

INFORMATION TO USERS

This material was produced from a microfilm copy of the original document. 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 original submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or patterns 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 thru an image and duplicating adjacent pages to insure you complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a large round black mark, it is an indication that the photographer suspected that the copy may have moved during exposure and thus cause a blurred image. You will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., was part of the material being photographed the photographer followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin photoing at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue photoing from left to right in equal sections with a small overlap. If necessary, sectioning is continued again – beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. The majority of users indicate that the textual content is of greatest value, however, a somewhat higher quality reproduction could be made from "photographs" if essential to the understanding of the dissertation. Silver prints of "photographs" may be ordered at additional charge by writing the Order Department, giving the catalog number, title, author and specific pages you wish reproduced.
5. PLEASE NOTE: Some pages may have indistinct print. Filmed as received.

University Microfilms International

300 North Zeeb Road
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106 USA
St. John's Road, Tyler's Green
High Wycombe, Bucks, England HP10 8HR

MASTERS THESIS

M-9006

McGEHEE, Mildred Blewett
LEVI WEEKS, EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY
ARCHITECT.

University of Delaware (Winterthur Program),
M.A., 1976
Fine Arts

Xerox University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106

© 1976

MILDRED BLEWETT McGEHEE

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

LEVI WEEKS, EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARCHITECT

BY

Mildred Blewett McGehee

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, 1976

LEVI WEEKS, EARLY NINETEENTH-CENTURY ARCHITECT

BY

Mildred Blewett McGehee

Approved: *Kenneth Ames*
Kenneth Ames
Professor in charge of thesis on behalf of the
Advisory Committee

Approved: *James C. Custis*
Coordinator of The Winterthur Program

Approved: *Arnold J. Lippitt*
Dean of the College of Graduate Studies

PREFACE

In the March, 1955 issue of The Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians Charles Peterson noted that "the Natchez region has never been seriously studied and written up by architectural historians." This observation unfortunately remains true today, twenty years later; for this reason I chose a Natchez architectural topic. As a native Natchezian I am aware that few other American cities remain as well preserved architecturally as Natchez.

My reasons for selecting Levi Weeks, a Massachusetts architect who settled in Natchez, were twofold. First, Weeks' designs for Auburn, the house he built in 1812 for a prominent Natchez citizen Lyman Harding, represent a significant turning point in the development of Natchez architecture. The academic architectural concepts Weeks employed in Auburn's designs subsequently altered the course of Natchez architecture. An investigation of Weeks' background, his associations with New York and Massachusetts architecture, and particularly his familiarity with eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century architectural design book sources, was imperative for interpreting the impact he had on the evolution of Natchez architecture.

Secondly, since the first appearance of Levi Weeks' name in a publication of Natchez in 1947, Natchez on the Mississippi by

Harnett T. Kane, various authors have associated Weeks with numerous Natchez houses and public buildings. Several authors made definitive statements, others only speculated. In most instances the references were not documented. The need to investigate and clarify previous publications was an important objective.

Recently, the United States Department of Interior National Park Service placed Auburn on the National Register of Historic Places. Mr. Paul Goeldner, architect for the Historic Sites Survey, prepared the form on Auburn; he considered it one of the most important houses in the South.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The preparation of this thesis involved the assistance of numerous individuals. To all who have aided me in this project I am very grateful.

I am especially indebted to the staff members of the Judge George Armstrong Library in Natchez, the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History in Jackson, and The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Library. Mrs. John Hill, Manuscript Librarian at Winterthur, was particularly helpful in locating and securing necessary materials relating to my thesis.

The Town and Country Garden Club, which maintains and operates Auburn, gave encouragement and assistance. Their patience and help during my investigation at Auburn is sincerely appreciated.

Numerous Natchezians generously gave their time and located materials for me. They include Mrs. Ann Vaughn, Miss Ann Morrison, Mrs. Martha Guthrie, Dr. Thomas Gandy, Miss Mary Postlethwaite, and Mr. Campbell Miles. Ronald Miller, Architectural Historian for the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History and Director of the restoration of Jefferson College, provided suggestions and encouragement as well as important information relating to Levi Weeks'

involvement with Jefferson College. I am particularly indebted to Mrs. Alma K. Carpenter; her early and continued interest in Levi Weeks yielded significant material which she generously shared with me.

Others who have furnished information relating to my thesis include David Dangremond, Winterthur Fellow; Tony Whitwell, Professor of Art History, Hollins College, Virginia; and Miss Katie McClutchie, a descendant of Levi Weeks.

Through research for his dissertation on Ezra Weeks, Mr. Bruce Sherwood, Ph.D. candidate at Cornell University, has uncovered important facts relating to Levi Weeks. Mr. Sherwood has kindly shared his findings with me. He has also given invaluable advice regarding research techniques, as well as criticism pertaining to matters of style in the text. Mr. Sherwood's encouragement and assistance deserve my deepest gratitude.

To my advisor at Winterthur, Dr. Kenneth Ames, I am especially indebted. His perceptive suggestions for organization of material, as well as his criticism during my preparation of the text, were particularly helpful. Dr. Ames' patience, guidance, and sense of humor merit both my admiration and warmest thanks.

My typist, Mrs. Gary Mitchell, was meticulous; she has done a wonderful job.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge my family. They have encouraged and assisted me throughout the preparation of my thesis. Their sincere interest in my career has been a constant source of inspiration.

CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
PREFACE.	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.	v
ILLUSTRATIONS.	viii
CHAPTER I	
Levi Weeks: From Massachusetts to Mississippi	1
CHAPTER II	
The Sources of Levi Weeks' Designs	15
CHAPTER III	
Auburn	26
FOOTNOTES	
Chapter I.	44
Chapter II	49
Chapter III.	52
BIBLIOGRAPHY	54
APPENDIX I	
The East Wing of Jefferson College	60
APPENDIX II	
Houses Attributable to Levi Weeks.	63
APPENDIX III	
Levi Weeks' Inventory.	67
FOOTNOTES	
Appendix I	72
Appendix II.	73
CAPTIONS	74

ILLUSTRATIONS

- Figure 1 Airlie.
- Figure 2 Saragossa.
- Figure 3 Griffith-McComas House.
- Figure 4 Auburn, facade.
- Figure 5 Auburn, rear view.
- Figure 6 Ionic capital, Auburn.
- Figure 7 Ionic capital, Plate XXXIII, Pain's British Palladio.
- Figure 8 Design for a House, Plate 14, Volume II, Abraham
Swan's A Collection of Designs in Architecture.
- Figure 9 Detail of facade, central section, Auburn.
- Figure 10 Corinthian entablature, Auburn.
- Figure 11 Detail of Plate XIII, Owen Biddle's The Young
Carpenter's Assistant.
- Figure 12 Detail, upper section of front entrance composition,
Auburn.
- Figure 13 Plate XXIII, Pain's British Palladio.
- Figure 14 Detail of Mesier Homestead mantel.
- Figure 15 Plate XXI, William Salmon's Palladio Londinensis.
- Figure 16 Plate 4, Owen Biddle's The Young Carpenter's Assistant.
- Figure 17 Plate 19, Owen Biddle's The Young Carpenter's Assistant.
- Figure 18 Rear doorway, Auburn.
- Figure 19 Plate II, Asher Benjamin's The Country Builder's
Assistant.

- Figure 20 Plate 17, Owen Biddle's The Young Carpenter's Assistant.
- Figure 21 Central hall, first floor, Auburn.
- Figure 22 Detail of the Ballroom, Frary House.
- Figure 23 Floor plan of Auburn prior to later additions.
- Figure 24 Plate 13, Abraham Swan's A Collection of Designs in Architecture.
- Figure 25 Staircase, Auburn.
- Figure 26 Detail of Plate 41, Pain's British Palladio.
- Figure 27 Mantel in large west room, second floor, Auburn.
- Figure 28 Central hall, second floor, Auburn.
- Figure 29 Doorway from central hall to large east room, first floor, Auburn.
- Figure 30 Interior doorway, Storm House.
- Figure 31 Doorway from large west room to central hall, first floor, Auburn.
- Figure 32 Plate XXVI, William Salmon's Palladio Londinensis.
- Figure 33 Interior Doorway, Horton House.
- Figure 34 Doorway from large west room to central hall, second floor, Auburn.
- Figure 35 Plate on Page 45, William Pain's The Builder's Companion.
- Figure 36 Plate on Page 67, William Pain's The Builder's Companion.
- Figure 37 Interior doorway, Montgomery Place.
- Figure 38 Thomas Afflect wood engraving of Jefferson College.
- Figure 39 Main entrance, East Wing, Jefferson College.
- Figure 40 Plate 17, Owen Biddle's The Young Carpenter's Assistant.
- Figure 41 Monmouth, facade.
- Figure 42 Main entrance, first floor, Monmouth.

- Figure 43 Interior doorway, Monmouth.
- Figure 44 Burling House.
- Figure 45 Main entrance from the Burling House.
- Figure 46 Plate 12, Asher Benjamin's The Country Builder's Assistant.
- Figure 47 Plate on Page 68, William Pain's The Builder's Companion.
- Figure 48 Gloucester, facade.
- Figure 49 Front entrance, Gloucester.
- Figure 50 Interior cornice molding, Gloucester.
- Figure 51 Detail of Plate XXXVI, Pain's British Palladio.

Chapter I

LEVI WEEKS: FROM MASSACHUSETTS TO MISSISSIPPI

Levi Hinckley Weeks was born October 22, 1776 in Greenwich, Massachusetts, a small township near Northampton. He was the eighth child born of Captain Thomas Weeks and Mercy Hinckley Weeks.¹ In 1779 the Weeks family moved from Greenwich to Goshen, a township about twelve miles west of Northampton. In Goshen Captain Weeks was a teacher, one of the principal cabinetmakers of the town, as well as a surveyor.² A surveyor was qualified to oversee building work and measure it for estimating and pricing as well as simply surveying land.³ Captain Weeks was also involved in public affairs in Massachusetts; he was a delegate to the state convention which formed the constitution of that state in 1780.⁴

One of Levi Weeks' older brothers, Ezra, learned the trade of carpenter and builder before beginning that business in New York City.⁵ Ezra had served a seven-year apprenticeship with Jonathan Warner, a noted meeting-house builder of nearby Williamsburg, Massachusetts.⁶ Family tradition indicates that Levi may also have apprenticed with Warner, although no documentation to substantiate his apprenticeship has been found.⁷ By 1795 Ezra was in Manhattan working in partnership with a man named Morgan. They were listed as "house carpenters and

master builders" at Number 9 Frankfort Street.⁸ From 1797 until 1798, though, Ezra's name appeared alone in Longworth's directory.⁹ He had removed to Greenwich Street by 1799 and was listed as a "builder."¹⁰

The first mention of Levi Weeks in a New York City trade directory does not occur until 1800 when he was listed as a "carpenter" at Ezra's Greenwich Street address.¹¹ It is interesting that in the directory listing for the following year Levi's title had changed from "carpenter" to "architect," while brother Ezra's remained "carpenter and builder."¹² By 1802 the Weeks brothers had moved to a Harrison Street address and Ezra was designated "architect and builder," with Levi retaining the title "architect."¹³ While Ezra continued to be listed in the directories until 1835 with various changes of address, the final entry for Levi was 1803; for, by the end of that year, Levi had moved from New York to South Deerfield, Massachusetts.¹⁴

Levi Weeks was party to a curious and unfortunate scandal which was almost certainly responsible for his removal to South Deerfield.¹⁵ On December 22, 1799, a young lady, Gulielma Sands, mysteriously disappeared. Her body was discovered on January 2, 1800 in the Manhattan Well. It was thought she and Levi had been courting, and were to have been secretly married the evening of her disappearance. Levi was indicted for the murder, but later acquitted. "It is safe to say," wrote John D. Lawson in an introductory narrative to American State Trials, "that up to that period [1800] no crime had ever produced in New York such an excitement as the murder of Miss Sands. For many

years afterward it was a never ending topic of conversation, and it is more or less talked of even to this day...The public was not satisfied with the result. Weeks found himself proscribed and soon after disappeared from New York."¹⁶

The trial, known as the Manhattan Well Mystery, stirred much interest; three versions were printed and sold in 1800.¹⁷ Renowned attorneys of the day were engaged for Levi's defense: Alexander Hamilton, Aaron Burr, and Brockholst Livingston. The august Cadwalader Colden was prosecuting officer for the trial. Following an eloquent finale delivered by Burr the jury found Levi Weeks "not guilty."

The transcription of the trial itself is lengthy and involved, but is of use here because pertinent information regarding Levi's occupational background was disclosed in several of the witnesses' testimonies. Through Ezra's account in defense of his brother several significant facts concerning Levi and Ezra's business were exposed. Ezra testified:

Levi my brother came in to enquire about the business of the next day, as he had charge of my shop, understanding the business as well as myself, and very attentive to it, I am seldom at the shop more than once a day. I attended to the business abroad, took dimensions of work on my memorandum, and gave it to my brother, in writing, his business was to give directions to the journeymen for execution.¹⁸

The testimony of Jonathan Burrall, cashier of a bank, was equally informative regarding Levi's activities.

This witness said, the Directors of the Bank had employed Mr. Ezra Weeks to erect a house for the Bank the summer before last [1798] ; That he was seldom there and the charge of the work fell upon Levi Weeks, the prisoner. He had always considered him as a very industrious, prudent, civil, and obliging young man.¹⁹

Thus, through Burrell's testimony, Levi can be documented as having been working in New York with Ezra as early as 1798.

John B. McComb, an active architect of New York, was also present at the trial as a witness for Levi Weeks. He testified that he had visited the home of Ezra Weeks the night Miss Sands had disappeared, and that Levi was present during his visit.²⁰ The fact that the Weeks brothers were acquaintances as well as business associates of John McComb is important as a possible and early influence on Levi's architectural style, a speculation which will be treated later in this study.

By 1803 Levi Weeks was in South Deerfield, a town in close proximity to Goshen.²¹ There he was in partnership with Thomas Porter in a general merchandise business.²² Most of the entries in their business ledger are for dry goods and spirits. Transactions in the ledger such as "by lumber," "by posts and rails," "by a frame of a house and bricks," "208 feet of wood and work," "1/2 dozen chairs," however, pose tantalizing questions.²³ These accounts suggest that either Levi was engaged in house building and cabinetwork, or that he was a supplier of materials to other house carpenters and cabinet-makers. It is curious that Levi had two accounts with one John Breck

of nearby Northampton, one for himself and one for Weeks and Porter. His own account was charged with door locks, bolts, and screws.²⁴ To date no proof is available that Levi was actually engaged as architect or cabinetmaker while in South Deerfield. However, several houses in the South Deerfield and Deerfield area, that were built or added to during the period that Levi was in South Deerfield, incorporate details that later appeared on buildings in Natchez documented as being Levi's work.²⁵

The entry for September 9, 1805 of the Weeks-Porter ledger indicates a termination of their business. The final transactions of that entry reveal that Levi had accumulated substantial capital by 1805. He must have left South Deerfield shortly thereafter, as his father wrote a letter to him in Cincinnati dated January, 1808.²⁶ How long Levi was in Cincinnati or what he was doing there is not known. It is possible he was traveling South in search of profitable business ventures and a location in which to settle. He apparently spent time in Cincinnati and Marietta, Ohio, and Lexington, Kentucky, for he wrote of those cities' advantages and disadvantages in correspondence.²⁷

By 1809 Levi Weeks had arrived at his ultimate destination, Natchez, Mississippi.²⁸ Natchez, situated on the bluffs far above the majestic Mississippi River, was the largest and most important town in the Mississippi Territory during the early nineteenth century. In 1808 Fortesque Cuming recorded that Natchez was "a place of considerable importance in consequence of its being the principal emporium of the

commerce of the territory."²⁹ Christian Schultz traveled through Natchez in 1808 and noted seeing eighty-three boats docked along the Natchez levee.³⁰ His journal provides an informative account of Natchez just prior to Levi's arrival there. He wrote of Natchez:

This city contains nearly three hundred houses, and about three thousand inhabitants, including all colours. There are several extensive mercantile houses established here, and one at least which imports goods directly from England...The buildings in general are neat, yet I found none within the town that can be considered as elegant...The principal article of culture in this country at present is cotton, of which they already raise immense quantities, of a quality almost equal to any in the world.³¹

If Levi Weeks had specific reasons for choosing Natchez as his home they remain a mystery. In search of land and possible fortunes thousands of people were immigrating to the Mississippi Territory, incorporated in 1798. Perhaps Levi was thinking along these same lines. He did disclose several aspects of the Natchez country that appealed to him in a letter to a friend in Deerfield. He confided:

But I confess a more Southern climate suits my ideas better, because nearly all that do hold lands or where there is a plantation opened, there will generally be found some decent educated people who are hospitable as well as polite and agreeable, and a man without a family can do very well for a while if he has no money until he can get some respectable employment...There is in this country all the advantages _____ Ohio and a greater variety of luxuries. A man may commence business with less money in Ohio than here - in the same circle of society, but he would not have the opportunity of accumulating so fast.³²

Had it not been for a lengthy, informative letter that Levi Weeks wrote in September, 1812 to Epaphras Hoyt, his work in Natchez might have gone unrecognized.³³ Fortunately, he related his business activities at the outset of that letter:

My employment is the superintendence of a large brick Presbyterian Church as architect. Those buildings together with a cabinet and chair shop that I carry on soley without even a foreman that can be depended on you will readily believe occupy most of my time.³⁴

Although he did not mention it in his letter, Levi Weeks apparently had a partner by the name of Joseph Bryant. In the records of the Board of Selectmen, the governing body of Natchez, there are numerous entries of payment to "Weeks and Bryant" for work done for the city. February 25, 1809 is the earliest documentable date of Levi's presence in Natchez. On that date the city of Natchez paid Weeks and Bryant \$4.____ for one coffin.³⁵ It is, thus, a possibility that the cabinet and chair shop which Levi referred to was in operation as early as 1809, since it was the usual practice for cabinetmakers to make coffins. Weeks and Bryant were not recorded in the Board of Selectmen Minutes again until March 26, 1811, when they were paid by the Corporation of the City of Natchez for "work and materials for laying a new floor, repairing roof and weatherboarding with sundry other repairs of the jail."³⁶ In April of that same year they were paid \$50.00 for buying and laying brick for the city.³⁷

Certainly the largest and most important job entered in the city records that Weeks and Bryant executed was the building of the

Market House and City Hall. The entry reads: "Levi Weeks in account with the city of Natchez...By amount of cash to be paid you for building the new Market House and City Hall per contract \$700.00."³⁸

Although the account was entered only in Levi's name, the receipt of payment was signed by Weeks and Bryant. From the wording of the entry "for building the new Market House and City Hall" the assumption can be made that the Market House and City Hall were combined in one structure. The idea of a market area on a lower level and the upper level forming rooms for the governing body of the town had long-standing English as well as American precedent.³⁹ The structure no longer exists, nor do plans or photographs of it. It is known that as early as July, 1812 an alteration was made to the building. Records show that the city paid for "building a gallery on the west side of the City Hall."⁴⁰ Other payments to Weeks and Bryant from the city included one for putting a lock on the jail, and another for building a platform at City Hall.⁴¹

These transactions imply that Levi Weeks' occupation included the role of builder as well as architect. It would, no doubt, have been difficult to survive in Natchez in the capacity of architect during the early years of the nineteenth century. Architecture as a vocation had not emerged there as a viable means of livelihood. The fact that Levi also operated a cabinet and chair shop indicates that he needed additional income.

As I have noted, Thomas Weeks, Levi's father, was a cabinet-maker. It is probable that Levi learned something of that craft from

his father. References or advertisements to his cabinet establishment are not to be found in contemporary Natchez newspapers. The single reference to be found documenting the existence of such a business is in the Board of Selectmen accounts. On July 16, 1811 Weeks and Bryant were paid \$16.00 for "making a walnut table and mounting complete."⁴²

Nothing is known of Joseph Bryant. He must have been a partner in all of Levi's business dealings because in addition to construction they bought and sold property for profit.⁴³ Bryant's name in conjunction with Levi Weeks is not mentioned after 1814.

Levi Weeks had other building commissions besides those for the city. In his letter to Epaphras Hoyt he wrote that he "had been employed the season past to give plans for an Hospital and Banking House which with the stupidity I had to contend took much time."⁴⁴ The hospital edifice could not have been erected until a year later, however, judging from an advertisement in The Washington Republican for July, 1813. The wording of the advertisement reveals the single description of the building which no longer stands:

Proposals will be received by the undersigned for furnishing the timber for an Hospital, or any part thereof in the City of Natchez; fifty feet square, two stories high above the basement - also for furnishing and erecting the Brick work of the same. A plan of the Building, Bill of Scantling, etc, may be seen at the House of

Samuel Brooks, president

The Banking House Levi Weeks referred to designing was the First Bank of the State of Mississippi which was chartered in 1809.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, the building no longer exists and contemporary descriptions have not, as yet, been located. Lyman Harding, one of the original directors of the Bank, chose Levi as the architect of his house in 1812.

Levi Weeks mentioned in the beginning of his letter to Epaphras Hoyt that he was presently superintending a large brick house "and a brick Presbyterian Church as architect."⁴⁶ Later in that letter, in describing the public buildings in Natchez, Levi related:

The Public Buildings are a City Hall and Market House, a Catholic Church, a small Methodist meetinghouse, an engine house and a new church I am now erecting, the cornerstone of which was laid about the first inst, with the following inscription etched by myself on steel - 'This church is designed for the Presbyterian worship of God and founded by donations of individuals of Natchez and its vicinity A.D. 1812, Samuel Brooks, John Henderson, John Steel, Joseph Forman, Lewis Evans, Lyman Harding, James McIntosh, and Thomas L. Scroop, commissioners; Lewis Evans, contractor; Levi Weeks, architect, Swan and Williams, Masons.'⁴⁷

Despite the fact that the cornerstone was laid in 1812, financial difficulties so plagued the commissioners and the contractor, Lewis Evans, that the Church building was not finished until several years later. Notice of a Public Auction of Pews appeared in The Mississippi Republican on January 18, 1815 for the purpose of raising money to remunerate the contractor. As late as May, 1817 a scheme for a lottery

was proposed because still needed was "a considerable sum to complete the building, to pay for the lot on which it is erected, and to level and enclose the same."⁴⁸

By 1828 the Presbyterian congregation had increased in number and it was decided that a larger church was needed. Levi Weeks' structure was demolished and the new edifice was dedicated in 1830.⁴⁹ The only known representation of the structure Levi designed is in the 1822 John James Audubon landscape of Natchez. One can be no more specific than to say that it appears to have been a two-story, red brick structure with steeple.

Concerning the domestic architecture of Natchez Levi Weeks wrote:

The houses are extremely irregular and for the most part temporary things. But of late a good number of houses have been built. I last year [1811] built an excellent two story brick house, second rate fireproof. In the vicinity of the town there is a number of Gentlemen's Seats who have plantations more distant in bottoms.⁵⁰

It is not known what house Levi Weeks referred to in the above quotation. To date, only one house in Natchez can be documented as having been designed by him. That house, known today as "Auburn," is documented by the letter Levi Weeks wrote to Epaphras Hoyt in 1812.

The brick house I am now building is just without the city line, and is designed for the most magnificent building in the territory...the owner of it is a Yankee - a native of your own state, Massachusetts, and is now in Boston on a visit. His name - Lyman Harding.⁵¹

This great house still stands, the sole example of Levi Weeks' design in domestic architecture. Because of its importance to the history of Natchez architecture and the study of Levi Weeks, architect, Auburn will later be discussed at length.

Levi Weeks was engaged in designing and building other domestic structures besides Auburn. He may have modified existing houses in Natchez during his tenure there. Several houses still standing in Natchez could easily have been the product of Levi's designs. As yet, however, no documentation is known to support such an assumption.⁵²

It is primarily through correspondence and city records that Levi Weeks' work in Natchez through the year 1812 is known. After that the lack of available correspondence makes documentation of his efforts difficult. On January 17, 1813 he married Ann Greenleaf of Natchez.⁵³ Besides this event the single reference to Levi Weeks between 1813 and 1815 is a record of payment to him for his services as Clerk at the city election in January, 1814.⁵⁴

By February, 1816 Levi Weeks had been appointed to a territorial position, Keeper of Weights and Measures. The Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer published a notice acknowledging his appointment.⁵⁵ In a similar notice on May 30, 1818 Levi added that: "The standard of Weights and Measures is kept at the office under the city hall, where the keeper may be found from daylight in the morning during the market hours."⁵⁶ In addition to this position as Keeper, Levi competed for a seat on the Board of Selectmen several times, but was never elected.⁵⁷

It may have been through his job as Keeper that Levi became associated with his next business partner, Augustus Griswold. Griswold owned a dry goods and grocery store at the Natchez Landing. In an advertisement of February, 1818 Griswold announced the death of his two junior partners, but stated that the business would continue under A. Griswold.⁵⁸ On October 16 of that same year an announcement of a partnership between Griswold and Weeks for a new business was printed in The Mississippi Republican. It read:

GRISWOLD & WEEKS

Have just complete a large & commodious WARE-HOUSE at the Landing where Cotton will be received, weighed and shipped, if required, on reasonable terms, in a manner to give satisfaction and no trouble. Every kind of country produce will be stored and sold on commission. They have been at very considerable expense in this establishment to render it spacious, substantial, convenient, and safe. The most approved and correct balances have been procured from the original manufactory in Boston. Prompt attention will be paid, and all orders of sale strictly attended to. They flatter themselves that both the merchant and planter will find it to their advantage to pass their cotton through this ware-house.

Despite these additional occupations, Levi Weeks probably continued in his role as architect. That only one commission between 1812 and 1819 is known, however, substantiates that assumption. In May of 1817 Levi sent a letter to the Board of Trustees of Jefferson College, the first college established in the Mississippi Territory. In that letter he stated he was enclosing a plan for the College structure.⁵⁹ Levi was paid \$50.00 in November of that year for the plan.⁶⁰ Although

the building survives, the original plan does not, and there are reasons to believe the plan may have been altered by the contractor.⁶¹ This building will be discussed later in this study.⁶²

Levi Weeks' multi-faceted career as architect, cabinet- and chairmaker, Keeper of Weights and Measures, and finally as a cotton commission merchant was ended abruptly by the yellow fever epidemic which plagued Natchez in 1819. He died of yellow fever on September 20, 1819 at the age of forty-three.⁶³

Chapter II

THE SOURCES OF LEVI WEEKS' DESIGNS

The architectural profession was unheard of, even in England, until the mid-eighteenth century. There the term referred to those who had a patron to support their work.¹ The prestigious designation of architect prompted numerous craftsmen to adopt the title. This same trend occurred in America following the Revolution.

Although Levi Weeks chose to call himself an architect, it is more appropriate to consider him a builder-architect, for he was, indeed, a product of the eighteenth-century American concept of the master-builder. Trained as a craftsman, such as a carpenter or mason, the master-builder could "build and supervise the construction of houses, as well as make a rough plan, with the aid of the ever-present builder's handbooks."² Levi was involved in building, supervising, and making plans. He, like his contemporaries and those builders who came before him, also relied heavily on architectural design and guidebooks.

Architectural pattern books played an important role in the development and dissemination of architectural styles in England and, subsequently, in America during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although several instructive manuals regarding the art of

building had appeared prior to 1700, the early years of the eighteenth century marked the beginning of an era that was to produce vast numbers of these architectural books.³

As John Summerson noted in Georgian London, architectural design and guidebooks were "the most important single factor in establishing the Palladian taste."⁴ The Palladian movement, dominant in England during the first half of the eighteenth century, was an effort, most particularly by Lord Burlington, to reinstate the classical tradition of architecture as it had been interpreted in the sixteenth century by Andrea Palladio and practiced by Inigo Jones in England during the first half of the seventeenth century. Lord Burlington sponsored the publication of major design books to help disseminate Palladian forms. This early and widespread publication of design manuals cannot be overemphasized, as it was the precedent for spreading styles which would succeed the Palladian style.

Many of these architectural publications found their way to the American colonies and were used by carpenters and master-builders throughout the eighteenth century. It is rare, however, to document a specific title to a builder or architect. Personal inventories usually did not list titles of books individually, but merely recorded "a lot of books," or "a parcel of books." Knowing which volumes an architect possessed is, indeed, an advantage for the architectural historian in attempting to document a design source for a building or its decorative details.

It is fortunate for this study that Levi Weeks' library was included in his probate inventory. Among the volumes listed were the following eleven architectural titles:

Maltons Perspectiae
 Art of Building
 Pain's British Palladio
 Designs for chimney pieces
 Designs for Architects cabinet makers
 Designs in Carpentry by Swan
 Builder's assistant
 Swan's designs
 Wares Palladio
 Young carpenters assistant
 Gibson surveying⁵

This listing poses two problems. First, only half the entries include the author. Fortunately, in most instances only one author is known to have issued a book with that title. At least three authors published books incorporating "Builder's assistant" in the title, however, so that I can only speculate as to which one Levi Weeks actually owned. A second problem is the consideration that the probate listing may not include Levi's entire library. Certain designs Levi employed but not contained in the volumes inventoried indicate he probably possessed other architectural manuals. The absence of cabinetmakers' books would seem to support this assumption.

When Levi Weeks began work in New York in the late 1790's, a period of transition from the Palladian or Georgian style of architecture to the newer neoclassical or Federal style inspired by the brothers Adam in their Works in Architecture was taking place. The architectural volumes in Levi's inventory reflect this transition.

Among the books he owned published during the Palladian movement were those of William Salmon and Isaac Ware. The volume listed in Levi Weeks' inventory as "Art of Building" is undoubtedly William Salmon's Palladio Londinensis: or, The London Art of Building, originally published in London in 1734 and often referred to as merely The Art of Building. Salmon's book was frequently used in England and America during the Palladian period and went through at least eight editions, the eighth edition having been published in 1778.⁶

Ware's Palladio is also strictly Palladian. Isaac Ware, thought to have been patronized by Lord Burlington, published The Four Books of Architecture by Andrea Palladio in London in 1738. This was Ware's reproduction of the drawings Palladio had published in 1570, "universally esteemed as the best standard of architecture hitherto extant."⁷

Although the Palladian style continued to be popular during the second half of the eighteenth century in England, its preëminence was challenged by the elaborated Baroque forms, the Rococo and the Gothic, and, finally, the classically derived styles. Levi Weeks owned three volumes by Abraham Swan, a carpenter and joiner, "who published several books of architectural designs reflecting the contemporary rococo taste in interior decoration."⁸ The inventory entry of "Designs for chimney pieces" must have been Abraham Swan's Upwards of One Hundred and Fifty New Designs for Chimney Pieces, published in London in 1765; a second edition was printed in 1768. It was seldom that a complete title,

especially one this lengthy, was written by someone recording an inventory.⁹ Titles were usually abbreviated, including only the prominent words. This book is a perfect example of that practice, for "New Designs for Chimney Pieces" appears in larger and bolder print than "Upwards of One Hundred and Fifty." Another book by Swan, A Collection of Designs in Architecture, published in London in 1757, was inventoried as merely "Swan's designs." It must have been a popular handbook among American builders, for it was printed in Philadelphia in 1775.¹⁰ Finally, Abraham Swan also published Designs in Carpentry, which Levi Weeks owned.¹¹

It was primarily through William Pain's publications that the neoclassical style was popularized in America. He published numerous works on architecture which were among the most widely used of any sold in the last half of the eighteenth century.¹² William Pain collaborated with his son James to produce Pain's British Palladio in London in 1786. It underwent numerous editions, one as late as 1804. John W. Fenno, in an advertisement for architectural manuals in the New York Daily Advertiser in October, 1800, offered for sale Pain's Palladio as well as other titles by Pain.¹³ It is my belief that Levi either owned or at one time had access to other books by William Pain such as The Practical House Carpenter of 1799, The Builder's Golden Rule of 1787, and The Builder's Companion of 1758. Design elements from these sources were used on houses strongly attributable to Levi Weeks.¹⁴

The most recent English reference Levi Weeks owned was Designs for Architects, Upholsterers, Cabinetmakers, etc., published for Rudolph Ackermann in London in 1801.¹⁵ Since no other book with a similar title published before 1819 has been located, this title would seem the only possible candidate for the inventory reference of "Designs for Architects cabinet makers."¹⁶ Rudolph Ackermann was a fine-art publisher and bookseller in London.¹⁷ The designers responsible for the engravings are not revealed on the plates or in the Prospectus. The publication was evidently intended to be a series of interest to either one or all three groups of craftsmen included in the title. However, only one volume of the proposed series was published, and its plates are "particularly calculated for the use of the upholsterers."¹⁸ The engravings exhibit plans and sections for a variety of rooms, most incorporating window hangings and furniture drapery. Both the neoclassical and Regency tastes are represented. Unlike most of the other publications included in the inventory, this volume probably had little, if any, relevance to Levi's work.

Levi Weeks owned two technical works, "Maltons Perspectiae," and "Gibson surveying." Thomas Malton, architect and draughtsman, issued A Compleat Treatise on Perspective in 1775 and in 1783 an appendix to it appeared.¹⁹ Levi's friend and fellow architect John McComb, Jr., also owned Malton's Perspective.²⁰

It is not known when Robert Gibson, teacher of mathematics, first published The Theory and Practice of Surveying. A fifth edition,

"with alterations and amendments, adapted to the use of American surveyors,"²¹ was printed in Philadelphia in 1789. The inclusion of this book in Levi Weeks' inventory is indicative of the necessity of versatility in an American builder or architect at this period. Levi had probably learned surveying from his father.

Levi Weeks owned at least one architectural book written by an American builder. The inventory reference to "Young carpenters assistant" was, undoubtedly, for Owen Biddle's The Young Carpenter's Assistant, first published in Philadelphia in 1805. The influence of William Pain and Asher Benjamin, who was also influenced by Pain, is clearly evident in Biddle's book.

Finally, the title listed in Levi Weeks' inventory as "Builder's assistant" more than likely referred to The Country Builder's Assistant by Asher Benjamin.²² Published in Greenfield, Massachusetts, in 1796, it was the first architectural book by an American. For two reasons Benjamin's work was the one likely to have been owned by Levi. First, the title of the third edition printed in 1800 is The Builder's Assistant, the same listing in the inventory.²³ Secondly, the fact that until 1798 Benjamin worked in Greenfield, a town located near Deerfield and nearby to Goshen as well, is significant.²⁴ Certainly Levi would have been aware of Asher Benjamin and his work in the vicinity, for similar concepts can be detected in Levi's work.

Levi Weeks' collection of architectural books was eclectic. So, too, in certain respects, was his architecture. He combined Palladian elements with newer neoclassical designs, as did the majority of the builder-architects of the early nineteenth century. Of all the books he owned, Levi relied most heavily on the works of William Pain and his American protagonists, Asher Benjamin and Owen Biddle.

These design manuals were a major source to Levi Weeks for the architectural details he used. Another possible influence must be considered, the work of contemporary architects and builders, as well as buildings in both the New York and Deerfield areas during Levi's residence in those places.

For New York, Talbot Hamlin considers John McComb, Jr., "the great architectural figure of the period immediately after the Revolution."²⁵ Like Levi Weeks, John McComb, Jr., may be considered a builder-architect.²⁶ In his study of McComb, S. Damie Stillman viewed McComb's early professional years from 1790 to 1803, part of which time Levi was in New York, as "formative."²⁷ During these early years McComb experimented with innovative designs for space, and in architectural detail his sources reflect the oncoming neoclassical style. As Stillman concluded, however, McComb "adopted the new neo-classical designs to the old builder-architect method, producing what may be termed a hybrid style."²⁸ Levi Weeks shared this hybridization, and it is most evident in his architecture. As regards specific influences,

at least one of McComb's characteristic devices, the side- and fan-lighted doorway, Levi incorporated in the principal entrance of Auburn.²⁹

Levi Weeks joined his older brother Ezra in New York at least as early as 1798. Comparatively little is yet known of Ezra's commissions, thus making it difficult to assess any influence he may have been on Levi.³⁰ Ezra did submit a design in the competition for the New York City Hall building in 1802. So, too, did John McComb, Jr., whose plan was chosen.³¹ Ezra's design was conservative - basically a Palladian design. In that same year, 1802, Ezra was involved in building Alexander Hamilton's country house, the Grange, for which McComb had supplied the plans.³²

Levi Weeks was evidently very familiar with several of the houses along the Hudson River; possibly he and Ezra were involved in building some of the houses. For instance, the woodwork in Montgomery Place, a house built between 1802 and 1805 for Mrs. Richard Montgomery, is curiously similar to several details in Auburn, the house Levi built in Natchez. The dining room doorway (Fig. 37) in Montgomery Place is a classic example of what Talbot Hamlin called the Hudson Valley "love of fantastic turned forms" and an obsession with one particular form, "the fluted or reeded radiating fan and ellipse."³³ The tapering turned column resting on an unusually high, oddly shaped base incorporated in the doorway at Montgomery Place is akin to one of the interior doorways at Auburn (Fig. 34). These mannerist columns appear in another Hudson River house built in 1815, the Van Loon House.

The radiating fan device (Fig. 30) is found on doorways throughout the Hudson River Valley. Weeks used the motif in the entrance doorway at Jefferson College (Fig. 39).

Another distinctive feature of numerous Hudson River houses of the early nineteenth century that is also seen at Auburn is the profusely carved, unusually high overdoor of the interior doors (Fig. 30).

Whatever the connection may have been between Levi Weeks and several of these Hudson River houses, the impact they had on his work in Natchez is undeniable.

By the time Levi Weeks arrived in South Deerfield in 1803, Asher Benjamin had removed from Greenfield to Boston and was listed in the Boston Directory as a "housewright."³⁴ It is evident in Benjamin's early work, as well as in his early publications, that his primary resources were the publications of William Pain. Benjamin tempered Pain's designs, however, to make them more suitable to the conservative New England taste and technology. This restraint is readily detected in certain details used by Levi Weeks.

Several of Benjamin's characteristic details were incorporated in Levi Weeks' vocabulary. Benjamin, like McComb, favored the side- and fan-lighted doorway. A frequent design in Benjamin's houses is a circular stairway, and Weeks used one at Auburn.³⁵ The attenuated pilaster on a sub-plinth base, revealed in Plate two of The Country Builder's Assistant by Benjamin (Fig. 19), was used by Levi on the exterior rear doorway of Auburn (Fig. 18).

Finally, the ballroom addition to the Frary House in Deerfield cannot be overlooked as possibly the work of Levi Weeks. Located in the south wing added to the Frary House in 1768, the ballroom is thought to date between 1802 and 1805, coinciding with Levi Weeks' residency in South Deerfield.³⁶ The ballroom ceiling (Fig. 22) is coved, a technique Levi incorporated in Auburn's up- and downstairs hallways (Fig. 21). If Levi was not responsible for the Frary ballroom, it could be the source for Auburn's coved ceilings.

Having investigated the relevant sources in architectural books, and contemporary buildings and architects, let us turn to how Levi Weeks interpreted them in his work in Natchez, Mississippi.

Chapter III

AUBURN

The town of Natchez, Mississippi, consisted of approximately one hundred dwelling houses when Levi Weeks came there in 1809.¹ He described the structures as "extremely irregular and for the most part temporary things."² Fortesque Cuming, a traveler through Natchez in 1808, was more descriptive:

I was much struck with the similarity of Natchez to many of the smaller West India towns, particularly St. John's Antigua, though not near so large as it. The houses all with balconies and piazzas...Several of the houses are new and very good, mostly of wood, and I am informed many (more than half) have been added within the last four or five years.³

It is not surprising that Cuming found the appearance of Natchez similar to many West Indian towns. The French retained possession of the Natchez Territory until 1763, at which date it was ceded to England. The Spanish took possession in 1779 and governed until 1798 when the entire Mississippi Territory became part of the United States. France, England, and Spain had outposts in the West Indies, so it was not unusual that a West Indian architectural style, a style well suited to the warm Natchez climate, should be transplanted at Natchez by her successive rulers. French colonists

were initially responsible, however, for building West Indian house types throughout the Mississippi River Valley.⁴

In comparing Natchez to West Indian towns, Cuming was probably referring to houses resembling Airlie, The Gardens, Saragossa, and the Griffith-McComas House, which date from the Spanish occupancy of Natchez. They are comparable to several West Indian house types prevalent in Natchez and the surrounding area.

The Gardens and Airlie (Fig. 1) are characteristic of one category: long, narrow, wooden houses incorporating galleries, or balconies, across the front and back. The other type is a two-story structure, the lower level of brick and the second story framed, as at Saragossa. At Saragossa (Fig. 2), the West Indian appearance is further characterized by a canted roof with wide, overhanging eaves supported by galleries on both levels and completely surrounding the house. This second house type is ubiquitous in the river region of Mississippi and Louisiana south of Natchez.⁵

Variants of the second category are the Coyle and Griffith-McComas Houses (Fig. 3). Both are brick at ground level, framed at the second level. The double gallery appears only to the rear of the Coyle House, and in the front and back, but not surrounding the Griffith-McComas House.

This was the architectural heritage of Natchez at the time of Levi Weeks' arrival there. The increased economic and social needs of the Natchez region in the early years of the nineteenth century

necessitated more elegant and fashionable homes, images of very real material success. Auburn, "the most magnificent building in the territory," was, indeed, a suitable dwelling for its affluent owner, Lyman Harding.⁶

Lyman Harding was one of many New Englanders who came to Natchez in the opening years of the nineteenth century.⁷ Born and educated in Massachusetts, he studied law in Maryland before coming to Natchez. In Natchez he prospered as a lawyer and plantation owner. His reputation as a competent attorney allowed him to become the first Attorney-General of the state of Mississippi in 1817.⁸ Harding was also actively involved in community affairs. He was a member of the Board of Directors of the First Bank of the State of Mississippi, and a commissioner of the First Presbyterian Church. Levi Weeks was architect of these buildings; therefore, Harding would have been most familiar with Weeks' skill as an architect.

Auburn (Fig. 4) demonstrates that Levi Weeks worked in the New England tradition most familiar to him. Weeks' designs would have been desirable to a person from a similar background - such as Lyman Harding. The extent to which Weeks catered to Harding's taste is impossible to determine, but the patron's preference must be considered.

In 1808 Lyman Harding purchased a large tract of land just outside the city boundary for \$8,000.⁹ Impressed with the setting for Harding's house, Levi Weeks wrote: "The site is one of those peculiar situations which combines all the delight of romance - the pleasures of

rurality, and the approach of sublimity."¹⁰ Although Auburn's rural pleasures have since been lost to the growing city, its prominent hill-top setting, amid aged live-oak trees laden with moss, is a present-day reminder of past rural and romantic associations.

Originally, Auburn (Fig. 4) was a two-story, five-bay, brick house with a free-standing, projecting portico. After 1827, when it was purchased by Dr. Stephen Duncan, the house was extended to both sides by one room, and a two-story gallery (Fig. 5) was added to the rear.¹¹ The central portion of the original house projects slightly from the facade and is further defined by a pedimented portico. A balustraded gallery at the second-floor level is supported by four Ionic columns resting on square bases. The elaborate main entrance, as well as the Palladian window directly above, on the second level, is flanked by floor-length windows. Doorways at the rear of the house are more restrained in ornamentation.

Flemish bond brickwork appears on Auburn's facade; the side and back walls are of common bond. Prior to Weeks' arrival few large domestic structures were completely brick. During his tenure in Natchez, however, an increasing number of both private and public buildings were built in brick.¹² By 1812 there were in Natchez five brickyards and four master bricklayers, possibly accounting for the increased use of brick as a building material.¹³

In his description of Auburn, Weeks disclosed the architectural significance of the house. He boasted to Epaphras Hoyt: "This is the

first house in the territory on which was ever attempted any of the orders of architecture."¹⁴ This was, indeed, an important first for Natchez. A radical departure from the prevailing West Indian style house, Auburn is most significant in the history of Natchez architecture because it introduced academic architectural concepts to Natchez. Building in the grand manner incorporating details from architectural design books, first practiced in Natchez by Levi Weeks, subsequently characterized numerous Natchez mansions built prior to the War between the States. The following analysis of Auburn reveals Weeks' dependence on his collection of architectural design books - most particularly the publications by Salmon, Swan, Benjamin, Biddle, and Pain.

Auburn's two-story, pedimented portico (Fig. 4) is supported by four columns of the Ionic order, the standard pattern of the Federal period.¹⁵ The columns are of plastered brick; the capitals of carved wood. With the exception of the fleuron above the egg and dart molding, the design of the Ionic capitals (Fig. 6) was copied by Weeks from Plate XXXVIII of Pain's British Palladio (Fig. 7). The square bases of the columns are not original; classical bases probably supported the columns.¹⁶

Two-story porticoes appear in designs offered in both Pain's British Palladio and Abraham Swan's A Collection of Designs in Architecture. Plate 14 in Volume II of Swan's A Collection of Designs in Architecture (Fig. 8) is the only design incorporating a second-story gallery similar to Auburn's. Significantly, the dimensions of Swan's

portico (Plate 14) are 30 by 12 feet; the dimensions at Auburn are 31 by 12 feet. Two-story porticoes became popular following the Revolution.¹⁷ McComb's designs for the Government House in New York incorporated one.¹⁸ The effect achieved by a two-story portico is one of grandeur, quite suitable for Weeks' prosperous client.

An oval window with radiating muntins is centered in the portico tympanum. On Auburn's portico cornice and across the facade Weeks used the Corinthian entablature. The dentils characteristic of the Corinthian entablature are absent; the leaf-carved modillions separated by the carved flower motifs of the soffit (Fig. 10) are close in design to those found in Owen Biddle's The Young Carpenter's Assistant, Plate XIII (Fig. 11). Cornice molding on the sides and back of the house is plainer, resembling the design for the Ionic entablature in Plate XXIII of Pain's British Palladio. Perhaps the shift from Corinthian to Ionic entablature was made for economic reasons. The more elaborate Corinthian entablature concentrates richness and grandeur on the principal facade.

Characteristic of Federal style house exteriors is a profusion of architectural enrichment found on doorways and windows; Auburn is not an exception.¹⁹ Auburn's entrance composition (Fig. 9), as well as the similarly conceived second-story window directly above it, demonstrates the architectural license Weeks employed in combining unrelated design book elements to create a unified composition.

No design book prototype for the overall arrangement of the front entrance element has been found. The composition is a curious assemblage of incongruous components drawn from several source books. If the elliptical, reeded drapery above the fanlight (Fig. 12) is subtracted from the composition, the remaining elements comprise essentially Palladian forms. The drapery serves to unify the Palladian forms, transforming the total composition into a design more related to contemporary elliptical side- and fan-lighted doorway which McComb, Benjamin, and other architects were popularizing. The drapery, in this instance, replaces the customary elliptical fanlight.

The unusual reeded drapery motif appears on two mantels - in Hudson River Valley houses, which Weeks could have been familiar with, the Teller and Mesier Homesteads (Fig. 14). The ultimate design source for this element, however, is Pain's British Palladio, Plate XXVIII (Fig. 13). There the reeded drapery appears around a semicircular window. Weeks preferred to use the motif, but chose to incorporate it differently than Pain had recommended.

Pairs of fluted pilasters supporting an entablature of the Doric order flank the large, twelve-panel, recessed doorway (Fig. 9). Salmon's Palladio Londinensis, Plate XXI, contains a similar design for fluted pilasters surmounted by the Doric order (Fig. 15). Conventionally, the Doric frieze should have continued around above the doorway; in excluding it Weeks produced a less acceptable visual composition.

Shaped lunettes appear in the panels beneath the side lights. The side lights incorporate circular muntins while the arched fanlight has straight muntins radiating from a semicircle (Fig. 9). Surrounding the drapery is a brick elliptical arch centered by a keystone (Fig. 12) identical in design to that shown in Plate 4 of Owen Biddle's The Young Carpenter's Assistant (Fig. 16).

Weeks placed a triple-hung sash window, incorporating identical surrounding elements of the entrance composition, directly above the doorway (Fig. 9). The floor-length window affords access to the gallery as well as an abundance of light to the upstairs hallway. The muntins of the circular sash of this window differ from those in the arched fanlight of the doorway below. Here, Weeks chose Gothic forms depicted in Plate 19 of Biddle's The Young Carpenter's Assistant (Fig. 17). The muntins in the flanking side lights are arranged in a lozenge pattern.

These extraordinary doorway and window motifs are bold designs. The interpretation and combination of elements are unusual, and highly individual.

Triple-hung sash windows of floor length flank the entrances of both levels (Fig. 9). Such an arrangement provides additional light to the hallways, as well as ventilation. The remaining windows are double-hung sash, twelve-over-twelve panes. Flat arches composed of tapered brick centered by keystones cap the window enclosures (Fig. 4).

In contrast to Auburn's impressive facade, the rear wall (Fig. 5) is sparsely embellished. The two-story gallery is a later addition. It is unlikely that there would have originally been a gallery attached to the back; thus, the upstairs doorway, although stylistically in keeping with the original building, must be of later date.²⁰

Like the front entrance, the rear door on the main level (Fig. 18) is recessed within surrounding woodwork. Both Asher Benjamin and Owen Biddle depict designs for recessed doors. The arched transom above the door contains radiating muntins connected at their tops by swagged muntins, an idea closely resembling a design (Fig. 20) in Biddle's The Young Carpenter's Assistant, Plate 17. The door surround is best described as a vernacular New England design. Two Corinthian sub-plinths which support the raking, molded cornice, Levi Weeks may have taken from Plate II of Benjamin's Country Builder's Assistant (Fig. 19). The overall composition, however, is not found in contemporary design books. Awkwardly positioned between the sub-plinths and cornice is a semicircular molded arch. The attenuated sub-plinths, combined with the heavy architectural detail above the door, produce a composition that is oddly proportioned and top-heavy.

In plan, Auburn is symmetrical. An arched opening separates the transverse entrance hallway from the back central hallway. The ceiling of the central hall (Fig. 21) is barrel-vaulted.²¹ On each end of the front hall is a small room containing a fireplace. The same arrangement follows on the second floor. A circular staircase,

located in the entrance hall east of the doorway, provides the single interior stair to the second floor.

Because the original plan of Auburn does not exist and precise designation of the rooms was not specified in Harding's otherwise valuable inventory of the furnishings, it is impossible to state what purpose the rooms had during Harding's occupancy.²² Thus, for the purposes of this study, descriptive designations for each room include floor level, room size, and compass orientation.

The plan (Fig. 23), though not particularly innovative, differs from houses in Natchez pre-dating Auburn and reveals the post-colonial attitude in house plans. The earlier Georgian style house consisted of a longitudinal stairhall dividing four rooms of nearly equal size. A prototype for Auburn's plan is not to be found in the source books in Weeks' inventory. It is possible, however, that he could have used a section of a plan from a book he did own - Abraham Swan's A Collection of Designs in Architecture. Excluding the three rooms extending across the back of the plan shown in Plate 13 (Fig. 24), the remaining plan is strikingly similar to that of Auburn. Since the stairways of Swan's plan were placed in the section that was excluded by Weeks, the staircase would have had to have been relocated. No doubt Weeks calculated to display his splendid free-standing spiral staircase design in its prominent entrance hall location. This position afforded an abundance of light, a primary consideration for a staircase; it is lighted by a floor-length window as well as by the light from the doorway.

The staircase (Fig. 25) is one of the exceptional features of Auburn's interior. Weeks described it as "geometrical," a term that Owen Biddle used for a circular stair.²³ Although instructions for circular stairs are given in several of the architectural books Weeks owned, the Auburn staircase is precisely comparable to the one shown in Figure A, Plate 41 of Pain's British Palladio (Fig. 26). In terms of aesthetics, the free-standing circular stair is of great beauty, a dynamic visual element. It was also most spatially economical.

As architects and builders of the Federal era concentrated exterior detail on certain elements such as doorways and windows, so, too, was their attention focused on certain components of the interior.²⁴ Doorways, cornices, and chimney pieces were the primary elements of enrichment. This is true of Auburn's interior.

Unfortunately, few of Auburn's original mantels remain in place.²⁵ Simple wooden, Federal-style mantels survive in three of the four small rooms. The character of the mantel moldings is similar to the simple door surround moldings at Auburn. In the large west room on the second floor is the single extant elaborately decorated mantel (Fig. 27). Two free-standing, fluted Ionic columns support the plain architrave, decorated frieze, and cornice elements of the mantel. A symmetrical, undulating vine design embellishes the frieze. The area above the free-standing columns protrudes from the balance of the mantel. On the front and sides of the projecting rectangular blocks of the frieze is an oval design of a pierced, petaled flower surrounded by swags. Beneath the raking, nicely molded cornice is incorporated a

series of regularly spaced Ionic modillions. Although the exact design for this mantel is not included in Abraham Swan's Upwards of One Hundred and Fifty New Designs for Chimney Pieces, several plates show the column supports and the undulating vine.

Various forms of run cornices occur throughout the house. Cornices in the eight rooms and front hall (Fig. 25) of both stories are deep and heavily molded. In the back halls a deep cavetto cornice terminates the vaulted ceiling (Fig. 21).

Other wall elaboration is confined to a minimum. A chair rail is in the front hall (Fig. 25) and small rooms of each floor, and in the upstairs west large room a dado remains. Deep baseboards capped by molding occur throughout Auburn.

Particular attention to detail was given on both stories to the arched opening linking the front to the back hall (Figs. 21, 28). In these arched openings the woodwork comprises Doric pilasters supporting a molded extrados. The extrados is centered by a keystone of the same design as that of the keystones on the flat arches of the windows.

The most elaborate ornamental woodwork of the interior is found in the doorways. Access from the hall into the large east and west rooms is provided by four doors, two on each side of the hall. These doors (Fig. 29) have matching surrounds of sharply fluted pilasters and lintel. Encircled carved rosettes appear at the sides of the lintel. The overdoor composition is a series of reversed Ionic modillions dividing the upper section of the cornice from the lower

cornice. The modillions are identical to those incorporated in the mantel previously discussed. Their use here, however, is awkward. The same doorway surrounds appear on the four upstairs hall doors.

A source for the design of these overdoors has not been located in architectural books; the design is not depicted in any of the architectural books listed in Weeks' inventory. Sharply fluted pilasters such as these, however, were used in several Hudson River Valley houses - The Oakley House, the Storm House (Fig. 30), the Daniel Verplank House, and Mount Gulian. It is possible that this treatment was a Hudson River vernacular design with which Weeks was familiar and chose to incorporate at Auburn. The overall composition is curious, and it is likely this arrangement is Levi Weeks' creation.

Excepting the front door, which is twelve-paneled, eight-paneled doors occur throughout the house. Corresponding panels appear on the door jambs (Fig. 29). Doors of this design are found throughout Pain's British Palladio.

For the composition of the matching overdoors of the two doors (Fig. 31) leading from the large west room of the first floor to the back hall Weeks turned to his architectural design books. An open scroll pediment with a pineapple finial rests on a plain frieze and architrave which are supported by two pilasters with Corinthian capitals. The source for the design is Plate XXVI of William Salmon's Palladio Londinensis (Fig. 32). This plate shows a frontispiece of the Composite order.

Weeks took the liberty to alter two elements of the composition. One variation on Salmon's arrangement is detected in the frieze; Weeks utilizes a flat frieze rather than the convex one shown in Salmon's plate. The other deviation from the book design occurs in the pilasters; whereas the pilasters in Salmon's design are fluted in the standard manner, Weeks incorporated paneled pilasters in his composition. The paneled pilaster is an unusual design and not found in Weeks' architectural books. Once again, however, the source of the inspiration could be Hudson River Valley. Paneled pilasters such as these appear in the Chrystie House, the Horton House (Fig. 33), and Bellvue.

Levi Weeks' choice of this doorway design for Auburn can only be considered conservative. Although an edition of Salmon's Palladio Londinensis appeared as late as 1778, it was initially published in 1734. The character of the robust pediment design is strictly Palladian, the antithesis of the new-classical concept of delicate ornament. It is, indeed, odd that an architect such as Weeks, who had worked in New York and Massachusetts, and was obviously aware of the basic tenets of Federal taste which he demonstrated at Auburn, should select such an out-of-date doorway design.

Even more individualistic is his composition of the matching doorways (Fig. 34) in the large west room of the second story. Two tapered, reeded, engaged columns support a plain architrave and frieze upon which rests an open, triangular pediment. In the center of the

pediment is a large shell motif, and in the two projecting, rectangular panels of the frieze are carved leaves.

This novel arrangement of elements again represents freedom exercised by Weeks in combining incongruous parts to create a truly distinctive whole. The design for this doorway composition is not shown in any of the architectural books listed in Weeks' probate inventory. Several of the components of this doorway can, however, be traced to William Pain's The Builder's Companion, and for this reason I believe Weeks may have owned this book.²⁶ Page 45 of The Builder's Companion (Fig. 35) shows four types of open pediments surrounded by busts, cartouches, and a shell. In the Auburn doorway Weeks clearly chose the left section of the Doric pediment illustrated, and the shell design located at the top right of the plate. Both elements of Pain's design are identical to those found in the Auburn doorway.

The tapered engaged columns defy design book classification. The shaft of each column (Fig. 34) comprises two different designs: the top one-third of the shaft is composed of three half-round sections each with narrow reeding. The remaining section, divided from the upper part of the shaft by slender, convex moldings, is also tri-partite, but not narrowly reeded. These sections of the shaft taper sharply and terminate at a very slender base. The shape of the plinth block conforms to the tri-partite division of the shaft. Column capitals consist of very rigid, highly stylized acanthus leaves.

Page 67 of Pain's The Builder's Companion displays five Gothic columns (Fig. 36). Although none of the designs show tapered columns or shafts composed of varying designs as found at Auburn, the similarity between Weeks' columns and Pain's Gothic column designs is striking. Columns A and B of Pain's plate are tri-partite with banded, horizontal divisions; column C has a capital composed of stylized leaves. The usual types of classical columns were clearly not the inspiration for Weeks' design; the Gothic provided their inspiration.

As was discussed in Chapter II, the tapered column design is related to similar examples in houses of the Hudson River Valley, most notably the tapered and turned columns at Montgomery Place (Fig. 37). Levi Weeks must have been aware of this design tradition because the Auburn columns reveal an undeniably similar character and form. Thus, the columns at Auburn may be interpreted as a combination of Pain's Gothic column and the Hudson River Valley tradition of profuse turned forms; the overall composition is eclectic and highly personal.

The interior doorways of the large east room, on both floors, are not ornamented with elaborate door surrounds. Simple molded frames encase these doors. This arrangement may be original and devised for economic reasons, but there is always the possibility that over the years changes were made to the doorways. Profiles of the present moldings of some of the doorways provide the clue. The door facings of the two doorways leading from the downstairs large east room into the back hall differ from each other. The molding of the doorway

nearest the fireplace leading from this room into the back hall matches the molding of the doorway leading from this same room into the library added by Stephen Duncan as well as the molding of a doorway from this room to a back gallery storage room added later.

Further reason to suspect a change may have occurred is that the rooms most accessible to guests would presumably have been the most embellished. Through Lyman Harding's inventory it is known that he had a dining room and a drawing room because curtains were listed for the "dining room" and for the "drawing room."²⁷ One of these rooms could have been an upstairs room, but that seems unlikely. Without further proof, however, the reasons for the location of the elaborate doorways are unknown.

In the words of a visitor to Auburn in 1820 it was considered "the handsomest house about Natchez...It is a perfect castle."²⁸ No other house with similarly complicated and ornate detailing which can be documented as pre-dating Auburn survives in Natchez.

The possibility of the elaborate doorway compositions having been imported from the North has been negated by a wood sample from one of the doorways which was analyzed as a wood native to the Natchez region - bald cypress.²⁹ Thus, Weeks must have relied on local craftsmen; the carved and molded woodwork is not so complicated that Natchez craftsmen could not have executed the compositions. In 1812 Natchez had six carpenters and five cabinetmakers; Levi Weeks, himself a cabinetmaker, could have fashioned elements of the turned or carved

compositions in his cabinet and chair shop.³⁰ The craftsmanship of the rich decorative treatment of the doorways, windows, column capitals, and the one elaborate mantel visually exemplifies the comparatively high level of craftsmanship available in Natchez as early as 1812. The carving is rich, sculptural, creating bold contrasts of surface texture.

As I have proposed in this chapter, Levi Weeks' design for Auburn signifies a turning point in the development of Natchez architecture. Auburn's grand scale and academically derived detailing became the model for succeeding Natchez plantation houses. The architectural detail at Auburn reveals two important points about Weeks. First, he vacillated between the older Georgian style and the fashionable Federal style. Secondly, like most post-colonial master-builders, Weeks depended on both architectural design books and a vernacular tradition for inspiration. Auburn demonstrates Weeks was not slavish; his designs were inventive. The manner in which he synthesized the academic, design book approach with the Hudson River Valley vernacular vocabulary reveals his personal creativity towards design.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

¹Robert D. Weeks, Geneology of the Family of George Weeks of
Dorchester, Massachusetts (Newark: L. J. Hardman, 1885), p. 177.

²Hiram Barrus, History of the Town of Goshen (Boston:
Published by the Author, 1881), p. 90.

³John Summerson, Georgian London (New York: Charles Scribner's
Sons, 1946), p. 70.

⁴Barrus, p. 181.

⁵Ibid., p. 182.

⁶Indenture of May 7, 1787 between Jonathan Warner and Ezra
Weeks. This document is in a private collection.

⁷Personal conversation between Bruce Sherwood and a descendent
of Levi Weeks.

⁸David Longworth, ed., Longworth's American Almanac, New York
Register, and City Directory (New York: Swords, 1795).

⁹Ibid., 1798.

¹⁰Ibid., 1799.

¹¹Ibid., 1800.

¹²Ibid., 1801.

¹³Ibid., 1802.

¹⁴Ibid., 1803.

¹⁵John D. Lawson, ed., American State Trials (St. Louis:
F. H. Thomas Law Books Company, 1914), Volume I, p. 3.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷The three versions of the trial are:

William Coleman, Report of the Trial of Levi Weeks (New York: John Furman, 1800).

David Longworth, A Brief Narrative of the Trial for the Bloody and Mysterious Murder of the Unfortunate Young Woman, in the Famous Manhattan Well (New York: David Longworth, 1800).

James Hardie, An Impartial Account of the Trial of Mr. Levi Weeks, for the Supposed Murder of Miss Juliana Sands (New York: M. McFurlane, 1800).

¹⁸Coleman, p. 86.

¹⁹Ibid., pp. 89-90.

²⁰Ibid., p. 84.

²¹July, 1803 is the earliest date entered in the Levi Weeks account book now in possession of the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library in Deerfield, Massachusetts.

²²Although the name Isaac Williams is not mentioned in conjunction with Levi Weeks and Thomas Porter in the ledger, he may have been involved with the business. In George Sheldon's A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts, Volume II, p. 376, it is recorded that Isaac Williams was "a merchant at Bloody Brook (South Deerfield) in company with Thomas Porter." Thomas Porter married Isaac Williams' sister, Hannah Williams; Isaac Williams married Mercy Weeks, Levi Weeks' oldest sister.

²³Levi Weeks account book at the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library, entries 9, 48, 82, 137, 106, respectively.

²⁴Ledger of John Breck of Northampton, Massachusetts, in the Joseph Downs Manuscript Collection at The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Libraries. The Weeks and Porter entries are found on pages 92 and 191; Levi Weeks entries on pages 29, 46, 182.

²⁵The houses include the Frary House, ballroom addition; the Dickinson House, main entrance; the Williams-Billings house, south door; Asa Stebbins house, exterior and interior doorways; the Augustus Lyman house, main entrance; the Hoyt house, main entrance.

²⁶This letter is in the Weeks Collection at the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History, hereafter referred to as M.S.D.A.H.

²⁷Letter from Levi Weeks to Epaphras Hoyt, September, 1812. Weeks Collection, M.S.D.A.H.

²⁸Levi Weeks probably arrived in Natchez sometime in 1808 since he was already set up in business in February, 1809.

²⁹Fortesque Cuming, Sketches of a Tour (Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear, and Eichbaum, 1810), p. 295.

³⁰Christian Schultz, Travels on an Inland Voyage (New York: Isaac Riley, 1810), p. 135.

³¹Ibid., pp. 133, 138.

³²Letter from Weeks to Hoyt, September, 1812. Weeks Collection, M.S.D.A.H.

³³Epaphras Hoyt of Deerfield, Massachusetts, was a major general of the Massachusetts Militia, surveyor, student, antiquary, author, and employed in public affairs, and interested in military tactics, astronomy, and natural sciences. This information is recorded in George Sheldon's A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts (Greenfield: E. A. Hall and Company, 1896), Volume II, pp. 215-216.

³⁴Letter from Weeks to Hoyt, September, 1812. Weeks Collection, M.S.D.A.H.

³⁵Natchez Records, Accounts of the Board of Selectmen, 1803-1826. This document is among miscellaneous unfiled papers at the City Hall in Natchez, Mississippi.

³⁶Natchez Records, Accounts of the Board of Selectmen, 1803-1826; microfilm collection of the Armstrong Library, Natchez.

³⁷Natchez Records, Accounts of the Board of Selectmen, 1803-1826; miscellaneous unfiled papers at City Hall, Natchez.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹John Summerson, Architecture in Britain (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954), p. 107.

⁴⁰Miscellaneous unfiled papers at City Hall, Natchez.

⁴¹Ibid.

⁴²Natchez Records, Accounts of the Board of Selectmen, 1803-1826; microfilm collection of the Armstrong Library, Natchez.

⁴³Adams County Deed Records, Book E, p. 106; Book G, p. 58, 92.

⁴⁴Letter from Weeks to Hoyt, September, 1812. Weeks Collection, M.S.D.A.H.

⁴⁵D. Clayton James, Antebellum Natchez (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), p. 198.

⁴⁶Letter from Weeks to Hoyt, September, 1812. Weeks Collection, M.S.D.A.H.

⁴⁷Ibid.

⁴⁸The Mississippi Republican, May 28, 1817.

⁴⁹J. Julian Chisolm, History of the First Presbyterian Church of Natchez, Mississippi (Natchez: McDonalds Publishers, 1972), p. 27.

⁵⁰Letter from Weeks to Hoyt, September. Weeks Collection, M.S.D.A.H.

⁵¹Ibid.

⁵²These houses are discussed in Appendix II.

⁵³Marriage Records of Adams County, Mississippi; Book I, pp. 243-244.

⁵⁴Natchez Records, Accounts of the Board of Selectmen, 1803-1826; microfilm collection of the Armstrong Library, Natchez.

⁵⁵The following notice appeared in The Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer on February 7, 1816:

WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

In conformity to the requisition of an Act of the General Assembly, passed the 23rd day of December last, the undersigned hereby gives Public Notice that he is appointed Keeper of the Standard of Weights and Measures for the Mississippi Territory, resident in Natchez, and warns all persons using any weights or measure (in any of the counties lying on the Mississippi River) to forward such weight or measure within three months from the day hereof to be tested and sealed according to law, or incur a penalty of fifty dollars for every offense of selling by an incorrect weight or measure, after the above period.

⁵⁶Mississippi State Gazette for May 30, 1818.

⁵⁷Natchez Records, Minutes of the Board of Selectman; microfilm collection of the Armstrong Library, Natchez.

⁵⁸The Mississippi Republican, February 19, 1818.

⁵⁹Jefferson College Papers, Box 32, Folder 75; M.S.D.A.H.

⁶⁰Jefferson College Trustees Minutes, Volume I, entry for November 1, 1817.

⁶¹Letter from Lewis Evans, contractor, to David Holmes, Governor, printed in The Mississippi Republican, March 9, 1819.

⁶²For a discussion of the building Weeks designed for Jefferson College, see Appendix I.

⁶³Robert D. Weeks, p. 177.

NOTES

CHAPTER II

¹John Summerson, Georgian London (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), p. 70.

²S. Damie Stillman, Artistry and Skill in the Architecture of John McComb, Jr. (Unpublished Masters Thesis for the University of Delaware, 1956), p. 2. It is significant to remind the reader here that Ezra and Levi Weeks were initially listed as carpenters in the New York directories.

³Helen Park, A List of Architectural Books Available in America before the Revolution (Los Angeles: Hennessey and Ingalls, Inc., 1973), p. 14.

⁴Summerson, p. 62.

⁵Adams County Probate Papers, Box 46, Levi Weeks.

⁶H. M. Colvin, A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954), p. 649.

⁷Isaac Ware, The Four Books of Architecture by Andrea Palladio (London, 1738), advertisement.

⁸Colvin, p. 587.

⁹Refer to John McComb's library entries in the appendix to S. Damie Stillman's Thesis, for instance.

¹⁰A copy of this book is owned by The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Libraries, Rare Book Division.

¹¹Charles Hummel noted in his Thesis, The Influence of English Design Books Upon the Philadelphia Cabinetmakers, 1760-1780 (Unpublished Masters Thesis for the University of Delaware, 1955), this title does not appear in Colvin. Colvin does list a book by Abraham Swan entitled The Carpenters Complete Instructor in Several Hundred Designs, published in 1759 and 1768. A comparison of that volume, the 1768 edition which is in the Joseph Downs Microfilm and Manuscript Collection of The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum collection with the

book entitled Designs in Carpentry by Swan and published in London in 1758 now in the Rare Book Division at the Library of Congress reveals that the two books contain the exact plates. The only variation in the two books is that the explanation of the plates in Designs in Carpentry precedes the plates rather than being engraved on the plates as is the case with The Carpenters Complete Instructor in Several Hundred Designs. The wording in the two explanations of the plates varies occasionally, but insignificantly.

¹²Nathaniel Lloyd, A History of the English House (New York: William Helburn, Inc., 1931), p. 153.

¹³Rita Gottesman, The Arts and Crafts of New York, 1800-1804 (New York: New York Historical Society, 1965), p. 319.

¹⁴These houses are discussed in Appendix II.

¹⁵A copy of this book could not even be located in the United States. A microfilm copy was made for the Winterthur Library from a copy of the book that is in the collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects.

¹⁶I am indebted to Mr. Timothy Trace for discovering the entire title and publisher of this book.

¹⁷Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, eds., The Dictionary of National Biography (London: Oxford University Press, 1917 and ff.), Vol. I, p. 58.

¹⁸_____, Designs for Architects, Upholsterers, Cabinetmakers, etc. (London: published for R. Ackermann, 1801), Prospectus.

¹⁹A second edition was published in 1778 and a second edition of the appendix appeared in 1800.

²⁰Stillman, p. 105.

²¹Robert Gibson, A Treatise of Practical Surveying (Philadelphia, 1789), Introduction.

²²At least two other builders' guides published before 1819 incorporated the words "Builder's assistant" in the title. One of those books was William Halfpenny's The Modern Builder's Assistant, first published in 1742 and again in 1757. The designs included in this book I cannot associate with Levi Weeks' documented work. The second possibility is The Builder's Compleat Assistant by Batty Langley. A second edition of this book was published circa 1738 and a fourth edition after 1788. Langley's books, numerous as they were, were widely used. The designs published in this book were incorporated in other books that Levi Weeks owned, and for that reason would have been repetitive. Thus, I do not think it was this book that Weeks possessed.

²³This edition is in the collection of The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum Libraries, Rare Book Division.

²⁴Abbott Lowell Cummings, An Investigation of the Sources, Stylistic Evolution and Influence of Asher Benjamin's Builders Guides (unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation for Ohio State University, 1950), p. 71.

²⁵Talbot Hamlin, Greek Revival Architecture in America (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1944), p. 120.

²⁶Stillman, p. 4.

²⁷Ibid., p. 42.

²⁸Ibid., p. x.

²⁹Ibid., p. 23.

³⁰Ezra Weeks is the subject of a Ph.D. Dissertation for Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, being written by Bruce Sherwood.

³¹S. Damie Stillman, "New York City Hall: Competition and Execution," Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians, Vol. XXIII, Number 3, p. 132.

³²Ibid

³³Hamlin, p. 34.

³⁴Cummings, p. 35.

³⁵Ibid., p. 24.

³⁶Samuel Chamberlain and Henry Flynt, Historic Deerfield (New York: Hastings House, 1965), p. 131. The 1802 - 1805 date for the ballroom addition is the opinion of Peter Spang of Deerfield.

NOTES

CHAPTER III

¹Fortesque Cuming, Sketches of a Tour (Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear and Eichbaum, 1810), p. 294.

²Letter Weeks to Hoyt, September, 1812. Weeks Collection, M.S.D.A.H.

³Cuming, p. 293.

⁴Charles Peterson, ed., "American Notes," Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians, Vol. X, no. 2, p. 19.

⁵Another Natchez house of this type was Concord, destroyed by fire in 1900.

⁶Letter Weeks to Hoyt, September, 1812. Weeks Collection, M.S.D.A.H.

⁷Prominent Massachusetts natives who lived in Natchez were Winthrop Sargent and Elijah Cushing. New Yorkers who came to Natchez included Peter Schuyler, John Hankinson, Abraham Beekman, and Walter Burling. For further reference to Sargent and Hankinson, see Appendix II.

⁸_____, Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi (Chicago: the Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1891), Vol. I, p. 884.

⁹Adams County Deed Records, Book D, p. 456.

¹⁰Letter Weeks to Hoyt, September, 1812. Weeks Collection, M.S.D.A.H.

¹¹Natchez Metropolitan Planning Commission Report on Auburn, Adams County Landmarks Inventory, 1974, p. 1.

¹²Letter Weeks to Hoyt, September, 1812. Weeks Collection, M.S.D.A.H. Weeks mentions building another two-story brick house in Natchez. The Presbyterian Church he built was brick, as was the East Wing of Jefferson College.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

¹⁵Fiske Kimball, Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and the Early Republic (New York: Dover Publishers, 1966), p. 225.

¹⁶Natchez Metropolitan Planning Commission Report, p. 1.

¹⁷Kimball, p. 225.

¹⁸S. Damie Stillman, Artistry and Skill in the Architecture of John McComb, Jr. (Unpublished Masters Thesis for the University of Delaware, 1956), p. 163.

¹⁹Kimball, p. 200.

²⁰Statement made by Ronald Miller, Architectural Historian for the Mississippi State Department of Archives and History.

²¹Weeks could have taken this idea from the Frary House ball-room ceiling which is vaulted in the same manner. See Chapter II, page 25.

²²Adams County Probate Records for Lyman Harding, Box 18, Inventory.

²³Letter Weeks to Hoyt, September, 1812. Weeks Collection, M.S.D.A.H. Owen Biddle, The Young Carpenter's Assistant (Philadelphia, 1805), p. 38.

²⁴Kimball, p. 239.

²⁵The mantels of the downstairs east and west rooms, downstairs west small room, and upstairs east large room are not original.

²⁶Chapter II, p. 19.

²⁷Lyman Harding Inventory.

²⁸Samuel Wilson, Jr., ed., Impressions Respecting New Orleans (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).

²⁹I am indebted to Mr. Gordon Saltar of Winterthur Museum for this wood analysis.

³⁰Weeks mentions having a cabinet and chair shop in his letter to Hoyt.

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts

Adams County Courthouse
Natchez, Mississippi

Adams County Deed Records, Books C, D, E, F, G.

Adams County Marriage Records, Book I, 243-244.

Adams County Orphan's Court Minutes, Book II, January Term, 1920.

Adams County Probate Records: Estate of Levi Weeks; Estate of Lyman
Harding.

Joseph Downs Manuscript Collection
The H. F. du Pont Winterthur Museum Libraries
Winterthur, Delaware

The Ledger of John Breck, Merchant, Northampton, Massachusetts.

Judge George Armstrong Library
Microfilm Collection
Natchez, Mississippi

Accounts of the Board of Selectmen, 1803-1826.

Massachusetts Historical Society
Microfilm Collection
Boston, Massachusetts

The Winthrop Sargent Papers.

Mississippi State Department Archives and History
Jackson, Mississippi

Jefferson College Papers: Journal of the Proceedings of the Board of
Trustees, Vol. I - IV; Letter of May 24, 1817 from Levi Weeks
to the Board of Trustees, Folder 75, Box 32.

Weeks Collection: Letter of September 12, 1812 from Levi Weeks to Epaphras Hoyt; Letter of January, 1808 from Captain Thomas Weeks to Levi Weeks.

City Hall
Natchez, Mississippi

Accounts of the Board of Selectmen, 1803-1826.

Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library
Deerfield, Massachusetts

Levi Weeks Account Book.

Books

Architectural Manuals and Design Books

- Benjamin, Asher. The Builder's Assistant. Greenfield, 1800.
- _____. The Country Builder's Assistant. Greenfield, 1796.
- Biddle, Owen. The Young Carpenter's Assistant. Philadelphia, 1805.
- Designs for Architects, Upholsterers, Cabinetmakers, etc. London:
Published for R. Ackermann, 1801.
- Gibson, Robert. A Treatise of Practical Surveying. Philadelphia, 1789.
- Malton, Thomas. A Compleat Treatise on Perspective. London, 1778.
- _____. An Appendix or Second Part to the Compleat Treatise on Perspective. London, 1783.
- Pain, William and James. Pain's British Palladio. London, 1786.
- Pain, William. The Builder's Companion. London, 1758.
- Salmon, William. Palladio Londinensis: or, The London Art of Building.
London, 1734.
- Swan, Abraham. A Collection of Designs in Architecture. London, 1757.
- _____. Designs in Carpentry. London, 1758.

- _____. The Carpenter's Complete Instructor in Several Hundred Designs. London, 1758.
- _____. Upwards of One Hundred and Fifty New Designs for Chimney Pieces. London, 1765.
- Ware, Isaac. The Four Books of Architecture by Andrea Palladio. London, 1738.

Nineteenth-Century Printed Sources

- Acts Passed at the Third Session of the First General Assembly of the Mississippi Territory. Printed by Andrew Marshalk, May 3, 1802.
- Cuming, Fortesque. Sketches of a Tour. Pittsburgh: Cramer, Spear, and Eichbaum, 1810.
- Longworth, David, ed. Longworth's American Almanac, New York Register, and City Directory. New York: Swords, 1795, 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, 1802, 1803.
- Schultz, Christian. Travels on an Inland Voyage. New York: Isaac Riley, 1810.

Twentieth-Century Printed Sources

- Natchez Metropolitan Planning Commission Report on Auburn. Adams County Landmarks Inventory, 1974.

General

- Barrus, Hiram. History of the Town of Goshen. Boston: Published by the Author, 1881.
- Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Mississippi. Chicago: The Goodspeed Publishing Co., 1891.
- Chamberlain, Samuel and Flynt, Henry. Historic Deerfield. New York: Hastings House, 1965.
- Chisolm, Julian. History of the First Presbyterian Church of Natchez, Mississippi. Natchez: McDonalds Publishers, 1972.

- Claiborne, John F. H. Mississippi as a Province, Territory, and State. Jackson, Mississippi, 1880.
- Colvin, H. M. A Biographical Dictionary of English Architects. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954.
- Cooper, J. Wesley. Ante-Bellum Houses of Natchez. Natchez: Southern Historical Publications, Inc., 1970.
- _____. Natchez, A Treasure of Ante-Bellum Homes. Natchez: Southern Historical Publications, Inc., 1957.
- Crocker, Mary Wallace. Historic Architecture in Mississippi. Oxford: The University and College Press of Mississippi, 1973.
- Eberlein, Harold D. The Manors and Historic Homes of the Hudson Valley. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1924.
- Eberlein, Harold and Hubbard, Cortlandt Van Dyke. Historic Houses of the Hudson Valley. New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., Inc., 1942.
- Gottesman, Rita. The Arts and Crafts of New York, 1800-1804. New York: New York Historical Society, 1965.
- Hamlin, Talbot. Greek Revival Architecture in America. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1944.
- James, D. Clayton. Antebellum Natchez. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968.
- Kimball, Fiske. Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and the Early Republic. New York: Dover Publishers, 1966.
- Lawson, John D., ed. American State Trials. St. Louis: F. H. Thomas Law Books Co., 1914.
- Lloyd, Nathaniel. A History of the English House. New York: William Helburn, Inc., 1931.
- Oliver, Nola Nance. This Too is Natchez. New York: Hastings House, 1953.
- Park, Helen. A List of Architectural Books Available in America before the Revolution. Los Angeles: Hennessey and Ingalls, Inc., 1973.
- Pierson, William H. American Buildings and Their Architects. New York: Doubleday and Co., 1970.

- Reynolds, Helen. Dutchess County Doorways. New York: William Farquhar Payson, 1931.
- Sheldon, George. A History of Deerfield, Massachusetts. Greenfield: E. A. Hall and Company, 1896.
- Stephen, Leslie and Lee, Sir Sidney, eds. The Dictionary of National Biography. London: Oxford University Press, 1917 and ff.
- Summerson, John. Architecture in Britain. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1954.
- _____. Georgian London. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946.
- Weeks, Robert D. Geneology of the Family of George Weeks of Dorchester, Massachusetts. Newark, New Jersey: L. F. Hardman, 1885.
- Wilson, Samuel, ed. Impressions Respecting New Orleans. New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.

Unpublished Studies

- Cummings, Abbott Lowell. An Investigation of the Sources, Stylistic Evolution and Influence of Asher Benjamin's Builders Guides. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation for Ohio State University, 1950.
- Hummel, Charles. The Influence of English Design Books Upon the Philadelphia Cabinetmakers, 1760-1780. Unpublished Masters Thesis for the University of Delaware, 1955.
- Stillman, S. Damie. Artistry and Skill in the Architecture of John McComb, Jr. Unpublished Masters Thesis for the University of Delaware, 1956.

Articles

- Peterson, Charles, ed. "American Notes," Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians. Vol. X, No. 2, May, 1951, p. 19.
- _____. "American Notes," Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians. Vol. XV, No. 2, May, 1956, pp. 27-28.
- Stillman, S. Damie. "New York City Hall: Competition and Execution," Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians. Vol. XXIII, No. 3, October, 1964, pp. 129-142.

Newspapers

The Mississippi Herald and Natchez Gazette.

The Mississippi Republican.

The Mississippi State Gazette.

The Washington Republican and Natchez Intelligencer.

APPENDIX I

The East Wing of Jefferson College

On May 13, 1802 the General Assembly of the Mississippi Territory passed an act incorporating the first educational institution in the Mississippi Territory, Jefferson College. Section 4 of that act authorized the Board of Trustees to "contract for the erecting of the necessary buildings."¹ It was not until 1817, however, that the Board of Trustees was able to secure sufficient funds for constructing the College building. According to the Minutes of the Board of Trustees of Jefferson College, Levi Weeks submitted the only plan for the College building.²

Although this building, called the East Wing (Fig. 38), still stands, two significant problems prohibit including it as an example of Levi Weeks' architectural design in the main text of this study. First, additional information reveals Weeks' original plan was altered. At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of Jefferson College on April 21, 1817, a building committee was established to present a plan for the Jefferson College building.³ On May 24 Levi Weeks was to meet with the Board of Trustees to present a plan for the College structure. Instead he sent a letter, explaining that he was ill, and enclosed the plan. In the letter he discussed the plan:

I can only have time now to mention that I should wish, if possible that one entire wing might be erected at the same time. It would be desirable on two counts; 1st because in erecting a part of the whole wing, when done will cost a \$1000 more than to erect it entire; 2nd because it would make a neater and more effecient job. However, about \$6,000 may be laid out in tolerable advantage in a building which may be considered a part of the permanent establishment; that part will be 41 by 48 feet, that may contain one, two, three or four rooms on a floor. I herewith send the original plan.⁴

The committee submitted Weeks' plan to the Board of Trustees, who evidently accepted his advice concerning the erection of one entire wing at a time, for they decided upon a building not to exceed 70 by 48 feet.⁵ In November of 1817, Weeks was paid \$50.00 for preparing the plan.⁶

As early as July, 1817 a resolution proposed by the building committee concerning alterations to the original plan was adopted; the committee was authorized "to vary the deminsions of said building as to the thickness of the walls, height of the stories and size of the windows."⁷ A year later financial difficulties were encountered and a resolution was adopted enabling the contractor "to vary the execution of the work in the erection of the college edifice so as not materially to enhance the expense."⁸

The construction of the East Wing progressed slowly. A letter from Governor David Holmes to Lewis Evans, the contractor, requesting a statement as to the progress of the College building appeared in The Mississippi Republican on March 9, 1819.⁹ In the reply to the

Governor's inquiry Evans stated that the building had been "considerably enlarged from the original plan, in thickness of walls and height of stories."¹⁰

Compounding the problem of alterations made to Weeks' original plan by the contractor is the fact that the East Wing was damaged by fire in 1841.¹¹ Judging from the proposal submitted to the Board of Trustees for repairs to be made to the East Wing after the fire, the damage was extensive; so, too, were the repairs, thus making it difficult to determine the extent to which the East Wing was again altered from Weeks' original plan.¹²

It is safe to assume that one significant architectural feature of the building, the main entrance (Fig. 39), was incorporated in Weeks' design. The main entrance is remarkably similar to the frontispiece shown in Plate 17 of Owen Biddle's Young Carpenter's Assistant (Fig. 40) which Weeks owned. An addition to Biddle's design is the radiating, fluted fan motif included above the arched transom. This motif was frequently incorporated in doorways on houses in the Hudson River Valley (Fig. 30), a tradition with which Weeks was familiar.

APPENDIX II

Houses Attributable to Levi Weeks

Authors of former publications on Natchez have written that Levi Weeks designed or modernized houses and public buildings other than those documented in this study.¹ While no documentation has been located to support such assertions, I believe three Natchez houses - Monmouth, the Burling House, and Glouster - can safely be attributed to Weeks on the basis of style. The Federal architectural detail of these houses clearly reveals associations with Weeks' documented architecture and with designs shown in architectural books which he owned.

Monmouth

An exact date for Monmouth (Fig. 41) has not been established, but it was probably built before 1820 for the Hankinson family of New York.² The matching front entrances (Fig. 42) on the first and second stories of Monmouth incorporate recessed doors with paneled jambs, a technique also used by Weeks at Auburn. Above the doors the arched transoms have the same glazing pattern as the transom of the rear doorway of Auburn (Fig. 18). The pilasters flanking Monmouth's doors are composed of the same unusual panel molding, although on a smaller scale, as the pilasters of Auburn's doorway surround found in

the west large room (Fig. 31). Monmouth's interior matching door surrounds (Fig. 43) contain sharply fluted pilasters, the type Weeks used for Auburn's eight identical interior doorway compositions (Fig. 29). Matching high overdoor compositions embellished with carved radiating fans rest on the pilasters (Fig. 43); one original mantel is also decorated with the radiating fan motif. Both the high overdoor composition and the radiating fan motif are elements characteristic of numerous Hudson Valley houses (Fig. 30), a vernacular style familiar to Weeks.³

The Walter Burling House

Like Monmouth, the date for the construction of the Walter Burling House is not known. The House was demolished many years ago, but an early photograph of the House survives (Fig. 44). Although the Burling House was razed, the main entrance composition and parts of the interior paneling were salvaged. The doorway composition was incorporated as the main entrance to Texada Tavern, a recent house restoration in Natchez; a private collector owns the sections of cypress paneling.⁴ It is, indeed, tantalizing that on the reverse of one section of paneling is an inscription by Levi Weeks' wife, Ann. Her name, the date of March 23, 1823, and the names of Levi and Ann Weeks' children are included in the inscription, as well as the following statement signed by Ann Weeks: "Look at this when I am dead and gone and remember you must all die."

It is probable that Levi Weeks designed the House but it was not completed by 1819, the year of Levi's death. Minutes of the Adams County Orphan's Court reveal, however, that Levi's wife continued his business interests after his death, which could explain her inscription on the paneling.⁵

The main entrance from the Burling House (Fig. 45) is closely related to a design in a book which Levi Weeks owned, the design for a Tuscan frontispiece shown in Plate 12 of Asher Benjamin's The Country Builder's Assistant (Fig. 46). In the Burling doorway fluted pilasters were substituted for the engaged Tuscan columns of Benjamin's design. Gothic motifs ornament the Burling doorway composition. The source for these Gothic elements can be traced to William Pain's The Builder's Companion (Fig. 47), which, as was stated earlier, is not listed among the titles in Weeks' inventory but which he probably owned.

Glouster

Winthrop Sargent, a native of Massachusetts and the first Governor of the Mississippi Territory, bought Bellvue from Abijah Hunt in 1807, and renamed it Glouster (Fig. 48). Sargent remodeled and enlarged Glouster after he acquired it, but it is not known whom he employed for the alterations.⁶ Because several elements of the exterior and interior woodwork are undeniably similar to Auburn, Levi Weeks is the most likely candidate responsible for renovating Glouster.

Glouster's two matching front entrances (Fig. 49) are very similar to the rear entrance of Auburn (Fig. 18). The cornice of the Glouster door surrounds is situated higher above the arch than the cornice of the Auburn doorway, and the pilasters of the Glouster doors are paneled in contrast to the plain pilasters flanking the Auburn door, but the overall compositions are certainly alike. A more elaborate glazing pattern is found in Glouster's arched fanlights. The design for the large Gothic arch, identical to that of the Burling transom, and the series of smaller Gothic arches between the radiating muntins used in the Glouster fanlights is shown in William Pain's The Builder's Companion (Fig. 47). As at Auburn, the Glouster doors are recessed and the door jambs paneled.

On the interior, above the arched transom of the west entrance, is oddly situated a double row of cornice molding (Fig. 50). The design for the two types of moldings used is demonstrated in Plate XXXVI of Pain's British Palladio (Fig. 51), a copy of which Weeks owned. Throughout the interior of Glouster the doorway moldings are the same type of panel molding Weeks used for the pilasters of the downstairs west large room at Auburn.⁷

APPENDIX III

Levi Weeks' Inventory

This inventory is included among Levi Weeks' Probate Papers,
Box 46, Adams County Probate Papers, Natchez.

An Inventory and appraisalment of the Estate of Levi Weeks Deceased,
Natchez April 29, 1820.

1 Sugar case 12.\$
13 old chairs 1.\$ @
8 new chairs @ 2.\$ is 16.\$
2 card tables 25.\$
2 round dining tables 25.\$
1 square do. 3.\$
3 small plain do. @ 1.50
1 small table and paper case 12.\$
book case 5.\$
1 looking glass 2.\$
2 bedsteads cherry & poplar 35.\$
1 truckle bedstead 6.\$
3 couches @ 2.\$ is 6.\$
4 trunks 6.\$
2 chests 2.\$
wash stand 2.\$
Teaboard and crockery 1/2 doz. each silver tea and table spoons 30.____
Feather bed 20.\$
2 double matrasses 20.\$
2 single matrasses 5.\$
11 sheets 11.\$
4 counterpanes 12.\$
2 bed quilts 6.\$
10 blankets 20.\$
1 boulder 2.\$
4 pillows 4.\$
7 pillow cases 2.50
1 stand bed curtains 8.\$
4 musketoe bars 10.\$
5 set window curtains 3.75
3 table clths 2.25

2 carpets 3.\$
 2 drawing boards 1.50
 2 boxes drawing _____ 11.\$
 paint box water colours 4.50
 Thermometer & barometer broke 5.\$
 1 spinning wheel 2.\$
 1 reel 3.\$
 1 patent spinning wheel head 2.50
 1 large coffee pot 1.50
 1 old trunk .50
 54 bottles 5.40
 12 pewter plates 6.\$
 5 doz plates 10.\$
 8 dishes 5.\$
 12 bowls 1.50
 12 cups & saucers 2.\$
 2 earthen coffee pots 1.\$
 2 teapots & 2 sugar bowls 2.50
 wash bowl 1.50
 6 pitchers 2.25
 sugar box .25
 tin .50
 knife .12 1/3
 1 Physic box contg. medicine 2.\$
 candle box . 37 1/2
 3 smoothing irons .75
 1 pr. candlesticks .50
 3 glass jars .75
 6 stone do. 3.\$
 1 chest tools 130.\$
 Bureau of tools 25.\$
 2 boxes old screws & pieces of Iron 15.____
 2 Kitchen tables .75
 1 sepe 1.\$
 4 bake ovens 4.\$
 4 pots 4.\$
 2 skillets 1.\$
 1 brass kettle 2.\$
 1 grid iron .75
 1 baker .12 1/2
 two tea kettles 2.\$
 trivet .25
 coffee pot and coffee mill 2.\$
 1 flesh fork .25
 2 copper canisters .50
 pepper mill .50
 1 cullinder .25
 4 bread trays 1.\$
 sifter & rollin pin .12 1/2
 3 pothooks .75

3 pr. tongs and 1 shovel 2.\$
 And Irons 1.50
 3 pails & 1 piggin .75
 1 pewter basin 1.50
 3 tin pans .75
 2 large wash tubs & 1 small one .75
 cloathes horse 1.50
 2 hoes .75
 1 spade & shoel 1.\$
 wheel barrow 4.\$
 1 axe 1.\$
 side saddle 5.\$
 2 demijohns 2.\$
 a lot of about 50 1/2 bushels 18.75
 a lot of pecks .25
 6-25-10 tin measures 2.50
 1 set of weights 1.\$
 5 yard sticks 1.25
 Steelyards 1.50
 pocket Lanthorn 1.50
 Walking cane 2.\$
 cradle 2.\$
 4 decanter stands 1.\$
 Horse saddle and bridle 55.____
 1 cow 15.\$
 2 T squares 1.25
 Maltons Perspectiae 7.50
 Art of Building 1.50
 Universal Sportsman 4.&
 Pains British Palladio 4.\$
 Designs for chimney pieces 1.50
 Designs for architects cabinet makers 3.____
 Designs in carpentry by Swan 2.____
 Builder's assistant 1.\$
 Swans designs 7.\$
 Wares Palladio 6.\$
 Young carpenters assistant 3.\$
 Atlas 3.50
 Pinkertons Geography 5.\$
 Sheridans Dictionary 1.50
 Brooks Gazetter 1.50
 Morses American Gazetter 4.50
 Harris Encyclopedia 4 volumes 3.____
 Fletcher's Measurer 1.\$
 Simpsons Algebra 1.\$
 Simpsons Fluxions 1.\$
 Pikes arithmetic 2.\$
 Playfairs Euclid 1.\$
 Gibsons Surveying 1.\$
 Clerk's Assistant 1.25

Man of Business 1.00
 Coelebs in search of a wife 1.50
 Elements of morality 1.\$
 Lady's library .37 1/2
 Chaw .50
 Rumfords Essays 2.\$
 Locks Essays .37 1/2
 Philadelphia Songster .25
 Rileys Narrative 2.\$
 New York Directory .25
 Holy Bible . 25
 Hymn Book .75
 Common prayer book 1.\$
 Morses Geography .25
 Navigator .50
 Monthly Review 2.50
 French Grammar .50
 French Interpreter .62 1/2
 French and English Dictionary .75
 8 French books 1.25
 Gardners and Farmers calendar 1.\$
 Lavaters physiognomy .50
 Forturies Football 2 volumes .50
 ambrosia .37 1/2
 Edward .25
 Rob Roy .75
 Scottish chiefs 2.\$
 Scottish adventures 1.50
 Old batchellor .50
 Thompsons Seasons .75
 Play Book .50
 American and English stage .50
 Art of Angling .50
 domestic cookery .50
 Method of Teaching and Studying bellesletters .37 1/2
 Heraldry in Miniature .50
 Principles of politeness .75
 Regulations for and discipline of the U.S. troops .25
 3 slates .75
 1 bundle drawing paper .75
 coat pattern 10.\$
 2 oil cloths for tables .50
 2 small work benches 3.\$
 1 umbrella 1.\$
 15 market benches 1.87 1/2
 1 grindstone about 15 inch 4.\$

Total \$849.52 1/2

The above is a true appraisalment of the goods and chattels of the estate of Levi Weeks decd. to the best of our knowledge and belief.

Jno. Richards
Wm. Snodgrass
Saml. Patterson

NOTES

APPENDIX I

¹ _____, Acts Passed at the Third Session of the First General Assembly of the Mississippi Territory, May 3, 1802, printed by Andrew Marshalk.

²Journal of the Proceedings of the Board of Trustees of Jefferson College, Jefferson College Papers, Box 1, Volume 1, pp. 191, 211. M.S.D.A.H. This reference will hereafter be referred to as Proceedings.

³Ibid., p. 189.

⁴Letter of May 24, 1817 from Levi Weeks to the Board of Trustees of Jefferson College, Jefferson College Papers, Folder 75, Box 32. M.S.D.A.H.

⁵Proceedings, p. 191.

⁶Ibid., p. 222.

⁷Ibid., p. 211.

⁸Ibid., p. 228.

⁹Lewis Evans was also the contractor for the Presbyterian Church which Weeks designed; see Chapter I, p. 10.

¹⁰The Mississippi Republican, March 9, 1819.

¹¹Proceedings, Volume IV, p. 232.

¹²Proposal of T. C. Finney for repairs to East Wing, Jefferson College Papers, Box 77, Folder 89. See also Proceedings, Volume IV, p. 232. M.S.D.A.H.

NOTES

APPENDIX II

¹See D. Clayton James, Antebellum Natchez (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968), pp. 239-240. The author incorrectly states that Levi Weeks came from Boston and specialized in Greek Revival styling. He asserted that Weeks designed The Briers, and added a Greek Revival front to Gloucester and Cherokee.

Nola Nance Oliver, This Too is Natchez (New York: Hastings House, 1953), states that Weeks designed the Banker's House and a bank which is connected by tunnel to the House. Both of these structures incorporated detailing of a later period than the style Weeks is known to have built in. Also noted in this book as a Weeks building is the 1829 Presbyterian Church, the one which actually replaced Weeks' building. One house which this author does mention as being the work of Levi Weeks is the Burling House, and I believe this assumption is correct. No documentation was given for this statement, however.

²Dawn Maddox, Nomination Form for Monmouth, National Register of Historic Places Inventory.

³For a discussion of these Hudson Valley characteristics and their relation to Levi Weeks refer to Chapter II, pp. 23-24.

⁴This paneling is owned by Mrs. Martha Guthrie of Natchez.

⁵Adams County Orphan's Court Minutes, Book II, January Term, 1820.

⁶Letter from Henry Hunt to Winthrop Sargent, May 2, 1807; Winthrop Sargent Papers, microfilm collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

⁷This type of molding also appears on the pilasters flanking the main entrance at Monmouth.



Figure 1. Airlie. J. Wesley Cooper,
The Ante-Bellum Houses of Natchez.

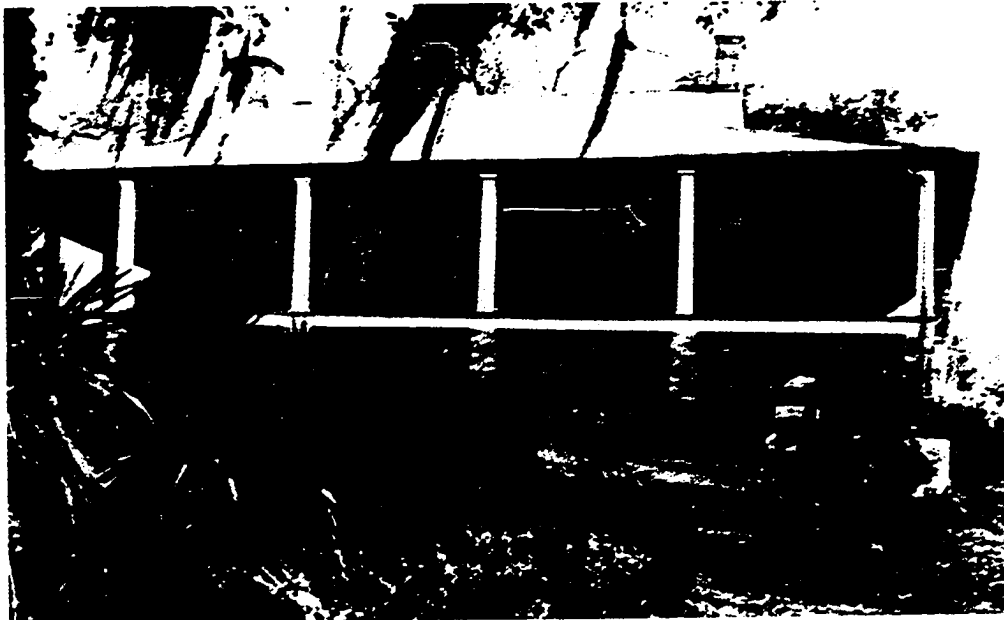


Figure 2. Saragossa. Mary Wallace Crocker,
Historic Architecture in Mississippi.



Figure 3. Griffith-McComas House.



Figure 4. Auburn, facade. HABS photograph.



Figure 5. Auburn, rear view.



Figure 6. Ionic capital, Auburn.

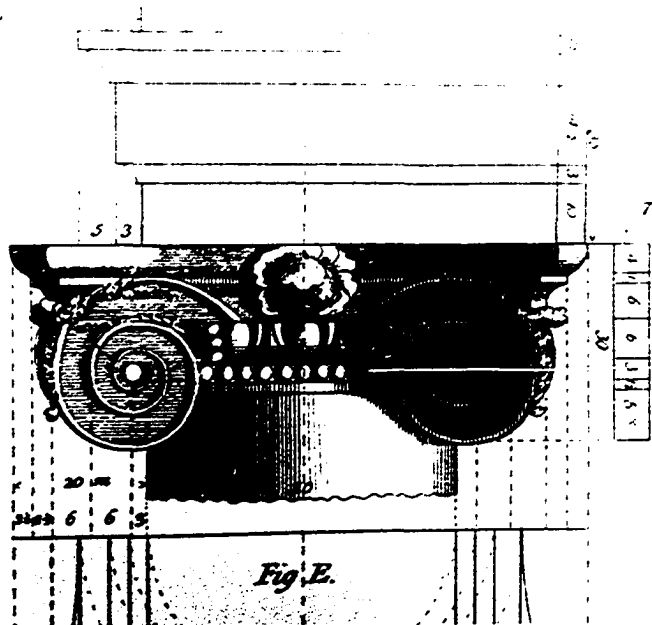


Figure 7. Ionic capital, Plate XXXIII, Pain's British Palladio.

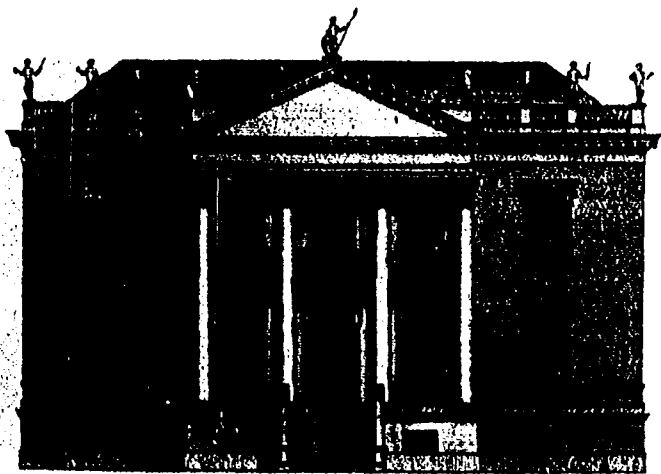


Figure 8. Design for a House, Plate 14, Volume II, Abraham Swan's A Collection of Designs in Architecture.



Figure 9. Detail of facade, central section, Auburn.



Figure 10. Corinthian entablature, Auburn.

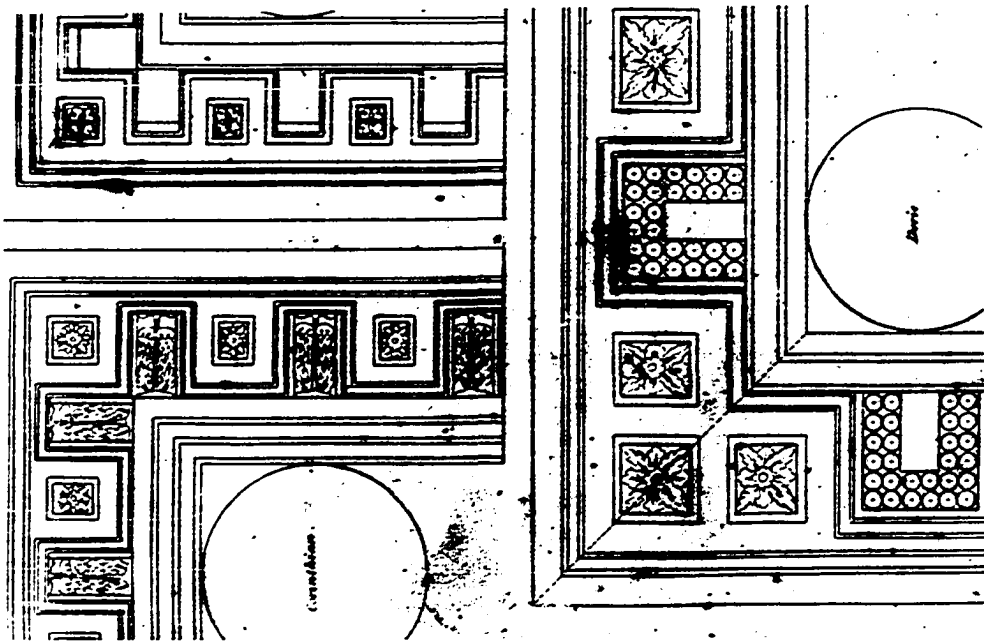


Figure 11. Detail of Plate XIII, Owen Biddle's The Young Carpenter's Assistant, Wayne Gibson photograph.



Figure 12. Detail, upper section of front entrance composition, Auburn.

Plate XXIII

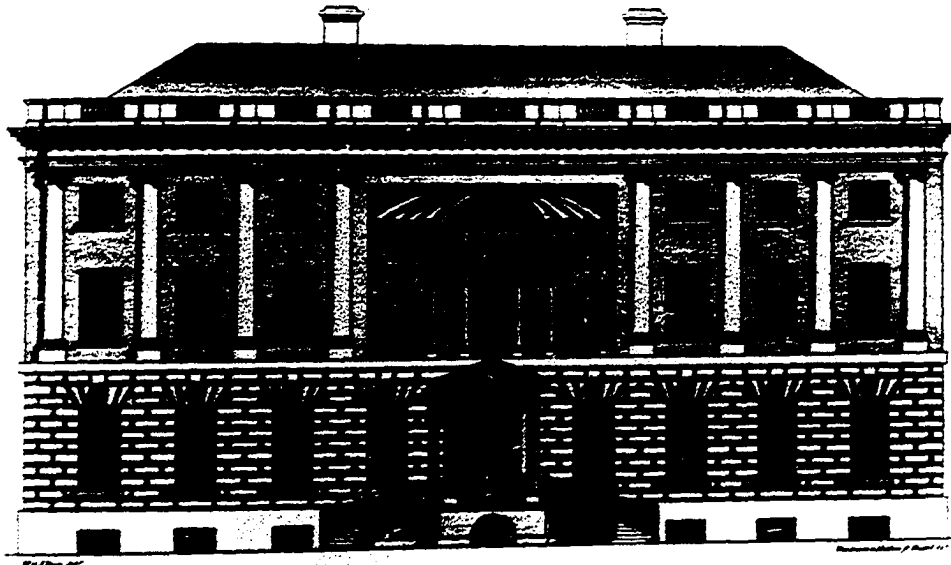


Figure 13. Plate XXIII, Pain's British Palladio.



Figure 14. Detail of Mesier Homestead
mantel. The reeded drapery motif
appears above the pair of columns.
Helen W. Reynolds,
Dutchess County Doorways.

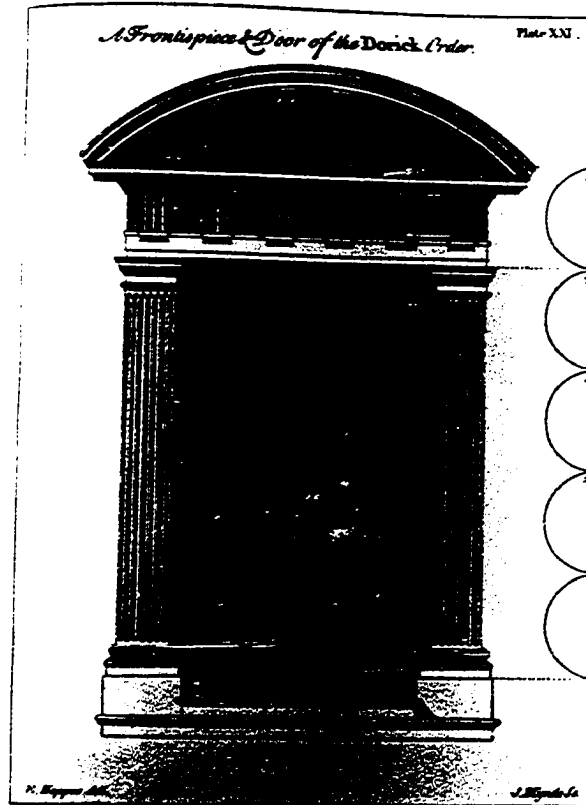


Figure 15. Plate XXI, William Salmon's Palladio Londinensis.

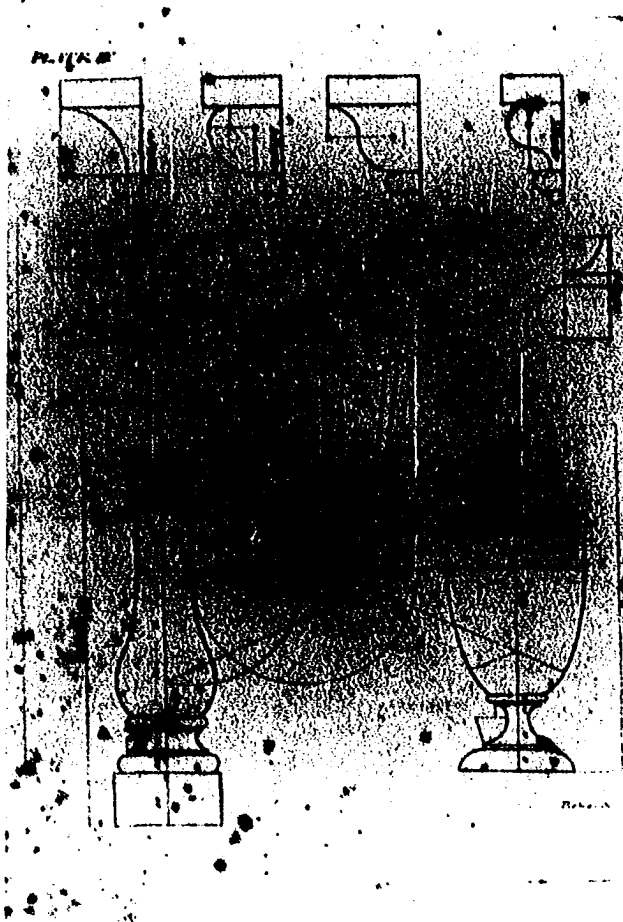


Figure 16. Plate 4, Owen Biddle's The Young Carpenter's Assistant. Wayne Gibson photograph.

PLATE IX.

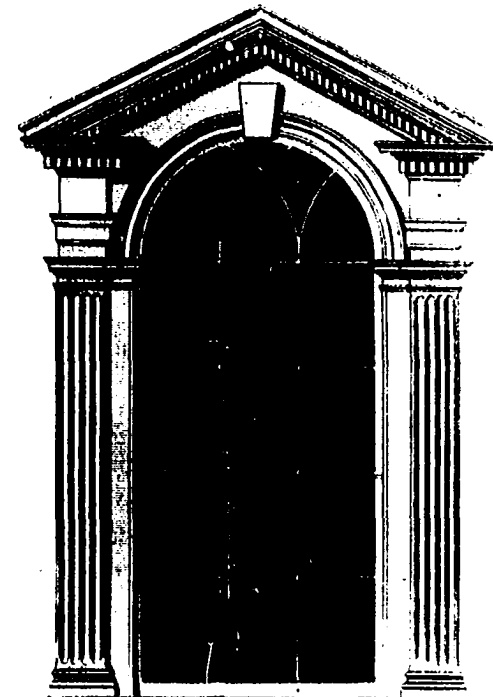


Figure 17. Plate 19, Owen Biddle's The Young Carpenter's Assistant. Wayne Gibson photograph.



Figure 18. Rear doorway, Auburn.

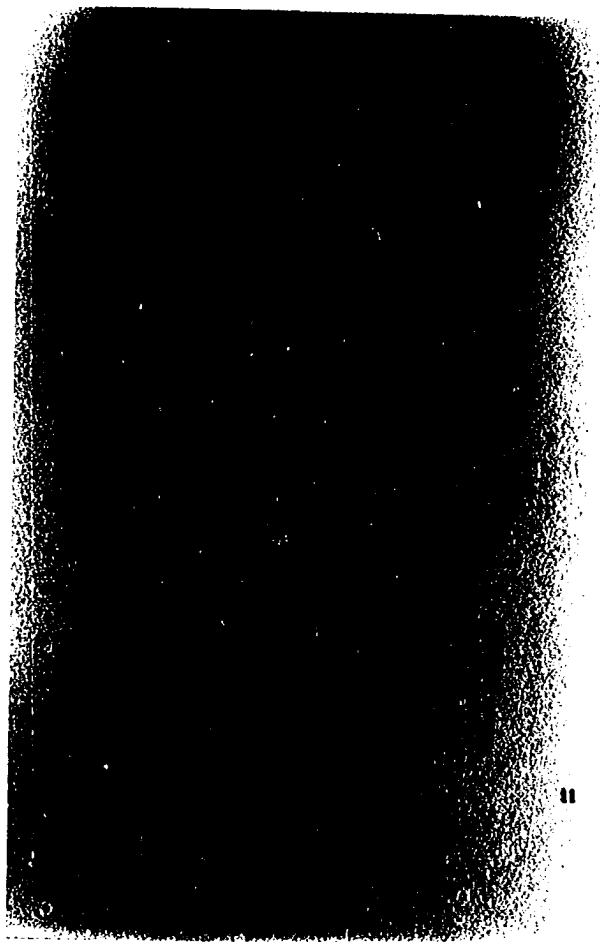


Figure 19. Plate II, Asher Benjamin's The Country Builder's Assistant.

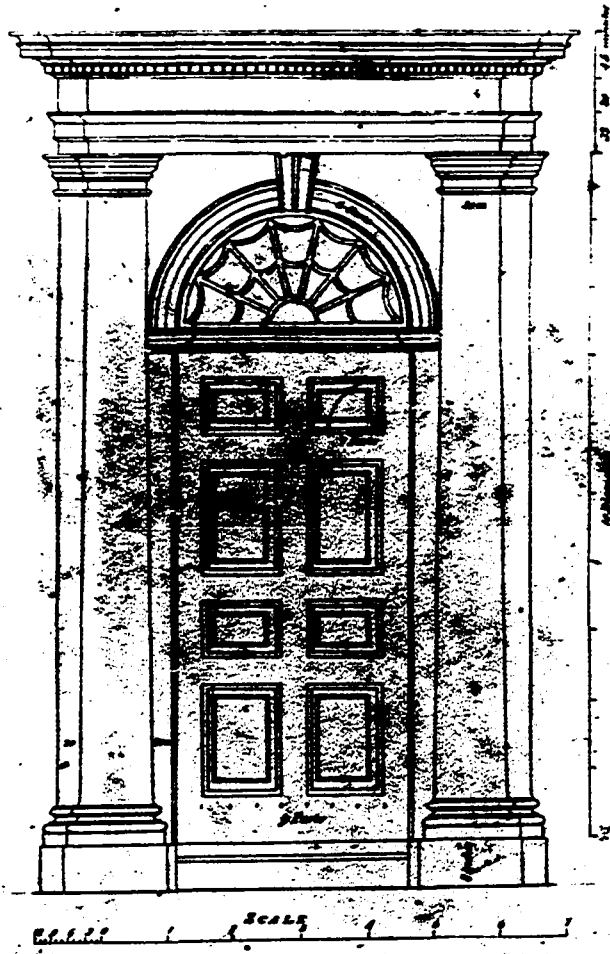


Figure 20. Plate 17, Owen Biddle's
The Young Carpenter's Assistant.
Wayne Gibson photograph.



Figure 21. Central hall, first floor, Auburn.
Mabel Lane photograph.



Figure 22. Detail of the Ballroom, Frary House.
Samuel Chamberlain and Henry Flynt,
Historic Deerfield.

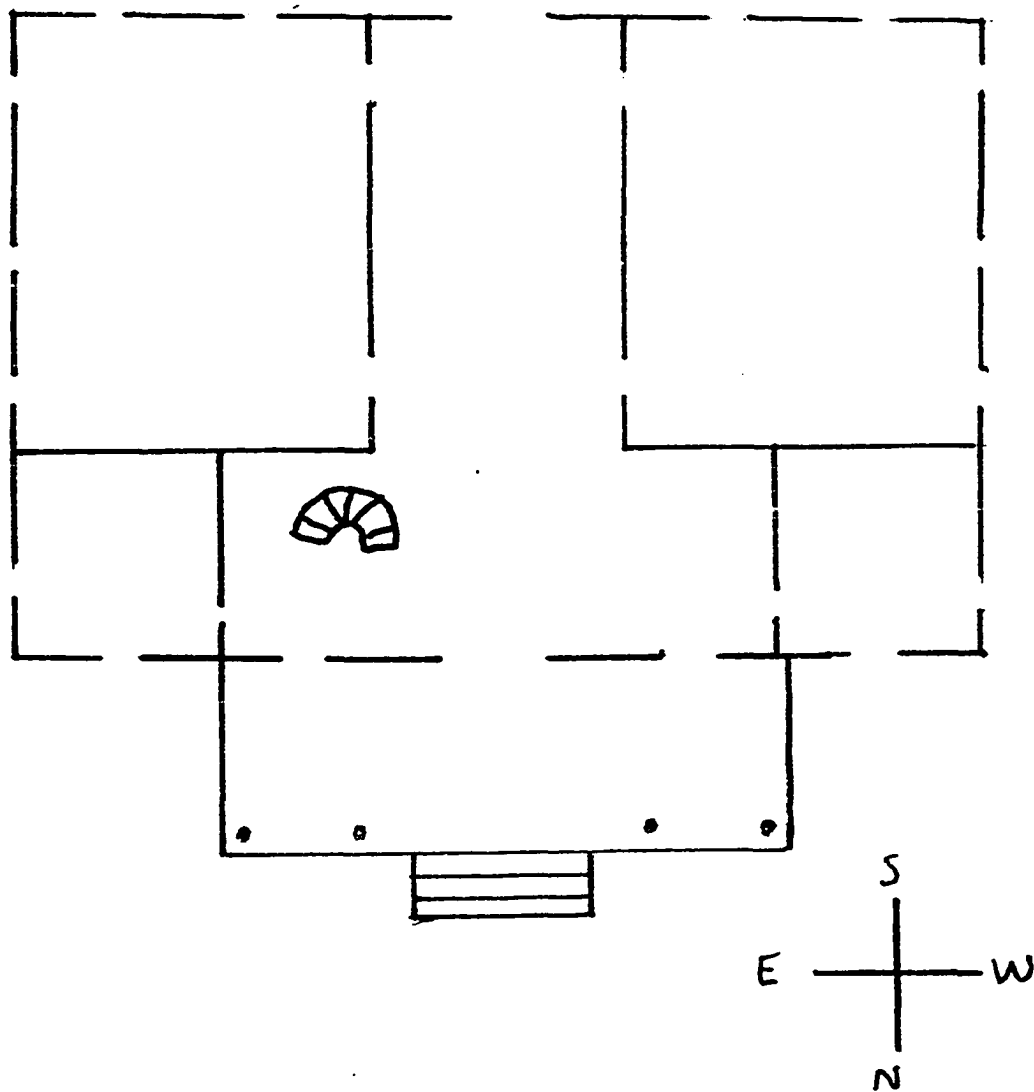


Figure 23. Floor plan of Auburn prior to later additions.

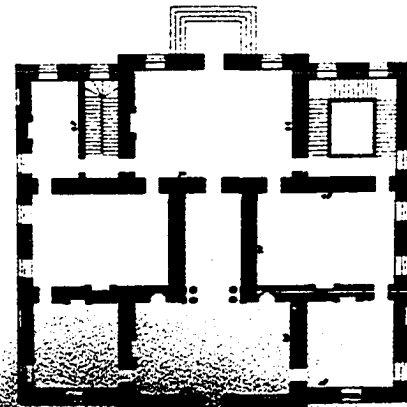


Figure 24. Plate 13, Abraham Swan's
A Collection of Designs in Architecture.



Figure 25. Staircase, Auburn.
HABS photograph.



Figure 26. Detail of
Plate 41, Pain's
British Palladio.

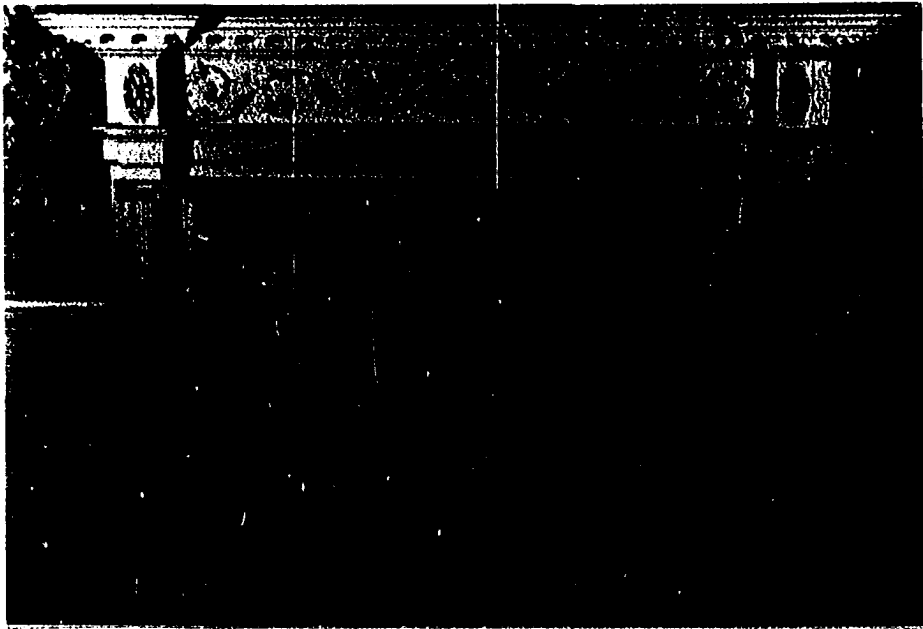


Figure 27. Mantel in large west room,
second floor, Auburn.



Figure 28. Central hall, second floor,
Auburn. HABS photograph.



Figure 29. Doorway from central hall to large east room, first floor, Auburn. Mabel Lane photograph.

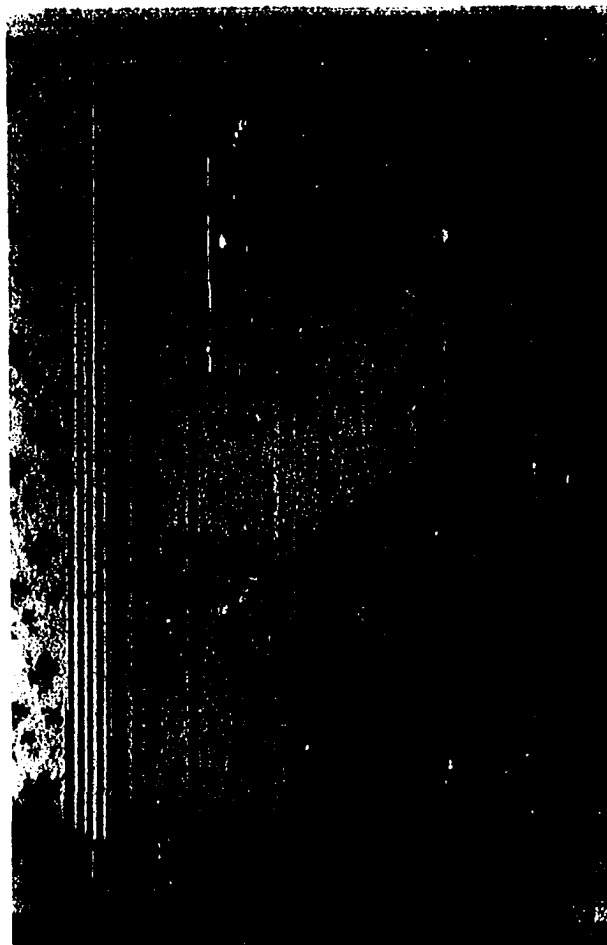


Figure 30. Interior doorway, Storm House. Helen W. Reynolds, Dutchess County Doorways.



Figure 31. Doorway from large west room to central hall, first floor, Auburn. HABS photograph.

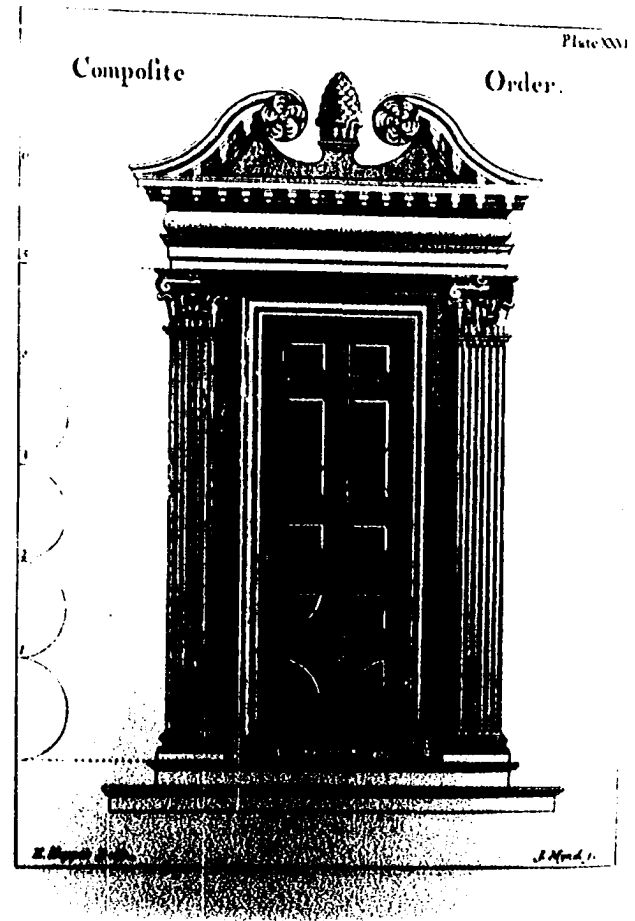


Figure 32. Plate XXVI, William Salmon's Palladio Londinensis.

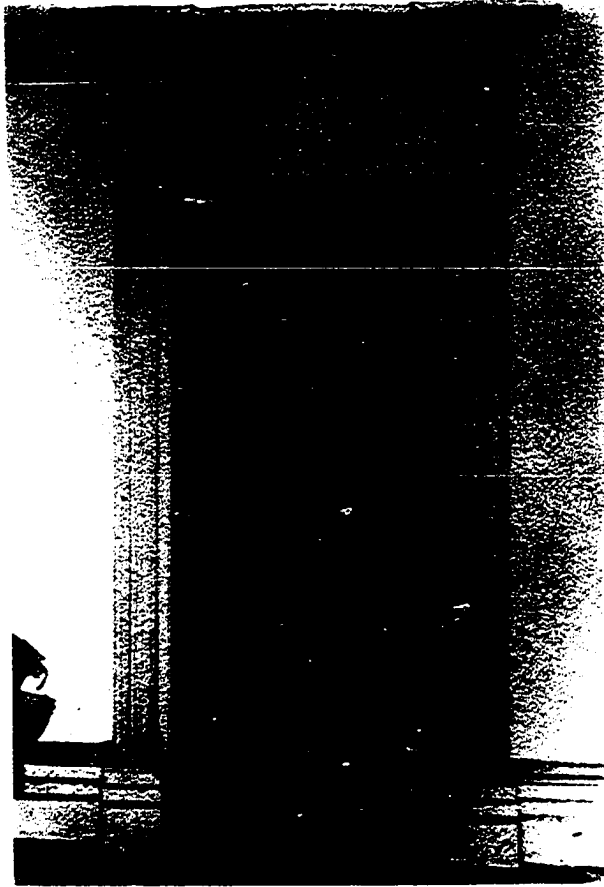


Figure 33. Interior Doorway,
Horton House. Helen W. Reynolds,
Dutchess County Doorways.



Figure 34. Doorway from large west room to central hall, second floor, Auburn. HABS photograph.

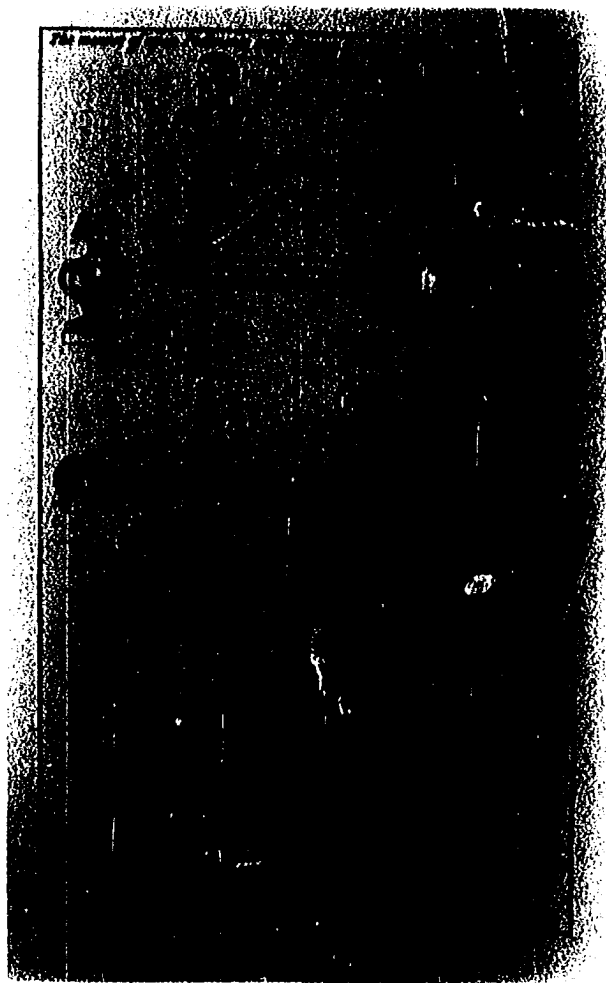


Figure 35. Plate on Page 45, William Pain's The Builder's Companion.

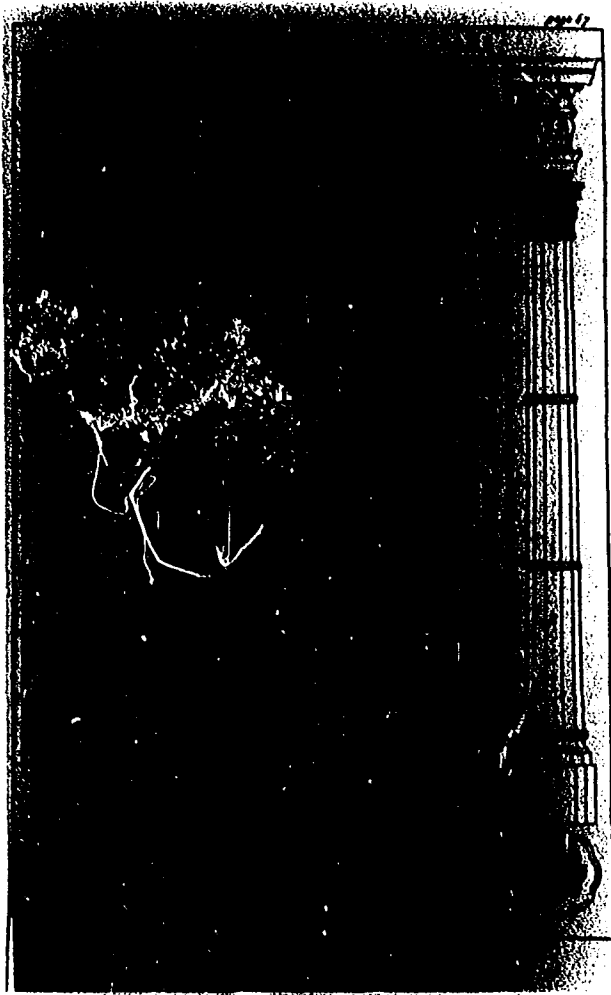


Figure 36. Plate on Page 67, William Pain's The Builder's Companion.



Figure 37. Interior doorway, Montgomery Place. Harold Eberlein and Cortlandt Van Dyke Hubbard, Historic Houses of the Hudson Valley.



Figure 38. Thomas Afflect wood engraving of Jefferson College. The East Wing is the building on the right.



Figure 39. Main entrance, East Wing, Jefferson College. This photograph was taken after the entablature had been removed for restoration.

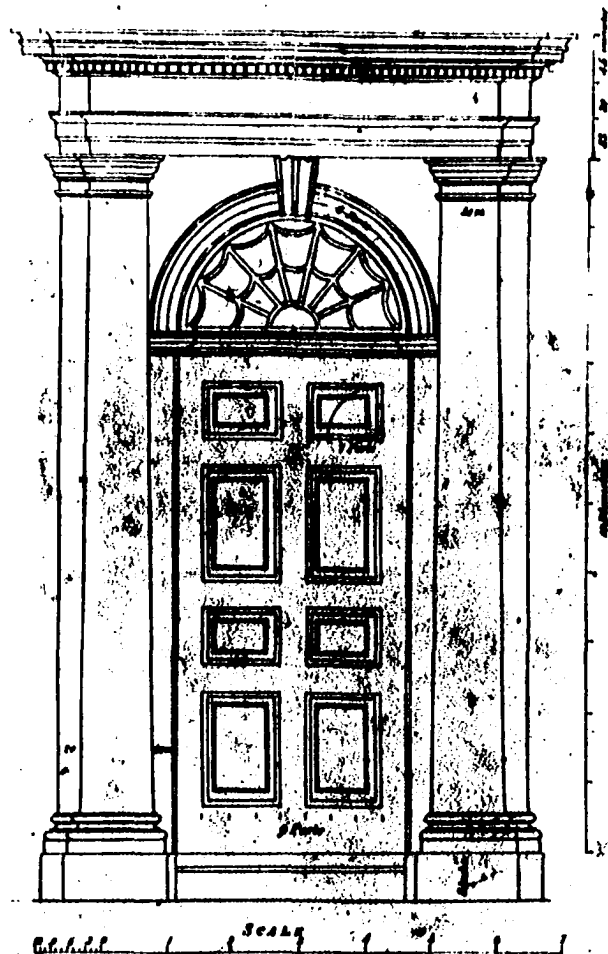


Figure 40. Plate 17, Owen Biddle's The Young Carpenter's Assistant.



Figure 41. Monmouth, facade.
The portico was added in the 1840's.



Figure 43. Interior doorway, Monmouth.



Figure 42. Main entrance,
first floor, Monmouth.



Figure 44. Burling House. Earl Norman photograph from the Gandy Collection.

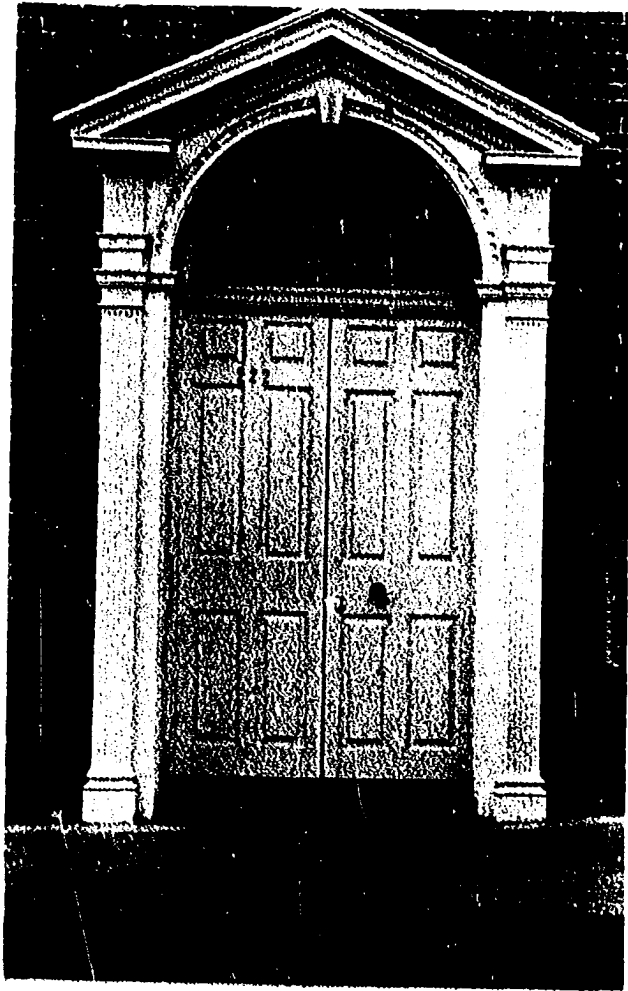


Figure 45. Main entrance from the Burling House.

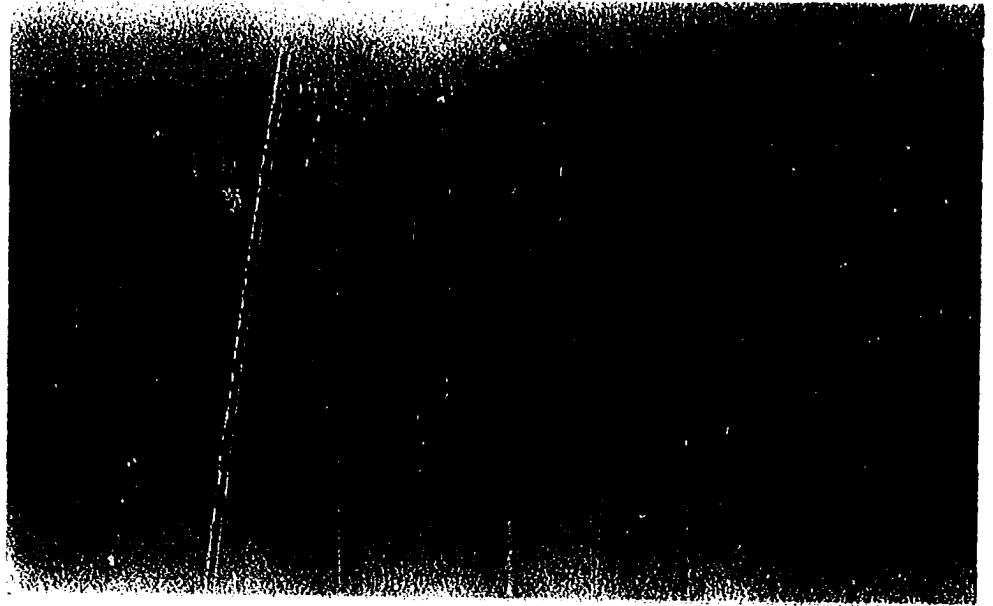


Figure 46. Plate 12, Asher Benjamin's The Country Builder's Assistant.

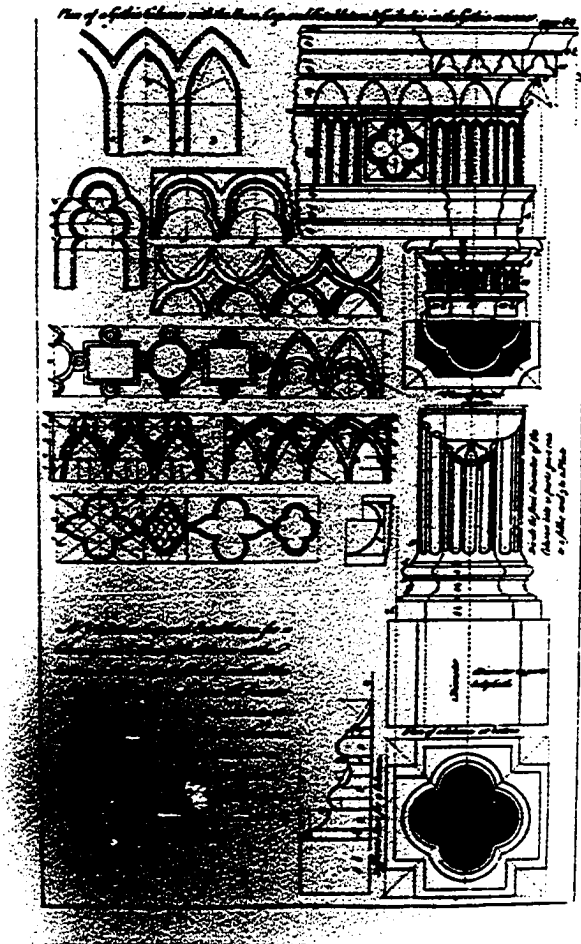


Figure 47. Plate on Page 68,
William Pain's The Builder's Companion

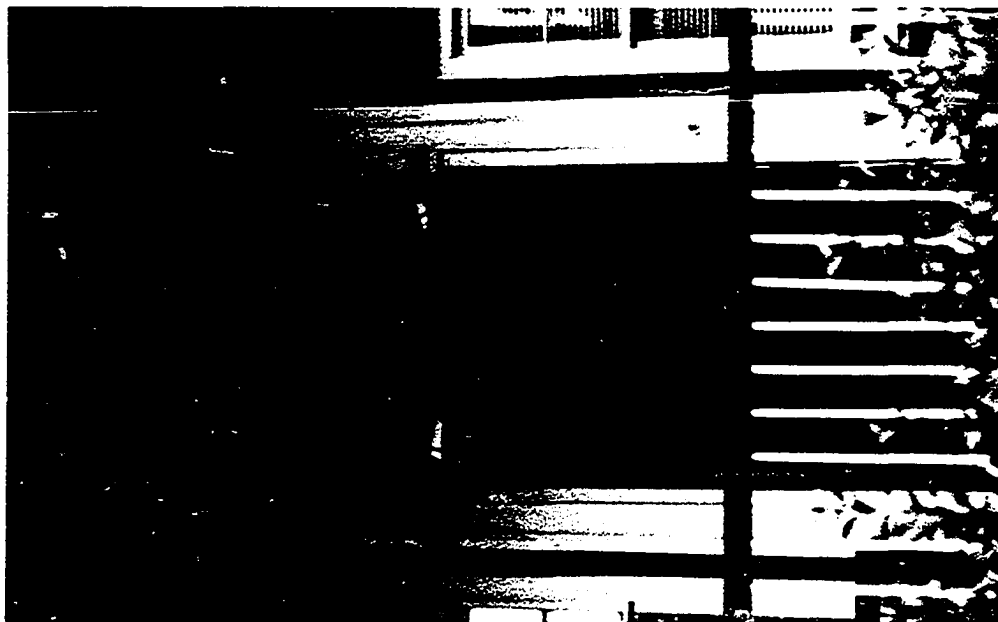


Figure 49. Front entrance, Glouster.

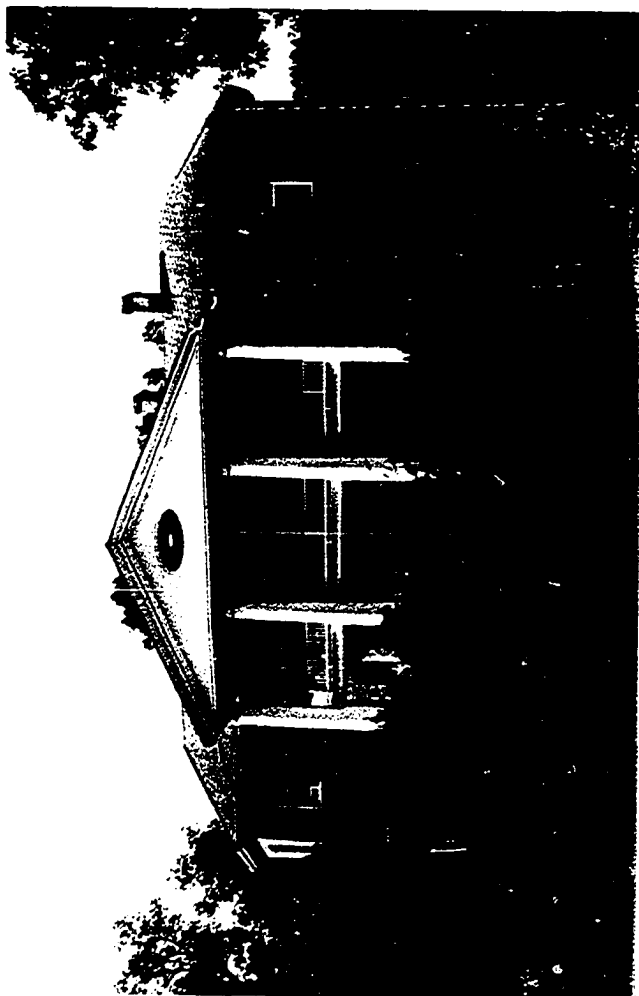


Figure 48. Glouster, facade.



Figure 50. Interior cornice molding, Gloucester.

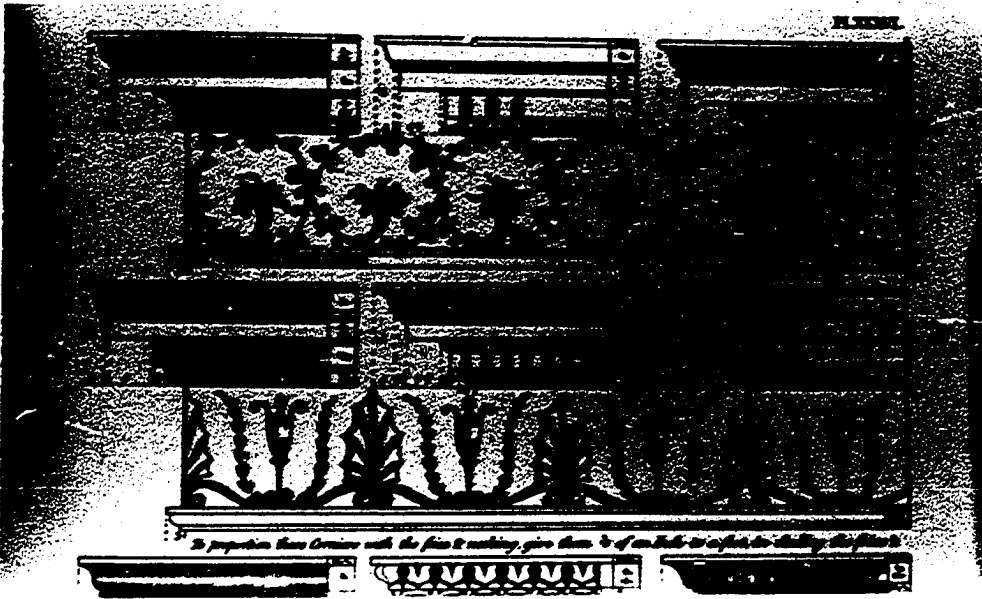


Figure 51. Detail of Plate XXXVI,
Pain's British Palladio.