wooden vice	00:03:00
	Total value £09:03:02

John Riggs, joiner
Attleborough, BCPR 23:191-192
taken February 28, 1774

	£ s. d.
a joiners work bench	00:06:00
broad ax	00:12:00
ditto	00:06:00
3 augers	00:05:00
an adds	00:04:00
2 pair chisells & gouge	00:05:00
5 joiners chisells	00:01:08
2 gouges	00:00:04
a square	00:02:06
a handsaw	00:06:00
a cornish and bead mould	00:08:00
3 jointers	00:07:06
2 fore plains	00:02:06

a fine saw	00:03:00
smooth plain	00:01:04
a grove plow	00:04:00
a nostakle	00:01:06
O.G.	00:01:02
a quarter round	00:01:04
a half inch beed	00:01:02
a rabbiting plain	00:01:00
a filester	00:01:00
box rule	00:01:00
5 old files	00:00:05
nosing plain and gouge	00:01:08
compasses & hammers	00:01:08
drawing knife	00:01:02
4 pieces whiston & wooding square	00:00:06
2 gimblets marking iron	
& chalk line	00:01:02
window frame timber	00:02:06
6 window frames	00:17:02
window frames and sash part made	00:07:04
large bead and scribing gouge	00:01:10
2 sash plains	00:02:00
Total value	£06:00:05

Silas Kinsley, joiner
 Easton, BCPR 24:39-40
 taken September 19, 1775

	£ s. d.
best narrow ax	00:03:04
small narrow ax	00:01:04
shave ax	00:01:04
large hand saw	00:10:00
fine saw	00:04:00
small fine saw	00:06:00
two large jointers	00:04:00
cornish plane	00:05:00
best groving plow	00:06:00
old groving plow	00:02:00
two four planes	00:01:04
old plane irons	00:00:08
best pannel plane	00:02:00
old pannel plane	00:01:04
smoothing plane	00:00:08
round plane	00:00:08
fore oge	00:00:09
plane oge	00:01:08
two quarter rounds	00:02:06

three bed planes	00:03:04
one sash plane	00:00:10
flaweing plane	00:00:08
little oge	00:01:00
three old planes	00:00:06
best iron square	00:04:00
old iron square	00:01:10
small iron square	00:01:10
nail hammer	00:00:08
two sets of framing chisels & one gouge	00:05:00
two joiners chisels	00:01:06
four old chisels	00:01:00
one pair of compasses	00:00:08
inch auger	00:02:00
one large frow	00:03:00
one wooden gage and mark iron	00:01:02
four files	00:00:07
sundry old files	00:00:09
three old axel trees	00:01:06
two chalk lines	00:00:08
one old frow	00:01:00
maple boards	00:06:00
pine boards	00:06:04
pine boarding in ye shop	00:02:08
sealing boards	00:04:00
colours	00:02:06
cross cut saw	00:04:00
a joiners shop	04:00:00
	Total value £9:12:7

William Reed, cooper
Middleborough, PCPR 24:351-352
taken June 4, 1776

	£ s. d.
five drawing knives	00:09:00
great saw	00:07:00
three cooper [saws]	00:06:00
two cooper adzs	00:07:00
two cooper howls	00:04:00
three crooked knives	00:06:00
bung borer & tap borer	00:03:00
bit & stock	00:01:06
hammer pincers & vice	00:02:00
coopers hatchet	00:02:06
3 files & a spoke shave	00:02:00
three joynters	00:06:00

one jointer iron face	00:06:00
hand saw	00:03:06
crows	00:04:00
two old chisels	00:01:00
compasses	00:06:00
chalk	00:01:08
cedar for pales	00:01:08
grindstone	00:12:00
three setts of tres hoops	00:06:00
pails part made	00:04:00
oake staves	00:07:00
oak heading	00:02:00
auger & gough	00:02:00
hoops	00:01:00
stone hammer	00:01:00
strait drawing knife	00:01:00
Total value	£05:15:10

Hezekiah Titus, house carpenter
Rehoboth, BCPR 27:152-153
taken May 29. 1782

	£ s. d.
1 double sash moulden	00:02:06
1 set of sash plains & phylist	00:03:00
1 set ditto	00:02:00
1 set ditto	00:02:00
hallow & round	00:02:00
2 rabet plains	00:02:06
1 hatchet	00:03:00
1 plough	00:04:00
2 fore plains	00:02:06
2 jointers	00:02:00
5 wooden squares	00:03:00
7 gages	00:02:00
1 bench hook	00:06:00
1 hammer	00:01:00
pinchers	00:01:00
2 sash chysells	00:01:06
2 broad chysells	00:01:00
2 narrow chysells	00:02:00
1 gouge & putty knife	00:02:00
1 auger & smooth plane	00:01:06
2 saws	00:18:00
1 diamond	01:04:00
1 wooden vice	00:02:00
3 nail gimblets	00:01:00
2 paint stones	00:04:00
3 mullers	03:00:00

1 grindstone	00:09:00
3 whet stones	00:04:00
8 paint tubbs	00:06:00
3 oil jugs & 2 bottles	00:05:00
3 work benches	00:12:00
pine boards	00:12:04
1 hhd lime	01:04:00
11 pounds of putty	01:00:00
2 pounds of white lead	00:04:00
167 squares of glass	05:00:00
broken glass	00:06:00
1 six square sash & the glass	00:08:00
Total value £18:5:10	

Charles Clap, housewright
Scituate, PCPR 33:362-363
taken March 22, 1793

	£ s. d.
14 planes	01:08:00
3 gouges	00:02:00
2 saws	00:10:00
1 iron square	00:02:08
1 auger	00:01:06
4 gouges	00:04:00
6 files & compasses	00:01:00
12 chizzels	00:06:00
1 hammer	00:00:06
2 draw shaves	00:03:06
6 gimblets	00:00:10
2 piercing bits	00:04:00
1 tool chest	00:03:00
vise of wood	00:04:00
1 adze & auger	00:06:00
Total value £02:17:00	

Ebenezer Allen, cabinetmaker
New Bedford, BCPR 32:209-211
taken May 3, 1793

	£ s. d.
2,025 cedar laths	01:10:00
fine boards	01:13:00
mechanick tools:	
one finearing saw with a fram	00:17:00
one lave wheel with crank	00:18:00
brest stock & nineteen bits	01:00:00
cornish iron & stock	00:04:06
large jointer	00:03:09

second ditto	00:03:00
fourth ditto	00:02:00
fifth ditto	00:01:09
sixth ditto	00:01:09
seventh	00:04:00
eighth @	00:04:00
ninth @	00:03:00
tenth	00:02:00
eleventh & twelfth 2/ each	00:04:00
thirteenth @ 1/6	00:01:06
three jack plains	00:02:03
one strick block	00:03:00
one double iron	00:03:00
second ditto	00:01:08
two smoothing plains 1/6 each	00:03:00
three other ditto 9 d. each	00:02:03
fourteen jointers	00:00:09
thirteen hallows with stock 2/ each	01:06:00
twelve round with stocks @ 2/	01:04:00
five ogees @ 2/ each	00:10:00
one cornish	00:02:00
two quarter rounds @ 3/ each	00:06:00
two double beeds	00:02:00
pair of table plains	00:01:06
two other ditto	00:01:00
three having plains	00:03:00
rabbit plain	00:03:00
five ditto	00:05:00
double ogee beed	00:01:06
one groving plow with stock	00:04:06
tenant saw	00:07:00
second ditto	00:01:00
hand ditto	00:06:00
two ditto @ 6/ each	00:12:00
sash saw	00:06:00
turn ditto	00:01:00
two spears saw @ 1/6	00:03:00
one turning chisel	00:01:00
second ditto	00:00:09
gouge	00:00:09
ditto	00:00:06
third ditto	00:00:04
one trimmer	00:00:09
six ditto 6 d. each	00:03:00
four gouges @ 8 d.	00:02:08
one rammer	00:00:09
one mortising chisel	00:01:06
ditto	00:00:08

one bouling chizzel	00:00:06
pair of compasses	00:00:06
one scrul driver	00:00:06
two other ditto	00:00:08
five small files	00:01:00
pair of shares	00:01:00
three hammers	00:02:06
one cold chisel	00:00:03
one bit stock with several bits	00:01:00
nine wooden squares	00:01:00
two glue pots	00:03:06
one wit stone	00:06:00
one hold fast	00:01:06
four wooden gages @ 8 d.	00:02:08
one drawing knife	00:01:00
several wooden patterns or shapes to cut worke by	00:01:06
New furniture on hand:	
two high chests of draws @ £5.5 each	10:10:00
one mahogany desk	09:00:00
ditto table	03:12:00
one birch ditto	01:04:00
mahogany stand	00:15:00
maple ditto	00:06:00
one bureau	02:08:00
maple desk	04:04:00
two mahogany frames for glasses 20/ each	02:00:00
1850 feet of maple boards	02:17:00
434 feet of pine boards	01:00:00
285 feet of mahogany	14:05:00
short pieces of ditto lump	01:04:00
100 cedar rails	00:18:00
Total value	£70:15:06

Childs Luther, wheelwright
Swansea, BCPR 32:349-350
taken August 5, 1793

	£ s. d.
295 feet of boards	00:17:08
stuff for foot wheels	01:16:00
two hand saws	00:10:00
one taper bit & one augur	00:05:00
one broad ax	00:04:00
froe & hold fast	00:03:00
five chisels	00:03:02
four bits	00:01:00

iron mandrels six	00:01:06
three gouges	00:04:00
one drawing knife	00:02:00
screw cut	00:02:00
four files	00:01:08
one iron square	00:02:00
one nail hammer	00:00:09
four reaming iron	00:01:00
one compass saw	00:00:09
2 gimblets & irons and one upright plain & iron	00:04:00
two breast stocks & one small chisel	00:03:06
two beading tools	00:02:00
one shag knife one gimblet	00:01:00
three wooden squares	00:01:00
four wooden gages	00:01:06
two hub borers	00:02:00
one turning lave	00:06:00
one work bench	00:06:00
four wooden wheel rims	00:04:00
half of a great lave to turn rims	00:05:00
Total value	£06:11:06

Daniel Martin, millwright
Swansea, BCPR 34:396-398
taken September 20, 1796

Tools of mechanicks:	
12 plain irons	\$2.00
1 drawing knife	.25
screw cut	.17
50 files	1.50
3 screw plates	1.50
4 line whurs	.50
wire pincers	1.25
old ditto	.30
tools for wiring corners	.50
3 boxes of small tools	5.00
bullet shot & button mold	.75
2 spoon moulds	.34
shears to cut nails	2.00
tools to cut screws for foot wheels	1.50
two adzs	1.00
moulds for cyder rolls	1.00
hold fast	.70
six plains	1.50
9 augers & taper bits	2.75

breast stock	.50
drawing knife	.50
4 old saws	.66
6 old chisels	.25
2 turning tools	.36
3 plains	.25
square & 4 mill gouges	1.75
bur & 2 mill chisels	1.00
turning rest squ(?)	.25
fro whetstone & bone	.54
6 turning blocks & screws	2.00
cross cut saw	2.00
cast anvils & crows	4.20
2 stakes	2.66
bellows	5.00
7 pr. of smith's tongs	1.75
2 sledges	1.40
3 hammers	.93
6 chisels & pincers	.50
2 vices	3.00
butress & pincers	.50
breast stock & drills	1.25
large handsaw	2.00
4 nail tools	.65
2 adzes	.70
2 hatchets & old ax	.50
screw plate & plank	.60
beck iron	1.50
tools for cutting screws for mills	3.00
gaging rod	.50
compass & chain & apparatus to them belonging	8.00
Total value \$73.21	

Samuel Snow, joiner & housewright
Rochester, PCPR 36:202-203
taken 1797

carpenters tools:	
hand saw	\$1.00
back saw	1.25
hatchet	.25
23 planes	4.25
little backt saw	.25
fram'd saw	.33
2 hammers	.24
iron square	.33
wood ditto	.08

2 1/2 in. auger	.66
3 old 3/4 ditto	.12
adze	1.00
10 chizells	2.25
3 gouges	.75
1 rasp & 2 files	.25
compass & rule	.33
old drawing knife & file	.08
part of a new table	.25
maple timber for draws	1.00
7 windows frames	3.50
turning lathe	.33
trimming for draws	2.00
Total value	\$20.50

William Delano, cooper
New Bedford, BCPR 38:166-167
taken May 5, 1801

1 chest of coopers tools & c. viz.:	
1 handsaw	\$.66
1 tenon saw	.66
2 pr. bow compasses	.50
5 drawing knives	1.50
3 bit stocks & 6 bits	1.50
2 croes stocks & croes	1.00
3 hammers at .75	2.25
1 coopers adze	.60
4 howels	1.50
2 drivers	.40
2 coopers axes	1.00
3 cold chisels	.60
2 bung borers	1.32
2 jointer irons	.40
2 punches	.30
1 stake	1.50
1 claw hammer	.16
1 tap borer 1 key hole saw	
2 button knives	.50
4 gimblets	.25
5 three square files	.50
4 chisels	.40
11 small files	.66
2 files	.20
3 pr. marking irons	.20
1 paper of iron rivets	1.25
old plain stocks, flag iron	.75
Total value	\$20.56

Jacob Beal, Jr., chairmaker
Hingham, PCPR 40:329
taken October 18, 1805

shop tools	\$51.97
saw vice & patterns	1.00
4 benches	7.00
2 vices	1.00
2 turning lathes	15.00
1/3 grinstone	.75
painting tools pots & c.	6.00
measuring stick	1.00
stock in the shop	112.58
pine boards & plank	42.00
shingles	2.00
cedar posts	.84
water lath & building standing on sufferance	30.00
shop standing on the town's land or highway	750.00
	Total value \$1,021.44

Stephen Nye, housewright
Rochester, PCPR 43:331-332
taken February 20, 1810

carpenters tools:	
34 planes, 20 chissels & gouges, 2 broad axes iron square & 2 pair of compasses	\$42.00
one narrow axe & two hatchets	2.00
two augers	1.25
drawing knife & whet stones	1.91
two hammers	.75
four gages & two wooden squares	1.00
five saws	8.00
stuff for 16 window frames	2.56
work bench & screws	2.00
lathe	2.00
one grindstone	3.00
	Total value \$66.47

William Washburn, chairmaker
New Bedford, BCPR 46:16
taken June 6, 1810

150 bunches of flags	\$5.75
five plank chair rounds & c.	4.00

one sign board	.25
two vices	1.00
one steam box	.50
one oil keg and two jugs	.50
one box with paint	1.25
one bench and turning tools	22.00
one box of yellow paint	1.16
one turning lathe	25.00
two workbenches and screws	7.00
	Total value \$68.41

Charles Blankinship, shipwright
 Rochester, PCPR 43:347-348
 taken December 25, 1810

4 handsaws one square sundry	
files chissels & gouges	\$5.25
5 augers	3.50
planes & moulding tools	5.00
caulking tools sledges & gimblets	2.50
3 whip saws	8.00
two cross cut saws	3.50
1 shickle bar & two iron crows	
drawing knife & c.	2.50
3 adzes one broad ax	3.50
two scrapers & one iron wedge	1.25
2 paint pots & brushes	.50
twelve tons ship timber	78.00
1,400 pine plank	28.00
1,500 feet of oak plank 1 3/4 inch	33.00
mast, spars, & c. for a small vessel	8.00
	Total value \$182.50

CONCLUSION

The experience of joiner/housewright Simeon Doggett, as viewed through his account book, family papers, and joinery, stands in contrast to the careers of other rural craftsmen whom scholars have studied. Although certain features of Doggett's life, such as his reliance on farming, indicate similarities with these craftsmen, other aspects of his career reveal how Doggett's life did not conform with the traditional model. The absence of kinship networks in Doggett's life distinguishes him from the typical rural artisan of the eighteenth-century. In addition, he espoused religious and political beliefs contrary to the vast majority in his town, and spent several years at the height of his career as a literal outcast. The entries in Doggett's account book show the expected exchanges of furniture and carpentry for farm products and labor, but also reveal the unexpected and overwhelming presence of iron as an exchangeable commodity. Finally, Doggett's joinery, as represented by the chair he made for his daughter's wedding, reveals his preference for fashionable urban prototypes over accepted rural forms.

Doggett's experience should prompt scholars to re-examine accepted notions regarding "rural" and "traditional" craftsmen. Middleborough was not a typical rural community, nor was Doggett a typical rural artisan. Close examination of Doggett's career as a woodworking artisan has revealed that his experience was in some ways closer to modern life than it was to traditional. Doggett's experience should give caution that rural and traditional are not necessarily synonymous. Although Middleborough was a land-locked agricultural community and may have appeared "rural" on an eighteenth-century map, certain elements combined to give it a non-rural character. The presence of the wealthy and urbane Oliver family and their ironworks, a network of rivers and lakes connecting Middleborough with Bristol County ports, and the presence of religious and political activism all gave Middleborough a cosmopolitan flavor. Doggett and other Middleborough craftsmen, while living in what outwardly appeared to be a rural community, actually felt the effects of an increasingly modern society.

The oversimplified urban/rural dichotomy has persisted, in part, due to a lack of truly integrated studies of artisans. Object-based analyses of craftsmen have tended to focus on construction techniques and design sources to the exclusion of working environments and social relationships. In their efforts to identify the regional attributes of artisans and their products, decorative arts scholars have emphasized the common experience over the individual one. This bias has been compounded by the fact that, in most instances, primary sources which allow access to human experience are simply not available. In the case of Simeon Doggett, a wide range of sources informed the study of his life and allowed a more integrated view of his experience as a craftsman. Consideration of an artisan's products, together with his environment, social relations, working methods, and the economic structure of his locality allow a comprehensive and more accurate view of a craftsman and his community.

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