



DETAIL, DEWEY HOUSE, SMITH COLLEGE

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## Rethinking the Early Greek Revival:

### The Success of Influences and the Failure of a Builder

BY RICHARD C. COTE

**B**y the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century, New England domestic architecture was undergoing a transition. The federal style, popular since the end of the American Revolution, was beginning to show a sense of modification. What had originally been manifested as graceful neo-classical detail became all encompassing ornament. As a consequence of this modification, a new style, the Greek Revival, would become the national style of American domestic architecture during the 1830's and 1840's.

Although American Federal architecture had its ultimate derivation in European precursors, Greek Revival domestic architecture was to contain, from its inception, certain qualities that could be considered representative of an American architectural innovation. Apart from its later vernacular derivations, the initial causes of the Greek Revival would have their beginnings in certain social, political and cultural developments in American

thought during the 1820's. It was to be the force of these developments which would serve as a catalyst for the birth of American domestic Greek Revival in the later half of the 1820's. Although, in terms of its New England manifestation, the developments were centered in and around Boston at this time, their force on American domestic architecture is best perceived on the columned portico house form in its less cosmopolitan development. The Connecticut Valley town of Northampton, Massachusetts would seem to provide sufficient examples for a demonstration of the effect of Boston thought on domestic architecture.

In 1821, the *North American Review* published an article on the "transactions and collections of the American Antiquarian Society" entitled "Archaeologica America." The unknown writer observed:

It may at first seem singular that an association should be formed for exploring the antiquities of a country, the

discovery of which, in a wilderness state, and inhabited only by savage tribes, is an event so recent that the appellation of 'the New World', which was then given it, is still retained as appropriate and which possesses no architectural ruins, no statues, sculpures, and inscriptions like those of the Old World.<sup>1</sup>

While Europeans by this time had rediscovered their classical past through archaeology and had revived that classical past through neo-classical architecture, it may be surmised from the above quote that Americans could not depend on their "wilderness state" to provide for a current architectural style.<sup>2</sup> This would enable Americans a certain amount of freedom in the determination of an appropriate national style of architecture. That Americans were searching for an architectural style is made evident by one architectural critic at this time, Edward Everett. Writing in the *North American Review* in 1821, Everett states:

In architecture and statuary, the two other great departments of the art, little has been done among us of an original character: more in architecture, as might have been expected, than in statuary, since we must have houses, churches, capitols, and theatres.<sup>3</sup>

In demonstrating America's need for architecture, Everett raises the question of architectural type. While America had possessed houses and churches since colonial times, the need for building capitols and theatres had risen from a new sense of statehood and cultural identity that came as a result of American nationalism, a prevalent feeling at this time.<sup>4</sup> It was this feeling of nationalism that would maintain a search for a style of architecture that could characterize it. Everett was to present the search through a review of past architectural styles. Since America had no archeological past, all the past was hers.

In a *North American Review* article of 1821, entitled, "The History of Grecian Art," Everett attempts to analyze past architectural styles with a critical sense of their place in American nationalism. Of the Renaissance and Egyptian architectural styles, Everett writes:

But this (Renaissance architecture) belongs to the region of sentiment, or association, and not the arts. It is mechanics and not architecture, the powers of enginery, not the principles of taste, which piled the dome of St. Peter's on pillars, each as large as a common house. This is not the architecture which we wish to have in our country. The Egyptians had more of it, when they rolled their colossal stones up the sides of the pyramids.<sup>5</sup>

When discussing the Gothic, Everett makes a careful distinction between "genuine Gothic" and "modern" or revived Gothic:

. . . The modern Gothic is a sort of theatrical taste, which we are unable wholly to approve; so much at variance does it seem with the spirit of the age. For the genuine Gothic we have unmingled veneration. . . . Next to the Grecian, we hold the old Gothic to be far the most pure and noble of all styles of architecture. . . .<sup>6</sup>

Everett had nothing but praise for Greek architecture. He writes:

But a beautiful temple, or column of a temple . . . is an object we can gaze with all the freshness both of sense and emotion, that belonged to the age of its production . . . we are prepared to see such a work, as it was seen by the ancients themselves.<sup>7</sup>

Everett would "see such a work" through the forthcoming Greek revival. That Everett's architectural criticisms would influence American taste is made evident by the writings of a contemporary "critic," Mrs. Katharine A. Ware.

Writing in her newly founded women's periodical, *The Bower of Taste*, Mrs. Ware considered an early Boston Gothic Revival church, Hanover Street Church, "a building much admired for its style of architecture."<sup>8</sup> Mrs. Ware notes that, "the general style of the exterior of Hanover Street Church approaches to our idea of primitive Gothic."<sup>9</sup> That she deliberately chose the term "primitive" is evident when she compares the features of the Boston church with "the essentials of the Gothic, as put down by writers on architecture . . ."<sup>10</sup> That the "essentials" were seemingly derived from Everett's analysis of "theatrical" Gothic would seem to account for her condemnation of the church as "differing altogether from the genuine Gothic", and therefore invalid as a style of American architecture.<sup>11</sup> That Everett's chosen style of Greek would develop into a national style of architecture becomes apparent with the rediscovery of Greece by Americans in 1823. This was primarily due to the Greek war of independence. Just as it was the consequences of a revolution which allowed Americans to think about a national style of architecture, it was the appeal from a revolution which promoted the national style of architecture.<sup>12</sup>

American attention toward the Greek Revolution came through the 1823 "Manifesto of the Assembly at Calamata," "invoking the sympathy and aid of the friends of liberty throughout the world."<sup>13</sup> The appeal was published in American newspapers, and in the *North American Review* for October, 1823.<sup>14</sup> According to a later *Review*, the appeal "had considerable effect in awakening the feelings of our citizens to the conditions of their brethren in Greece."<sup>15</sup> Since many Americans at this time could remember their own revolution, it is not surprising that a comparison would be

drawn between the American Revolution and the cause of their "brethren" manifest in the Greek Revolution. A comparison was suggested in the *North American Review* for July, 1829:

The revolution now in progress in Greece, differing certainly in some important respects from our own, is in others of equal importance. The numbers actively engaged in carrying it on, or whose political conditions is to be decided by its result, are little if any beneath those of the British North American colonies in 1775 . . . the siege of Missolonghi, and would inquire, what single incident in the last war, with the exception of the battle of New Orleans, is of greater magnitude?<sup>16</sup>

That Americans responded to their Greek "brethren" is suggested by the amount of aid rendered to the Greek cause between the time of the Greek appeal of 1823 and succeeding appeals to 1828. Samuel G. Howe, in his *Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution* (1828), describes the American spirit at his time:

In the year 1824, there was a pretty general excitement throughout the northern and middle states, which resulted in contributions for the aid of the Greeks, to the amount of \$80,000, which was transmitted to the London Greek Committee. Nothing more was done, however, until the latter part of 1827, when the people who had resisted the appeal made to them as freemen, were moved by the voice of wailing which reached them from Greece: they heard that thousands of homeless, half naked wretches were pining in wants—and the hand of charity was opened. Committees were formed in every part of the country to raise contributions of provisions and clothing.<sup>17</sup>

During the second period of American aid, 1827–1828, Americans would send six ships to Greece with cargoes of "provisions and clothing" valued at the sum of \$76,973.08.<sup>18</sup> Unlike the previous aid effort of 1824, Americans would send their own ships, with their own country-

men to distribute the aid to "the suffering non-combatants of Greece."<sup>19</sup> Although American interest in the Greek cause would seem to have generally waned after the second appeal effort of 1827–1828, enthusiasm toward classical Greece would seem to have revived. That Americans could rationalize such a revival becomes evident from Edward Everett:

... the noble and elegant arts of Greece grew up in no Augustan age, enjoyed neither royal nor imperial patronage. Unknown before in the world, strangers on the Nile, and strangers on the Euphrates, they sprang at once into life in a region not unlike our own New England — iron bound, sterile, and free.<sup>20</sup>

The tone for the revival had been set. American taste would dictate its uses.

Commenting on women's fashion in 1828, *The Bower of Taste* made the following observation:

Thanks to our 'fashionable stars', the present mode of dress has little, or no tendency to disguise the human form, it is more in conformity with the ancient Grecian costume than has ever before been adopted. . . and the simple arrangement of the hair, ornamented only by a wreath of rose or myrtle, is truly classical.<sup>21</sup>

Perhaps inspired by the making of Greek relief garments, "as suggested by the committee," the New England woman had associated current fashion with Greek classicism.<sup>22</sup>

As the fashion of women's dress changed in the spirit of revived Greek classicism, so too would the decorative arts. Since the New England decorative arts had assumed a classical tone in the federal style, it would not prove an inconvenience for the New England silversmith and cabinet maker to transform, through the sources of a Grecian pattern book, the decorative motif of a Greek ornament onto the classical lines of federal design. Indeed, it was at this

time that ornament became superficial to structure. The sense of Grecian association had become more important than the practicality of structural detail. Although the structural lines of the federal period were to continue, at this early date, the ornamental theme became of dominant importance. This was to prove true of literature.

Edward Everett wrote in 1824 that, "It is impossible to anticipate what garment our native muses will wear for themselves. To foretell our literature would be to create it."<sup>23</sup> By 1828, Mrs. Lydia Sigourney chose the fashionable Grecian gown in which to dress her poem, "The Academic Grove." The final stanza shows this Grecian dress:

Rise, humbled Athens, from thy lot severe;  
With dauntless breast confront the moslem spear;  
In martial ranks thy princely sons array;  
Snatch victories palm, as on Plataea's day;  
Bid o'er the Acropolis new lustre gleam;  
And with fond tears restore the grove of Academe.<sup>24</sup>

In its poetic sense, the structural form of American poetry was not changed in the Sigourney poem; rather, the Grecian ornamental theme had achieved a sense of dominance. This was to prove true in the "poetry" of architecture.

During the eighteenth century, there was no defined architectural profession in New England.<sup>25</sup> The practice of "architecture" was, for the most part, the hobby of wealthy gentlemen, whose building talents could be cultivated by travels in England and the continent. It was here that they would find architectural pattern books and architectural models for future building activity at home. Gracious stylistic living, and not architectural innovation was the primary ambition of the eighteenth century gentleman-architect.



FIG. 1. THE SAMUEL HOWE HOUSE.

While the architectural professionalism of Charles Bulfinch would bring a sense of stylistic continuity to Boston's domestic architecture, it did not radically alter domestic architecture in Massachusetts. After Bulfinch had "rebuilt" Boston in a neo-classical tone, Massachusetts vernacular architecture was still primarily anything west of Boston and her suburbs. Since Boston contained the wealth, it would also contain the most accomplished craftsmen, and hence, the most innovative architectural trends. Thus, if a western Massachusetts merchant or professional wished to build a stylistic residence, he could find the style and plan in Boston.<sup>26</sup> The local carpenter-builder could usually provide a sense of vernacular interpretation, possessing the building skills to execute the work as previously determined by the client. Since most local builders had learned the trade within the community of their birth, usually doubling as a carpenter and a builder, architectural style was considered secondary to building construction. By the second decade of the nineteenth century, American politics would provide a change in architectural practice. That a change in practice occurred at this time is vital to an understanding of the radical diffusion of the Greek Revival style throughout Massachusetts during the 1820's.

In April 1806, the United States congress passed a non-importation act restricting the importation of British goods into the United States. Since Boston was essentially dependent on a mercantile economy, a business recession had naturally occurred. The effect of the act on Boston building is described in a letter of 1807 to builder Thomas Pratt of Northampton from Isaac Sturtevant of Boston.<sup>27</sup> Sturtevant writes in the letter that, "Buisness [sic] in this town is quite dull at present is a greate many men out

of Buisness [sic] and are glad to take what they can get." (See Appendix A) The letter is important in that it shows the Boston builder caught within a recession that had effected the city's mercantile economy. Since Boston builders were dependent on the economy for financial subsistence, building activity would naturally dwindle during this time. (See Appendix B).

By 1810 the recession and its effect on the builder had worsened. This is made evident by another building friend of Thomas Pratt, Ephraim Cutting. In a letter of February 14th, 1810, Cutting writes, "Business is dull but little doing. It is said some men is doing work at 52% [much] below the rules of work in Boston . . ." (See Appendix C). That the act not only affected the builder, but the professional architect as well is made evident by the case of architect Charles Bulfinch. Due to the "stagnation of business" resulting from the embargo, he was "obliged to leave our neat and commodious home for a humbler and inferior one."<sup>28</sup> It would seem that many other carpenter-builders also moved at this time; however, from the amount of Boston trained carpenter-builders that settled in the Connecticut Valley at this time, it would seem that their move was to new building areas.<sup>28</sup> This "exodus" of Boston builders was to prove consequential to the development of Greek Revival domestic architecture in that it was the removed Boston builder who would respond so enthusiastically to Greek Revival architecture. When provided with a client who possessed an awareness of the classical spirit of the time, the Boston-trained builder could manifest his understanding of its current form in architectural development, the Greek Revival.<sup>30</sup> This is made evident in the architecture of Thomas Pratt in Northampton, Mas-

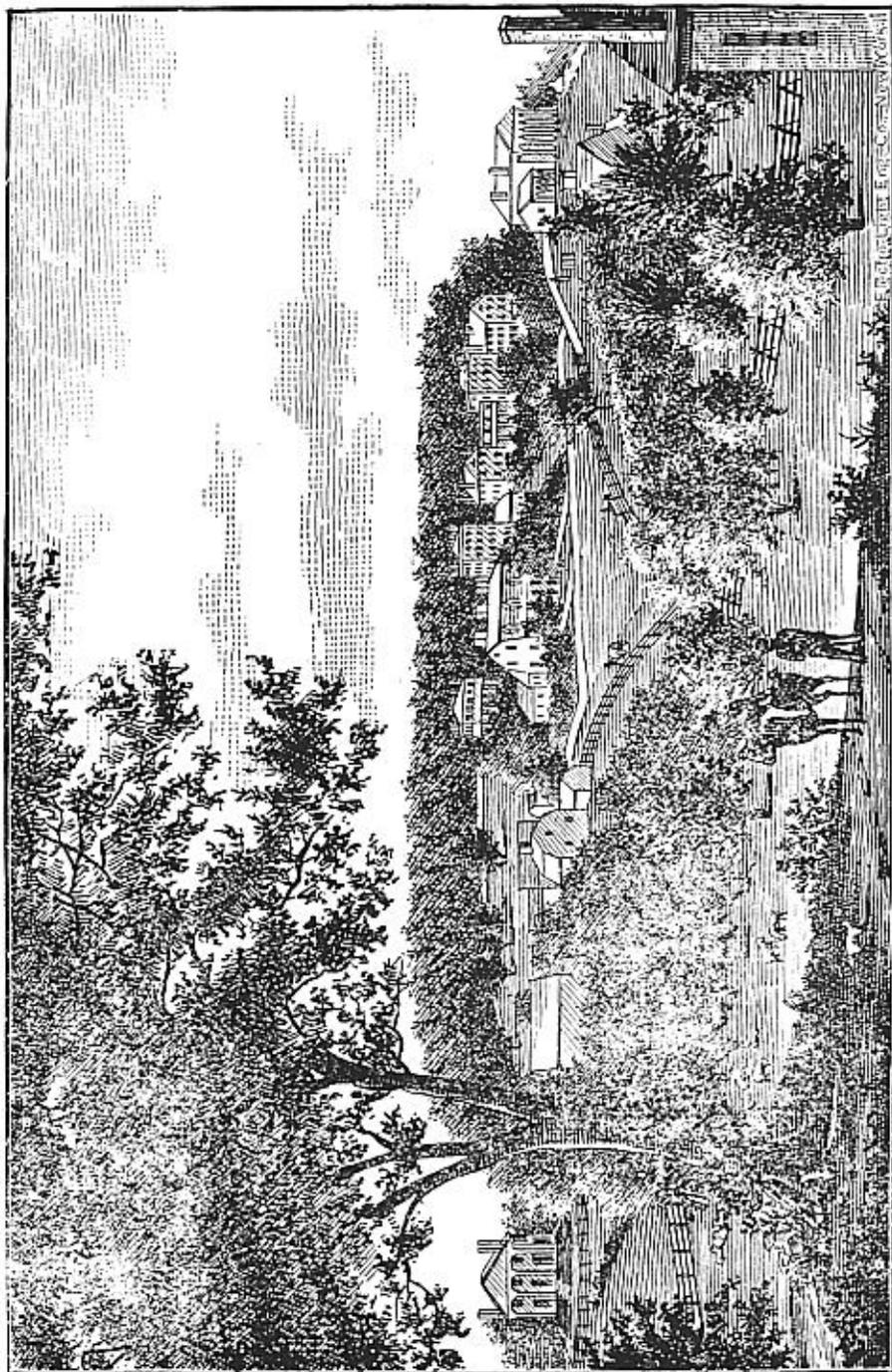


FIG. 2. VIEW OF ROUND HILL AND THE STODDARD (NOW HINCKLEY) HOUSE. (From a Sketch made by Miss Goodridge in 1829).

sachusetts, 1826 to 1828.

When retired Boston merchant Henry Bowers commissioned Ithiel Town of New York to build his retirement home in Northampton, Massachusetts in 1825, he was unconsciously to change the style of domestic architecture in the New England town.<sup>31</sup> It was through his choice of architectural style that he would bring about the change. Bowers, a Boston merchant, was presumably aware of the spirit of Greek classicism which was sweeping the commercial center of New England during the 1820's.<sup>32</sup> When he chose Ithiel Town, then of New York, as architect for his Northampton house, he expressed a desire for a house that would reflect architectural fashion beyond that which had existed in the Connecticut River Valley town at the time of its construction.<sup>33</sup> The actual building of the stone house commenced in 1826, and by 1827, the house of Henry Bowers stood as a symbol of American Greek Revivalism.<sup>34</sup> The unique combination of a Bostonian classicism together with New York architectural fashion created the Bowers' house; moreover, it would prove the major force in the demise of the Federal style in the domestic architecture of the Massachusetts town. That the community of Northampton, Massachusetts was ready to accept the new architectural convention becomes evident in the work of domestic builder, Thomas Pratt. Although the house (see cover) had been designed by Ithiel Town, its actual construction had been left in charge of two local craftsmen, Seth Strong, brick and stone mason, and Thomas Pratt, carpenter.<sup>35</sup> It would prove fortunate to Pratt's immediate clients that he would have an intimate knowledge of the innovative house form of Ithiel Town. That Pratt's two clients at this time, Samuel Howe and Charles A. Dewey, were aware of the Greek Revival

of the time would enable Pratt to express his knowledge of its application to the domestic house form.

Thomas Pratt, the future revivalist builder, probably possessed little, if any knowledge, of the literary and social basis of the Greek Revival movement as it was becoming manifest in Boston at this time. Having lived in Northampton since 1807, Pratt would have been removed from the latest architectural fashions of Boston, and could presumably satisfy his basic Northampton client with the architectural fashions of the Federal builder's guides of Asher Benjamin. By 1826-1827, Pratt was commissioned by Howe and Dewey who would appear to have had knowledge of the spirit of revivalism in Boston, and moreover, would be anxious to reflect the spirit of the time in the architectural display of their Northampton houses. A consideration of their lives would seem to suggest this.

At the time of Judge Howe's premature death in 1828, his friend John Williams made the following observation in *A Sketch of The Character of The Late Samuel Howe*:

The current topics of public discussion, the politics, and literature of the day, the various plans for internal improvements and for ameliorating the condition of society, in short, every subject of general conversation attracted a portion of his attention.<sup>36</sup>

When he commissioned Pratt to build his Greek Revival house in 1826, he was undoubtedly familiar with the Greek Revolution in progress at this time; moreover, Williams' observation on Howe would seem to suggest the type of individual who would read Everett in the *North American Review*. That Howe opened a law school in Northampton prior to the construction of his own house indicates his openness to the spirit of innovation.<sup>37</sup> He was certainly to display a sense of innovation in his choice of the

Greek Revival portico house form. While Howe would seem to suggest a client motivated by the spirit of revivalism, Charles Dewey's predilection for the Greek Revival suggests a zeal for the fashionable.

When Zachary Eddy delivered the funeral discourse of Charles Augustus Dewey in 1866, he presented certain relevant facts concerning Dewey's activities before he was to build his Greek Revival house in 1827–1828. In 1825, Dewey married Caroline H. Clinton, “daughter of General James Clinton, and sister of the illustrious statesman of New York, Governor DeWitt Clinton.”<sup>38</sup> In 1823, and again in 1825, Dewey was elected a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, and elected a member of the Senate in 1830.<sup>39</sup> Thus, Dewey would have been exposed to the rather fashionable architecture of New York and Boston before building his Northampton house in 1827. His activities at the time would render the cause for the selection of a fashionable style of architecture for his new house. As Dewey was rising politically and socially, his house was rising stylistically in the current fashion of the day, as a symbol of his place in the Northampton community. With the commissions of Howe and Dewey, it would seem logical that Pratt turned to Greek Revival building after his knowledge of the Bowers' house in 1826. That both houses express the enthusiasm of his clients, is significant to Pratt's understanding of the Greek Revival at this time.

Constructed in 1826, the Judge Samuel Howe house demonstrates Pratt's uncertainty in working with the fully porticoed Greek Revival house form.<sup>40</sup> Although Pratt of course knew the Ithiel Town house plan at the date of construction of the Judge Howe's house, it would appear that his Federal period construction may

have stifled his first Greek Revival attempt. The portico of the house, unlike its graceful rendition on the Bowers' house, tends to be rather heavy, the capitals of the massive columns (See Figure 1) seemingly compressed from the weight of the pedimented roof. Indeed, the structure would appear as an afterthought to the construction of the main body of the house. The windows in the main body are framed almost too simply for the massive portico; moreover, the frames themselves have a Federal style dignity that makes them independent from the portico which shelters them. The wooden quoining which frames the main body of the house appears to be the only detail which suggests Pratt's knowledge of the Bowers' house. This too seems rather out of proportion to the portico, conforming more to the scale of the windows than to the mass of the ungainly portico. That the house did have one feature akin to the Bowers' house is suggested by its location. Both houses stand on a elevated plain. (See Figure 2) That Howe may have commissioned his house a year too early for Pratt to assimilate the Grecian grammar of the Bowers' house becomes evident in Pratt's construction of the Dewey house in 1827.<sup>41</sup> When Pratt designed the Dewey house (See Figure 3) a year after his feeble Grecian attempt with the residence of Samuel Howe, he was to prove himself literate in Grecian grammar. Unfortunately, it would seem that he had over-read the example provided by Town.

Gracing the front facade of the Dewey house, the four Ionic columns (Front-piece and Figure 4) *duplicate* in precise detail the six columns of the garden facade of the Bowers' house. While the Pratt structure lacks the profusion of windows contained on the lower bay of the Town house, Pratt does perfectly replicate the sill panels for the two lower



FIG. 3. THE CHARLES DEWEY HOUSE.



FIG. 4. DETAIL, CHARLES DEWEY HOUSE: THE COLUMN.

bay windows (See Figure 5) of the Dewey house. As with the Howe's residence, the main body of the Dewey house is framed in quoining, again derived from the Bowers' house. The one element that Pratt did not "borrow" from the Bowers' residence was the doorway. This was probably a derivation from Asher Benjamin's *The American Builder's Companion* of 1827.<sup>42</sup>

While builder Thomas Pratt seems to have failed in his early attempt at the Greek Revival portico house form, it is significant to the revival that he did attempt a Grecian form at this early date. Perhaps the revival in its more literary

form had created an overly enthusiastic and persistent client for the builder to work in his more than capable Federal tradition. Or perhaps the Town model was too alien for the builder who had traditionally worked from the engravings of builder's guides after he had left Boston in 1807. Whatever the reasons for their aesthetic failure, the Pratt buildings stand as symbols to the spirit of the Greek Revival movement of the 1820's. To paraphrase Edward Everett, the Greek Revival of Thomas Pratt in the 1820's sprang at once into life in a region not unlike early Greece—iron bound, sterile, and free.<sup>43</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> "Archaeologia American", *North American Review* (1821), p. 225.

<sup>2</sup> The implication of "current" architectural style stemming from archaeology is presented in Dora Wiebenson's *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1969), pp. 62–74. The discussion is concerned only with the influence of archaeology on English architecture.

<sup>3</sup> "The History of Grecian Art", Edward Everett, *The North American Review*, January, 1821, p. 181.

<sup>4</sup> Talbot Hamlin, *Greek Revival Architecture in America*, New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1964, pp. 22–62.

<sup>5</sup> Everett, *NAR*, January, 1821, p. 182.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 185.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 187.

<sup>8</sup> "Hanover Street Church, Boston", Mrs. Katharine A. Ware, *The Bower of Taste*, March 15, 1828, p. 161.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 161.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162. Everett had stated the principles in his "The History of Grecian Art", p. 185.

<sup>12</sup> "An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution", Edward Everett, *North American Review* (July, 1829), pp. 136–139. Everett's writings here lead me to conclude the statement as noted.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 146.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 146–147

<sup>16</sup> Everett, *NAR* (July, 1829), pp. 138–139.

<sup>17</sup> Samuel G. Howe, *An Historical Sketch of the Greek Revolution* (New York: White, Gallaher & White, 1828), p. 446.

<sup>18</sup> Jonathan P. Miller, *The Condition of Greece in 1827 and 1828* (New York: J.J. Harper, 1828), p. 195.

<sup>19</sup> Howe, *Historical Sketch*, p. 446.

<sup>20</sup> Edward Everett, *An Oration Pronounced at Cambridge Before the Society of Phi Beta Kappa* (Boston: Oliver Everett, 1824), p. 16.

<sup>21</sup> "Fashion," Mrs. Katharine A. Ware, *The Bower of Taste* (January 5, 1828), p. 189.



FIG. 5. DETAIL, CHARLES DEWEY HOUSE: A WINDOW.

<sup>22</sup> "Greek Meeting," Mrs. Katharine A. Ware, *The Bower of Taste* (March 22, 1828), p. 189.

<sup>23</sup> Everett, *An Orientation Pronounced at Cambridge*, p. 25.

<sup>24</sup> "The Academic Grove," Mrs. Lydia Sigourney, *The Bower of Taste* (October 25, 1828), p. 684.

<sup>25</sup> There were, however, men who devoted themselves to the building profession. Peter Harrison is the most striking example.

<sup>26</sup> Infrequently, professional builders often moved about the rural areas and received commissions. Asher Benjamin's activity in the Connecticut River Valley is a noteworthy example.

<sup>27</sup> The letters of Thomas Pratt were found in the attic of the Pratt home at 83 North Street by Mr. & Mrs. James McCallum, former owners of the house. The letters are on deposit in Forbes Library, Northampton, Massachusetts. To date, they have not been catalogued.

<sup>28</sup> Walter Muir Whitehill, *Boston, A Topographical History* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 70.

<sup>29</sup> At least three fairly important builders are known to have migrated at this time. They are Thomas Pratt, Isaac Damon and Simon Sanborn. Asher Benjamin was in the area at this time, working on the First Church in Northampton.

<sup>30</sup> My choice of the word "understanding" may also be read as misunderstanding.

<sup>31</sup> For a description of the town at about this time, see Timothy Dwight, *Travels in New England and New York* (London, 1823), pp. 293-294.

<sup>32</sup> Juliette Tomlinson, *The Bowers House, Northampton, Massachusetts* (Springfield, 1954), p. 2. Tomlinson states that he was a Boston merchant.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3. Tomlinson states that Town was the architect.

<sup>34</sup> The *Account Book* of the brick mason, Seth Strong records the progress of the erection of the house. It is on deposit at Forbes Library, and has not been catalogued.

<sup>35</sup> "William Fenno Pratt," *Biographical Review of the Leading Citizens of Western Massachusetts* (Boston, 1896), p. 12. That Pratt worked on the house is indicated in this reference.

<sup>36</sup> John M. Williams, *A Scetch of the Character of the Late Hon. Samuel Howe* (Worcester: Aegis Press, 1828), pp. 10-11.

<sup>37</sup> Solomn Clark, *Antiquities, Historicals, and Graduates of Northampton* (Northampton: Gazette Printing, 1882), p. 316.

<sup>38</sup> Zachary Eddy, *A Discourse Delivered at the Funeral of Charles Augustus Dewey, L.L.D., August 25, 1866* (Worcester: Edward R. Fiske, 1866), p. 9.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 9.

<sup>40</sup> "William Fenno Pratt," *Biographical Review*. . . p. 12. The date also appears to be recorded by Pratt's son, William F. Pratt, also a builder.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 12.

<sup>42</sup> Since no photographs exist for the front doorway of the Bowers' house, I make this assumption concerning the doorway of the Dewey house.

<sup>43</sup> I think Everett would have approved of such a paraphrase.

## APPENDIX A

### Letter to Thomas Pratt from Isaac Sturtevant, August 2, 1807

Mr. Thomas Pratt  
Northampton

Dear Sir I now with pleasure Imbrace this oppurtunity to inform you a few lines on different subjects. I am well and all my friends I am verrey glad to hear that you are well and enjoying your self so well Since I received your letter June the 21 I made several attempts to inform you this letter before I have been so bissey that I could not attend to it so soon as I

wish too I am verrey glad to hear that you are at plenty of worke Buisness in this town is quite dull at pressent [there] is a greate many men out of Buisness and are glad to take what they can get I have a plenty of worke at pressent and a prospect of a considerable more I suppose that you have known the ganerael report between the Americans and English They have had several meeting in this town on the same subject and in all the nabering towns at my . . . It is supposed that war will be

proclaimed in the month of October The president has [gave] orders to rase one hundred thousand men Massachusetes is to rase 11,000 men the men in this towne was drafted on Tuesday last and are in all the nabering townes I believe this is the meanes of buisness being so dull as it is I find it all most impossible to get cash jobs I hope it is not the case with you Bussness in Roxbury is verrey dull If I can sea there is nothing to doo none nothing a going to bea done at present William Rovnes of Roxbury has received a colonells commision He is now Colonell Rovues and still [mayer Bosom] the Honorable govenour Sullivan has gave Captain Loven his right again Soone after Capt Loven received he turned out his company and marched all over towne The tost that Capt Loven drank [was] Loven at the head and Davis in the rear o my Brave [soulyers] we have nothing to fear --- this is a true Republicans tost The 4 of July was Honorably Celebrated by the Republicans and

federes every man that new his Dutey [was] on his station at a Early [ower]

Sir I have not informed you every pratice that I should wish too but I should advise you as a friend to bea careful with love letters I believe it is all most impossible to place confidence in some people Spetialley in [the monkey ryders] Sir If you will take the trobble to right me a nother letter you will obliag me verrey much I will In deaver to answer It as soon as possible perhaps with a little more satisfaction Since I saw you last I have changed roome to Mr. Richings in the Market Square

Mr. Cutting and his family are verrey well

Mr. Blanchard and Prentiss are Easley are all verrey well

This letter is roat in a gratte hurray If you can read it I shal be verrey glad

I am Sir your Humble Servant Isaac Sturtevant  
Boston August the 2 - 1807.

## APPENDIX B

### Letter to Thomas Pratt from Ephraim Cutting, April 23, 1808

My Friend & Brother

Sir it is with pleasure I have an hour at leisure to inform you that we and all your friends are well.- Sir, you wrote to me to inform you what impressions the Embargo had on the people in this part of the state as to Business every one has something to say in our line Some labouring men say that they have but little to do but sir I have work enough at present for good men I am at work for Mr. Lowell at the present time. We have lost some of our best friends among them are my Brother, Mrs. Lydia Seaver and Mr. James Mars and Major James Robinson of Dorchester and some other. Sir I must inform you that Mr. Stephen Clap of Dorchester was married in January. Sir you wrote to me something about what was said about you and Miss Dinsdull she was at my house soon after you left Roxbury but I have [not] heard nothing since. It is said that she has received letters at [sundry times] from you since you was at Roxbury but I have not had any untill April 4th which we were very happy to receive Mrs. Cutting thought the time very long that you did not write as you said you would as soon as you arrived at Northampton.

Henry and Warren are daily asking about you and your [ . . ] is as mush worshiped as a Roman Catholic does holy water.

There is not any prospect of much Business in our line this season nor until the Embargo is taken off small jobs is chief that there is going on this part of the state. Mr. Charles James has given up his place in Co with Mr. Lewis [Morp].

Sir I have nothing of consequence to write to you only that Governor Sullivan will be reelected and the old tory part are very much troubled about it and say that the Embargo would be taken off in a short time after the election and some poor weak headed people are fools enough to believe it and argue on that weak foundation.

Sir I should be very happy if you would write to me and let me know how Business is going in Northampton. Mr. Prentis is going next week to work at Gardner as Allen told me.

So Mrs. Cutting most sincere respects to you with my regards & good wishes.

I am yours Ephraim Cutting  
Roxbury April 23, 1808  
Mr. Thomas Pratt in Northampton

## APPENDIX C

Letter to Thomas Pratt from  
Ephraim Cutting, February 18, 1810

Dear Brother

It is with pleasure I have this leisure time to inform you we are in health. I was in Boston yesterday all your friends was in health but Mrs. Fenno she has been confined but as well as could be expected. She has lost her son. All your friends in Roxbury are well. Your Miss DI is married to Mr. Amos Fish about two months ago. Business is dull but little doing. It is said some men is doing work at 52% [much] below the rules of work in Boston and take their pay in Cabinet furniture. Sturtevant is finishing a Hall in the Boylston Market [house] built at the

corner of frog lane. Mr. Beals is married and lives in Roxbury. Mr. Fish has purchased a lot of land of Dr. Bartlett [at] land that was T.S. Williams he is as smart a man as any among us- Give my best wishes to Mr. Hayden. Your sister with the children give their complements to you.

So I remain you sincere friend  
Ephraim Cutting

Write to us as soon as possible.  
Roxbury February 18th 1810  
Mr. Thomas Pratt