

## INFORMATION TO USERS

This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.

University  
Microfilms  
International

300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106  
18 BEDFORD ROW, LONDON WC1R 4EJ, ENGLAND

1313100

ST. GEORGE, ROBERT BLAIR  
STYLE AND STRUCTURE IN THE JOINERY OF DEDHAM  
AND MEDFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, 1635 - 1685.

UNIVERSITY OF DELAWARE (WINTERTHUR PROGRAM).  
M.A., 1978

University  
Microfilms  
International

300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106

PLEASE NOTE:

In all cases this material has been filmed in the best possible way from the available copy. Problems encountered with this document have been identified here with a check mark ☒.

1. Glossy photographs ☒
2. Colored illustrations \_\_\_\_\_
3. Photographs with dark background ☒
4. Illustrations are poor copy \_\_\_\_\_
5. Print shows through as there is text on both sides of page \_\_\_\_\_
6. Indistinct, broken or small print on several pages \_\_\_\_\_ throughout  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. Tightly bound copy with print lost in spine \_\_\_\_\_
8. Computer printout pages with indistinct print \_\_\_\_\_
9. Page(s) \_\_\_\_\_ lacking when material received, and not available  
from school or author \_\_\_\_\_
10. Page(s) \_\_\_\_\_ seem to be missing in numbering only as text  
follows \_\_\_\_\_
11. Poor carbon copy \_\_\_\_\_
12. Not original copy, several pages with blurred type \_\_\_\_\_
13. Appendix pages are poor copy \_\_\_\_\_
14. Original copy with light type \_\_\_\_\_
15. Curling and wrinkled pages \_\_\_\_\_
16. Other \_\_\_\_\_

University  
Microfilms  
International

300 N. ZEEB RD., ANN ARBOR, MI 48106 (313) 761-4700

STYLE AND STRUCTURE IN THE  
JOINERY OF DEDHAM AND MEDFIELD,  
MASSACHUSETTS, 1635 - 1685

BY

Robert Blair St. George

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.

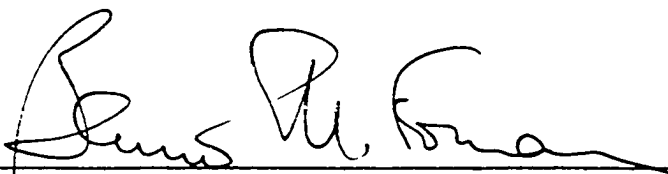
June, 1978

STYLE AND STRUCTURE IN THE  
JOINERY OF DEDHAM AND MEDFIELD,  
MASSACHUSETTS, 1635 - 1685

BY

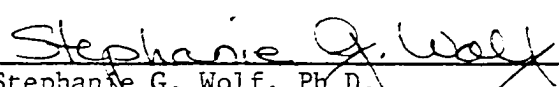
Robert Blair St. George

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

  
Benno M. Forman, M.A.

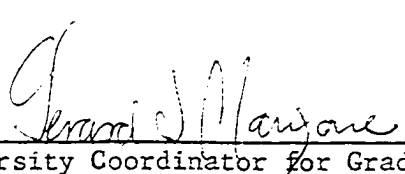
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the  
Advisory Committee

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

  
Stephanie G. Wolf, Ph.D.

Chairman of the Department of Early American Culture

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

  
University Coordinator for Graduate Studies

## PREFACE

This paper began as a study of the seventeenth-century furniture of the southeastern New England region, and remains a small but vital segment of that larger ongoing project. After doing a systematic and exhaustive survey of the surviving artifacts from the region, which stretches from Dorchester and Dedham on the north, to Providence and the eastern Narragansett region on the southwest, and to Cape Cod on the southeast, it soon became apparent that without defining exactly what the base unit of culture in seventeenth-century New England was, this study would have to stop at a vague definition of a "regional style." It became increasingly self-evident as I progressed that due to the varying English origins of the settlers, the number of "regional styles" active among first-generation craftsmen was as limitless as their place of English origin. Certainly, as major shops grew, by the second generation enough interaction had occurred to enable particular New England styles to diffuse with migrating masters and apprentices. Because the early joinery of Dedham and Medfield was the work of a first-generation master and his second-generation apprentice, and was used by two towns with a very rigidly defined common cultural heritage, this paper argues that one means to undercut vague notions of regional style is to treat the town - not the region - as the base unit of New England culture.

Previous studies of seventeenth-century New England joinery, such as Benno M. Forman's "The Seventeenth-Century Case Furniture of Essex County, Massachusetts, and its Makers" (1968), Patricia Kane's "The Seventeenth-Century Case Furniture of Hartford County, Connecticut, and its Makers" (1968) and "The Seventeenth-Century Furniture of the Connecticut Valley: The Hadley Chest Re-appraised" (1974), and Robert F. Trent's "The Joiners and Joinery of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1730" (1974) have consisted to compilations of craftsmen's biographies and exacting catalog descriptions of surviving objects with histories of ownership in those areas. In method, these studies have all been oriented toward compilation and documentation. In an infant discipline, they have been sound foundations upon which to build. In order to efficiently cover new ground, the regions these studies treated were defined by the political boundaries of the county being studied; of course, cultural patterns need not coincide with political delimitations. Indeed, because these studies had to employ a diffuse, ethnographic approach, their lack of real specificity concerning interaction between social patterns and cultural patterns was unavoidable. No attempt has yet been made in seventeenth-century artifactual studies to relate the demographic activity of craftsmen to patterns of object survival. Again, this shortcoming is implicit in the absolute need to study in closer detail, using more varied and creative approaches, the activities among craftsmen and clientele in each town within the regions.

Recent publications in folkloristic studies and the real and theoretical applications of folklore methodology to decorative arts scholarship have been utilized in attempting to explain the function and meaning of the Dedham and Medfield artifacts to their maker and users. Notably, the works of Henry Glassie and Dell Hymes and Robert Trent's translation of Henri Focillon's "Introduction" to Art Populaire have suggested new ways to interpret seventeenth-century New England culture.

Finally, it should be pointed out that the core of this essay is built around a previously untested assumption: that the verbal and visual expressions of a discrete sociolinguistic sub-culture will display eccentricities of form and function that vary in direct parallel correspondence. Moreover, these variations will exhibit analogous dialectal drift predictably over time. Because the study of both English and New England dialectal linguistics has gone so far beyond the creeping pace of artifactual studies, much helpful theoretical knowledge may be gleaned by the furniture historians from language studies.

The author gratefully acknowledges the generous assistance of Frank Thurston of Libertyville, Illinois, Thurston family genealogist, for information concerning John Thurston's English heritage, and Laura Smith of the Medfield Historical Society for providing access to the two panels from the Medfield 1655 pulpit. Muriel Peters, librarian of the Dedham Historical Society, and Robert Hanson of the Dedham



Town Office assisted in researching the Farrington chair and the genealogy of John Houghton. The author is also indebted to John Walton and Douglas Wright for permission to examine objects in their possession, and to Alice Gray Read of the Department of Architecture, Graduate School of Fine Arts, University of Pennsylvania, for her patience and skill in preparing the drawings which accompany the text. Special thanks are due to Benno M. Forman, Teaching Associate and Research Fellow of The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum for the constant advice and encouragement he has given as the author's thesis advisor. He has given selflessly of his time and knowledge, and I hope that this essay will in some small part reimburse him for his efforts with a too eager student. Thanks are also due to Jonathan Fairbanks, Curator of the Department of American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, who first rediscovered the Medfield panels and recognized their importance. Finally, the author is most indebted to Robert F. Trent, Research Associate in the Department of American Decorative Arts, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. It is only through his many helpful suggestions, constant enthusiasm, and rigorous reading of the manuscript that this essay has reached its present state.

## CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
Preface. . . . .	iii
Contents . . . . .	vii
Text . . . . .	1
Appendix . . . . .	39
Bibliography . . . . .	63
Notes. . . . .	72
Illustrations. . . . .	82

STYLE AND STRUCTURE IN THE JOINERY OF  
DEDHAM AND MEDFIELD, MASSACHUSETTS, 1635 - 1685

The town of Dedham was established by the General Court of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1636. A large tract of wilderness bounded on the north by the Charles River, on the east by Roxbury and Dorchester, and on the south by Providence Plantation, the Dedham grant possessed abundant, well-watered champion lands suitable for English husbandry, and the town's inhabitants raised and processed grain crops and livestock for the Boston market.<sup>1</sup> In time, Dedham's vast territory proved unwieldy for effective supervision by the selectmen, situated as they were in the town center at the extreme northeast corner of the grant. As the population increased and land values in the town center rose, some of the original settlers moved their families into the open lands to the southwest, and by 1720, four new towns had been carved out of the original Dedham grant.<sup>2</sup>

A petition to establish the first of these towns, Medfield, was submitted in 1649, and granted by the General Court two years later. Initially a village or parish of Dedham, Medfield was settled almost exclusively by people who were from the same cultural background as their Dedham neighbors; in all but four cases, Medfield families were former members of the Dedham community. Indeed, Dedham and Medfield formed a distinct cultural unit within the larger sphere

of seventeenth-century New England life. Recent head counts of English emigrants have shown that the two towns were predominantly East Anglian, with a few settlers from the northern English counties of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire.<sup>3</sup>

On a more specific level, the majority of the East Anglians in Dedham and Medfield came from a small area in eastern Suffolk County and southeastern Norfolk County, bounded by Ipswich on the south, the textile towns of Norwich and Great Yarmouth on the north, and New Buckenham on the west.<sup>4</sup> On an even more specific level, the Suffolk villages of Syleham, Fressingfield, Ringsfield, and Wrentham define an area thirty miles square from which many Dedham yeomen came. Non-conformists all, they may have first met while gathering at Wrentham to hear the Puritan sermons of the Reverend John Phillips, who later led the hegira of his congregation to New England.

The geographical proximity of the Suffolk towns from which the settlers of Dedham and Medfield came suggests that they were a culturally homogenous group, since their native area in Suffolk was not a "borderline" zone between regional sub-cultures. In fact, recent research in English dialectal linguistics indicates that the particular Suffolk sub-culture which dominated Dedham society coincided almost exactly with a linguistic sub-culture still to be found in eastern Suffolk and southeastern Norfolk.<sup>5</sup> If localized

peculiarities of speech were transferred from Suffolk to Dedham, it may also be possible that the transfer of a parallel "dialect" in the material culture of Dedham's settlers took place.

A continuity of practice was assured in the woodworking trades; of nine first-generation craftsmen whose regional origins are known, only one had not emigrated from the Suffolk area (Fig. 1). Because the woodworking trades were dominated by Suffolk craftsmen, their apprentices in Dedham and Medfield would also have worked in the Suffolk regional "dialect," thus perpetuating to a certain degree the same style and structure brought from England by the first generation. The artifacts made by first- and second-generation woodworkers in Dedham and Medfield thus provide an ideal opportunity to study an identifiable English regional style and structure and its development in the New World.

\*

\*

\*

In 1898, Harriet A. Fowle donated various relics of Medfield's early years to the Medfield Historical Society. Included in the gift were two carved oak panels said to have been part of the original 1655 pulpit of the first meeting house. The lozenge-shaped panel (Figs. 2, 2a) was entered in the society's accessions record as "A piece of carved oak from the first church Date 1656 cut on the back."<sup>6</sup> The second panel (Fig. 3) is rectangular in shape and decorated with conjoined s-scroll motifs which form an anthemion-like design.

Local antiquarians had known of the panels' existence prior to their acquisition by the historical society. In 1887, William Tilden described the lozenge-shaped panel in his History of Medfield, Massachusetts:

A piece of rudely carved oak is still preserved, which was taken from the front of the gallery when the meeting house of 1706 was pulled down. It bears the date 1656, the year the first pulpit was made. This ornament was probably a part of that piece of furniture, and was put into the second house as a memento.<sup>7</sup>

The panels had been rescued from the first meeting house when it was torn down between 1703 and 1706 to make room for a structure large enough to accommodate the town's increased population. The builders of the second house, carpenters Robert Pond of Wrentham and Comfort Starr of Dedham, were allowed to "have the old one and what appertains to it toward [the cost of] the building and furnishing [of] the new."<sup>8</sup> According to Tilden, the lozenge-shaped panel was probably originally applied to the pulpit and later nailed to the front of the gallery of the second house, where it remained until that structure was demolished in 1789. It is still nailed to a section of gallery framing, which is grooved along both sides and bears the remains of a protruding tenon on each end. In 1789, the panels were given to the surviving children of the Reverend Joseph Baxter, during whose ministry the second church was built. They then were passed through the Baxter family to his descendant Mary Baxter Fowle, whose daughter Harriet donated them to the Medfield Historical Society in 1898. Three years

later, the panels were pictured with Mrs. Fowle's other family heirlooms in a pamphlet commemorating the 250th anniversary of the town's incorporation (Fig. 4). Since the inscription "1656" is cut into the reverse side of the fragment of the 1706 gallery, which is not contemporary with the manufacture of the panels, this date may have been added by Tilden himself to make his story more interesting. Or, if Tilden was correct in assuming that the panels were preserved as mementos of the first church, the inscription may have been added after 1706.

Work on the first meeting house of Medfield probably began shortly after the incorporation of the town in 1651, and within four years, the interior was ready to be furnished. Fortunately, the maker of the first Medfield pulpit is known. On 14 January 1655, the town clerk noted that there was

Due to John hoton for the Deske & pilers	
imp. for the Deske	7-11-00
it. the tabel	0-11
Balisters 48 at 7d per	
piler	1-8
2 gred pilers	0-2
	<hr/>
sum	9-12-00

paid to John hoton	
imps. paid 28 Busle wheat at 4s [per]	
Bushel	5-11-00
(by John Dwite	1-0-00 9

The finished pulpit must have been in place by June of 1657, when the town paid Samuel Bullen two shillings, six pence - a day's wages - for

"bringing up the Deske."<sup>10</sup> Bullen was paid for transporting it from Houghton's shop in Dedham to Medfield, a twenty-mile round trip which would have taken a day's cart ride over roads muddied by spring rains.

The "Deske," as pulpits were often called in the seventeenth century, was the source of the two surviving panels; John "hoton," or Houghton, of Dedham, was its maker. Houghton had arrived at Dedham at the age of eleven in 1635, probably in the company of his father. He must have apprenticed with a working Suffolk craftsman in Dedham sometime between his arrival in town and reaching his majority in 1645. He worked for twenty years in Dedham, and in 1665 removed to Lancaster. When that town was threatened by the Indians in 1675, he sought refuge in Charlestown, where he died in 1684 (see Appendix, p. 49).

At first glance, the two meeting house panels appear to have been carved by different hands. The "spiky-flower" design used on the lozenge-shaped panel seems to bear little likeness to the s-scrolls cut into the rectangular panel. Fortunately, a chest which bears both of these motifs survives, demonstrating that both were acceptable as "going together" in at least one craftsman's vocabulary of ornament (Fig. 5). This chest is said to have originally belonged to a member of the Merwin family of Milford, Connecticut. A related chest with no provenance (Fig. 6) bears lozenges with a "spiky-flower" motif closely related to Houghton's design (Figs. 24a, e, f). The presence of carved lunettes on the top front rail of the latter example shows that schemes of carved decoration may have included a third type of



ornament, and suggests that the choice of elaborate s-scrolls or more simplified lunettes on the top rail may have depended on how much time and money was expended on the chests' production.<sup>11</sup> Both chests are probably the work of craftsmen trained in East Anglia.

On the basis of a surviving seventeenth-century pulpit in Blythborough, Suffolk (Fig. 7), and the surviving Houghton panels, a conjectural reconstruction of the 1655 Medfield pulpit has been drawn (Fig. 8). Like the Blythborough example, it was of joined construction and decorated with carved panels; perhaps two levels of the Medfield pulpit were adorned with lozenges applied to open fields, with a row of rectangular panels encircling the top. The Medfield pulpit was probably free-standing and supported on the "2 gred pilers" supplied by Houghton, who, having also made the balusters mentioned in the 1655 account, must have been a skilled turner as well. The forty-eight balusters were probably used to support a handrail on a stair. They may have been intended either for the stairs leading to the gallery, or for the handrail on the flight of steps which commonly ascended to the speaking platform on post-Reformation pulpits.<sup>12</sup> No mention is made, however, of the Medfield pulpit's having been "covered" by a joined sounding board, as was the one made for the first meeting house of Malden by Job Lane in 1648.<sup>13</sup>

Marian Card Donnelly has rightly criticized the commonly held view of a "plain style" in Puritan meeting house architecture, noting that the many instances of ornament called for in building contracts

of the period indicate that clergy and congregation alike were anxious to embellish their structures with carvings and decorative turnings.<sup>14</sup> The presence of carved decorations on Houghton's pulpit for the Medfield congregation suggests that New Englanders continued to use the embellished pulpit form they had known in the English parish church. Whereas Puritans abhorred a sacrificial interpretation of the Eucharist, and they rejected the Anglican communion rail and marble altar, they continued to view the sermon as a principal means of grace and saw no reason to change the form of the pulpit. If the Puritans were iconoclasts, they were selectively iconoclastic.

Unlike the pulpit, however, the location and meaning of the communion table were central and controversial concerns of English Puritans in the 1620s and 1630s. The table Houghton made for eleven shillings in 1655 would have been placed directly in front of the pulpit, and may have resembled the surviving communion table from the first meeting house of Sudbury, Massachusetts. Yet because Houghton undoubtedly used a lathe to fashion the balusters for the meeting house, it seems likely that the table also would have had turned legs and may have resembled a surviving table found in Salisbury, Massachusetts. Because the eleven shillings paid Houghton was a relatively high value for a table in the mid-seventeenth century, the Medfield table probably had ornament like that of the Salisbury example, which has a carved guilloche along its upper front rail; the use of decoration on only one side suggests that the Salisbury table was indeed a communion table, and only meant to be seen from one direction.<sup>15</sup>

On the basis of the two panels from the Medfield pulpit, it is possible to attribute two joined chests and one joined armchair to the hand or shop of John Houghton. While one of the chests has no known history (Fig. 9), the other may tentatively be associated with Houghton's stay in Dedham from 1645 until 1665 (Fig. 10); in 1898 it appeared in an illustration, identified as the "Oak Chest in Store Room 2d Story" of the Fairbanks House in Dedham.<sup>16</sup> If the chest actually descended in the Fairbanks family, it may have been the one mentioned in Jonathan Fairbanks' 1668 inventory.<sup>17</sup> Yet because Houghton plied his trade in Dedham, Lancaster, and Charlestown between 1645 and 1684, it remains difficult to state definitively where any of the objects attributed to him were made.

The two chests share basic similarities that suggest they were made by the same craftsman. Their overall dimensions are almost exactly alike, after compensating for some loss in height due to wear on the corner posts and a decrease in width due to shrinkage of vertical framing members across the grain. The arrangement of the panels on the chests is also the same. Both have three panels across the front and back, and one large panel on each end. The profile and location of moldings on the two objects are also identical. Finally, the two chests share an unusual construction detail; the bottom boards of the chest illustrated in figure 9 are made of oak and are placed with their grain running from front to back, yet while the boards are nailed onto the bottom edge of the lower rear rail, they are inserted into grooves cut into the inside of the lower side and front rails.

The joiner feathered the edges of the planks with a draw knife until they were thin enough to fit into the groove planed into the rails, and tool marks left by the draw knife are still visible on the bottom boards of the chest. The bottom boards of the Fairbanks chest were shaped in the same way, though they have since been replaced. The failure of its original boards reveals a structural flaw inherent in using a long deep groove cut into the front and side rails. Because the slot runs with the grain, any sudden great weight placed, or dropped, on the bottom of the chest weakens the rail until the section of wood below the groove breaks off, and the bottom boards fall through.

The decoration used on the chests also points to Houghton as the probable maker. The carved s-scrolls on the example in the Museum of Fine Arts bear the closest resemblance to those on the rectangular meeting house panel (Figs. 23n, o). Although the complexity of the motif on the chest must have demanded more time to execute, than that on the rectangular pulpit panel, they share many of the same characteristics. First, both panels are set into the field similarly, with the field simply following the curves of the scrolls. Secondly, the separate leaflets in each frond are described identically. The carver began by outlining the profile of the entire leaf onto the surface of the wood. Then, using a v-shaped gouge, he articulated each leaflet by running a tapered line from the stem outward, stopping just short of the outline. As a result, the separate sections of the frond are still interconnected by the small strip of wood left undisturbed by the gouge. Houghton again used a carver's chisel to demarcate the

lower corners of the design (visible at the lower corners of Fig. 3). This tool was slightly curved and about one-half inch in width. The curvature of this blade matches the curving outline edges of many of the leaflets, so it is likely that Houghton used this tool in cutting the basic design into the surface of the wood. Finally, he used the same tool to mark the joints on the sides of the chest during construction (Fig. 9a). The joints on the front and back of the chest were differentiated by using scribed slashmarks (Fig. 9b).

The economic circumstances surrounding the manufacture of any object may be responsible for two minor differences in the Houghton chests. While the chest in figure 9 is made entirely of oak except for its lid, the end panels of the Fairbanks example are made of pine. Once pine was being sawn in water-powered sawmills, it was much cheaper and easier to work. Similarly, the lid of the Fairbanks chest was connected with snipe-bill hinges that were simply and quickly drawn through small holes and spread like cotter pins. The other chest originally employed pintel hinges where carefully cut cleats had to be fitted to the edges of the lid, holes drilled through the cleats into the sides of the rear posts, and carefully trimmed oak pins inserted. In short, what may seem a fundamental change in a maker's technique over time may have been a means of producing a less expensive product in less time.

Despite many overall consistencies, there are variations present in the decorations of the chests which suggest a change in

Houghton's visual language as much as they do differing levels of economic intent. Notably, on the Fairbanks chest - whose end panels are made of pine - Houghton used an extremely complicated variant of the "spiky-flower" motif in the center panel (Fig. 23q). Here the floral patterns are extended, and radiate from a central point.<sup>18</sup> But unlike those on the lozenge-shaped meeting house panel, the floral motifs here curve more freely and are less constrained by the rectangular format of the panel. On the side panels of the Fairbanks chest, Houghton grafted a single floral motif onto the central axis of the anthemion frond (Figs. 23p, r). Yet because the two chests cannot be set into a chronological framework, it would be inaccurate to describe these differences as a "drift" in the maker's visual language; drift occurs predictably over time, at intervals which cannot be determined here.<sup>19</sup>

The joined armchair attributable to Houghton is said to have belonged originally to John Farrington of Dedham, who died in 1676 (Fig. 11). This chair descended through seven generations of the Farrington family until it was given to the Dedham Historical Society by Jessie Farrington (1868-1941). It is made entirely of oak. The carved lozenge in the center of the back panel resembles the lozenge-shaped pulpit panel, except that in this case the small trefoil flowers lie outside the points of the diamond rather than within them (Fig. 24b). The turnings on the front posts of the chair show Houghton's skill as a turner, combining well articulated balusters under the arms with a more Mannerist treatment of an interrupted

columnar form under the seat. Structurally, the chair is similar to the two chests in the size of the oak stock used for its framing members. Houghton used riven oak planed to a working size of from 1 3/4" by 3 3/4" to 2" by 4". And as with the sides of the chests, he used one large panel in the back of the chair.

The three objects attributed to Houghton and the two panels from his Medfield pulpit raise a major question: if he arrived in Dedham in 1635 at age eleven, from whom could he have learned the skills of joining, carving, and turning? Because apprenticeships normally began between the ages of thirteen and fifteen and lasted until age twenty-one, any craftsman working in Dedham between 1637 and 1645 could have been Houghton's master. An examination of the known craftsmen working there during that period has shown that only four carpenter/joiners were "eligible": George Barber, John Roper, Henry Smith, and John Thurston (see Appendix, pp. 40, 42-43, 46). All other craftsmen were too young, had died, or had moved away. Barber had been trained in Fressingfield, Suffolk. Thurston must have learned his trade in either Sotterly or Wrentham, both of which are also in Suffolk. And both Roper and Smith were from New Buckenham, a small Norfolk village near the Suffolk border. Consequently, Houghton had to have been trained in the Suffolk visual dialect that dominated Dedham.

On the basis of what little information can be gleaned from the town records of Dedham and Medfield, the craftsman most often

called on to do joiner's work was John Thurston. Thurston had arrived in Dedham from Salem in late 1639, when Houghton was fifteen years old. Assuming that Houghton trained with Thurston, he would have been under his tutelage for six years, between 1639 and 1645. In 1649 Thurston cast his lot with the Medfield petitioners, while Houghton remained in Dedham and married soon thereafter.

Prior to the incorporation of Medfield in 1651, Thurston had undertaken two large contracts in Dedham. On 8 January 1646, that town

Agreed with Joh Thurston to make the  
seats in the Meetinghouse: all that shall  
be placed in the new house & on the East  
side of the midle Alley in the old house —  
he to finde all the worke about them.  
carriag excepted. and to haue timber for  
that vse of the Towne. & to receaue of  
the Town for the said worke [£] 13  
10 s: to be paved [£] 5 in Cedar boarde  
at 4s per hundred. 20s in Indian corne  
at 3s per bushell. the rest in wheat at  
4s per bushell. all to be deliuered in  
Towne.<sup>20</sup>

The term "seats" found in the contract meant box pews of joined construction, perhaps with rows of large vertical panels arranged below narrow horizontal ones. A balustrade of small turned spindles may have run along the top of the stalls.<sup>21</sup> In making the seats, Thurston used a plow plane fitted with a fence to cut deep grooves into which the dressed edges of the panels fitted snugly.

Thurston's second major job in Dedham came with the construction of the town's first schoolhouse in 1648, for which he received a partial payment of £11:00:03 on 2 December 1650.<sup>22</sup>



References in the wording of the building contract to the laying of floorboards, making doors, and fitting the interior with boarding that was "featheredged and rabitted" prove that Thurston was certainly capable of teaching Houghton how to fit the featheredged bottom boards of a chest into grooves cut into the rails.<sup>23</sup>

Finally, Thurston was paid £13:05:01 on 10 June 1657 for "seating" the Medfield meeting house, proving that he continued in the joiner's trade after leaving Dedham. And on 15 December 1658, the town "Agreed with brother thurston to make the seate aboute the tabell in the meeting house and to seat the galiry."<sup>24</sup> The "seate aboute the tabell," or deacon's seat, was the final part of the Medfield meeting house furniture, and the only part of it not supplied by Houghton. In seating the gallery, Thurston would have divided the space up by again installing box pews intended for members of the congregation and their families.

Because Thurston seems to have been the most accomplished joiner in Dedham and Medfield, he was probably Houghton's master. Working backwards from Houghton's work, it is possible to attribute one chest with drawer, four chests, and two boxes to Thurston on the basis of their design, dimensions, decoration, and workmanship. As with the objects attributed to Houghton, it is impossible to arrange the master's work into any evolutionary sequence. Because levels of workmanship are so closely related to economic considerations, it must be assumed that all of the Thurston objects could have been made

within a short period of time. Five of the seven objects attributable to the hand or shop of Thurston belonged at one time or another to major collectors of American furniture during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, yet none possessed a provenance until the rediscovery of the Medfield panels.

According to family tradition, the chest with one drawer illustrated in figure 12 descended to its present owner from seventeenth-century ancestors living in Salem, Massachusetts.<sup>25</sup> Because Thurston was in Salem between 1637 and 1639, it is tempting to think that the chest with one drawer could have been made that early. However, marks left by the steady up-and-down movement of the mill saw on the pine bottom board of the drawer suggest otherwise (Fig. 12a). There was no sawmill operating in Salem that early, so the object therefore must have been made while Thurston was living in the Dedham-Medfield area. It probably does not pre-date 1660, the year that Dedham's first sawmill was built. Due to its Dedham-Medfield provenance, the chest with one drawer probably passed into the present owner's family by a marriage with a Dedham or Medfield family.

As one would expect, the chest with one drawer attributed to Thurston shares many of the construction details present in the work of his probable apprentice. The bottom boards of the chest portion of this object are also "featheredged" and fit into grooves cut into the side and front rails. In similar fashion, the drawer bottom is tapered along its front edge and slid into a narrow groove let into

the rear of the drawer front. Yet unlike the bottom of the chest, the drawer bottom is comprised of one large pine board and one smaller one placed with their grain parallel to the drawer front. The bottom boards, while grooved into the front, are nailed to the sides and back. The similarity of the treatment of the bottom boards of the chest and those of the drawer suggests that the maker may have resorted to a single means of solving what appeared to him as two instances of the same conceptual problem. In other words, he faced the problem of "bottom" in a consistent way.

The drawer front is decorated with a variant of the s-scroll motif (Fig. 23d) which bears a close resemblance to that used on the upper panels of the Blythborough pulpit; Blythborough is only ten miles from Wrentham, the town from which Thurston emigrated. The drawer front is rabbeted to receive the sides, which are fastened by two nails countersunk above and below the slide (Fig. 12b). The rear of the drawer is held between the sides with a straight butted joint and secured by a single nail driven flush into the slide. Because all of the carpenters working in Dedham and Medfield were from the Suffolk sub-culture, this drawer can be relied on as an example of that area's regional construction method and may be helpful in identifying the work of other Suffolk craftsmen in New England.

An additional detail worth noting in the joinery of this object is the use of mitered tenons on the framing members of the front (Fig. 12c). They give each panel a uniformly beveled surround

that makes the carving look like a framed picture. The fact that in all known instances the mitered tenon joint is used only on the front of an object suggests that it is an optional ornamental detail rather than an English regional trait.<sup>26</sup> The extra work needed to cut the mitered tenon and bevel the mortised post meant that it cost more and was an intentional display of conspicuous workmanship meant to satisfy equally conspicuous consumers.

The overt display of extra workmanship and purposeful variety is even more apparent in other decorative details on the chest with one drawer. Complex moldings embellish all of the framing members on the front. The framing members are chamfered on all sides, a device traceable to medieval carpentry still extant in East Anglian parish churches.<sup>27</sup> The elaborately carved panels (Figs. 23b, c, d) at first appear to be identical. Upon closer inspection, they can be seen to vary in many details - deliberately so, especially in the description of the central flower. Variety, not uniformity, was the desired effect. The carved motif on the drawer front added a final variant to the scheme. When bright with its original vermillion and verdigris coloring, the object was meant to dazzle the eye with variations in surface texture, motif, intense complementary colors, and complexity of form.<sup>28</sup>

The four carved chests without drawers attributed to Thurston are a bit more difficult to date because they contain no clues as definitive as the use of milled pine. Closely related to the chest

with one drawer are the chests illustrated in figures 13 and 14.

Figure 13 was advertised for sale in May, 1969, but its present ownership and location are unknown.<sup>29</sup> Although the chest has lost several inches of its height and has subsequently been placed on a stand, it appears to retain much of its original paint. In addition, this chest is the only other member of the Dedham-Medfield group that uses the mitered tenon in its joinery. As with the chest with one drawer, the technique here appears only on the front, where its original owner could have readily displayed the fine craftsmanship he could afford to his neighbors. Figure 14 was formerly owned by the late Philip L. Spalding and was sold at auction in 1974.<sup>30</sup> It is now in a private collection. The sharp contrast between the rectangular field and the relief in the carved panels of these chests again illustrates the variations of surface texture applauded by devotees of Mannerist taste. Like those of the chest with one drawer, the panels of these two chests are arranged axially - the center ones differ slightly from the two side ones (Figs. 23e, f, g, h).

Two additional chests may also be attributed to the Dedham master. The example illustrated in figure 15, now in the Wadsworth Atheneum, was formerly owned by Wallace Nutting and appeared in both Furniture of the Pilgrim Century (No. 29) and The Furniture Treasury (No. 19). In the latter publication, Nutting stated that the three panels were of identical design, but close inspection shows that the center one actually differs from the side ones (Figs. 23i, j). The

top and the bottom boards of this chest are replaced, but evidence indicates that it too used the featheredged and grooved technique for the bottom, and pintel hinges for the lid. The chest now in the Winterthur collection (Fig. 16) was acquired by Henry Francis du Pont in 1928 from the collection of Herbert Lawton of Boston.<sup>31</sup> Although it has no known provenance, the presence of the letters "E S" carved into the center of the top front rail and the backside of the rear left panel suggest that it originally may have belonged to John Smith (Smythe) of Dedham, the only member of the Dedham-Medfield community in the seventeenth century with those initials. The Winterthur chest is the only member of the Thurston group whose panels are all exactly the same (Fig. 23k), suggesting that it originally may have been a less expensive product of Thurston's shop.

The chests belonging to the Wadsworth Atheneum and Winterthur share a detail not found on other members of the group. Instead of using a molding plane to treat the framing members, the maker here used a v-shaped carver's gouge and quickly ran straight lines into the stock. The Wadsworth Atheneum chest is the only member of the group whose side framing members are also treated. There are three possible explanations for the use of the gouge: it was the least expensive means of satisfying a frugal customer; the craftsman did not own a molding plane at the time he made the chest; or the craftsman did not know how to use a molding plane. The last suggestion is easily refuted by the presence of bottom boards butted with v-groove joints and feathered into grooves on the Winterthur example,

techniques that demanded prowess with the plow plane and fence. Whatever the actual reason, however, it would be simplistic to maintain that such a detail is earlier because it appears to be more technically crude.

Similar to drawers in their design, the two surviving boxes attributed to Thurston were made by nailing the side boards into rabbets let onto the front and rear boards. Here, however, the bottom was nailed to all four members and not fit into the back side of the front board. The top was then attached with pintel hinges. Due to the thinness of the rear board, an independent dowel could not be used. Instead, each end of the board was cut so that a small piece running with the grain extended to act as a pin. The cleats were then slipped over these protruding pieces, and the hinge completed. This detail differs from the chests, where the vertical orientation of the heavy corner posts permitted the use of a separate pin. The box now in the Bolles collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig. 17) retains its original cleats, lid, and rear board with the small pins intact.

A related example now in the Art Institute of Chicago (Fig. 18) was formerly in the collection of B. A. Behrend and was illustrated in 1941 when his Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts, residence.<sup>32</sup> It traditionally belonged to Adam Howe of Sudbury, the proprietor of the Wayside Inn in the late eighteenth century. Research into the Howe genealogy suggests that if the box descended to Adam from his forebears, it may once have been the property of Abraham Howe of

Watertown and Marlborough (m. 1658-d. 1695), whose name also suits the initials "AH" carved on the box.<sup>33</sup> Yet because Watertown and Marlborough had their own joiners, this box, and the initialed "MH" box shown in figure 17, were probably owned in the Holmes, Hawes, or Hinsdale families of Dedham and Medfield. The "AH" example may have been made for Abraham Harding of Medfield. Although this example has had its top and cleats renewed, it still retains its original complementary color scheme.

The carving on the two boxes (Figs. 1, m) closely parallels that of both the Winterthur chest and the rectangular meeting house panel by Houghton, perhaps indicating that all of the objects were made within a short time of one another, or else that they all fell into the same relative price bracket of the joiner's wares. Again, it must be stressed that to assign any chronological sequence to such a small body of undocumentable objects on the basis of details which might be economically determined would be solely an exercise in subjective judgment.

\*

\*

\*

The work of the Dedham master - probably John Thurston - and his apprentice, John Houghton, are similar in their overall dimensions, the arrangement of panels, and the type of decoration used. Yet Houghton's carving is distinct in the way the s-scrolls are set into the field. Whereas the master invariably delineated the boundaries of



the rectangular field all around each s-scroll motif, his apprentice was satisfied with having the field follow the curves of the scrolls. Only on the unusual central panel of the Fairbanks chest did Houghton define the rectangular field. By definition, the master-apprentice relationship involved the transmission of ideas regarding the conceptualization and propriety of form, construction technology, and the decoration of the finished product.<sup>34</sup> In practical terms, the experienced joiner taught the would-be craftsman how to correctly choose woods, use woodworking tools properly, lay out the parts of a given form to the correct dimensions, and paint the object after it was assembled in the shop.

On the most basic level, a new apprentice probably began by making chests devoid of any embellishments, concentrating his efforts on perfecting joinery skills. He first learned the language of form and only secondarily refined his decorative rhetoric with the molding plane and carver's gouge. As Henry Glassie explained in "Structure and Function, Folklore and the Artifact," objects can be disjuncted into primary and secondary components analogous to their structure and decoration;<sup>35</sup> the secondary aspects can be thought away without altering the existing structure. Because structure is the basic unit of artifactual language, it is the substance of the first lessons taught to the apprentice by the master. While decoration may vary less predictably from hand to hand, structure remains a reliable index of interrelationships in the joiner's trade. Therefore, any considerations of the structures explicit and implicit in the artifactual

language of the seventeenth century should move from the most abstract levels of geometry to the most particularized aspects of decoration.

Glassie described the conceptualization and construction of housing as a series of moves working from the "selection of the geometric entity," through the "extension of the geometric entity," to the massing and piercing of the three-dimensionalized product.<sup>36</sup> This process can be extended to the analysis of almost any handmade object, and because joinery and carpentry are so intimately related, it is possible to apply these steps to the design of furniture. The maker of the Dedham-Medfield chest illustrated in figure 15 had four basic decisions to make prior to its manufacture: what the dimensions of the "plan" would be; how high the corner posts would be; where the vertical muntins would be placed to subdivide the front and rear "walls"; and how the decoration would be laid out on the panels.

The joiner began by establishing the plan of the chest. His measuring tool was the twelve-inch carpenter's rule, which, when divided into its simplest fractions of  $1/2$ ,  $1/4$ , and multiples of one inch, provided working units 2", 3", and 4" in length. The maker first laid out his basic geometric shape, a square 18" on a side (Fig. 19a) by adding 6" to the length of his rule. He then transformed this square and extended it into the finished plan by doubling its length of 18" to 36" and then arbitrarily adding to it the sum of 3" plus 4" (Fig. 19b). This gives a plan rectangular in shape with

the overall dimensions of 18" by 43" (Fig. 19c). The next step was to extend this plan into a three-dimensional mass. Pulling it up through space, he decided on a height of 27" (now worn down to 26 5/8") for the corner posts, thus giving the mass a height-to-depth ratio of exactly 3 to 2 (Fig. 19d). His next decision was how to arrange muntins and panels, analogous to the bents and bays of a heavy-timber framed house. Fortunately, all of the chests of the Houghton-Thurston group retain the scribed lines which originally served to align conceptually the framing members and practically determine the locations of all needed mortises. These carefully scribed lines on the rails and posts show that the maker continued using a rational system of design, positioning the members at even intervals to call cadences of 4"/9"/4"/9"/4"/9"/4" along the front, 4"/12"/4"/7" (3 plus 4) down the corner post, and 2"/14" (7 plus 7)/2" along the side (Fig. 19e).

Finally, the craftsman had to lay out the decoration on the panel. The "pierced" opening in the chest was 9" by 12", giving a width-to-height ratio of 3 to 4. After selecting a piece of oak larger than this void, he nailed it to his bench to be carved (see nail holes still visible at edges of figure 23b). The panel was not feathered to fit into the grooves of the framing members of the chest until after the carving was completed, so that the edges of the panel could be nailed squarely down to the bench. By establishing a margin of 1/2" at the top and bottom, and 3/4" at either side, he scribed the rectangle shown as ABB'A' in figure 19f. The rectangle provided an area 8" by 10 1/2" for the carved surface. He then divided it in half

by scribing the vertical line CC', leaving two sections 4" in width. He again divided these by scribing segments DD' and EE', leaving four strips each 2" by 10 1/2". Next he marked out segments ab and a'b', which left four 2" squares at the top and bottom of the panel.

At this point he took a pair of compasses in hand to begin laying out the curves of the s-scrolls. All of the Dedham-Medfield panels were laid out with the compass and completed free-hand. With one foot of the compass at point d, the maker swung the arc aDc, and repeated the procedure at point d' to make arc a'D'c'. Taking a radius of 4" from the length of segment ac or a'c', he described arcs ce and a'e', only to find himself confronted by an unconnected area in the middle. To eliminate this, he fixed points c'' and a'' by extending segments Aa and C'c' by half their original length. Again setting the compass at a radius of 4", he placed the foot at points c'' and a'' to make arcs ef'' and e'f' respectively. Yet the arcs still did not intersect at point f exactly. His only solution was to complete the design by hand, which he did in every case.<sup>37</sup> If so, then why did he bother with the compass at all?

The tool must have represented a means of guaranteeing an essential regularization in workmanship, despite its limitations. His clinging to the mechanical predictability of the compass shows that Thurston recognized the element of risk implicit in the unguided hand and tried to minimize it. The tool was not a crutch; more precisely, it was a jig with which the joiner could insure his clientele a high

quality product which maintained a highly regulated composition over a long period of time. In addition, the ease of working with the compass meant that the craftsman could make more objects for sale in less time. In simple terms, risky workmanship was risky business.<sup>38</sup> The joiner was dependent on his ability to demonstrate skill for his livelihood. He was aware of aesthetic criteria, and, once arriving at a system of visual communication which "spoke" to his townsmen, he repeated it until he did it by rote.

Like the walls of a house, those of the chest were assembled on the ground prior to being connected with one another in the three-dimensional form. The Dedham-Medfield chests are remarkable in that the backs and fronts of each chest are in theory conceptually identical, as are the ends. The joiner's marks which survive on the one Houghton chest (Figs. 9a, 9b) indicate, however, that for practical purposes the separate pieces were differentiated from the very beginning of construction. The use of pre-molded rails, muntins, and posts on the front differentiated it from the back, whose stock was not molded. The joiner's marks shown in figure 9b were used on the front and back alike solely to make the individual parts of each section distinct from one another so that the hand-fitted joints of the two muntins on the rear could not be confused by their apparent interchangeability. On both the front and back, mere habit dictated that he proceed from left to right as he numbered the joints. Similarly, the ends of the chest are conceptually the same, but are marked with either single or double chisel marks, as in figure 9a, to keep them differentiated

during construction. It is impossible to tell exactly in what order the craftsman put up the "walls" of the chest; he may have made the completed sides (with corner posts) first, and then attached the front assembly to them, or conversely, he may have first completed the front and back (with corner posts), and then completed the chest by simply inserting the side members. As in house construction, the order of assembly may have been traditionally - though not necessarily logically - related to the conceptual layout and construction of each unit part of the whole.

Such was the structure of the artifactual language that Thurston probably taught Houghton. The joiner's marks on the one Houghton chest never appear on any of the master's chests, suggesting that the syntactic order, while new to Houghton, was fully understood by the master. The constant repetition of an idea moves it from the external activity of the hand to the internalized patterns of the mind. In similar manner, Houghton observed the carving style of his master. In a sequence of panels arranged according to the complexity of design attained (Figs. 23, 24), the apprentice's panels show equal workmanship, but less concern with purposeful intricacy. Houghton's carvings are set further within the field, not seeking to dominate the surface by crowding it with line. Those by the master tend more towards the horror vacui associated with the late Medieval/Mannerist style.

The dimensions and layout of the chests attributable to Houghton are exactly the same as those attributed to Thurston, yet while the base structure was communicated with no variation, the vagaries of personalized decoration were enforced less strictly. That is, drift was not tolerated in the primary component, but allowed in the secondary. Seventeenth-century furniture was strictly ordered. In laying out and constructing his wares, the joiner followed an orderly system that he used over and over; all of the chests share the same basic qualities, though economic limitations and the whims of the customer caused minor variations.

In the seventeenth century, the intrinsic quality of a completed object was judged according to standards of acceptability defined and reinforced by members of the craftsman's community. The measure of a master craftsman was his ability to make what was in the period referred to as a "workmanlike" product, whether it was a house, a chest, or a pulpit. The word "workmanlike" appears in many documents of the seventeenth century, and meant having an acceptable degree of control over material through an acceptable degree of control over process. In a contract for the construction of the first King's Chapel in Boston, dated 21 July 1688, the building committee agreed with carpenters John Holebrook, Stephen French, and Jacob Nash that they were to build the church "of good sound timber well & workmanlike wrought."<sup>39</sup> Thirty years earlier, the town of Malden retained Job Lane to build their first meeting house. The contract uses language

even more specific concerning the requisite control of material through regularized workmanship:

The said Job Lane doth hereby covenant, promiss and agree to build, erect, and finish upp a good strong, Artificial meeting House, of Thirty-three foot Square, sixteen foot stud between joints, with dores, windows, pulpitt, seats, and all other things whatsoever in all respects belonging thereto.<sup>40</sup>

And when the town of Boston agreed with carpenters Thomas Joy and Bartholomew Bernad to build the first town house in 1657, they asked the craftsmen to find "things necisarie & meet for the said Building viz: Timber in everie respect & of everie sort, substantial & meet according to Proportion & Art."<sup>41</sup> The use of such words as "workman-like," "Artificial," "Proportion," and "Art" proves that control over process and formal composition were intimately related to how successful a craftsman could become. Like verbal language, artifacts are ordered by the particular structure and style in which the maker is fluent.

\*

\*

\*

The final analysis of the Dedham-Medfield artifactual language must therefore take the components of structure and style - material, technique, compositional logic, construction, and decoration - into account in approaching a more sophisticated concept of the standards of craftsmanship and craft organization active in seventeenth-century New England. The emphasis placed on maintaining standards of



workmanlike and artificial competence by the joiner's trade is indicative of its need to assert and perpetuate one artifactual language - one order - acceptable to the immediate community. By establishing standards of order, first-generation New Englanders could cope with the lack of order which faced them in the wilderness. However, lack of order does not mean total disorder or chaos. In the wilderness that surrounded them, the Dedham settlers saw a void world, not necessarily a chaotic one. Hence, the encounter of the yeoman and the wastes of the New England wilderness may be characterized as a fundamental psychological conflict between man and lack of man.<sup>42</sup> This dichotomy may be rephrased as the opposition of culture and lack of culture, or, due to the importance of acknowledging only one local order, culture and any other culture that seemed foreign or threatening. Joiners in seventeenth-century Dedham and Medfield needed to imprint their own Old England order on the New England void, to contain their new universe by marking its bounds with their own work.

In this light, the joinery of Dedham and Medfield can pierce deep within the subjective reality of the yeoman. The ever-present molding that marks the corner of an oak chest was a reaction to lack of order; the unworked edge was a small bit of chaos which had to be subdued with the blade of the plane. In similar fashion, the front edges of the boxes were marked with a serrated edge. Colors made to catch the eye covered up the wrought object, thus adding a final level of artificial order. Each time the craftsman added a level of artificiality, the more particularized the artifactual language

became. Viewed in this manner the highly worked and highly specialized vocabulary and syntax of the Dedham-Medfield chests confirm the tenacity of the Suffolk tradition among craftsmen.

The dominance of the Suffolk style in Dedham and Medfield is confirmed by the fact that it had more than one exponent in the first generation. At least one other craftsman made furniture which bears certain similarities to the work of Thurston and Houghton. A joined armchair with an enclosed bottom, now owned by the Dedham Historical Society, bears the carved inscription "M 1652 M" (Fig. 20). The chair is said to have descended from Michael Metcalf, a weaver who emigrated from Norwich in 1637 and died in Dedham in 1664. The chair is the earliest known example of dated American furniture, and is one of two known examples of seating furniture with a storage cupboard beneath the seat.<sup>43</sup> A door that opened into the right side of the bottom has disappeared, but remnants of its original leather hinges survive (Fig. 20a). Five aspects of the chair suggest that it was made by a Suffolk craftsman: like the Farrington family chair, it uses one large panel in the back; its lozenge and crest closely resemble those of the Farrington chair (Figs. 24b, c); the manner in which the carved leaflets on its rear posts are conjoined corresponds exactly to the technique used on the panels by Houghton and his master; the framing members are gouged rather than molded, as on the chests at Winterthur and the Wadsworth Atheneum; and lastly, the appearance of frond motifs on the rear stiles of the chair have a stylistic precedent in the carvings on the corner posts of the Blythborough pulpit.

A chest traditionally associated with the 1644 marriage of Jonathan Rudd of Norwich and Saybrook, Connecticut (Fig. 21), may also have been made by the same Suffolk craftsman responsible for the Metcalf chair. It, too, shares many characteristics of the joined chests by Houghton and his master. It has three panels on the front and back, and one large panel on each end; it retains all of the scribe marks originally intended to mark the location of mortises; and it also uses stock of the same size as the Houghton-Thurston group. The lozenges on this chest (Fig. 24d) are exactly like that on the Metcalf chair.<sup>44</sup>

The close resemblance between these two objects and those of the Thurston-Houghton group shows that the Suffolk visual dialect of Dedham and Medfield was extremely consistent in its various parts. While the decoration of these two objects seems to differ in details, the underlying structures remain constant. At the base of the artifactual language of Dedham and Medfield was a very strict control of structure. The objects show that no structural changes and only slight decorative variations occurred during the first and second generations of settlement. In their high degree of internal and external consistency, the Dedham-Medfield artifacts betray the microcosmic milieu responsible for their conception, production, and use.

In conclusion, it remains to attempt an understanding of how local styles are in fact perpetuated and manifest in the object. The

answer to this puzzle really lies in two parts which, when taken together, illuminate the introspection of village life and the larger problem of the dissemination of style-types in seventeenth-century New England.

Yet before generalizations about all of New England may be made, one must look for the base unit of culture in the region: the town. In Dedham and Medfield, the perpetuation of the Suffolk dialect in the woodworking trades was aided by apprenticeship patterns, the high rate of intermarriages between members of Suffolk carpenters' families, and the frequent instance when a son would continue in his father's trade. In short, the trades of carpentry and joinery - like all other trades - became genealogically and technically cohesive unto themselves.

Because all of the first-generation carpenters and joiners in the two towns worked in the Suffolk tradition, the mechanics of supply and demand dictated that the Suffolk visual dialect would dominate the local citizenry irrespective of their cultural backgrounds. For instance, when John Farrington, a yeoman from Lincolnshire, needed a joined chair (Fig. 11), he went to Houghton, a second-generation craftsman trained by a Suffolk carpenter/joiner. Similarly, when Jonathan Fairbanks, a turner from Yorkshire, needed a house, he had to retain a Suffolk carpenter such as Thomas Fisher or John Roper to do the job; indeed, the Fairbanks house is built in an East Anglian manner.<sup>45</sup>

As artificers who articulated in visual terms their collective cultural language, the Suffolk craftsmen in Dedham and Medfield played a dynamic role in the acculturation of their non-Suffolk neighbors. Farrington and Fairbanks - and probably other settlers from the northern counties of England - owned furniture that spoke the old Suffolk dialect; Houghton's Medfield pulpit, too, was an artifactual sign that quietly preached of the dominance of the Suffolk sub-culture in the community. In their domestic interactions, the townsmen of Dedham and Medfield ordered function, movement, and space with Suffolk artifacts. The same motifs watched over them in the meeting house, where their religious and social lives met in a single artifactual context. Viewed in this light, the artifacts were tangible manifestations and causes of a movement towards cultural unity in private and public life, while the craftsmen gained new power as individuals whose peculiar role it was to make things accepted by all.

The identification of what may be a pure Suffolk style in Dedham and Medfield sheds new light on how the dissemination of "regional style" actually worked. Certainly the migration of craftsmen and their apprentices accounted for a great deal of the likeness found in the artifacts from different parts of New England. The master-apprentice relationship functioned as a mechanism intentionally developed to perpetuate high standards of communicative behavior. Specifically, it was responsible for spelling out to would-be craftsmen of the next generation the established standards of acceptable workmanship. The master's role was that of the exacting grammarian

who placed articulate speech and memorization of rules above all else. Maintaining established standards of performance and discipline in the trades was crucial to the continued efficacy of the built environment as the real and ideal embodiment of the old order. In short, the established order depended on control for survival.

In other instances regional similarities in New England joinery resulted from craftsmen who migrated from the same area in England and settled in different villages in the new world, where their work developed in varied ways from a common root. For instance, the s-scrolls carved by the Dedham master bear a generic relationship to those on the front posts of a chest probably made by Thomas Mulliner of New Haven, Connecticut. The similarity may be explained by the fact that the English village where Thurston last worked - Wrentham, Suffolk - is only twenty-five miles from Mulliner's home town of Ipswich, Suffolk, and both craftsmen were trained prior to emigrating to New England.<sup>46</sup> Similarly, the s-scrolls and carvings on the Merwin family chest (Figs. 23s, 24e) and the s-scrolls found on a desk box originally owned by William Wells of Southold, Long Island (Figs. 22, 23t), suggest that East Anglian craftsmen may have been active throughout the New Haven Colony.

It is not only the decorative details which attest to their presence. Five surviving New Haven area chests share the same arrangement of panels as that found on the chests from Dedham and Medfield, and two New Haven examples also use the v-groove in the joinery of

their bottom boards.<sup>47</sup> The products of these craftsmen may differ from the Thurston-Houghton objects because isolation from the homogeneous Suffolk sub-culture rapidly produced deviation. In Dedham and Medfield, the high percentage of Suffolk settlers provided a relatively stable culture that demanded little change in the artifactual language. John Thurston, John Roper, Thomas Fisher, Henry Smith, and George Barber could continue making joined furniture in the same style they had known in England without worrying about its acceptability in Dedham and Medfield. Yet imagine the Suffolk joiner forced by economic circumstance to accommodate the tastes of New Haven's predominantly London culture.<sup>48</sup> He had to modify his language to suit that of the local dominant culture. Because the "mixture" of a pluralist culture is variable in space and in time, it is important to remember Henri Focillon's conviction that objects must not be judged outside of their frames of reference; as he stated, the milieu is a flexible order.<sup>49</sup>

The dissemination of style-types must not be used merely as a tool for proving or disproving demographic patterns, whether they be from Dedham to the Connecticut River Valley, from Suffolk to Dedham, or from Old England to New England. Artifacts are ideas in motion, and cultural patterns do not necessarily parallel social patterns. Levi-Strauss has warned against treating cultural patterns insensitively:

Social facts do not reduce themselves  
to scattered fragments. They are lived  
by men, and subjective consciousness  
is as much a form of their reality  
as their objective characteristics.<sup>50</sup>

The cultural historian's burden is to recover both the objective and subjective sides of the past. This essay is intended to augment the work of other scholars who are reconstructing the subjective reality of seventeenth-century New England.

On a broader level, it is imperative that the study of the material culture of the seventeenth century uses artifacts as something more than reflections or illustrations of historical and aesthetic circumstances. They were a language, and like language, they were equal and simultaneous manifestations of the culture's communicative structures. They are the psychological reality of the seventeenth-century New Englander embodied in physical forms.



## APPENDIX

### Biographies of Dedham and Medfield Craftsmen Arranged According to their Working Dates

1635 JONATHAN FAIRBANKS arrived in Boston with his wife and six children from Sowerby, North Riding, Yorkshire, in 1633. Three years later they removed to Dedham, where on 23 March 1636/37 "Jonathan Fearebanke being p<sup>r</sup>esented by John Dwite was accepted & subscribed" to the town covenant. The next year he and Dwight were "chosen to be head workemen for the Caunsey at y<sup>e</sup> litle River." On 14 August 1646, after making a much-quoted statement about his "scruples about publicke p<sup>r</sup>efession of faith & y<sup>e</sup> Covenant," he was received into the Dedham congregation. Fairbanks' occupation as a wheelwright and turner is well documented by his inventory of 16 December 1668:

4 spinning wheelles 1:2:00

In the Roome called the new house:

rimms for spinning wheelles & some lumber 5:00:00

one betle foure wedges one draft chain &

other irons 002:04:00

2: Cross cutt sawes

In the working Celler:

2: vises & one turning lath & other small things  
in that roome 001:00:00

In the Hall Chamber:

many small tooles for turning & other  
like worke 003:00:00

Swamp in the great Cedar swamp. neere the  
saw mills 004:00:00

Fairbanks' son John inherited his estate and continued in his  
trade.<sup>1</sup>

1637 GEORGE BARBER came to Dedham from Fressingfield, Suffolk, with  
no immediate family, although he may have been related to the  
Edward Barber who was also among the first settlers at Dedham.  
George Barber married Elizabeth Clarke on 24 November 1642.  
He was a member of the artillery company in 1646, and was made  
a freeman of the colony the following year. Barber was one of  
the first eleven signers of the Medfield Covenant in 1649, and  
was rated there in 1652. That same year he styled himself  
"carpenter" in a deed to Henry Adams of Braintree. In Med-  
field, Barber was continually active in the woodworking trades.  
On 16 January 1654, he was paid by the town for procuring  
"slepers & plankes for the metting House," and on 8 November  
he received nine shillings for additional work at the meeting  
house. In January, 1659, there was "An Agreement made with  
John Thurston Henry Smith and S<sup>er</sup> Barbur to make a galiry with  
two seates on the side of the metting house from on end gallery  
to the other." In 1668, Barber did work on the town's school-  
house and repaired a bridge, and on 8 and 9 December 1675, he  
was paid for two days' work in shingling the meeting house.  
On 10 February 1676, the town "Agreed that ther shall be new

frame orderd to hang the bell in and George Barbur and Sarg<sup>t</sup>  
[Thomas] Thurstun are Desired to take som care about it."

In addition to his work as a carpenter, Barber was a selectman and town clerk of Medfield for twenty-two years, and a deputy to the general court for eight. His son John operated the Medfield sawmill until his death; John's inventory of 9 October 1695 valued "I part of a Sawmill apprized....at \_\_\_\_£6." When George Barber's inventory was taken at Medfield on 23 April 1685, it listed "carpenters and husbandry tools," and a pine swamp valued at £12:00:00. One of the prizers of his estate was Thomas Thurston.<sup>2</sup>

1637 EDWARD CULVER was in Dedham by 1637, for on 28 November of that year, the town "ordered that Edward Colver wheelwright shall haue twoe Acres layd out for y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>r</sup>sent for imploy<sup>m</sup><sup>t</sup> in his trade & after to haue an addi<sup>c</sup>on els wher as shalbe fownd needfull. In the meane tyme to haue free liberty of taking Timber for his trade every mans ppriety Reserved." As a wheelwright and turner, Culver would not only have made wheels, but would also have used a lathe to make turned furniture. As one of the six documented turners in Dedham and Medfield prior to 1685, Culver may also have done work for joiners who did not own lathes. By his wife Anne, he had three sons between 1640 and 1645. His death passed unnoticed.<sup>3</sup>

1637 THOMAS FISHER is said to have received a house lot in Dedham on 28 July 1637. He died shortly thereafter, on 10 August 1638, while building the first meeting house. The town meeting of the following 23 November noted him as he "whoe vnd<sup>r</sup>tooke y<sup>e</sup> Meetinghouse [but] dieth before it was finished." On 25 March 1639 it was "Agreed y<sup>t</sup> Forty shillings shalbe allowed unto y<sup>e</sup> wedowe of Tho: Fisher toward y<sup>t</sup> bargayne y<sup>t</sup> he tooke in building y<sup>e</sup> meetinghouse, w<sup>ch</sup> or towne is to make good unto her." Land belonging to his widow Elizabeth was mentioned when she was given "liberty to take administration of the goods of her husband. & hath liberty to sell halfe her lot, for the bringing up of her children" on 13 May 1640. When she died in 1651, her inventory included "two great wimbles 000:03:00," tools which may have been her husband's. Thomas Fisher may have been related to the Fishers of Dedham who came from Syleham, Suffolk, or to the Thomas Fisher of Cambridge who came from Winston, Suffolk.<sup>4</sup>

1637 JOHN ROPER was born in England in 1611, and was of New Buckenham, Norfolk, when he let it be known that "John Ropear of New Bucknam Carpentar aged 26 yeares and Alles his wife aged 23 yeares with 2 children Alles and Elizabeth are desirous to goe for New England there to remaine" on 13 April 1637. Upon reaching his destination, Roper, in the company of Henry Smith, settled in Dedham. He was granted a house lot on 11 August 1637, and began attending town meetings the following

November. It is likely that Roper helped Thomas Fisher build the first meeting house, for he was one of the committee chosen to "estimate what was left vndone of y<sup>e</sup> agrement made w<sup>th</sup> him [Fisher]: as also other worke done by others interniscuously w<sup>th</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> sayd house to be soe distinguished y<sup>t</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Towne may beare y<sup>e</sup> one & y<sup>e</sup> wedowe beare y<sup>e</sup> other accordingly." On 28 February 1641, it was noted that "John Roper, being destitute of Corne, craveth licence to make sale of some board w<sup>ch</sup> he hath ready sawne," some of which was bought by John Fairbanks. By his wife Allis, he had four children born in America by 1645, after which time he falls from the record.<sup>5</sup>

1637 HENRY SMITH came to New England in the company of John Roper in 1637 from New Buckenham, Norfolk. Like Roper, his testimony was noted by the English authorities: "Henry Smith of Newbucknam husbandman ageed 30 yeares and Elizabeth his wife ageed 34 yeares with 2 children John and Sethe ar desirous to passe into New England to inhabitt." Smith arrived in Boston on 20 June 1637, and by the following November owned land in Dedham and had signed the town covenant. Smith signed the original Medfield Covenant in 1649 and was living there by 1652. Although he had called himself a husbandman when he left England, documentation in the Medfield records shows that he was a woodworker. In January, 1659, he and George Barber and John Thurston built a gallery in the Medfield meeting house (see appendix, p. 2, above). Smith's work was enumerated in an

account of 13 December 1661:

Rickned with Brother Smith this 13 of 10 moth. 1661  
and found Due to hi[m] for worke at the new gallery  
0-15-0  
and for the ballesters 0-11-0  
and for sawing 0-08-0  
and for boord 0-02-6  
and for a days work 0-02-0  
paid to Henry smith by the constables 0-9-2

In 1667 Smith was paid for laying the meeting house floor, and in December, 1675, he did a day's work in shingling the meeting house and received two shillings. These notes prove that Smith was capable of carpentry and turning, skills that he probably taught his son Seth, who continued in his trade. Smith's will was given on 2 August 1683; no inventory was made of his estate.<sup>6</sup>

1633 JOSEPH MOYCE, joiner, was probably from Dennington, Suffolk. He is mentioned in the Dedham Town Records on 21 September 1638, when "Joseph Moyce Joyner" was granted four acres of land in "ye wigwam playne." However, he may never have settled in Dedham, because he never was rated in the town or attended any town meetings. He probably left soon for Salisbury, where his name appears twelve times in local town and court records beginning in the 1650s. The last time he appears in the public record is on 19 March 1668/69, when "Joseph Moys of Salisbury, joyner" conveyed all of his land holdings to his grandchildren. Moyce has been repeatedly confused with Joseph Morse of Dorchester and Medfield, beginning with misreading

of the records by Frank Smith in 1936. Fortunately, a land account bearing the names of both men simultaneously confirms their separate identities. Moyce, active in Salisbury during the 1650s, may have been responsible for a Salisbury communion table now in the Wadsworth Atheneum.<sup>7</sup>

- 1639 THOMAS EAMES was born in England in 1618, and was twenty-two years of age when he first appeared in the Dedham Town Record; on 2 December 1640, the selectmen ordered Joseph Kingsbury, John Hayward, and John Bacheler "to search for Bricke earth & pvide a place necessary to burn bricke vpon & also to appoynt wood sufficient for y<sup>e</sup> same & all this in y<sup>e</sup> greate Iland wher conueniently they maye be had to the satisfaction of the Brickemaker Thomas Eames." By 5 October 1652 he was "of Medford, bricklayer, ae. 34" when he appeared in court. On 1 May 1660 he was still of that town when he submitted a deposition concerning the behavior of his apprentice, Joseph Mirrible. On 17 June 1662 he married Mary, the relict of John Paddlefoot, joiner of Cambridge. Eames and his wife were of Sudbury when their son Samuel was born on 15 January 1664. Eames' carpentry work was first recorded in 1674, when he was the master builder of the Sherborn meeting house. On 1 February 1676, an Indian attack resulted in the death or capture of his wife and children, and the burning of his house. He petitioned the General Court for monetary compensation, and counted among his material losses five pounds' worth of carpenter's and joiner's

tools. Eames lived in Sherborn until his death on 25 January 1680. Because he worked during the latter part of his career as a carpenter and joiner, he may have been a woodworker as well as a brickmaker while in Dedham in the 1640s.<sup>8</sup>

1639 JOHN THURSTON was probably baptized on 17 May 1607 at Sotterly, Suffolk. He must have apprenticed to a craftsman in the Wrentham area, for when he embarked for New England in 1637, he styled himself "of Wrenton in Suff., carpentar." He settled first at Salem and removed in 1639 to Dedham, where he and his wife Margret were received into the church in 1641 and 1640, respectively. He first obtained land in Dedham on 10 July 1642, and began attending town meetings on 2 January of the same year. While in Dedham, Thurston built the seats in the meeting house in 1646, and built the town's first schoolhouse in 1648 (see text, pp. 14-15, above). In 1649, Thurston and his son Thomas signed the Medfield Covenant; John Thurston was rated there in 1652. In Medfield, he remained active in the woodworking trades. He must have been involved with the building of the town's first meeting house, for on 26 May 1655, he was paid for planks and for work done on that building a total of £3:14:10. In 1657 and 1658 he was paid £13:05:01 for seating the meeting house and the gallery, and thirty shillings for making the "seate about the tabell" made for the congregation by John Houghton of Dedham (see text, p. 15, above). In January, 1659, Thurston assisted carpenters



Henry Smith and George Barber build the new gallery in the church (see appendix, p. 2, above). He was probably the master builder of the addition made to the meeting house in 1664, for on 20 November of the following year he received eight pounds in payment for his work. When he died on 1 November 1685, he was one of the most prominent members of the Medfield community. In his will, proved on 21 October 1686, he gave 2/9 of his estate to his son Thomas, and 1/9 to his son Joseph, both of whom had followed in his trade. Thurston's inventory, taken by Benjamin Clarke and Samuel Bullen on 1 March 1685/86, included "Carpenters tooles" in an estate valued at £169:03:10.<sup>9</sup>

- 1640 JOHN FAIRBANKS emigrated from Sowerby, Yorkshire, with his father Jonathan in 1633. In 1640, John received six acres of land at the east end of his father's house lot in Dedham. John was a wheelwright and turner, and must have learned the trade from his father. In 1641, he bought a quantity of sawn boards from carpenter John Roper. In 1661, he was on a committee to value a bridge built by Joshua Fisher, and on 31 December 1663, he and John Houghton were paid £1:02:00 for mending a cart bridge. He and John Aldis served as a committee in 1672 to find carpenters to build the second meeting house, finally settling on Daniel Pond and John Baker. The only record of Fairbanks' work as a wheelwright occurred on 29 November 1675, when the town promised him ten shillings "for a payre of wheels

to lay the great gune vpon." John Fairbanks died on 13 November 1684. The inventory of his estate taken on 10 December following placed the value of his worldly possessions at £491:00:06. Included in that sum were "Turning tooles & wheelewright tooles" prized at £8:07:00, a high valuation that could only have corresponded to a large quantity of tools. No doubt some of them belonged to his father, and came to John when he inherited his father's estate in 1678.<sup>10</sup>

1642     LIEUTENANT JOSHUA FISHER was baptized on 2 April 1621 at Syleham, Suffolk. The parish register of Syleham notes his christening: "Annon Domini 1621. Joshua Fysher, the sonne of Joshua Fysher, was baptised on the ii day of Aprille." Joshua the younger probably started his apprenticeship while still in Syleham, and may have followed his master to the New World; when he joined the Dedham church in 1639, he was called a "servant." He married Mary Aldis, daughter of elder Nathan Aldis, and sister of carpenter John Aldis, in 1643. His first recorded work as a carpenter dates from 17 January 1651, when it was agreed that he would "shingle the meeting house and doe all the worke & beare all the charge thereof that is the takeing of the old couering & make the spares feite & set them on. lay on the board shingle & flewe boards at one end & one pyramedy at y<sup>e</sup> south end and shingle the penthouse ouer the Bell." On 4 January 1657, he was one of three people appointed to set up the first sawmill in Dedham, which was operating by

1660, and in which Fisher retained a share of ownership. In 1661, he built a bridge and was also listed as owning the best house in town in that year's house valuation (worth £31). In February, 1664, Fisher was asked by the town to see about "repairing and make[ing] a new gate for the pound" and was "allso desired to cutt oake planke fitt to make a new payer of stocks." If this was done by Fisher at his sawmill, it would be the second earliest reference to mill sawn oak known, the first being at Salisbury prior to 1658. Joshua Fisher was dead by 27 August 1672. No probate papers for him survive.<sup>11</sup>

1645 JOHN HOUGHTON was born in England in 1624 and came to New England aboard the Abigail in 1635 at age eleven. He was probably from Eaton Bray, Bedford, where his father was warden of the parish church of St. Mary in 1629 and 1630. John must have received his training in the woodworking trades after arriving in Dedham, and probably served his apprenticeship between 1637 and 1645. References to his being a carpenter/joiner and turner appear in 1655, when he was paid for making the pulpit, communion table, and balusters for the Medfield meeting house (see text, pp. 6-9, above), and in 1664, when he built a bridge with John Fairbanks. By 1658 he had married Beatrix Buckminster, and the following year brought the birth of their first child: "Robert, the Son of John and Beatrix Houghton, was borne the 28<sup>th</sup>: 1 mo., 1659." Two more children, John and Mary, were born at Dedham in the next six

years. Houghton had signed the petition to settle Lancaster in 1653, and removed to that town in 1665. The uncontrolled use of wood in that town must have threatened his livelihood, for on 3 February 1667 "It was ordered by a voate of the towne that John Houghton should have Libertie to fall Timber in the Comons for his trade use, And If he take the barke of it And sett his marke vpon it, Then it is not Lawfull for any to take or make vse of any such Timber." Anticipating the destruction of Lancaster in King Philip's War, Houghton moved his family to the safety of Charlestown, where by 15 April 1676 he had a grant of commonage. Houghton died in Charlestown in 1684 at age sixty. After he was laid to rest in the Granary Burial Ground, his family resettled in Lancaster, where his widow married Benjamin Bosworth. In 1706 his eldest son Robert, who must have trained with his father, received thirty-seven acres of land in payment of "work done by him at the meeting house" and "for making the pulpit" in the third Lancaster church. When Robert died in 1723, his inventory included "Tools for Joinery work" valued at £2:12:04, some of which may have belonged to his father.<sup>12</sup>

1646 JOHN ALDIS was born in Fressingfield, Suffolk, c. 1625. He came to New England with his father Nathan Aldis, and was in Dedham by 1640. Aldis may have trained in Dedham with George Barber, a carpenter from Fressingfield who must have known his father. John married Sarah Eliot of Roxbury on 27 September

1650, and had five children by her between 1652 and 1666. Aldis first appears as a carpenter on 24 February 1664, when he was asked by the town to see about "repayering the meeting house in the clapboarding the wales and the seats in the east gallery and what else may be at p<sup>r</sup>sent to be needfull." In 1672, Aldis and John Fairbanks chose the builders of the second meeting house. On 15 April 1674, Aldis was "deputed to set up a post neer the meeting House for to nayle publications vpon also to set up a conuenient Horse bloock neere" and on 13 March 1675/76 he repaired the town pound. He died on 21 December 1700 in Dedham. His inventory, taken four days after his death, indicates that he may have been a carver as well as a joiner:

axes 8s  
Spades, hoes & Saws 14<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>  
An adze, augurs a Square & plains 13<sup>s</sup> 6<sup>d</sup>  
4 chizels 4<sup>s</sup> a burs 1<sup>d</sup>  
3 gouges & 3 Sickles 2<sup>s</sup>  
2 joynters & a plow 4<sup>s</sup>  
A hammer 1<sup>s</sup>  
a knife and needle case 1<sup>s</sup>  
beetle rings & 3 wedges 3<sup>d</sup>  
Two Lots in the great Cedar Swamp 1:0:00 13

1647 CORNELIUS FISHER came from Syleham, Suffolk, to Dedham by 1647, the year he joined the church. His brothers Anthony and Joshua and his nephews Daniel and Lieutenant Joshua were there by the time he arrived. On 3 January 1652, he was admitted a townsman of Dedham. In two separate deeds of 18 July and 2 February 1665 he called himself "of Dedham in

New England carpenter." On 4 December 1672, the town "ordered that a bill shall be given to Cornell Fisher to receave of the Constable 20<sup>s</sup> out of the town rate. for Fence by him set about the buriall place." Sometime after, he removed to Wrentham, where he died in early 1699. His inventory, taken on 20 June of that year, includes "Carpenters Tools" in a total estate valued at £242:19:08.<sup>14</sup>

1649 SETH SMITH was the second son of Henry Smith and came with his parents and brother John from New Buckenham, Norfolk, in 1637. He probably was trained in carpentry and joinery by his father, and removed with him to Medfield by 1652. In the 1661 Medfield town rate, he was taxed on an estate valued at £92:10:00. On 23 January 1676 he was paid two shillings for doing work with his father at the meeting house. His inventory, taken on 12 August 1682, valued his possessions at £234:03:00, and included "Carpenters tooles, hoaes & sythes" worth £2:03:06, "Board and Timber" worth £1:04:00, and several shares of swamp.<sup>15</sup>

1651 DANIEL POND first appears in the Dedham Town Records in 1651, when he was retained by Lieutenant Joshua Fisher and Eleazer Lusher to make alterations to the first meeting house. The work required that he "vndertake to frame & set vp 2 windowes vpon the back side of y<sup>e</sup> meeting house," "set vp a sufficient frame vpon the north end of y<sup>e</sup> meeting house for y<sup>e</sup> hanging of

y<sup>e</sup> Bell," and "make & set vp one conueanient & sufficient payer of flewe boards at the said end of y<sup>e</sup> meeting house." Shortly thereafter, Pond married Abigail, the daughter of Edward Shepard of Cambridge, suggesting that he may have lived there prior to his arrival in Dedham. Before her death on 5 July 1661, she bore him seven children. The following September, Pond married Ann Shepard (no relation of his first wife) and had seven more children by 1680.

Pond's long career in carpentry proves him to have been one of the most active Dedham craftsmen. He was repeatedly called on to do work on the town's meeting houses. In 1662, he was "freed of his highway worke for 7 years for building the gallarie in the meeting house," and in 1669 he was paid for "altering the 2 seats in the meeting house." On 10 February 1672 he and John Baker, who may have been one of his apprentices, were chosen by John Aldis and John Fairbanks to build the second meeting house. The building was probably completed by 1674, when Pond received £47:05:00 for his share of the work. In 1675 he built two more seats in the church, and in 1677, the town "Agreed w<sup>th</sup> Ser Ponde to build a seat at the table in the meeting House." In 1681, he was again paid for making "the two Last seates run the north side of the meeting house into thre forthwith for Boyes to Sit in," for which he received additional reimbursements in 1683 and 1685.

Pond served as a selectman beginning in 1660, was made a freeman of the colony in 1690, and attained the rank of Lieutenant in the militia before his death on 4 February 1697. His inventory included "Carpenter Tools 3:0:0" in a total estate prized at £185:19:00. Pond's son Robert was one of the two carpenters responsible for saving the two carved panels from Houghton's Medfield pulpit in 1706 (see text, pp. 1-2, above).<sup>16</sup>

1655 THOMAS MASON came to New England with his father Robert from Waldon, Essex, as a child, and was living in Dedham by 1642. He must have trained in the shop of one of the Suffolk craftsmen working in Dedham between 1642 and 1649. By 1652 he was of Medfield, and on 23 April 1653 he married Margery Partridge, who bore him six children between 1655 and 1669. Mason's ability to do joiner's work is proven by an account in the Medfield Town Records of 26 May 1655:

Thomas mason the town Indebted  
to him for planks 0-12-6  
paid to thomas mason by the town  
Rate for the seating of the meetting Hous 0-5-7

Because John Thurston installed most of the seating in the first meeting house of Medfield, it may be that Mason was working under his aegis and may have been one of his former apprentices. Mason was killed by the Indians on 21 February



1675. On 20 April 1676, "The Inventory of y<sup>e</sup> Estate of Thomas Mason of Meadfeild that y<sup>e</sup> enemy Left" valued his estate at £226:00:00.<sup>17</sup>

1658 THOMAS THURSTON was the eldest son of John and Margret Thurston. He was probably born in Wrentham, Suffolk, and came to Dedham with his parents in late 1639. He undoubtedly learned woodworking skills from his father, and is called "of Medfield, carpenter" in a deed with Daniel Morse dated 2 July 1662. He married Sarah Thaxter of Hingham on 13 December 1655, and had ten children by her before she died on 1 September 1678. On 16 April 1669, the town of Medfield paid "Thomas Thurstun for worke at the Schoole house 00:02:08"; this reference, probably only for a day's work, is the only recorded instance of his practicing his trade. He removed to Wrentham after that town was incorporated in 1673, and died there on 20 May 1704. Prized in his inventory of 9 February following were "Carpenters Toolles 4:16:8." His total estate was valued at £563:17:11.<sup>18</sup>

1660 JOSEPH THURSTON was the third son of John and Margret Thurston, and the brother of Thomas Thurston. He was born on 13 September 1640, soon after his parents arrived in Dedham from Salem, and was baptized two days later. Like his brother, he, too, must have learned the skills of carpentry and joinery from his father. He was probably working by 1660, when he

first appeared on the Medfield town rate with an estate of £33:00:00. Later that year, however, he removed to Jamaica, Long Island, where in 1663 or shortly thereafter he married Anne Foster, widow of Thomas Foster of Lauralea. Thurston must have had a large family, for in the rate returns for Jamaica for the seven years prior to 1683 he reported one marriage, eight christenings, and one death. He died at age forty-eight in 1688, and his inventory listed three augurs, seven axes of various sizes, a handsaw, two broad chisels, a narrow chisel, a gouge, a drawknife, a crosscut saw, beetles, wedges, pincers, two great gimblets, and "two pieces of chair" among an estate valued at £220:00:00. Because Thurston was trained in the Suffolk dialect, he probably carried that with him to his new location near New York City, thus adding yet another variant to an area already settled by the Dutch, French, English, and Germans.<sup>19</sup>

- 1662 THOMAS BOYDEN arrived in New England in 1634. He had embarked at Ipswich, Suffolk, as a "joiner, ae. 21" on 30 April of that year on the ship Francis. The place of his birth is unrecorded, but he seems to have come from the ancestral village of Boyton, only about ten miles from Ipswich. He may have been trained as a joiner in either place. After landing in New England, he settled first at Scituate, where the Reverend John Lothrop noted his acceptance into his congregation: "Thomas Boiden, Brother Gilsons Servaunt joyned May 17, 1635." His master,

William Gilson, was the town's first miller. Boyden was probably responsible for the construction of the first windmill at Scituate, which was owned and operated by Gilson. Because Boyden was the first known joiner to have been working at Scituate, he may also have made some, if not all, of the furniture so carefully itemized in his master's inventory in 1639:

one framed bedsteed	00:15:00
one framed Table	00:08:00
two great chests	00:10:00
two smale chests	00:01:00
1 joyned chaire	00:01:00
three smale chaires	00:01:00
1 smale table	00:00:04
1 stoole	00:00:02
1 smale form	00:00:02
1 joyned cupboard	00:02:00

By 1639 Boyden had married his first wife, Frances, and had removed to Watertown, where his first son, Thomas, was born on 26 September 1639. In the ensuing eleven years, three more children were born in Watertown. On 23 May 1647, Boyden was made a freeman of the Bay Colony. By 27 March 1650 he had removed his family to Muddy River (Brookline), where two more children were born before his wife died on 17 March 1658. The following November he married Hannah, the relict of Joseph Morse of Dorchester and Medfield. In a deed of 22 August 1660, Boyden conveyed his lands at Muddy River to Joshua Scottow, a Boston joiner with whom he may have been well acquainted. If Boyden had a shop, it was probably included in the property

transferred to Scottow. Boyden then removed his family to a house in Sudbury Lane, Boston.

In 1660, the settling of Joseph Morse's estate in Medfield provided that Boyden should care for the Morse children until they had married or reached their majorities. In return for the Morse property, he was directed by the Suffolk County Probate Court to give each child £26:13:04 and see that they were taught to read and write. The youngest Morse child under Boyden's guardianship was Jeremiah, who may have trained with his stepfather while learning the wheelwright's trade. Boyden was thus bound by the court for the sum of £180:00:00 in a deposition of 27 June 1665, in which he styled himself "late of Boston, now of Medfield." The agreement was witnessed by John Ferniside, another Boston joiner with whom he might have worked while living in the Plymouth Colony prior to 1639. Boyden sold his property in Sudbury Lane on 12 September 1662, and removed to Medfield shortly thereafter. On 24 February 1667, the selectmen of Medfield paid "Thomas Boydon for a days work with his team at [the] schooll house 0-5-0." In 1678 he was of Medfield when he subscribed "one bushel of wheat to the new brick college" at Harvard, and in 1682 he was chosen a tithingman of Medfield. His unrecorded death must have occurred sometime thereafter. Boyden had a son, Thomas, who was a joiner in Groton.<sup>20</sup>

- 1665 BENJAMIN CLARK was the son of Joseph Clark, who was of Dedham in 1640 and Medfield in 1651. He was born in Dedham in 1644. In 1665 he married Dorcas Morse, and in 1668 was granted a house lot "near the way as you go out at Nantasket," either in the towns of Hingham or Hull. However, he remained in Medfield and followed the trade of a wheelwright, according to Tilden. Clark and his family saw their house burned by the Indians in 1676, but returned to rebuild in the same spot. Clark became a freeman in 1682. On 30 November 1685, he agreed with the selectmen to "take care for y<sup>e</sup> falling, drawing, & squiring of timber" for the rebuilding of the Great Bridge. On 25 February 1696, there was "due to Benjamin Clarke for work at y<sup>e</sup> meeting-house- 0-3-0." His inventory, taken 20 January 1724, valued his estate at £569:12:10.<sup>21</sup>
- 1665 NATHANIEL FRENCH was active in Dedham for only about three years, appearing in the Country Rates for 1665, 1666, and 1667. On 1 January 1665 the town "Granted to Nathaneell French Libertie to take so much timber in the Townes comon as may make 6 payer of wheelles to be sold & vsed in this Towne." He was still active on 2 October 1667, when "Vpon the request of Nathaneell French Liberty is granted to him to fell such Timber for the vse of his Trade as he shall emproue for any [of] the Inhabitants of this Towne pvided he fell it within the Comon lands of the Towne. and be carefull that he waste no timber." After 1667 he disappears from the Dedham Town

Records. He may have been the Nathaniel French who married Mary Tisdale in Taunton on 9 January 1677, and died on 14 June 1711; if so, he had stopped working in his trade by the time of his death.<sup>22</sup>

1665 JOHN PRATT of Medfield was probably the son of the "John Prat" who joined the Dorchester congregation on 27 January 1642. He may have been among the Dorchester contingent that migrated to Medfield when John Wilson, Jr., coadjutor of the Dorchester church under Richard Mather, was called to take charge of the Medfield congregation in 1653. Pratt is noted by Tilden as having been a carpenter, having shingled "the new end of the meeting house, and the side of the old house next to the new end at 16s. a thousand, to be done before the 15 of June 1665." Pratt's inventory, taken at Medfield on 29 August 1707, listed "Carpentry Tools" in a total estate valued at £158:07:04.<sup>23</sup>

1666 JOHN BAKER was born in Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1645, and was living in Dedham at least by 17 December 1668, the date of his marriage to Abigail, daughter of Daniel Fisher. His first major undertaking in the carpentry trade came in 1672, when he and Daniel Pond built the second Dedham meeting house. Baker's ability to make furniture is documented in the town record of 6 January 1678, when he was "Granted... liberty to take a Chesnut tree: for a table leafe of his own use." The use of

chestnut in seventeenth-century American furniture has appeared previously only in the drawer and chest bottom boards in objects from the East Narragansett region, and in a chest of drawers with doors made in Boston. That Baker used chestnut in Dedham on more than one occasion is proven by an earlier entry in the Dedham Town Records for 7 January 1677, when liberty was granted him "to fell ...a tune of Chesnut: timber" for which the town "Reseaiued: of: John Baker in mony 1<sup>s</sup> for on Tune of Chesnut timber," a partial payment made on 6 January 1678. Like most carpenters, Baker also served as a procurer of timber. On 14 May 1677, he was appointed to satisfy Eleazer Lusher's "request to have a tree or two for a grou[nd]sel for his Barne." Baker's will of 2 October 1713 mentions that he had a son Samuel to whom he had "given...a trade"; no inventory for Baker survives.<sup>24</sup>

- 1672 JEREMIAH MORSE was born at Dedham on 10 June 1651, the seventh child of Joseph and Hannah Morse. He was brought up and perhaps trained in Medfield by his stepfather, Thomas Boyden. Morse is said to have followed the wheelwright's trade, though he probably made most of his living by owning and operating the sawmill at Wrentham. He married Elizabeth Hamant between 1672 and 1678, and had ten children by her between 1678 and 1704. He died on 19 February 1715. His will mentioned his "house and shop" and his inventory of 13 March 1715/16 included

To Several Sorts of Tool  
To Ten acres of Land and four in Wrentham all  
lying near the Saw Mill in two parcels 7:00:00  
To a Saw Mill one Acre at the Daming and 3 acres  
of Meadow it flowes in Wrentham 40:00:00  
To Five Acres of pine Swamp in Wrentham 2:10:00

The total value of his estate was £372:07:06.<sup>25</sup>



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### Aspects of Seventeenth-Century New England Material Culture

- Cummings, Abbott Lowell. "Decorative Painters and House Painting in Massachusetts Bay, 1630-1725" in Ian M. G. Quimby, ed. American Painting to 1776: A Reappraisal. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1971.
- Donnelly, Marian Card. "New England Meeting Houses in the Seventeenth Century." Old-Time New England, 47, no. 4 (April-June, 1957), 85-99.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The New England Meeting Houses of the Seventeenth Century. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1968.
- Failey, Dean F. Long Island is My Nation. Setauket, New York: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, 1977.
- Fales, Dean F., Jr. The Furniture of Historic Deerfield. New York: E. P. Dutton, 1977.
- Forman, Benno M. "Boston Furniture Craftsmen 1630-1730." unpub. ms., 1969.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Mill Sawing in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts." Old-Time New England, 60, no. 4 (Spring, 1970), 110-130.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Seventeenth-Century Case Furniture of Essex County, Massachusetts, and its Makers." unpub. M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Urban Aspects of Massachusetts Furniture in the Late Seventeenth Century" in John D. Morse, ed. Country Cabinetwork and Simple City Furniture. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1970.
- Green, Richard Lawrence. "Fertility Symbols on the Hadley Chests." Antiques, 112, no. 2 (August, 1977), 250-257.
- Johnston, Phillip. Art in 17th Century New England. Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1977.

- Kane, Patricia E. Furniture of the New Haven Colony The Seventeenth-Century Style. New Haven: The New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1973.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Seventeenth-Century Furniture of the Connecticut Valley: The Hadley Chest Re-appraised" in Ian M. G. Quimby, ed. Arts of the Anglo-American Community in the Seventeenth Century. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1974.
- Kirk, John T. Connecticut Furniture Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Sources of Some American Regional Furniture: Part I." Antiques, 88, no. 6 (December, 1965), 790-798.
- Lockwood, Luke Vincent. Colonial Furniture in America. 2 vols. in 1. New York: Castle Books, 1957.
- Lyon, Irving Whitall. The Colonial Furniture of New England. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1891.
- Myers, Minor, Jr., and Edgar deN. Mayhew. New London Furniture 1640-1840. New London, Connecticut: The Lyman Allyn Museum, 1974.
- Nutting, Wallace. Furniture of the Pilgrim Century. Framingham: Old America Company, 1924.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Furniture Treasury. 3 vols. Framingham: Old America Company, 1928.
- Trent, Robert F. "The Joiners and Joinery of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1730." unpub. M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Joiners and Joinery of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1730" in Ian M. G. Quimby, ed. Arts of the Anglo-American Community in the Seventeenth Century. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1974.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. Pilgrim Century Furniture. New York: Main Street Books, 1977.
- Watkins, Walter Kendall. "Three Contracts for Seventeenth-Century Building Construction in Massachusetts." Old-Time New England, 12, no. 1 (July, 1921), 27-32.

Aspects of British Material Culture

- Betjeman, John, ed. English Parish Churches. London: Collins, 1958.
- Braun, Hugh. Parish Churches. London: Faber and Faber, 1970.
- Cescinsky, Herbert, and Ernest R. Gribble. Early English Furniture & Woodwork. London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1922.
- Cox, T. Charles. Pulpits, Lecterns, & Organs in English Churches. London: Oxford University Press, 1915.
- Forman, Benno M. "Continental Furniture Craftsmen in London: 1511-1625." Furniture History, 7 (1971), 94-120.
- Gilbert, Christopher G. "Regional Traditions in English Vernacular Furniture" in Ian M. G. Quimby, ed. Arts of the Anglo-American Community in the Seventeenth Century. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1974.
- Mayes, L. J. The History of Chairmaking in High Wycombe. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1960.
- Morand, Dexter. The Minor Architecture of Suffolk. London: John Tiranti, 1929.
- Oak Furniture from Gloucestershire and Somerset. Leeds: Temple Newsam House, 1976.
- Oak Furniture from Lancashire and the Lake District. Leeds: Temple Newsam House, 1973.
- Oak Furniture from Yorkshire Churches. Leeds: Temple Newsam House, 1971.
- Robinson, Frederick S. English Furniture. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1905.

New England Local History and Genealogy

- Baker, Nelson M. A Genealogy of the Descendants of Edward Baker of Lynn, Massachusetts. Syracuse: The Journal Office, 1867.
- Baldwin, Thomas W., ed. Vital Records of Natick, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850. Boston: F. H. Gilson Co., 1910.

- Banks, Charles Edwards. Topographical Dictionary of 2885 English Immigrants to New England 1620-1650. Baltimore: Southern Book Company, 1957.
- Bigelow, William. History of Natick. Boston: Marsh, Capen & Lyon, 1830.
- Bingham, Thomas M., comp. The Bingham Family in the United States. 3 vols. Easton, Pennsylvania: The Bingham Association, 1926.
- Bond, Henry. Genealogies of the Families and Descendants of the Early Settlers of Watertown, Massachusetts. Boston: New England Historic-Genealogical Society, 1860.
- Boyden, Wallace C., comp., et. al. Thomas Boyden and His Descendants. Boston: privately printed, 1901.
- Carlisle, Fred. Genealogy of George H. Barbour 1635 to 1897. Detroit: Winn & Hammond, 1901.
- Deane, Samuel. History of Scituate. Boston: J. Loring, 1831.
- Fairbanks, Lorenzo Sales. Genealogy of the Fairbanks in America 1633-1897. Boston: printed for the author, 1897.
- Gozzaldi, Mary Isabella. Supplement and Index to Lucius R. Paige, History of Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1630-1877. Cambridge: The Cambridge Historical Society, 1930.
- Hanson, Robert Brand. Dedham, Massachusetts, 1635-1890. Dedham: Dedham Historical Society, 1976.
- Harris, Edward Doubleday. A Genealogical Record of Daniel Pond and His Descendants. Boston: William Parsons Lunt, 1873.
- Holman, Winifred Lovering. Anthony Fisher Genealogy. bound typescript in collection of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, 1935.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Excerpts From the Pillsbury Ancestry. bound typescript in collection of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, 1938.
- Hotten, John Camden. The Original Lists of Persons of Quality, 1600-1700. 1880; rpt. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1962.
- Houghton, John W. The Houghton Family Genealogy. New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock, 1912.

- Johnson, Richard Brigham. "Swampscott, Massachusetts, in the Seventeenth Century." Essex Institute Historical Collections, 109, no. 4 (October, 1973), 241-306.
- Lincoln, Waldo. Genealogy of the Waldo Family. 3 vols. Worcester: Charles Hamilton, 1902.
- Maverick, Samuel. "A Brief Description of New England and the Several Townes therein, together with the Present Government thereof." Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 2nd ser. 1 (1884-1885), 231-249.
- Paige, Lucius R. History of Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1630-1877. Boston: H. O. Houghton & Co., 1877.
- Savage, James. A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England. 4 vols. 1862; rpt. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1965.
- Shumway, Floyd M. "New Haven and Its First Settlers." New Haven Colony Historical Society Journal, 21, no. 2 (September, 1972), 45-67.
- Smith, Frank. A History of Dedham, Massachusetts. Dedham: The Transcript Press, 1936.
- Thurston, Brown, comp. Thurston Genealogies. Portland, Maine: Brown Thurston, 1892.
- Thurston, Charles Myrick. Genealogy of Charles Myrick Thurston. New York: F. Trow & Co., 1865.
- Tilden, William S. History of Medfield, Massachusetts, 1650-1886. Boston: George H. Ellis, 1887.
- Vital Records of Medfield, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850. Boston: New England Historic-Genealogical Society, 1903.

Readings in Artifact Theory and General Background

- Agricultural Economics Research Institute. The Rural Industries of England and Wales. 4 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1926-1927.
- Allen, David Grayson. "In English Ways: The Movement of Society and the Transferal of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay, 1600-1690." unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1974.

- Arensberg, Conrad M., and Solon T. Kimball. Culture and Community. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1965.
- Barnett, H. G. Innovation: The Basis of Cultural Change. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953.
- Boas, Franz. Primitive Art. 1927; rpt. New York: Dover, 1955.
- Bridenbaugh, Carl. The Colonial Craftsman. New York: New York University Press, 1950.
- Brown, B. Katherine. "Puritan Democracy in Dedham, Massachusetts: Another Case Study." William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser., 24, no. 3 (July, 1967), 378-396.
- Buchanan, Ronald H. "Geography and Folk Life." Folk Life, I (1963), 5-15.
- Cummings, Abbott Lowell. Rural Household Inventories. Boston: The Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1964.
- Dundes, Alan. "The American Concept of Folklore." Journal of the Folklore Institute, 3, no. 3 (December, 1966), 226-249.
- Evans, George Ewart. The Pattern Under the Plough: Aspects of the Folk-Life of East Anglia. London: Faber and Faber, 1966.
- Fenton, Alexander. "Material Culture as an Aid to Local History Studies in Scotland." Journal of the Folklore Institute, 2, no. 3 (December, 1965), 326-339.
- Focillon, Henri. Introduction to Art Populaire, trans. Robert F. Trent, in Trent, Hearts & Crowns. New Haven: The New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1977.
- Friedlaender, Walter. Mannerism & Anti-Mannerism in Italian Painting. New York: Schocken, 1965.
- Fussell, G. E. The English Rural Labourer: His Home, Furniture, Clothing and Food from Tudor to Victorian Times. London: The Batchworth Press, 1949.
- Garvan, Anthony. "The Protestant Plain Style Before 1630." Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 9, no. 3 (October, 1950), 5-13.
- Glassie, Henry. Folk Housing in Middle Virginia. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975.

- \_\_\_\_\_. Patterns in the Material Folk Culture of the Eastern United States. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Structure and Function: Folklore and the Artifact." Semiotica, 7, no. 4 (1973), 313-351.
- Hall, Edward T. The Silent Language. New York: Fawcett World Library, 1964.
- Hymes, Dell. "The Contribution of Folklore to Sociolinguistic Research" in Américo Parades and Richard Bauman, eds. Toward New Perspectives in Folklore. Austin and London: University of Texas Press for the American Folklore Society, 1972.
- Kniffen, Fred B. "American Cultural Geography and Folklife" in Don Yoder, ed. American Folklife. Austin and London: University of Texas Press, 1976.
- Kubler, George A. The Shape of Time. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962.
- Kurath, Hans. A Word Geography of the Eastern United States. Studies in American English, I, Ann Arbor, Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1969.
- Kurath, Hans, and Guy S. Lowman, Jr. The Dialectal Structure of Southern England: Phonological Evidence. University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1976.
- Jones, Michael Owen. "A Traditional Chairmaker at Work." Mountain Life and Work, 43, no. 1 (Spring, 1967), 10-13.
- \_\_\_\_\_. The Hand-Made Object and Its Maker. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1975.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Study of Traditional Furniture: Review and Preview." Keystone Folklore Quarterly, 12, no. 4 (Winter, 1967), 233-245.
- Lea, Zilla Rider, ed. The Ornamented Chair: Its Development in America (1700-1800). Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle for the Esther Stevens Brazer Guild, 1960.
- Lévi-Strauss, Claude. The Scope of Anthropology, trans. Sherry Ortner Paul and Robert A. Paul. London: Jonathan Cape, Ltd., 1967.
- Lockridge, Kenneth. A New England Town The First Hundred Years. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970.

- Mercer, Henry C. Ancient Carpenters' Tools. 1929; rpt. Doylestown: Bucks County Historical Society, 1960.
- Pye, David. The Nature and Art of Workmanship. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968.
- Redfield, Robert. "The Folk Society." The American Journal of Sociology, 52, no. 4 (January, 1947), 293-311.
- Riedl, Norbert F. "Folklore and the Study of the Materials Aspects of Folk Culture." Journal of American Folklore, 79, no. 314 (October-December, 1966), 557-563.
- Sommer, Robert. Personal Space The Behavioral Basis of Design. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1969.
- Trent, Robert F. Hearts & Crowns. New Haven: The New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1977.
- Williams, W. M. The Country Craftsman: A Study of Some Rural Crafts and The Rural Industries Organization in England. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958.
- Public Records in Seventeenth-Century New England
- "Boston Marriages," in New England Historic-Genealogical Register, 18 (1864), 333.
- Bristol County Probate Records (1685-1730), Taunton, Massachusetts.
- Hill, Don Gleason, ed. The Early Records of the Town of Dedham, Massachusetts. 6 vols. Dedham: The Transcript Press, 1886-1936.
- "Medfield Memorial, 1664," in New England Historic-Genealogical Register, 13 (1859), 346.
- Medfield Town Records. bound mss. in Office of the Town Clerk, Medfield, Massachusetts.
- "Medfield's Contribution to Harvard College, 1678," in New England Historic-Genealogical Register, 10 (1856), 49-50.
- Middlesex County Probate Records (1648-1771), Cambridge, Massachusetts.
- Nourse, Henry S., ed. The Early Records of Lancaster, Massachusetts, 1643-1725. Lancaster, 1881.



Plymouth Colony Wills & Inventories (1633-1685), Plymouth, Massachusetts.

Plymouth County Probate Records (1685-1730), Plymouth, Massachusetts.

Records of the First Church of Dorchester in New England 1636-1734.  
Boston: George H. Ellis, 1891.

"Register of the Births and burials in Dedham from the year 1635 unto the yeare 1643," in New England Historic-Genealogical Register, 4 (1850), 274.

"Scituate and Barnstable Church Records," in New England Historic-Genealogical Register, 9 (1855), 279-287.

Suffolk County Deeds. Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1880.

Suffolk County Probate Records, Boston, Massachusetts.

#### Other Records

Catalogs of the Collections of the Medfield Historical Society, ms. in vault, Medfield Historical Society, Medfield, Massachusetts.

Registrar's File, The Dedham Historical Society, Dedham, Massachusetts.

Registrar's File, The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, Winterthur, Delaware.

#### Correspondence

Agius, Pauline, to author, 3 January 1978.

Hanson, Robert, to author, 28 November 1977.

Hardy, John, to author, 15 December 1977.

Thurston, Frank, to author, 2 December 1977.

Thurston, Frank, to author, 15 December 1977.

Wells-Cole, Anthony, to author, 9 March 1978.

Wells-Cole, Anthony, to author, 31 March 1978.

Wells- Cole, Anthony, to Forman, Benno, 9 March 1978.

## NOTES TO TEXT

<sup>1</sup>Samuel Maverick, "A Briefe Discription of New England and the Severall Townes therein, together with the Present Government thereof," in Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings, 2nd ser. 1 (1884-1885): 238. Because only two of the Dedham-Medfield objects retain their original lids, all measurements given in captions do not account for lid dimensions. The two examples which retain their original lids are the chest in the Winterthur collection and the box owned by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. All dates in the text are in the Old Style, with the new year beginning on the twenty-fifth day of March. Therefore, for instance, July, 1646, comes before January, 1646. In quoting seventeenth-century textual passages, all superscript letters have been reduced to line, and contractions such as wth, ve, p, and cent have been expanded to with, the, per, and hundred. Ampersands have been retained, as have all period spellings.

<sup>2</sup>The four towns and their dates of incorporation were Medfield (1651), Wrentham (1673), Needham (1711), and Bellingham (1719). For the only study that treats the implications of land ownership patterns in Dedham see Kenneth A. Lockridge, A New England Town The First Hundred Years (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1970), ch. 6.

<sup>3</sup>David Grayson Allen, "In English Ways: The Movement of Societies and the Transferal of English Local Law and Custom to Massachusetts Bay, 1600-1690" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1974), p. 423n, contains the most recent information available regarding the English background of Dedham settlers. Allen maintains that 37.5 percent of all pre-1660 selectmen can be traced to towns in East Anglia.

<sup>4</sup>A cursory survey made by the author of the emigrants from the three eastern counties of England listed as settling in Dedham by Charles Edward Banks in his Topographical Dictionary of 2885 English Immigrants to New England 1620-1650 (Baltimore: Southern Book Company, 1957), pp. 39-54, 115-124, 149-166, shows that of the thirty-nine heads of household mentioned, 21 (53.1 percent) came from eight towns in eastern Suffolk, 11 (28 percent) came from nine towns in southeastern Norfolk, and 7 (17.9 percent) came from five towns in Essex. For specific information on Dedham settlers from Fressingfield, Suffolk, see the New England Historic-Genealogical Register (hereafter NEHGR), 79 (1925): 339.

<sup>5</sup>See Hans Kurath and Guy S. Lowman, Jr., The Dialectal Structure of Southern England: Phonological Evidence (University of Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1976) and Harold Orton and Phillip M. Tilling, The East Midland Counties and East Anglia, vol. 3 of The Survey of English Dialects (B) The Basic Materials (Leeds: E. J. Arnold & Son, 1971), pp. i-ii, *et passim*. Kurath and Lowman's analysis of the eastern Suffolk/southeastern Norfolk area as a distinct linguistic sub-culture is confirmed by the phonetic similarities in Orton and Tilling's returns from Norfolk locations 10, 12, and 13 and Suffolk locations 2 and 3.

<sup>6</sup>Catalog of the Collections of the Medfield Historical Society (bound MS in the possession of the Medfield Historical Society), pp. 411-412.

<sup>7</sup>William S. Tilden, History of Medfield, Massachusetts, 1650-1886 (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1887), p. 115.

<sup>8</sup>Medfield Town Records (hereafter MTR), quoted in Tilden, History of Medfield, p. 113.

<sup>9</sup>MTR (MS bound volumes in Medfield Town Office), unpagged, meeting of 14 January 1655.

<sup>10</sup>MTR, meeting of 10 June 1657.

<sup>11</sup>A similar instance of lunettes and s-scrolls being used on the top rails of two chests appear on two examples attributed to the hand or shop of Thomas Mulliner of New Haven. The chests are illustrated in Patricia E. Kane, Furniture of the New Haven Colony The Seventeenth-Century Style (New Haven: The New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1973), plate I, and Dean F. Failey, Long Island is My Nation (Setauket, New York: Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, 1977), p. 33.

<sup>12</sup>Hugh Braun, Parish Churches (London: Faber and Faber, 1970), p. 207.

<sup>13</sup>Contract of 11 November 1658 between the town of Malden and Job Lane, carpenter, calls for "The pulpitt and cover to be of wainscott to conteyne ffive or six persons." Quoted in Marian Card Donnelly, The New England Meeting Houses of the Seventeenth Century (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1968), p. 138.

<sup>14</sup>Donnelly, New England Meeting Houses, p. 107. Donnelly's conclusions concerning the definition of a "Puritan Plain Style" differ with those of other scholars, such as those expressed in Anthony Garvan, "The Protestant Plain Style Before 1630," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians, 9, no. 3 (Oct., 1950): 5-13.

<sup>15</sup>The Sudbury table is illustrated and discussed in Robert F. Trent, "The Joiners and Joinery of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1730," in Arts of the Anglo-American Community in the Seventeenth Century, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1974), pp. 140, 142; the Salisbury example is discussed in Philip Johnston, Art in 17th Century New England (Hartford: The Wadsworth Atheneum, 1977), p. 33.

<sup>16</sup>William Rotch Ware, ed., The Georgian Period, 12 vols. (Boston: American Architect and Building News Co., 1898), 1: plate 26. The chest was later illustrated in Marta K. Sironen, A History of American Furniture (East Stroudsburg, Pennsylvania: Towse Publishing Company, 1936), p. 3, as being "the chest now in Pilgrim Hall Having Modest Decorations." A check into the loan and accession records at Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, has proven this statement to be erroneous. The author is indebted to Bert and Ellen Denker for bringing the present whereabouts of the chest to his attention.

<sup>17</sup>Suffolk County Probate Records (hereafter SCPR), 5: 112-114.

<sup>18</sup>The similarity of this panel to those found on chests from the upper Connecticut River Valley suggests that it may prove more fruitful to search for the sources of Connecticut River Valley decorative motifs in those parts of eastern Massachusetts from which the majority of the settlers of the Hadley-Deerfield area came, rather than attempting to relate them to twice-removed sources in England, which though often repeated, may have lost all vestiges of iconographic significance. Upper Connecticut River Valley objects with carving similar to that on the Fairbanks chest are illustrated in: John T. Kirk, Connecticut Furniture: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries (Hartford: The Wadsworth Atheneum, 1967), figures 20, 21, 22; Patricia E. Kane, "The Seventeenth-Century Furniture of the Connecticut Valley: The Hadley Chest Reappraised," in Arts of the Anglo-American Community in the Seventeenth Century, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1974), figures 1, 2, 13; and Dean F. Fales, Jr., The Furniture of Historic Deerfield (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1977), figure 362. All of these examples are of Kane's type II design. In the article cited above, Kane suggests the relationship of the Hadley decorations to those used by the joiners of the Searle/Dennis group of Boston and Ipswich. Highly questionable attempts to relate Hadley and Wethersfield motifs to medieval fertility rituals and royal emblemata like the lily and the Tudor rose have been made in Richard Lawrence Green, "Fertility Symbols on the Hadley Chests," Antiques 112: no. 2 (Aug., 1977): 250-257; and John T. Kirk, "Sources of Some American Regional Furniture: Part I," Antiques 88, no. 6 (Dec., 1965): 790-798. The latter is especially inaccurate in its claim that the folk artist has no alternative to

copying high style images; the former is an absurd attempt to read suppressed Puritan sexuality from artifacts which the author assumed to be objects of displacement. Among other faults, Green has mistakenly perpetuated the misattribution of one Hadley chest to Phincas Pratt.

<sup>19</sup>George A. Kubler, The Shape of Time (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), pp. 60-61.

<sup>20</sup>Don Gleason Hill, ed., The Early Records of the Town of Dedham, Massachusetts, 6 vols. (Dedham: The Transcript Press, 1886-1936), 3: 115. Hereafter DTR.

<sup>21</sup>The other instance is the four surviving fragments of the original seats of the first meeting house of Marblehead, Massachusetts, which are documented as having been made in 1659 by the carpenter John Norman in "Marblehead Town Records," Essex Institute Historical Collections 69, nos. 3-4 (July-Oct., 1933): 226. The author is indebted to Robert F. Trent for bringing the fragments and the reference to his attention. An additional fragment which survives is a pew door from the c. 1684 meeting house of Bristol, R. I., though information about its maker has not yet come to light. The door is illustrated in Donnelly, "New England Meeting Houses in the Seventeenth Century," Old-Time New England 47, no. 4 (April-June, 1957): 90, fig. 3.

<sup>22</sup>DTR, 3: 156-157.

<sup>23</sup>MTR, meetings of 10 June 1657 and 15 December 1658.

<sup>24</sup>The chest with one drawer is illustrated and discussed in Benno M. Forman, "The Seventeenth-Century Case Furniture of Essex County, Massachusetts and Its Makers" (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1968), pp. 98-102.

<sup>25</sup>Benno M. Forman, "Mill Sawing in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," Old-Time New England 60, no. 4 (April-June, 1970): 125-126. Forman notes that Salem did not have its own sawmill in operation until 1670, although the availability of milled wood in Salem was still possible if it were brought there from other area mills, such as those operating at Portsmouth, New Hampshire (1634), Rowley (1642), Salisbury (1650), and Ipswich (1656).

<sup>26</sup>Kane, "The Hadley Chest Reappraised," p. 92; Christopher G. Gilbert, "Regional Traditions in English Vernacular Furniture," in Arts of the Anglo-American Community in the Seventeenth Century, pp. 53, 75n; Gilbert notes that the mitered tenon detail was first observed by Benno M. Forman and published in his letter to Country Life 152, no. 3924 (31 Aug. 1972): 519. Other examples of probable East Anglian craftsmanship in New England joined furniture which have

the mitered tenon are the chest shown in figure 5 above, and a chest which descended in the Hedges family of East Hampton, Long Island, illustrated in Failey, Long Island is My Nation, p. 33 (see note 11 above). The presence of the mitered tenon on the Dedham-Medfield objects shown in figures 12 and 13 above indicates that the relationship between these chests and those made in the Upper Connecticut River Valley is structural as well as decorative.

<sup>27</sup>Braun, Parish Churches, p. 188, fig. 25. Although some scholars argue that chamfers used on the panel surrounds of seventeenth-century joined furniture are related to mason's moldings, Braun demonstrates that in East Anglia they derive ultimately from medieval carpentry that pre-dates stone construction.

<sup>28</sup>Paint colors used throughout this essay are in the period terminology taken from the 1684 inventory of Daniel George, painter of Boston, reprinted in Abbott Lowell Cummings, "Decorative Painters and House Painting in Massachusetts Bay, 1630-1725," in American Painting to 1776: A Reappraisal, ed. Ian M. G. Quimby (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia for The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum, 1971), pp. 118-119.

<sup>29</sup>See Antiques 95, no. 5 (May, 1969): 642.

<sup>30</sup>Sotheby Parke Bernet sale No. 3596 (24-26 Jan. 1974), lot 781. Because of repairs made to the corner posts of this chest, it is impossible to tell whether or not it originally may have had a drawer, as the present proportions would seem to indicate.

<sup>31</sup>Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Registrar's Object File No. 57.539; the chest was illustrated in Anderson Gallery sale No. 2214 (6-7 Jan. 1928), p. 96.

<sup>32</sup>See Antiques 40, no. 5 (Nov., 1941): 289.

<sup>33</sup>James Savage, A Genealogical Dictionary of the First Settlers of New England, 4 vols. (1862; reprint ed., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1965), 2: 475.

<sup>34</sup>Benno M. Forman, in "Continental Furniture Craftsmen in London: 1511-1625," Furniture History 7 (1971): 95, has stated that the "nature of apprenticeship - for artist and artisan alike - made it axiomatic that the apprentice learn from his master not only technique but substance."

<sup>35</sup>Semiotica 7, no. 4 (1973): 327.

<sup>36</sup>Henry Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975), pp. 21-28. For a similar structural examination of the turned chair form, see Robert F. Trent, Hearts & Crowns (New Haven: The New Haven Colony Historical Society, 1977), pp. 24-29.

<sup>37</sup>The author is indebted to Benno M. Forman for his generosity in explaining the layout of a carved panel on the chest in the Winterthur collection (Fig. 23k above) during a lecture at the 1976 Winterthur Summer Institute.

<sup>38</sup>For additional information on theories of good and bad workmanship in relation to risk and certainty, see David Pye, The Nature and Art of Workmanship (Cambridge: University Press, 1968), pp. 13-27.

<sup>39</sup>Contract quoted in Walter Kendall Watkins, "Three Contracts for Seventeenth-Century Building Construction in Massachusetts," Old-Time New England 12, no. 1 (July, 1921): 31. Emphasis supplied by the author.

<sup>40</sup>Contract quoted in Watkins, "Three Contracts...", p. 27. Emphasis supplied by the author.

<sup>41</sup>Contract quoted in Helen Bourne Joy Lee, The Joy Genealogy (Essex, Connecticut: The Pequot Press, Inc., 1968), p. 22. Emphasis supplied by the author.

<sup>42</sup>Glassie, Folk Housing in Middle Virginia, pp. 122-136. Glassie argues that the basic dichotomy active in artifactual language is, as Levi-Strauss has described it, one between nature and culture. However, the concept of nature implicit in his dualism is a romantic contrivance of the eighteenth-century enlightenment, perhaps best outlined in Jean-Jacques Rousseau's Les Reveries du promeneur solitaire (1777). The seventeenth-century yeoman had no concept of nature per se; hence, the dichotomy applicable is one between culture and lack of culture, or the pre-established order and either lack of order or a different order.

<sup>43</sup>The other known example of the enclosed-bottom seating form is a chair-table with a cupboard beneath the seat, now in the collection of the Old Saybrook Historical Society, which descended in the Jones family of Saybrook. The author is indebted to Robert F. Trent for bringing this to his attention.

<sup>44</sup>Although the chest is traditionally associated with the 1644 marriage of Jonathan Rudd, genealogical research suggests that it actually descended in the Metcalf family of Dedham, and was taken to Connecticut when Mary Metcalf, a fifth-generation direct descendant

of Michael<sup>1</sup>, married a John Rudd of New Lebanon in the late 1720s. At this time the initials "J R" were cut into the center panel. The chest passed to their son William Rudd, who married Eunice Bingham of Windham on 23 December 1771. Eunice survived her husband, and upon her death the chest passed to her brother, Zacheus Bingham. Josephine Bingham, who presented the chest to the Old Lyme Historical Society sometime after 1926, was a direct descendant of Zacheus. See Thomas M. Bingham, comp., The Bingham Family in the United States, 3 vols. (Easton, Pennsylvania: the Bingham Association, 1926), 1: 229, 295, 470; 2: 114; 3: 573 illustrates the chest; Waldo Lincoln, Genealogy of the Waldo Family, 3 vols. (Worcester: Charles Hamilton, 1902), 1: 246; NEHGR, 4: 173. The chest has been published with its traditional "Bride's Brook" history in Minor Myers, Jr., and Edgar deN. Mayhew, New London County Furniture 1640-1840 (New London: The Lyman Allyn Museum, 1974), pp. 4, 14.

<sup>45</sup>The author is indebted to Abbott Lowell Cummings, Director of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, for confirming that the Fairbanks house is an East Anglian structure.

<sup>46</sup>Kane, Furniture of the New Haven Colony, pp. 11, 78-80, contains the most complete biography of Mulliner published. For additional notes on Mulliner not included in her sketch, see NEHGR 51: 421. and Richard Brigham Johnson, "Swampscott, Massachusetts, in the Seventeenth Century," Essex Institute Historical Collections 109, no. 4 (Oct., 1973): 251.

<sup>47</sup>The four examples with single end panels are illustrated in Kane, Furniture of the New Haven Colony, plates I, XX and figures 4, 5. A fifth, owned by the Society for the Preservation of Long Island Antiquities, is illustrated in Failey, Long Island is My Nation, p. 33. The two New Haven Colony chests with v-grooved bottom boards are both attributed to the Guilford area on the basis of their carved decorations, and are illustrated in Kane, Furniture of the New Haven Colony, plates XIX, XX.

<sup>48</sup>Kane, Furniture of the New Haven Colony, p. 5 quotes Floyd M. Shumway, "New Haven and Its First Settlers," New Haven Colony Historical Society Journal 21, no. 2 (Sept., 1972): 51, in estimating that 51.8 percent of the New Haven settlers came from London and the home counties, with the next largest group (16.4 percent) coming from the Midlands. By contrast, Shumway notes that only 19.3 percent of the Bay Colony's residents were from London and environs, while 61.4 percent were from Suffolk, Norfolk, and Essex.

<sup>49</sup>Henri Focillon, Introduction to Art Populaire, trans. Robert F. Trent, in Trent, Hearts & Crowns, p. 17.

<sup>50</sup>Claude Levi-Strauss, The Scope of Anthropology, trans. Sherry Ortner Paul and Robert A. Paul (London: Jonathan Cape, Ltd., 1967), p. 14.



NOTES TO APPENDIX

<sup>1</sup>Lorenzo Sales Fairbanks, Genealogy of the Fairbanks Family in America 1633-1897 (Boston: printed for the author, 1897), pp. 31-33; DTR, 2: 29; 3: 28, 49, 116, 118, 124; SCPR, 5: 112-114.

<sup>2</sup>Fred Carlisle, Genealogy of George H. Barbour 1635 to 1897 (Detroit: Winn & Hammond, 1901?), p. 6; Benno M. Forman, "Mill Sawing in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," Old-Time New England 60, no. 4 (Spring 1970): 128; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, 1: 113; MTR, passim; DTR, 4: 247; NEHGR, 79: 339; SCPR, 1: 13; 9: 118; 13: 697.

<sup>3</sup>Frank Smith, A History of Dedham, Massachusetts (Dedham: The Transcript Press, 1936), p. 45; DTR, 3: 37, 57, 96-97, 110; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, 1: 438.

<sup>4</sup>Donnelly, New England Meeting Houses, pp. 18-19; Winifred Lovering Holman, Anthony Fisher Genealogy (bound typescript in collection of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, 1935), pp. 93-94; DTR, 3: 49-51; SCPR, 2: 56.

<sup>5</sup>Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 4th ser. 1 (1852): 99; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, 3: 574-575; DTR, 3: 33, 35, 45, 49-50, 83, 109, 168.

<sup>6</sup>Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 4th ser. 1 (1852): 99; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, 4: 116; NEHGR, 1: 99; MTR, passim; DTR, 3: 34-38, 83; SCPR, 11: 56.

<sup>7</sup>Holman, Excerpts from the Pillsbury Ancestry (1938), pp. 507-508; Smith, History of Dedham, p. 46; Johnston, Art in 17th Century New England, p. 33; DTR, 3: 48; Essex Institute Historical Collections, 1: 221, 236, 279; 56: 299-300; 57: 239; 60: 152, 232; 62: 127-128; 67: 176.

<sup>8</sup>Trent, "The Joiners and Joinery of Middlesex County, Massachusetts, 1630-1730" (M.A. thesis, University of Delaware, 1975), pp. 56-57; DTR, 3: 74, 80-81, 95-96, 109-111; SCPR, 9: 16; 13: 191.

<sup>9</sup>Tilden, History of Medfield, pp. 63-65, 70; Frank Thurston to author, 15 December 1977; the parish records of all Suffolk churches were searched by Richard B. Allnutt, BGS of Ipswich, Suffolk; Brown Thurston, comp., Thurston Genealogies (2nd ed.; Portland: Brown

Thurston, 1892), p. 357; John Camden Hotten, The Original Lists of Persons of Quality, 1600-1700 (1880; reprint ed., Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 1962), p. 294; DTR, 3: 24-25, 131-132, 156-157, 160; MTR, passim; SCPR, 9: 171; 11: 32.

<sup>10</sup>Fairbanks, Genealogy of the Fairbanks Family, pp. 34-37; Smith, History of Dedham, p. 52; DTR, 2: 32; 3: 36, 68, 85; 4: 31, 42; 5: 4; SCPR, 9: 114.

<sup>11</sup>Holman, Anthony Fisher Genealogy, p. 1; Smith, History of Dedham, p. 45; B. Katherine Brown, "Puritan Democracy in Dedham, Massachusetts: Another Case Study," William and Mary Quarterly, 3rd ser. 24, no. 3 (July, 1967): 392; Forman, "Mill Sawing," p. 122; NEHGR, 53: 462; DTR, 2: 21; 3: 148, 186-187, 195-197; 4: 42, 101, 223-224.

<sup>12</sup>John W. Houghton, The Houghton Family Genealogy (New York: Frederick H. Hitchcock, 1912), pp. 299-304; Henry S. Nourse, ed., The Early Records of Lancaster, Massachusetts, 1643-1725 (Lancaster, 1881), pp. 81, 248, 293-294; NEHGR, 79: 392-400; MTR, passim; DTR, 3: 139, 145; 4: 99, 123.

<sup>13</sup>Banks, Topographical Dictionary, p. 153; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, 1: 24; DTR, 2: 32; 3: 132; 4: 101; 5: 16, 40; SCPR, 14: 358.

<sup>14</sup>Holman, Anthony Fisher Genealogy, p. 26; DTR, 2: 30; 3: 138; 4: 9, 209, 223; Suffolk County Deeds (Boston: Rockwell and Churchill, 1880), Liber 5: 38; Liber 7: 326; SCPR, 14: 53, 55.

<sup>15</sup>Massachusetts Historical Society Collections, 4th ser. 1 (1852): 99; DTR, 5: 44, 101; MTR; SCPR, 9: 47.

<sup>16</sup>Edward Doubleday Harris, A Genealogical Record of Daniel Pond and His Descendants (Boston: William Parsons Lunt, 1873), pp. 9-13; DTR, 3: 186-187, 207; 4: 53, 55, 92-93, 108, 142, 145, 186; 5: 4-5, 10, 14, 29, 35, 40, 63-64, 119, 147, 177; SCPR, 17: 429-430. The inventory of Daniel Pond is not dated.

<sup>17</sup>Tilden, History of Medfield, p. 249; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, 1: 170; MTR; SCPR, 5: 337.

<sup>18</sup>Thurston to author, 15 December 1977; Thurston, Thurston Genealogies, pp. 357-358; MTR; SCPR, 15: 508-509.

<sup>19</sup>Thurston, Thurston Genealogies, pp. 357, 361; Charles Myrick Thurston, Genealogy of Charles Myrick Thurston (New York: John F. Trow & Co., 1865), p. 5; New York Genealogical and Biographical Record, 4: 109; Failey, Long Island is My Nation, p. 288; DTR, 2: 24.

<sup>20</sup>Trent, "The Joiners and Joinery of Middlesex County, Massachusetts," pp. 78-79; Wallace C. Boyden, comp., et. al., Thomas Boyden and His Descendants (Boston: privately printed, 1901), p. 57; The Mayflower Descendant 3, no. 3 (July, 1901): 160-162; Benno M. Forman, "Boston Furniture Craftsmen 1630-1730" (unpublished ms., 1969), nos. 6, 12.

<sup>21</sup>Tilden, History of Medfield, pp. 348-349; MTR; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, 1: 392.

<sup>22</sup>Smith, History of Dedham, p. 45; DTR, 4: 110, 138; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, 3: 207.

<sup>23</sup>Tilden, History of Medfield, p. 70; Records of the First Church of Dorchester in New England 1636-1734 (Boston: George H. Ellis, 1891), pp. 6-7.

<sup>24</sup>Nelson M. Baker, A Genealogy of the Descendants of Edward Baker of Lynn, Massachusetts (Syracuse: The Journal Office, 1867), pp. 83-84; DTR, 5: 4-5, 14, 28, 53, 63, 77.

<sup>25</sup>Tilden, History of Medfield, pp. 440-441; Savage, Genealogical Dictionary, 3: 238; Vital Records of Medfield, Massachusetts, to the Year 1850 (Boston: New England Historic-Genealogical Society, 1903), p. 224; SCPR, 19: 113, 115.

## ILLUSTRATIONS

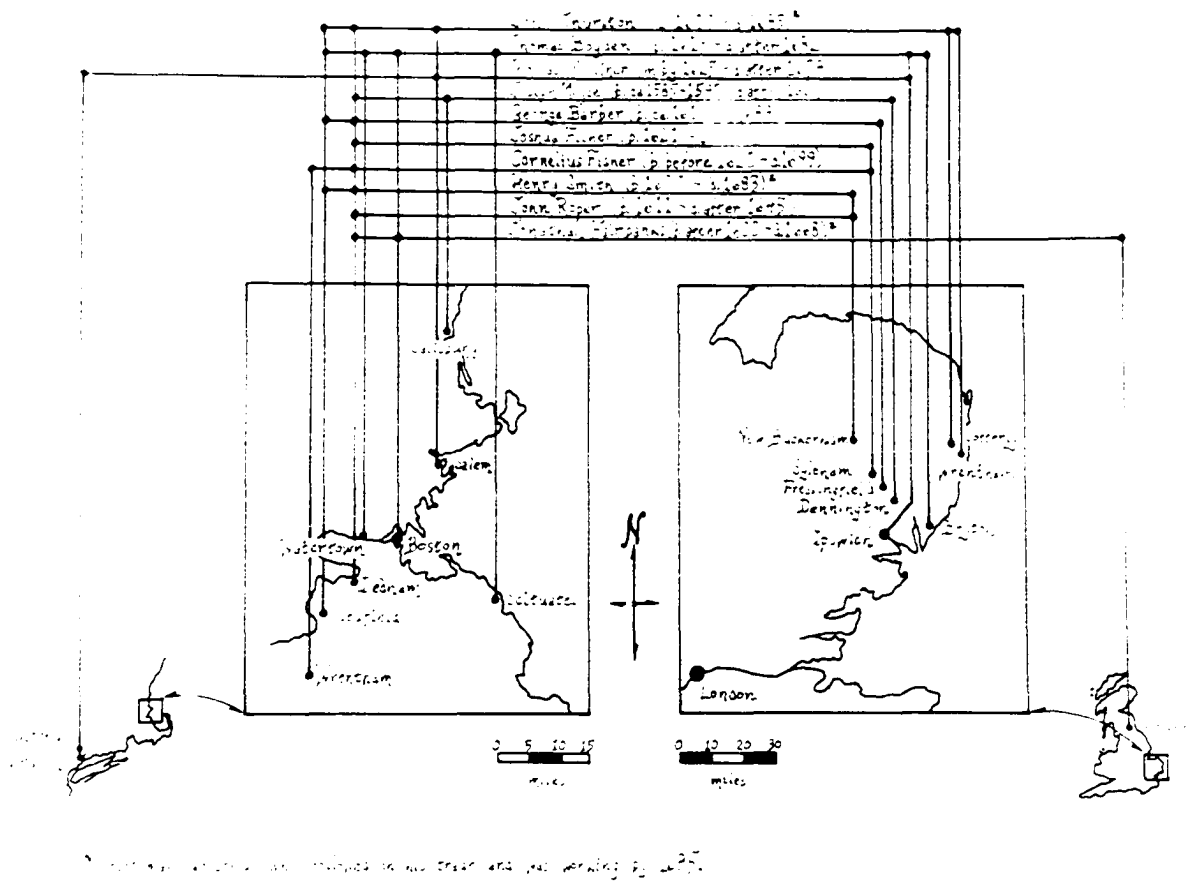


Fig. 1. The English origins of Dedham and Medfield craftsmen (to be used in coordination with Appendix).

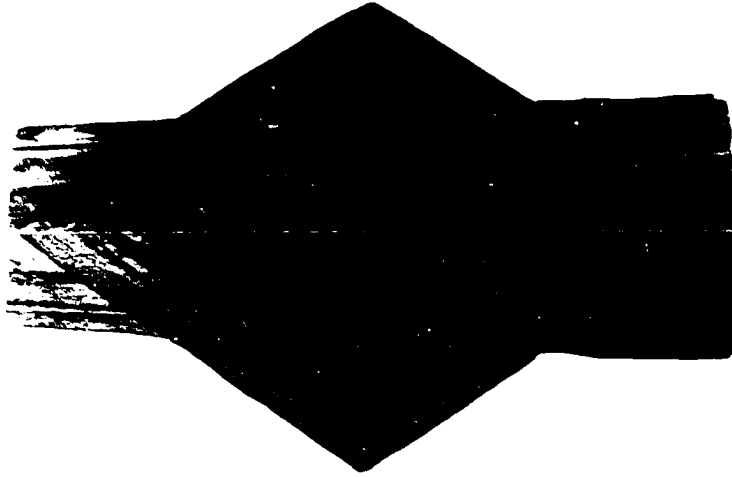


Fig. 2. John Houghton, Medfield pulpit panel. Dedham, Massachusetts, 1655. Oak with traces of verdigris coloring. H. 12" (30.5 cm.), W. 8" (20.3 cm.), D. 1" (2.54 cm.). (Medfield Historical Society: photo, Robert F. Trent.)



Fig. 2a. Detail of reverse side of figure 1, showing spurious inscription "1656."

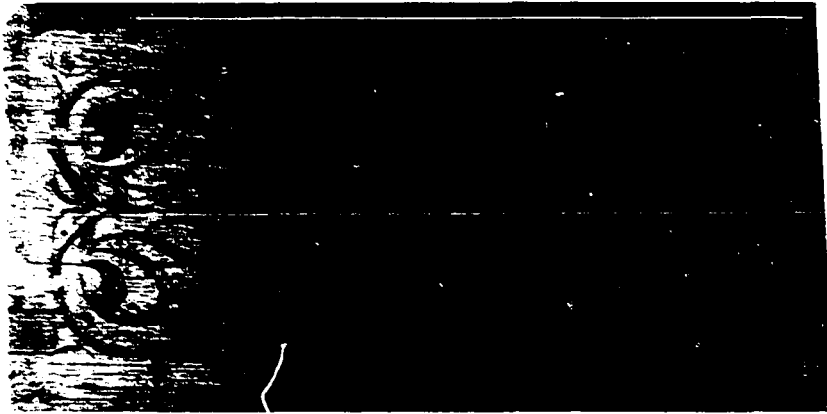


Fig. 3. John Houghton, Medfield pulpit panel. Dedham, Massachusetts, 1655. Oak. H. 6 5/8" (16.8 cm.), W. 14" (35.5 cm.), D. 1/2" (1.3 cm.). (Medfield Historical Society: photo, Robert F. Trent.)

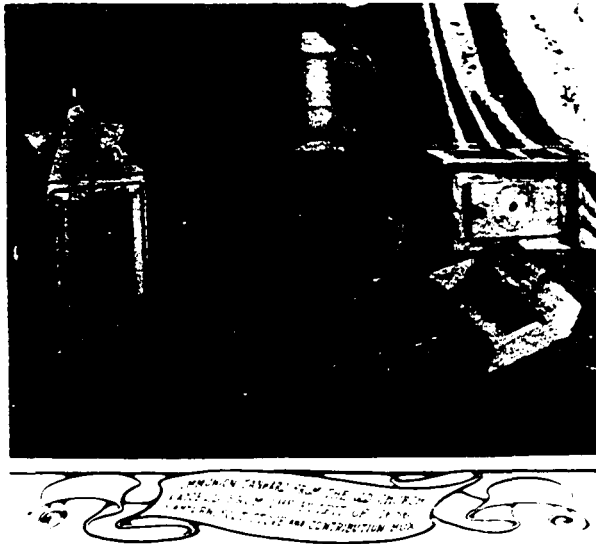


Fig. 4. The Harriet A. Fowle Gift to the Medfield Historical Society. From Proceedings at the Celebration of the Two-hundred and fiftieth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town, June 6, 1901 (Boston: George H. Ellis, Co., 1902), p. 107.

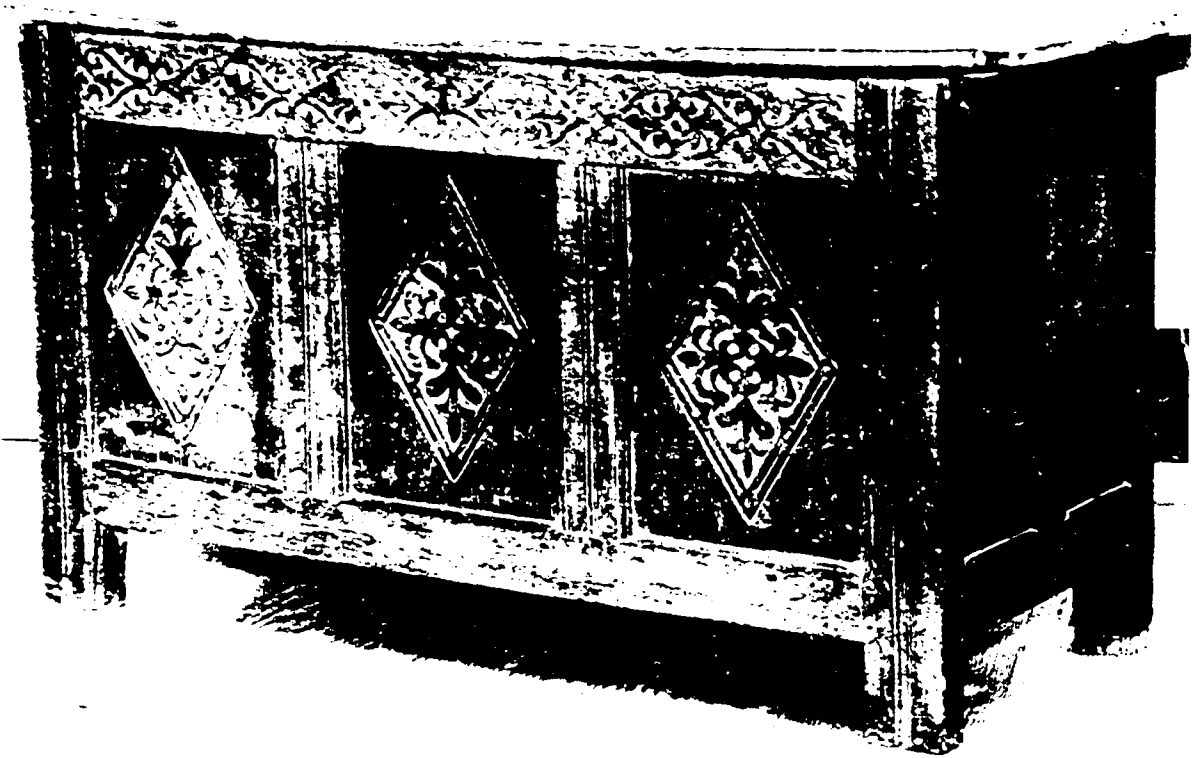


Fig. 5. Chest, vicinity of Milford, Connecticut, 1640-1680. Oak with traces of vermillion coloring. H. 26 1/2" (67.3 cm.), W. 48" (121.9 cm.), D. 20 3/8" (51.8 cm.). (The New Haven Colony Historical Society.)



Fig. 6. Chest, probably vicinity of Milford, Connecticut, 1640-1860. Oak. H. 27" (68.6 cm.), W. 54 1/2" (138.4 cm.), D. 19" (48.3 cm.). (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Russell Sage, 1909.)



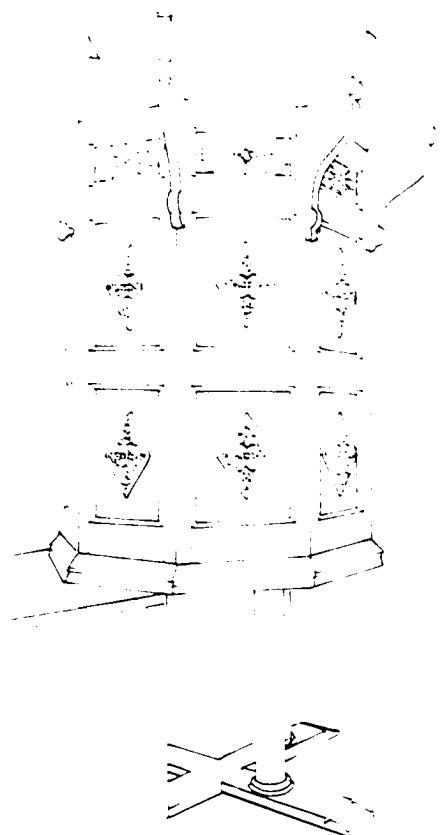


Fig. 7. (left) Pulpit at Blythborough, Suffolk, ca. 1630-1640. Oak. From J. Charles Cox, Pulpits, Lecterns, & Organs in English Churches (London: Oxford University Press, 1915), p. 111.

Fig. 8. (right) Conjectural reconstruction of the pulpit at Medfield, Massachusetts, made by John Houghton in Dedham in 1655.

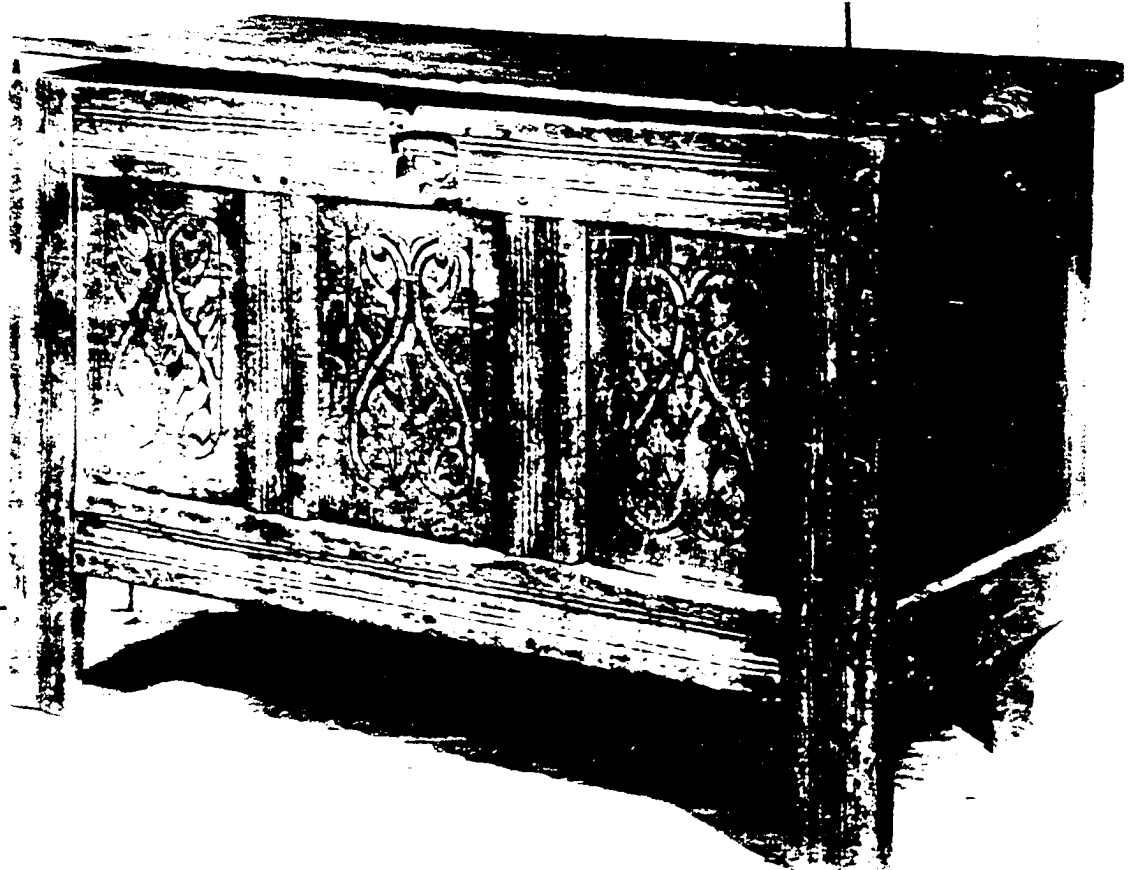


Fig. 9. Chest, attributed to John Houghton. Dedham, Lancaster, or Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1645-1684. Oak and pine with traces of verdigris coloring. H. 26 1/2" (67.3 cm.), W. 41 3/4" (106 cm.), D. 18" (45.7 cm.). (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.)



Fig. 9a. Detail of chiselled joiner's marks on figure 9.

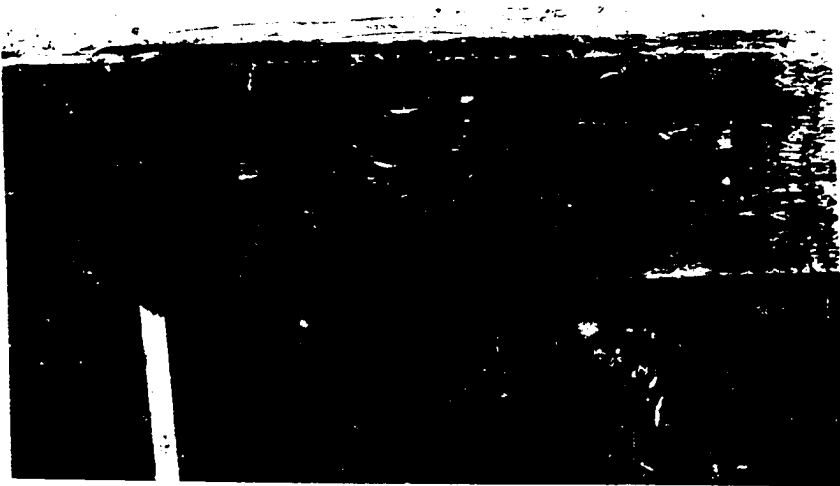


Fig. 9b. Detail of scribed joiner's marks on figure 9.

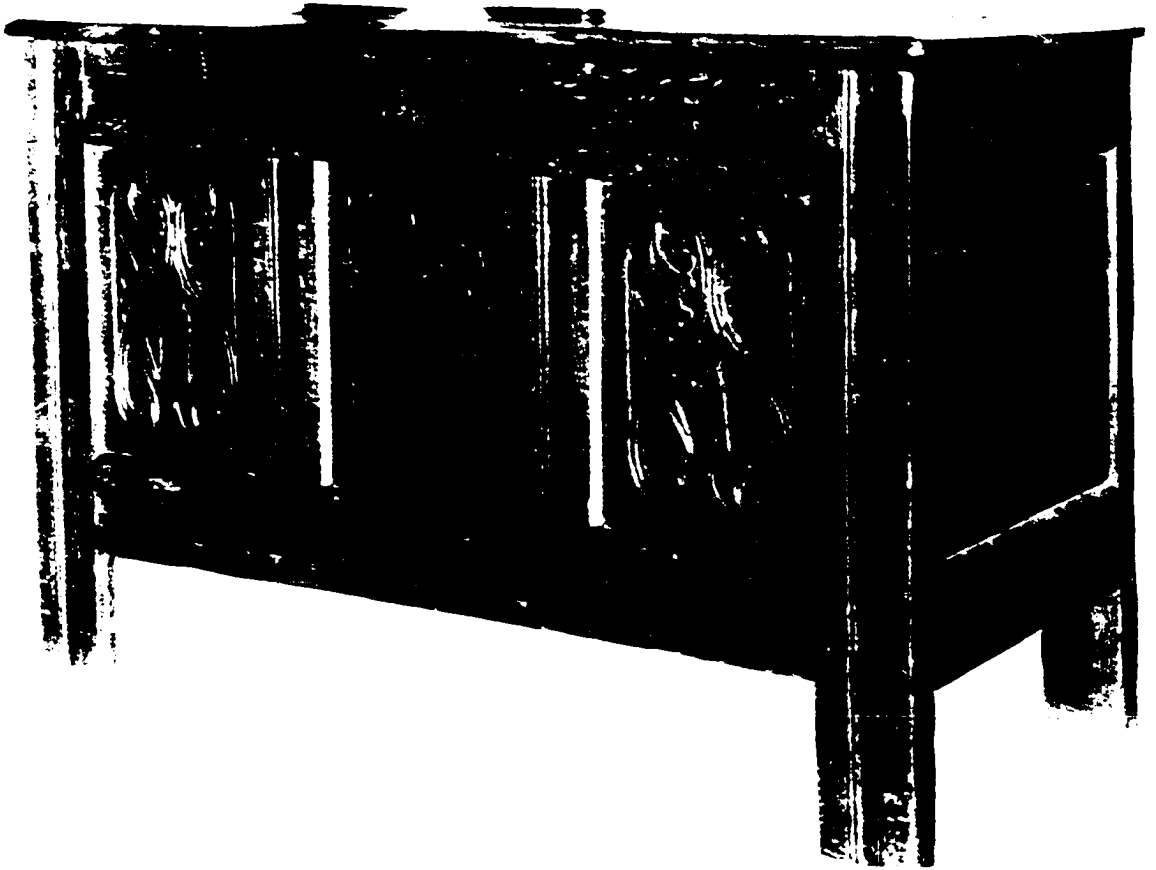


Fig. 10. Chest, attributed to John Houghton. Probably Dedham, Massachusetts, 1645-1665. Oak and pine with traces of verdigris coloring. H. 26" (66 cm.), W. 41 3/4" (106 cm.), D. 17 3/4" (45.1 cm.). (Joseph E. Seagram & Sons, Inc.)



Fig. 11. Joined armchair, attributed to John Houghton. Dedham, Massachusetts, 1645-1664. Oak. H. 47" (119.4 cm.), W. 23 1/2" at seat front (59.7 cm.), D. 18" at seat (45.7 cm.). (Dedham Historical Society.)

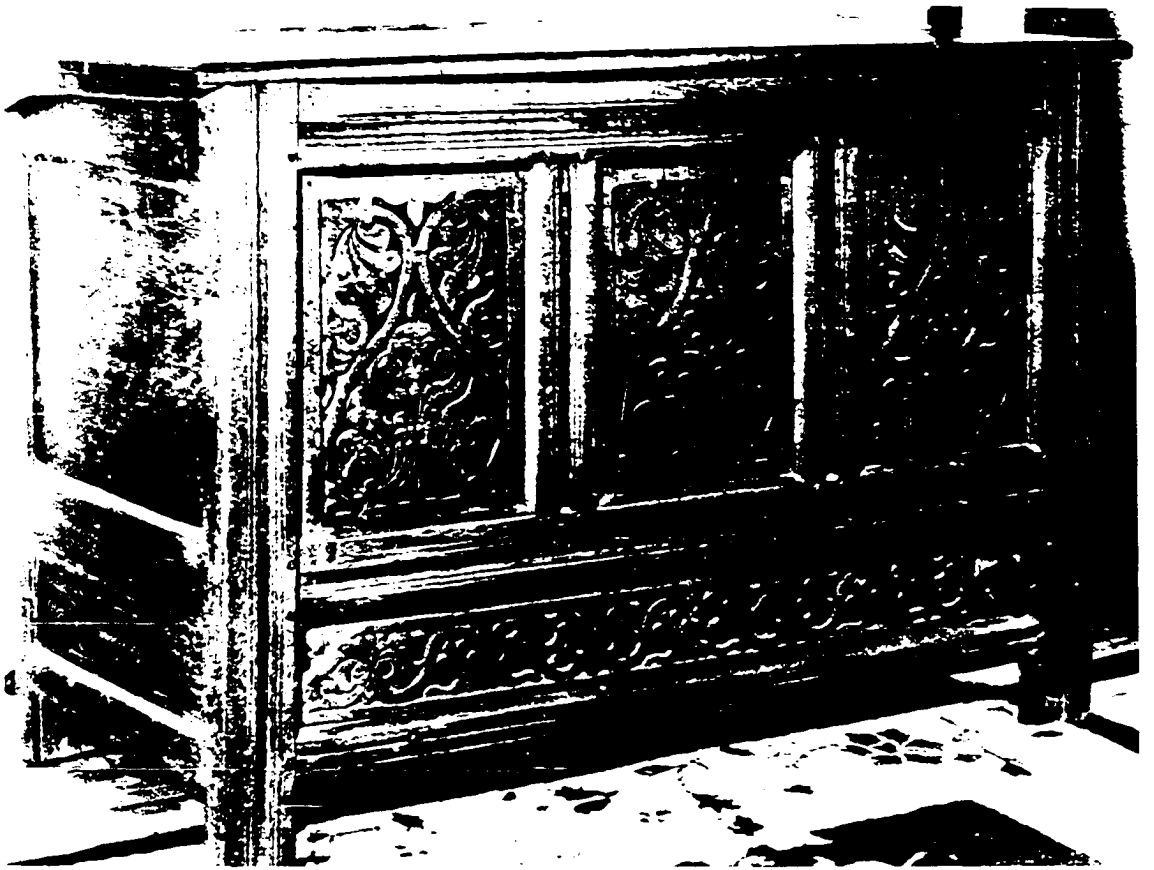


Fig. 12. Chest-with-one-drawer, probably by John Thurston. Midfield, Massachusetts, 1660-1685. Red oak by microanalysis and hard pine with traces of verdigris and vermillion coloring. H.  $31 \frac{3}{8}$ " (79.7 cm.), W.  $47 \frac{3}{4}$ " (121.3 cm.), D. 21" (53.3 cm.). (Private collection.)

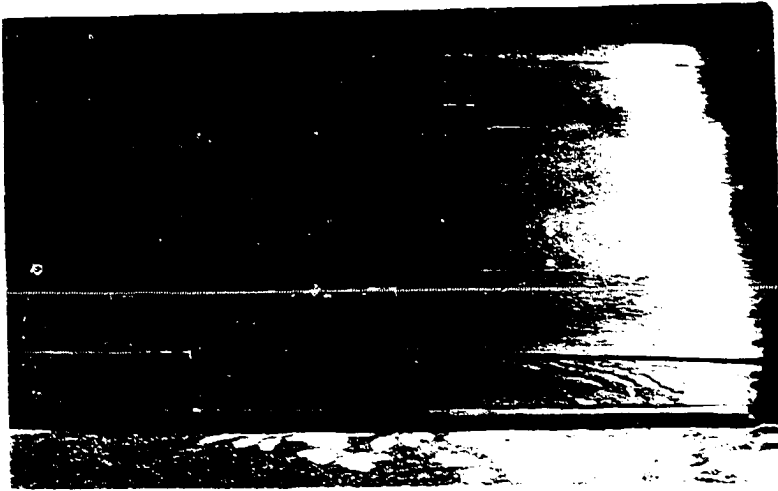


Fig. 12a. Detail of mill saw marks on drawer bottom in figure 12.



Fig. 12b. Detail of drawer construction in figure 12.



Fig. 12c. Detail of mitered tenon joint in figure 12.



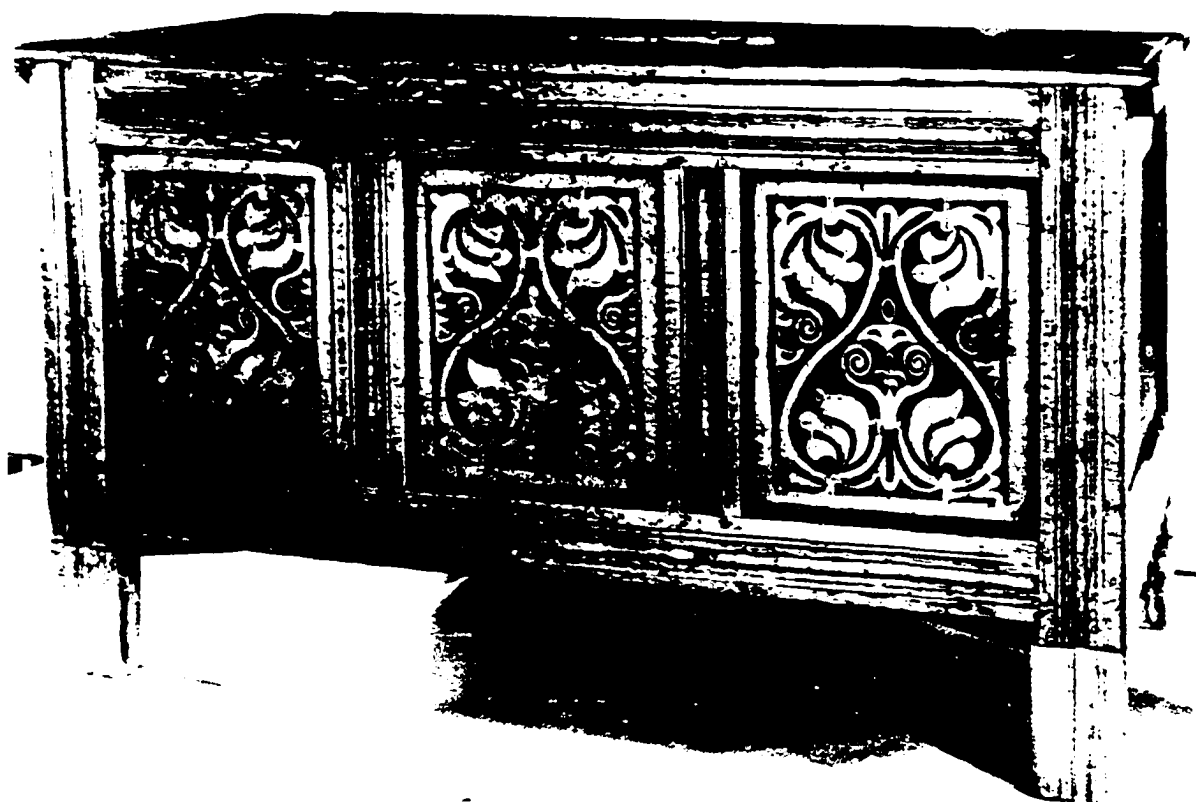


Fig. 13. Chest, probably by John Thurston. Dedham or Medfield, Massachusetts, 1639-1685. Oak. H. 26" (66 cm.), W. 46" (116.8 cm.), D. 20" (50.8 cm.). (ex. coll. Hampton Gallery: photo, Hampton Gallery.)



Fig. 14. Chest, probably by John Thurston. Dedham or Medfield, Massachusetts, 1639-1685. Oak. H. 27" (68.6 cm.), W. 40 1/2" (102.9 cm.), D. 16 3/4" (42.4 cm.). (Collection of Douglas Wright: photo, courtesy of Sotheby Parke Bernet, Inc., New York.)

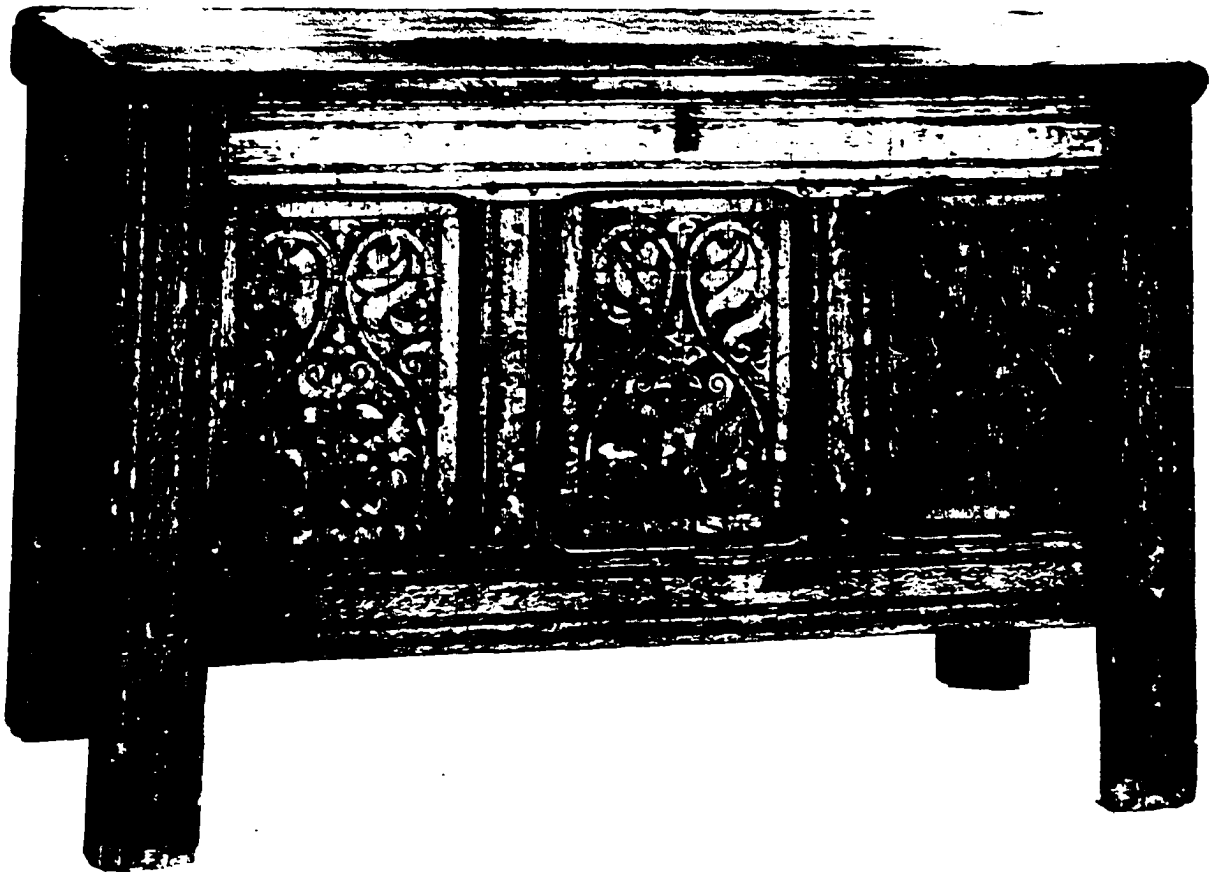


Fig. 15. Chest, probably by John Thurston. Dedham or Medfield, Massachusetts, 1639-1685. Red and white oaks by microanalysis. H. 26 1/2" (67.3 cm.), W. 43" (109.2 cm.), D. 18" (45.7 cm.). (Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford: photo, E. Irving Blomstrann.)

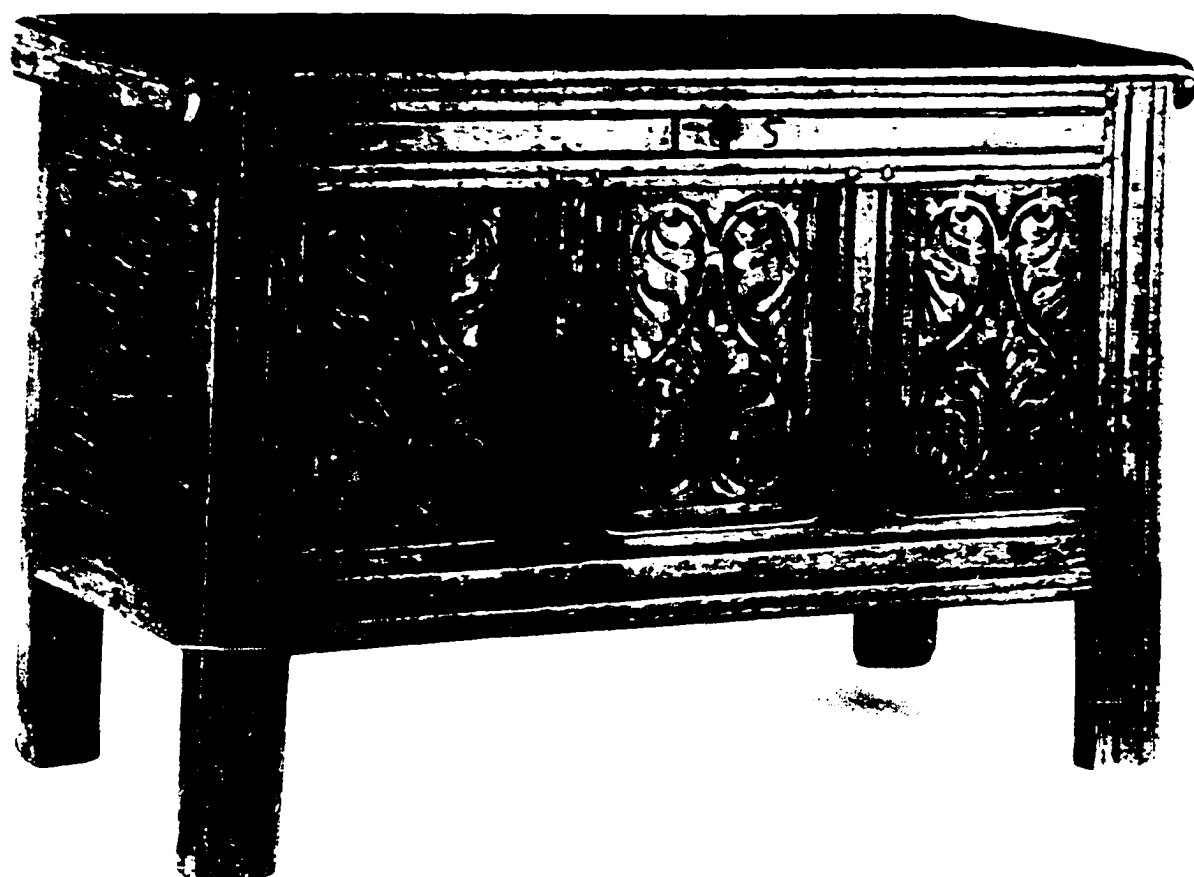


Fig. 16. Chest, probably by John Thurston. Dedham or Medfield, Massachusetts, 1639-1685. Red and white oaks and white pine by microanalysis. H. 26 1/2" (67.3 cm.), W. 42" (106.7 cm.), D. 17 1/2" (44.5 cm.). (Winterthur 57.539.)



Fig. 17. Box, probably by John Thurston. Dedham or Medfield, Massachusetts, 1639-1685. Oak and pine. H. 9 5/8" (24.4 cm.), W. 25 3/8" (64.4 cm.), D. 15" (38.1 cm.). (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Russell Sage, 1909.)

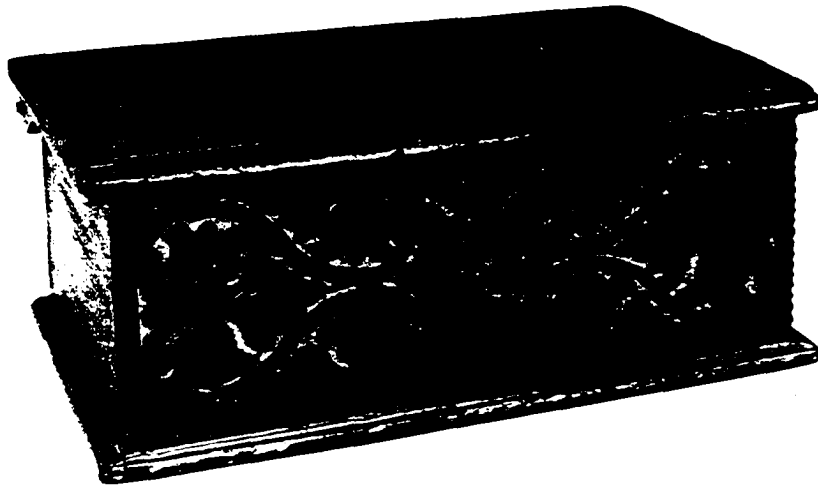


Fig. 18. Box, probably by John Thurston. Dedham or Medfield, Massachusetts, 1639-1685. Oak and pine. H.  $9 \frac{3}{4}$ " (24.7 cm.), W.  $26 \frac{1}{8}$ " (66.3 cm.), D.  $16 \frac{3}{4}$ " (42.5 cm.). (The Art Institute of Chicago, Wirt D. Walker fund.)

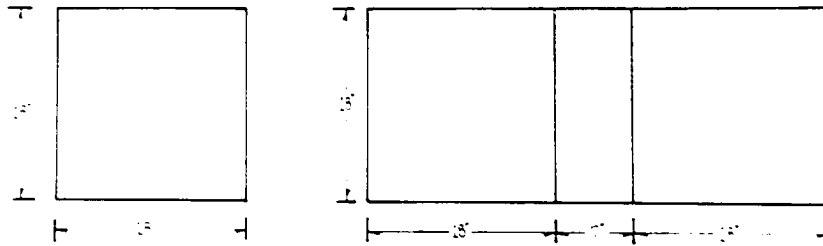


Fig. 19a. (left) The geometric unit selected: the square.

Fig. 19b. (right) The geometric unit transformed.

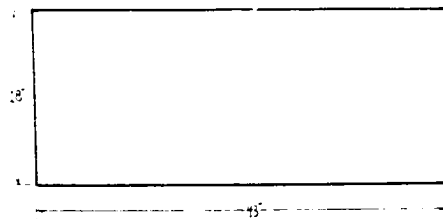


Fig. 19c. (left, above)  
The plan defined.

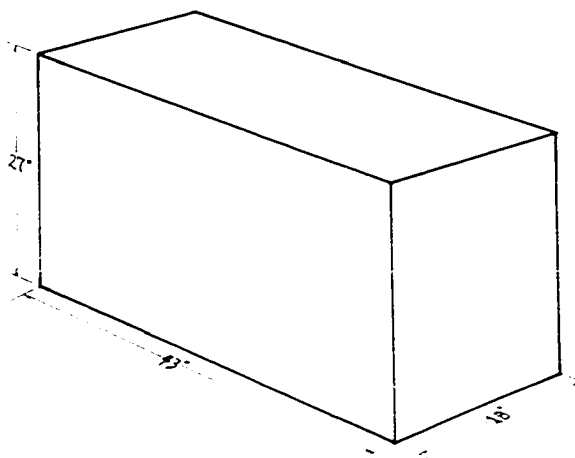


Fig. 19d. (left, below)  
The definition of mass.

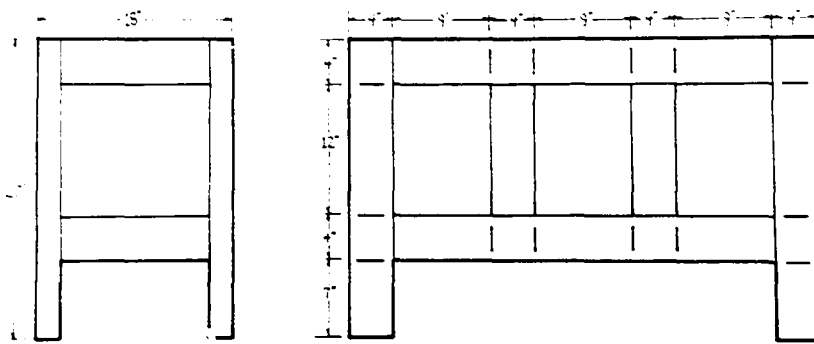


Fig. 19e. Piercing the mass.



Fig. 19f. The decorated surface defined.



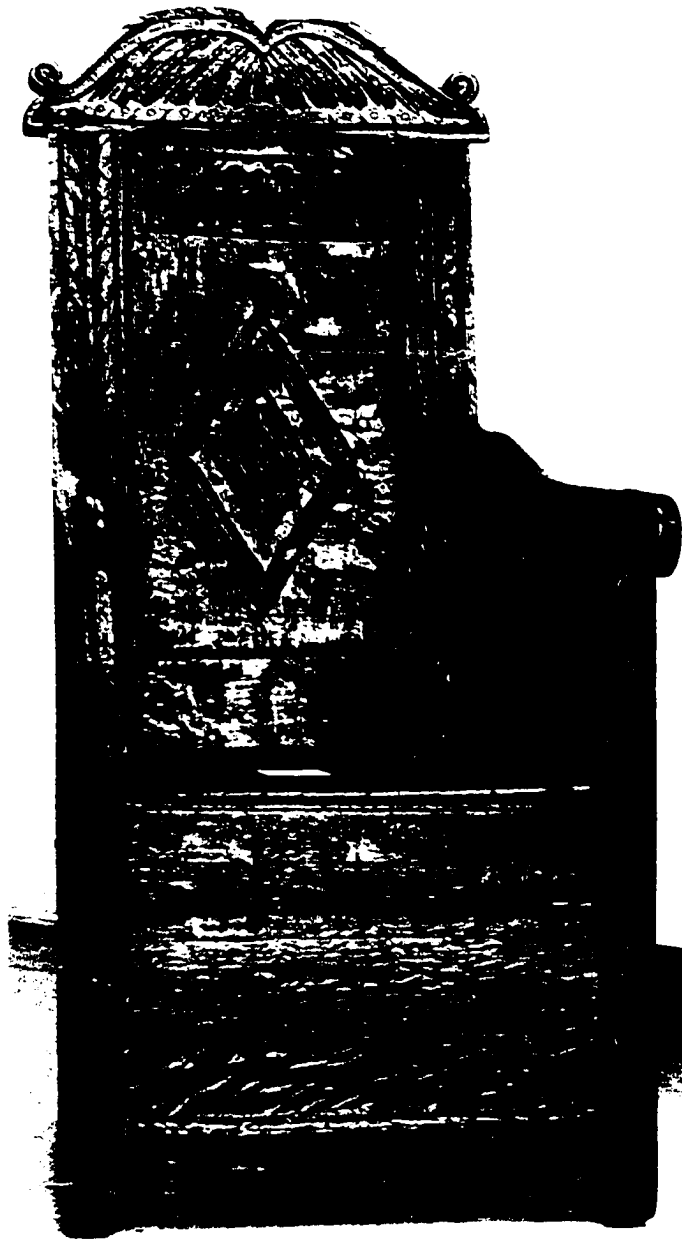


Fig. 20. Joined armchair with enclosed bottom, Dedham, Massachusetts, 1652. White oak by microanalysis. H. 46 1/4" (117.5 cm.), W. 22 1/2" at seat front (57.2 cm.), D. 17 1/2" at seat (44.5 cm.). (Dedham Historical Society.)



Fig. 20a. Detail of leather hinges on rear right post of figure 20.

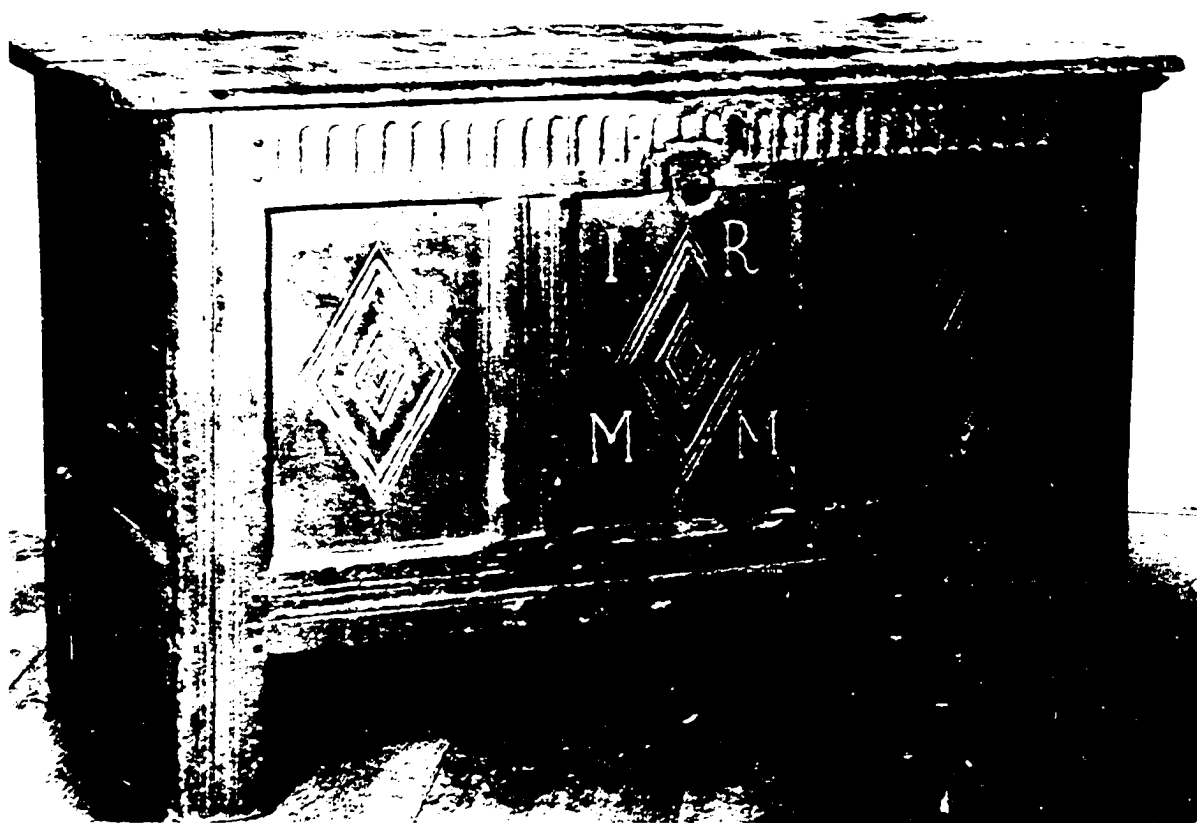


Fig. 21. Chest, probably Dedham, Massachusetts, 1635-1685. Oak.  
H. 26 1/4" (66.7 cm.), W. 42" (106.7 cm.), D. 18" (45.7 cm.).  
(Old Lyme Historical Society.)

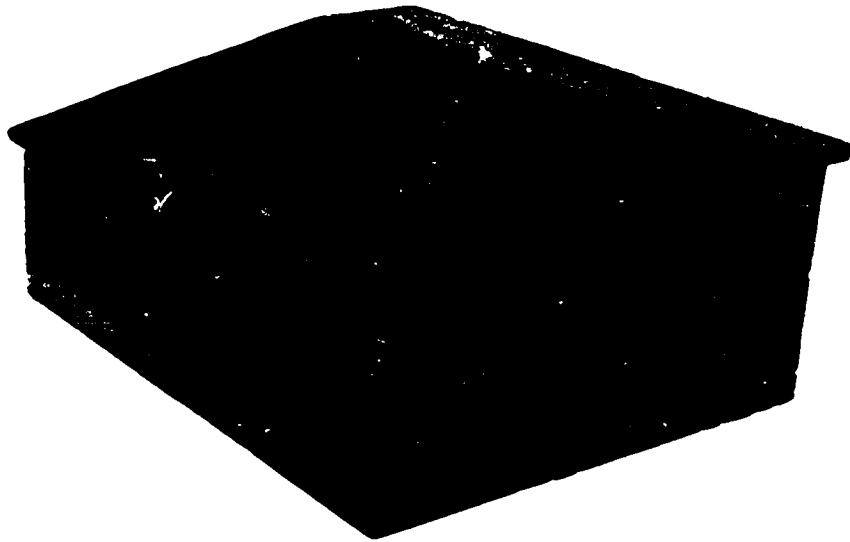


Fig. 22. Desk Box, Southold, Long Island, before 1665. Post Oak by microanalysis. H. 10" at back (25.4 cm.), W. 25 3/4" (65.4 cm.), D. 21" (53.3 cm.). (Courtesy Long Island Historical Society: photo, Joseph Adams.)



a



b

Fig. 23. Carved s-scroll panels (see following pages): a, b, c, d (Drawer front, Left, center, and right panels of figure 12; e, f. Center and right panels of figure 13; g, h. Center and right panels of figure 14; i, j. Center and right panels of figure 15 (Wadsworth Atheneum: photos, I. Irving Blomstrann); k. Center panel of figure 16 (photo: Winterthur); l. Right panel of figure 17 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Russell Sage, 1909); m. Right panel of figure 18; n. Rectangular panel from Medfield pulpit; o. Right panel of figure 9; p, q, r. Left, center, and right panels of figure 10; s. Detail of top front rail of figure 5; t. Detail of side of figure 22.



c



d



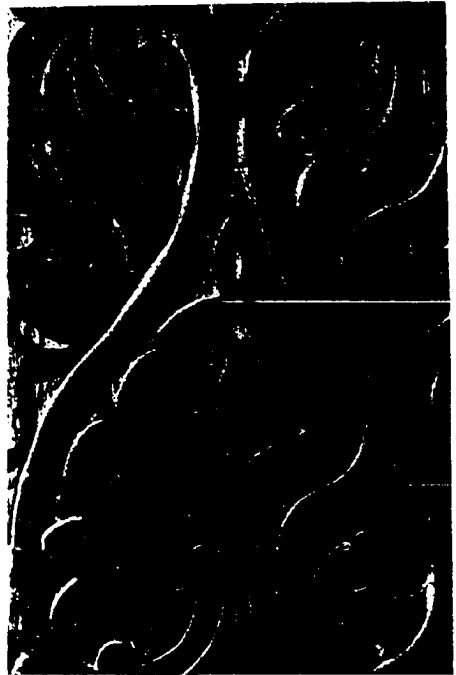
e



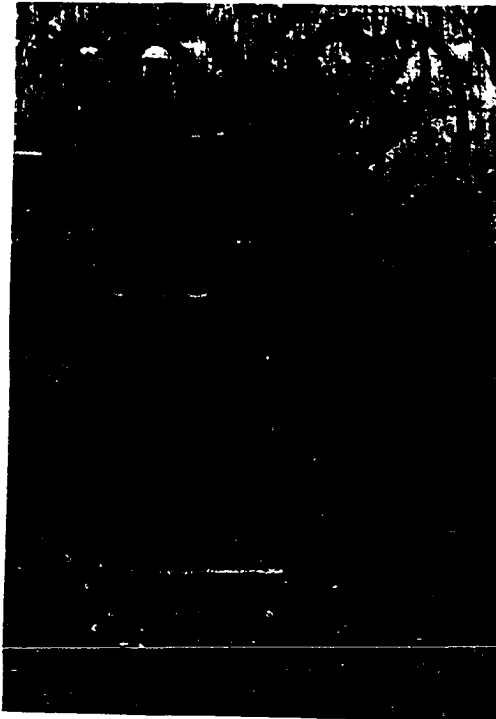
f



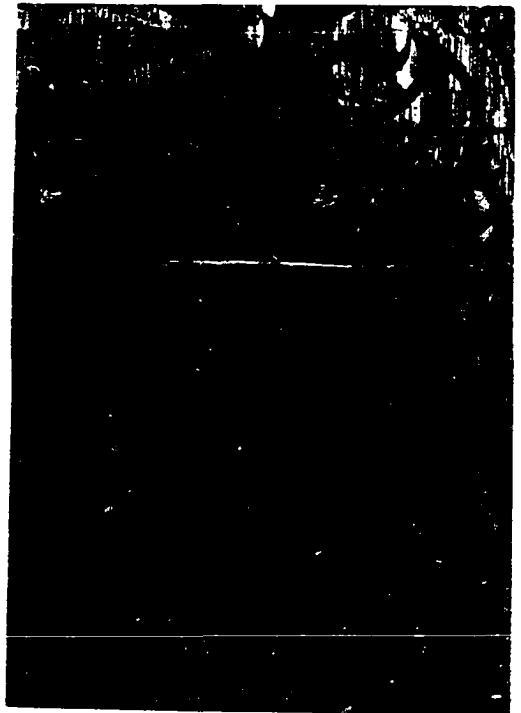
g



h



i



j



k



l



m

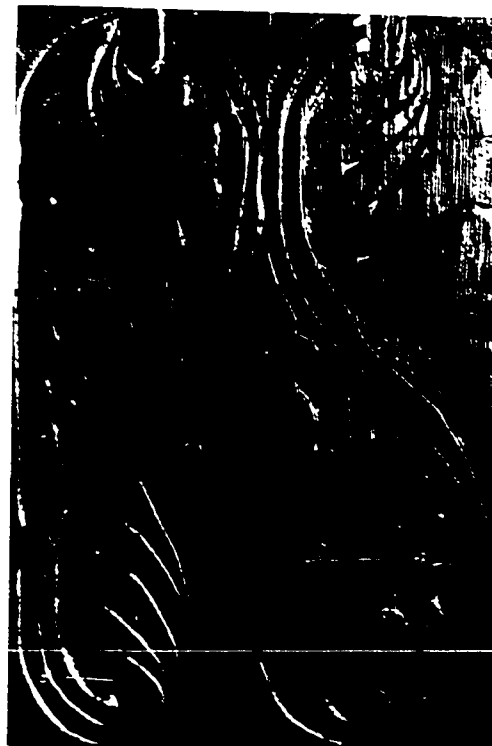


n





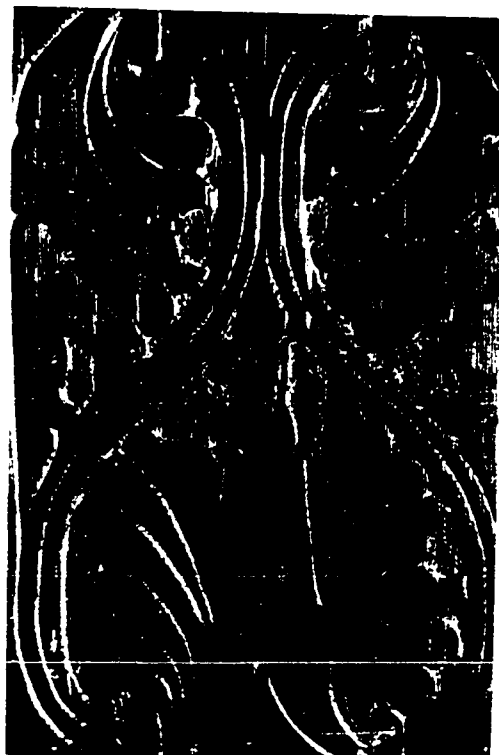
o



p



q



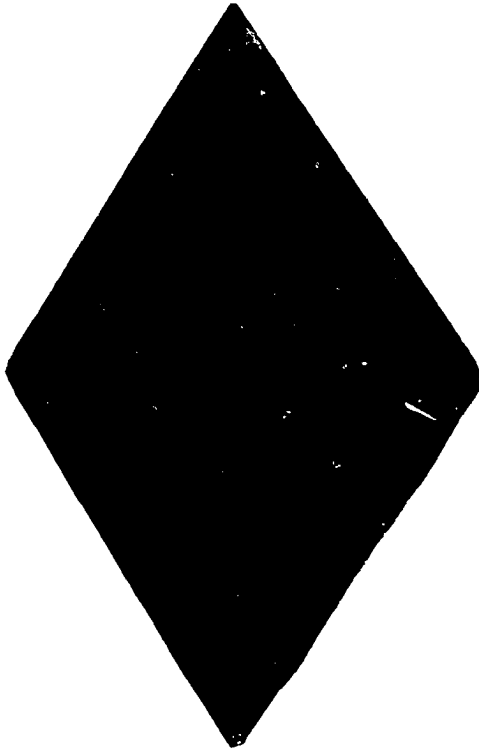
r



s



t



a



b

Fig. 24. Carved lozenge panels (see following pages): a. Lozenge panel from Medfield pulpit; b. Lozenge on back of figure 11; c. Lozenge on back of figure 20; d. Right panel on figure 21; e. Left panel on figure 5; f. Left panel on figure 6 (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Russell Sage, 1909.)

