SAUGUS IRON WORKS
IRONMASTER'S HOUSE
NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE / MASSACHUSETTS

HISTORIC STRUCTURE REPORT

IRONMASTER'S HOUSE

HISTORICAL AND ARCHITECTURAL DATA

AND

A HISTORY OF OWNERSHIP

SAUGUS IRON WORKS NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

MASSACHUSETTS

by

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HISTORIC PRESERVATION DIVISION
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR
DENVER, COLORADO

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A HISTORY OF OWNERSHIP:

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PREFACE
AND
ADMINISTRATIVE DATA
This study, Package 114, Project 2001-1040-487, FY 75 (in FY 76 the number is 2001-1040-399), is a historic structure report containing three parts: a Historical Data section, an Architectural Data section, and a special section discussing the date of construction and the history of ownership of the structure known until late 1975 as the Ironmaster's House, Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site, Saugus, Massachusetts, and now referred to as the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House.

The Historical Data section was prepared by Research Historian John Albright of the Denver Service Center and was completed in December 1974. The Architectural Data section was prepared by Orville W. Carroll, a historical architect assigned to the Denver Service Center, and was completed by September 1975. A revised copy of this draft was submitted in May 1976. The third section, a special study entitled "The Ironworks Farm" in Saugus, Essex County, Massachusetts: The History of Its Ownership from the Origins of the Town to the 20th Century," which was completed in October 1975, resulted from a contract, PX020005 DO 57, let by the Historic Preservation Team, Denver Service Center, to the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA), dated 1 April 1975, with extensions provided to allow a later completion date for the project than SPNEA had originally proposed. The principal author was Abbott Lowell Cummings, Executive Director, SPNEA, with title search assistance from Edward F. Zimmer, a student in the New England and American Studies Program at Boston University. The existence of such a special section is somewhat unique and merits explanation.

In late spring 1974 a Historical Studies Plan was completed for Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site by Historian John Albright. In that report, Abbott Lowell Cummings's extensive research into the history of the Ironmaster's House at Saugus was acknowledged. The plan recommended that

The possibility of negotiating a contract with Mr. Cummings for the historical data section of the Ironmaster's House Historic Structure Report should be considered, because he has already done much of the work. At a minimum, he should be retained as a consultant during the research and restoration of this structure.1

Funds to allow Mr. Cummings to provide the historical data section, however, could not be located at the time the project was slated to begin. Accordingly

the task fell to John Albright (originally assigned to the project) with the hope that sometime during the year it would be possible to finance the detailed title search demanded by the circumstances of the study. Monies were found, but not until after Albright's study was completed and reviewed.

Historical Architect Carroll, when preparing his portion of the study (initiated early in 1975), had the Albright report available and also the guidance and counsel of Abbott Cummings, who by 1 April was also actively engaged in research into the Ironmaster's House. Carroll's report reflects data from both these sources.

Generally, the three portions complement each other. And, in fact, they provide a comprehensive evaluation of the structure known today as the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House. The three sections are assembled under one cover and have been edited to form a more cohesive unit. For the most part this consisted of consolidating Albright's initial chapters (which, anticipating more data from Cummings's research, were somewhat tentative anyway) and integrating them with the other sections to create an informative and useful document. But the revisions and editing have been kept to an absolute minimum, and no author's work has been unnecessarily tampered with.

Note: Both the Historical and Architectural Data sections will refer to the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House as the Ironmaster's House, since this was the official name for the structure at the time these portions were written. It was only later that evidence uncovered by A. L. Cummings during the preparation of his deeds survey proved conclusively that "Ironmaster's House" was an incorrect designation. However, because the first two sections had already been edited and prepared for printing, they still retain the earlier appellation.
HISTORICAL DATA

by

John Albright
INtroduction

The Ironmaster's House at Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site, Massachusetts, has long been of considerable historical interest in New England. Edwin Whitefield's line drawing of the house as it looked about 1879, included in his Homes of Our Forefathers, is an early sign of the attention accorded the building. In 1908 Henry C. Dean, a historical architect, examined the structure and made drawings of it. Included with these were his conjectural views of the building's original appearance. Six years later William Summer Appleton, the capable and energetic corresponding secretary of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, located in Boston, examined the "Old Iron Works House" (as it was then called) in the company of Henry Dean and Wallace Nutting, a retired Congregational minister and budding New England antiquarian. In 1915 Nutting purchased the structure and began its restoration. Drawings by Dean apparently were the guidelines for the restoration work, and Dean himself may have directed the project. To date, however, none of Nutting's restoration plans have been found. The Ironmaster's House today is essentially the one restored by Nutting.

During the initial stages of research for this study it became obvious that the relative paucity of usable documentary evidence on the structure would place much of the burden of information gathering on the historical architect. This report reflects that condition. Indeed, the Historical Data section of this study may raise more questions than it resolves.

Many individuals have worked carefully and diligently with the research team and have contributed a great deal to the content of the study. Ross Holland, Associate Regional Director, Professional Services, and Blaine Cliver, Historical Architect, North Atlantic Region, National Park Service, have given this project much valuable aid and attention and their efforts are appreciated. Superintendent W. Glen Gray and Interpreter Cynthia Pollock furnished important daily assistance and guidance. Their dynamic responsiveness to the research and administrative needs of the project was especially helpful. Abbott Lowell Cummings, Director, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, took time from his busy schedule to discuss various approaches to unlocking some of the historical mysteries so much a part of the Ironmaster's House story. His permission to reproduce the H. C. Dean drawings and the Ironmaster's House photographs is also appreciated.

The study is organized chronologically, from ca. 1640 to the present. Yet a word of caution is necessary. Very little of the 17th- and 18th-century material can stand alone as hard evidence. Because of this, those chapters dealing with the 17th and 18th centuries are more studies of evidence evaluation than narrative histories. The late-19th-century and early-20th-century chapters are somewhat more historically routine in their content.

As requested by Chief Historical Architect Henry Judd, National Park Service, a general summary of the major events covered in the narrative portion of the study is provided.
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<td>Possible construction date of structure</td>
<td>Unproven. See also Kingsbury Report, Appendix D, for her set of construction and addition dates</td>
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<tr>
<td>1680</td>
<td>Probable construction date</td>
<td>See Cummings report, &quot;The Ironworks Farm&quot;</td>
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<td>1728</td>
<td>Daniel Mansfield will mentions room and interior arrangements</td>
<td>Unproven</td>
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<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Thomas Mansfield will mentions old and new house, presumably today's Ironmaster and Mansfield houses</td>
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CHAPTER I: THE IRONMASTER'S HOUSE, TO 1800

"The house is well worth preserving and something should be done about it."

William Sumner Appleton, 1915

One question that long dominated all other considerations concerning the Ironmaster's House was the date of the building's construction. If the structure was built prior to the closing of the furnace ca. 1668, then it could have served to house the manager of this major 17th-century industrial site. If it was constructed following the relatively short life of the industrial complex then it never was the Ironmaster's House, and allowing it to carry the name would be an error. 2 'Dwelling houses' did appear in the records of the ironworks, but the descriptions of them were such that no "dwelling house" could be positively identified as the Ironmaster's House—the home of the ironworks manager. For example, a 1650 agreement between John Giffard (also spelled Gifford) and the "undertakers of the iron works in New England" specified that

they, the said undertakers their Executors administrators shall and will at their own Cost and Charges within Convenient time after the Arivial of the said Jno: Giffard in New Eng[land] find and provide for the same Jno: A convenient house for all habitation during the said terme of his imployment. . . . 3

Giffard, an experienced ironworker, had learned his trade in England, at his father's ironworks in the Forest of Dean. Those works had been recently closed by direction of Parliament because the heavy consumption of timber for charcoal threatened the forest's existence. The man John Giffard replaced, Richard Leader, had supervised the construction of the industrial site on the "Sawgust" (Saugus) River on the north shore of Massachusetts Bay and the operation of the less than efficient furnace and forge earlier constructed by the

1. This chapter is a revision of the original Chapter I. In essence, it is now an essay serving to introduce the remainder of the Historical Data section. Instead of being the initial portion of the research report, it is intended to serve as a consolidation of the 17th- and 18th-century data found in the special section of this report entitled "The Ironworks Farm." For a fuller explanation of this, see the combined Preface and Administrative Data section of this report.

2. It is not clear if the term "Ironmaster" was used during the active iron-working years at the site. The term "manager," however, was used frequently.

"undertakers" at Braintree (now Quincy, a Boston suburb) on the south shore. By 1648 Leader and the undertakers had become mutually disenchanted, and Leader went north to operate a sawmill in Maine. Yet the mere provision that "A convenient house" be provided helps in no way to establish the credentials of the Ironmaster's House.

Other houses, too, were mentioned in connection with the works after this, but, again, there was no way to determine if any of them are the Ironmaster's House. What was needed, obviously, was a definitive study to determine, if possible, when the structure that could be identified in the records as today's Ironmaster's House was erected. This study was initiated by A. L. Cummings of the SPNEA as part of his research program. In the spring of 1975 a contract with the Historic Preservation Team, Denver Service Center, National Park Service, allowed Mr. Cummings to oversee further investigation into the subject, conduct research of his own on it, and complete the task. His report, "The Ironworks Farm," appears as a later section of this document.

Briefly stated, Cummings's studies indicate that as early as 1639 the site of the present ironworks was occupied by Thomas Dexter's farm, which had on it a "dwelling house." Twenty-three more structures serving various purposes successively occupied the lands near the ironworks, the last building being mentioned in an October 1683 mortgage. This structure, erected by a Samuel Appleton, Jr., who had come into possession of the land surrounding the ironworks, is, according to Cummings's study, today's Ironmaster's House. The implications of Cummings's findings are obvious, placing the date of construction of the house later than the time the last castings were poured at the ironworks.

Cummings traces the subsequent changes in ownership until the structure came into the possession of the Mansfield family, which owned it in the 19th century. That portion of the building's history follows in succeeding chapters.


CHAPTER 2: THE IRONMASTER'S HOUSE, 1800 TO 1900

A "Dwelling house" (presumably the Ironmaster's House), a barn, and "about half an acre of the pasture land front of the house" appear in an 1805 estate inventory for the Mansfield family. (The same inventory mentions a "West Chamber" and a "West Room," which conforms to the present post-1915 restoration.)¹ No other description of the house appears in the document.

Between 1805 and 1821 another house appeared on the scene, its existence announced in a Mansfield family will noting

   my new house, my old house [presumably the Ironmaster's House], the little barn, all the buildings about the old house . . . [and] the yard front of the old house.²

The "new house" is today's "Mansfield house," which remained in the Mansfield family until the mid-20th century. The "old house," however, was sold in 1847 to the Scott family, who by that time had begun to acquire a considerable amount of property in Saugus.³ Following the 1847 deed, no further data described the property until the ca. 1879 sketch of the building, the earliest known illustration of the house.

This picture came from the first edition of Edwin Whitefield's Homes of Our Forefathers, a book containing sketches of historic homes of New England. It shows the front and east side of the structure and a smaller structure, possibly a carriage house or small barn, behind it. It is the same house seen in the photographs taken later in the century prior to the 1915 restoration. The caption identifies the structure as "The Old Iron Works House" and the narrative states that the house

   was built in 1643, but has been somewhat modernized, the piazza [front porch] having been added about 1850. The chimney is of enormous size, and is probably the largest in New England. It derives its name from the fact that

¹ "Inventory of Estate of Thomas Mansfield late of Lynn deceased," dated 4 Nov. 1805, Essex County, Probate Case 17667, Essex County courthouse, Salem, Mass.


³ Deed, Amos Mansfield, Elizabeth Mansfield, Rebecca Mansfield to Francis Scott, Essex County Deed Book 387, p. 278.
the man who built it commenced the manufacture of iron in 1645. It continued to be made for 100 years afterward.4

The third edition of Whitefield's book, published a year later, showed a slightly different sketch of the house in which one second-story window on the east facade was added. Both views indicate that the 1879 building underwent no external changes, except possibly for the addition of windows on the east side. The Ironmaster's House of 1879 was the structure restored during the 1915/16 restoration. It was a two-and-a-half story building pierced by a massive central chimney, with a porch along its entire front. It had, by 1879, two doors on the east side and one on the south, suggesting that the house was divided into at least three apartments. The rear roof slopes more gently than the front one and extends much further than does the front roof, enclosing, no doubt, one or more first-floor rooms or an earlier lean-to built against the back of the house. The structure at the rear, much smaller than the house, has three doors and what appears to be a hayloft entry centered over them. Possibly the structure is the "little barn" mentioned in the 1821 Thomas Mansfield will.

One hint that the 1879 exterior facade might have been only recently changed comes from a 1915 note by William S. Appleton that one of the 1915 tenants of the house, a Mr. Thacker,

lived in the house as a boy fifty years ago, when he says it was a pretty different looking proposition from what it is now.6

Yet there is no doubt of the externals from 1879 forward, with one exception—the ell—discussed later.

An 1884 atlas6 shows the land ownership of "Saugus Centre" and outlines the Ironmaster's House and the barn in the same positions as seen in the Whitefield sketches and later photographs. The house is shown as a rectangular building with no structural additions to it.

Twelve years later another map, showing structural elevations, depicted the Ironmaster's House and the "little barn" in the same relationship as in the earlier illustrations. Another small structure also shows in this perspective view. Part of this unknown building appears in the 1899 Bliss photograph,7 but


7. George S. Bliss photograph, dated 1899, Lynn Historical Society, Lynn, Mass., SAIR photograph #35. The Bliss photograph is shown as Illustration 20 in this section.
its function cannot be identified. The Bliss photograph, while confirming the earlier sketches and maps, adds little new information on the history of the building. A white picket fence shows on the east side as do three telephone or electric power poles.

Summary and Discussion of 19th-Century Data

The appearance of the 1879 Whitefield illustration, with its caption identifying it as the Ironmaster's House, and of the 1899 photograph, showing what is obviously the same structure, are the first pieces of definitive documentary evidence concerning the house to appear. This data shows the house as a three-story white clapboard structure with two doors on the east facade, a front porch along its entire length, and a massive central chimney. To the north, and with its long axis parallel to the east facade of the structure, was a small building with a hayloft entry centered over three doors, apparently a small barn or carriage house/stable. The pitch of the front (facing south) roof of the house is sharp, but the pitch of the back roof is much more gentle. This is the structure that in the 20th century was known as the "Ironmaster's house" or "Iron Works house" and that soon began to receive considerable attention from those concerned with the restoration of early New England homes.
CHAPTER 3: THE IRONMASTER'S HOUSE, 1900 TO 1916

Early in the 20th century (1905) a man who would twice act to save the Ironmaster's House as a historical and architectural monument began to manifest an interest in New England antiquities. He was William Sumner Appleton, a major figure in the modern historic preservation movement and in the story of the Ironmaster's House. Appleton, assured of a comfortable trust income by 1905, followed his inclination to help save New England antiquities and threw himself into the cause, fully aware that he had a major task ahead not just to preserve the antiquities but to convince that level of society who could afford the luxury of preservation that such a course was of aesthetic, cultural, and--on occasion--utilitarian value.

Appleton plunged into the work and devoted the rest of his life to it, seeking out properties illustrating New England's cultural heritage and matching them with those who could purchase, restore, and preserve those physical links to the past. One of his many efforts in the cause, and one of the early subjects of his quiet (but dogged and tireless) approach, was the Ironmaster's House at Saugus. Indeed, he was instrumental in bringing about two separate significant events in the structure's history.

The first came late in 1912, as Appleton began three years of searching to find a buyer/restorer for the house, which the Scott family wanted to sell. After many attempts to interest a purchaser, one appeared in the form of a retired Congregational minister and antiquarian of mixed, but rising, fame--Wallace Nutting. Nutting retired from his labors on behalf of the second estate ostensibly for reasons of health, although his allegedly frail constitution managed to allow him to hang on in the world of the flesh until 1940. He also proved energetic enough to weave in and out of various phases of antiquarianism, including the restoration of the Ironmaster's House at Saugus, the large-scale production and sale of tinted New England photographs, and at least two separate charges of unethical action involving antiques. Nutting purchased and restored five houses during the 1915 to 1920 period, and then sold them.


3. Deed, George Niven et al. to Wallace Nutting, 2 Mar. 1915, Essex County Deed Book 2287, p. 364, describes it as the "Property being No. 233-235 on said Central Street also known as the Old Iron Works House."

4. Not all of them required the major restoration performed at Saugus.
Possibly his major efforts were directed at the much-modified Ironmaster's House at Saugus, where there was a great deal to do. The extent of the modifications made to the old structure was revealed in the drawings of the house by a young historical architect, Henry Charles Dean, and in two reports of visits to the house by W. S. Appleton. (All are included in full in the appendices.)

Appleton’s first report, dated February 1914, although laconic, revealed that a thorough examination of the house had been accomplished. Appleton’s inspection convinced him that the original structure had been of two stories with a garret, and that a lean-to had been added later. He found evidence of a western and central gable but could not prove the existence of an eastern one because plaster covered the area. He hypothesized that the chimney was original and was certain it was quite old. He noted that

The house has long been used for tenement quarters and is much spoilt by an over supply of stairs. 5

Eleven months later, in January 1915, this time accompanied by architect Dean and by Nutting, Appleton again toured the house. His report adds nothing new save the brief phrase “the house is well worth preserving and something should be done about it.” 6

This visit must have had the desired effect, for in less than two months (March 2) Nutting purchased the house, and within the year he began restoration. Yet little is known of Nutting’s approach to the task. Apparently Dean’s drawings and suggestions provided much of the guidance for the work. But Dean’s drawings themselves are somewhat questionable.

Dean’s drawings (reproduced as Illustrations 1-14) are probably not a complete set, some having been lost over the years. The restoration ideas appear to be broad approaches, not finished working drawings. (The drawings of the existing conditions included in the set, however, are measured drawings.) Dean drew two front elevations, one showing a projecting porch and one not. All his views include three gables on the front roof. Window and door arrangements vary in his two approaches. One drawing is dated and signed “H. C. Dean Summer ’08,” yet the date is lined out as if in error.

The restored building appears to reflect Dean’s concept of the house with the projecting front porch. Since the interior arrangement also corresponds to Dean’s drawings, apparently his views prevailed in the main as Nutting re-formed the structure. The central dormer, or gable, is somewhat larger than Dean proposed and the lean-to, not shown in the extant Dean drawings of the concept Nutting followed but in Dean’s other alternative, was indeed constructed.


The work to restore the much-altered structure began late in the summer of 1915. By 30 September 1915 much of the restoration was complete, the original pitch of the roof having been restored and the modern doors removed. The stuccoing of the chimney (a departure from Dean's drawings) was well underway. A 26 October photograph shows the windows installed but no front siding of clapboards yet emplaced. By late 1915 (possibly January 1916) the exterior restoration was finished. In the main, the house, as it emerged from under the scaffolding, was today's Ironmaster's House. (The photographs, in chronological order, appear as Illustrations 21-33.)

7. The exterior condition of the house just prior to Nutting's work can be clearly seen in the sequential illustrations at the end of this study. The interior arrangements are shown in Dean's drawings, also reproduced in this illustrations section. Because they are manifestly obvious in the photographs and drawings, the condition of the house and its interior arrangement are not discussed in this narrative.

8. SPNEA photographs #1161a and #1162a, dated 30 Sept. 1915. These are SAIR photographs #16 and #17 respectively.

9. SPNEA photograph #1167a, SAIR photograph #22.

10. SPNEA photograph #2243a, SAIR photograph #42. This picture is labelled to suggest it was taken by H. C. Dean. Others of the SPNEA set showing the reconstruction were taken by Appleton. While this proves nothing, it strongly suggests that Dean and Appleton at least casually watched over the work. Given the fact that it was probably the only major restoration in progress at the time, it is not inconceivable that Dean spent much time on the project and may even have supervised it.
CHAPTER 4: THE IRONMASTER'S HOUSE, TO THE PRESENT

Following the major restoration (ending early in 1916), and by the summer of 1917, additional changes had been made to the house. A dormer and a set of windows were added to the ell, which had been extended. By that time too, spikes had been added to the beam ends on the dormers and drops on the beam end bottoms at the overhang corners.  

By early 1918 Nutting had decided to offer his five historic houses in New England for sale and asked $125,000 for the lot. During the spate of letter writing following this announcement, Nutting discussed the properties, appearing to hold a somewhat deprecatory view of the old house he had recently restored. In one letter he suggested that the only important quality of the structure was the frame. His correspondent, seeking another opinion on the house, contacted an architect who claimed "that Nutting had spoiled the Saugus house in his restoration of it." At least one contemporary disagreed, however. By early 1920 Nutting found a purchaser for "Broadhearth," as he now called the structure, and the building passed to Charles L. Cooney, who continued to use the new name for the house.

Cooney's heirs sold the house five years later to Philip Rosenberg, who retained it until its sale in 1941. This latter transaction, when its purpose was discovered, set forth a chain of events profoundly altering the area now known as Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site.

During the year 1941 several of the alumni of the Henry Ford Trade School had searched for a fitting gift for the elderly industrialist. Eventually they settled upon the Ironmaster's House, and bought it, without its land, for $10,000. They agreed to remove the structure, apparently unwanted, from Saugus by 1 October 1942. When word of the purchase and the proposed loss of the structure became public, many felt that the value of the too-long-neglected structure should be recognized and steps taken to keep it in Saugus. One of the first to urge that

1. SPNEA photograph #160a, taken by W. S. Appleton, SAIR photograph #53.


3. Hosmer, Presence of the Past, p. 223. The first architect, however, did not say how Nutting had ruined the house.


5. Deed, Philip Rosenberg to John A. Lutz, as trustee, Essex County Deed Book 3278, p. 255.
the house be saved was the same William Sumner Appleton who had worked to restore the structure back in 1912 even as the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities was in its early stages of development.

In mid-November 1941 Appleton wrote to the Saugus Board of Selectmen suggesting various ways to raise funds to keep the old house in Saugus. One of his suggestions showed an uncanny prescience. Appleton suggested that it would be wise for

the town to buy the house and dispose of it in this manner: give it to the National Historic Sites Bureau in the National Park Section of the Department of the Interior in Washington. This would save the town all further expense in the way of Maintenance and upkeep but the town would, also, lose all authority over the building.6

Appleton's suggestion was but one of the early steps in a long and difficult campaign to save the structure. The opening phases of the four-year affair did not augur well for the cause. In retrospect, however, perhaps the early discouragements served to broaden the base of support for the preservation of the house and its retention in Saugus. Until the startling news of the sale broke upon the town, people had not appreciated the structure to any real degree and had let it deteriorate and fall prey to vandalism. Earlier, Appleton had even chided the town Board of Assessors, warning them of the vandalism and noting that

it would be a pity to have anything go wrong with that house, though I can't say that I know who would be able to finance a move to prevent it.7

Appleton's complaint drew a response from a Saugus citizen who, like Appleton, would play a significant role in working to keep the building on its original site. This was M. Louise Hawkes, who reported to Appleton that the house was "sadly neglected." She added that the local Daughters of the American Revolution, the Parson Roby Chapter, had tried to interest the State officers of the DAR in the house, but without success.8

There the matter lay, a few persons worrying about the house but taking little effective action concerning it, when word of the impending move became public. An enquiry to the purchasers in Michigan was dispatched quickly, and a reply received in mid-December.

6. W. S. Appleton, Corresponding Secretary, SPNEA, to Mr. Edward Gibbs, Saugus Board of Selectmen, 15 Nov. 1941, SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."

7. W. S. Appleton to Saugus, Mass., Board of Assessors, 8 Apr. 1940, SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."

8. M. L. Hawkes to W. S. Appleton, 12 Apr. 1940, SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."
While conciliatory, the letter from Michigan reminded Saugus of its earlier lack of interest.

We understood that the building had been up for sale for many years and since no one had appeared to buy it and undertake its preservation, we assumed that there was no special interest on the part of the community in retaining it.

With that precise reprimand on record, the trustee (representing the Ford Trade School Alumni) did announce the alumni group's willingness to sell the structure to the town for the price they paid plus costs only.9

After receipt of the December letter opening the door to repurchase by the town, Appleton and Hawkes, in association with various Saugus officials, worked to raise the funds. Massachusetts Governor Leverett Saltonstall was asked to write Henry Ford requesting his aid, and the Saugus Board of Selectmen was approached for money. The governor wrote the letter, but the town council refused to buy the house. In the face of the recently dispatched pleas of the citizens to save the house, the action of the town council appeared to contradict prevailing public opinion. Yet March 1942 was quite early in a war that had opened with a resounding American defeat and that appeared destined to bring many more.

"We need so much for National Defense when our Nation is fighting for its very existence," M. L. Hawkes wrote to Governor Saltonstall

So we gracefully submit to the decision [not to buy the structure and land], and are thankful that it will be taken care of by Mr. Ford.10

A few days later the town officially threw in the towel. "We appreciate the position of your Alumni Association," the town clerk wrote,

and also the fact that the Old Iron House was selected. The town will always regret its removal yet will have the knowledge that it will be well preserved in Greenfield Village. We hope that you will cause a suitable tablet to be erected on or near the house showing the history of the building and of its site in Saugus, Massachusetts.11

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11. Secretary and Clerk, Saugus Board of Selectmen, to F. E. Searle, Trustee, Henry Ford Trade School Alumni Association, 30 Mar. 1942, SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."
William Sumner Appleton, however, would not admit that the battle to keep
the house in Saugus had run its course. Nor would a select group in Saugus--M.
Louise Hawkes and Messrs. Quarmby and Oliver--who wrote Appleton for assistance
in maintaining contact with Henry Ford. They intended to head a private group
that would purchase the building.12 F. E. Searle, the Alumni Association trustee
who had been given the word just a month before that Saugus would not oppose his
group's desires, nevertheless continued to cooperate, promising "to consider any
plan you may have to keep this landmark at its present location."13

Possibly the commitment of transportation within the nation to defense
needs was responsible for the lack of haste and the cooperation evidenced by the
trade school group. Possibly Governor Saltonstall's letter to Henry Ford or
Appleton's many letters to the alumni also helped. Probably all of these were
determinants, and other elements, too, may have affected the situation. The
significant factor is that even after the city failed to meet the challenge to
keep the house in Saugus, time remained for a second try. With the SPNEA and
Appleton working with the small group in Saugus, the means to the end remained
as well.

Various ideas passed among the group striving to retain the house. Appleton
suggested that the $12,000 needed might come from three sources: one third from
2,000 public donations of $2 each; one third from the town; and the final one
third from the iron and steel industry.14 In Saugus the approach of seeking the
entire $12,000 from the iron and steel industry executives prevailed.15 As the
interested individuals worked to determine where the money might be raised, the
Alumni Association, with Henry Ford's approval, extended the option to buy the
house to 1 June 1943.16

Some optimism was warranted when the town meeting of 10 March 1943 voted
$4,000 towards the purchase of the house. With this encouragement, Appleton
believed that he could have the SPNEA's good friends in the State House at
Boston put through the second $4,000. The remaining $4,000, Appleton believed,
would have to come from "the good, dear public."17

12. M. L. Hawkes to W. S. Appleton, 29 Apr. 1942, SAIR File HL 1, "Iron-
master's House."

13. F. E. Searle, Trustee, Henry Ford Trade School Alumni Association, to
M. Louise Hawkes, 29 Apr. 1942, SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."

14. W. S. Appleton to Board of Selectmen, Saugus, 2 May 1942, SAIR File
HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."

15. W. S. Appleton to M. L. Hawkes, 28 Aug. 1942, SAIR File HL 1, "Iron-
master's House."

16. F. E. Searle, Trustee, Henry Ford Trade School Alumni Association, to
W. S. Appleton, 28 Jan. 1943, SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."

17. W. S. Appleton to M. L. Hawkes, 10 Mar. 1943, SAIR File HL 1, "Iron-
master's House."
In Michigan, Henry Ford took heart and extended the option again. Now the Saugus group had until 1 January 1944. As sentiment for the purchase continued to grow, Appleton helped create the organization necessary to administer the site—the First Iron Works Association, Incorporated. The articles of incorporation, signed at SPNEA headquarters in Boston on 21 October 1943, were another manifestation of Appleton's strong and continuing interest in the house.

The efforts finally reached fruition in 1944 with the purchase of the house by the town of Saugus. The town leased the property to the First Iron Works Association a year later, and sold it and the plant site to them in 1949. The Iron Works Association now owned the tangible assets of the house and slag pile. Under Central Street possibly lay the remains of America's first industrial site.

By 1949 the association had received financial support from the American Iron and Steel Institute, and excavation of the ironworks site began. Between 1949 and 1954 additional work was conducted and major restoration accomplished on the site. Minor work on the Ironmaster's House comprised a small part of the project.

The Ironmaster's House did receive some attention from the architectural firm of Perry, Shaw and Hepburn, Kehoe and Dean, which supervised the restoration at the site. One of the major figures from the firm, Conover Fitch, Jr., commented on the ell, or office addition, attached to the wing, suggesting its eventual removal. But most of the work recommended and accomplished by FIWA was of a minor nature, repair as opposed to restoration.

Most of the work resulted between 1950 and 1955. Windows and clapboards were repaired; brickwork on the chimneys was accomplished as required; the stucco, emplaced under Nutting's direction, was removed from the main chimney; and new shingles were placed on the roof.

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18. F. E. Searle, Trustee, Henry Ford Trade School Alumni Association, to W. S. Appleton, 2 June 1943, SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."

19. Carlson, Historical Sketch, p. 64.

20. Deeds, John A. Lutz to Frederick Searle, and Frederick Searle to Town of Saugus, 21 Sept. 1944, Essex County Deed Book 3382, p. 583.


23. The chimney and roof work was planned in early 1951 and probably accomplished not long afterward. See W. M. Bogart Company, Cambridge, Mass., to Perry, Shaw and Hepburn, Kehoe and Dean, 23 Jan. 1951. SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."
In 1951 consideration was given to placing the public toilets in the office wing (the ell), thus removing them from the back of the west chamber.\textsuperscript{24} The work was done not long thereafter. Minor repairs took place during the remainder of the house's ownership by FIWA, although occasional action of more significance took place. In December 1956, for example, clapboards were removed and rotted girths replaced as necessary. Later the rear chimney was rebuilt above the roofline, and the basement stone wall was rebuilt.\textsuperscript{25} About this time the association installed new "hoods" (actually eaves) over the toilet doors to keep rain from blowing into the sanitary facilities.

No major restoration or repair work under National Park Service ownership (which began in 1969)\textsuperscript{26} has yet taken place. In late 1973, however, the Service began to install electrical heating facilities in the structure.

\textsuperscript{24} Harrison Schock of Perry, Shaw and Hepburn, Kehoe and Dean, to Sanger Atwill, of FIWA, 28 May 1951, SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."

\textsuperscript{25} Consolidated Report by Supt. Glen Gray, "FIWA Repairs," in SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House." This consolidated list is reproduced as Appendix E.

\textsuperscript{26} Deed, FIWA to United States of America, 1 July 1969, Essex County Deed Book 5693, p. 519.
CHAPTER 5: MISCELLANEOUS

The Ell

The attached portion of the house now containing the office and restrooms may or may not be an early addition to the Ironmaster's House. No specific graphic or narrative description of the house appears until the Whitefield drawings of 1879, which do not show the side of the house containing the ell. It is not until the 1884 Atlas that all sides of the house are shown. This illustration, accurate in reference to the locations assigned to the structures in Saugus and in reference to the shapes of those buildings still extant (specifically the Mansfield house and town hall), does not show an ell on the Ironmaster's House (see Illustration 15). Presumably the ell did not exist in 1884. The 1896 "Willis" map shows the Mansfield and Ironmaster's houses but not in clear enough perspective to determine whether or not an ell is attached. Although it is impossible to determine accurately, it does not seem that the house included an ell.

The next clear evidence of the addition is on the plat of the Wallace Nutting purchase (see Illustration 19).

Presumably the ell was added between 1884 and 1915. Yet the 1884 Atlas cannot be accepted as hard and definitive evidence; the ell might have been a part of the structure at a much earlier date.

Generally it is the opinion of those who have examined it that the ell is much more modern than the main part of the house. Conover Fitch, supervising the First Iron Works Association restoration, wrote in 1950, for example, that

We still hold to our recommendation that the wing should one day be moved away from the old house. The present work to be done to the wing may thus be considered to be a temporary expedient and we are recommending only work which seems advisable to make the wing sound, weathertight, well heated and reasonably comfortable.²

Fitch's opinion seems to be a commonly expressed one today, but his less than enthusiastic view of the ell apparently was not shared by Wallace Nutting in 1915.

1. An "ell" is generally defined as an extension at right angles to a building, but has been used to refer to the extension on the main structure of the Ironmaster's House.

2. Conover Fitch, Jr., of Perry, Shaw and Hepburn, Kehoe and Dean, to FIWA, 7 Dec. 1950, SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."
Indeed, Nutting not only retained the ell when he restored it but within the year had significantly enlarged it as quarters for a caretaker. While Nutting's enlargement of the ell probably carried with it no more implications than the simple need to house his blacksmith and caretaker, Edward Guy (mentioned in the "House Occupancy" section below), Henry Charles Dean's inclusion of the ell may indicate that he felt it was of some historical value. (See Illustration 2.)

The graphic and narrative documentation provide few solid pieces of evidence on the ell. This leaves the task of determining its age to the physical examination conducted by the historical architect.

**House Occupancy**

Sometime between the mid and late 19th century the house apparently was divided into tenements. (At least it was so arranged by the time of Whitefield's sketch in 1879.) By 1895 three separate individuals—and perhaps their families—lived at the house, by that time designated 233, 235, and 237 Central Street. These tenants were Frederick Bamford, a spinner (in a nearby cloth mill); Charles C. Pilling, a machinist; and Henry H. Townsend, a finisher (probably in the same local mill). The next year the same three renters still lived there. By 1898 Townsend had gone, his place (235 Central) having been taken by Miss Alice Cavanaugh, a wool weaver.

Little more is known of the house tenants until 1915 when William Sumner Appleton reported that

The eastern end is occupied by Mr. Henry C. Lockwood and Mr. John Thacker. Mr. Lockwood is a cobbler by trade. . . . Mr. George Early lives in the western end with his wife and their son and his children, Mildred and Dorothy.

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3. See, for example, SPNEA photograph #2243a, SAIR photograph #42, dated January 1916, showing the recently restored structure.

4. SPNEA photograph #1160a, SAIR photograph #53, shows the recently-enlarged ell.

5. Cummings, "The Ironworks Farm," p. 395, indicates a division of the house as early as 1809.

6. Henry M. Meek, *The Lynn Suburban Directory . . ., 1897-1898* (Published by author, 3 Orange Street, Salem, Mass., 1897), pp. 159, 190, and 200 respectively.

7. Town of Saugus, *Valuation of Real and Personal Estates and Poll Tax Papers of the Inhabitants of the Town of Saugus Liable to Taxation May 1, 1896 [Series No. 27]* (Marlborough, Mass.: Times Publishing Co., 1897), pp. 10, 89, 70, and 80 respectively.


Following the restoration of 1915/16, the old portion of the house was, of course, unoccupied. In 1928 the ell housed Edward Guy, Nutting's blacksmith, and his wife and son, Mary and Edward. 10 Guy and "a careless family" (Guy's wife had died by this time) lived in the house until 1940, 11 the last known house occupants.

The House Name

The earliest documents naming the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House are Edwin Whitefield's sketches of 1879 and 1880, both of which bear the title "The Iron Works House, Saugus." 12 The next time a title was applied to the home was in 1907 in Hawkes's Hearths and Homes of Old Lynn. 13 Here the house is pictured and labelled "The Iron Works Mansion." Henry Dean referred to it as the "Iron Works House" in his 1908 drawings. In 1915 the phrase is repeated in Wallace Nutting's deed, and the building described as:

The above described property being No. 233-235 on said Central Street and known as the Old Iron Works House. 14

A 1925 deed also calls it "The Old Iron Works House," 15 despite the addition of the name "Broadhearth" 16 after Nutting's restoration.

Throughout the 1930s "The Iron Works House" remained the name, and was used in the correspondence concerning the Henry Ford Trade School Alumni purchase of the structure. Another name commonly mentioned in this correspondence is "The Old Iron House." 17 The initial correspondence stationery of the First Iron Works Association, Inc., called it "Old Iron Works House, Saugus, Mass." 18

11. M. Louise Hawkes to W. S. Appleton, 12 Apr. 1940, SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."
17. See, for example, F. E. Searle, Trustee, Henry Ford Trade School Alumni Association, Appleton, 2 June 1943, SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."
18. See, for example, Resolution, FIWA, 19 May 1944, SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."
The transition to the name "Ironmaster's house" was underway by October 1951 when the structure was called "Ironmaster's house" in print. During the period the structure was owned by FIWA, the appellation "Ironmaster's house" replaced "Ironworks house." By the time the structure passed to the National Park Service, the newer name had become the norm. This name remained in common use until late 1975 when the research conducted by Abbott Lowell Cummings revealed that the structure had not been built during the active life of the ironworks. Cummings suggested the name "Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House," reflecting the names of the families who owned the structure during most of its existence.  


CHAPTER 6: RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ADDITIONAL RESEARCH AND OTHER CONSIDERATIONS

Additional Research

The Mansfield House

Close by the Ironmaster's House--about sixty feet away from it at their closest point--sits the "Mansfield house," or, as the Mansfield wills in the early- to mid-19th century stated, the "New house." Recent research indicates an early-19th-century construction date for this building. Such a feature would be a valuable resource in most historical parks within the National Park System, yet the opposite is true at Saugus Iron Works. Architecturally plain and undistinguished, it blocks the visitor's view of the Ironmaster's House, clashes with it aesthetically, and, perhaps most important, poses a threat to the Ironmaster's House should it catch on fire. Even a small blaze in the structure could ignite the older house if there were a slight breeze at the time. The dilemma posed by the closeness of the two structures should be addressed as soon as practicable and resolved in the revised master plan, if not sooner. Obviously, there can be no solution satisfactory to all the valid arguments. An early-19th-century structure cannot be destroyed capriciously by the federal agency responsible for the preservation of historic structures. Yet there are many 19th-century structures extant in New England and precious few 17th-century ones. A possible solution to the problem might involve sacrificing the site integrity of the Mansfield House for the safety and historical integrity of the Ironmaster's House. Such a solution might involve moving the Mansfield House away from the Ironmaster's House and using it in some adaptive restoration role within the park. This would involve National Park Service policy considerations as well as legislative and executive order compliance procedures, but the solution of the problem might be worth the considerable effort involved.

Intrusive Buildings

Two buildings near the Ironmaster's House are 20th-century products and should be considered for removal during the master plan-interpretive prospectus revision. One, the visitor contact station, was constructed by the First Iron Works Association in 1954. As soon as visitor contact needs can be transferred to a more suitable facility--presumably a nonintrusive visitor center--the structure should be removed. The second intrusive building came into existence in two stages. During the 1915 restoration, Wallace Nutting moved two older structures to the area and had their materials used to construct the present main wing of the museum. The First Iron Works Association added a wing resembling a series of interconnected packing crates. Since the area's display artifacts are stored in this old building, a new structure must be built before this is removed. This, too, is a proper subject for attention in the master plan-interpretive prospectus revision.

A final structural intrusion is the ell attached to the Ironmaster's House, which houses the park's offices. It was almost certainly not an original part
of the 17th-century structure. Also, photographs taken between 1915 and 1917 indicate that the roof was raised and the building extended westward during that period. The ell is an ungainly attachment to the classic and utilitarian lines of the Ironmaster's House, and in the revision of the master plan-interpretive prospectus consideration should be given to removing it once its age and relation to the house are established.

**Historical Studies Plan**

The current lack of money for development and for the necessary research preceding development will necessitate a revision of the dates for the completion of historical studies noted in the July 1974 plan. The recommended sequence of studies remains valid, however, and should be retained as the scheduling adjustments are made.

**Wallace Nutting Research**

Little is known of Wallace Nutting's approach to the restoration of the house he purchased in 1915. Nutting's autobiography sheds so little light on the subject that it is not included in this study. More could be gathered from the various repositories of Nutting's papers. Among the known locations of Nutting materials are the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the archives of New York City's Metropolitan Museum of Art. The collection and acquisition of these letters (assuming that the depositories involved would permit copying of them) might be accomplished by the staff of the park, where the material should be kept on file.
APPENDIX A


Reproduced by permission of Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston, Massachusetts.
"THE RESTORATION OF OLDE NEW ENGLAND HOUSES

"There are various types of olde New England houses, and there are various methods of restoring them: Some methods result in hinting at their ancient charm and distinction, while other methods caricature their vanished austerity, or grandeur and nobility. The House of the vii Gables in Salem is a conspicuous example of the former method--the olde Stone House at Guilford, Connecticut, a sombre spectacle of the latter method.

"Restoring a very old house is obviously not an easy thing to accomplish, and the method to be chosen in undertaking such a task is frequently a hard thing to determine. A case of "great antiquity" is liable to be very complex and mystifying, when its restoration is attempted. Naturally the wear and tear of people, as well as time, upon an original building of the xviith century is [in] one of the N. Eng. colonies is very great; and the alterations and accumulations [sic] to such a building numerous and amazing.

"A rare exception to this usual state of old houses is the venerable and dilapidated edifice called Freemans' Tavern, located close to the road, and at the head of Little River in West Gloucester. It was probably built by Jacob Davis in 1709, and has a hewn overhang on the front, and the ends; and imposing carved brackets on the posts snug under the overhang. The house--two full storeys in height--is of the large early type of dwelling, which comprises Halle, Parlour, Halle Chamber, Parlour Chamber, and a spacious attic covered by a steep gabled roof with a chimney in the middle. As the interior has never been much altered, and the exterior has no added leanto, the house is remarkable [sic] primitive in appearance. The restorer would therefore have a comparatively simple problem in preserving this antiquity from its impending doom.

"Quite the opposite would be his task when confronted with the complete restoration of a monument such as the one we are assembled in, for this tavern is of the xviiiith and xviith centuries--a combination of rooms and details varying much in their character and not altogether harmonious, or eloquent of "the good olde days," and particularly of that ever-memorable 19th day, which this Munroe Tavern does essentially commemorate. To remove the work of the viiith [sic] century--(together with the alterations and additions of the xviith century--which of course must disappear eventually), and to attempt to produce the original house of the 2d William Munroe would be folly, for little remains of that early building, except parts of the frame and foundations, and possibly some of the chimney and bits of detail buried in the walls. That the work of the xviith century together with that of ye xviith century (prior to the Revolution) must be sacredly preserved, seems unquestionable. Here it is the quality of the changes made in the xviiith century, coupled with their historical value and interest, which should establish their preservation, and the restoration of the Tavern as it was in 1775.

"As architectural accomplishments here, and everywhere, in the xviith centy failed to portray the sturdy and refined taste of the time to be commemorated by this building, they need no champion here, and should be obliterated. Throughout
the preservation of both 17th and 18th century work is the desirable method of restoration to be followed in this instance, and also in the neighbouring memorial--Buckman Tavern--combining xviith and xviith centy work, for houses of that kind have frequently disclosed excellent early detail, covered by mediocre xviith century accretions. When such a combination is encountered (as happened at the olde Iron Works House in Saugus), the scarcity of work of the xviith century makes the sacrifice of the later work (unless it is unique, or otherwise exceptional) necessary and imperative. The Iron Works Ho. was probably blt. in the 1st half of the 17th century and was similar in design to the Roger Williams House (commonly known as ue [sic] Witch House) in Salem. The original bldg. had a Halle (which we should call a Kitchen), a parlour, and a large porch (or entry) on the ground floor; and above each of these rooms were chambers of about the same dimensions. The projecting porch on the front was two-storeys high, and crowned by a steep gable--to the east and west of which were other gables on the main roof--the [sic] making the total number of IV gables on the house. An [sic] one story leanto was added across the back at a much later date; and early in the xviith century it had also become two storeys high--evidently to better accommodate several families then filling the house--for at that time an oven was built into the fireplace in the parlour chamber--other drastic changes of the same century materially helped to make the old buildings less venerable and dignified in its appearance, and a jig-saw pizza [piazza?] capped the climax.

"When the time came (it was only two or three years ago) to repair the injuries of many generations--it was quickly seen that the chief interest and glory of the place was its great age, and the old chimney a skeleton of the first building. Both historically and architecturally the additions of the xviith and xixth centuries were relatively unimportant; and therefore, as the restoration proceeded, and [sic] the gables, porch, and minor details of the early house were replaced. The effort from the start was to determine and duplicate the work done there when the 1st frame was raised. A portion [sic] of the earlier leanto has been retained and also a connectin [sic] ell or caretakers wing, because of the requirements of the present owner; but the appearance of the house does now suggest quite forcibly the charm and strikingly picturesque mass of the originial [sic] Iron Works House in the Wilderness.

"The House of the vii Gables, before its restoration, did not present the same problem as the Saugus House; for though the earliest part was blt. by John Turner in 1669, and was like the Iron Works House in plan, the later additions made in 1697 and 1720 were unique and very handsome. A grandson of Turner blt. onto the front (and to the left of the porch) a huge wing containing the present elegant parlour, and the best chamber. Originally the fine hewn-frame was exposed in these added rooms--but in 1720 it was concealed by dignified paneling, and plastered walls and ceilings. Some time before 1741, a leanto had also been added, but lat [sic] in the xviith centy it was removed along with the ornamental gables on the house--and at the same time the overhang on the parlour wing was stupidly boxed up. Of course these unfortunate alterations were a blundering attempt to make the ancient edifice appear less antique; and as time went on the damages multiplied, till at the opening of the 20th century the famous house had become a sham and a delusion.

"When the restorer took the place in hand, he judiciously spared the praiseworthy additions of the xviith and xviith centuries [sic], because of
great merit—as well as their part in Hawthorne's legend. The retention of 18th century interior details made requisite the replacing of 18th century windows in a 17th century dwelling. So the House of the viii Gables, as restored does not picture accurately the House of the viii Gables as it was prior to 1700—for the preservation of two types of colonial work had to be accomplished.

"The examples just cited indicate a variety of methods employed in restoring houses combining work of the 17th and 18th and 19th centuries. But there is only one method to choose when the salvation of most of the post-Revolutionary houses is at stake—and that is to blot out every addition and alteration, and to present them in their original [sic] form.

"As an invariable rule all restoration of ancient New England houses must be impersonal, and aim in every case to preserve (and when necessary, reproduce) the manifold excellent characteristics they have ever possessed. The work must be impersonal for the sake of greater accuracy; for the great value of a relic is its testimony, and therefore it must ring true. The likes and the dislikes of the 20th century should never influence the restorer, for his work is to declare, as definitely as possible, what old New England Houses were like—not what this century would have them like."

HENRY CHARLES DEAN
LINCOLN'S BIRTHDAY
ANNO DOMI 1917"
APPENDIX B

William Sumner Appleton, "Notes on the Iron Works House, 235 Central Street, Saugus, Mass.," dictated 1 February 1915

Reproduced by permission of Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston, Massachusetts.
"Dictated 1 February 1915

Notes on the Iron Works House
235 Central Street, Saugus, Mass.

"This house was visited on January 30, 1915, with Mr. Wallace Nutting and Mr. Henry Charles Dean.

"The eastern end is occupied by Mr. Henry C. Lockwood and Mr. John Thacker. Mr. Lockwood is a cobbler by trade. Mr. Thacker lived in the house as a boy fifty years ago, when he says it was a pretty different looking proposition [sic] from what it is now.

"Mr. George Early lives in the western end with his wife and their son and his children, Mildred and Dorothy.

"The house has a front overhang of about 18 inches hidden by a piazza. The windows are quite modern and so are the exterior doors. The leanto has been carried to the height of the second story and accordingly the house has lost all distinction and style in exterior appearance.

"The chimney top, however, is a very good one, having a succession of superimposed pilaster strips, but so many flues have been added at different times the stack is an enormous one - perhaps the largest I know of anywhere.

"The east parlor has been divided into two rooms and there is no sign of the fireplace to be seen.

"The east chamber I forget about.

"The west parlor has a curved plaster moulding above the fireplace which is wholly bricked in.

"The west chamber has a good fireplace, probably added after the house was built.

"Throughout the house there are good knees on the corner posts. The framework is very heavy indeed and most of it cased. There is no sign of visible old sheathing and the doors are pretty much all modern as are the hinges.

"The front hall is peculiarly ample and must have been very striking with its original staircase, but the present one is of later date - perhaps wholly so, or perhaps only partly so.

"In the eastern end of the garret the room has been plaster ceiled. In [sic] the western end of the garret is still open and shows the original rafters [sic] underneath those of the more modern leanto. Perhaps the line of the original rafters was carried down to the ground for a first leanto and then the second leanto was built later, carrying that portion of the building up two stories.
"There are signs of a western and central gable in the garret and soubtless [sic] signs of an eastern gable will be found behind the plaster.

"The main pilaster strip on the front of the chimney, which may merely be the original size of the chimney [sic], extends through the whole height of the garret. Its appearance as a pilaster strip may be caused by the later addition of an eastern and western flue.

"The house is well worth preserving and something should be done about it."
APPENDIX C


Reproduced by permission of Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston, Massachusetts.
"NOTES"

By W.S.A.

"This house was visited on February 26, 1914, in company with the Essex Chapter, S. A. R.

"The house was originally one of the central chimney type, with two rooms on a floor, two stories and a garret in height. To this was later added a lean-to, two stories in height, the second set of rafters showing plainly in the garret, and the later work is lacking the heavy framing of the older.

"The house has a decided overhang of perhaps a foot or a foot and a half, but this overhang is largely concealed from the chance observer by a piazza along the whole of the front.

"The entrance door and the front staircase are of a later and practically modern date. The west room and west chamber have summers from front to back, and the posts on which the summers rest have [sic] are crudely blocked at the top. The cornerposts have fine knees. Neither of these rooms has any old sheathing, nor do the doors look as old as they should.

"The summer in the lower west room is cased; in the west chamber it is invisible, being either hidden by the ceiling [sic] or entirely removed. If I remember right, the summer in the garret was visible running from the west end to the chimney. In the east end the summers are both visible and haveplain [sic] chamfers or stops; they run from the front to back. These rooms, like the western ones, are lacking in old sheathing. All four of these rooms have ceilings and the woodwork is painted. The windows are all modern.

"The garret is good; the original roof being apparently there or strongly indicated. There is no ridgepole, but the old original rafters are there. Many of the stalls seem to be new, and apparently this gives reason to believe that the roof boarding has been as [at] sometime renewed. This boarding is horizontal. On the front it shows a trace of the western gable and a central gable, but the evidence about an eastern gable was hidden under a later covering of plaster in the east garret.

"The whole house sits quite true and the floors seem to be sound. There is an ell on the west end, and the chimney appears to be original, or at least so old that it is set in clay. A broad pilaster strip juts out on the front face and at the top still another pilaster [sic] strip is built out in the middle of that, having its original seam 6 in. below the roof line. There chimney flues abut against the original chimney. The first probably dates from the building of a fireplace on the ground floor of the lean-to; the second may have reference to a second story fireplace in the lean-to, but I do not recollect making a careful investigation, for there may even beno [sic] fireplace in the second story lean-to. I did not go back to find out after noticing the second chimney flue."
"The house has long been used for tenement quarters and is much spoilt by an over supply of stairs.

"About an acre of land is said to go with the house, but it seemed to me from the bounds that there was probably a trifle more. To the south the line is roughly parallel with the front of the house and is perhaps 15 or 20 feet from it. To the north the line is roughly parallel with the back of the house, and perhaps 100 ft. from it. The road bounds the line on the east, and is perhaps 100 ft. away. On the west the line is roughly parallel with the road, some 200 or 250 feet away.

"The occasion of this visit was a pleasant meeting of the old Essex Chapter, at which I was an invited guest. We left Lynn in a large four-horse pung with a row of seats on each side, with straw in the bottom. From the house we drove many miles to ancient Sirloin Camp, Sluice Pond, Wyoma, where a fine steak dinner was served. After dinner I addressed the Chapter on the advisability of their acquiring the house as their Chapter headquarters."
APPENDIX D


From SAIR Files.
"THE IRON WORKS HOUSE, SAUGUS, MASSACHUSETTS

A Report on its Structural and Archeological Aspects, prepared for Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, Kehoe and Dean, by Felicia Doughty Kingsbury. June 25, 1951

PART ONE - STRUCTURAL REPORT

SOIL, DRAINAGE, AND VENTILATION

"The soil at the site of this house is a heavy mixture of gravel and clay, the latter predominating. There is considerable subsurface water near. The cellar is fairly deep, varying from seven to twelve feet, and has an earthen floor. Cellar walls have only one small closed window, and one bulkhead, generally closed. Therefore moisture has a tendency to collect in the cellar with a resulting deterioration of the wooden structure above it. This is apparent not only in cellar girts and joists but in the rooms above where moisture collects under the rugs and stains the floors. In addition, the cellar has long been unsanitary, and creates a disagreeable odor perceptible when the first floor cellar door is opened.

"Recommendations

A new bulkhead of a more historical design which can be louvred or otherwise will provide ventilation.

A louvred door for summer use in the old opening on the south wall, now closed.

Cellar windows ventilating crawl-space under custodian's wing (if this attached building is to be retained).

A cellar window in north wall under the lean-to.

MASONRY, CELLAR

"Chimney foundation:--A not very thorough examination of this gives the impression that it is in good condition; i.e. the soil has not washed away around it and it shows no settling or cracks. It should be more carefully inspected.

"Cellar walls, probably originally laid dry, are now heavily cement-pointed. The heaviness of the clay soil and its water content, which the walls support, plus the dirt floor which has been dug out and tampered with and has absorbed moisture, together have caused the walls to give way in three areas. No stones have yet fallen but they are bulging and out of line to a foot or eighteen inches and need immediate attention.

"Recommendations

Jack up house, take down walls in the sections giving way, doing this with archeological attention to discoverable evidence, and rebuild these sections with cement throughout.
except on face, and in such a way that they will act as piers, protecting remaining untouched walls from part of their present load. Sills should also be further examined at this time.

CHIMNEY ABOVE CELLAR

"The chimney consists of two parts; - the east and west fireplaces and flues which in plan are square-- plus the leanto fireplace and flue, joining the original chimney on the north. The leanto section is less stable than the earlier part because of its tall thin shape, extreme amount of corbeling and the softer brick of which it is made. In the attic considerable surface disintegration has occurred, aided from time to time by leaky chimney flashing. Also in the attic its side walls are warped and out of line. Surface plaster has not prevented the results of settling, nor crumbling of the soft brick under the plaster. A crack between the two parts of the chimney starts apparently in the attic (I did not get up on the roof), and the crack is serious at second floor level (accessible from the closet of the west bedroom). The settling which this crack discloses is probably putting too great a load on the old brick masonry of the great fireplace in the first floor room below.

"Looking up the chimney from the east bedroom, it is apparent that a flying partition of brick at the top of the chimney is giving way and dropping bricks into this fireplace. The function of the partition may have been to act as a brace.

"Recommendations

Angle iron under brick partition at top of chimney.
Raised masonry cap over chimney top to keep out rain.
Thorough cleaning.
Repointing and patching inside where needed.
Heavy coat of fireproof plaster inside chimney except fireplaces.
Rebuilding of leanto chimney from fireplace up.

OUTER COVERING

"The clapboards and other outside boards are modern and in good condition. Clapboards on the custodian's wing, only noticed in passing seem to be older and to need renailing (this building not explored). Windows--sash, very light stock, pine, are not rigid enough for the leaded lights, of which there has been a high percent of breakage. Some lights now broken or missing. Some latches also broken or missing. Hooks needed for fastening when open, to prevent banging. Frames generally sound and weatherproof.
Shingles, curled, weathered and missing.
Ridge boards-- rotted out and missing in places.
Flashing probably needs replacing in all valleys and around chimneys.
These three causes result in leakage which is apparent throughout house.
Finials--Rotting badly and in places missing.
Drops--seem to be in good condition.
"Recommendations
Replace pine sash with oak or brace it with specially

designed wrought iron hinges (pattern available).

Restore missing latches

Provide long hooks and eyes

Reshingle entire roof

(Roofboards to stay as is, see below)

Replace ridge boards

Reflash throughout

Omit finials

Retain drops, fill cracks between them and posts with
caulking compound. Oil drops thoroughly with linseed.

FRAME FROM CELLAR UPWARD

"No signs of termites nor carpenter ants found anywhere. Beetle infestation is
significantly slight.

Both ends of the house possess cellar summer beams. Of these the one at the
eastern end shows some beetle infestation and dry rot in early stages resulting
from the damp still air.

Two girts from chimney to south sill are unsafe. Also the four joists and stair
stringer resting upon them.

FRAME--FIRST FLOOR

"At this level all is sound except the East end girt. This has been thoroughly
eaten out in lengthwise channels by beetles, and needs immediate attention. The
chimney girts, having rough split back-sides, are a haven for insects and all
cracks should be sprayed and filled.

FRAME--SECOND FLOOR

"Masonry described above. East front chimney post and adjoining south end, east
chimney girt, completely rotted out and failing. As a result this girt is
rolling over toward the east, allowing joists to slack up, and creating sag in
floor above.

Modern entry porch posts, and plate apparently built of green wood, have checked
to an unusual degree, and should be further inspected for shear. Southeast
front corner post is rotted out from plate to girt and not salvageable.

South end west chimney girt has been spliced with two pieces of plank approxi-
mately eighteen inches long. These are easily detected and show poor construc-
tion. All other members at this level are structurally sound.

FRAME--PLATE TO RIDGE

"Roof boards, collar beams, purlins, rafters, plate, floor, all sound. New
porch gable, with oak purlins and principal rafters had holes made for pegs in
pairs, of which only one hole is used, and the second empty throughout. A row
of bricks sitting on the plate has no function except to keep people in the hall
below from realizing the incongruities of construction.
"Structural Recommendations

Fill the space (at juncture of plate and porch gable) with an old plank, laid edgewise. Put new properly pegged splices on south ends of chimney girts having under half of new portion extend northward under upper part of old portion, with wedge-shaped sections.

At first floor level investigate whether east end girt could be filled with a substance which would harden and provide support, using surviving cell structure as a form.

At second floor level replace or splice, according to condition found, the southeast chimney post. Raise or replace new summer in west bedroom or replace original east-west summer in order to correct sag in attic floor over existing west summer. Remove vent pipe from former toilet now projecting through lean to roof.

Replace trap door to attic with lighter one or support this one by weight and pulley. Its weight is now dangerous.

INTERIOR FINISH

"All wooden surfaces, particularly floors, are badly dried out, dusty-looking, and inhospitable. This condition also invites beetle infestation. Iron hardware is in good condition.

Paint and stain;-The favorite formula of fish oil and lamp black, has been used on the exterior and apparently nothing at all on the interior except where new work was artificially antiqued.

"Recommendations

The Dowe Chemical Company have done research on wood finishes containing fungicides. They might provide a thin liquid wax containing an insecticide. They are interested in meeting special demands. Failing this, all interior wood should be coated with colorless minwax, possibly sprayed on. The wood should be thoroughly clean and dry before this is applied. It will need at least two coats and subsequently a generous coat at least every second year.

SUMMARY

"This house even in older parts is in unusually sound condition for a structure even of the late seventeenth century. The greatest outlay and revision which it demands are caused by archeological rather than structural necessity, and are described in the following Part Two of this report."
THE IRON WORKS HOUSE, SAUGUS, MASSACHUSETTS

In the following report, no recommendations will be made because the extent to which alteration should go, involves considerations outside the field of research.

by Felicia Doughty Kingsbury

June 25, 1951

PART TWO - ARCHEOLOGICAL REPORT

PERIOD

"It is impossible to name a date for the erection of this house without definite documentary evidence. There are, however, scattered and sometimes very indirect indications, which tempt the investigator to arrive at a conclusion which is still open to revision.

"The Iron Works House does not convey the conviction of its being an early seventeenth century house. Particularly in the garret, where the individual character of each seventeenth century house confronts one with the strongest impact, does this house lack the feel of the period. Other houses, built during the last quarter of the century, give a stronger impression of the methods, materials, and convictions, of builders lately arrived from pre-Renaissance England, and raising a structure in the midst of Indian infested virgin forest.

"Throughout the whole frame there is lacking the customary ingenuity and skill, pride of craftsmanship, emphasis upon permanence and strength, and choice of prime material. The work gives one the feeling that whoever built it took little pride in it and was not building it for his own occupancy. This characteristic could be explained by its having been built by indentured prisoners of war. An example of this is the fact that throughout the frame, bark has been left on a majority of the beams. I have not seen the Scots-Boardman House recently enough to compare the attic framing of the two in detail, and that is an obvious next step to take. However, the general layout and finish of Scots-Boardman shows distinctly more skill and carefulness than does this one. To take two examples only: the cellars could not have been built during the same period or by the same people because they reveal differing methods and objectives. Scots-Boardman was built simply to keep food from freezing. It is deep and small, under the left front room only, and is reached by stone stairs next the chimney; and typically, access to them is from the right front room under the upper stair. The pine sheathing at Boardman has survived and is finely beaded on both sides, while the only sheathing remaining at the Iron Works House is at the head of the cellar stairs and suggests no such standard of workmanship.

"If this house was built in 1636, it is entirely likely that it had only a pit cellar under the west room with access to it from the room above. That the existing cellar is of later date is shown by the present cellar wall which contains stones from the hearth and lining of the Iron Works furnace. These were in use at the furnace for a long enough period to have become thoroughly burned, and thus indicate a date subsequent to 1643."
"Throughout the house a majority of the original timber is unusually knotty, suggesting a use of second growth timber, unlike parts of the Iron Works wheel, which were cut from clear oak logs approximately four feet in diameter.

"Builders of the early seventeenth century placed their houses by compass, due north and south. The chimney conforms to this tradition, but the long axis of the house lies two degrees southeast and northwest. This is very apparent in the garret, where the frame seems to have been set askew upon the chimney.

"This may have been the fact, because the chimney foundation represents enough labor and material to suggest that it would have been adopted by later builders after an earlier structure had burned or been torn down. Convenience of the site to the Iron Works, and the rarity of well drained sites near, would have confirmed the desire to keep to this site in rebuilding.

"Nails: The earliest nails found so far in the house do not appear to be as early a type as some found at the Iron Works. Examples taken from the principal rafter--southeast new gable--accompany this report. Of these, five are wrought and one is cut, and all are from the same area. If the outside wall boarding is in situ untouched, nails taken from this would be more revealing. Nails found in Scots-Boardman clapboards under the leanto suggest earlier work.

EVOlUTION

"The existing Iron Works House appears to have been built in three stages: one, the present west end, both floors, encompassing the chimney. Two, the east end, both floors, and the present roof-frame and cellar. Three, the leanto. Of these, one might belong to 1650-70, two to 1680-90, or 1700, three strangely enough, to 1780. Reasons for coming to these conclusions are as follows:-

"Stage one: in this area there has been the greater amount of replacement, suggesting that the timbers were oldest. This part of the house was framed much more heavily than the east end. This end had the larger fireplace. Timbers in this end, though larger, were cut from cleared stock.

"Stage two: to this period belongs the knotty wood with bark left on, to be found in east second summer, principal rafters both ends of roof and elsewhere. Workmanship on roof frame generally suggests conformity with this phase.

"If an earlier chimney was used and the two westerly fireplaces existed before construction of stage two, a temporary leanto shed might have made use of them, later revised. A splice occurs in the east front girt first floor, just under the spot in the attic where the old roof boards show a break. A corresponding splice on the rear girt occurs at second floor level. Front plate is new, and rear girt shows no splices, so that this is doubtful evidence. The general use of pine rather than oak, for boarding and floors, suggests replacement in a district where because of the character of the soil, it is likely that oak was originally the more common growth.

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“Stage three: in the leanto, mouldings and trim are of the late eighteenth century. The house must have stood for a hundred years without a leanto, and never acquired the customary great leanto fireplace, kitchen, buttery, kitchen chamber, and back stairs to leanto garret for the hired man. The existing leanto fireplace and chimney because of size and construction, preclude any possibility of such a function, or layout, though the present north entry to the left of the leanto fireplace, suggests a location for stairs prior to the removal of half the leanto.

**GABLE EVIDENCE**

“The front plate is new from the west second summer to the east front post. Any evidence of gable framing would be found in the remaining west end of front plate, not now accessible. The rear plate is old but not accessible, and gables would probably not have existed on the north. Purlins and principal rafters show no tenon slots for valley rafters or gable purlins. Crawl space under porch gable shows no evidence of early foundations. To find these, outside trenching would be required.

“Only two circumstances suggest that seventeenth century gables existed in this frame, and these suggestions are very tentative. The fact that both south ends of the chimney girls rotted out, hints at the possibility of leakage from valley rafters above, since the greatest leakage would occur at just these points and no other girls have rotted on the south ends.

“The second suggestion is offered by the variation of framing systems employed on north and south sides of the roof. On the north, common rafters are continuous and pass behind the purlins: while on the south, rafters of the same apparent age, are mortised into the purlins and are not continuous. This would leave, on the south, the roof area below the purlins, free for the introduction of valley framing.

“Three triangular apertures in the boarding appear in the south roof centered on the bays below. Their apices [sic] are barely above the level of the purlins and their center-lines on principal rafters. Gables could not well have been located at these points when the roof was erected because the existing principal rafters would have been in the way, as they now are in the way of the modern gables. Such gables would have required valley rafters mortised into the plate, as an integral part of the roof frame.

“These apertures were cut in the earliest type of roofing board, and by three different methods. The upper boards taken from them were nailed back in place with wrought nails similar to those used in nailing on the roof-boards elsewhere. The upper and best defined edges of the triangles were saved out on a bevel similar to the ship-lapping found elsewhere, and finished with a draw-knife. Ends of some roof-boards are similarly cut. A later enlarging of these openings was sawed with a rough, square edge. On the west, later still, probably when the new gable was added, more boards were cut away by being chopped with an axe against the rafter.

“I conclude that at an early date, high dormer windows were planned and that the scheme was abandoned even before the pieces sawn out, could be mislaid, and that the remaining openings are no indication of seventeenth century gables.
"Summary: the only possibilities of finding further evidence are in trenching around porch foundations, uncovering west end front plate, and finding documentary records. Other than these possibilities and the traditional style of the period, there is no positive evidence in this house that any gables existed in the seventeenth century.

EVIDENCES OF MEMBERS NOW MISSING FROM ORIGINAL FRAME

"All corner posts show empty peg holes about forty inches above the floors. These are in the broadly chamfered inner corners of the posts. Their location precludes their use for corner braces unless they went upward toward the ceilings. I do not understand their purpose.

"In the west bedroom, pegholes in the end girt, thirty inches apart, next the window and just north of it, suggest that a door at this location led to an ell or wing no longer existing. Probing in the ground below might reveal foundations for such an ell. Pegs for the window studs are fifty-two inches apart and the thirty inch interval is an extra. Double peg holes appear in the east end girt at first floor level. These are twenty inches north of a similar pair now being used for a stud of a new window of which the second stud, thirty-four inches south, is held by a single peg. This inconsistency indicates a door or a corner brace at this point. Double pairs of peg-holes fifty six inches apart in the upper part of the north girt, same room, suggest the previous existence of braces or openings in the north wall of the room above. The fact that the east bedroom has no post under its summer beam on this wall further suggests that an opening was closed up when the lean-to was added.

"In the west end of the house, both floors, notches in girts show that summer beams once went east and west as in the cellar below. If these went across the tops of summers in the present locations, they would indicate an early seventeenth century method of construction. If summers in the present locations did not exist along with east-west summers, the very early middle post at north wall of bedroom would have no purpose, and floor joists would have been mortised into north and south plates, changing the lay of the attic floor boards above. Of this there is no evidence. However, there is clear evidence that the present modern second floor summer is smaller than the original both ways, by three inches vertical and two inches horizontal, although it approximately matches the size of the old one in the east bedroom. Evidence for the above is shown in the sag in west garret floor joists and in the two inch overlap on the north post bracket, which would have better fitted the old chamfered summer beam, eleven inches by thirteen, in the cellar below.

EVIDENCE OF STRUCTURAL CHANGE OR REPLACEMENT

"There is reason to suspect that what appear to be two chimney girts at first floor level, were originally one beam, and were split and thus used for replacement in restoration. Reasons for such a belief are four: First, they are the only beams alike in size and texture on east and west ends of house. Second the back side looks as if recently split, and was not added as splinters show in the crack. Third, each beam is painted at one end and smoke stained at the other. In the east room the smoke-stained end is properly over the fireplace. In the west room the smoked stained end is away from the fireplace.
Therefore it probably came from the east room. Fourth, the west fireplace shows signs of having been rebuilt at this level, as the space between chimney lintel and chimney girt has been replastered and looks revised. Much of this fireplace has been rebuilt, and probably with general justification, since it must have been in a ruinous condition by the end of the nineteenth century.

"By the end of the eighteenth century, mouldings and trim of the bedrooms matched existing trim of the leanto. Such evidence exists in the bedroom closets. Early in the eighteenth century the east room first floor, ceiling was lathed and plastered lengthwise between joists; the stains showing now not only on ceiling boards but along the sides of summer beam, girts, and joists. This was unusual because it was easier to box the whole ceiling in at the time of plastering.

"Accessible from the further leanto attic, may be seen original outer wall joists, brick infill, and ship-lapped outside planking. Unusual is the fact that this plank is not oak, but pine, and the ship-lapping is upside down.

"In the leanto attic, the door to the bedroom has been filled in to accommodate a smaller, new, seventeenth century type door introduced during restoration.

"The greatly increased number of shingle nails in boards on the south roof compared to those on the north is without significance, as south side shingles wear out quickly and require more frequent replacement.

"Over-mantel cupboards in bedrooms are new, and there is no evidence other than tradition, of the original treatment. Stock and finish, however, look conspicuously modern.

"The stairway differs in width and pitch from any typical in seventeenth century New England. Evidence of the original treatment has mostly been defaced or covered, but is still accessible at the winders at garret level which show a slight change in width and support. Also on the wall at head of cellar stairs, a print of the original winders can be seen in the white-wash. From this print it should be possible to deduce the width and number of steps. It is probable that the original stair was steeper, narrower, and at least partly enclosed. It probably was supported by one or two posts continuous through at least two flights. Cellar stairs should have been of stone or puncheons.

"A list follows of all new members now in the house.

Clapboards, drops, finials, shingles, casement windows.
Entire porch gable and two roof gables.
On the first floor, south east front post, west end girt and joists.
Entire stairway with possible exception of top three steps.
Second floor front plate as described, west summer end joists.
Stair girts at garret floor level between chimney girts. Entire floor from front door to stairway.
Garret window frames and other members illustrated in measured drawing. Also the garret originally was finished off for a room by the east end
at least. Principal rafters and purlins are chamfered below, but not above purlin level. Marks in the plaster on the chimney, east side, show a ceiling at this level and a vertical partition, presumably for the stair head. A worn and hollowed area on the top of the western-most collar beam shows the location of a ladder.

SHEATHING AND INSIDE FINISH

"With no knowledge of the conditions found by the restorers, one should not offer caustic criticism, but it is in the interior wall surfaces, that the greatest departure has been made from the traditional appearance of seventeenth century interiors. The prevalence of plaster walls and infill between structural members even on fireplace walls is monotonous, and offers none of the coziness and craftsmanship customary to sheathed houses. Evidence for such a choice is now concealed under the plaster.

"Much of the replaced boarding has been borrowed from garret roof and floor, and old beams from elsewhere have been used in places on the porch chamber. New wood has been carefully stained to look old. The actual surfaces of the wood should have been planed, adzed, and otherwise hand finished, to present a more agreeable and appropriate texture. Apparently the craftsmanship of the restoration stopped short at this point.

"Plaster texture and content is also altogether unlike seventeenth century work. It contains too coarse a sand, and should be troweled with the palm. It should also be [illegible] smoked color, and retinting will be needed to cover present water stains.

"In general, interior finish needs more worn and shiny textures, and mellow tints.

GENERAL APPEARANCE NOW COMPARED TO THAT OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

"Originally, each of these rooms provided the solution to the most acute necessities of shelter and housework. They were crowded both with people and things, many activities were carried on in them, and each room served a particular function. The present fittings fail to make the visitor realize any of these conditions, and they fail particularly in defining the functions and activities of the rooms. A chair here, a spinning wheel there, and fireplaces filled with cooking gear of all periods, do nothing to convey an understanding of seventeenth century life.

"Dated January 30, 1684-85, George Corwin's inventory of his house in Salem, shows the rooms to have been crowded with chairs as well as tables and chests. In one room he mentions nineteen chairs and two tables. In the "Red Chamber" he lists eight red branched chairs with covers, one small table, and other bulky items.

"Functions of the rooms of the Iron Works House probably were as follows: DOWNSTAIRS; the west room or "Fire Room," was a cooking and eating place, the east room or "Great Hall," was the gathering place and place of
business. Any downstairs bedroom in a possible ell, was a "chamber." The "Great Bedroom" was over the Great Hall, and the "Kitchen Bedroom" was over the Fire Room. These contained two to three beds of varying sizes. The "Garets" provided the weaving room and a possible spare bedroom, with storage space in the loft. The tools and accessories [sic] of each function were naturally concentrated in the room to which they belonged, and gave each room a character of its own. Many ells, sheds, and outbuildings, undoubtedly clustered about the house.

"In restoring a house of this period, architecture and furnishing are parts of the same picture, and both must take into account the physical conditions of the times. Of these, danger from Indians, the absence of most machinery, rigors of climate, and deficiencies of artificial light, were the dominating forces. These would affect the house structurally in the size of fireplaces, the protection to outer walls, the size and number of windows, the thickness of doors.

"They would affect the house furnishings because the importance of daylight would place writing and sewing places and the spinning wheel, near windows. Provision against cold and draughts would have placed settles and high backed chairs near fireplaces with their backs to doors and draughts. It would have put the cradle near the hearth and would have provided heavy bed and window curtains of bright colored wool, and it often required a door at the foot of each stair flight.

"The house should illustrate vividly the hard-working, crowded life that it contained, The customs, apprehensions, manual skills and occasional feasts and recreations of its inmates. To that end every detail should be worked into a whole which brings to the untrained visitor the impact of understanding and conviction."
BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Manuscript Materials


The Saugus Ironmaster's House material available at the SPNEA is largely photographic, some of which is shown in the illustrations in this study. W. S. Appleton's notes and H. C. Dean's drawings also are housed at the SPNEA.

Salem, Mass. Essex County Court House.

The court records are housed in two areas, the probate court and county court buildings. The original records are open and immediately available and include the real estate deeds and probate records.

Saugus, Mass. Saugus Iron Works NHS.

The files and documents available at Saugus include the file HL 1, "Ironmaster's House," which contains notes, documents, and letters concerning the structure, and a copy of the list of SPNEA photographs of the structure. The Saugus collection is the central and primary collection of Ironmaster's House materials.

2. Books, Pamphlets, Articles, and Maps


This study includes a general bibliography of Saugus Iron Works history and proposed studies of the park.


This map shows the Ironmaster's and Mansfield houses at Saugus Iron Works NHS from a low oblique elevation.


Carlson's excellent survey remains the basic reference work concerning the general history of the site.


This annotated collection of source materials, carefully edited, contains most of the known early data relating to the house.

This work, in conjunction with furnishings data found in the various Mansfield family probate records, can serve as the basic source material for furnishing the house.


Hartley's is the comprehensive, if somewhat less than clear, study of the ironworks.


This work contains a photograph of the pre-Nutting home.


This is an excellent survey of the pre-Williamsburg preservation movement and includes a chapter on Appleton's work in establishing the SPNEA.


This is Lewis's addition to Newhall's 1844 history and, while it gives no firm date on the house, is an interesting early Saugus history.


This was the first such directory published that showed Saugus.


This book contains a ca. 1909 photograph of the house.


This atlas contains the 1884 map of Saugus shown as Illustration 15.


These two works contain Illustrations 17 and 18 respectively.
ILLUSTRATIONS
Illustrations 1-14.

"Iron Works House, Saugus, Massachusetts," ca. summer 1908, drawn by Henry Charles Dean, historical architect.

Illustrations 1 through 7 show existing conditions and 8 through 14 show proposed restoration approaches.
Jim Work No.
Saugus Mass.
(Before restoration)
Illustration 15.


The Ironmaster's House is shown by the arrow. The house appears as a rectangle, and no ell is shown. On the north is the barn/carriage house.
Illustration 16.

Map, Cliftondale, Saugus, East Saugus, Massachusetts (Boston, 1896), "Presented by Daniel B. Willie to town of Saugus, 1936."

This map hangs in the city hall, Saugus. Photograph presented by Stephen A. Carlson of Saugus.
Illustrations 17 and 18.


Illustration 17 presented in 1879 edition and Illustration 18 in 1880 one.
The Iron Works House, Saugus.

This house was built by the Leonard family who had commenced the manufacture of iron about 1680. One of the brothers resided in the neighborhood of Saugus. The business was carried on here for 100 years. It was made the home of the house is of immense size, and is probably the largest in N. England. The interior has been somewhat modernized.

Saugus.

The Old Iron Works House.

This was built in 1643, but has been somewhat modernized, the pieces having been added about 1860. The chimney is of enormous size, and is probably the largest in N. England. It seems to consist from the fact that the seam into which built it commenced the manufacture of iron in 16-73. It continued to be made for 100 years afterwards.
Illustration 19.

Plat accompanying the deed of sale from George Niven to Wallace Nutting, dated 1915, Essex County Deed Book 2287, p. 364.
Saugus, Mass.
Eastman & Bradford,
Civil Engineers,
33 Exchange St.
Lynn, Mass.
Scale, 1 inch = 40 feet,
Feb. 15, 1915.

Saunm, Mar. 3, 1915; Rec. 412. in Power Reg.
Deeds (So. Dist) with Deeds. George R. Hiven
Incracy to Wallace Hitting
Rec. B. 2287. P. 244.

attest: M. R.}

MANSFIELD.
Illustration 20.

Photograph by George Bliss, 1899. It shows the structure essentially as Whitefield sketched it in 1879 and as Dean drew it in 1908. The ironworks ruins lay under the street and the stone wall.

Original at Lynn Historical Society, Lynn, Mass.
SAIR photo #35.
Illustrations 21-33 show the sequence of the Nutting restoration, 1915/16, and the house before and after. Comments are included as necessary with each view.

Photographs from the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, copies in SAIR File.

Illustration 21.

Pre-1915 view of house by S. C. Holman.

SPNEA photo #2631a.
SAIR photo #1.
Illustration 22.

Fall or winter 1915, by Henry C. Dean. The house shows a great deal of disrepair in comparison with earlier photographs and illustrations.

SPNEA photo #2229a.
SAIR photo #3.
Illustration 23.

Fall or winter 1915, by William S. Appleton. View from the southwest.

SPNEA photo #1112a.
SATR photo #4.
Illustration 24.

Fall or winter 1915, by William S. Appleton. View from northwest.

SPNEA photo #1113a.
SAIR photo #5.
Illustration 26.

Photograph by William S. Appleton, 20 September 1915. Restoration is obviously well under way.

SPNEA photo #1161a.
SATR photo #16.
Illustration 27.

Photograph by William S. Appleton, 30 September 1915.

SPNEA photo #1162a.
SAIR photo #17.
Illustration 28.

Photograph by William S. Appleton, 26 October 1915. Detail of house front.

SPNEA photo #1167a.
SAIR photo #22.
Illustration 29.

Late fall 1915 or early 1916, by Henry C. Dean.
External restoration appears complete on north and west.

SPNEA photo #2223a.
SAIR photo #25.
Illustration 30.

Late fall 1915 or early 1916, by Henry C. Dean. View from southeast showing front restoration virtually complete except for front porch (entrance hall).

SPNEA photo #2230a.
SAIR photo #27.
Illustration 31.

Late fall 1915 or early 1916, by Henry C. Dean.
External restoration is virtually complete.

SPNEA photo #2243a.
SAIR photo #42.
Illustration 32.
Summer 1917, by William S. Appleton. The ell has been extended and raised from its post-restoration original size.

SPNEA photo #1160a.
SAIR photo #53.
Illustration 33.

Photograph by C. Park Pressey, 12 October 1923. The house received no further major attention or external work until the FIWA took over its maintenance in 1947.

SPNEA photo #2631d.
SAIR photo #60.
ARCHITECTURAL DATA

by

Orville W. Carroll
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The research and completion of this study have depended upon many individuals who contributed knowingly and unknowingly to the information found herein. Former Superintendent W. Glen Gray and his staff, including Park Technician Cynthia Pollack and Carpenter-Maintenance Man Norman McNutt, contributed their knowledge to the project and provided access to the Iron Works files and library. Blaine Cliver, historical architect for the North Atlantic Region, spent many hours with the writer, examining the house, reviewing drawings and comments, and offering valuable suggestions. Bobby Flickinger, exhibit specialist, NPS, supervised the stabilization of the chimney and also found time to discuss the construction of the house. Christopher Mulhern, former NPS architect, ran the mortar tests and aided in measuring the house frame. The SPNEA cooperated by permitting us to copy photographs, drawings, and correspondence kept in their files. Abbott L. Cummings, executive director, is still involved in a study of the archival documents and dendrochronology that we hope will determine the building date of the Ironmaster's House.
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

Documentary research conducted during 1974-75 by John Albright, NPS historian, and Abbott L. Cummings, executive director for the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, was unable to pinpoint the exact date of construction of the so-called Ironmaster's House. Mr. Cummings has strong convictions that the house was built by Samuel Appleton, Jr., in 1681 or 1682. His feelings are based on several hypotheses: first, the overall size of the house suggests an owner possessing a sizeable personal fortune; secondly, its dimensions seem far too large for a dwelling built before the first half of the 17th century; thirdly, Mr. Cummings feels that the type of end construction of the floor joists is that employed in houses constructed after ca. 1665.

Nothing as fortunate as finding the date of construction chiseled into a framing member occurred. However, by removing a limited amount of building fabric (subsequently replaced), the writer was able to determine with credible reliability the size of the original house. It appears to have been two stories high and to have contained the existing four rooms, a garret, and a cellar. A two-story entrance porch and a full length lean-to ran across the north side. Gabled dormers could have been on either side of the porch roof, but this is conjectural.

Without question we possess a fine example of 17th-century architecture despite the fact that the structure has undergone numerous changes.
RESEARCH STUDIES COMPLETED

With the exception of the latest studies conducted after September 1974, a listing of all research projects at SAIR can be found in John Albright's historical studies plan (NPS, September 1974) and in his Historical Data section on the Ironmaster's House in this historic structure report.

In addition to the above studies, we have the results of thorough research conducted by A. L. Cummings that documents the ownership of the land encompassing the boundaries of the original "Hammersmith" operations begun in 1645. The Denver Service Center contracted with Mr. Cummings in 1975 to complete a study on the Iron Works Company that he had started a few years earlier. Dendrochronology was added to the report, and in June several borings were taken in posts and girts in hopes of determining the age of the timbers used.
I. ORIGIN OF BUILDING AND COMPARISON WITH SIMILAR BUILDINGS OF THE 17TH CENTURY

The origin of the so-called Ironmaster's House is still under study by A. L. Cummings, executive director, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. The scope of his research has been expanded to include documentation of the buildings standing on the original 600-acre site of the Iron Works purchased in 1645-47.

The necessity of expanding the study became apparent when the records revealed that there were over twenty houses on the property by 1650. Possibly three of these houses were large enough to compare with the existing Ironmaster's House.¹

Mr. Cummings's research so far indicates that the present-day house probably does not pre-date 1680. This assessment is based on his interpretation of written records and on the comparison of construction techniques in this house with those in other 17th-century houses built in America and England, particularly those structures built prior to ca. 1600.²

1. "A Collection of Papers Relating to the Ironworks at Lynn . . . Dated 1650 Et. SEQ," MSS, Baker Library, Harvard University, transcript in SAIR Files, taken from folders marked Parts I, II, and III. Some of the houses either constructed or under construction by 1650 were those of Goodman Pray, Thomas Look, Nicholas Pinnion, John Heardmann, Joseph Jinker (?), John Vinton, William Tingle, John Turner, Roger Tylor, John Francis, Thomas Wiggen, John Divan, Richard Hood, and Francis Perry, and "ye Scott's House," "Samson's House," "Thomas Dexter's Farm House," "John Giffard's dwelling house," and "the long house wth 4 tenements." It is possible that some of these houses were divided into two-family houses, thus reducing the total number of buildings. The three houses that might have been as large as the Ironmaster's House were those of Thomas Dexter and John Giffard and the four-tenement house. John Giffard was the "agent" for the Undertakers Company from 1650 to 1653 and occupied a house on the site.

2. In a telephone conversation with Mr. Cummings on Aug. 7, 1975, the writer was given a brief synopsis of the Ironmaster's House research. Samuel Appleton became twenty-one in 1675. In 1676 he was living at the ironworks on land he had inherited from his grandfather William Paine (1598-1660). Almost immediately Appleton was besieged with lawsuits by former creditors holding judgments against the original ironworks company. By 1682 Appleton had won title free and clear. In 1683 Appleton took out a mortgage against "my mansion and farm." Mr. Cummings believes that the term "mansion" implies that a new house was built on the property in either 1681 or 1682 and that the present-day Ironmaster's House is one and the same building. Dating houses by their construction joints is another method used by Mr. Cummings in dating the Ironmaster's (Continued)
Some interesting facts about house construction can be gleaned from the 1650 ironworks records:

**Cellars** were dug (Part II, pp. 90, 161, 197).
**Clay**, sand, and stones were carted; lime secured and mortar made (Part II, pp. 63, 93, 96, 105, 135).
Oak and pine timber was hauled and sawn into posts, beams, planks, boards, and slatwork (Part II, pp. 51, 93, 161, 198).
**Frame houses constructed with lean-tos** (Part II, pp. 58, 94, 158, 292). "One house 30 foote lange & 18 foote wide" (Part II, p. 218).
Chimneys built with ovens and hearths (Part II, p. 115).
**Floors laid** (Part II, p. 140).
**Clapboards:** "Cleaveinge and Cutting" and "Settinge upp 300: of Clapboards about Wm Tingles House" (Part II, pp. 35, 94, 112, 158, 165).
Windows glazed (Part II, pp. 111, 135).
**Nails** (Part II, p. 90).
**[Roof] shingles [made]** (Part II, p. 115).
**Thatching** [roofs] of barns and houses (Part II, pp. 69, 109, 158).
**Stock locks used on doors** (Part II, p. 90) (Salem Quarterly Court Records, Vol. I, pp. 92-93).
**Laths for Thomas Look's House** [plastering of walls?] (Part II, p. 94).
**Hooks and hinges** for "Goodman Pinnion his house" (Part II, p. 111).

Included in the Appendices of this section are several building contracts primarily from 17th-century Essex County, Massachusetts, that shed some light on the manner of construction and the terminology used in describing the structural parts. Many of these early terms are either no longer used in the building trade or have been replaced with new ones.

Also included in the Appendices are room-by-room inventories taken in Essex, Suffolk, and Plymouth counties from 1647 to 1721. These records provide us with the specific titles given to rooms during the 17th century. Many terms linger on into the first half of the 18th century before dying out.

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2. (Continued) House. He points out that houses built prior to ca. 1665 in New England had floor joists framed with tusk tenon ends. After this date the butt end and "cog" joint was introduced. The Ironmaster's House has joists with the butt and cog joint. Houses in New England built prior to 1665, such as the Fairbanks House, the Coffin House, Pierce House, Whipple House, and the Merchant House have floor joists with tusk tenon ends. See Cummings, "The Ironworks Farm," pp. 372-73, for information on the difference between the tusk-tenon and the butt-cogg joint.
The predominant rooms were the Hall, Hall Chamber, Parlor, Parlor Chamber, Kitchen, Kitchen Chamber, Buttery, Lean-to, Lean-to Chamber, Cellar, and Garret. Porch and Porch Chamber, curiously enough, are not mentioned in the inventories until 1708, yet we know that porches existed as early as 1638.3

The basic plan of the Ironmaster's House was most common to dwellings in colonial New England. It was a two-story house with two rooms on each floor separated by a central stair hall and chimney. Existing structural evidence suggests that a full-length lean-to was built across the back or north side, probably containing the kitchen and perhaps a buttery and bedroom. Although limited by headroom, there could have been kitchen chambers under the lean-to roof. A two-story porch would have enclosed the south entry hall.

The overall dimensions of the house (20' -2" x 44' -11") are much more generous than those of most 17th- and even 18th-century houses. Its size reflects an owner or owners with considerable wealth or access to wealth. The following list compares the Ironmaster's House with several other 17th-century New England houses either still standing or destroyed:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>House Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Saugus, Mass.</td>
<td>ca. 1627</td>
<td>20'-2&quot; x 44'-11&quot; (1st floor) 33'-1&quot; x 44'-11&quot; (with lean-to)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ironmaster's House</td>
<td></td>
<td>10'-6&quot; x 38'-0&quot; (Robbins, p. 27)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duxbury, Mass.</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>16'-6&quot; x 31'-0&quot; (Robbins, p. 48)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site of first John Alden House</td>
<td></td>
<td>18' x 35'-0&quot; (Kimball, p. 11)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston, Mass.</td>
<td>1638</td>
<td>15' x 35' (Shurtleff, p. 97)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>John Howland House</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ipswich, Mass.</td>
<td>1639</td>
<td>18' x 38'-0&quot; (Robbins, p. 43)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symonds House</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Springfield, Mass.</td>
<td>1653</td>
<td>18' x 38'-0&quot; (Robbins, p. 43)*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>first Minister's House</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duxbury, Mass.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>second John Alden House</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3. See Appendix B, "Building Contracts, 17th Century," p. 175. One of the first building contracts listed, dated between June 27, 1638, and July 29, 1641, at Chelsea, Mass., speaks of building a barn with "2 porches each." Other building contracts included here that mention porches are those dated 1639, Springfield, Mass., "a porch five foote out and 7 foote wide with a study over head"; 1656-57, Beverly, Mass., "a porch eight foote square, Jetted over one foote each way"; 1658, Salem, Mass., "to build a porch seven foot 4 enches stud 8 foot of frame . . . jetted over 14 enches three wayes"; 1674, Salem, Mass., "underpin the porch."
1657 Beverly, Mass.
Parsonage
17' x 38' (OTNE, Jan. 1922)

1661 Marlborough, Mass.
18' x 37' (OTNE, Apr. 1934)
Girt house, 12'-6" between "Joynts"

1663 Bradford, Mass.
Nelson House
16' x 34' (OTNE, July 1922)
9' stud

1666 New London, Conn.
"Minister's House"
25' x 36' (Kimball, p. 14)*

1679 Boston, Mass.
Bateman House
27' x 30' (OTNE, July 1921)
7' between "sumer & floare"

1683 Topsfield, Mass.
20'-2" x 42'-2" (David Hart, SPNEA)

1686 Deerfield, Mass.
Williams House
20' x 42' excluding lean-to
(Kimball, p. 18)*

after 1686 Hamilton, Mass.
Whipple-Mathews House
32'-2" x 44'-4" including lean-to
(Isham, p. 16)*

*Isham, Norman Morrison. Early American Houses (1928; reprint ed.,
American Life Foundation, 1968).

*Kimball, Fiske. Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of
the Early Republic (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922).

*Robbins, Roland Wells. Pilgrim John Alden's Progress (Plymouth, Mass.:

*Shurtleff, Harald R. The Log Cabin Myth (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard
Univ. Press, 1939).

The East Parlor, perhaps called the "Hall" (16'-5" x 19'-9-1/2"), and the
East Chamber (16'-3" x 20'-9") measure twelve inches less than the West Parlor
(17'-1" x 19'-7") and West Chamber (17'-3" x 20'-9"). The practice of designing
the rooms on one side of the entry hall larger than those on the other side per-
sisted into the 19th century. These were commonly termed the "best" rooms.

The architectural style of the Ironmaster's House is of English origin and
shows the lingering influence of medieval English Gothic. The varying arrange-
ment of its structural timbers has an antecedent in existing buildings in England
today, particularly those structures erected after the abandonment of the "cruck"
form of construction in the late 15th century.
The overhang along the south wall, called a jet (and still referred to as "jetty" in England), is found in English frame houses as early as the 15th century and was much in use during the Tudor and Jacobean periods, 1500-1650. The housewrights immigrating from England to the American colonies during the 17th century brought this style of building with them and adapted it to a new environment. The amount of architectural embellishment on a house depended upon many factors, but wealth was the major one.

The following books on the evolution of English dwellings should be consulted when comparing the Ironmaster's House with structures in England:


II. HISTORY OF PHYSICAL CHANGES

A. Original House

The original house, as stated before, is thought to have been two stories high with an attic, a full-length lean-to,\(^1\) and a two-story porch and dormers in front as shown on Sheet No. 3 of the architectural drawings. The main house would have contained four rooms, a cellar, and a garret (or attic). The lean-to may have had three rooms on the first floor and chambers or storage rooms in the garret.

The exterior wall surface originally may have been wide, tapered, horizontal, feather-edged pine boards, but it was very soon covered with clapboards (see pp. 143-44). The roof was probably covered with rived and smoothed wood shingles. The original windows would have been leaded casements in the same locations as the present openings. The existing \(L\)-shaped cellar is thought to be original and may have been floored with clay tiles (see Sheet No. 5 of the architectural drawings).

The central chimney below the roofline still retains its original shape and masonry work except on the north wall below the plate. The original chimney was probably \(T\)-shaped above the attic floor with a pilaster added to the south side above the roof simply for decoration. The first change to the house could have involved substituting sliding sash for the casement windows. In Philadelphia, "sash-Window" were advertised as early as 1724 (from Bulletin of the Pennsylvania Museum).

B. The Lean-to of Ca. 1800

A major change to the house occurred sometime in the late 18th or early 19th century judging from the style of architectural moldings left behind. The original 1-1/2-story lean-to was removed and in its place a full 2-story lean-to was built across the rear of the house with new rafters supported on the peak of the main house.\(^2\)

The frame of the new addition was built of pine with hand-hewn sills, posts, rafters, girts, and summers, but with mill-sawn joists, studs, and purlins. The original roof boards from the north side of the main roof were probably removed and reused on the new roof, because they were missing in 1915.

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1. See Albright, Historical Data section, Appendix A, "Restoration of Olde New England Houses," p. 36. Dean comments: "An one story leanto was added across the back at a much later date. . . ."

2. See Illustrations Nos. 20-25 showing the house with the two-story lean-to, in Albright, Historical Data section. See also Sheet No. 6 of the architectural drawings, showing the north wall construction and the peg holes for the original rafters.
It was probably at this time that the original fireplace and oven(s) were removed and a new fireplace built in the lean-to. Much of the existing brickwork in the lean-to may be part of this reconstruction. In rebuilding the new fireplace it is possible that an older fireplace in the lean-to garret was removed. This would explain the existence of an additional flue found under the roof of the attic. The lower part of this flue was destroyed when the existing lean-to flue was constructed.

The bricks in the original chimney measure, on an average, 2-1/4" x 4-1/4" x 8-3/4"-9", while the bricks in the ca. 1790s chimney measure 1-7/8" x 3-3/4" x 7-1/2". Smaller bricks became more common after 1711.3

During the early days of the second lean-to, its wallboards, posts and studs, ceiling boards (or garret floor), joists, girts, and summers were left exposed and whitewashed. This evidence can still be seen by lifting a garret floorboard. During the 1915/16 restoration, the lower western part of the two-story lean-to was saved and incorporated into the present-day lean-to.

Later on, probably around 1830, the interior of the lean-to kitchen was finished off with lath and plaster walls and ceiling above a 30-inch wainscot. In the southwest corner of the room a stairs went to the cellar.

A change of brickwork in the fireplace suggests that about this time the fireback and south jamb were rebuilt, probably incorporating a new bake oven and ash hole. The newer bricks measure 2-1/8" x 3-3/4" x 7-7/8". The existing crane may date from this period. Along with the lath and plaster work, new door and window frames and trim, a new fireplace mantel, and beaded wainscoting must have been added.

At some time, perhaps between 1790 and 1830, the chimney in the West Chamber was broken into and a "bee-hive" oven inserted.4 This addition can be seen clearly in the flue of the West Parlor. The installation of the oven must have weakened the masonry work, because cracks of almost one inch were visible inside the flue prior to the recent stabilization work.

In addition to the oven, the fireplace in the West Chamber was altered, probably taking the shape and height shown in the H. C. Dean drawings. In the adjoining closet, the north plate was encased, shelves were built, and the walls and ceiling were lathed and plastered.

Comparing the molded backband surround of the doorway on the first floor to that of the second floor in the lean-to, it appears that the second floor was

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3. See Appendix A for laws regulating the size of bricks in Massachusetts as early as 1679 and as late as 1711.

4. See Appendix A, p. 36, in Albright, Historical Data section. Dean comments that the oven in the "parlour chamber" was built at the time the two-story lean-to was built in the early 19th century.
finished off at a later period, possibly in the 1850s. This date is strictly
conjectural and needs more study if this information is required. Sheet No. 2
of the architectural drawings shows the styles of moldings used during the
various periods of alteration work.

A study of the ca. 1908 H. C. Dean drawings reveals many changes that had
been made to the house up to that time. All of the fireplaces but one had been
blocked up and stoves installed; partitions had been built in the East Parlor
and East and West Chambers; new doorways had been cut through the east wall of
the East Parlor and through the north walls of the East and West Chambers; two
stairways had been built from the second floor to the attic; a room in the east
end of the attic had been finished off with lath and plaster and a new floor
laid over the old; the walls in the West Parlor had been furred out and lathed
and plastered; and a new doorway had been cut through the west wall into the
e11.

Not all of the changes occurred at the same time. For instance, in the
West Parlor it appears that one or more of the walls were sheathed with boards,
which were later wallpapered. Still later these wallpapered boards were covered
with lath and plaster and wallpapered again. In 1915 Mr. Appleton was able to
obtain samples of the earlier wallpaper that had been covered with lath. The
earliest pattern dates from around 1830. 5 Illustration No. 3 shows the condition
of the West Parlor around 1910 to 1915. A photograph taken a few years earlier
of this same area records wallpaper of yet a different design. 6

If the original casement windows had not been changed before ca. 1800, then
they were changed during the construction of the two-story lean-to and the
overall remodeling of the house. 7

It was probably during this remodeling that the original front two-story
porch (and dormers, if in existence then) were removed and new doors and windows
installed. The house was probably recappedboarded and possibly painted. Paint
may have been introduced on the room interiors.

The writer suspects that the one-story e11 was added at this time. The e11
has a hewn oak frame with mill-sawn studs and appears to be a mid-18th-century
building. It was probably a freestanding structure that was dragged up to the
original house and added for extra room. By 1879 the Ironmaster's House was
definitely being used by three, if not four, families.

5. Wallpaper samples on file at SPNEA. These same wallpaper designs were
found on two roof boards in the attic in 1975, apparently having been placed
there during 1915/16.

6. Second photograph taken of West Parlor, ca. 1900, now in SAIR Files.
Obtained from SPNEA, January 1975.

7. See Illustration No. 22 in Albright, Historical Data section. The nine-
over-nine light sash could date back to the 1790s. Notice the gradation in glass
size from the first floor to the attic.
Although the chronology of events is not clear, the one-story porch across the front of the house was probably not added until the 1830s.\textsuperscript{8}

One tantalizing bit of information found in the Appleton notes of 1915 is a recorded remark by a Mr. Thacker who lived in the Ironmaster's House as a boy fifty years ago (1865). He said "it was a pretty different looking proposition from what it is now."\textsuperscript{9}

\textbf{C. The Wallace Nutting Restoration of 1915-17}

The role played by the architect Henry Charles Dean in the restoration of the Ironmaster's House has not been fully researched. Dean completed measured drawings of the house ca. 1908, but what his interest was in the house at this time is unclear. Dean's association with Mr. Appleton may have had something to do with his participation in the 1915 restoration, but 1908 was two years before Appleton founded the SPNEA.

Wallace Nutting purchased the Ironmaster's House in March 1915. In February of that year he was uncertain as to the amount of work he would have done on the structure. In a letter to Mr. Appleton he wrote:

\begin{quote}
Plans are going forward also on the Iron Works House, but I am not going to do as much there as at Haverhill. I shall make the end look just as it did with the first lean-to and probably put on, at least, one gable and shall make the interior as interesting as possible, except I shall not go all over the house to put on new finish but only the more important rooms.\textsuperscript{10}
\end{quote}

In the case of the "Mazen Garrison House" in Haverhill, Massachusetts, purchased by Mr. Nutting ca. 1915, "an exhaustive report on the condition and needs of the building [was] written by Mr. Henry Charles Dean. Mr. Nutting has agreed that nothing shall be done to this house without Mr. Dean's advice."\textsuperscript{11} These conditions may have applied to the Ironmaster's House as well.

Mrs. Bell stated in 1930 that the Hazen Garrison House was "restored by Wallace Nutting as one of his chain of colonial houses, with the late Henry Charles Dean as architect in charge of the work." Writing of the ironworks

\begin{itemize}
\item[8.] Edwin Whitefield, \textit{Homes of our Forefathers in Massachusetts} (Boston, Mass., 1892), contains a drawing of "The Iron Works House, Saugus," with the caption "This represents the house as it was before the piazza was put on."
\item[9.] See Appendix B in Albright, Historical Data section.
\item[10.] Letter dated 26 Feb. 1915, Wallace Nutting folder, library files, SPNEA.
\end{itemize}
house, she added: "The house was formerly owned by Mr. Wallace Nutting who had it restored by the late Henry Charles Dean." 12

Thus it seems that more credit for the restoration details should go to Mr. Dean, while the overall decisions as to how far the work should go and its financing were left to Mr. Nutting. 13

The restoration work of 1915 to 1917 is discussed in the historian's report. 14 A brief rundown of the work accomplished follows:

1915-16:

1. Two-story lean-to reduced to 1-1/2 stories and half its length
2. One-story ell remodeled
3. New porch/porch chamber, dormers, roof covering
4. New clapboards, corner boards, watertable, cornice
5. New door frames and doors; new window frames and windows; new reproduction hardware
6. Two new cellar bulkheads
7. New pendants under overhang
8. Interior rooms restored: new doors; new mantel trees and mantels; plastering where required; new floorboards where required; stairway rebuilt; lean-to repaired with new bathroom in garret
9. Electricity installed in ell only

1917:

1. Rooms added to west end of ell; interior remodeled
2. Roof of ell raised to same pitch as main house
3. Finials added to all roof gables
4. Heating system added to entire house

(Most of the above changes are identified in the architectural drawings, Sheets Nos. 7 and 8. Also see the Historical Data section, Chaps. 3, 4, and 5, and Illustrations Nos. 20 through 33 taken between 1898 and 1924.)


13. Credit should also go to William Sumner Appleton and Norman Isham who visited the house and no doubt gave valuable assistance to the restoration.

14. See Chapters 3 and 4 in Albright, Historical Data section.
D. Changes Between 1919 and 1942

Before Mr. Nutting sold the Ironmaster's House in 1920, he moved the Edward Guy family into the ell as caretakers. Mr. Guy was the blacksmith who made all the reproduction hardware for Mr. Nutting. His shop was set up in the adjacent building now used as a museum. All of the reproduction hardware used in the Ironmaster's House was made by Mr. Guy prior to moving to the site. Later Mr. Guy's son, Edward L. Guy, became a blacksmith, working full time in the trade until 1939, then part time until 1951.

The Guy family moved out in 1920 when Charles Cooney bought the house, but moved back ca. 1925 when the house was again sold. They stayed until ca. 1951 when the First Iron Works Association converted part of the wing into public toilets. In 1929 Edward L. Guy operated the "Saugus Ironworks Tea Room" for three months.

An interview between the writer and Edward L. Guy has furnished additional information about the house that is included as part of the Appendices.15

Briefly, changes to the Ironmaster's House as recalled by Edward L. Guy are as follows:

1. Entry porch built on north side of ell, ca. 191926
2. White coat applied to walls of West Chamber, ca. 1926
3. Convenience outlet installed in north wall, West Chamber, ca. 1926
4. Wallpaper put on south wall of 1915 bathroom in lean-to garret, ca. 1926
5. About eight 8-1/2" x 8-1/2" clay tiles removed from cellar floor by Edward L. Guy, ca. 1919
6. Wooden runners nailed to windowsills in restored rooms, second floor, for sliding screens, ca. 1928
7. Wrought-iron curtain rods put up at all restored window openings (since replaced with wooden rods and brackets)
8. Wooden towel rack attached to mantel in East Parlor after 1929
9. Newspaper and cardboard tacked to attic floor for insulation (dated 1929)
10. Town water installed ca. 1929. (Note this date conflicts with the water department records of 1889)
11. Cellar stairs rebuilt after 1929
12. Exterior brick wall (north wall of East Parlor) taken down and relaid ca. 1941 at the request of Henry Ford


16. See Photograph No. 345 showing north wall of ell prior to building of porch, SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House." For view after porch was built, see Merrill photograph No. 2360/307, SAIR No. M 2.1.
E. Changes Between 1942 and 1975

Most of the changes made to the Nutting-Dean restoration occurred between 1949 and 1969 when the property was owned by the First Iron Works Association. They were advised by the architectural firm of Perry, Shaw and Hepburn, Kehoe and Dean, who were responsible for the reconstruction of the "Iron Works" buildings between 1950 and 1954.

A summary of these changes is as follows:

1950:

Work done on the ell: replace sills and portion of floorboards; replace 300 ft. clapboards; renail remaining clapboards; replace four windows; repair leaded glass windows.17

1951:

Public toilets placed in ell. Addition built against north wall of ell for women's toilet.18 Bathroom(s) removed from second floor of ell and from under garret roof. Ell floor plan revised to accommodate new functions. New shingled roof put on Ironmaster's House.19 Probably lead flashing installed shingles to chimney.

1952:

South cellar bulkhead removed and wall repaired (FIWA invoice in SAIR Files).

1954:

Installation of gas space heaters in cellar of Ironmaster's House, in the ell (office and toilets), and in museum building. Possible removal of the 1917 coal-burning furnace and heating system. (Gas Company records.)

1955:

Hoods installed over entrances to men's and women's toilets; excavation along north wall of Ironmaster's House with 4" drainage tile and crushed stone installed to new dry well.20 Flashing installed under first shingle course, south side.21

17. Letter dated 20 Dec. 1949, in SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."

18. Letter dated 23 May 1951, in ibid. The work was done after July 1951.


20. Letters dated 1 & 10 Mar. 1955, in SAIR File HL 1, "Ironmaster's House."

21. FIWA invoice, November 1955, in ibid.
1956:
South (west end) foundation wall in cellar rebuilt; girt repaired (possibly under East Chamber); central chimney above roof taken down and rebuilt; new sash made for east window in East Parlor.\textsuperscript{22}

1957:
Floors under East and West Parlors levelled and reinforced, with joists, posts, and headers installed; floor under lean-to reinforced with new joists; brick piers built in cellar, west wall of lean-to.\textsuperscript{23}

1959-61:
Miscellaneous repair work.

1970-71: NPS
New sash made for east window of East Parlor. Leaded glass casement sash repaired and reglazed.

1972: NPS
East sill of front porch replaced; some clapboards replaced; lower ends of studs repaired; water table replaced. Short section of water table replaced on south exterior wall of East Parlor next to porch.

1974: NPS
Walls repaired on first floor of Ironmaster's House: cracks in plaster wall patched. All plaster walls given simulated whitewash using latex paint. New electric distribution panel installed in cellar with new electric heaters placed in all rooms of the Ironmaster's House including the cellar, ell, and lean-to. Gas space heaters removed from entire building. Electric hot water heater installed in cellar; new kitchen cabinets installed in office of ell; gypsum board applied to wall between ell, first floor, and lean-to for fire retardation.

1975: NPS
Stone base for central chimney stabilized and repointed; brickwork in fireplaces and flues repointed; interior of flues stuccoed with reinforced fire clay. Removal and replacement of clapboards and wallboards from east-north girts, second-floor level, of East Parlor during architectural investigation.

\textsuperscript{22} FIWA invoice, December 1955, in \textit{ibid}.

\textsuperscript{23} FIWA invoice, April and August 1957, in \textit{ibid}.
III. ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE EXTERIOR

A. Overall Dimensions of the Existing Structure

Frame of main house, first floor: 20'-2" x 44'-11"
Frame of main house, second floor: 21'-5" x 44'-11"
Extent of overhang: 1'-3"
Frame of lean-to: 12'-11" x 23'-9" (as left in 1915/16)

B. Overall Dimensions of Original House with Lean-to

Frame of lean-to, first floor: 12'-11" x 44'-11" (conjectural)
Frame of main house with lean-to, first floor: 33'-1" x 44'-11"

C. Number of Stories to Existing Structure

Main House: two stories with attic and cellar (existing)
Lean-to: one story with garret and partial cellar

D. Height of Stories

Existing cellar floor to first floor of main house: 6'-8"
Sloping cellar floor under lean-to: varies from 5'-3" to 6'-0"
First floor to second floor: 8'-0"
Second floor to attic floor: 7'-9"
Attic floor to peak of rafters: 12'-0"
First floor to plaster ceiling in existing lean-to: 6'-10"

E. Foundations

The existing foundation walls, including the chimney base, are laid up with uncut stone, commonly called fieldstone. All of the stones are small; two men could probably carry the largest one. Most of the stones appear to be granite mixed with sandstone and an occasional quartz stone. Colors include light tan, brown, red, and blue, with blue being the predominant hue. Reference has been made to the number of green glazed stones found scattered throughout the cellar walls, including the foundation under the lean-to. It is thought that these particular glazed stones were once used as lining in a furnace that produced iron from iron ore. It is intended to have the glaze analyzed, possibly at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, to determine its origin.

The bases of the foundation walls were laid directly upon the hard gravelly clay soil without projecting footings. The stonework was laid in a random

1. See Albright, Appendix D, Part Two of the Kingsbury report, which contains one paragraph on the subject; Mention of "breaking upp ye furnace hearth" can be found on p. 115, part II, of the 1650 Ironworks records, copy in SAIR Files.
manner (without coursing) and brought up above ground level approximately twenty inches thick to the foundation sill height. As each stone was laid, it was bedded down in a wet clay mortar that in turn was brought out flush with the stone face.

Under the north wall of the lean-to were two cut granite blocks measuring 10' x 14" x 6'-0" and 6'-10", probably placed there during the building of the two-story lean-to.

The west half of the south foundation wall appears to have been taken down and rebuilt as recommended in Part One of the Kingsbury report.

F. Orientation

The front or principal facade faces south.

G. Wall Construction

Sheets Nos. 4, 5, and 6 of the architectural drawings in the Appendices show the basic frame of the house. Architectural investigation of the frame and the evidence uncovered as a result suggests to the writer that the house as it stands was built all at one time. This conclusion is based on the following evidence:

1. Lower girt in south wall extends 2'-5" past chimney post in East Parlor for a total length of 31'
2. Upper girt in south wall overhang once started at west chimney post and continued for 27' to the southeast corner post
3. North plate started about 6" beyond northwest corner post and extended for a total length of 29'-9"
   beyond the east chimney post in the East Chamber
4. Rafters and attic floor girts are numbered consecutively
5. Cellar foundation shows no breaks in its construction
6. Brickwork in chimney base appears to have been laid at one time as does the \[\text{[stem]}\] in the chimney.

Thus it would have been virtually impossible to construct the house in two portions as suggested in the Kingsbury report. The original half would have to have been dismantled completely in order to install such long timbers.

The construction of the house is an adaptation of the English methods of construction employed in the 17th century. There are five major structural bays in the house, each defined by oversized posts, girts, summers, and principal rafters. The bays are unequal in width. Starting at the west end they measure approximately 8'-0", 8'-0", 10'-0", 7'-6", and 7'-6". Due to the overhang, the upper bays project 1'-3" beyond the lower floors, 20'-2" vs. 21'-5". All of the structural members are oak except for certain modern replacements. Most connections are made with mortice and tenon joints held in place with tree nails. The summer beam in the East Parlor has tusk tenon joints at each end extending into the girts, while the girts and summers on the second floor are framed into the wall plates with a half dovetail.
The posts of the north wall are of one piece and are two stories high. Each post is shouldered below the girt for additional support. The two exceptions are the east posts in the East Parlor. In the walls between the posts were placed diagonal braces, 2-1/2" x 6", and studding, 2-1/2" x 5", as shown in the measured drawings. The studs are spaced unequally.

The posts on the south wall are one story in height by virtue of the overhang. Apparently in the beginning the two end corner posts on the second floor were long enough to permit "drops" or pendants to be carved below the overhang. Several various pendants have survived over the years, convincing the writer that they were found on many 17th-century houses.

Sections of two walls were opened up in order to inspect the girts, braces, and studding. See Illustrations Nos. 7 through 13 showing the east and north exterior frame of the East Parlor. There were eight construction marks chiseled into the north girt at the second-floor level. Starting at the east end, Roman numerals I through VI were cut into the girt just below the location of each studding, and numerals I and II below the two diagonal braces. The surface of the east girt was too deteriorated to see any markings.

The studding was morticed and tenoned at both ends and pegged when adjacent to corner braces and at all window and door openings. The corner braces have similarly pegged joints.

Each gable end was originally framed with six studs, all morticed and tenoned into the girt below and toe-nailed into the rafters with one or two hand-wrought nails. The two center studs were notched in back of the collar tie with each joint pegged. Both gable ends have had studs cut off, moved, and/or replaced with new material.

Bricks were originally infilled between the studding, posts, and braces. Some of this "noggling" remains intact in the northwest corner of the house on the first and second floors and in a small portion of the south wall of the West Parlor. The bricks are the large, soft, orange variety laid on edge in a clay mortar bed.

By and large, the studs and braces are "pit" sawn. Some edges are hewn, indicating that these members were sawn from logs previously squared up with a broadaxe.

H. Wall Covering

The original walls were evidently finished off with mill-sawn pine boards, 1'-1" to 1'-9-1/2" wide, nailed horizontally to the studs and posts with roseheaded, hand-wrought nails. Both edges were feathered, and on the west wall the boards were laid with the feather edge sloping down toward the exterior to prevent moisture from entering the wall. The few boards remaining on the north wall have their feather edge sloping down toward the inside and, if exposed to the weather, would allow moisture to enter the brick nogging. This seems to indicate that some sort of protection, such as a lean-to, was always given to the wall.
Pieces of the original corner board have survived on the west side of the northwest corner post. Both corner board and wallboards were feathered at the meeting joint (see Illustration No. 36). It is not known if the corner boards were put on singly or doubled on each side of the post.

Very early, or perhaps originally, clapboards were put on the exterior walls. Spacing between the clapboard nails and nail holes on the west wall generally varied between 2-1/2" and 3". The original clapboards would have been pine or cedar, hand rived and smooth, 5/8"+ butts, probably not exceeding 4'-6" in length and having lapped ends. The original clapboard nails were hand wrought, rose headed, 3 or 3-1/2 penny. None of the original clapboards were found.

Most of the clapboards from the 1915/16 restoration remain on the house (see architectural drawings, Sheet No. 8, for changes). These are mill-sawn pine, 1/2" butts, cut 46" long with each end lapped. Under the clapboards was placed a 45 lb. asphalt impregnated paper on which can be seen the chalk marks for spacing the clapboards. The spacing varies from 3" to 4-1/8" to the weather. On the main house the clapboard nail of 1915/16 was a 5d machine-cut finish nail, while a hand-wrought, T-headed nail was used on the front porch. Practically all of the machine-cut nails have rusted through and more recent nailings have used a 4d box wire nail.

A wide water table or skirt board was placed at the foundation line and on the overhang during the restoration. A belt coursing board was placed near the attic floor level on both gable ends.

I. Roof Construction

The method of framing the roof can best be seen in the illustrations and architectural drawings included in the Appendices. Two distinct methods were used in framing the existing roof. On the north side, six sets of principal rafters were used, each morticed and tenoned into either an end girt, chimney girt, or summer. These rafters have an average thickness of 4-1/2" and taper from an average of 7-1/2" at the base to 4-1/2" at the peak where they are morticed and tenoned and pinned. Between the principal rafters and running full length are two common rafters measuring 2-1/2" x 3-1/2" (±1/4") x 16'-6". Supporting the common rafters near midpoint are purlins morticed and tenoned into the principal rafters. At each gable end in the north roof slope only are two diagonal braces, numbered I and II, installed to prevent lateral movement. These two braces mortice and tenon into the purlins and end rafters. The common rafters are morticed, tenoned, and pinned at the peak, but at their base they are notched into the plate where the ends are pegged. It is difficult to say whether the common rafters had any overhang, although overhangs were used.2

2. Fiske Kimball, Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic, p. 12; A portion of the building contract to erect a house in Ipswich, Mass., in 1638 (Appendix B) reads: "I desire to have the sparrs reach downe pretty deep at the eves to preserve the walls the better from the wether. . . ."
Both principal and common rafters are numbered with Roman numerals beginning at the east end with I. The principal rafters are numbered at the base, in some instances with a corresponding mark found on the girt or summer below. The common rafters are numbered independently beginning at the same end but in the peak of the roof. Numbers were found repeating themselves in the west bay. Oak collar ties, 2-3/4" x 4-3/4", are morticed, tenoned, and pegged into the principal rafters some 5' below the peak. These are numbered with Roman numerals, starting at the east end, except No. 3; tie No. 2 has been replaced. Scribe marks for cutting out the mortices are incised into the rafters.

Evidence for a very early lean-to roof can be found in the north roof slope in the form of 1"-diameter holes drilled through four of the original common rafters but only partly through the principal rafters. The locations of the holes vary above the attic floor from 8-3/4" to 11-1/2". Illustration No. 40 shows this evidence, as does Sheet No. 6 of the architectural drawings.

If we compare the roof structure of the south slope above the purlins with the north side, we find that they are identical. That is, six principal rafters with two common rafters between them. The difference occurs below the purlins on the south slope.

**North slope**
- Purlins span one bay only
- Purlins dropped below common rafters
- Full-length common rafters
- Full-length principal rafters
- Ten common rafters
- Common rafters all one size
- Common rafters set flatwise to roof boards
- Common rafters sawn
- Common rafters uniformly spaced
- No valley rafters
- Two diagonal braces
- Principal rafters all set over girts and summers
- No overhang of plate beyond wall posts

Illustrations Nos. 39, 41, 43, 44, 45, and 47 show the differences in roof construction, as do the architectural drawings, Sheets Nos. 4, 5, and 6.

After looking at the house in January 1915, William Sumner Appleton concluded that there were "signs of a western and central gable in the garret and doubtless signs of an eastern gable will be found behind the plaster."³

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³ See Appleton Notes, Appendix B, in Albright, Historical Data section.
The existing valley rafters along with the old post mortices give ample evidence that there was always a central porch on the original house. Weather-worn furrows found in the existing roof boards paralleling the valley rafters suggest that the roof peak and pitch might have been lower than the reconstructed roof of 1915/16. A different pitched porch roof could present difficulties in shingling a continuous "swirled" valley.⁴ The roof finials are conjectural but show up in early-19th-century sketches of houses. Some of these sketches are included in the Appendices of this report.

The writer did not find positive evidence for the existence of the east and west dormers in the south roof. Illustration No. 6, taken ca. 1915 before the restoration work was begun, shows the triangular cuts in the roof boards that led to the assumption that gables were part of the original structure. However, in the final reconstruction these roof cuts were totally ignored when the dormers were built. In fact, it appears in Illustrations Nos. 47 and 48 that some of the original roof boards were cut away in 1915/16.

In the final analysis it seems that the only hard evidence we have to support the reconstruction of dormers is the unorthodox method of framing the roof in the south slope. For what reason other than dormers would it have been so framed?

Most of the original pine roof sheathing is gone from the north slope, possibly removed and reused for roof boards when the two-story lean-to was built.⁵ The present-day roof boards are a mixture of used and new boards put on in 1915/16, some being covered with early-19th-century wallpaper.

More original boards survive on the south roof slope as shown in the architectural drawings, Sheet No. 7. These boards seemed to be mill sawn,⁶ 3/4" to 1" thick, varying in widths from 14" to 19-1/4" and in lengths from 14' to 19'-9". The boards taper in width, end to end, from 3/4" to 1-1/2", which means that they were cut with the taper of the tree in order to save lumber.

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4. In the 17th and 18th centuries, valleys were called gutters. See Appendix B, p. 184, a contract to build a house addition in Salem, Mass., in 1658, and Boston Rules of Work for carpenters, dated 1774, where valleys are referred to as gutters; See architectural drawings, Sheet No. 3 (conjectural drawings of the exterior).

5. See Appleton Notes, Appendix B, in Albright, Historical Data section, which state that the western part of the garret was still open, revealing the original rafters underneath those of the more modern lean-to.

6. The saw marks seem to be made by both a pit saw and sawmill; they are almost indistinguishable. The Salem Quarterly Court Records contain references to the "old saw mill in Exeter" in 1650, 1651, 1652, and 1653. Thus it would have been possible to cart sawn boards from Exeter to the ironworks prior to 1650.
J. Roof Covering and Shape

The roof is a steeply rising gable with a pitch of approximately 49° or 1:1.166. The projected pitch of the central porch valley rafters and the cuts found in the roof boards under the dormers flanking the porch appear to be slightly over 45°.7

Today (and perhaps originally) the roof is dominated by the three south gables and central chimney. The original covering was probably pine or cedar shingles, which have been replaced several times. Many hand-wrought and machine-cut shingle nails can be seen on the exposed roof boards under the dormers. The actual spacing of the shingles has not been determined but can be arrived at when the roof is exposed. They appear to be laid about five inches to the weather.

The existing roof covering dating from 1951 consists of sawn, tapered shingles 24-1/2" long with 1/2"-butts laid 8" to the weather. Under the shingles was laid an asbestos paper sandwiched between two asphalt-saturated paper layers. Comparing the 1915/16 roof with the 1951 roof we find the following differences:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Main roof with 1915/16 dormers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1915/16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34 courses shingles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 courses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Porch roof of 1915/16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26 courses</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 courses</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The writer feels that the shingle coursing of 1915/16 most closely represents the mid-17th-century practice. "Swirling" the shingles uniformly in the valleys, or gutters as they were called, would have been the practice. The copper flashing found in the lower six courses of the two porch-dormer valleys is part of the 1915/16 restoration work. The 17th-century roof would not have had this feature nor needed it if the valley shingles were "swirled."

Another visually undesirable feature added either in 1951 or 1956 is the stepped lead flashing inserted into the brick joints of the chimney above the roofline.

The peaks of the gables are now covered with a saddle (comb or ridge) board. This is a practice in New England that can be documented as far back as 1795.8

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Carved-out roof finials were placed on the peak of each gable of the porch, dormers, main roof, and ell probably in 1917 when the roof of the ell was raised to a similar pitch. Through the attrition of nature and man, the last finial disappeared ca. 1956.

K. Porch and Bulkheads

The existing two-story porch (as it was called in the 17th century) is a conjectural design planned and built for the restoration of 1915/16.

Mortises were found in the old foundation sills, in the girts at the second-floor level, and in the plates that were thought to be related to an original porch. According to Mr. Edward Guy, part of the old stone foundation was found during the excavation for the footings.

Besides the mortises, the roof framing is the most convincing evidence for the existence of a porch. (See Section I, Roof Construction.)

Two cellar bulkheads were built in 1915/16. The south bulkhead was removed in 1952 and can be seen in the illustrations in the historian's report. The north bulkhead remains today. The date of this opening is not known, but it is not shown in the drawings of ca. 1908.

L. Wall Openings

1. Doorways and Doors

No original exterior doors have survived the two major house overhauls. Except for the north cellar bulkhead there are only two exterior door openings into the main house, one centered in the front porch and the other in the north wall of the East Parlor. Both openings are probably in original locations, but the construction dates from 1915/16. The doors are double boarded; the arched porch door appears to be an adaptation taken from an early-19th-century painting of the Corwin House in Salem.

The kitchen lean-to has one outside doorway with a double boarded door dating from 1915/16.

2. Windows

There are presently three cellar window openings, none of which retain the original frames or sash. It is not known if these are original, but some light was needed in the cellar so it is assumed these are old. One window opening in the north wall under the lean-to has been blocked off. This may be another old opening. The west wall of the lean-to cellar has some curious brickwork under the foundation sill, the purpose of which has not been determined.

In the architectural drawings of 1949, "leaded glass cellar sash" are indicated. Today's openings contain wooden, 4 light, 7" x 9" sash hinged at the top of the frame.
Ten window openings can be located in the main house by the spacing of the studs and their pinned ends. No window openings occur in the north wall, which was probably covered by the lean-to. In the south wall there were four equal openings, 5'-8" wide, placed in the center of each room. Neither the height nor the arrangement of sash is known. Both end walls have identical openings of one window in each room and one opening in the attic. The first floor and second floor openings measure 4'-0" between studs and the attic opening 2'-0". The attic windows and first floor windows are located in the centers of the rooms, but the second floor openings are off center due to their alignment with the sash below.

All existing sash except one date from the 1915/16 work and are diamond-shaped glass quarrels set in lead camees fastened to wooden frames. The hinges, hooks, and latches are reproductions. The four south openings contain triple casement sash, while the end walls and porch have double casement sash. Single casement sash are found in the attic gable ends and two south dormers. The window openings in the porch and dormers are conjectural.

Since the lean-to and ell were considered by Mr. Nutting to date from the 18th century, they were restored with double-hung sash having 12-over-12 lights.

M. Chimney

The existing central chimney, with the exception of the north lean-to flue, appears to date from the construction of the original house. The chimney above the roofline was taken down and rebuilt in 1956, then repointed in 1975.

The base of the chimney (10'-6" x 13'-6") is stone and (as the corner ties suggest) was built as an integral part of the 6'-high foundation wall. Stabilization work completed in 1975 revealed that the three exposed walls of the base were built as double walls, that is, an inner and outer wall were tied together with an occasional stretcher stone. The void between was filled with gravelly clay. A cross partition was found in the center of the base running north and south directly under the partition between the two parlor fireplaces. Drilling work did not find stones along the north side of the chimney base corresponding to the foundation wall. The inner core of the base was filled with gravelly clay.

Bricks for the chimney are the large English type, laid in English bond and set in a clay mortar bed. Flues are laid in running bond, because most of them

9. Brick sizes vary, but an average size is 2-1/4" x 4-1/4" x 9". In 1571 an English statute fixed brick sizes, i.e., thickness was set at 2-1/4" (Smith and Yates, "On the Dating of English Houses from External Evidence" [1968], p. 549). As early as 1679, brick sizes were regulated by law in Massachusetts (see Appendix A for copies of laws enacted between 1679 and 1711).

Henry David Thoreau measured and recorded the chimney bricks from two 17th-century houses in Concord, Massachusetts. On February 15, 1857, he wrote, "I brought away a brick, of a soft kind, eight and seven eightes inches--some nine-long, four and one fourth plus wide, varying one fourth, and two and one half (Continued)
are one header or 4-1/4" thick. Closure bricks are used in the south jambs and wall of the fireplaces in the East and West Parlors.

The four flues for the first floor and second floor fireplaces are built in alignment except for the 4" x 4'-0" projection to the south of the center two flues from the first floor. Starting just under the south roof slope a 4" x 2'-0" pilaster projects beyond the center flues. This pilaster is primarily decorative.

Just north of the above four flues are two additional flues arranged one in back of the other. The southernmost flue seems to be part of the original chimney; that is, it is made of large English-type bricks and bonded into the front brickwork. Presently it serves no function since it ends just above the fireplaces on the first floor along the north side (at the second floor level this flue measures 48" wide inside). It is thought that the flue once went to a fireplace and oven(s) in the original lean-to. (See cross-sectional drawing, p. 151.)

The northernmost flue was built sometime in the 18th or early 19th century. These bricks measure 1-7/8" x 3-3/4" x 7-1/2" and are laid in lime mortar (3/16" thick on the first floor). During the construction of the present fireplace and flue, an older flue was destroyed, part of which remains below the attic roof and wall plate.

The central chimney is terminated with a corbelled cap consisting of two single courses and one double course projecting about 1", with another double course inset about 1". In photographs taken prior to 1956, projecting drip caps show just above the roof peak on the south, east, and west sides of the chimney (the north or back side is not shown). These brick drip courses were not replaced in the rebuilding of 1956. The stepped-lead flashing does not show in any photographs prior to 1956.

It seems that there was stucco on the outside of the chimney above the roof prior to 1915, which was renewed during the restoration but not replaced in 1956.

The existing chimney in the ell was extended to its present height in 1917. The design of the cap is a copy of the central chimney.

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9. (Continued) thick though there were some much smaller near it, probably not so old. The clay (for mortar) was about as hard as mortar on it." (Henry Woodis House, in vol. 9, p. 1116, of Thoreau's journal.) The following day, February 17, Thoreau wrote, "P.M. To the old Hunt house. The bricks of the old chimney which has the date on it vary from eight to eight and one half inches in length, but the oldest in the chimney in the rear part are nine to nine and one fourth long by four and one fourth plus wide and two and one fourth and one half thick." (Hunt House, in vol. 9, pp. 1118-19.) Excerpts from Henry D. Thoreau, *The Journal of Henry D. Thoreau*, ed. Bradford Torrey and Francis H. Allen (New York, 1962), vols. 8-14 (November 1855-61).
IV. ARCHITECTURAL DESCRIPTION OF THE INTERIOR

A. Cellar

The cellar is basically L-shaped in plan with the chimney base projecting out into the center of the area. There are no separate rooms, but it is conceivable that the cellar under the lean-to was once partitioned off. Illustrations Nos. 33 and 34 show where clay tiles, apparently laid for a floor, were found. Similar floor tiles were found ca. 1920 near the chimney base in the west end.

An exterior bulkhead exists in the northwest corner; its original construction date is unknown but it was rebuilt in 1915/16. One interior stairway (Illustration No. 32) is located directly under the central stairs adjacent to the chimney base. A framed opening in the south foundation wall gives access to the crawl space under the 1915/16 porch. The floor of the cellar is a sandy soil.

B. First Floor

Excluding the lean-to, the main house (including the 1915/16 porch) is T-shaped, with a front porch, a central chimney, and a stair hall with one room on either side. The lean-to of 1915/16 covers about one half of the north wall. Although the west room is 12" wider than the east room, the chimney extends through the roof at midpoint.

Floor plans of the house dated 1908 can be seen in the Appendices of the historian's report. There are a few errors in the drawings, but on the whole they represent a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the house between ca. 1800 and 1915. The precise arrangement of the rooms today can be seen in the measured drawings found in the Appendices of this section.

Both parlors, the stair hall, and the porch are finished off with exposed ceiling boards and joists, summers, girts, and posts. Except for the small triangular wood panel under the stairway, the walls throughout are lathed and plastered, which was probably the original finish.

1. East Parlor

Evidence can be seen of former lath and plaster on the ceiling boards between the 2-3/4" x 4-1/2" ceiling joists. Hand-wrought lath nails and rived cedar lath were found here during the architectural investigation. This type of ceiling finish was known in the 17th century.1 Later on, perhaps in the 19th

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1. See Appendix B, p. 188, for 1674-75 mason's contract, which reads in part: "to lath and siele the 4 rooms of the house betwixt the joists overhead with a coat of lime & haire upon the clay. . . ." Particles of whitewash or (Continued)
century, a second lath and plaster ceiling was installed against the floor joists and the exposed woodwork was painted. Partitioning of the room under the summer beam, the blocking off of the fireplace, and the construction of two closets in this room may have occurred at this time.

During the restoration work these partitions were taken out and the paint removed from most of the woodwork. An exterior door in the east wall was taken out, and all the walls were relathed and plastered. Beaded baseboards are found on three walls.

The first and second floors are presently supported by an east-west summer with pit-sawn oak joists spanning north and south (in the cellar from sill to summer). On the second floor the joists pocket into the summer but rest directly on the north and south wall girts. The lower edges of the joists have a slight chamfer, indicating they were intended to be exposed. The facing surfaces of the summer and girts were pit sawn and the back surfaces hewn. The edges of the summer and chimney girt were planed and given an ovolo molding with a double lamb's tongue stop at each end. The remaining girts and posts (except the southeast post, which is square edged) have a simple chamfer (35°-55° angle) with a single lamb's tongue stop. The chimney posts are shouldered, but the east posts are not.

The first floor floorboards are fastened with machine-cut nails. Although old, they are probably not original, since previous nail holes are plugged with wood. Some of the subfloorboards might have been original floorboards reused in 1915/16. The exposed subfloor of the second floor could be original. These boards show mill-sawn marks under existing scratch marks that seem to simulate the whip saw. The boards, 7/8" thick, run the full length of the room and vary in widths from 16-1/4" to 22-3/4" with a taper from end to end of between 1/2" to 2-1/4". Six of the boards have Roman numerals scribed into them, probably as tally marks. The subfloorboards are double grooved with a spline inserted between them. They were nailed with T-headed, hand-wrought nails.

A large fireplace (3'-2" x 9'-2" x 4'-8" high) dominates the room, taking up half the west wall. The fireplace was reopened in 1915/16 and "restored" to the existing size. The hearths were relaid with ten rows of bricks (3-5/8" x 8" [±1/4"]) and three rows of clay tiles (7-1/2" x 7-1/2" [±1/4"]). (See Illustrations Nos. 18 and 20.)

The south 6'-6" of the fireback, including the jamb, are laid in English bond set in clay mortar. The remaining part of the fireplace is laid in common bond set in lime mortar, probably dating from 1915/16. The top four courses in

1. (Continued) similar coating still cling to the ceiling joists, indicating that the clay or plaster was given some kind of finish. During the restoration work of 1974-75 at the ca. 1660 Narbonne House in Salem, Mass., an earlier lath and plaster finish was found between the joists on the second floor when an attic floorboard was raised. This older ceiling finish is now concealed by a lath and plaster ceiling directly under the joists.
the north jamb are small bricks measuring 1-3/4" to 2" x 3-1/2" to 3-7/8" x 7-1/4" to 8-1/4". All bricks are of the English size, but apparently the north one third are salvaged bricks.

2. West Parlor

The ceiling of the West Parlor is also exposed. Both floors are supported by summers and joists. On the first floor the summer runs east and west and on the second floor north to south. The first floor joists (2-1/2" to 3-1/4" x 4" to 4-3/4") are pit sawn with some hewn sides, and pocket into sills and summer. About half are chamfered on the lower edges. The lower edges of both east and west summers in the cellar are chamfered.

The joists for the second floor (2-3/4" x 4" to 4-5/8") are pit-sawn oak, and pocket into the west girt, chimney girt, and summer. The lower edges are slightly chamfered. One, if not two, sets of lath nail holes can be seen in the ceiling joist, probably for 18th- and 19th-century ceilings. Like the East Parlor, the summer and chimney girt were smoothed and an ovolo molding cut into the lower edges, terminated at both ends with a double lamb's tongue stop. The remaining girts and posts are chamfered on a bias. All posts are shouldered. The walls of this room were eventually furred out beyond the posts and girts, then lathed, plastered, and painted. Illustration No. 3 shows the room before the restoration. The floorboards in this view were turned over and used as subflooring in 1915/16. Even a late-19th-century board and hadden door was used as a subfloor. The finish floorboards were probably salvaged from another building, because there are remnants of varnish on them.

Apparently the north foundation sill under the West Parlor was never supported because it spanned the cellar, undoubtedly the cause of its sagging. Between the sill and the leveled floor in the cellar can be seen old wall plaster coming down to within 1" of the sill. This indicates that the original floor was only one thickness. There is no evidence of a painted baseboard on the plaster such as was applied in 1915/16.

Some of the wall plaster predating 1915 remains on the walls and may very well be original. Sheet No. 7 of the architectural drawings shows the extent of old and new plaster.

An additional post is found in the center of the north wall. Mr. Cummings believes it was put there to dress up the area, to give the room, which may have been the "best parlor," an extra polish. Since this room is only 12" wider than the East Parlor (or Hall), spanning the room with longer joists and a slightly larger summer would not have been a problem.

The dominant feature of this room is the restored fireplace (3'-6" x 9'-2" x 4'-8") (see Illustrations Nos. 17 and 19). The hearth was relaid with eleven courses of bricks (3-5/8" x 8" [±1/4"]) set in clay and three courses of clay tiles (7-1/2" x 7-1/2" [±1/4"]) set in lime mortar.

Starting at the south jamb and including the curved back, the bricks are laid in English bond for a distance of 6'-6". The bricks measure 2-1/4" to 2-3/8"
x 4-1/4" (±1/4") x 8-3/4" (±1/4") and are set in a clay mortar bed. The remaining parts of the fireback and north jamb were rebuilt with large orange-colored bricks laid in common bond and set in a lime/sand mortar. Four feet above the south jamb there appears to be an original wood tie, 2-1/4" x 9" x 8'-6", on which the two fireplace lintels rest. Stucco covered most of the inside jambs and fireback until it was removed by the First Iron Works Association (see Illustrations Nos. 17 and 19).

C. Second Floor

The floor plan of the second floor and its wall and ceiling finishes are similar to the first floor. Exceptions are the south wall and porch overhangs and the smaller fireplaces with closets beside them.

1. East Chamber

This room retains much original framework. The summer runs north to south, dovetailing into the plates, while pit-sawn (with partly hewn sides) oak floor joists (2-3/4" x 4-1/4") span east to west pocketing into the summer and girts. The lower edges of the joists are slightly chamfered. A lath nail pulled from the ceiling joist appears to be an early-19th-century machine-cut nail. Only the lower edges of the summer have the ovolo moulding and double lamb's tongue stops. All the wall girts and posts have the bias chamfers. The posts are all shouldered in this room.

The exposed ceiling boards, nailed with hand-wrought, rose-headed nails, appear to be the original tongue-and-groove boards spanning all but the last joist bay of 2'-10" along the north end of the room (17'-7-3/4" long). These boards taper from end to end between 3/8" to 2-7/8" and are 1" thick. Possibly three of the short boards along the north wall are original, because they match in color and texture. It is difficult to say if the boards were pit sawn or mill sawn. The surface appears to have been washed down with lye and water during the restoration work.

One feature found on the second floor that was not part of the first floor is a sill at floor level projecting into the room about 3" along the south wall. This sill once projected into the porch and West Chamber, but only that in the East Chamber survives. The exposed corner of the sill is chamfered on a bias. Above the sill is a 3" beaded baseboard put on in 1915/16, while the north and east walls have a 5" beaded baseboard. The finish floor is not an original one; it extends under the north baseboard and is nailed with machine-cut nails. Possibly the subfloor is the original floor.

All of the lath and plaster walls date from the restoration work. The lath and plaster in the closet are quite old, for it is hand-rived lath and lime/hair plaster with hand-wrought nails. The closet itself is probably not original because used wood members were utilized in its construction.

The fireplace located near the center of the west wall measures 1'-10-3/4" x 5'-4-1/2" x 4'-0" high. This fireplace was opened up in 1915/16, but like the other three fireplaces it has a new lintel with new brickwork over it. Both
jambs and fireback retain much of their original brickwork, although some repair work has been done to the north jamb and fireback just above the hearth. The bricks measure 2-1/4" to 2-3/8" x 4-1/4" to 4-3/8" x 8-3/4" to 9" and in the fireback (outside the repaired area) are laid in English bond. The jamb bricks on both sides tie into the fireback coursing. Both jambs have remains of either whitewash or lime left from early stucco. A lime, sand, hair, and clay stucco was used in parging the inside of all the flues; this may have come down into all the fireplaces, covering the jambs and firebacks. The existing parging found on the fireback dates from 1915/16.

The hearth was relaid in 1915/16 but not to the length of the cut-out construction as measured in the ceiling below (5'-4-1/2" vs. 6'-8"). It was laid with six courses of bricks (3-1/2" to 3-3/4" x 8") plus one back course of brickbats; in front are two courses of clay tiles (7-1/4" to 7-3/4" x 7-1/4" to 8-1/2") set in cement mortar.

2. West Chamber

The exposed ceiling construction in this room, i.e., summer, joists, and floorboards, dates from 1915/16. The Dean drawings of ca. 1908 show an 8-1/2" summer running east to west, just the opposite of the one today. Daps for receiving the summer in the east and west girts can be seen today blocked with wood. With the center post existing in the north wall, the 1915/16 north to south summer and east to west joists are probably back in their original locations.

Most of the original girts in this room show either a broadaxe or adze finish and have a diagonal chamfer along their length terminated by a single lamb's tongue stop. The shouldered posts are finished off the same way. Over one half of the south plate was replaced in 1915/16. Three ceiling boards are double grooved with splines and may be original; the remaining attic floorboards are a mixture of assorted boards.

Along the south wall at floor level the once-projecting girt was cut back flush with the plaster wall. A view of the existing condition can be seen in Illustration No. 26. The finish floor is not original. Out of nineteen boards, nine run full length and the rest are spliced at alternating ends of the room. They are face nailed with machine-cut nails and have widths ranging from 9-1/2" to 12".

The south, west, and north walls retain much of their pre-1915/16, if not their original, lath and plaster. The extent of the repair work can be seen in the architectural drawings, Sheet No. 8.

The fireplace in the west wall measures 1'-9-3/4" x 5'-2" x 4'-0" high. The 1908 floor plan shows a smaller fireplace 3'-6" high with splayed jambs and an oven beside it on the north side. The oven was apparently removed in 1915/16, but the remains of its brick back can still be seen in the West Parlor flue. It seems as if the later fireplace was constructed inside the original one, but a portion of the flue was broken through in order to build the oven. The existing fireplace contains evidence indicating it was part of the original chimney: large English-size bricks are laid in English bond in the fireback. The jambs were stuccoed in 1915/16 and are not available for inspection. The lintel and the brickwork over it were put in in 1915/16.
The hearth was relaid in 1915/16 but not to the length of the cut-out construction below as measured in the West Parlor (5'-2" vs. 6'-11"). The layout of bricks and tiles is similar to the East Chamber.

D. Central Stairhall and Porch

The central stairway, the hall, and the porch represent a major reconstruction job dating from 1915/16. Discussion of the porch will be limited because it is covered in various sections of the report. Its construction uses circlesawn joists and rafters, which are obvious at first sight.

The attic and second floor construction in the hallway and the floorboards on all three floors were completely replaced in 1915/16. Parts of the existing stairway pre-date 1915/16 and might even be original: the lower landings on the first and second floors, the upper four steps just below the attic floor, the lower parts of the four intermediate newel posts, and the truncated triangular wooden panel at the first floor level (see Illustrations Nos. 21 through 24 and Sheet No. 8 of the architectural drawings). The north door (to East Parlor) trim adjacent to the first stair tread may be the only original piece of trim to have survived in place.

The original stairway may have had winder steps as it neared the second floor level (now a platform built in 1915/16) much like those found near the attic. An empty joist pocket in the west chimney girt suggests this arrangement. On the second floor the balustrade has a used piece of base supposedly found in the cellar. More balusters are shown and of a different size than the reconstructed stairs (see Illustration No. 24). Wallace Nutting was familiar with many 17th-century houses in Massachusetts and had photographed most of their interiors. Precedent for the design of the stairway in the Ironmaster's House may have come from the Goulding House (see Appendix D).

Hand-rived lath and hand-wrought nails covered with lime/sand/hair plaster exist on small wall areas of the stairhall not repaired in 1915/16.

E. Attic

The attic is one large loft space interrupted only by the central chimney. The height of the roof peak above the attic floor is 12'. The two gable ends are lathed and plastered between the studs. Part of this wall finish dates from 1915/16, but other areas are lime/hair/sand plaster over hand-rived lath.

After the turn of the 19th century, a room was finished off in the east end of the attic. Strapping was nailed to the rafters and collar ties and a 2'-8" knee wall put in; this was lathed and plastered. A second floor was nailed over the old with machine-cut nails. This room, including two stairways to the attic, was removed in 1915/16. The flooring was left in place probably to act as insulation. The attic today is very much like it appeared after the 1915/16 restoration.

F. Lean-to and Garret

Structural evidence found in the existing lean-to suggests that it was once part of the two-story lean-to built about 1790 and then remodeled on the first
floor between 1820 and 1830 and again on the second floor between 1840 and 1850. The construction date and room changes are based on the following evidence: an all-pine frame, whitewashed, behind the existing lath and plastered walls and ceiling; the difference in door trim molding between the first and second floors; a rebuilding of the fireback and south jamb in the fireplace and the installation of the existing mantel and wainscot; and the use of machine-sawn lath and machine-cut nails.

Floor plans of the lean-to dating from ca. 1908 can be seen in the historian's report. About one half of the first floor was left intact during the restoration work. A stairway to the cellar and another to the second floor were removed from the present structure. In 1917 the oven and ash hole were blocked off when a 12" flue was extended upward from the cellar. The existing boards on the first floor date from 1915/16.

A 4'-9" high partition was built under the garret roof and a bathroom installed between 1915 and 1917. A second floor was laid over the original one after the water pipes, drains, and heat ducts were placed in the space under the floor.

The existing rafters, purlins, and roof boards (in part) are used members that probably came from the two-story lean-to (see Illustration No. 35).
V. UTILITIES

A. Electrical Service

Electrical service was first installed between 1915 and 1917 in the ell and garret of the lean-to (bathroom), and later on in the West Chamber (north wall) and cellar. Modern electrical service to the SAIR site is by overhead cables to a utility pole near the museum. From here it was placed underground in 1974 into the cellar of the Ironmaster’s House where a new distribution panel was built and ground fault interrupters were installed (see Illustration No. 31). Two underground conduits were installed with electrical service divided into heating and lighting circuits for historical and nonhistorical use. Electrical service is now supplied through the main house and ell (220/110v).

B. Heating

Originally the Ironmaster’s House was heated by open fireplaces. In the 19th century these were blocked off and stoves installed. In 1915/16 the stoves were removed and the fireplaces restored once again. In 1917 a combination hot-water and hot-air heating system was installed with a furnace/boiler placed in the cellar. This was probably removed in 1954 when gas was installed in the ell and cellar and piped to individual space heaters. The gas was replaced with electric heat in 1974. Wall-mounted electric space heaters were installed in the ell and lean-to and five portable space heaters were placed in the four main rooms and on the first floor of the porch in the Ironmaster’s House. Three ceiling space heaters were placed in the cellar. Controls for the five space heaters in the old house are mounted on the west side of the summer in the West Chamber. Room temperature is set for a low of 45° F. and a relative humidity of 50%; high temperature is set for 70° F. Controls for the cellar are mounted on the distribution panel in the cellar and are set for a low temperature of 45° F., a high of 70° F., and a relative humidity of 50%. All other space heaters in the ell and lean-to are individually controlled. These have no provision for humidity control.

C. Gas

Gas was installed in the Ironmaster’s House in 1954 and removed in 1974.

D. Telephone

The date of the original installation is not known, but the Edward Guy family had a telephone in the ell, so it probably dates from after 1917. Today’s service is provided by five aerial lines running from the west gable end of the ell to a utility pole near the museum. Fire and burglar intrusion alarm systems account for part of these lines. Two underground services in conduit go through the east foundation wall of the cellar, providing electrical and telephone service to the nearby visitor-contact station.
E. Water

The water service, first installed in 1889, is supplied by the town of Saugus. A modern water meter is located in the northwest corner of the cellar under the lean-to. Nearby is an electric hot-water heater connected to the cabinet sink in the office located in the ell. An outside spigot located on the east side of the Ironmaster's House was removed within the last two years.

F. Sewage

The house sewer from the public toilets (1951) located in the ell of the Ironmaster's House does not connect to the town's sewer line under Central Street (after 1960). Instead it runs into either a septic tank or cesspool drain southwest of the ell. The cabinet sink in the ell office drains into a rock-lined cesspool north of the lean-to.

G. Drainage

A dry well supposedly was dug north of the lean-to in 1955 and connected to the drain tile installed along the north side of the house. No other drainage is provided except on the south side of the house where small piles of stones have been placed under the roof valleys at ground level to prevent erosion from falling rainwater.
VI. PRESENT CONDITION AND PROPOSED WORK

The Ironmaster's House is one of two 17th-century houses owned by the National Park Service in New England: the Narbonne House in Salem, Massachusetts, is the other. Architecturally, the Ironmaster's House is one of the largest 17th-century houses still standing and still in generally good condition. It has the distinction of being one of several 17th-century houses restored in Massachusetts between 1900 and 1928 when antiquarian sentiments were running high.1

Many persons have questioned the fidelity of the 1915/16 restoration work, particularly after 1949 when archeological excavations and reconstruction work on the ironworks buildings began and the old house came under the close scrutiny of the architectural firm of Perry, Shaw, and Hepburn, Kehoe and Dean. (See Kingsbury report dated 1951 in Albright's Historical Data section.) Since the National Park Service acquired the site in 1969, strong feelings within the Service have been expressed to re-restore the building to NPS standards, or at the least to remove the "restored" 19th-century ell. At first glance this suggestion might seem appropriate, but the field of restoration has recently undergone a fresh appraisal regarding the compatibility of nonrelated, coexisting structures. In this light we might examine other alternatives as a solution.

Whatever alternative is selected, the document and the proposed undertaking must comply with the "Procedures" of the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation (36-CFR-Part 800), NPS Activity Standards, and NPS Historic Preservation policies and procedures. Since the property is listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the document must comply with Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act of 1966 and the NPS must afford the Advisory Council on Historic Preservation an opportunity to comment on the proposals discussed here.

A. Proposed Work Based on Restoration of 1915/17 by Wallace Nutting

Restoring the house to its 1915/17 appearance would require the least amount of work; it would also preserve the lean-to and ell, which are building examples from the late 18th century spiced with 19th- and 20th-century details. Most importantly, we would be saving an example of early preservation work in the United States. The following list of changes would be required to return the house to a near 1915/17 appearance:

1. John Ward House, Hathaway House, House of the Seven Gables, Salem; Browne House, Watertown; Balch House, Beverly; Revere House, Boston; Hazen Garrison House, Haverhill; Whipple House, Ipswich; Capon House, Topsfield; The Wayside Inn, Sudbury.
1. Exterior

a) Rebuild the south cellar bulkhead and reclapboard area disturbed in 1952, i.e., cut clapboards to 48" lengths
b) Relait house and ell clapboards with machine-cut nails with heads matching those of 1915/17
c) Replace deteriorated water table, belt course (second floor), and clapboards with matching material
d) Replace deteriorated or missing foundation sills under lean-to
e) Treat for termites
f) Rebuild rotted sections of corner and hall posts in south wall, east wall girt (second floor level), and rotted ends of sills with epoxy mixture to solidify rotted areas
g) Reshingle roof: replace with 18" shingles and number of courses to match those used in 1915/17; Remove lead flashing from chimney stem above roof and replace with concealed flashing; Replace saddle boards
h) Replace roof finials on house and ell dating from 1917
i) Repair or replace rotted areas of window and door frames
j) Examine window sash: replace or repair if necessary
k) Repair or build new brick window wells after establishing grade of 1915/17
l) Repoint stone foundation
m) Repair woodwork on ell: clapboards, window frames, and sash
n) Reshingle north porch off ell; Replace missing asbestos shingles on main roof of ell; Restore skylight
o) Replace brick drip courses on central chimney at roof peak (original brick drip courses removed in 1956)
p) If new public comfort stations are built away from the Ironmaster's House, the additions to the north of the ell can be removed along with roof vents

2. Interior

The interior plaster and woodwork is in good condition. One section of loose plaster on the west wall of the West Parlor needs attention. In 1974 the plaster walls on the first floor, excluding the lean-to, were repaired and refinished with a simulated whitewash latex paint and black-painted baseboards. The second floor can be given a similar treatment.

The exposed frame and woodwork of the interior are virtually unchanged since 1915/16. Repairs to the south ends of the two chimney girts on the second floor were poorly done in 1915/16. This repair work must be redone to prevent future failure of the joints. By using polyester reinforcing rods and epoxy mortar placed in the void between the 1915/16 splices, the girt ends can be built up to their original dimensions and securely anchored to the bearing posts under them. By the same method the porch valley rafters can be extended and anchored to the newly fabricated girts (see Illustration No. 46 for view of girt and rafter connection).

The floors in the West and East Parlors were raised and leveled in 1957. We should consider removing the existing floor reinforcement and lowering the
floors back to their pre-1957 condition, then reinforcing the floors to conform to this shape. We would sacrifice the present level floors, which permit the furniture to stand upright without blocks, but this was the condition of the house for over 275 years.

The window sash were repaired and reglazed in 1971-72, but need to be examined for further decay. Pintle drives for the window hinges need to be made secure. Decayed windowsills need repair work. The curtain rods and wooden screen runners put on the window heads and sills after Mr. Nutting left should be removed.

Other interior work needed is as follows:

a) **Floors:** Leave 1915/16 floors in present condition. The colonial or 17th-century floors were untreated, i.e., no paint, no oil, no rugs.

b) **Woodwork:** Leave exposed frame, floor joists, and floorboards in present condition. The window sash and window frames that are exposed to the direct sunlight should be brush painted with a colorless wood preservative once a year.

c) **Lean-to Ceiling:** Insulate over top of plaster ceiling with granular vermiculite, which can be blown in from the garret floor. Clean plaster ceiling and walls and give one coat of simulated whitewash paint.

d) **Attic Floor:** If conservation of heat is desired, the attic floor can be covered during the heating season with a specially-made flexible blanket insulation that can be rolled up out of the way during the summer to expose the attic floor.

e) **Windows:** If conservation of heat is desired in the four main rooms, specially-designed lightweight storm sash can be inserted on the interior of the window frames during the heating season.

f) **Intrusion Alarm and Fire Warning Alarm:** The regional historical architect has recommended that the existing outdated systems be replaced. The intrusion alarm system should be replaced with a combination microwave motion detector and microphone audio detection system. The fire alarm system should be replaced with a combination smoke detection and ionization heat sensing system. This would also apply to the other buildings at the site so that one company would be responsible for monitoring the alarm systems.

g) **Fireplaces:** That part of the West Parlor fireplace that shows in the photographs taken just after the restoration work should be stuccoed. This was probably part of the Nutting work and represents his idea of the appearance of a 17th-century fireplace.

h) **Electrical Outlets:** The electrical (heating) outlets installed in 1974 in the East and West Parlors and on the first floor of the porch can be redesigned to permit wood covers to conceal the outlets whenever the portable heaters are removed during the nonheating season.
i) **Cellar:**

1. Remove all modern lime/cement mortar from face of stone foundation wall; clean out joints and grout wall; repoint joints with clay mortar to match chimney base

2. Insect treatment of foundation wall and wood framework

3. Whitewash foundation wall after pointing with clay mortar

4. Repair sills where rotted; preserve sills with epoxy in preference to total removal

5. Install fan for air circulation; connect with existing heaters

6. Provide better drainage along exterior north foundation wall

Optional, but based on restoration of 1915/17:

7. Remove 1957 joists, etc., and lower floor to original level as left in 1915/16. Scribe new joists to new conditions and reinstall - (Nutting)

8. Paint new black baseboards on plaster walls - (Nutting)

9. Reopen heating grilles as part of Nutting's 1917 work - (Nutting)

10. Open up north window in cellar under lean-to - (Nutting)

11. Restore clay tile floor in cellar - (Not by Nutting)

12. Replace cellar sash with "leaded glass" (shown on 1949 Morton drawings) - (Nutting)

13. Restore cellar bulkhead against south wall - (Nutting)

Open up and frame cellar opening

3. **Utilities**

a) **Heat:** The existing heating system installed in 1974 seems to be adequate, although the system is not balanced. Periodic readings with a thermo-hygrometer should be taken to insure synchronization of the heating units. Humidification needs to be introduced in the office rooms during the heating season to counteract the low relative humidity.

b) **Electrical:** The ground fault interrupters of 1974 have been a continuous source of trouble and should be checked by a specialist. New electrical circuits need to be extended to convenience outlets in the offices of the ell.
c) Water: Present system adequate; replace water meter to eliminate leak in cellar.

d) Sewage: Hook public toilet and cabinet sink drain to town sewer system.

e) Telephone: Place service underground.

f) Garret Bathroom: This would have been part of the Nutting restoration, but these fixtures were removed in 1951 and it would be virtually impossible to locate replacements.

B. Proposed Work Based on Complete Re-restoration

A re-restoration of the Ironmaster's House would literally destroy the preservation work achieved by Wallace Nutting with the help of Architect Henry Charles Dean, Preservationist W. S. Appleton, Architect Norman Isham, and other interested persons. A re-restoration would depend very much on finding additional evidence within the walls of the house when they are opened up, and this possibility seems very remote indeed.

Complete restoration of the Ironmaster's House would involve the following steps:

1. Removal of all clapboards, water tables, and wallboards in order to study the house for further evidence of window sizes, spacing of original clapboards, etc., much like the work of 1915/16 was conducted; Replace clapboards to conform to original spacing

2. Removal of the existing lean-to and the rebuilding of another lean-to across the rear of the house based on the structural evidence found in the recent architectural investigation work

3. Removal of the "restored" 19th-century ell now attached to the west end of the house and the restoration of that portion of the Ironmaster's House now covered by the ell, including the foundation wall

4. Regrading the ground around the house based on archeological explorations; Rebuilding the cellar window wells to conform to the new information; Relocating walks and the herb garden, which is probably not in the proper location nor of the proper design for a 17th-century garden

5. Removal of the present ell would eliminate the existing public toilets and NPS office space and storage rooms

6. Probable rebuilding of the porch to conform to the evidence found in the roof boards; Eliminate circle-sawn joists and floorboards
7. Extension of the roof line beyond the gables to permit the installation of the bargeboards, extended plates, and additional rafters

8. Replace drip caps on chimney stack above roof peak removed in 1956; Remove lead flashing and provide concealed flashing--possibly mortar was used for flashing above shingled roof against chimney

9. Possible rebuilding and redesign of existing window frames and sash (this would depend upon additional evidence uncovered)

10. Replacemnt of diagonal braces and studs to original locations

11. Replastering of the wall areas plastered in 1915/16 to provide a wall surface more compatible with that of the original walls

12. Removal of existing floorboards in four rooms and re-laying of floorboards (except East Chamber floor where the subfloor may be original), based on evidence of board widths, etc., found in floor joists

13. Rebuilding of north part of chimney, making present fireplaces in East and West Parlors smaller; Rebuilding a conjectural fireplace and oven in the lean-to kitchen based on remaining evidence in brickwork to be exposed when the lean-to is removed. This would require new oak lintels above the fireplace openings in the East and West Parlors and the building of new north jambs; Removal of lean-to flue above the roof and repair of original chimney on north side

14. Structural repairs to chimney girts, second floor, to conform to original conditions

15. Removal of north doorway in West Chamber and replacement of original studding, lath, and plaster

16. Replacement of projecting sills along the south wall of the second floor in the Hallway and West Chamber; West Chamber sill only needs to be extended into room and chamfered

17. Rebuilding the main stairway at the second floor landing--probably had winder steps in this location; Also possible rebuilding of the balustrade based on the single piece of base molding found on the second floor

18. Probable replacement of the entire ceiling structure in the West Chamber to permit a larger summer, pit-sawn joists, and keyed floor to be installed, much like the East Chamber
APPENDIX A

Laws Regulating the Size of Bricks, 1679-1711
Law Regulating the Size of Bricks, 1679

It is Ordered by this Court and the Authority thereof, that clay to make Bricks shall be digged before the first of November, and turned over in the Month of February and March ensuing, a moneth before it be wrough, and that no Person temper their Bricks with salt or brackish water, and that the size of Bricks be nine inchees long, two and a quarter inches thick, and four and an half inches broad, and that all moulds used for making of Bricks be made according to these sizes, and well shodd with iron: And what person or persons soever, shall make Bricks in any respect contrary to this Order, in the several particulars of it, shall forfeit the one half of such Bricks to the use of the Treasury of the Town where they are made.

Item No. 266, p 66

Law Regulating the Size of Bricks, 1684

As an Addition to and Explanation of the Law regulating the size of Bricks, made at the General Court, May 28, 1679.

It is Ordered by this Court and the Authority thereof, that henceforth all Bricks shall held out, and be of the full size and dimension expressed in the aforesaid Law, even after they be sufficiently Nealed or Burnt; And to that end all Moulds for Bricks shall henceforth be made of such a convenient size or scantling, that the said Bricks may and shall hold out, and be of the full Dimension prescribed when they are sufficiently Nealed or Burnt, as aforesaid; which shall be so judged and accounted Merchandable, when at least three quarters of every parcel of bricks be hard and through Nealed Ware, and not Smannell Bricks: And for the due observation hereof, every Town where Bricks shall be made or sold, shall annually choose and appoint two or more able men, each of which shall have power to view, divide, and cull all Bricks from time to time, that shall be exposed for sale; who shall be Sworn to the faithful Discharge of their Office, and shall be allowed four pence for every thousand of good and merchantable Bricks they shall so Call, on half thereof to be paid by the Seller, and the other half by the Buyer; And no Bricks shall be sold or made use of before they have been viewed and celled, as aforesaid, upon the penalty of paying twenty shillings in Money per thousand, on half thereof to the Town where such Bricks are made or sold, and the other half to the Informer.

Two Callers to be annually chosen, their Accompanions.

Item No. 321, p 109

An Act for Regulating the Size of Bricks.

Upon consideration of the great quantities of bricks now to be used for building; and that the firmness of building very much depends on the goodness of the materials:

Be it enacted by his Excellency the Governor, Council and Representatives in General Court assembled, and by the Authority of the same. That clay for the making of bricks shall be dug before the tenth of December yearly; and shall be turned over in the month of February or March next ensuing, at least twenty days before it be wrought; and then well and thoroughly wrought.

And no person shall temper his clay with salt or brackish water; nor dig any clay in any place where the salt water comes in.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that the size of bricks must not be less than nine inches long, four inches and a quarter of an inch broad, and two inches and a half inch thick.

And all moulds to be used for the making of bricks, shall be made agreeable to their sizes: That is to say, not less than nine inches and a quarter of an inch long, four inches and a quarter and a half quarter of an inch broad, and two inches and half an inch deep, within side; being well shod with iron, and sealed by the sealer to be appointed, as is herein after directed; so that the bricks may hold out the dimensions prescribed aforesaid, as near as may be when burned.

And whatsoever shall make and expose to sale any bricks not made in moulds of the aforesaid sizes, shod with iron, and sealed by the sealer; he shall lose and forfeit one half of all such bricks made contrary hereunto or the value thereof; to the use of the poor of the town or district where they shall be made; to be sold for and recovered in any of her Majesty's courts of record within the county where they shall be made, by the treasurer of the town or town clerk.

And the select-men of each town where bricks are ordinarily made, are hereby directed and ordered, annually to nominate and appoint a suitable person to be a viewer and sealer of moulds for the making of bricks; who shall be sworn before a justice of the peace, to the faithful execution of his office.

And is hereby empowered from time to time, to enter into all brick-yards, to view their moulds, and to see that they be of due size, well shod with iron, as aforesaid, and sealed; and if they be under size, or not well shod, to break the same.

And every brick-maker before the setting of his kiln, shall call the viewer to oversee his bricks, which shall forthwith attend the service; and be paid by the brick-maker two pence per thousand for all bricks by him viewed; for setting, and one penny for each mould by him sealed; the select-men of the town to provide a seal: any law, usage or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

An Act for Regulating the Size of Bricks, 1711.

APPENDIX B

Building Contracts, 17th Century
BUILDING CONTRACTS FROM THE 17TH CENTURY,
MASSACHUSETTS

1638  Ipswich
1638  Chelsea
1538/39  Salem
1639  Springfield
1640  ?
1645/46  Springfield
1656/57  Beverly
1658  Salem
1658  Malden
1659  Ipswich
1663  Bradford
1674/75  Salem
1678  Essex County
1679  Boston
1686  Deerfield
1688  Boston
Concerning the frame of the house... I am indifferent whether it be 30 foot or 35 foot long; 16 or 18 foot broad. I would have wood chimney at each end, the frames of the chimneys to be stronger than ordinary, to bear good heavy load of clay for security against fire. You may let the chimneys by all the breadth of the house if you think good; the two lower doors to be in the middle of the house, one opposite the other. Be sure that all the doorways in every place be so high that any man may goe upright under. The stairways I think had best be placed close by the door. It makes no great matter though there be no partition upon the first floor; if there be, make one bigger then the other. For windows let them not be over large in any room, & as few as conveniently may be; let all have current shutting draw-windowes, having respect both to present & future use. I thinke to make it a girt house will make it more chargeable than neede; however the side bearers for the second story, being to be laden with corne &c. must not be pinned on, but rather ether lett in to the studs or borne vp with false studs, & soe tenented in at the ends. I leave it to you & the carpenters. In this story over the first, I would have a partition, whether in the middest or over the partition under, I leave it. In the garrett noe partition, but let there be one or two lucome windowes, if two, both on one side. I desire to have the sparrs reach downe pretty deep at the eves to preserve the walls the better from the wether, I would have it sellered all over and soe the frame of the house accordingly from the bottom. I would have the house strange in timber, though plaine & well brake. I would have it covered with very good oak-hart inch board, for the present, to be tacked on onely for the present, as you told me. Let the frame begin from the bottom of the cellar & soe in the ordinary way upright, for I can hereafter (to save the timber within grounde) run vp a thin brick worke without. I think it best to have the walls without to be all clapboarded besides the clay walls..."
Building of a Barn, Chelsea, Massachusetts, ca. 1638

Barn. Thomas Joy of Boston, carpenter, did the carpentry work on a barn at Mr Robert Kewayne's farm at Rumney Marsh (Chelsea), "setting up & finishing the same being of 72 foot in length & 26 foot wide & 10 foot high with 2 porches each of 13 foot wide one way & 12 foot another." The costs of construction were as follows, viz "the framing of the said barn 30 li. the sawing of thereof 17li. The felling chafe cutting & squaring of the timber 13li. and more the rearing up of the barn by him & his servants 7li. the clapboarding of the barn 1li. 5s. for boards 4li. 10s. for laying of 600 of boards over the porches 18s. for making of 4 payre of great doors & hanging of them 2li. for making of two pair of stays 6s. for making of 4 little doors 6s. for laying the barn floor with plancks 600 1li. 10s. for putting on gutters upon the barn 1li 10s. for ferryage of him and his servants 2. 10s. for losse of time in going and coming 4li with commes in all to 98li. 1s.—Lechford's Note Book, Worcester, 1885, page 363.


Framed house built by John Davys, joiner, for William Rix, a weaver, in 1640—for which Thomas Lechford preserved the contract in his "Note Book":

"One framed house 16 foot long & 14 foote wyde, wth a chamber floare finisht, summer & joysts, a cellar floare wth joysts finisht, the rooife and walles Clapboarded on the outsyde, the Chimney framed without dawbing to be done with hewen timber."

Contract to Build an Addition to
the Meeting House at Salem,
in 1638/39

The agreement between the town and John Pickering the 4th day of the
12th month 1638.

First he is to build a meeting house of 25 feet long, the breadth of the old building with a gallery answerable to the former: One
Catted Chimney of 12 feet long & 4 feet in height above the top of the
building. The back whereof is to be of brick or stone. This building is
to have six sufficient windowes, 2 on each side & at the end, & a pair of
stairs to ascend the galleries suitable to the former. This building is to be
covered with inch & halfe planck &
inch board upon that to meete close:
And all this to be sufficient and finished
with daubinge & glasse & vnderpinninge with stone or brick wth carriage
& all things necessary by the said John
Pickeringe: In consideration whereof
the said John Pickering is to have 63 £
in money to be paid at 3 paym'ts. The
first paym't 21 £ at the beginning of
the worke. The 2d paym't 21 £
when the frame is reared. The 3d
paym't is 21 £ w'th is to be paid at
the finishing of it. And it is agreed
That if it be found by indifferent men
that the said John Pickering hath
deserved 3 £ more, Then the town is
to pay him. If it be found the said
John hath deserved 3 £ lesse hee is to
abate it: And the said John Pickeringe
doeth Coven't to finish it by the 15th
day of the 4th month next ensuing:
the date hereof.

In witness whereof both parties have
subscribed heereunto.

Jo: Endecott
Jo: Woodberry
Will: Hathorne
Lawrence Leech
Roger Conant

John Pickering

Source: Old Time New England, S.E.N.E.A.
January, 1922, pp 135-136
Springfield is also a settlement of particular interest because it was a unique combination of trading post and settlement above the head of navigation for seagoing vessels on the Connecticut. Among the small band of pioneers who followed William Pynchon from Roxbury to establish this frontier settlement in 1635 was a carpenter, Goodman Jehu Burr, who built the house of the first minister in 1639. The specifications for this dwelling have survived:

For a frame of a howse 35 foote longe and 15 foote wide with a porch five foote out and 7 foote wide with a study over head with stairs into cellar and chamber making dores and laying bordes for fouer roomes with doub[e] chimny's, the sides of the cellar Planked. To Good: Burr at ....................... 18-00-00

for the thatching of the howse to John Alline he to undertak the gettinge of the thatch and all other things belonging to it with lathing and nayls only the caradge of thatch excepted ... 03-00-00

for the sawinge of all the boards and slit worke 4 locks with nayls and hooks and hinges for the doares to John Cable at ....................... 17-00-00

for the daubing of the howse and chimny's underpinning the frame making the stack and oven 7 foote high with laths and nayls, to Henry Smith at ....................... 08-00-00

Meetinghouse of 1645-46, Springfield, Massachusetts

The condition of a bargain made by the Inhabitants of Springfield with Thomas Cooper for the building of a meeting-house is as followeth: The said Thomas Cooper is to build the house in length 40 foot, in breadth 25 foot, 9 foot between Joyners, 82 double studded, 4 large windowes, two on each side, and one smaller windowe at each end, one large doare at the south side, and two smaller doares as shall be thought convenient; to lay justs for a floore above, to shingle the roofe, with two turrets for a bell and a watch house, to underpin the house with stone, to dawbe the wales, to provide glass for the windows (if the pay he hath of the Plantation will procure it) also to find nayles and Iron workes for the full completing of the buildings, which is to be finished by the 30th September, 1646. 83

For lapbording of the meeting house, cleaning it and Ringing Bell and some other charges .... 11-00-00 84

CONTRACT TO BUILD A PARSONAGE AT
BASS RIVER (BEVERLY) IN 1657
The : 23 of march : 1656-1657.
the parties witnesseth a bargain made
betweene John Norman of manches-
ter the one partie : & Tho Lothrop &
James Patch the other ptyes for & in
consideration of an house : that is to
say John norman js to build an house
for them : which is to be thirtie eyght
foote longe : 17 : foote wide & a leuen
foote stodd with three Chimnies twoe
below : & one in the Chamber he is
also to finde boards & Clapboards for
the finishing the same with a shingle
couering with a porch of eight foote
square, Jetted oun one foote each
way to lay the floores booth below
& a boue & one garretchamber : & to
make doores & windowes : foure be-
low & : foure aboue & one in the
stodie the said John is to make the
staires & to drawe the Clapboards &
short their edges : & also to smooth
the boards of one of the Chamber.
flowres & he is to bring up the frame
to the barre or the ferry att his owne
charge & the saide John Norman is
to haue for his work fourie fwe
pounds : to be paide in corne & cattell
the one halfe att or before the house
be raised & the half this next wheate
haruest :
in witnesse heare of we haue sett
downe our hands

JOHN NORMAN
THO; LOTHROP

—Essex County Quarterly Court

Source: Old Time New England, S.P.N.E.A.
January, 1922, pp. 137-138

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Contract to Build an Addition to the House of Dr. George Emery of Salem, in 1658

There is a grement betwene Mr. Gorge emery of Salem and John Norman of manchester house carpenter and the said norman is to build a porch seuen ffooth 4 enches stud 8 foot of frame braced and tenneted in to the stud jetted ouer 14 enches three wayes and to couer it and shingle the gutters to make one wendow & one doore and stayers in to bothe chambers and to make one gable end a Leuen ffoote broad and to couer it and shingle the gutteres and a cleare storrey wendow for ye gable end and a stoole wendow a cording to the Lower wendow and three ffoores of boards in the new roome and three ffoores of boards in the porch and to make 3 doores and to ffinnes all this worke spesseffid and to due the porch and windowes within two monthes from the date hereoff as witnesse my hand this 14 off the 6mo 58 and ffind boardes to ffinnes thes worke and elabordes

Witness John Beckett

and the said norman is to haue in considerderation for this work spesseffid twelwe poundes and he is to haue a gray mare at 12 pound prise going into two years ould or else the saddle mare at 16 poundes as witnesse my hand this 14 off the 6mo 58

George Emery
John Norman

Source: Old Time New England, S.P.N.E.A.
July, 1922, Pg. 28
ARTICLES of agreement made and concluded ye 11th day of ye ninth mo, 1658, betwenee Job Lane of Malden, on the one partie, carpenter, and William Brackenbury, Lieut. John Wayte, Ensigne J. Sprague, and Thomas Green, Senior, Selectmen of Malden, on the behalf of the towne on the other partie, as followeth:

Imprimis: The said Job Lane doth hereby covenant, promiss and agree to build, erect and finish upp a good strong, Artificial meeting House, of Thirty-three foot Square, sixteen foot stud between joints, with dores, windows, pulpit, seats, and all other things whatsoever in all respects belonging thereto as hereafter is expressed.

1. That all the sills, girts, mayne posts, plates, Beames and all other principal Timbers shall be of good and sound white or Black oake.

2. That all the walls be made upp on the outside with good clapboards, well dressed, lapped and nayled. And the Inside to be lathed all over and well struck with clay, and upon it with lime and hard up to the wall plate, and also the beame fellings as need shalbe.

3. The roofe to be covered with boards and short shinglings with a territt on the topp about six foot squar, to hang the bell in with rayles about it: the floor to be made tite with planks.

4. The bell to be fitted upp in all respects and Hanged therein fitt for use.

5. Thre dores in such places as the sayd Selectmen shal direct, viz: east, west and south.

6. Six windows below the girt on thre sids, namely: east, west and south; to contayne sixteen foot of glass in a window, with Leaves; and two windows on the south side above the girt on each side of the desk, to contayne six foot of glass A piece, and two windows under each plate on the east, west and north sides fitt [to] containe eight foote of glass a piece.

7. The pulpit and cover to be of wainscott to contayne five or six persons.

8. The deacon's seat also of wainscott with door, and a table joyned to it to fall downe, for the Lord's Supper.

9. The floore to be of strong Board throughout and well nayled.

10. The House to be fitted with seats throughout, made with good planks, with rayles on the topps, boards at the Backs, and timbers at the ends.

11. The underpining to be of stone or brick, and pointed with lyme on the outside.

12. The Allyes to be one from the deacon's seat, through the middle of the house to the north end, and another cross the house ffrom east to west sides, and one before the deacon's seat; as is drawne on the back side of this paper.

13. And the said Job to provide all boards, Timber, mayles, Iron, work, glass, shingles, lime, hayre, laths, clapboards, bolts, locks and all other things whatsoever needful and belonging to the finisheing of the said house and to rayse and finish it up in all respects before the twentieth of September next ensuing, they allowing help to rayse it.

And the sd Selectmen for themselves on behalle of the towne in Consideracon of the said meeting house so finished, doe hereby covenant, promise and agree to pay unto the sd Job Lane or his Assigns the sume of one hundred and fiftie pounds in corne, cord-wood and provisions, sound and merchantable att price currant and fatt caule, on valuacon by Indifferent men unless themselves agree the prices.

In manner following, that is to say, fiftie pound befor ye first of ye second mo. next ensuing, And fiftie pounds befor the first of ye last mo. which shall be in the year sixteen hundred 59, and other fiftie pounds before the first of ye second mo. which shall be in the year one thousand six hundred and sixtie. And it is further Agreed that when the sd. house is finished in case the sd. Job shall find and judgeth to be worth ten 

ends more, that it shall be referred

Indifferent workmen to determine unless the sayd Selectmen shall se just cause to pay the sd. ten pounds without such valuacon.

In witness whereof the partys to these presents have Interchangeably put their hands the day and year above written.

William Brackenbury,
John Sprague,
Joh. Wayte.

Witness,
Joseph Hills,
Gershom Hills.
contract to build a bay on the	house of Richard Jacob at
Ipswich, in 1659

This presents witnesseth that I
William Auerill of Ipswich carpenter
have undertaken a piece of building of
Richard Jacob of Ipswich in manner as
followeth: viz. one Bay of building of
18 foot square and 13 foot in the stud
as also to provide Clappboard and
shingle for the forsaid building and to
Lay them. Also he is to Lay three floors
with Joys and bord and to make 4 wind-
dowes too stole windowes of 5 Lights a
piece and to Claistory windowes of 4
Lights a piece also a garret window to
transoms betwene studs partitions and
dors to Close the Roms Compleat as
also to Remove a Little Rome and
Close it to his house and make it tile
betwene also to make a table and
frame of 12 or 14 foot long and a
joyned form of 4 foot long and a binch
Behind the table for and in considera-
tion of all the foresaid premises I the
foresaid William do Acknowledg to
have Receued the sum of twelve pound
as full satisfaction. And for the due per-
formance herof I the foresaid William
do bind my Selfe Executors adminis-
trators and assins in the forfite of
twenty four pound to finish Compleatly by the last of August next En-
isuing the date herof and the said
Richard for his part is to draw all the
timber and bord for covering and to
find conuenant help to Raise and frens
and bords and nails only shuch timbr
as is defective through the said Will-
liams defalt he is to prouid at his own
proper Cost to mak the worke sub-
stantial all according to the tru intent
of the bargan aboue written in witnes
herof I the said William haue set to
my hand the day and yere specified
September 27 1659

William Auerill

Witnes
John Appleton
John gage

—Essex County Quarterly Court
Files, Vol. VI, leaf 70.
AGREEMENT TO BUILD A HOUSE AND BARN AT MERRIMACKE, AFTERWARD
BRADFORD, MASS., IN 1663

John Wilcott of Newbury, carpenter, in consideration of three hundred acres of land in Rowley, bought of Philip Nelson of Rowley, promised to pay £200, half of the amount to be paid in building a house and barn upon the land of said Nelson at Merrimacke, the house to be thirty-four feet long, sixteen feet wide and nine feet stud, the roof covered with well-seasoned pine boards, to be double boarded, well and substantially nailed, the sides and ends of the house to be clap-boarded with good and substantial clapboards, well nailed, to make six windows, the four lower windows to be two feet long with three lights each, the doors to be made of good pine boards with hooks and hinges and he to hang the same, to make and lay four floors, two lower and two chamber, close-laid and covered with good and well-seasoned pine boards, well nailed, to make a good double chimney and daub the same, making a good back to said chimney to daub the ends of the house and the sides up to the wall plates with clay, make an oven, a flight of stairs to the chambers, and all to be finished before the last of May, 1663. He was also to build a barn fifty by twenty feet, near said dwelling house, thirteen feet stud, the roof covered with well-seasoned pine boards with a good floor, etc., for all of which said Wilcott was to have £100, the other hundred pounds to be paid in corn, delivered aboard some boat in Merrimack river near said Nelson's land, and neat cattle, not over seven years old, or oxen not over nine years old.

—Essex County Quarterly Court Files, March, 1667.

1. The said Daniel Andrews is to dig and build a cellar as large as the eastern room of said house will afford (and in the said room according to the breadth and length of it) not exceeding six foot in height; and to underpin the porch and the remaining part of the house not exceeding three foot in height; also to underpin the kitchen on the north side of the house, not exceeding one foot; the said kitchen being 20 foot long and 18 foot wide; and to make steps with stones into the cellar in two places belonging to the cellar, together with stone steps up into the porch. 2. For the chimney he is to take down the chimneys which are now standing, and to take and make up of the bricks that are now in the chimneys and the stones that are in the lean-to cellar that now is, and to rebuild the said chimneys with five fire places, viz. two below and two in the chambers and one in the garret; also to build one chimney in the kitchen, with ovens and a furnace, not exceeding five feet above the top of the house. 3. He is to set the jams of the two chamber chimneys and of the easternmost room below with Dutch tiles, the said owner finding the tiles; also to lay all the hearths belonging to the said house and to point the cellar and under pinning of sd. house and so much of the 3 hearths as are to be laid with Dutch tiles, the said owner is to find them. 4. As for lathing and plastering he is to lath and siele the 4 rooms of the house betwixt the joists overhead with a coat of lime & hair upon the clay; also to fill the gable ends of the house with bricks and to plaster them with clay. 5. To lath and plaster the partitions of the house with clay and lime, and to fill, lath and plaster with bricks and clay the porch and porch chamber and to plaster them with lime and hair besides; and to siele and lath them overhead with lime; also to fill lath and plaster the kitchen up to the wall plate on every side. 6. The said Daniel Andrews is to find lime, bricks, clay, stone, hair, together with labourers and workmen to help him, and generally all materials for the effecting and carrying out of the aforesaid worke, excepte laths and nails. 7. The whole work before mentioned is to be done, finished and performed att or before the last day of August next following provided that said Daniel or any that work with him, be not lett or hindered for want of the carpenter work. 8. Lastly in consideration of all the aforesaid worke, so finished and accomplished as is aforesaid, the aforesaid owner is to pay or cause to be paid unto the said workman, the summe of fifty pounds in money current in New England, to be paid at or before the finishing of the said worke. And for the true performance of the premises we bind ourselves each to other, our heyers, executors, and administrators, firmly by these presents, as witnesse our hands, this nineteenth day of February, Anno Domini 1674-5.

Jonathan Corwin
Daniel Andrews
Curwin MSS., American Antiquarian Society, MS. Collections.
1655 A house ingaged for to bee bilt for thomas maulle ye 20
day of the 10 month 1678 and all to be finished by ye last
of ye 8 month 1679 thes house is to bee in length 35 fute
and 20 fute in breth the stond 14 fute in hight
The above said house was all completed by the 30 day
of ye 8 month 1679 according to Thomas Maules dariction
the cost of ye house in naiies 06-03-10 2
for byeng and cartiad of tymber 06-16-00
for sawing 05-05-00
for chabordes 03-15-00
for bordes 10-00-00
for shengell 05-15-00
for carting of clay 01-05-00
for Engenes helpe aboute making morter 02-00-00
in lyme and bane 03-14-00
for windos making and stayeres making 01-05-00
for Torne worke beside casmentee and
selere done 01-10-00

Source: Trades and Tradesmen of Essex County
Massachusetts, Chiefly of the Seventeenth
Century by Henry Ycckoff Belknap.
The Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts,
1929. p. 56.
ARTICLES of Agreement indented made and Concluded the twentieth day of August Ano Domi One thousand six hundred Seventy and nine. And in the thirty first yeare of the Reigne of King Charles the Second over &c Betweene Robert Taft of Brantry, in New England housewright on the one part and John Bateman of Boston in New England aforesd shopkeeper on the other part are as followeth—

Imps The sd Robert Taft for himselfe heirs Exeçrs and Admrs doth hereby covenant promiss and grant to and with the sd John Bateman his Exeçr and assignees in manner and forme following (that is to Say) that the sd Robert Taft his Exeçor assignees shall and will erect set up and finish for the sd John Bateman his Exeçrs or Assignes the frame of a new Tenement or dwelling house to contain thirty foot in length and twenty Seven foot or thereabout in breadth according to the dimenstions of the Cellar frame as it now stands and to build the frame of the sd house two Storey high besides the garrett and each roome seven foote high betweene the Sumner and floare to make the sd house to jet at the first storey in the front Eighteen inches and to make and place frame for the Cellar according to the present dimenstions thereof and place the same and to build three floares of Sumners and joise and to make and place in the front of the sd house two gable ends to range even with the Roof of the sd house and also two gable ends on the backside to range as aforesd and to make and place in the front of ye Second Storey two large casement windows and two windows in the garrett and in the end next the Mill Creeke three windows Vizt one large Casement window in the low[er] Roome and one large Casement window in the Second Storey and one window in the garrett and on the backside one large Casement window in the low[er] Roome two large Casement windows in the second Storey and two windows in the garrett and to make & send to Boston the frame of the Cellar within Six weeks next after the date hereof and to rayse the same in place within one week then next following (provided the cills of the sd Cellar be clear) and to finish the frame of the sd house on or before the first day of march next and rayse the same with all possible Speed after it is brought to Boston. In Consideration whereof the sd John Bateman for himselfe his 3 heirex exècr and Admrs doth hereby covenant promiss and grant to and with the sd

to pay for the transportation of the frame of the sd cellar and house from Brantry the place where it is to be framed to Boston and also to pay or cause to bee paid unto the sd Robert Taft his Execr Admrs or Assignes the full and just sum of thirty pounds Vizt one half part thereof in lawfull money of New England and the other half part thereof in English goods at money price and to pay the same in manner and forme following (that is to Say) five pounds in money and five pounds in goods at the time of En-sealing hereof and five pounds in money and five pounds in goods when the frame of the Cellar is laid down and the floare of the cellar is laid and five pounds in money and five pounds in goods when the whole worke is compleated and in every respect finished in manner and forme aforesd. And for the true performance hereof the sd partys binde themselves their heires Execr and Admrs each unto the other his Execr and Assignes in the penall Sume of fifty pounds of lawfull money of New England well and truly to be paid by virtue of these presents. In witness whereof the partys abovenamed to these present Articles interchangably have Set their hands and Seals the day and yeare first above written.

John Bateman. [Seal]
Signed Sealed & Delivd in presence of
John Hayward scr
Eliezer Moody Servt
Owned in Court p Bateman 27 April
1680 p Is Addington Cler
Vera Copia Attestd Is Addington
Cler
Suffolk County Judicial Court Files,
No. 1916.

Source: Old Time New England, S.P.N.E.A.
July, 1921, pp. 29-30

190
The agreement of the town of Deerfield, Massachusetts, in calling John Williams as its minister in 1686, states: "That they will build him a house: 42 foot long, 20 foot wide, with a lento of the back side of the house."

Source: Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic By Fiske Kimball (Charles Scribner's Sons) 1922. p. 10.
MEMORANDUM it is agreed by and between John Holebrook of Weymouth in the county of Suffolk, housewright, Stephen French of the same place, housewright—and Jacob Nash of the same place housewright of the one part and Anthony Haywood Esq of the other part as followeth (that is to say) Imprimis the said John Holebrooke, Stephen French & Jacob Nash doe Covenant praise and agree to and with the said Anthony Heywood his heires Admrs and Assis and Also in the consideration herein after mentioned that the he said John Holebrooke, Stephen French and Jacob Nash or some or one of them shall & will by or before the last day of November now next ensuing Erect set up and build on such spot of Ground as the sd Anthony Heywood shall for that end assigne of good sound timber well & workmanlike wrought one frame of building of the Dimensions following {that is to say} in length fifty four feet in breadth thirty six feet studd twenty feet with five windows in the front five windows in the rear and two windows at each end of such dimensions as are sett downe in a platt of the same made by Mr. P. Wells Surveyor and the same frame shall clabboard fill with brick & scale with lime and hair & white washing and the rooffe thereof with board & shingles make tight & stanch and shall & will on the west end of the sd frame Erect, build & sett up One Belfry of ten feet square twenty feet above ye rooffe of the sd frame and of sufficient strength for a bell of five hundred weight and the said entire frame shall finish & complete with Masons and smiths worke and sufficiently glaze all the sd windows with good square glasse & iron casemts and the same building see completed and finished as above is Covenanted & locked with sufficient locks to the doors thereof shall deliver with the keys thereof in-

to the sd Anthony Haywood In Consideracion whereof the said Anthony Haywood doth covet praise & agree to pay or Cause to be paid unto the said John Holebrooke Stephen French Jacob Nash the sume of two hundred & Sixty pounds (that is to say) One hundred & thirty pounds thereof in Goods & merchandize at the price for which same shall be then sold for money Sixty five pounds in money & sixty five pounds in goods perform'd as the said frame shall be raised and remaining Sixty five pounds in money & sixty five pounds in Goods when the sd building shall be finished as above is Covenanted. In witness whereof all the sd partyes have hereunto to set their hands and seales and Consent that the same shall remaine in the hands ye sd Anthony Haywood this one & twentieth day of July Anno Dme 1688.

John Holebrook
Steph French
Jacob Nash
Anthony Haywood

Sealed & delivered in the presence of
Benja Bulyvant
Will White
Thaddeus Mackarty

Suffolk County Judicial Court Files,
No. 2598.

Source: Old Time New England, S.P.N.
July, 1921; pp 30–32
APPENDIX C

Room Terminology, 17th Century
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Inventory Room Names from "A Documentary History of Plymouth Colony Architecture, 1620-1700,"

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Notes: X indicates the presence of a room at that location in the year listed.
APPENDIX D

Copy Photos and Sketches of 17th- and 18th-Century Buildings in New England

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Fig. 1. ca. 1780 print on cotton of Cushing House, Hingham, Mass.
2. 1817 sketch of Bridgham House, Boston, Mass.
4. ca. 1820 print on cotton of Newell House, Southington, Conn.
5. undated sketch of Parkman House, Mass.
6. undated sketch of Governor Bradstreet House, Mass.
8. 20th-century photograph of Boardman House, Saugus, Mass.
10. 20th-century photograph of Capen House, Topsfield, Mass.
11. 20th-century photograph of Whipple House, Ipswich, Mass.
14. 20th-century photograph of St. Michael's Church, Marblehead, Mass.
Fig. 37. Detail of Curtain with Tape Loops and Rings
Copperplate printed cotton, red and white: "Farm scenes with sheep dipping and shearing."
English, ca. 1780. Cushing family, Hingham, Massachusetts. Privately owned.

Note arrangement of the casement hung windows


Fig. 2

From Kimball, Domestic Architecture, 1922.

Figure 7. The Bridgham house ("Julien's"), Boston
From C. Shaw: Description of Boston (1817)
Witch (Corwin) House, taken from water color by S. Bartol, 1819

Courtesy Essex Institute, Salem

The so-called "Witch House," at Salem, Massachusetts

Fig. 3

Fig. 52. Detail of Valance with Fold and Draw String
Privately owned.

Notice arrangement of casement hung windows

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Plate III. — Deliverance Parkman House. From an Old Sketch in the Essex Institute; Governor Bradstreet Mansion. From a Painting at the Essex Institute.

From Frank Cousins and Phil M. Riley,
The Colonial Architecture of Salem
Leonard House, Raynham, Mass.

Tradition relates that King Philip's head was deposited in this house in 1676.

Printed from the original wood block engraved in 1838.

From Old Time New England, 21, no. 4 (April 1931).

Figure 3. "Scotch House" (Boardman house), Saugus, Massachusetts. 1651

From Kimball, Domestic Architecture.
Figure 6. John Ward house, Salem. After 1684

Figure 5. Capen house, Topsfield, Massachusetts. 1683
Figure 4. Whipple house, Ipswich, Massachusetts. Western part before 1669, eastern part before 1682

From Kimball, Domestic Architecture

DETAIL OF OLD BROWN HOUSE, HAMILTON, MASSACHUSETTS

The overhang is unusual in being a framed end showing end-girt molded and chamfered. This is a fine type of "drop" ornament depending from the posts framed into the projecting second end-girt.

"Drop ornament" possible precedent or use at the Tronnister's House, 1915/16
Seventeenth-century hallway, Goulding House
*Courtesy Wallace Nutting*

Stairway possible precedent for use at the
Ironmaster's House, 1915/16

An example of a shingled gutter or a valley with "swirled"
shingles. The word gutter is a colonial term.

From Old Time
New England
(Spring 1962)
APPENDIX E

"Broadhearth," by Wallace Nutting, no date.
Broadhearth

THE IRON WORKS HOUSE

BUILT 1646

137 CENTRAL STREET, SAUGUS CENTER,
three miles from Lynn and nine miles
from Boston; about three-eighths of
a mile from the monument
in the Square

WALLACE NUTTING, INCORPORATED
Framingham Center, Massachusetts
HERE was seated the first successful iron works in this country. The first casting, a kettle made in 1642, is still in existence. The field behind the house yet shows traces of the pits whence the iron was dug, it being bog ore, the best sort, now imported as Swedish iron. The foundry site is opposite. About the house are several pieces of ore.

The Leonards here carried on successfully for a hundred years their iron work, and then removed to Easton Furnace, in this state, where they still continue the same business, a remarkable instance of the success and persistence of a family in one occupation. The old deed still exists transferring the field for the purpose of a house site for the iron master.

Several remarkable features of the architecture are the overhang, the huge chimney, the gables, the framing, the pitch of the roof, and the size of the rooms.

There are just a dozen other houses known in America with the framed overhang on the side. Some of these houses are ruinous, in some the overhang is concealed behind new work. The origin of the overhang is very early, being Gothic. The object of it is in part to afford protection of the lower story from sun and rain, making as it were a narrow porch. But another object is obvious still in European towns, where the houses were densely huddled, and the overhang reached over the street and afforded larger rooms upstairs.

In its American location space was ample for Broadhearth, and a porch was added, with a porch bedroom in the second story. The porch is a restoration, the mortise holes found in sill and girt and the roof boarding indicating the size and location. The gables, the drops representing the lower ends of the posts (like second story newel posts), the finials, and one summer beam, with the windows and fireplace lintels, are the other restorations, the frame being intact. Some parts of the stair were also supplied. The original pinholes for the window frames and part of a frame were found.

The middle gable is lower than the others, perhaps to avoid collision with the great chimney. The other gables extend to the height of the main roof and are of the same pitch. The knocker is from a seventeenth century house.

The noble chimney stack shows panelling and exhibits the various flues, one or two added perhaps around 1700. Some have thought it the best central chimney remaining to us.

In the restoration of the fireplaces, which had been bricked up, a fine sawtoothed trammel, iron shelves, a kettle, various small iron articles, and a seventeenth century muster roll were found.

The main rooms, two on each floor, are very large, and the ceiling is
low enough to give a fine effect of depth to the rooms. The frame is of oak, some timbers being fourteen inches thick and beautifully quartered, as one may see.

The fireplaces are caverns, being nearly ten feet in the opening and three and a half feet deep.

The kitchen (hall, fireroom, dwelling room) shows the marks in the fireplace of a series of firebacks. The opening to the sky is so large that clear shadows are thrown on the hearth by the pots depending from the lug pole, which preceded the crane. The little iron side shelves in this and the other room are from iron made here.

In this room is one of the most remarkable pieces of furniture known in America—the trestle-board table, otherwise called "a table board and frame." It may date from the sixteenth, certainly from the early seventeenth century. There is a table something like it in the Metropolitan Museum, and it had been regarded as unique in America. The table here has a special interest also from the manner in which its two spindles rise from the stretcher and form a truss. In the Middle Ages these tables were common, and our expression "to sit at board" arises from them, as they were always made of one board. Our modern tables, designed as they are to remain always set up, were called in the seventeenth century standing tables. This table was taken down and placed out of the way.

It was part of the furnishing of the Richardson tavern in Millis (formerly Medway) and would have disappeared like others of its style, but was put away in the attic because Washington had once sat at it. Some years since it was sold at auction for a small sum and came from the purchaser directly to the present owner. It is all original except one cleat (left uncolored). The end that is square may have been made thus, to go against the wall, or may have been cut off. So far as known this is the only table of the kind in private hands.

The wooden plates are trenchers and were the ordinary plates of the period. Earthenware was hard to transport from England, and china was not made there for almost a hundred years after.

The chair, or monk's table of oak, is probably of the sixteenth century. At table only the head of the house had a chair, low benches or forms being used by the other members of the family.

The Windsor chairs in this room are of the earliest type, with very heavy legs and deep turnings. In the parlor we find, rather wide a fireplace of the same size, possibly indicating that one of these rooms was an office for the iron works; otherwise one fireplace would naturally have been smaller. The little recesses in the rear of the fireplace were for fire and ashes.

The pilgrim chair in this room is said to be the finest known, partly owing to its perfect preservation. There are thirty-six spindles, none of which have had to be replaced within the memory of Mr. Tufts of Sherborn, who has graciously allowed the ownership of the chair to be
transferred, that it may be preserved. It has been in his family for at least eight generations. Only the balls for the tops of the front posts are missing. The pins have been renewed.

The great oak Cromwellian drawing table is a notable piece. The beautiful iron-bound chest, very appropriate in this house, was brought in before the door casings were put on, and is too large to pass out of the room. A fine writing-arm Windsor and other worthy pieces deserve attention, especially a unique variant of the butterfly table, with leaf bracket like a crane. It is in cracked black paint. It was saved from fire when Medfield was burned by the Indians in 1688. It came directly from the family who inherited it for generations.

The porch or entry (never called hall) had a partition not yet restored, on the line of the main house front. The original triangular panel of the stair is interesting. In this room is a seventeenth century ancestor of the card table. It is triangular and has a split-leg gate.

The kitchen chamber shows in the corners, as elsewhere in the house, the gunstock post, and here only a part of the floor girt shows in front.

The simple early bed is as near as may be to the early time. Great English oak beds were not brought to America often enough to leave us an example. The settlers built plain frames for themselves. The fine chest, however, came over the water. A very good hard-pine ball-turned, small gate-legged table is also in this room with other good pieces.

The parlor chamber has a "grandpa and grandma" bed (headboard being scrolled for two persons), with trundle bed under. An early candle stand, chairs, etc., are good and rare. An idea of the size of the chimney, even when it is narrowing, may be gathered from the lean-to attic (out of this room) and from the attic above, which should be visited for this and other attic revelations.

In the lean-to is a fireplace whose remarkable feature is that it enters the same side of the chimney as the parlor fireplace. This is evidently a reminiscence of the great stone end chimneys, and in a brick chimney is scarcely to be found elsewhere.

All the hardware in this house is of the seventeenth century, and a part was in the house. The hinges are rich in examples of the "strap-and-butterfly," the "strap-and-scroll," the "strap-and-wedge," the "strap and U," and the plain "butterfly." The latches and andirons are of like date. In the lean-to a collection of early hardware is kept, from which copies may be had. The windows in this room are from the John Winthrop, Jr., house (1734) at Ipswich. They carry 5 × 7 glass, but of course were later than that house.

**THE SAUGUS IRON WORKS**

It has seemed fitting to make a start at reestablishing the Saugus Iron Works. A master smith of rare skill, whose family are caretakers, will copy any iron work in the house, or other old examples.

The ell, while of some age, is not antique and is private.
APPENDIX F

Letter, W. S. Appleton to Mrs. Nutting, 1944
February 8, 1944.

Mrs. Wallace Nutting
46 Park Street
Framingham, Mass.

Dear Mrs. Nutting:

From Mr. Ernest Donnelly, perhaps your secretary or the manager for Wallace Nutting, Inc., has come a request that I send your such information as I may have concerning the attempt now being made to rescue the old Iron Works House in Saugus from possible demolition for purposes of re-erection at Dearborn, Michigan.

It gives me particular pleasure to assist in this matter, partly on account of my old-time friendship with Mr. Nutting and partly because of my admiration for the skill he showed in selecting outstanding examples of New England antiquities for preservation. He was, all by himself, a preservation society, going as far as circumstances permitted him to do and the only reason he didn't go further was, as it seemed to me, that World War No. 1 interfered and his business didn't continue at the peak of prosperity where he would liked to have seen it.

I remember well the day when he called at my office, when matters were at their worst during World War No. 1, and asked whether our Society would buy the five houses which he had secured, together with all their contents, for $125,000. This was at the rate of only $25,000 for each and would have been a wonderful bux had we but been able to find the money.

Among the five houses was the Old Iron Works House which I knew well before Mr. Nutting acquired it. In fact, I went over the house frequently with Mr. Nutting and Mr. Henry Charles Dean who was certainly, in the first stages, Mr. Nutting's adviser or consulting architect. The house was a superb one in that its entire frame, with the exception of the sills, was beautifully preserved, the only missing part being the front porch. Of course, no house comes through three centuries without
a great deal of alteration of one kind or another and to this rule
the Iron Works House was no exception, and it was Mr. Nutting's
problem to put the house back again into its original condition.
This he did with remarkable success, resulting in a work of restora-
tion of outstanding merit.

It is really a tribute to Mr. Nutting's discernment in
selecting this house as an objective on which to spend his own time
and money that the officials of the Henry Ford Trade School should
have also selected it as an outstanding building to be bought and
presented to Mr. Henry Ford on the occasion of his 80th birthday as
a testimonial of their respect and esteem, to become an addition to
the wonderful collection of historical buildings which Mr. Ford has
brought together at Dearborn, Michigan. Certainly the Alumni of
his Trade School could have selected no building more worthy of their
attention and it was undeniably the wonderful condition into which
Mr. Nutting had put this building that brought it so favorably to their
attention.

As might have been expected, the mere suggestion that so
historic a building, one of the most ancient in America, should be
taken apart and removed from its ancient site to such a distant spot
as Dearborn, Michigan, aroused the intense opposition and resulted
finally in action by both the Town of Saugus and the Commonwealth of
Massachusetts working toward the preservation of the building where
it stands. It so happened that the Trade School had bought the house
for an extremely high price and Mr. Ford on being asked to give up his
claim to the building consented to do so only on the very reasonable
condition that his good friends of the Trade School be reimbursed for
all of their expenses. These will amount, with the purchase price,
interest, taxes, repairs, fire insurance and other costs, to the very
respectable figure of over $12,000 and even that will merely purchase
the building. In addition, there is the land to be purchased, for the
assessed value of a shade under $2,000, and the workshop on the same
ground, amounting to another $1,000, making a grand total of about
$15,000 to be found, of which $4,000 is already pledged by the Town
and another $4,000 by the Commonwealth. This leaves $7,000 to be found
by the public and of this about $1,300 is now in hand, leaving some
$5,700 to secure. Strenuous efforts are being made to raise this but
in such times as the present, of course, money is coming in slowly.

A corporation has been formed to attempt to raise this money
but not to secure the title to the property. Since both State and Town
are contributing, the title, under the Massachusetts Constitution, can
be held only by the public and, in this case, the Town of Saugus has
been selected to hold the title. The Town, however, is not at all
anxious to administer the property and will almost certainly be glad
to allow the Association, known as the First Iron Works Association, Inc.,
to represent it as manager. Beyond that nothing seems to be certain.
There is, however, always a possibility that the State and the Town may eventually turn the property over to the Government to become a National Historic Site. In a sense, I would personally regret this, for I should dislike seeing the Federal Government take it over. At the same time, if both the State and the Town refuse to take a more active part than that involved in appropriating $4,000 each, then, and in that case, it may perhaps be best of all to have the Federal Government, through the National Park Division, Department of Interior, step into the picture in order to recreate, on the other side of the road, all the ancient buildings connected with the actual Iron Works manufacture as it probably existed three hundred years ago.

What a memorial that would be to the days of the past and how glad Mr. Nutting would be to have seen anything of the kind taking place! It is a tribute to his discriminating judgment in the selection of antiquities, and I am glad to say that on many occasions I have heard the most complimentary remarks made of his work in saving the house and restoring it at such large expense. And now there is the suggestion, through Mr. Donnelly, that you yourself might like to continue Mr. Nutting's interest by taking an interest in the property. Nothing could be more appropriate or give more pleasure to the many hundreds who are taking a present interest in the preservation of this building. You may rest assured that your cooperation would be warmly welcomed in whatever way you care to exhibit it, and personally it would please me greatly if it could be done in such a way as to be a permanent record of Mr. Nutting's own achievement towards the preservation of this property.

Let me know whenever I can be of further service to you.

Sincerely yours,

WSA:EC

[Handwritten Signature]
APPENDIX G

Mulhern-Cummings Correspondence, 1975
January 16, 1975

Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities
111 Cambridge Street
Boston, Ma. 02114

Attn: Mr. Abbott L. Cummings

Dear Mr. Cummings,

Enclosed please find a Xerox copy of the Kingsbury report on the Ironmaster's House, prepared for Perry, Shaw etc. and dated June 25, 1951. Part two, which begins on page six, contains her assessment of the history of the structure which while of dubious veracity does contain some interesting information.

I am addressing a letter under this date to John Albright of our Denver Service Center in an attempt to get you a copy of his Historical Studies Plan for the Ironworks.

I thank you once again for the time you spared us yesterday and look forward to meeting with you again and receiving the Appleton notes you mentioned.

Sincerely,

Christopher Mulhern
Architect- NPS

cc. Orville W. Carroll
February 3, 1975

Mr. Christopher H. Mulhern
Architect
National Park Service
P.O. Box 160
Concord, MA 01742

Dear Chris:

Many thanks for your good letter and the copy of the Felicia Kingsbury report. I have read it over very carefully, and at the risk of making any statement that I might later regret, I think I will commit to paper here and now my reactions which, as you will see, are fairly strong. In other words, because this document has become official in your files, I think there should be some recorded rebuttal. Therefore, while I would not attempt to make any comment on her Part One for which I feel I have no real basis of fact, I can report as follows on Part Two of her June 25, 1951 document which is headed "Archeological Report". On the face of the copy which you have sent me which will go into my own files, I have written as follows: "I consider this document in its entirety as nothing less than dangerous. It is thoroughly uninformed, naive and incorrect in virtually every assumption. Further, Mrs. Kingsbury was then a member of the staff of SPNEA, and the report reveals she never consulted the photos or correspondence files here which would have answered many of her questions." In short, I think it would save everyone a good deal of grief, despite the fact that certain of her perceptions were perfectly accurate, if we acknowledge that very little can be learned from that report of the way in which the structure evolved.

Thanks for writing to John Albright because I am quite anxious to pursue this whole question of the completion of the documentary study of the Ironmaster's site, and have already gathered together the various loose papers in my own personal possession towards the end of preparing a report for you.
In this respect, I went back at once after our chat the other day and found that I was incorrect in assuming that there were additional notes compiled by Sumner Appleton during the restoration. I found that all my notes were based on the captions of his photographs and those two reports which you have already seen made in 1914 and 1915 before the actual work of restoration began. However, the next time you are coming in, it might be wise for you to let me know a day or two in advance so that I can bring in my notes and we can compare all our joint materials to make sure that you have everything that is in print. It is wonderful to think that you are zeroing in on the history and importance of this structure which I think still has a good deal to tell us, and I hope very much that we can ultimately have a good many more answers than we do right now.

With warmest regards,

Very sincerely,

Abbott L. Cummings
Executive Director

ALC: sam

/cc: Mr. Orville W. Carroll
APPENDIX H

Carroll-Guy Interview, 1975
East and West Parlors: Mr. Guy recalls a Mr. Townsend having a large iron pot with a fire under it to boil lye. The lye was applied by a swab to the woodwork to remove the paint. Mr. Guy does not recall the plaster ceilings or walls in these rooms prior to the restoration of 1915/16. The door hardware was made by his father Edward Guy. Mr. Guy thinks that the clay tiles used in the hearths came from the cellar where they were used for a floor.

Both east and west room were used as a Tea House in 1929 for about three months. It was called the "Saugus Ironworks Tea Room." Mrs. Cota worked for him. She also worked for Miss Fitch and Miss Poor in Lincoln, Mass., at the Hartwell Farm. Mr. Guy's sister, Mrs. Pearson, lived in Lincoln in 1929.

West Parlor: Mr. Guy recalls the floor register (now removed). This room was used by Mr. Nutting as a display room up until 1920. After this Mr. Cooney used it for storage of antiques. Mr. Cooney lived in the ell after the Guys moved out. Cooney (actually the heirs) sold to Mr. Rosenberg who later leased the house to Edward L. Guy. The Guy family moved back into the ell in 1926. Edward L. Guy opened the house as a tea room. One summer the Mayor of Lynn, England was a guest of Mr. Guy.

Edward L. Guy lived on the 2nd floor and ate with his parents in the ell. Mr. Guy married in 1929 and moved out. His father continued to live in the ell until ca. 1951, then moved to Melrose.

Mr. Guy said that the floor boards in the West Parlor were the old ones turned over and reused.

Cellar: Mr. Guy thinks cellar stairs were built after 1929. East cellar supports and lally columns are new, the pointing of the lean-to cellar foundation walls, the chimney base, the south wall and north wall in the east end is all new since 1929. Mr. Guy believes the west and east walls of the cellar are much like he remembers them.

The Nutting furnace of 1917 sat near the center of the west cellar room just south of the north foundation sill of the main house. Fresh air was obtained through a wooden duct placed in the cellar floor to the north lean-to wall where it rose vertically to the cellar window. The heating system was gravity fed using hot air and hot water. Hot water radiators were placed in the ell and one on the ceiling under the floor of the East Parlor. A thirty-inch square wooden hot air duct ran from the furnace along the ceiling of the south cellar wall. The warm air from this duct was reheated by the radiator before entering a floor register in the East Parlor. In the ceiling of the East Parlor was a second floor grille used to let heat into the East Chamber.
The West Parlor was heated through a floor register by a duct connected directly to the furnace plenum. The West Chamber and lean-to bathroom were heated by a hot air duct placed against the south wall of the lean-to with a floor register in the bathroom and a wall register placed in the north wall of the West Chamber where it exists today.

When Mr. Guy was about 14 years old he dug up about eight clay tiles from the cellar floor opposite the chimney foundation in the west end of the cellar. He took them to show his father who discouraged him from further digging. Mr. Guy thinks he left some of the tiles in the floor of the cellar.

The south cellar bulkhead was used only for putting in fireplace wood into the cellar for storage. There were no steps only a wooden frame and door on the inside wall much like the opening under the porch. There was a coal bin built in the southwest corner of the cellar. The northeast corner of the coal bin was slanted to give room to walk between the bin and the furnace. Coal for the furnace was always thrown into the cellar bin through the west cellar window.

The brick piers in the east cellar walls are new to Mr. Guy since 1929. Water after 1929. Electricity put in during the restoration of 1915/16 into the ell only and the lean-to bathroom. No electricity put in the old house, cellar, or kitchen lean-to at that time.

Mr. Guy doesn't recall the lally columns, the concrete piers, the floor reinforcement (1st floor) or the hole in the center of the west cellar wall. All after 1929.

Hallway, 2nd floor: Mr. Guy does not remember the wide cracks between the corner posts and the plaster walls prior to 1929.

Mr. Guy was told that the house frame was made from English oak, framed in England and brought over, unloaded and set up. He was told this by Wallace Nutting, he thinks.

West Chamber: Edward L. Guy slept in this room one winter with his brother when he was about 12 years old. When he was about 13 years old he stayed in this room with Mr. Nutting. Mr. Nutting slept in the NW corner and Mr. Guy slept in the SW corner. Mr. Nutting did not use the fireplaces in either room. Mr. Guy lived here again as a bachelor from 1926 to 1929 and used the two upstairs rooms and bathroom. The first floor rooms were used for furniture exhibit. After Mr. Nutting left, Mr. Guy used both fireplaces in the chambers. Mr. Guy applied a coating on the plaster walls of the west chamber in ca. 1928. He did not repair any other plaster. Mr. Guy put in the electric convenience outlet in the north wall of the room in ca. 1926-29.

Bathroom under lean-to roof: Had a wc and lavatory but no tub. No ceiling finish just as it is today he thinks. The Guys put on the wallpaper in 1920 or before. No linoleum on floors, just braided rugs.
East Chamber: This room was Mr. Guy's sitting room in 1926-29. 
Fireplace used. The towel rack on mantel is after 1929. The door 
hardware was made by his father. The black painted baseboards in 
the house done during the restoration.

Porch Chamber: This room not used but furnished with antiques by Mr. 
Nutting until 1920. Mr. Nutting sold his entire furniture collection 
to Wannamakers for the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts in New York 
City.

Mr. Guy put the wooden runners on all restored window sills, 1st and 
2nd floors for use with sliding screens. Mr. Guy also made wrought 
iron window brackets and rods for all windows. These have been re-
placed with wood brackets.

Attic: The clay mortar (parging) washed off the chimney. The existing 
attic floors are as Mr. Guy remembers them. He put the cardboard and 
newspapers over the edge of the floor boards and stuffed newspapers 
under the eaves to keep out the cold drafts.

Exterior: The hand-wrought nails used in the porch clanboards were 
made by Mr. Guy and his father. (Mr. Guy thought they made enough 
nails to do the entire house. When shown the machine-cut nails used 
on the main house in 1915/16, he changed his mind).

Mr. Guy thought the brick window wells were higher than he re-
members them. Mr. Guy's father rebuilt the brickwork on the north 
wall of the East Parlor. Mr. Henry Ford had Mr. Guy rebuild the 
wall because it was bulging outward. The same bricks were reused. 
The shoe scraper was made by Mr. Guy's father at north door of East 
Parlor.

When Mr. Guy was 15 years old he built the porch against the ell 
on the north side. There was a window frame left over from the work 
which he used. He moved the 1915 outside ell door out into the porch 
where it is today.

The front porch bell was put on by Mr. Nutting. The hook for the 
flag was made by Mr. Edward Guy for the 300th anniversary of the town. 
The granite steps north and south were put there at the direction of 
Mr. Nutting, he thinks.

Old Museum Building: This was two brewery buildings (from Newburyport ?) 
dismantled and brought to Saugus and set up as a blacksmith shop. The 
windows were once twice as high but were cut off when the building was 
turned into a museum by the First Ironworks Association in ca. 1949. 
Edward Guy died in 1951, was a blacksmith at the site from 1915-1951. 
Edward L. Guy was a blacksmith at the site from 1915-1939 then part 
time from 1939-1951."
APPENDIX I

Stabilization of Chimney at the Ironmaster's House, 1975
"STABILIZATION OF CHIMNEY AT THE IRONMASTER'S HOUSE

The following are the recommended steps for the stabilization of the Ironmaster's House as agreed among those present January 10, 1975 at Saugus.

1. Stabilize the chimney base by drilling holes on center on all sides and injecting grout or resin into the center of the base and the cavity between the stone work.

2. Stabilize the exterior walls of the base. This can either be done by excavating the outside and parging, or by drilling from the inside and injecting grout. Consultation with a qualified engineer will be necessary to determine the optimum method.

3. Cover the roof of the structure with a water proof membrane and erect a wood staging to reach the top of the chimney. The staging to be four feet wide on all sides of the chimney.

4. Repoint the exterior of the chimney in the areas where cracking has damaged the original fabric.

5. Remove all loose parging from the flues.

6. Line the flues of the two first floor fireplaces. Linings to be of five inches of asbestos concrete poured in segments. The form work is to be of "Johnson Break" sheet metal which will be left in place to form the inside surface of the lining.

7. Seal the bottoms of the three remaining flues; the two on the second floor, and the lean-to flue. Fill these three flues with Perlite aggregate concrete, pouring in segments from the bottom seal to the top of the flues.

8. Repoint the joints in the two first floor fireplaces as necessary to protect the brick. Plaster the backs of the fireplaces if indicated by the architectural investigation.

9. Repoint the exterior brick above the roof, matching the original mortar.

10. Cap the three filled flues with sheet lead.

11. Remove the staging and roof covering. Return the job site to the condition in which it was found.

Copies of this proposal to those present at the meeting:

Glen Gray  
Superintendent  
Saugus

Blaine Cliver  
Regional Historic Architect

Bobby Flickenger [sic]  
Restoration Specialist

Orville W. Carroll  
Historic Architect

Dick Volpe  
Chief of Maintainence [sic] - NARO

Chris Mulhern  
Historic Architect"
APPENDIX J

List of Rubbings Taken from Ironmaster's House, 1951, by F. Kingsbury
VARIOUS RUBBINGS FILED UNDER
OLD IRONWORKS HOUSE:

I. "Plank from Furnace Waterwheel
   if original timber 1646 - if repaired
   not more than 30 years later."

II. 1 - "Roof Boards North West side Attic 2nd hand
     and not original."

       2 - "Soft Wood."

       3 - "Roof Boards old type throughout
           South Side Attic containing gable cuts set 1"
           apart and joints are filled with clay or mortar."

III. (No identification)

IV. - "Studs West end Attic sawed out from hewn timber
     contain earliest nails."

       - "Sawed Face (side)."

       - "Hewn Face (Edge)."

V.   - "#6 Type B - Adze Marks.

       - "#5-A type fired oak purlin.
           6" x 7" showing wedge marks.

VI.  (No identification)

VII. Rubbings of Attic Frame - numbered to correspond with
drawing and chalked numbers in House Attic - Iron
Works House - Saugus.
APPENDIX K

List of Repairs to Ironmaster's House
by First Iron Works Association, 1950-1961
"Ironmaster's House

The following reports of repairs were taken from the invoice record left by the FIWA.

Mar. 1950  
(FF 6)  
Repairs to leaded glass windows

Dec. 1950  
(FF 6)  
Repairs to leaded glass windows

June 1951  
(FF 6)  
Scraping and cleaning windows and stain glass sections

Sept. 1952  
(RC 2)  
Bulkhead on house

Oct. 1954  
(FF 6)  
Treating and preserving new boards where doors taken off, putty and paint new windows, touch up about house, touch up new boards at basement entrance

Dec. 1954  
(RC 2)  
Making bell post for house

Apr. 1955  
(FF 6)  
Making repairs on leaded glass windows

Oct. 1955  
(RC 2.53)  
Replace window headers; hood over entrance to ladies and men's toilets; new drains at house

Nov. 1955  
(FF 6)  
Install flashing under 1st course of roof shingles along front of house, replace clapboards, repair roof, etc.

July 1956  
(FF 6)  
Staining

Dec. 1956  
(RC 2.55)  
Remove clapboards to patch rotted girth, boarding and post; remove belt and trim around windows, install new flashing, make new sash for window first floor, patch asbestos shingles, install cricket at skylight; take down rear chimney and rebuild from roof line, shore first floor, remove stone wall in basement and rebuild

Apr. 1957  
(RC 2.56)  
Repaired window, installed posts and headers under first floor, make and install gate at stairs to 2d floor

Aug. 1957  
(RC 2.57)  
Reinforce 1st floor of house; install new stair support with concrete footing, install brick piers to hold sills; remove section of foundation and rebuild

Apr. 1959  
(RC 2.63)  
Remove old threshold, making and installing new threshold, nailing down floor, jack up and supporting floor on concrete block
Ironmaster's House (2)

Mar. 1961 Repairing brick work around doorway"
(RC 2)

Maintenance Work - April, 1974

"The first floor area excluding the lean-to, was refinished. Large cracks in the plaster were routed out[?] and replastered. An area about 24"x18" was replastered between the top of the lean-to door and the summer beam. Another area[?] was replastered on the south side of the chimney in the stairwell leading to the second floor. Other smaller holes were filled in. All plastered or painted surfaces were washed and a shellac base primer coat was put on. The final coat was a simulated white wash latex paint made by the California Paint Company, Cambridge, Massachusetts."
APPENDIX L

Index of Drawings by Perry, Dean and Stewart, Architects
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APPENDIX M

Mortar/Plaster Analysis of Ironmaster's House
TO: Blaine Cliver
FROM: Jim Skelton
SUBJECT: Mortar/Plaster Analysis, Iron Master's House, Saugus Iron Works National Historic Site, Saugus, Massachusetts.

Samples of mortar and plaster were taken from 19 different locations within the house. All were selected following careful study and investigation of the structure and its evolution. Chemical analysis was conducted and recorded on each of the samples. Data obtained from this analysis deals with (1) the sand volume, (2) the parts per volume of sand, residue, and soluble fraction, (3) the presence of hair or fiber, (4) the color of the residue, and (5) the granular composition of the sand as determined by the percent passing through five graduated sieves. The groupings of the samples are based upon Orville Carroll's conclusions as to when specific work was done to the structure. The data from the analysis of the samples is used as the basis for comparing the samples in each of the groupings.

Seven mortar samples believed to be original to the structure were taken. They were from (1) the fireback in the west parlor, (2) the right side of the fire opening in the west parlor, (3) the center fill of the fireback in the west parlor, (4) the fireback in the east parlor, (5) the brick chimney by the stair to the cellar, (6) the upper fire chamber in the west chamber, and (7) the north wall in the west chamber. All of these mortar samples, with the exceptions of those from the center fill of the fireback in the west parlor and the fireback in the east parlor, are similar. They are similar with respect to an absence of hair or fiber, their sand volume factors, the granular composition of the sand used in their mixes, and the parts per volume attributable to sand, residue, and the soluble fraction. The data indicates that a major percentage of the parts per volume of each of these samples is attributable to residue. The two samples which were exceptions were found to be different in all of the characteristics common to the other five except for also not having hair in their mix. Both were found to have a high content of sand. However, they differ considerably with respect to the soluble fraction and residue. The data is such that it seems unlikely that the center fill of the fireback in the west parlor and the mortar in the east parlor's fireback were done at the same time or in conjunction with the others of this grouping. As to whether or not any of these samples date to the 17th century construction of the house, the analysis conducted cannot supply an answer.

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan
Three samples believed to be from the 1915/16 Nutting work on the Iron Master's House were taken. They were from (1) the fireback lining in the west parlor, (2) above the hearth in the west parlor, and (3) the cellar foundation. Data obtained from the analysis of the above samples indicates that work in these three areas was done at the same time. The only differences found between the samples were that the mortar from the cellar foundation contained hair and that it had a slightly higher percentage of parts per volume attributable to the soluble fraction. Nevertheless, the sand parts per volume as well as the granular composition of the sand are similar for all three samples. In addition, the mortar sample from the center fill of the fireback in the west parlor seems also to have been done at this period. Comparing the data on this sample with that on the three above allows one to make this conclusion.

Plaster in the house was thought to have been done at several different times. Samples were selected so as to determine the validity of these hypotheses.

One group of plaster samples, thought to be pre-1915, includes (1) the chimney by the stair to the cellar, (2) above the bottom of the stair to the cellar, and (3) the upper portion of the fireback in the west chamber. Analysis of the samples indicates that the three are similar and in fact were probably done at the same time. Their similarity is with respect to the presence of hair in the mix, their sand volume factors, the parts per volume attributable to sand, residue, and the soluble fraction, as well as the granular composition of the sand. A major percentage of the parts per volume of each of these samples is the soluble fraction. It should be noted that the sample from the upper portion of the fireback in the west chamber has a higher residue percentage than is characteristic of the other two. However, it still seems to fall in the general parameters of this group.

Four samples believed to have been done prior to Nutting's work in 1915/16 are from (1) the north wall of the leanto [sic], (2) the chimney below the attic floor, (3) the east gable end of the attic, and (4) the leanto ceiling. Data from the analysis of these samples indicate a close correlation in sand volume factors and also that all of them have hair in their mix. The parts per volume with respect to sand, residue, and the soluble fraction are similar. However, a closer correlation seems to exist with respect to the parts per volume between the plaster from the north wall of the leanto and the chimney below the attic floor. Furthermore, this composition is extremely close to that used in the mortar samples credited to Nutting. Plaster from the east gable end of the attic and the leanto ceiling are similar in their parts per volume. These samples seem to have a higher residue and lower sand ratio per volume when compared with those from the leanto's north wall and the chimney below the attic floor. Granular composition of the sand suggests another grouping of the four samples. The plaster from the chimney below the attic floor and from the ceiling of the leanto were mixed from a sand of the same granular composition. Although both are similar in composition to the sand used by Nutting in the 1915/16 work, the sample from the chimney below the attic floor is practically identical to Nuttings [sic]. From the data it seems that this sample was in fact done at the same time as the other work credited to Nutting. No definitive conclusion can be made regarding the other three samples. As can be seen, a number of combinations are plausible as is the original hypothesis that all were done at the same time.
One plaster sample was thought to be from the Nutting work. It was from the lower portion of the fireback in the west chamber. All of the data obtained from the chemical analysis of the sample seems to substantiate the idea that this sample is from the period of other work attributed to Nutting. The absence of hair, the sand volume factor, the granular composition of the sand, and the parts per volume of sand, residue, and soluble fraction are all almost identical to the data found for the Nutting mortar. As previously noted, the plaster from the chimney below the attic floor seems also to have been done by Nutting.

A sample was taken from the patched area of the ceiling in the leanto. The sample had a high soluble fraction. In addition, wood fiber was found in the mix. This was the only sample taken in the house which had this particular characteristic.

The data obtained from the chemical analysis of the samples has been compiled in tabular form. The groupings of samples are based upon this data and nothing else.
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<th>Location</th>
<th>Parts Per Volume Soluble Fraction</th>
<th>Residue</th>
<th>Sand</th>
<th>Sand Volume Factor</th>
<th>Hair</th>
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Illustration No. 1

Stabilization of the chimney in the Ironmaster's House was carried out during April, May, and June 1975. Repointing of the brick masonry above the roof was part of the stabilization work. In this view, Contractor Benedetto checks the progress of his workmen. The project was financed through the North Atlantic Region with Bobby Flickinger as project supervisor and Blaine Cliver as coordinating architect for NARO.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, June 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 2

Scaffolding erected on the west side of the house and across the roof permitted workmen to repoint the chimney.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, June 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 3

Looking northeast in west parlor, first floor, of Ironmaster's House prior to restoration of 1915/16. Notice encased summer and plaster ceiling with mouldings running around room. The floorboards in this view were probably turned over and used as the subfloor in the 1915/16 restoration work. The width of the original fireplace seems to have been the same as in this view, that is, as far as the closet wall frame. Notice the height of the door opening into the lean-to and the 4" step up into the rear room.

Photo by Wallace Nutting, ca. 1915, courtesy of SPNEA

Photo on file at SAIR, SPNEA Negative No. 6718B
Illustration No. 4

The stair entry hall, first floor, looking east after the carpentry work was completed in 1915/16. The lighter, unfinished woodwork, such as the newel post, balustrade, and cellar door represent new pieces introduced as part of the restoration work. Notice the new light-colored plaster patches. The left-hand door trim opposite the lower newel may be a survival piece from the original house construction. Plastered wall in East Parlor (or "Hall") beyond dates from 1915/16. First floor and second floor hall floor joists and floorboards were installed in 1915/16.

Photo by H. C. Dean, ca. 1916, courtesy of SPNEA

SAIR Photograph No. 66, SPNEA Negative No. 2217a
Illustration No. 5

View of the northeast corner of the West Chamber, second floor, after restoration work of 1915/16 was completed. The extent of the plasterwork can be seen in this view as the lighter wall areas. Compare this photograph with architectural drawing, Sheet No. 7, which shows the extent of the new plaster. From the Henry C. Dean drawings of ca. 1908 we know that an oven was removed from this room in 1915/16. Evidence of the oven occurs in the form of a squinch-like projection remaining in the flue. Also the outline of an oven appears in the plaster patch of the closet to the left of the fireplace. The mantel breastwork, including the closet, dates from 1915/16. The door opening in the north wall still retains the door frame and trim on the garret side. The existing door opening was simply reduced in height with new trim and door installed on the chamber side. All of the floor joists and floorboards above date from 1915/16 when the entire floor system was changed to its present-day appearance. Notice the 2" x 8-1/2" x 5-1/2" clay tiles laid in the fireplace ready to be installed as part of the hearth. According to Mr. Edward Guy, these tiles were removed from the cellar floor.

Photo by H. C. Dean, ca. 1916, courtesy of SPNEA

SAIR Negative No. 67, SPNEA Negative No. 2220a
Illustration No. 6

View of south roof slope at west end in attic prior to restoration work of 1915/16. Compare this view with Illustration No. 47 taken from similar location in 1975. Cuts in roof sheathing supposedly represent location of west roof dormer. The upper and lower lines on diagonal cut to the left are from a pen line drawn on original photograph from which this is a copy. Notice whitish stain on horizontal cracks of roof boards, which writer attributes to mortar chinking, a form of weather stripping. Compare extent of roof boards in this view with architectural drawing, Sheet No. 7, which shows extent of possible original roof boards remaining in 1975.

Photo by Norman Isham, ca. 1915, courtesy of SPNEA

Photo on file at SAIR, SPNEA Negative No. 7128B
Illustration No. 7

Removal of exterior building fabric was confined to two areas: the east and north walls of the East Parlor. This view shows where several courses of clapboards and wallboards were removed to permit inspection of the east girt, which had previously been X-rayed to detect rot. Illustrations Nos. 8 through 10 show the extent of deterioration.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 8

Exposed east wall girt and posts at southeast corner of overhang, second floor level. The condition of the first floor and second floor corner posts (top and bottom) and wall girt does not seem to have worsened since 1915/16 when this carpentry work was done. Notice asphalt-impregnated paper dating from 1915/16.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 9

View of east wall girt of East Parlor at north end of wall showing extent of rot occurring only at locations of braces and studding. This condition confirmed the results obtained with the X-ray machine photos. All carpentry work in this photograph dates from 1915/16. The window sashes in the lower left view are the second set since 1915/16.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 10

View of joint where east wall girt, second floor level, joins northeast corner post. Notice diagonal cut in post that provides a bearing point for the girt. Girt is pinned with two treenails. Treenail at lower right held the once-in-place girt for the two-story lean-to. Under the corner board and down about six inches is another treenail that held the once-in-place girt for the original lean-to. See architectural drawings, Sheets Nos. 5 and 6, for more detail of framing evidence for lean-tos.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 11

View of north wall girt of East Parlor. The condition of this framing member is very good. Below the girt can be seen three original oak studs. Four original studs remain below the girt and three above out of twelve studs in this section of wall. See architectural drawing of north wall, Sheet No. 6.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

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Illustration No. 12

Two mortices can be seen in this view. One long mortice, 1-5/8" x 1'-6"', parallels the corner board and probably was cut out to support the east girt for the two-story lean-to. The lower mortice, 1-7/8" x 6'-1/2"', probably represents the location of the east girt (garret floor level) for the earliest, and probably original, lean-to. See architectural drawing of north wall, Sheet No. 6. Sawn lath and plaster date from 1915/16.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 13

Two mortices are visible in this view of the north side of the post, second floor level, northwest corner post of the East Parlor. Post can be partially seen in Illustration No. 11. The upper mortice probably was cut to support an interior girt for the two-story lean-to and the lower mortice for the girt of the original lean-to. A third mortice on the west side of the post was probably for the missing girt spanning the two chimney posts. See architectural drawing, Sheet No. 6.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

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Illustration No. 14

A look back of the sheathing covering the pent roof above the brick panel on north wall of East Parlor. This construction was completed in 1915/16 and covered over part of the original brickwork thought to belong to the oven and fireplace for the original north kitchen lean-to. The bricks are of the large, 17th-century size and laid in English bond.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 15

Changes to the south wall of the West Parlor are reflected in this view. This wall was repaired after the removal of the 1915/16 cellar bulkhead in 1952. The arrows and string outline the extent of the new clapboards and water table. See architectural drawing, Sheet No. 8.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

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Illustration No. 16

Repairs to the east porch wall can be seen within the outline of the string, which includes a short section of water table on the contiguous wall. Some of the 1915/16 clapboards as well as the water table were replaced when work was done in 1972. See architectural drawing, Sheet No. 8.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 17

Fireplace in West Parlor with fireback removed. Architectural investigation conducted by the writer leads to the conclusion that the original opening extended from the right jamb to about where the scale stick ends, or about 6'-6" in width. This width corresponds to where the bricks laid in English bond end and where the stucco of the flue above stops. The writer believes that the brick jamb to the right is original construction. The left brick jamb, including the rounded back with warming oven, must date from 1915/16.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, March 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 18

Fireplace in East Parlor. Like the fireplace in the West Parlor, research suggests that this opening was also about 6'-6" wide, extending from the original jamb on the left to six inches past the scale stick seen in the photograph. This width corresponds with old stuccowork on the interior of the flue above and with the extent of the English bond brickwork. Brickwork to the left of the scale stick was laid in lime mortar, while brickwork from the original construction was laid in clay mortar.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, March 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

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Illustration No. 19

Inside the West Parlor fireplace looking north at masonry work supported by iron bars installed in 1915/16. At left can be seen English bond brickwork extending to scale stick, which corresponds to old stuccowork directly above in flue. It is thought original fireplace extended only this far. At the extreme upper left can be seen old stucco covered with carbon, which may have been part of fireplace throat related to the original lean-to kitchen fireplace.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, March 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 20

Inside the East Parlor (Hall) fireplace looking north at masonry work supported by iron bars installed in 1915/16. The rear brick arch was built at the same time. Above this masonry work is a separate flue now blocked off. This flue was probably part of the lean-to kitchen oven and fireplace. Like the fireplace in the West Parlor, the width of the opening probably stopped where the scale stick shows in the photograph—approximately 6'-6" wide.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, March 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 21

Looking north into the main entry hall on the first floor. Overhead can be seen the construction work of the second floor entry hall and porch dating from 1915/16. Most of the stairway was rebuilt in 1915/16 with the exception of the lower right landing, portions of the two rear newel posts, and the triangular section of wood paneling in lower center of photo. Structural evidence suggests that winder steps, similar to those to the attic, existed at the second turn instead of the present platform. Wallace Nutting implies that a board partition once separated the porch room from the entry hall.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, March 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 22

The stairway at the attic level. In Henry Charles Dean's attic floor plan ca. 1908 he notes that there are "4 original steps" at the top of the stair run. The top three treads are very old but of undetermined age. The floor joists, floorboards, handrails, the door at right, and the lower portion of the stairway date from 1915/16.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, March 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

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Illustration No. 23

View of the central stairway at the second floor level. The Henry Charles Dean drawings ca. 1908 explain why the newel posts seen at arrows nos. 1 and 2 were cut off at this height. When the main house was divided into two living units, two stairways to the attic were built. Hence the newel posts were cut off to provide space for one narrow and one wide stairs to the attic. The two steps and platform at the lower right were left intact inside a low closet prior to 1915/16. Note the absence of balusters on the upper handrails.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 24

Balustrade at second floor level. According to Mr. Edward Guy, pieces of the original stairway were found in the cellar, rescued, and reused in the restoration of 1915/16. The moulded base seen in this view and a piece of trim on the opposite side are the only loose pieces of older woodwork used above the first floor. If Mr. Nutting thought that the base moulding was once part of the original stairs, it is curious that the spacing of the daps or gains for the original balusters were not used as guides in restoring the balustrade.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 25

View of upper girt where it tenons into corner post at floor level in southeast corner of East Chamber. The floor joists cantilever 15" beyond wall of parlor below and in part support this upper girt. Notice that the girt projects into the room about 3". The wood baseboard and plaster walls date from 1915/16.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 26

Compare this photograph with Illustration No. 25, taken at the opposite end of the house in the southwest corner of the West Chamber. A small piece of floorboard was removed to reveal the once-projecting upper girt along the south wall. Someone not liking the projection of the girt into the room took time to chop it flush with the plaster wall. A skim coat of plaster covers the part above the floorboards. The painted mopboard dates from 1915/16.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975
Illustration No. 27

Corner post in southwest corner of East Chamber at overhang of second floor. The upper girt that projects into the room at floor level passes under this corner post. Originally the girt ran as far as the southwest corner post in the hallway beyond where it tenoned into the post as seen in Illustration No. 28.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 28

Corner post in southwest corner of the stairhall, second floor. This post is opposite the one seen in Illustration No. 27. Near the floor can be seen the post mortice that received the tenon from the upper girt of the overhang (now missing). Reason for the upper mortice is not known. Doorway at left is to the 1915/16 porch chamber.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 29

Splice joint at the east end of the south foundation sill as seen from the crawl space under the porch. The mill-sawn sill to the right was installed in 1915/16, but the left sill seems to be from the original construction. The stonework under the porch dates from 1915/16.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative in file at SAIR

Illustration No. 30

Splice joint at the east end of the lower south girt in the south wall. This girt measures thirty-one feet long and begins at the southwest corner post. This evidence should preclude the thought that the original house frame ended at the chimney post of the hallway, because it extends some two-and-a-half feet beyond. This member is called the lower girt since there is an upper girt directly over the floor joists forming the overhang.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 31

View of southwest corner of the cellar showing electrical distribution panel recently installed by the NPS. Overhead can be seen the reinforcement for the floor joists and summer installed in 1956. When this work was done, the first floor was leveled about 2" above the center of the summer, north and south sills. The ragged opening in the wall to the right was left some years ago when the ell was remodeled. The cellar floor was probably paved with clay tiles measuring 2" x 8-1/2" x 8-1/2".

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 32

View of chimney base, south side next to cellar stairs. The chimney base has been stabilized since this photo was taken. Notice that the original brick base for the chimney is laid in English bond. Stucco seen above may be original. Many of the fieldstones used in the foundation walls contained a glazing cover suggesting former use perhaps as liner in the old furnace belonging to the ironworks.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 33

Looking north into cellar under the existing lean-to. All structural evidence uncovered leads one to believe that this part of the cellar was built as an integral part of the main house. Of course many changes have occurred to the wood-constructed frame above. When the two-story lean-to was built, a granite underpinning was placed atop the fieldstone wall to the north just to "dress up" the exterior appearance. The clay tile floor, as seen in Illustration No. 34, was found in both corners of the lean-to cellar.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 34

View of the clay tile floor found in the northeast corner of the lean-to cellar. These tiles measure approximately 2" x 8-1/2" x 8-1/2" and are hand moulded. Interspersed with the tile can be seen four large-sized bricks used apparently to close up unmodular spaces. Similar tiles were found in the opposite corner of the cellar. Mr. Edward Guy reported finding clay tiles near the main chimney base and thinks some were used in the fireplace hearths on the first and second floors.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, March 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 35

This view shows the exposed frame of the ell where it abuts the main house and lean-to on the west side. The ell clearly was a separate building dragged up to the house and added probably in the late 18th century or early 19th century. It seems to be a structure built in the fourth quarter of the 18th century. In 1917 the rafters of the ell were removed and a new (the existing) roof put on. The rafters and purlins seen in the existing lean-to roof undoubtedly came from the roof of the two-story lean-to when it was lowered to one story. Illustration No. 36 was photographed just back of the corner post seen to the left of this photo.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 2, 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 36

A view looking south along the west end wall of the Ironmaster's House from the northwest corner. At this corner can be seen what is thought to be the original featheredged wallboards having lapped ends scarfed onto a featheredged corner board (only two pieces of corner board remain). This probably was the original wall finish. Shortly thereafter clapboards were put on the exterior wall. Nailing for the clapboards ranged principally between 2-1/2" to 3" to the weather.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 37

Additional evidence is presented in this view to show that the original chimney was built as a T-shape above the roof but with an additional flue below the roof that possibly went to a second floor fireplace in the lean-to chamber. The first masonry projection represents the line of four flues for the first and second fireplaces. The first joint seen in the T-stem beyond represents the outside wall of the flue that went to the fireplace/oven on the first floor of the lean-to kitchen. The second joint of the rear stem seen starting above the floorboards is for an unknown flue, possibly for a fireplace in the lean-to garret. The last flue seen built against the roof boards is for the fireplace/oven located in the existing lean-to, possibly dating from the late 18th century.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 38

Looking down behind closet of East Chamber at stucco covering rear part of chimney. At the extreme lower left are exposed bricks forming the backside of the flue that once went to the lean-to kitchen/oven. The first ragged joint in the stucco represents the unknown flue possibly going to a fireplace in the lean-to garret. The north or rear brick flue, covered with a whiter stucco, goes to present-day fireplace/oven in the lean-to kitchen.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

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Illustration No. 39

Looking at the north roof frame at the east end of the attic. Notice the dropped purlin that allows the common rafters to rest on it above. A diagonal wind brace running from purlin to principal rafter no. 1 at the east end of the house is seen at right. At some time in the past the four common rafters were cut off and replaced below the sawn purlin (where scale stick rests). All of the roof boards in this view date from 1915/16. Peg holes for the old lean-to rafters were found in principal rafters nos. 2 and 3 seen in this photo.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

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Illustration No. 40

A close-up view of the location for the treenails that once held the original lean-to rafters to the main roof. A lean-to rafter was pegged over each principal and common rafter as evidenced by the remains of the holes in each rafter. In this case, notice the treenails projecting below the rafters. This photo was taken in the west end of the attic midway in the north roof slope.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 41

View of west gable end in attic. Of particular interest are the two methods employed for framing the roof. To the left in the south roof slope the purlin is full depth of the rafter. This depth permitted the common rafters to be either morticed or let into the purlin (see architectural drawings, Sheets Nos. 3 and 4). On the north side the purlin has less thickness, permitting the 2-1/2"-deep common rafters to rest on top of the purlin. All common rafters run full-length, approximately 16'-6" from peak to plate, on the north roof slope. All the studs in the end wall are original oak members. The stud to the right of the window has been cut and moved. Between the first and second studs at the left, up near the purlin, can be seen a small pencil drawing for the proposed roof of the Ironmaster's House probably dating from ca. 1915 (see Illustration No. 42).

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 42

A pencil drawing found on the plaster wall in the west gable end of the attic (refer to Illustration No. 41). This sketch has to be a drawing for the proposed roof of the Ironmaster's House done prior to the 1915/16 restoration work.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 43

A view of the existing roof framing in the south roof opposite the central porch. Above the purlin only two common rafters existed in the original roof structure. Below the purlin only the valley rafters were framed into the space between the two principal rafters. Seven extra pieces have been introduced into this area since the house was built. Notice the chamfer on the lower edge of the purlin and on the lower edges of the principal rafters. The floorboards and joists and porch structure to the right date from 1915/16.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 44

A close-up view of the technique used in framing the valley rafters into the purlin where the porch roof intersects the main house. The lower valley rafter was morticed into the purlin, then the opposite valley rafter was let into its upper surface (see architectural drawings, Sheets Nos. 3 and 4). The east valley rafter has been shifted slightly during earlier roof work but essentially is near its original location. Refer to Illustrations Nos. 45 and 46, which show the opposite side of the roof.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 45

A photograph of the main roof where the existing 1915/16 porch rafters intersect. Compare this view with Illustrations Nos. 43 and 44 taken from the interior side. The upper roof boards are thought to be original. The rotted portions of the roof boards suggest that the porch dormer was once at a lower elevation than the existing roof, although a lower pitched roof would complicate the shingling process. This view is looking north from the porch attic.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 46

This view shows the rotted condition of the west chimney girt and valley rafter as found ca. 1915/16. The two boards splicing out the end of the girt date from the Wallace Nutting restoration. A similar splice was made in the south end of the east chimney girt. This joint can be seen in the lower left of Illustration No. 45.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 47

This view and Illustration No. 48 below were taken of the west dormer in the south roof. Compare Illustration No. 47 with No. 6 taken 60 years earlier from the same location and notice the amount of roof boards cut away. The rafter framing in the south roof slope is unusual in that the rafters vary in size and number below and above the purlins (see architectural drawing, Sheet No. 4). The roof boards to the right are thought to be original and the white mortar stains along the cracks of the boards are thought to be an early form of weather stripping.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR

Illustration No. 48

Exterior side of south roof where west dormer is located opposite Illustration No. 47. Note the absence of deteriorated roof boards such as those found where the central porch occurs. No good explanation can be found for the compound mitre in the roof boards, but it appears that the early house did not have the two end dormers, or else they were removed very early in the history of the house.

National Park Service photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975

Negative on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 49

An X-ray photograph taken through the south wall of the West Parlor at windowsill level showing new construction put in during the restoration work of 1915/16. Notice the machine-cut nails toenailed from the header into the studding. Machine-cut nails were used throughout the restoration work.

SPNEA photo by David Hart,
October 8, 1974

Original photo on file at SAIR
Illustration No. 50

Roof construction of the Page House in Bedford, Massachusetts. Notice the extending wall plate supporting the bargeboard off the gable end. Abbott L. Cummings of the SPNEA suggested that the Ironmaster's House had a similar feature. This would account for the chopped end of the north plate as seen at the northwest corner of the house.

Photo by O. W. Carroll, April 1975
Measured Drawings, Old Iron Works House, 8 sheets, No. 4916, November 1949.

Sheet 1.

Cellar Plan and Interior Elevations.
Sheet 2.
First Floor Plan and Details.
Sheet 4.
Attic Plan—Interior Frame Elev's.
Sheet 5.
East Elevation and Details
Sheet 6.
North and South Elevations.
Sheet 8.

Chimney and Other Details.
"Rehabilitation of Iron Masters House,"
8 sheets, 444/28,000, August 1975.
Sheet 1.
Cover Sheet.
SAUGUS IRON WORKS
NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE
MASSACHUSETTS

REHABILITATION OF IRON MASTERS HOUSE

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- VICTORY AT SEA MAP
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- FRAME OF EAST WEST WALL
- FRAME OF SOUTH WALL
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CONSTRUCTION VIEW FROM NORTHWEST AFTER COMPLETION
PREPARED FOR: ANNA H. L. FLAHERTY, ARCHITECT

ON MICROFILM
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ISOMETRIC VIEWS OF IRONMASTER'S HOUSE

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NOTE INDICATES ORIGINAL FRAME IN PLACE
NOTE INDICATES LOCATION OF MISSING MEMBERS

SCALE: 1/2" = 1'-0"
Sheet 5.
Frame of East & West Walls.
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EXTANT PIECES OF ORIGINAL FRAME FOUND IN IRONMASTERS HOUSE
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Exterior Wall & Roof Changes.
EXTERIOR CHANGES MADE TO WALL FINISHES OF IRONMASTERS HOUSE

WEST ELEVATION

SOUTH ELEVATION

EAST ELEVATION

NORTH ELEVATION
Sheet B.

Interior Wall Changes.
"THE IRONWORKS FARM" IN SAUGUS,
ESSEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS

The History of Its Ownership
from the Origins of the
Town to the 20th Century

By
Abbott Lowell Cummings
Executive Director,
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of New England Antiquities

With Title Search Assistance
From
Edward F. Zimmer
Graduate Student,
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PREFACE

The following report addresses three important questions concerning the 17th-century ironworks site in Saugus, Massachusetts: (1) what can we learn from official records about the land on which the ironworks were established, especially in terms of its original configuration, changes in ownership through the years, and identification with the present ironworks reconstruction and now privately-owned neighboring properties? (2) what can these same records tell us about the buildings, other than those industrial structures built for the ironworks operation, that were erected before, during, and after its operation until into the early 19th century, and can they accurately pinpoint sites of structures long since vanished for purposes of archaeological exploration? and (3) what light does the title search shed upon the construction date and history of the so-called Ironmaster's House? With respect to this third question it should be noted that the timbers of the existing building have been subjected to dendro-chronological analysis by the Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research at the University of Arizona in order to establish a precise date for its erection, and the results will be available in the fall of 1975.

The method chosen to answer these questions is that of chronological survey, beginning with the earliest recorded owners of the property and proceeding to the present time. Each period of ownership by different interests will be examined in turn, and answers to the three basic questions summarized. Further, each building that emerges from the written record will be identified by whatever name seems most appropriate for descriptive purposes and be given a structures number. These will begin with the numeral 1 and run consecutively, and will also be found grouped on a summary sheet. Maps, genealogical charts, and other explanatory material will be introduced where appropriate.

The site selected for the infant ironworks in Essex County, within just a few years of the first permanent settlement at Massachusetts Bay, was basically farmland, merging into woods towards the north and salt marsh on the south. Its greatest asset aside from bog iron was the Saugus River and we shall see that the river as a source of power is the common thread that binds each successive owner to the land. To trace the history of the entire acreage is beyond the scope of this report. Emphasis instead has been directed entirely to those portions of the property that were built upon from the 17th to the early 19th century.
INTRODUCTION

In summary, our study of the Saugus ironworks from the 17th to the 20th century has revealed the following important facts:

(1) From the 1630s until 1724 the property retained a roughly 600-acre configuration; following the cessation of ironworking about 1670 the whole site was given over to agrarian uses and was henceforth known as the "Ironworks Farm."

(2) No domestic buildings dating to the period of the ironworks are known to survive (see pp. 360-63).

(3) The structure long known as the Ironmaster's House was actually not erected until ca. 1680 when the ironworks was acquired by a gentleman farmer, one Samuel Appleton, Jr., of Ipswich. The later date for this impressive and socially ambitious dwelling is borne out by the documents and the style of the house (see pp. 371-72), and is expected to be confirmed by a dendrochronological examination of the timbers of the house, which are still under evaluation at the Laboratory of Tree-Ring Research at the University of Arizona.

(4) In 1724 the "Ironworks Farm" was subdivided for the first time, among the children and heirs of an early 18th-century owner, James Taylor of Boston, at which time a reconstruction of the subdivision reveals the interesting fact that the layout determined by the probate court forms the skeletal outline of the modern town of Saugus (see pp. 380-81 and Figs. 1-2).

(5) As early as ca. 1685 a fulling mill had been erected just above the defunct ironworks. This was the first in a long 18th- and 19th-century succession of industrial ventures on land formerly owned by the Ironworks Company along the river-ventures that included a gristmill, sawmill, chocolate mill, morocco leather factory, calico bleaching and dyeing establishment, etc. (see pp. 375-76 and 382-87).

(6) In terms of later history, the so-called Ironmaster's House, which we have renamed the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House, degenerated steadily in terms of social status and architectural quality, suffering a divided ownership through much of the 18th and early 19th centuries and gradually losing its projecting porch, facade gables, and 17th-century character, until by the late 19th century it was little more than a tenement for millworkers. Its restoration by Wallace Nutting in 1915 and subsequent history is well known and a happy contrast to the earlier years.
CHAPTER 1: PERIOD OF DEXTER OWNERSHIP

The history of the entire site begins with one Thomas Dexter, a characterful though heavily debt-ridden yeoman or farmer, who as early as 1638 was granted 350 acres of land in this general area by the Town of Lynn. Through means unrecorded, he was in possession a year later of a much larger tract, which he mortgaged to Simon Bradstreet, later governor of the colony, on August 22, 1639. This is the earliest deed for the ironworks site, and is recorded both in Suffolk and Essex counties. According to the instrument, Thomas Dexter, yeoman, mortgaged "his dwelling house in Linn & efferme conteining sixe hundred Acres whereof Eighty Acres is plowed vp & one hundred of Meadow, & the remaining pasture. . . ."2 Thus we know the extent of Dexter's original holdings here, that the site was basically agricultural in 1639, and that it had been improved by this early period with a "dwellling house," which we have designated the Dexter Farmhouse (Str. #1). Complication arises only when we examine still another series of transactions in the land records: on June 29, 1640, Dexter mortgaged a farm in Lynn of undisclosed acreage to the London merchant Matthew Craddock for security in the payment of £150,3 and a month or two later on August 20, 1640, he mortgaged for security in the payment of £500 to one Humfrey Hooke, alderman of Bristol, "and others," "all that his ffarme beinge in Linn containinge Eight hundered acres," together with twenty head of cattle and all "Cropps of Corne. . . ."4 Finally, on September 2, 1642, Dexter mortgaged to Matthew Craddock's widow, Rebecca Craddock of London, for security in the payment of £147 18s. Od. all his "right title & interest in his ffishinge Ware at Liñe. . . ."5

A careful comparison with later documents resolves much of the apparent confusion here. To begin with, the mortgage of 800 acres to Humfrey Hooke and

1. The earliest town records of Lynn have not survived and our knowledge of the grant to Dexter is based on mid-17th-century court testimony filed when the town records were still available for consultation. George Francis Dow, ed., Records and Files of the Quarterly Courts of Essex County/Massachusetts, 8 vols. (Salem, Mass.: Essex Institute, 1911-21), 2:270 (hereafter cited as Essex Quarterly Court Files); These 350 acres were later conveyed by Thomas Dexter to two sons-in-law on May 11, 1675. Essex County, Registry of Deeds, Salem, Mass., 4:111 (hereafter cited as Essex County Deeds).

2. Suffolk County, Registry of Deeds, Boston, Mass., 1:69 (hereafter cited as Suffolk County Deeds); Essex County Deeds, 1:1; This mortgage was later assigned by Dexter to Richard Leader, agent for the ironworks, on Oct. 20, 1645. Suffolk County Deeds, 1:69.


4. Ibid., p. 15

5. Ibid., p. 29.
others appears to relate wholly or in part to still another tract of land owned by Dexter lying more or less to the west of the site of the future ironworks industry. Of the Craddock transactions, on the other hand, the first on June 19, 1640, is assumed to represent a second mortgage on his 600-acre farm and "dwelling house," and the second, to Rebecca Craddock on September 2, 1642, in which he mortgages his "ffishinge Ware," seems also to refer to part of the 600-acre tract. This we infer from the fact that the Craddock interest was later bought out by the Ironworks Company on December 30, 1646. Even more significant, before final conveyance of the entire 600-acre farm to the Ironworks Company, Dexter made preparatory concessions that help to locate the "ffishinge Ware." On January 27, 1646, for £40 sterling, Dexter granted Richard Leader "for the use of the Ironworks all that land, wch by reason of [a] damme now agreed to be made, shall overflow and all sufficient ground for a water course from the damme to the works to be erected, and alsoe all [the] land betwene the aintent water course and the new entended fluome or watercourse, togeather wth five acres and an halfe of land lying in the Corne feild most convedient for the Ironworks. . . ." Another version of the same deed, recorded in Suffolk County, adds that the land to be overflowed was "neere adjacent to the Grantors house. . . ." Further, Richard Leader, "in behalfe of his principalls," agreed "yearly for ever throughout the second & third months [April and May] to allow sufficient water in the ould River for the Alewives to come to the wyres before the Grantors house." Any trespass by beasts "estraying through the . . . Gates or fences, in the Grantors Corne fields" was to be made good to Dexter "vpon Just Demand." A picture thus clearly emerges on the very eve of erection of the ironworks of an early yeoman/planter, industriously farming an extensive acreage and, because of his advantageous location near an important river, locating his dwelling close to the water for purposes of transportation and seasonal fishing. Both farmhouse (Str. #1) and weir were "neere" the projected ironworks (although we cannot pinpoint their exact location).

Whatever the ultimate reason--his rude awakening once the full-scale "industrial" plans for the site were unfolded, the growing burden of his indebtedness, or perhaps even the lure of timely profits--Thomas Dexter sold out within a year of his first concessions. In a deed dated May 1, 1647 (but not recorded until 1697), Thomas Dexter, by now "late of Lynn," conveyed to Richard Leader as


7. Suffolk County Deeds, 1:80.


agent for the Company of Undertakers of the Ironworks in New England for £336
sterling his "Farme & a dwelling house upon ye same" in lynn, containing 600 acres
"be it more or less," together with "all fishing Wares" and all "benefits &
privileges of fishing. . . ." The description is the most comprehensive to date
and permits a relatively clear picture of the layout of the site. Sixty acres
consisted of salt marsh, lying between Dexter's house and "the bridge at Lynne
Commonly Called Lynn bridge"; "four score" acres were "arable land broken up &
fenced lying allso upon the Southwest Side of ye great River of Lynne"; 40 acres
of fresh marsh were located "Neere Unto ye Land of Adam Hawkes"; and "all ye
remainder" of the 600 acres was "Woodland & the Like. . . ."10 The deed then
proceeds to define the boundaries by reference to topographical and/or ephemeral
features that cannot be accurately identified today. In general, however, it is
possible to determine from the description that the 600-acre Dexter farm lay on
both sides of the Saugus River, included the site of the modern Saugus Center, and
ran south at least as far as East Saugus, where a bridge over the Saugus River is
still located after more than 300 years.

CHAPTER 2: PERIOD OF OWNERSHIP BY THE COMPANY OF UNDERTAKERS OF THE IRONWORKS IN NEW ENGLAND

No phase of the history of the property has been more thoroughly recorded than that dealing with its venturesome development as an ironworks site. We shall concentrate entirely, therefore, on the question of any changes in the boundaries and upon the important matter of dwelling houses erected by the company for the agent and workmen.

With respect to changing boundaries, we are considerably hamstrung by an absence of recorded land transfers. When an inventory of the ironworks was taken on November 4, 1653, there is mention of "several lots of land that were bought for the use of the works, some Joynes to the furnace [namely], Richd. Lords lot, John Hulins, Wm. Woods, Rich. Hudes, Jno. Ramsalls, Wm. Hedges, Mr. Knowles, Mr. Laighting, [and] Adam Haukes" for a total value of £80. In addition we may identify two further pieces of land not included in the inventory, one consisting of ten acres bought of Samuel Bennett, as we learn from an undated account in the early 1650s, and the other referred to consistently as Blood's lot, a tract apparently used by the company and considered to be their property.

Of the lots specifically inventoried there is no record on file of identifiable purchases from Richard Lord, John Hewlins, William Woods, Richard Hood, Jno. Ramsdell, William Hedges, Thomas Laughton (the extent of whose lot, as we learn from another source, was twenty acres), or Adam Hawkes. Perhaps these were handled as bills of sale. "Mr. Knowles" lot is so identified when conveyed to the company by the Reverend John Knowles, a Watertown minister, on October 25, 1651. The instrument describes a "p[ar]cell of land" only, containing some twenty acres, "adjoyning to the lands of Capt. Robert Bridges on ye southeast, & the Ironworke or land belonging thereunto on ye northeast formerly bought of Mr. Tomlins of Lynn." "Blood's lot," fourteen or fifteen acres in extent, was acquired somewhat more deviously. Court testimony reveals that when Richard Leader became agent for the ironworks, he wanted to buy the land. Leader, "being a monnied man," as the record continues, would not buy it himself "lest men would make him pay too dear. . . ." He therefore employed Samuel Bennett to buy it from Richard Blood for himself and deliver it to the Ironworks Company. Leader, however, thought that Blood's lot was still too costly and refused to

1. Essex Quarterly Court Files, 8:202.
2. "'A Collection of Papers Relating to the Iron Works at Lynn . . .'
3. Ibid.
take it, charging Bennett debtor for the money, which was "three score pounds." Both the Knowles and Blood lots appear to have been located on the eastern side of the Saugus River at the southern end of the property, and both were still unimproved, that is without buildings of any kind, in the closing decades of the 17th century when the thorny issue of ownership precipitated a series of lawsuits.

The records indicate that some of the houses erected by the Ironworks Company were apparently on the eastern side of the river also. In any event, the question of domestic buildings built during this period and their location is an interesting one. At the very outset there was only the Dexter farmhouse. It is mentioned again during the period of ironworks ownership when, in the inventory of November 4, 1653, "The farme house [Str. #1] & Barne [Str. #2] & the new Cowhouse [Str. #3] with the farme purchased of Thomas Dexter" were appraised at £380. Samuel Bennett, the carpenter, was living in the house ca. 1648, according to court records that also reveal that Goodman Perry (probably Francis, who performed much of the company's carpentry work) had at some point before 1653 rented from the company twenty-eight acres of plow land and marsh in an agreement that allowed Perry "the use of the house, barn and cowhouse where Farmer Dexter lived. . . ."

We have mentioned earlier that the location of the house can be fixed only approximately near the river and in close proximity to the water dammed up for the use of the works. One assumes that this means the west bank of the river, perhaps in the vicinity of the present ironworks. The records do not reveal how long this complex stood, although there is a reference in 1680, in connection with one of the later lawsuits, to grain in the old barn, "called old Dexter's barn" (Str. #2).

When Richard Leader established the ironworks in Lynn in 1646/7 he lost little time in having a house erected for management (though he himself apparently continued to live primarily in Boston). This second house was surely in existence by the time John Gifford arrived very late in 1650 to become agent for the works. A letter of complaint written September 28, 1652, by John Bex for the

5. Essex Quarterly Court Files, 8:197-98.
6. Knowle's Lot: See Essex Quarterly Court Files, 5:44, 8:417, and Essex County Deeds, 3:141, 4:200; Blood's Lot: See Essex Quarterly Court Files, 8:194-99; Samuel Appleton seems to have gained title to both lots eventually, and conveyed them separately in 1687 (Knowles) and 1683 and 1696 (Blood). See Essex County Deeds, 9:13, 19-20; 6:102; 12:19. Thus they were not a part of the "Ironworks Farm" of 600 acres that Appleton sold to James Taylor in 1688/9.
7. Essex Quarterly Court Files, 8:201.
8. Ibid., p. 198.
9. Ibid., 2:87-88.
10. Ibid., 8:38.
Undertakers urges that Gifford, who had very soon fallen out with his superiors, not be allowed "more repairation in his dwellinge house then was necessary by a greate deale he might have been Contented to live in it as m' Leader left it..." It is distinguished carefully from the Dexter farmhouse in the inventory of November 4, 1653, being there described as "the dwelling house that Mr. Gifford lives in wth the washhouse & Appurtenances," and appraised at £80. We have called this complex the Leader/Gifford House (Str. #4) and Leader/Gifford Washhouse (Str. #5).

Mr. Gifford had indeed "improved" this dwelling that he occupied. Francis Perry deposed on October 27, 1653, that, as carpenter of the works, he had made many things for Gifford's house on the company's account, including one great press, and had set up two dressers that Gifford took with him when he left. Perry deposed also that Gifford took the lock from the door and took down part of the walls at the doors to get out the press. It was learned also that Gifford had kept two of the Scotch prisoners remanded to the ironworks in the house "for his own service, until lately put forth to a smith." Under the same date this building is elsewhere referred to as "the storehouse of Mr. Gifford's house," but we are otherwise uninformed as to its exact location and as to how long it remained standing. Further, we cannot be certain just which structures are meant when in 1651 the Ironworks Company was charged £0 5s. 7d. by Timothy Cooper for "thatcheng the barn"; when in the same year £1 9s. 5d. was paid out for "glaseing ye houese windowes"; when ca. 1651 a "new ox house" was built and "new Chamber" was constructed "to lodge Corne in ye great barne"; and when in 1653 there is reference as well in the records to "ye new barrne." We have designated the "new ox house" as Str. #6 and the "new barrne" as Str. #7. There is no way of knowing whether or not the "great barrne" was Dexter's.

It is clear that the company, through its agents, had moved almost at once to provide housing for its rank and file workmen. Some of these were Scotch prisoners captured by Cromwell at the Battle of Dunbar in 1650 and dispatched to the New World to serve in the ironworks. Following their arrival late in that year or early in 1651, Gifford built a house for them a few miles distant from the works near the present William Boardman House on Howard Street in Saugus. The Undertakers were particularly concerned with this aspect of Gifford's mismanagement because, as the records reveal, the Scot's house, as it was called, had been built on somebody else's land altogether, "wch was very unadvisedly done.""}

11. Ibid., 2:89.
12. Ibid., 8:201.
13. Ibid., 2:92-93.
15. Ibid., p. 97.
17. Essex Quarterly Court Files, 2:89; See also Old-Time New England (1910 to the present), Journal of the SPNEA, Ser. 151, pp. 58-59.
Houses for other workmen were built closer to the works during this period, and it would indeed be of interest to pinpoint their exact sites. They are referred to collectively on October 26, 1653, as "all the workmen's houses and gardens"; a court document of September 13 refers to the attachment of "all the howes [houses] on the east side of the river," suggesting that at least some, if not all, were located there. Whether identifiable or not as to exact location, it is interesting to review briefly what we know of these structures from the documents, assigning each of them in turn a structures number.

Our most consistent information comes from the inventory of November 4, 1653, where many of these buildings are mentioned by name. We shall proceed, therefore, to enumerate each house as identified and appraised in the inventory, and to add whatever else is known about it from the records, noting at the same time that certain unspecified disbursements among the ironworks accounts probably refer to these houses. For example: in 1651, "3600 of Cloabords," "8 dayes worcke Cloabordeing," "worcke in thatcheing," twenty-three and a half days of work billed by John Knight "about ye workemens houses" and "soe much for nayles of ye Scotts Cabinnes, hundells [hurdles?]" and otherwise.

- "long house with 4 tenements" appraised at £20 (Str.#8).
- Thomas Wiggin House, appraised at £2 (Str. #9).
- Jno. Francis House, appraised at £7 (Str. #10). There is an undated account in the early 1650s for "ground silling Jn0 francis howse."
- Jno. Divan House, appraised at £3 (Str. #11).
- Thomas Look House, appraised at £8 (Str. #12). This house was furnished with a cellar according to the undated account in the early 1650s, and there are fairly extensive disbursements in connection with its building: Richard Haven was paid £9 in 1651 for the frame, while in the same year Rich. Green and Rich. Hood charged for one and half days, and John Tarbox charged for ten days of work in connection with its construction.
- Nicholas Pinnion House, appraised at £12 (Str. #13). This house was also furnished with a cellar, and again there are good accounts of its erection in 1651: John Knight was paid £14 "p framing of goodman Pinniones house," £1 2s. 6d. "for worcke about goodman pinniones house and for 600: of Larthes foR ye same."

18. Essex Quarterly Court Files, 2:87.
19. Ibid., 1:293.
20. Ibid., 8:201.
22. Ibid., p. 197.
and Pinnion himself, who apparently had carpentry skills, charged £1 2s. 6d. for "9 dayes worcke about his house." 24
- Richard Hood House, appraised at £5 (Str. #14).
- Francis Perry House, appraised at £6 10s. 0d. (Str. #15).
- William Tingle House, appraised at £10 (Str. #16). Jonathan Tarbox submitted charges of £0 13s. 6d. recorded in 1653 "p heueing and Setteinge up 300 of Claboardes about Wm. Tingles house. . . ." 25

In addition to these buildings mentioned in the inventory, additional houses for workmen can be identified from the accounts:

- Quinton House (Str. #17). There is record of 4s. expended in 1651 against the name of Quinton for "mending his Sellor." 26
- Daniel Salmon House (Str. #18). John Knight billed for work here in 1651, and there is reference in the undated account of the early 1650s "To ground silling Samons howse." 27
- Jno. Vinton House (Str. #19). There is reference in the undated account of the early 1650s to "a laineto and Sello(t) to JnO vintons howse." 28
- Jno. Turner House (Str. #20). The same document refers to "a laineto and a Sello(t)" in connection with this house. 29
- Roger Tylor House (Str. #21). The house of Roger Tylor is included in the same document. There is reference as well to an account rendered by Tylor in 1653 "p two daies, worcke Lyeing his house floure. . . ." 30
- Richard Greene House (Str. #22). There is only a passing reference to this house in the undated account of the early 1650s. 31

The most significant common fact about these houses is their relatively low value. No single one of them is mentioned specifically in the later deeds, and one assumes they did not survive for very long after the ironworks industry ended.

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24. Ibid., pp. 52, 94, 197.
25. Essex Quarterly Court Files, 1:291.
27. Ibid., pp. 53, 197.
28. Ibid., p. 197.
29. Ibid.
30. Ibid., pp. 140, 197.
31. Ibid., p. 197.
CHAPTER 3: PERIOD OF LITIGATION AND SAVAGE/PAINE OWNERSHIP

The next two decades or so in the history of the ironworks have been the subject of extensive research and publication, and need only be briefly summarized here, especially since there is little or no evidence of dynamic growth during these years. On the contrary, from what we can discover in the records there was a gradual decline in the physical picture.

In briefest terms, and with respect primarily to ownership of the real estate, we begin with the spring of 1652 and the appointment by the Undertakers in London of several local businessmen who were to serve as American commissioners of the works. Their first task was to straighten out the tangled affairs of the young company, which ostensibly had fallen into mismanagement. Among the commissioners was Henry Webb of Boston, who was also a heavy creditor of the works. Despite the seeming contradiction of being named as a defendant in his capacity as a commissioner, Webb joined with other creditors who, for the sake of convenience, had assigned their claims to one of their number, Major Thomas Savage, and were successful in a petition for a special court to meet in Boston on September 14 and 15, 1653, to consider their claims. The suit was in large measure successful, and this single case—one of the first of an almost endless sequence—saw the greater part of the Ironworks Company's assets handed over to its creditors.

At this point it might be wise to quote directly from the historian of the ironworks whose research has been more thorough than any modern scholar's and who has patiently explored all the many business and court records relating to the company. With the Special Court decision in 1653, writes E. N. Hartley,

The property went to a group of people, the joint creditors. The legal basis on which their claims were pooled is not spelled out in surviving documents. . . . Similarly, the formal basis on which the group proposed to work the plants is nowhere specified. . . . The structure of the new ownership group is obscure today. It was, even to its employees, in the seventeenth century. Of Savage's centrality in the whole business, there is little question. On at least one occasion, the new group was referred to as "Savage and Company." 2

Savage bought up some of the scattered claims and/or assets 2 and it was he who hired as clerk one Oliver Purchas, who figures in the litigations at a later date. Although Savage, too, as we shall see, plays an important role in later

2. Ibid., pp. 245, 250.
3. Ibid., pp. 245, 250.

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claims and counterclaims to the title, his interest never seems to have exceeded by very much one quarter of the whole. Henry Webb held more substantial claims, which he conveyed by deed to the prominent Boston merchant William Paine on February 3, 1657. Like Savage, Paine bought out other of the creditors as well.

During the interval between 1653 and 1657 the ironworks had continued in operation, though at the time of William Paine's entry into the picture, "the forge and furnace were in a run down condition," as the court records state. William Paine's involvement clearly proved "a shot in the arm," though this period of upturn was brief. Under John Paine, William's son (who inherited his father's interest following the latter's death in 1660 and ran the works jointly with Savage until the latter dropped out about 1663), things went steadily downhill, owing, apparently, to the younger Paine's lack of business ability. His estate "failing," as the court record continues, "the Ironworks went to ruin," despite the fact that Oliver Purchas, by now resident agent, repaired them on his own account, thinking that the Paine estate would reimburse him. However, "the works depreciated daily and Mr. Jno. Payne," the court was informed, "was not able to supply or repair," nor to pay Purchas's salary. When this testimony was recorded in 1680, Purchas could state "the works as they now are are of no great value."

William Paine, in drawing his will on October 2, 1660, had obviously feared the eventual outcome. In a paragraph that reveals a frank realization of his son's shortcomings, he did "earnestly request Mr Olliver Purchas to be helpfull to my sayd sonne John Paine Concerning the Iron works and the accounts thereof whose Abilities and faithfullnes I have had experience of unto whose ceare I doe commit the sayd accounts." The inventory of Paine's estate, taken October 22, 1660, shows that his interest amounted to "3/4 of the Works [at] Haãer Smith [a contemporary name for the Lynn works] & Brantrey," appraised at £800.

William Paine's will furnishes the necessary and fundamentally important link in the chain of title to the ironworks property, although he does not make specific disposition of it in the document itself. His daughter, Hannah, had married the successful Ipswich merchant Samuel Appleton, and had borne him three children, Hannah, Judith, and Samuel, Jr. Mrs. Appleton died before her father, and at the time the latter drew his will in 1660 his three Appleton grandchildren were aged only 8, 7, and 6. Among the early provisions of the will is a bequest of £1,500: £600 to Hannah, £500 to Samuel, Jr., and £400 to Judith--to be paid as they attained


5. See, for example, Essex Quarterly Court Files, 8:196, 203.

6. Ibid., p. 39.

7. Ibid.

8. Suffolk County, Registry of Probate, Boston, 1:348-49 (hereafter cited as Suffolk County Probate Records).

lawful age or upon the day of their marriages, whichever came first. This was a principal legacy of the will, and to secure its provisions in behalf of the minor children, John Paine of Boston, residuary legatee and an executor as well, on January 20, 1663, mortgaged to his brother-in-law, Samuel Appleton of Ipswich, the ironworks at Lynn, described at that time as being "in the hands and under the managing of Mr. Oliver Purchase. viz: mills, mill dams, Sluices, watters, watter corses, houses, lands, [and] utensells for worke. . . ."  

John Paine's affairs, as we have seen, went from bad to worse, and it is in light of this business failure and his inability to come up with the £1,500 in cash with which to discharge the terms of the legacy to his nieces and nephew that we can readily explain the transfer of title to the ironworks in Lynn from the estate of William Paine of Boston to its next owners, Samuel Appleton, Sr. and Jr. Although there were to be still further lawsuits, and the Appletons would be hauled into court to defend the title deriving circuitously from William Paine's bequest, we now enter upon an entirely new phase in the history of the property, which had architectural and historical ramifications fully as interesting in many respects as those of the ironworks itself.


CHAPTER 4: PERIOD OF APPLETON OWNERSHIP

We have mentioned earlier the gradual decline of the ironworks under the management of John Paine during the period his young nephew, Samuel Appleton, Jr., was growing to maturity. Samuel came of age in 1675, and the records of the court would indicate that the works were then all but inoperative. Oliver Purchas, still hanging on in his capacity as agent, and writing on September 3, 1678, to Major Savage, owner, as we have seen, of a one-quarter interest in the works, heads his letter "At old Ironworks. . . ."1

During this time of continuing deterioration of the works, Oliver Purchas was sued by Samuel Appleton, Sr., on June 19, 1676, for refusing possession of that part of the ironworks and lands that had belonged to John Paine, who died deeply in debt earlier in that same year. Appleton cited the unredeemed "mortgage" deed of January 20, 1663, as his proof of ownership. Samuel Appleton, Jr., in a demand dated May 15, 1676, joined with his father in this suit, explaining that being now twenty-one years of age, he desired to have that legacy from his grandfather that had been secured by John Paine's mortgage to Samuel Appleton, Sr., on his behalf, and therefore sought to gain title to the works from Purchas who was "now in possession. . . ."2

The verdict was in the Appletons' favor, and on July 18, 1676, as the court record states, "mρ Olliver Purchass delivered freely to Major Samuell Appleton mρ John Paines whole right & interest in all ye housing & lands, ye housing by a Splinter taken of ye house & ye lands by turfe & twigge in pτ for ye whole, & so gaue him quiet possession with all damms, sluices bancks & appurtenances . . . belonging to ye Iron works. . . ." There were then "no utensills," Purchas informed the court,3 and it is clear that by now active ironworking operations were definitely a thing of the past. The language of the record would indicate also that there was now but one house of any consequence upon the property; we have no way of knowing whether it was the Dexter Farmhouse (Str. #1) or the Leader/Gifford House (Str. #4).

With the ironworks inoperative, the residents of nearby Reading petitioned the General Court in May 1678 for permission to clear away the dam in the Saugus River. They had refrained from taking this step, they declared, until the plant had been "broaken up" and the ironworks had "holly ceased to be occupied." Now, however, they wished to make it possible for the fish, which had been a "great refreshing" to them as food and fertilizer, to come freely up into the rivers and ponds "wher they have ther Natural Breeding place."4

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1. Essex Quarterly Court Files, 8:38.

2. Ibid., 6:166.

3. Massachusetts Archives, Statehouse, Boston, 59/188.

4. Ibid., 59/133.
In the meantime, Samuel Appleton, Jr., appears to have settled upon the land or was at least exercising his prerogatives of ownership when in the spring of 1677 he was alleged to have taken out of the great furnace bellows at the works some eight large iron bolts weighing about a hundredweight. He also disposed of one bellows pipe, and upon his order, the court record continued, about thirty cords of wood had been cut from the land and disposed of. Testimony offered a year or two later on October 16, 1679, by Samuel Appleton, Jr., would indicate that he had been engaged in farming operations here, "clearing & breaking upp Some of ye Land," etc., and he tells us also in a statement dated August 28, 1678, that at about the same time he had gained possession of the ironworks property, Major Savage "placed a Tennant [Samuel Stocker] in ye .. Houses & land on his Right & without any lett & disturbance from me, and we have severely Improved on or severall Interest without any trouble. .."7

Trouble was just around the corner, however, for Thomas Savage was about to force the Appletons to contend with the final and most serious challenge to their ownership. In a writ dated June 19, 1678, Savage charged Samuel Appleton, Jr., of Lynn, with possessing and using his houses, lands, and ironworks, cutting his grass, wood, and timber "and ruining said Iron works. .."8 The suit was bitter, and continued persistently from one court to another. In the course of litigation, Samuel Appleton, Jr., declared that Savage had often been urged to come to an equitable division in light of his one-fourth interest, a valid interest acknowledged by both Appleton and the General Court, but he had refused. Not until July 2, 1681, did the exhausted parties agree that whereas there had been "much litigation" between Savage and the Appletons "relating to houses and land .. lying at Hamersmith at Linn," equal division would now be made, Samuel Appleton, Jr., making the division before the end of October, and Savage to have his choice as to what part he would take and paying £10 for the privilege, etc.10

The division is not on file, and indeed, one wonders if it was ever made, for Major Thomas Savage died a short time after the final settlement, and there is no mention of a division when on May 26, 1682, his heirs, for £250 "current mony of New England," conveyed to Samuel Appleton of Lynn, Gentleman, as he is now described, "All the right, title yntrest, use and possession .. which the sayd Maior Thomas Savage, had or might have had," to "certain p[ar]cells of Land" in Lynn "comonly called and knowne by the name of Hamersmith or yron works Lands,"

5. Essex Quarterly Court Files, 7:28.
6. Massachusetts Archives, Statehouse, Boston, 5/146.
7. Ibid., 59/165.
10. Essex Quarterly Court Files, 8:148.

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and "to all the houses Edifices, buildings fences," etc., including watercourses and sluices.11

Thus, by the spring of 1682 Samuel Appleton, Jr., was in full possession at last of the Lynn ironworks, though it is clear that we are now dealing with a farm rather than an industrial site. We shall shortly see, in fact, that throughout the balance of the 17th century and into the 18th century this extensive acreage was known locally as the "Ironworks Farm."

There are several important facts to be noted at this point:

(1) Aside from the gradual decay of the ironworks themselves, to which the contemporaneous records continually refer, there seems to have been no major change in the physical picture throughout the long period of litigation extending from 1653 to 1681.

(2) There is nothing in the foregoing or ensuing documents to suggest that Samuel Appleton, Jr., had at any time a real interest in continuing and/or reviving the ironworks.

(3) From 1647, when the Undertakers made their initial purchase from Dexter, until 1682, when Appleton acquired full possession of the property, there had been no consistent record kept of changes in the boundaries. Consequently, we must depend for the most part upon deeds executed later in the 1680s by Appleton for our knowledge of the exact extent of his holdings.

With respect to the first point we have raised concerning the physical appearance of the property, we can readily deduce when Samuel Appleton, Jr., made the major improvement of his occupancy, namely construction of the imposing two-and-one-half-story house with the central chimney plan and projecting two-story porch, which has survived from the 17th century on its original foundation within a few rods of the site of the earlier ironworks operation. As early as 1879 popular tradition identifying this house with the ironworks had appeared in print.12 Following its restoration by Wallace Nutting in 1915 it continued to be dated from the 1640s and has become familiarly known as the Ironmaster's House.

The building is clearly later in date, however. This we infer for several reasons: because of its general proportions and the presence of a framed overhang and porch, the structure is characteristic of substantial houses built during the last quarter of the 17th century. (While the two-story porch, for example, is known from documentary sources to have appeared in Boston before 1650, its general acceptance, even in the more ambitious houses erected elsewhere at Massachusetts Bay, is not common until after the middle of the century.)13 More important yet,

11. Essex County Deeds (Ipswich), 4:452.

12. See, for example, Edwin Whitefield, The Homes of our Forefathers ... in Massachusetts (Boston, 1879), not paginated.

the stairs, while a restoration feature, are located in a deep space within the entry, suggesting that the chimney, situated well behind the front plane of the house, was planned from the outset to accommodate a staircase of triple run (as has been restored). The fully developed stairway of triple run appears no earlier at Massachusetts Bay (in terms of surviving houses) than the decade of the 1680s.14 And in purely technical terms, the floor-jointing system is composed entirely of butt-cogs, no example of which is known at Massachusetts Bay earlier than about 1665. Before that time (and afterwards in conservative situations) the universal joint in old and New England from the late 16th century onwards was the tusk-tenon joint (Fig. A). The adoption of the butt-cogg (Fig. B) did away with the tenon altogether, and housed the blunt, unshaped end of the floor joint in an open cogg. The Gedney House in Salem, ca. 1665, is the first example now known at Massachusetts Bay, and English scholars, at current levels of understanding, are inclined to believe that this is roughly the period of its acceptance there as well.15

In size, scale, and elaboration the house is thoroughly commensurate with a builder of means and social status. None of the latter qualifications are to be met with here until Samuel Appleton, Jr., came onto the land to live, and we have consequently designated this as the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House (Str. #23). As noted earlier, a dendrochronological analysis of several timbers in the oak frame of this house is underway, which, it is hoped, will identify the exact year of its erection. Pending these results, we can cite generally the records that fix the period of the building.

It will be recalled that the many documents filed in connection with the midcentury litigations refer only to "houses and lands" here. And such is still the description when Appleton acquired the Savage interest on May 26, 1682. A year and a half later, however, when on October 11, 1683, Samuel Appleton, Jr., took out a mortgage of £100 lawful money on this property, there is a significant change in the language. The instrument now specifies "my farme & mantion house, commonly known by the name of the Ironworkes farme," containing 600 acres more or less.16 Strictly speaking, it would seem logical, therefore, to assume a date for the erection of this house sometime between the spring of 1682 and the execution of the mortgage in October 1683. On the other hand, while it seems unlikely that Appleton would have undertaken a major improvement before the final outcome of his litigations in 1681, it is not impossible that he felt sufficiently sure of his three-fourths right to have proceeded with building a house any time after 1676. In this case one could argue that in conveying their still undivided interest in 1682, the Savage heirs would have had no reason to mention a new structure on the land when that structure avowedly belonged to Appleton. We shall shortly see when we come to the subject of Mr. Habberfield's fulling mill that land and buildings thereon could easily be thought of as separate conveyable entities under 17th-century law.

14. Ibid.


16. Essex County Deeds, 6:98. For the assignment and eventual discharge of this mortgage in 1689, see Essex County Deeds, 9:4-5.
Fig 105 Bare-faced soffit-tenon with diminished haunch, and peg.
This is the joist-joint used in the oldest building on the Houchin's site, which is now a cottage adjoining Houchin's House. The date is uncertain, but must be either c AD 1560, or sometime relating to earlier occupation of the site. Structurally, the frame could be reconciled with c 1412, the 'Howchonys' mentioned by Dr Reaney.24

FIGURE A
From Cecil A. Hewitt, "The Development of Carpentry 1200–1700".

Fig 110 Butt-cogged flush with face.
This method has been recorded by Mason,37 and exists at the Red Lion, Witham, Essex. It has nothing to recommend it and relies upon bridging-joists far stronger than are necessary. It would date from c 1650 and might extend to c AD 1800. It was certainly widely used in New England after c AD 1660.

FIGURE B
From Cecil A. Hewitt, "the Development of Carpentry 1200–1700"
Before proceeding to an examination of the way in which Samuel Appleton, Jr., began shortly to dispose of his hardworn possessions here, mention should be made of one further cataclysmic event that must have created some topographical change, at least, in the immediate vicinity of the new house. We have seen that the inhabitants of Reading had petitioned the General Court in 1678 for permission to clear away the ironworks dam in the Saugus River. There is no record of formal action, but in May of 1682, under cover of darkness, three attempts at breaching were made, the second and third being successful. The actual culprits were never identified beyond reasonable doubt, though neighboring farmers to the north of the Appletons were hauled into court and formally charged.

The break was described as six and half rods in length, eighteen feet high, and seventy-six feet broad, which gives some impression at least of the size of the "grate dame at Lyn Ironworkes." Deponents in the case testified further that it had been "faced with stone one ye water side from the top of the dame to ye bottom. . . ." The Appletons, of course, were the chief sufferers, and reported that because of the breach "the water forced through And Caried Aways A Considerable parte of the sayd Dam" and undermined the rest. The rushing waters washed away soil and gravel, took out two bridges and a lot of fencing, and left much cornfield and pasture flooded. More serious yet, they declared, "the Rier [was so] fild up with soyle that a Boate Cannot Com up as befor" except to a point about a mile further downstream.17

This disheartening occurrence with a further inevitable round of litigation (by now Samuel Appleton, Jr., must have been weary of lawsuits) may well have broken Appleton's spirit, though he was still a young man. Perhaps in the process he had lost his taste for "gentleman farming," or perhaps he was not the astute businessman that his father was. A thorough biographical study of his life and activities may yield the answer, and will surely reveal more of the personality of the man from whom we have inherited one of the most strikingly ambitious 17th-century houses at Massachusetts Bay.

For whatever reason (and despite the fact that the 1683 mortgage on his "farme & mantion house" was ultimately redeemed), Samuel Appleton, Jr., began to dispose of his holdings in a series of conveyances. The first of these transactions occurred on November 1, 1685, when Samuel Appleton, Jr., "of the Ironworks in Lynne," and his wife Elizabeth conveyed to John Burrell, husbandman of Rumney Marsh (Chelsea), for £62 current money, some twenty-two acres of upland and meadow straddling the river, at the northwest corner of the Ironworks farm.18

Of greater significance was the conveyance a year later on August 10, 1686, from Samuel Appleton of Lynn, now called yeoman, to John Higgs of Boston, "cloath- worker," for £40 current money, of a piece of land containing twenty-four acres "on the north side" of the river, "begining at ye great dam belonging to ye old ironworkes, of Lynn," and once again straddling the river, at least in part.19

17. Essex Quarterly Court Files, 39:57-1, 98-4, and deposition of John Jenks, Apr. 9, 1683 (same case).

18. Essex County Deeds, 8:172.

19. Ibid., 7:95.
This transaction marks the introduction of an altogether new industrial phase of activity for the site, one that would continue, moreover, into the 18th century and have important ramifications for later owners of the ironworks farm.

We first learn that the river had again been harnessed for business purposes when, a few months later, on January 6, 1687, Appleton and his wife sold John Higgs, for £15 current money, an additional acre of land on the river "on part of which Stands ye fulling mill & buildings thereto appertaining, lately erected & built by a at ye sole cost & charge of William Habberfeild [sic] of sd Boston clothier. . . ."°° A careful examination of land transfers from this time on enables us to identify the site of Mr. Habberfield's mill (see Fig. 1), and although the Lynn town records for this period are no longer extant, we learn more about the mill and its authorization by the town fathers from the Essex County deeds, which show that on January 11, 1687, William Habberfield and his wife Mary executed a deed of gift of the property to their "loving son in law," John Higgs of Boston. The preamble to the instrument informs us that

whereas on ye sixteenth day of ye last month viz: February: 1684. att a generall towne meeting in Lyn . . . it was voted & agreed yt ye sd William Habberfield should have liberty & power to erect & set up a fulling mill upon ye river yt ye old Ironworks was erected upon . . . he undertaking to do the town's worke, at a reasonable rate, so it was granted to him & his hier [sic], and the towne not to allow any other fulling mill in their bounds. . . .

We are informed also in this deed that Habberfield had not only exercised his right in erecting the mill, but had also built "a tenament or dwelling house . . . of a considerable bigness, fitt for & used about ye fullers & dyer's trade. . . ." Both of these structures, which we have designated the Habberfield Fulling Mill (Str. #24) and Habberfield Dwellinghouse (Str. #25), were given "together with ye Soil whereon ye fulling mill stands and ground whereon sd tenement stands" by Habberfield to Higgs, who of course already owned the balance of the land. Included also in this deed of gift were the "water courses, fludd gates, [and] water ponds" pertaining to the mill.°°

Summarizing briefly the subsequent history of this property, we find that it passed at Higgs's death to a daughter, Hannah, who together with her husband, Daniel Epes of Boston, also a clothier, conveyed the entire estate, consisting of fulling mill and dwelling, the twenty-four acres, and an additional acre, on May 31, 1705, to Francis Thresher of Boston, clothier.°° Thresher and his wife

°°. Ibid., p. 96.

°°. Ibid., p. 119.

°°. Ibid., 19:44.
Elizabeth, for £135 current money, conveyed the one acre with its buildings to Daniel Mansfield of Lynn, yeoman, on April 14, 1709, by which time, as the deed states, the improvements were described as "a Dwelling house ffulling Mill & Buildings . . . heretofore Erected by Wm. Hubberfield of Boston . . . & by others." Privilege "of fflowing so much Land as has been used and is Necessary for ye Raising of a Sufficient head of Water for ye going ofsaid Mill" was included.23 Earlier, in 1695, Thresher had leased the twenty-four acres to James Taylor for ten years,24 and the deeds locate this tract some little distance upstream where the ponds supplying waterpower seem to have been dammed traditionally from the 17th to the 19th centuries.

At Daniel Mansfield's death in 1728, this property passed to Daniel Mansfield, Jr., and the latter on January 3, 1753, conveyed to his son, Thomas Mansfield of Lynn, clothier, "a Piece of Land on which Mr Habberfields Dwelling House & Fulling Mill formerly Stood upon the Westerly Side of Saugust River so called containing One Acre. . . ."25 Thus by the mid-18th century this site was once again vacant.

There were one or two additional sales by Samuel Appleton, Jr., of land largely marshy on the east side of the river.26 Then, without further indication of purpose or intent, on February 15, 1688 (or 1689), Samuel Appleton, Sr., of Ipswich, for whom, it will be recalled, the original mortgage from John Paine had been executed during his son's minority, conveyed the entire Ironworks Farm to James Taylor, a well-to-do Boston merchant, for £500 current money. The property was then described as consisting of a

Messuage or tenement orchards Gardens & lands as well arrable, pasture, fresh & Salt marsh, or Meadow, as woodland . . . being his whole farme Containing by estimation Six hundred acres bee itt more or lesse, sometime Called by ye name of Hamersmith Being that ffarme & tract of lands antiently purchased of Thomas Dexter & others by Richard Leader Gent Agent for ye Comp'y of undertakers of ye IronWorks. . . .
In the p'sent tenure & Occupation of Sam'l Apleton junr & his subtenant or tenants. . . .

There were sixty acres of salt marsh "lyinge Between the Dwelling house & the Bridge att Lyn, commonly called Lyn Bridge," "fourescore acres of arrable land broken up & fenced, lying also upon ye Southwest side of ye Great River, of Lyn, Comonly called Sawgust River," forty acres of fresh marsh land, and "All ye Remainder . . . being pasture and wood land. . . ." The boundaries are specified and there is mention also that the twenty-five acres sold to Higgs, the twelve

23. Ibid., 30:21.
24. Ibid., 11:57.
25. Essex County, Registry of Probate, Salem, File no. 17589 (hereafter cited as Essex County Probate Records), and Essex County Deeds, 104:221.
26. See fn. 6, chap. 2.
acres sold to John Burrell, together with eight acres of salt marsh sold to Henry Rhodes, and three acres of salt marsh sold to Daniel Hutchins, were reserved from the sale. On December 26, 1689, Samuel Appleton, Jr., "now, or late of Lyn," yeoman, approved, ratified, and confirmed his father's conveyance in an instrument that virtually restates the senior Appleton's deed, with, however, the reservation from the sale of two further parcels, one consisting of two ten-acre lots sold by Appleton to Henry Newman "wch lye without ye Gen'l bounds withinmentioned," and the lot called Knowles lot, "lying without ye sd bounds," sold to Henry Rhodes, Sr.

27. Essex County Deeds, 9:5. For release of interests, dower rights, etc., see ibid., pp. 6-7.

28. Ibid., p. 6.
CHAPTER 5: PERIOD OF TAYLOR OWNERSHIP

James Taylor must have taken possession of the Ironworks Farm almost at once, for the deed of confirmation of Samuel Appleton, Jr., on December 26, 1689, just cited, refers to the property as then "in the said Taylor's actual possession..." He was a successful Boston merchant and longtime treasurer of the Province of Massachusetts Bay. Although he was still in possession of his Boston mansion house at the time of his death, it is clear that lately at least he had taken up residence in the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House. At the time of his death in the summer of 1716, he described himself as of Lynn, and foresaw, as expressed in his will executed on July 24 of that year, "an absolute Necessity" that following his decease the "ffarme & Lands" there should be disposed of.

He consequently directed his wife and a daughter as executrixes to sell "all ye said ffarme & lands with ye Stock & Utensills of husbandry... for ye best price they can get for ye Same... the Rents Incomes & profits of ye said ffarme & Lands in ye Interim before Sale to accrue" for the support of his family. The proceeds were to be held in trust for the same purpose during the widowhood of his wife. At her death (or remarriage) he directed that his entire estate be divided among seven of his children. An inventory of the estate was taken on August 28, 1716, within a matter of days following the death of James Taylor, in which the "Farm at Lynn wth all ye buildings Fencis & Corn Mill being all much out of repair to gather wth all Common Lotts belonging to said Farm" was appraised at £1650 (See Appendix A). The total estate, including his "Mansion House" in Boston, amounted to well over £3,000. The "Corn Mill" (Str. #26) is here mentioned for the first time. There is an item of "A man Serv't" at £10, "a boy" also at £10, "a Maid" at £5, and an "Old Infirm negro man," together with 209 ounces of "Plate" (silver) at £83 12s. 0d. and a handsome array of furnishings. Of these, only the bedding is located as to room:

"Bed and Furniture belonging to the bed in ye Eastward Lower Room," £7 10s. 0d.

"Bed and Furniture belonging to the bed... in ye Eastward Chamber," £6 10s 0d.

"Bed and Furniture belonging to the bed in ye Porch Chamber," £5 10s. 0d.

"Bed and Furniture belonging to the bed in ye westward Chamber," £11 0s. 0d.

"Small bed and beding in the garrett," £4, and

"2 Flock beds 1 feather bed in the Kitchen Chamber," £3.²


2. Ibid., File no. 27301.
These items, though not entirely descriptive, are important for what they tell us about both the social and architectural history of the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House. While there are beds in nearly every room (including the attic) in the continuing tradition of the 17th century, the best (or at least most expensive) bed, presumably James Taylor's, is in the parlor chamber. Only very late in the 17th century had the parlor itself been deserted by the head of the household as principal lodging room in favor of an upper apartment, and the change even then was an upper socioeconomic phenomenon. Thus James Taylor was very much in step with current trends within his class. Architecturally the most important fact about the inventory is the reference to a kitchen chamber, which must have been elsewhere than in the main block of the house. Unused mortises uncovered recently in the frame of the main house along the rear wall would suggest the early if not original presence of an appendage here.

Whatever the "Necessity" that led James Taylor at the time he drew his will to think the Ironworks Farm would have to be sold to support his family, it seems clear that his wife and daughter as executrixes felt differently about the matter and the farm was not sold. Mrs. Taylor, however, lived only another two years until the summer of 1718, at which time her son William was made executor, and the whole estate was then subject to the division specified in the will.3 There was then a new "Apprizmt of ye Real Estate" of the late James Taylor on October 22, 1718, as follows: "a ffarme Yyeing In ye Township of Lyn att ye Iron Works So Called, part whereof Is plow Land part Salt Marsh part . . . moweing part pasture Land & part marsh Out Land The whole Containeing four hundred Eighty & Eight Acres"; 103 acres laid out on the "aedd Lynn Town Commons"; and one ten-acre lot lying in the cow pasture near the Widow Newman's dwelling house.4

The division that followed in July 1724 is detailed, and in conjunction with a search of the land and probate records with respect to subsequent history, can be quite exactly reconstructed, allowing us a much more concise impression of the dimensions of the Ironworks Farm in both its 17th-century and 18th-century phases. At the same time, it must be reiterated that this study attempts to identify and trace only those portions of the property that had consistently been built upon and improved throughout its long history, not the peripheral woodlands and marshes. We shall be largely concerned, therefore, with that portion of the Taylor farm described as the First Division of the homestead, a portion of Callamount Pasture,5 and with some of the land that Appleton had conveyed separately before the sale to Taylor (Fig. 1). In the process we shall take note of any additional buildings that were erected probably during the period of Taylor occupancy.

Equally if not more important is the fact that our reconstruction of the 1724 probate document, while schematic in some respects, reveals that the First and Second divisions of the Homestead and the Neck, bounded on the south by Rhodes

3. Ibid.; See also 312:401.
4. Ibid., 312:547.
5. Sometimes called Cattamount Pasture in 19th-century deeds, but consistently spelled Callamount throughout the 18th century.
Brook and on the east by the Saugus River, form a pattern of land disposition that was ultimately to predetermine the major configuration of the modern Saugus Center. As a comparison of Figs. 1 and 2 readily shows, the one-pole "way" between the First and Second divisions became the modern Main Street and the two-pole "way" along the eastern line of these two tracts, the modern Central Street. The junction of the two thoroughfares became the town center where, in 1736, the Taylor heirs donated a lot thirteen by twelve poles in extent as a site for the meetinghouse of what was to become the Third or West Parish of Lynn (now Saugus). At the north, the "way that leads to Abraham Burrill's," laid out between the First Division of the Homestead and Callamount Pasture, became the modern Appleton Street.

In short, what at the time was merely the subdivision of a large farm among several heirs in reality predefined the plan of an 18th-century New England town. One hears much of the "linear" and "nucleated" patterns of village settlement in the 17th century, and it might be interesting to know how many 18th-century communities in New England can trace their formal origins to a routine probate division.

We should note here that the various mills mentioned throughout this report were disposed along the west bank of the river in that narrow corridor of land between the river and Central Street. There is a particularly interesting reference in the 1724 Division to the site of the ironworks themselves, which occupied the land opposite the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House, still an unimproved open space as late as 1905 (Fig. 6). The committee appointed to make the division stipulated that "all the Lands where the old Ironworks Stud betwixt the Cross fence Joyning to Sd Gate [leading into a garden before the Appleton/Taylor/ Mansfield House], and Mansfield's fence [was] to Lye open as a way and for the bennifitt of Creatures to go Down to the River as hath bin ushall. . . ."?

Over and beyond the general outlines of the 1724 Division and the disposition of the several lots, our concern centers in the buildings mentioned and their precise location. The most important, of course, was the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House. Its location in the Division is clearly specified, and while it stood upon land set off to the daughter Abigail Taylor at the very edge of the divisional line, the structure itself was nevertheless divided between Abigail and her sister Anna. Abigail was to have "the Northerly half part of the Dweling hous . . . the Equall half part of the Brick Kitching . . . [and] allso the one half of the Long Barn: viz. the westerly part. . . ." Anna, whose land lay just to the south, received "the Southerly half part of the Dweling hous & half of the Brick Kitching & half the well" together with the other half of the Long Barn, "viz. the Easterly end with Conveniant yardroom & passway to and from Sd Barn. . . ."? The Brick Kitchen (Str. #27) is mentioned now for the first time and is referred to in a

7. Essex County Probate Records, File no. 27301.
8. Ibid.
later document as standing "in ye yard" of the house.⁹ We are further informed that the son, William Taylor, had set off to him "the Small building Called the Smith's Shop Joyning to the Brick Kitching."¹⁰

Also near the house, apparently, and standing on the lot of seventeen acres and thirty-four poles set off to Abigail in the First Division of the homestead was the "Long Barn" (Str. #28), which as we have seen was also divided between Abigail and Anna. There were other barns as well: "The Lowermost barn Standing in the Neck" (Str. #29) and "Sheep Barn" (Str. #30) set off to the son, William Taylor. The location of the first of these certainly and the second probably can be fixed generally in the "Neck" or "SouthEasterly part of the farm" as it was called, in that area bounded by the Saugus River, Rhodes Brook, and Central Street. The "Northermost barn" (Str. #31) on the Taylor Farm is described as "Standing on Kelsey's Homsted," that lot in the First Division laid out to Rebecca Kelsey's heirs in the area just below the modern Appleton Street.¹¹ This lot was sold in 1729, and the barn was then referred to as "old."¹²

Sarah Taylor received "the Barn Called the waying hous or Thrashing barn" (Str. #32), which, if it stood on her allotment in the First Division, was located in the vicinity of modern Prospect Street, while her sister Mary, (whose lot in the First Division lay at the corner of Main and Central streets), was awarded the "Cornbarn" (Str. #33) and "that Building Called the Stable" (Str. #34). There were additional unlocated "Small buildings" and a "Cidermill Hous" (Str. #35). The Corn Mill (Str. #26) mentioned in James Taylor's inventory in 1716 occupied a small tract of land next to the river, sixteen poles in extent, in the lot of thirteen acres and forty poles laid out to Abigail Taylor in Callamount Pasture, and in the Division the son William received a two-seventh interest and each of the other children a one-seventh interest in the structure with a "Convenient Way from the Head of Kelsey's uppermost Lott Down to the Mill & River . . . wheare they have bin heartofore used."¹³

It should be mentioned here that the Division of 1724 makes no formal mention of any extension of the two-pole "way" bounding the eastern line of the First and Second divisions of the homestead northward through Abigail Taylor's lot in Callamount Pasture (Fig. 1). We are told only that the Corn (or Grist) Mill (Str. #26) with its sixteen poles of land was located here and that all the heirs could use the "Convenient Way . . . to the Mill & River . . . ." Abigail sold this lot in Callamount Pasture, thirteen and a quarter acres, to Daniel Mansfield on March 18, 1742,¹⁴ and on February 28, 1743, William Taylor, having bought out most of the

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10. Essex County Probate Records, File no. 27301.

11. Ibid.


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other heirs, conveyed to Daniel Mansfield six-sevenths of the "Grist Mill . . . on Saugust River . . . at the Iron Works, said Mill formerly belonging to Mr. James Taylor," together with six-sevenths of the sixteen poles of land on which it stood.15

It could be argued that the course of Central Street beyond Appleton, continuing into Elm Street (Fig. 2), may conceivably mark the course of the "Convenient Way" of 1724, for it is clear that the gristmill was near the middle or upper end of Abigail's lot. This we can determine for the following reasons: having acquired the thirteen and a quarter acres in Callamount Pasture, Daniel Mansfield conveyed this tract, described now as containing "a Dwelling House & Barns," to his son Thomas Mansfield, clothier, ten years later on January 3, 1753.16 The house, which we have designated the Thomas Mansfield I House (Str. #36), became Thomas's home and was built either by him or by Daniel for him.

In May of the same year, in drawing his will, Daniel confirmed to Thomas "my Lott of Land I had of Ms Abigail [(Taylor) Pell] . . . with ye Grist Mill, that is near his Dwelling house . . . Also my Fulling Mill, with the streams, Dams," etc.17 This fulling mill (Str. #37) seems also to have been erected on the Abigail Taylor lot in Callamount Pasture and thus by Daniel Mansfield sometime after he purchased the land from Abigail in 1742. In the inventory of his estate in 1758 this establishment is described as consisting at large of "fulling Mill Damn & Streems" appraised at £14 Os. 0d. (Str. #37), "Cloathers Shop" at £15 Os. 0d. (Str. #38), and "Dye house and Copper" at £5 Os. 0d. (Str. #39). In terms of equipment, the inventory mentions "Hott press, Screw plates Iron Barrs &c Cold press Screw &c Other utensels . . . [and] Cloathers Shears" at £8 Os. 0d.18

While Daniel's will says only that the Grist (Corn) Mill (Str. #26) was "near" Thomas's dwelling house, the location of which can be fixed at the northwest corner of Appleton and Central streets (where there are now only modern houses),19 later records locate both the fulling mill and gristmill further to

15. Ibid., p. 81.
16. Ibid., 104:221.
17. Essex County Probate Records, 335:172.
18. Ibid., File no. 17590.
19. For a title that locates this dwelling belonging to Thomas Mansfield, Sr., (with Essex County Deeds abbreviated as ED and Essex County Probate Records as EP) see:

Thomas Mansfield, inventory, 1758, EP, 335:497
Thomas Mansfield, division of est. 1759, EP, File #17666 and 337:167

(Continued)
the northeast where Elm Street now crosses the Saugus River (Fig. 2). Thomas Mansfield's inventory in 1758, taken the same year as that of his father's, mentions again the "Grist Mill" (Str. #26) appraised at £26 13s. 4d., together with "The Fulling Mill" (Str. #37) at £14 3s. 4d., "Dye house and Furnace" (Str. #39) at £8 13s. 4d., and "The Shop with the two presses" (Str. #38) at £20 13s. 4d. In the division of Thomas's estate in 1760, "The Clothiers Shop, tools, & Teinters," "The Fulling Mill with the Conveniency of the Streams . . . [and] The Grist Mill" were set off to his son, Thomas Mansfield, Jr., together with the upper half of the "Homestead" on which all but the shop (as we shall see) were located.

Thus of the thirteen and a quarter acres representing the Abigail Taylor allotment in Callamount Pasture, Thomas Mansfield, Jr., got the upper six and one half acres and his brother, Benjamin Mansfield, got the lower portion. When Thomas Mansfield, Jr., also a clothier, sold his upper half of the homestead in 1777 to Joseph Hawkes of Lynn, yeoman, it is clearly bounded and described as six and one half acres "with the Grist Mill Dye House & Fulling Mill standing thereon together with the Dams Flumes Stream Water courses Geers Utensels Shuttles & all appurtenances belonging to the said Mills & Dye House. . . ." The "work Shop" (Str. #38), on the other hand, with its "Tenters . . . [and] all my Tools Utensels & Implements for Carrying on the business or trade of a Clothier" is described in

19. (Continued)

Eastern half of house:
   Thomas Mansfield, Jr., to Joseph Hawkes, 1783, ED, 141:197
   Hawkes to Moody Follansbee, 1784, ED, 141:197
   Follansbee to Jeremiah Pearson, 1786, ED, 146:168
   Pearson to Nathaniel Mansfield, 1792, ED, 155:67

Western half of house:
   Thomas Mansfield, Sr., est. to Benjamin Mansfield, 1788, ED, 147:279
   Benjamin Mansfield, inventory, 1817, EP, 391:370
   Benjamin Mansfield, dower, 1817, EP, 391:456
   Benjamin Mansfield est. to Francis Dizer, 1818, ED, 219:87+
   (see also ED, 326:173; 307:50; 338:188, 211; 339:131; 352:211; 391:159)
   Dizer est. to John S. and Benjamin Mansfield and Eliza Stackpole, 1864, ED, 677:139
   Amos Mansfield, II, to ditto, 1864, ED, 677:140
   Mansfields/Stackpole to John Brierly, 1865, ED, 641:143
   Brierly to E. Pranker, 1869, ED, 987:263

20. Essex County Probate Records, 335:497.

the deed as "Standing on land of Benjamin Mansfield," i.e., the adjacent southern half of the homestead, and liberty of access to the shop is guaranteed.22 From this time forward the deeds for this tract consistently repeat the late-18th-century boundary description well into the 19th century and confirm the fact that James Taylor's Corn Mill (Str. #26) and Daniel Mansfield's fulling establishment (Strs. #37-39) were located in the vicinity of the junction of the modern Central and Elm streets. The following successive changes in the industrial improvement of this site can be summarized briefly as follows: in 1784, seven years after Thomas Mansfield, Jr., conveyed his six and one half acres and mill buildings to Hawkes, a transaction in that year specifies a "Grist mill" without any mention of the fulling establishment (which was presumably no longer extant), but adds now a "Saw mill" (Str. #40).23 From 1794 onward for the next quarter century this complex was known as Sweetzer's Mills. By May 31, 1815, in addition to the gristmill and sawmill there was a chocolate mill (Str. #41) and other buildings as well.24 By 1826 the deeds refer to "a certain Factory establishment" only. The gristmill, by now more than a century old (if not a replacement), and the chocolate mill were still standing, with a "new building" erected between them. There is no reference to the sawmill, which by now had presumably disappeared.25

While the exact nature of the "Factory establishment" is not specified, one of the principals at this time, John Haskins of Saugus, is described as a "Bleacher and Calico Printer,"26 and there is further reference during the same year (1826) to "the dyeing & Calico printing establishment" here on this site, to which by 1826 some two more acres had been added at the southern end,27 and a professional survey had determined that the original six-and-a-half-acre lot was closer to nine acres in extent. By 1834 the deeds refer to "the large brick Factory & other factories & buildings" and the "Flannel Manufactory and the Bleaching, Dying & Printing works," and it is assumed that the gristmill and chocolate mill had by now given way to more modern buildings.28 These mills (or their successors) form part of the extensive complex identified as Prankers Manufacturing Co. in the Atlas of 1884 (Fig. 2).

23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., 206:290. There had been no reference to the chocolate mill in an earlier transfer of 1794. See Essex County Deeds, 162:129.
27. Ibid.
As for the land and mills below Elm Street in the narrow corridor of land between the river and Central Street, including the site of the Habberfield Mill, we find that Benjamin Mansfield's son, Nathaniel, had acquired some nine poles of land here opposite and just above Appleton Street in two separate transactions dated 1792 and 1803. Following Benjamin's death in 1816, Nathaniel purchased an additional three acres from his father's estate fronting on the road "leading to Sweetzers Mill" and extending from his own property north to "Poochuck road," which one assumes to be an earlier name for Elm Street. The land on the river behind this frontage, as we have seen, had become by 1826 a part of the mill complex that would later be known as the Pranker Mills.

Two or three years earlier, in 1823, Nathaniel conveyed the property along the road to his brother, Amos Mansfield. There is no mention of any buildings at this time, and the earliest reference we have found to the house of Amos Mansfield on this tract is not until 1847. There is now standing, however, more or less upon the site as identified by the 1884 Atlas (Fig. 2), a very modest story-and-a-half central chimney house, quite thoroughly modernized, but with some exterior suggestion that it might go back in time to ca. 1800. If upon closer inspection this turns out to be the case, one can assume that the house was built by Nathaniel Mansfield following his initial purchase of land in this precise locality in 1792.

The land immediately south of the Amos Mansfield House included the Habberfield Mill site and the land that, according to the division of James Taylor's estate in 1724, was to be open in common to all the heirs (Fig. 1). The upper end of this area soon became known as the Hog Pasture, and whenever any of the Taylor heirs sold portions of their inherited estate, so many "rights" in the Hog Pasture were included in the deeds. These "rights" are mentioned continuously throughout the 18th century, and the assumption is that the Mansfield clan (having acquired the Habberfield Mill site in 1753) was also ultimately the winner in the scramble, intentional or not, to secure enough "rights" in the Hog Pasture to assure sufficient claim to the title.

By the end of the 18th century it is clear that the Mansfields considered themselves in possession, and on August 27, 1810, and April 6, 1811, in two separate instruments, Thomas Mansfield the cordwainer, and Hannah, his wife, conveyed to Robert Emes of Malden, "Morroco Leather dresser," three acres here including land on both sides of the river, and in the spring of 1811, Benjamin Mansfield conveyed to Robert and Joseph Emes, the latter a morroco leather dresser as well, an additional acre and a half adjoining the first two pieces at the northeast corner. This land was bounded at the north with the land of Benjamin Mansfield that we have described as the site of the Amos Mansfield House, and on the south by land on which Thomas Mansfield's house was to be located.

31. Ibid., 232:103.
32. Ibid., 194:131-32.
Some months later, on February 4, 1812, when Robert Emes conveyed all interest to Joseph Emes, there was now a "Morocco factory" (Str. #42) and "other buildings" standing on the first two of the three parcels.\textsuperscript{33} By 1828 the property is described as containing, in addition to the Morocco factory and "other buildings," a dwelling house and two barns.\textsuperscript{34} Nearly a decade later, in 1838, the deeds refer to the Brick Factory, Dye House, dwelling house, and barn here. Following purchase of the premises by Francis Scott of Salem, woolen manufacturer, the complex became known in 1847 as "Scotts Factory," and is so described in 1862 when Francis Scott's widow conveyed the property to Andrew A. Scott of Saugus, also called "Woollen Manufacturer."\textsuperscript{35} The A. A. Scott Woolen Mf'y is clearly identified in the 1884 Atlas (Fig. 2), though we are not informed of the fate of the Morocco Factory.

Finally, we come to the T-shaped house with two outbuildings, which is separated in the 1884 Atlas from the Scott Factory behind and above it, and which bears no name but can be clearly identified with the property willed by Thomas Mansfield, the cordwainer, in 1821 and described then as his home place (Str. #43). The land immediately to the south, it will be noted, site of the 17th-century ironworks, remained open until its excavation following the Second World War. There is a reference in the deed of 1810 from Thomas Mansfield to Robert Emes of "Mansfields Garden" here and in the deed of 1811 to Emes of the "Corn Barn" (Str. #44), but the records do not otherwise reveal when Thomas Mansfield, the cordwainer, erected his house here.

He was still living in the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House in 1793, as will later appear, but had surely constructed the house in question before his death on July 17, 1821, at which time he provides for his widow, Hannah, in a will executed on March 3 of that same year, the "use and improvement of the southerly half of my dwelling house from cellar to the garret and the bedroom chamber. . . ." His son, Thomas, received the residue of the property and reversion of the widow's thirds.\textsuperscript{36} An inventory taken on August 30, 1821, described "About one acre" here with the "dwelling house, corn barn and all other buildings thereon. . . ."\textsuperscript{37} The son, Thomas Mansfield, conveyed this property, described as part of "a certain Farm in Saugus where I now dwell"—one acre with dwelling house, barn, and outbuildings—\textsuperscript{38} to Joseph Emes in 1832, and ultimately it became the property of Andrew A. Scott on April 1, 1860,\textsuperscript{39} which undoubtedly explains why no other name is attached to it in the Atlas of 1884 where it is separated from but contiguous to other Scott property (Fig. 2).

\textsuperscript{33} Ibid., p. 160.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid., 251:65.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., 387:132, 645:140.
\textsuperscript{36} Essex County Probate Records, 398:181.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., p. 220.
\textsuperscript{38} Essex County Deeds, 268:48.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 604:52.
As for the house that now occupies this site, diagonally opposite the Apple-
ton/Taylor/Mansfield House, the form, exterior trim, and granite foundations would suggest a date in the second quarter of the 19th century, after the death of Thomas Mansfield, cordwainer, in 1821. A careful examination of this house should be made to determine whether it might indeed be earlier, with an overlay of later trim, but it could scarcely, because of the form and character of the chimneys, be much earlier than 1820.
CHAPTER 6: LATER HISTORY OF THE APPLETON/TAYLOR/MANSFIELD HOUSE

Returning now to the house built by Samuel Appleton, Jr., ca. 1680 (Str. #23), we have noted that the location is fixed precisely for the first time in the Division of 1724 (Fig. 1). One must account only for the somewhat puzzling but clearly stated language of the document, which awards "the Northerly half part of the Dweling hous" to Abigail and "the Southerly half part" to her sister Anna. The house faces south, and almost invariably in the early probate divisions, dividing lines run in such a way as to part a house through the middle, i.e., the entry and chimney. We have already suggested that there was a lean-to across the rear of the house at this time. One can only suggest that here is an exception to the general rule, and one daughter was to get the well-appointed main body of the house to the south while her sister was to be content with the service appendages.

The subsequent history of both the home and its surrounding land is one of further subdivision and attrition. We shall be concerned, also, with a long period of divided ownership for the house itself. For a short time at least, the lot laid out to Abigail Taylor on which the house stood, and the lot immediately to the south that was laid out to her sister Anna, remained in the Taylor family. Changes in ownership as these properties passed back and forth among the sisters and their husbands are clear, but it is not certain who occupied the house during this period. In 1736, in fact, it is referred to somewhat disparagingly as "the Old Farmhouse."¹

Looking more closely at the pertinent transactions, however, we find that on July 5, 1734, ten years after the initial Taylor subdivision, Anna and her husband William Roby, a mariner of Boston, sold to Abigail's husband, Edward Pell, a painter-stainer of Boston, "ye front part of ye Dwellinghouse being ye Southerly halfe part of ye 3d house with ye half of ye Welle and half part of ye brick house in ye yard" together with a few rods of land, being a portion of the garden in front of the house.² Thus for a brief moment the Pells were in full possession of the house and the seventeen-acre lot upon which it stood.

Within just a few years, however, in 1742, Abigail Pell, now a widow and still living in Boston, conveyed to her brother-in-law, William Roby, also still resident in Boston, her seventeen acres and thirty-four poles, as set off in the 1724 Division, retaining, however, "One half of the House on said Land and half the Brick Kitchen,"³ and her husband's executors conveyed to their son-in-law, William Pratt of Lynn, on October 7, 1749, the other "full Moiety" or one half of

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2. Ibid., 66:212.
3. Ibid., 85:23. The instrument is undated, and bears a later deposition by the witnesses that it was executed "on or about ye year 1742. . . ."

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the dwellinghouse and the few rods of garden before it, together with "one half part of a Brick Kitchen and Barn," this being Edward Pell's interest acquired by the deed of July 5, 1734.

There is no conveyance on file from Pratt to the Robys, but they were clearly (as other deeds confirm) soon in full possession of both the adjoining seventeen-acre tracts (laid out to Abigail and Anna) and the dwellinghouse. Some years earlier, on January 13, 1730, William and Anna (Taylor) Roby had agreed in terms of a marriage settlement that her entire share of the Ironworks Farm received in the division of James Taylor's estate in 1724 would belong to "the longest Liver or Survivour of them and to ye heirs and Assigns of Such Longest Liver or Survivour..." They were still described as of Boston in 1743, but had apparently taken up residence in the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House soon after and are described as of Lynn in land conveyances dated in 1746 and thereafter.

Later, on April 10, 1750, the Robys conveyed to Thomas Mansfield of Lynn, clothier, who in 1751 would acquire the first lot set off to Rebecca Kelsey's heirs in the First Division of the Taylor Homestead lying above Abigail's seventeen acres (Fig. 1), the half of the Long Barn that had been allotted to Abigail, together with land on the north side to the divisional line between Abigail and her sister Kelsey's lot and extending to the road, containing 101 poles of land. It is from this single transaction that one is led to suspect that the Long Barn (Str. #28) was located well to the north of the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House and perhaps to the west as well as we have arbitrarily indicated (Fig. 1). The result of the Robys' conveyance was the taking away of a narrow slice of Abigail's original lot along a part of its north line. Otherwise there was no further change in the physical dimensions of the combined lots.

The legal complications of their ownership on the other hand reached almost ludicrous proportions in the years immediately following. Anna (Taylor) Roby had died about this time, and her husband had remarried to Sarah, the daughter of Thomas Cheever, gentleman, of Lynn, and continued to live in the house. As a marriage portion, Roby settled on his new wife in 1752 "the one Equal & Just half part of my Dwelling House & Barn & of all my Goods & Household Furniture together with One Equal half part of all my Estate both Real & Personal" in Lynn. At his death a few years later in 1756, the title was by now curiously encumbered. According to the marriage settlement of 1730 with Anna Taylor (who, by the way, was Roby's second rather than first wife), the longest liver of them and their heire took Anna's share of the James Taylor estate. This engagement was duly fulfilled, and the seventeen acres originally allotted to Anna immediately to the south of the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House devolved upon William and Anna's only daughter and heir, Elizabeth, wife of Thomas Bartlet of Marblehead. Abigail Pell,

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5. Ibid., 97:221 (two deeds).
it will be recalled, had sold her seventeen acres adjoining directly to William Roby, so that this half of the homestead was his outright—or was until he settled half of it upon his third wife.

All of this is essential to an understanding of the inventory of the estate of William Roby taken on May 29, 1756, which refers, in addition to the "Dwelling house and Barn," appraised at £43 6s. 8d., to only nine and one half acres of orchard, being no more than his remaining one half of the seventeen-acre tract originally laid out to Abigail Taylor in 1724. The inventory, incidentally, reveals that Captain Roby (as he is consistently called, though having long since apparently retired from the sea), like James Taylor before him, had his best bed in the "West Cham," and there is reference as well to "things in the porch" and a "milk room." (See Appendix B.)

It is of interest also to note that the older Long Barn (Str. #28) having been conveyed to Thomas Mansfield by the Robys, there is reference now to a barn in William Roby's inventory that relates to another structure altogether. This we have designated as the William Roby Barn (Str. #45). It is described in the next division of the property as having been "Built by the said Roby," and was located, as we shall see, directly on the road a short distance in front of the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House.

Sarah (Cheever) Roby, Captain William's widow, was now in full possession of the lot laid out originally to Abigail Taylor (or most of it) as a result of her one-half interest growing out of the marriage settlement, and having inherited the other half interest from the captain, while Anna's daughter was in possession of the lot originally laid out to Anna. This inheritance Thomas and Elizabeth Bartlet conveyed on September 3, 1756, to Daniel Mansfield of Lynn, and the stage was now set for a division of the property among its new owners, Sarah (Cheever) Roby and Daniel Mansfield. However clear the two strands of the title as revealed from the written record, the fact remains that because the Robys united the two seventeen-acre tracts and created the semblance of a single homestead here, we are not surprised that the concerned parties in the preamble to their division declared that being "Seized in Equal Halves in Common & Undivided of and in the Dwelling House Homestead & other Lands" lately enjoyed by the Honorable James Taylor and "Known by the Name of Taylers Farm" they do wish to make "a Partition & Perpetual Division. . . ." No other reason is given for what amounted in the end to a realignment of the space within the boundaries established for Abigail and Anna in 1724.

The resulting division of the combined seventeen-acre lots is clearly defined in the document, and is represented graphically in Fig. 3. The two lots were bisected roughly in the middle, Sarah taking the combined western halves. The two eastern halves retained their approximately twenty-five-pole original width. In

10. Ibid., p. 181.
this Division of 1757 they are described as follows: "the Lott on ye South Side of the Orchard Eight acres & Sixty Five Poles . . . [and] the East half Part or end of the said Dwelling House through the Middle of ye Porch Entry Chimney & Lentoe with ye Land said half Covers together with the Land ye whole Breadth of said East end of Said House from thence to the Road & the Half or Westerly Part or end of the Barn & the Land it Covers which Barn Stands on the above said Lott on the South Side of said Orchard . . ." This tract was set off to Daniel Mansfield. To Sarah (Cheever) Roby was set off "the Westerly Half Part or end of the said dwelling House . . . with the Land said half Covers also the Easterly half Part or End of the Barn . . . & the Land said East Half covers with the East half part of ye Cow Yard as it is now fenced Also a Lott being the Northerly Side of the Orchard Laid to Abigail Tyler," twenty-six poles at either end and containing nine acres and forty-two poles.11

At about the same time, on April 27, 1757, Sarah (Cheever) Roby conveyed to Daniel Mansfield her dower right in her husband's property, which is defined as a three-acre strip to the south of and adjoining the tract just described.12 Having thus been given a semblance of physical reality, the recurrent mention of Sarah Roby's "Thirds," which we will encounter from time to time, seems in actuality to have been more in the nature of a lien upon the property. Within six months, moreover, Mrs. Roby had remarried and gone to live in Andover. Thus she gave up her residence here, and as the house remained divided in ownership for over a century, with a changing (and not always clear) pattern of occupancy, the history of the two halves is best taken up individually in sequence. Since much of this history will involve a complicated picture of Mansfield family relationships, a genealogical chart is included for purposes of clarification (see Appendix D).

A. Daniel Mansfield's Division (eastern half of the house)

Daniel Mansfield's own dwelling house and homestead were located elsewhere in Lynn, and his acquisition through the Division of 1757 of the eight acres and sixty-five poles of orchard together with the east half of the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House was apparently in the nature of an investment. If he had any other purpose in mind it was not destined to come to fruition, for within a matter of months, as we are informed by the vital records of Lynn, he "Fell off his Horse" on January 9, 1758, and died at the age of sixty-eight years. His will had been executed in 1753 before he acquired the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House and land, and in June of 1758 his daughters and their husbands declared by deed "that it was the Intention of our said Deceased Father Daniel Mansfield to have Given to our Brother Thomas Mansfield of said Lynn Clothier his whole & Intire Right and Interest" in the house and land that he and Sarah Roby had divided, "if by a Suddain Death he had not been prevented," and they therefore released to him all their rights therein.13 In the long and circumstantial inventory of Daniel

11. Ibid., p. 263.
12. Ibid., p. 262.
13. Ibid., 105:126.
Mansfield's estate, taken in February 1758, this property is described as "the Eastward half of the house that was Capt Robes [£]13.6.8 the westerly half of the Barn that was Capt Robes [£]13.6.8 [and] About Six Acres of Land adjoining to said barn [£]60.0.0 and about three acres adjoining in Reversion [£]10.13.4," the latter being the Widow Roby's thirds to which we have referred.\(^{14}\)

Thomas Mansfield, like his father, lived less than a year following the acquisition of the property. And like his father, he also "fell off[f] His Horse," according to the Lynn vital records, and "died immediately" on September 11, 1758. He was then aged forty-one years and had not written a will. The inventory of his estate taken October 27, 1758, lists "The East End of ye dwelling house & the West end of ye barn yt was Capt Roby's" and "Abt 5 Acres & 3/4 of land in ye Orchard bot of Bartlet" appraised at £46, and again, "Abt 3 Acres part of the Widows thirds in reversion" at £12.\(^{15}\)

Two years later, on February 9, 1760, Thomas Mansfield's widow, Ann, by then remarried to Abijah Cheever of Lynn, in her capacity as administratrix of Thomas Mansfield's estate, conveyed to Ephraim Stocker of Lynn, cordwainer, for £99 6s. 8d. lawful money for payment of the deceased's debts "the Eastern half of all that dwelling house on the homestall of the farm in Lynn . . . call'd Taylors farm & the land under the same half the divisional line between the same half and the western end or half runing thro' the Middle of the porch entry chimney and lento[ie] of said house with the Land there between the said eastern half and the road there being of the whole breadth of the same half the western half of the barn there belonging to said house and standing on the Lott on the Southern side of the Orchard there and the free use of the well belonging to said house . . . also a piece of Land there containing eight acres & sixty poles more or Less. . . ."\(^{16}\) Thus we learn that Daniel Mansfield's original allotment in the Division of 1757 was still undiminished, and that the projecting porch was still in existence by 1760. This is, however, the last reference to it in the deeds, and as we shall see, it was clearly gone by 1793 when there is reference to the "entre way" only, without the porch.\(^{17}\)

At Ephraim Stocker's death, the inventory of his estate taken on January 1, 1774, lists "1/2 a House and 1/2 a Barn with about six Acres of Land adjoining thereto" appraised at £100.\(^{18}\) We have no indication as to whether Stocker had been living in his half of the house, and there is no reference to the three acres in reversion.

Moreover, it has not been possible to find in the registries any record of how Stocker's heirs disposed of the property, but it was clearly in the possession

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of Thomas Mansfield's son, Samuel, a housewright, by September 21, 1789, as we learn from a deed for adjoining land,19 and he was living here by 1793. This fact emerges from a deed executed on June 5 of that year by Samuel Mansfield himself, in this case called "Jiner" (joiner), conveying to his nephew Thomas Mansfield, cordwainer, for £18 16s. 0d. lawful money, two acres that from the description would appear to have been a strip just in front of the house and below the barn extending from the road to the western boundary of Samuel's lot. This strip is described as bounded on the south by Samuel's land.

Included in this conveyance was "the entre way in the frunt and Staer-way to the Chamber where the said Samuel & Thomas Mansfield of the House where they now lives [sic]," five feet of Samuel's barn with the land under it, and "also the land under the said Thomas Mansfield shoemakers Shop," which apparently stood near the house.20 This shop belonging to Thomas Mansfield, cordwainer, is here mentioned for the first time and has been designated as Shoemaker's Shop (Str. #46). It had disappeared by April 24, 1811, when Thomas Mansfield conveyed to his own cousin, Joseph Mansfield, cordwainer, a "piece of land where the Shop of s[d] Thomas formerly stood," with specific reference to the 1793 deed.21

Samuel Mansfield died on March 1, 1809, aged fifty-nine years, having executed a will on August 22, 1805, in which his wife Rachel was given "the use and improvement of all my dwelling house" for the balance of her life.22 This will was disallowed, the witnesses testifying that Samuel Mansfield had not been of sound mind at the time, and an administrator was appointed who brought in an inventory on June 13, 1809, listing "one half of a dwelling house & about thirty poles of land under & about y[he] same" valued at $580.00, "about five & an half acres of tillage land, called the home field & half a barn thereon" valued at $550.00, and personal estate as well (see Appendix C). There is mention also of "the reversion in one acre of tillage land, adjoining the above," and while this description seems somewhat imprecise when compared with the 1793 deed that we have cited, it is clear nevertheless that at Samuel's death the eight plus acres of the 1757 Division were still intact, minus only the two-acre strip sold to Thomas Mansfield, the cordwainer. We should note also that the inventory includes "one work shop" appraised at $20.00 and "carpenters tools" at $4.75.23 This "work shop" stood near the house, as we learn from later papers in the settlement of the estate, and we have designated it the Work Shop (Str. #47), together with a corn barn also near the house, designated Corn Barn No. 2 (Str. #48). While the value of the workshop is slight, the possibility remains that the workshop and corn barn may have been combined under one roof (see photographs of 1915 showing structure directly behind the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House).

20. Ibid., 157:117.
21. Ibid., 206:19.
23. Ibid., p. 215.
Samuel Mansfield's widow, Rachel, died on May 21, 1809, at the age of fifty-five years, and in the division of his homestead into two parts, which took place on August 18, 1809, "The easterly half of a dwelling house, a work shop, corn barn, and about thirty poles of land under and adjoining" are now carefully bounded and measured out for the first time, though it is not explained how Samuel acquired the forty-eight feet of yard to the north of the house. This division can be reconstructed in Fig. 4. The second portion of the division included the six and one half acres of tillage and one half of what is now described as the "old barn" (Str. #45). The first portion, including the buildings with their thirty poles of land, was set off to Samuel's son, Joseph Mansfield. The second portion, consisting of the six and one half acres of tillage and half the "old barn," was set off to Samuel's daughter Lucy, who had married one David Capen.

On May 2, 1821, Joseph Mansfield, cordwainer, of Lynn, for $285 conveyed to his brother-in-law, David Capen, the thirty poles of land with "the [half] house and all other buildings thereon," bounded south by the "lane running [from the road] to Mr. Thomas Mansfields old house," seventy-five and a half feet on a straight line and ninety-two feet on the Country Road, bounded north and west by Thomas Mansfield the cordwainer (Fig. 5). David Capen in turn conveyed the identical premises to Joseph Emes of Saugus for $550 on October 20, 1847, and Emes conveyed the same to Benjamin Hitchings of Saugus on May 3, 1862, for $475. The depreciation in value between 1847 and 1862 surely reflects the aging process at work on the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House, now nearly 200 years old, though six years later on July 1, 1868, when Andrew A. Scott of Saugus acquired the same thirty-pole piece of land, roughly seventy-five by ninety-two feet in extent with the eastern half of the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House upon it, from Hitchings's heirs, they managed to secure $1,000 for it, probably because Scott was assembling land here for his extensive industrial activities and the grantors were thus in a favorable position to get a good price. In any event, it is Scott who reunited the long-separated halves of the old house under a single ownership, and proceeded to use the building, apparently, as a tenement for his mill workers. There is nothing to indicate that it had been owner occupied since it left Mansfield family hands (if indeed then) until its purchase and restoration by Wallace Nutting in the 20th century.

Before turning to examine the history of the western half of the house, we should look briefly (and in part) at the subsequent history of the six and one half acres of tillage land to the south of the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House,
which was part of the estate set off to Daniel Mansfield in the Division of 1757. Upon this land was built the early-19th-century two-and-one-half-story dwelling that survives immediately to the south of the older house, though damaged by fire in recent years.

It will be recalled that by the close of the 18th century Thomas Mansfield the cordwainer not only owned the land immediately to the north of the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House, purchased, as we shall see, from the Riddan estate, but two acres to the south of the house as well, purchased from his uncle, Samuel, in 1793, and identified also with the not easily explained Widow Sarah (Roby) Fry's "Thirds." Here, more or less upon the site of the William Roby Barn (Str. #45), which was clearly no longer in existence by the time of which we write, Thomas Mansfield the cordwainer built the house that we have designated Structure #49 and that he describes as "my new house" in his will drawn on March 3, 1921. It is clear that he was no longer living in the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House. He provides for his widow the "use and improvement of the southerly half of my dwelling house" (Str. #43), and leaves this house to his son Thomas. His daughters Mary and Sarah Mansfield, however, were to receive the "new house," just south of the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House, together with "my old house, the little barn, all the buildings about the old house, and the garden back of the new house . . . and the yard front of the old house to the road . . . ."30

Sarah Mansfield married as her second husband one Timothy Davis, and Mary married her first cousin once removed, Amos Mansfield, son of Benjamin. While the two daughters of Thomas Mansfield the cordwainer thus inherited the property jointly, we are informed a few years later on October 29, 1825, that the "new house" was then occupied by Amos and Mary. On this date Timothy and Sarah Davis conveyed to Amos Mansfield about one third of an acre with the dwelling called "the new House" on the Country Road leading from Saugus to Lynnfield, "together with the Garden back of the house . . . ."31 The property is identified as Abbie Mansfield's in the 1905 Atlas (Fig. 6), and the title remained in the Mansfield family until October 7, 1949, when Roland E. Mansfield and his wife conveyed to the First Ironworks Association the land and buildings "on Central Street adjoining the Old Iron Works property," measuring 54.65 feet on Central Street, 303.8 feet on the south, 65 feet on the west, and 301.45 feet on the north, being ironworks land already in the possession of the association.32

B. Sarah Roby's Division (western half of the house)

Returning now to the Division of 1757 and picking up the history of the western half of the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House and its land, we learn that having remarried to one James Fry, Esq., of Andover very shortly after the division of the house with Daniel Mansfield, Sarah (Roby) Fry, on October 11, 1757, conveyed to Moses Hawkes, Jr., yeoman, of Lynn "One half of a Dweling House and

half a Barn" together with the land "whereon ye house Stands," being nine acres and 142 poles in extent. The deed specifies further that it is the west half of the house and east end of the barn and east half of the barnyard that are to be conveyed, and it included as well the fifteen-acre Birch Plain to the west of the property (Fig. 3)--all described as "Part of Lands Called Talers farm latiy in PosesQ of Cap'l Wm Roby. . . ." Moses Hawkes, in turn, conveyed the same nine acres and 142 poles together with the west half of the house and east half of the barn and barnyard for £146 13s. 8d. to Thomas Riddan, tanner, of Lynn on December 2, 1762.34

Following Riddan's death, his heirs, on September 21, 1789, conveyed the property for £107 to Thomas Mansfield, Jr., cordwainer, of Lynn described as "the real estate of Thomas Raddin late of said Lynn yeoman . . . abought eight acres of upland and fresh meadow lying in Lynn" together with "the west end of a dwelling house standing thereon Also the east end of a barn near the said house with the land under the same & a few poles of Land adjoining. . . ." It is this deed, in fact, that, by describing this portion of the barnyard as bounded on the east by the road, and on the north, west, and south by land of Samuel Mansfield (Fig. 3), locates for the first time quite precisely the barn that Captain Roby had built (Str. #45). Further, the deed conveyed to Thomas Mansfield the cordwainer the three-acre dower interest of Sarah (Roby) Fry to the south of the house,35 a perplexing encumbrance from its very inception as we have suggested, and not rendered any clearer when in 1793 Samuel Mansfield apparently sold two of these three acres to Thomas Mansfield, as we saw earlier.

We do not know whether Hawkes or Riddan occupied the house, but following Thomas Mansfield the cordwainer's acquisition of half of the house in 1789, as noted earlier, we are informed in the deeds that by 1793 the uncle, Samuel, and nephew, Thomas, as joint owners, were both in residence here. By this period, also, Thomas Mansfield the cordwainer owned all the land around the house except for the side yard stretching from the house to the road. It was probably during this period of owner occupancy by closely related Mansfields that the two-story lean-to was built at the rear of the house (portions of which survive). Physical investigation has revealed that in terms of structure and trim this addition at the rear is of largely late-18th-/early-19th-century vintage, and clearly replaces the earlier lean-to mentioned in the records. A portion of this later lean-to was removed by Wallace Nutting in the course of restoration in 1915.

At Thomas Mansfield the cordwainer's death on July 17, 1821, at the age of sixty years, his will drawn on March 3 of that year, as we have seen, bequeathed to his daughters Mary and Sarah, Mrs. Amos Mansfield and Mrs. Sarah Davis, respectively, "my new house, my old house, the little barn, all the buildings about the old house, and the garden back of the new house . . . and the yard front of

33. Ibid., 105:24.

34. Ibid., 110:257.

35. Ibid., 150:187.
the old house to the road. . . .\textsuperscript{36} The "little barn" (Str. #50) is mentioned here for the first time.

By now, though much of the surrounding land was still in the hands of an interrelated network of Mansfield cousins, owing to successive probate subdivisions, the old Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House retained less than an acre of ground. On October 29, 1825, Mary Mansfield's husband, Amos, conveyed to Timothy Davis, her brother-in-law, the west half of "the old house formerly belonging to the late Thomas Mansfield of Saugus," together with the shed, "little barn," and the yard "in front of the house to the road," as well as about a half acre of land behind the house bounded entirely by Mansfield land.\textsuperscript{37} We learn from this instrument that the westerly half of the old house was then occupied by one Thomas Floyd, and it is important to note that this deed from Amos to Timothy for the west half of the old house was executed on the same day that Timothy conveyed to Amos the "new house" (Str. #49).\textsuperscript{38} Thus the two sisters with their husbands exchanged their undivided half interests for the whole title to each of the two separate parcels of housing bequeathed to them by their father. The "sheds" (Str. #51) is mentioned as such for the first time.

Timothy and Sarah (Mansfield) Davis's daughter, Sarah Elizabeth Davis, inherited the west half of the old house, and she and her husband, John B. Walton, conveyed it on February 23, 1889, to Andrew W. Scott, who, as we have seen, had acquired the eastern half in 1868.\textsuperscript{39} The shed (Str. #51) and yard in front of the house to the road and the one-half acre behind the house are included in the conveyance, but there is no reference to the little barn (Str. #50), which may well have disappeared by this time (but see below).

The two halves of the house were at last reunited under a single ownership and we are now at a period when the buildings in question appear on detailed property atlases. Thus we discover from the Atlas of 1884 that there is a small outbuilding directly behind the east end of the house (Fig. 2) that photographs suggest might have been the workshop (Str. #47) and perhaps Corn Barn No. 2 (Str. #48) combined. This building disappeared at the time of the restoration. No other buildings are shown on the lot. The 1905 Atlas, however, shows not only the structure behind the house but an extension of the lean-to at the west, and a small rectangular outbuilding, about the right size for a "little barn," to the northwest of the house (Fig. 6). It is conceivable that the 1905 Atlas, more detailed in many respects, is the more accurate, and that the "Little Barn" (Str. #50) did indeed survive into the 20th century. To compound the question, the 1905 Atlas shows nothing directly in front of the old house, while photographs of 1915,

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{36} Essex County Probate Records, 398:181.
\textsuperscript{37} Essex County Deeds, 499:6.
\textsuperscript{38} There is no record of probate for Timothy Davis.
\textsuperscript{39} Essex County Deeds, 1244:17.
\end{flushleft}
taken before restoration, show both an early-looking shed and a small building with the character of a woodshed and/or chaise house in this location. The shed is undoubtedly Structure #51. Neither of these buildings shown in the 1915 photograph survived very long after the restoration.

Although the two halves of the old house were reunited in ownership, they are still described as separate entities in the next recorded deed for the property when Walter Scott, as heir and/or assignee, mortgages much of the Scott holdings in Saugus to the Danvers Savings Bank on August 5, 1909. The two halves of the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House are listed as parcels 8 and 16 in this instrument.\(^{40}\) The bank ultimately conveyed these identical premises to George and George R. Niven on February 23, 1915,\(^{41}\) and the Nivens a week or two later on March 2 conveyed both the land and buildings to Wallace Nutting of Framingham, Massachusetts, the property described as that "known as the Old Iron Works House." The plot of land on which the house stood, as revealed by a plan filed with the deed (Fig. 7), measured roughly 300 by 115 feet.\(^{42}\) One branch of the Mansfield clan, at least, still bordered the property on the south.

The history of Wallace Nutting's restoration of the Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield House is well known, and the next to the final chapter in the history of this 17th-century property is that of its conveyance by Wallace Nutting, Inc., on April 23, 1920, to Charles L. Cooney of Boston and his wife Alice A. The nature of this transaction is assumed to be entirely financial.\(^{43}\) On June 13, 1925, Charles L. Cooney's widow conveyed one half and his estate conveyed the other half of the identical premises to Philip Rosenberg of Boston,\(^{44}\) and Rosenberg in turn conveyed the property to the First Ironworks Association on December 30, 1944, the trustees of the Henry Ford Trade School Alumni Association (who had contemplated moving the structure to Greenfield Village) first having released an acquired interest therein on September 21 of the same year.\(^{45}\)


\(^{45}\) *Ibid.*, 3394:535, 3382:583. (See also 3719:475.)
## SUMMARY SHEET

**Structures Erected on the Ironworks Farm**  
**From Before 1639 to the Early 19th Century**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Designation</th>
<th>Name:</th>
<th>Period of Construction:</th>
<th>First Mention:</th>
<th>Last Mention:</th>
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<td>ca. 1650</td>
<td>ca. 1650</td>
<td>ca. 1650</td>
<td>?</td>
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<td>Richard Greene House</td>
<td>ca. 1650</td>
<td>ca. 1650</td>
<td>ca. 1650</td>
<td>?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Str. #23)</td>
<td>Appleton/Taylor/Mansfield</td>
<td>1676-1683</td>
<td>1683</td>
<td>Extant</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>House</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Str. #24)</td>
<td>Habberfield Fulling Mill</td>
<td>1684-1686</td>
<td>1687</td>
<td>1709</td>
<td>1753</td>
</tr>
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<td>1684-1686</td>
<td>1687</td>
<td>1709</td>
<td>1753</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Str. #26)</td>
<td>Corn Mill</td>
<td>bef. 1716</td>
<td>1716</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>1834?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Str. #27)</td>
<td>Brick Kitchen</td>
<td>1688-1724</td>
<td>1724</td>
<td>1749</td>
<td>1756</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Long Barn</td>
<td>bef. 1724</td>
<td>1724</td>
<td>1750</td>
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<td>Lowermost Barn</td>
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<td>1724</td>
<td></td>
<td>not traced</td>
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<td>Sheep Barn</td>
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<td>1724</td>
<td></td>
<td>not traced</td>
</tr>
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<td>Northernmost Barn</td>
<td>bef. 1724</td>
<td>1724</td>
<td>1729</td>
<td>1751?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Str. #32)</td>
<td>Thrashing Barn</td>
<td>bef. 1724</td>
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<td>Corn Barn No. 1</td>
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<td>1724</td>
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<td>Stable</td>
<td>bef. 1724</td>
<td>1724</td>
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<td>Designation:</td>
<td>Name:</td>
<td>Period of Construction:</td>
<td>First Mention:</td>
<td>Last Mention:</td>
<td>Gone By:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
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<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Str. #35)</td>
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<td>1724</td>
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<td>1742-1753</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1742-1753</td>
<td>1753</td>
<td>1777</td>
<td>1784</td>
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<td>(Str. #38)</td>
<td>Mansfield Clothier Shop</td>
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<td>1777</td>
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<td>(Str. #39)</td>
<td>Mansfield Dye House</td>
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<td>1758</td>
<td>1777</td>
<td>1784</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Str. #40)</td>
<td>Saw Mill</td>
<td>1783-1786</td>
<td>1786</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>1826?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Str. #41)</td>
<td>Chocolate Mill</td>
<td>1794-1815</td>
<td>1815</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>1834?</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Str. #42)</td>
<td>Morocco Leather Factory</td>
<td>1811-1812</td>
<td>1812</td>
<td>1828</td>
<td>1838?</td>
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<td>(Str. #43)</td>
<td>Thomas Mansfield III House</td>
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<td>1821</td>
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<td>not traced</td>
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<tr>
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<td>bef. 1811</td>
<td>1811</td>
<td>1821</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Str. #45)</td>
<td>William Roby Barn</td>
<td>ca. 1745-1756</td>
<td>1756</td>
<td>1809</td>
<td>1821</td>
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<td>(Str. #46)</td>
<td>Shoemaker's Shop</td>
<td>bef. 1793</td>
<td>1793</td>
<td>1811</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Str. #47)</td>
<td>Work Shop</td>
<td>bef. 1809</td>
<td>1809</td>
<td>1915?</td>
<td>1916?</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Str. #48)</td>
<td>Corn Barn No. 2</td>
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<td>1809</td>
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<td>?</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Str. #49)</td>
<td>New House</td>
<td>ca. 1820</td>
<td>1821</td>
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<td>Extant</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Str. #50)</td>
<td>Little Barn</td>
<td>bef. 1821</td>
<td>1821</td>
<td>1825?</td>
<td>1889?</td>
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<tr>
<td>(Str. #51)</td>
<td>Shed</td>
<td>bef. 1825</td>
<td>1825</td>
<td>1889</td>
<td>1916</td>
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</table>
APPENDICES
An Inventory of the Estate of Mr. James Taylor, late of Lynn, Dec'd
as was given in by the Executors and appraised by us the Thirtieth day of August 1716, at 67,000 pounds.

Wearing Apparel:
Various sorts of gowns, 1/24 of a yard. 114. 10.

Building Furniture:
5000 board feet of timber. 10. 10.

Linen belonging to said farm.

Cord and Wood stat. 115. 10.

Cordage, 115. 10.

Bulky, 115. 10.

Other sundries, 115. 10.

Said Estate is valued at 67,000 pounds.

Note: The inventory was appraised on the thirty-first day of August 1716.

Total Inventory.

The inventory includes various items such as clothing, furniture, and other sundries, valued at 67,000 pounds.

Note: The inventory was appraised on the thirty-first day of August 1716.
Bed and furniture belonging to the bed in q' Eastward Chamber
Bed and furniture belonging to the bed in q' Eastward Chamber
Bed and furniture belonging to the bed in q' Eastward Chamber
Bed and furniture belonging to the bed in q' Eastward Chamber

21. Old Settee Chairs 36/- Cook's bottom Chair 1/7. besides 1 1/4

Smoke bed and basket in the garret

2. Each bed 1 feather bed in the kitchen Chamber

4 1/2 Curtain rings 1/2 candles 1 candlestick

4 1/2 Sheets most of these very worn

1 1/2 pillows 1/4 each 1 pair of 1/8 quarter cloth

2. 20 4/4 1/2 Toad paper 1/4 picture 1/4 cloth

Quire deep even with titles paper 1/4 quarter

Ironing boxes 1/8 Surge and Finishing 25 8 7 7 1/8

6 1/2 yards of 1/8 quarter calicoes of various stuffs

2 1/2 Yards and Shillings 2 1/2 Shillings and 2 1/2 Shillings

2 1/2 Pond 1/2 1/2 inch 67 Small money 1/2 1/2 weight

2 1/2 bed hanging 1/2 shilling 1/2 rooster quarter pot 2 postage paper 3/4 paper

2 1/2 warming pans 1 pt. marmalade pan 1 frying pan

Mony Small and weight 256 Cents

Dishes no Math and Shell Coins 1/4

3/4 yard Old Sleep

Philippines Burrill

Benjamin Pofor

29th 1796

Sewn by...
2 shilling & 4 d (Excl. 3 1/4 d taxed by 2 1/2p & 3 1/2d.) 7 3 8.

2 things in the porch a small grindstone & 1 3/4 lb.

5 barrel 4/16 barrel 6 1/2d. each 20 12 4.

half barrel beer & lantern 32 1/2 a 3/4, milk vessel 2 13 4.

a Large plate in kitchen 12 1/2, half glass bottle 1 4.

Bank horn 7 a short & several thing therein 6 7.

2 bed sheets & 1 bundle, string 9 1/4, 1 by 3d. & 1/2 19 4.

3 ale %gins pans 2 1/4, hogs hair 22 3/4, tea kettle 12 1 6 7.

an iron kettle 2 2 1/2, 1/2 lb. 1/2, and show & longer 1 4.

3Tun 10% 2 1/2 drams of 3 1/2 lb. 2 1/2 1 6 3.

One jack 1 1/2 iron pot & half kettle 3/4, copper kettle 19 4 3 1/2.

Quarter 60 8 1/4 linen fork 9 5 1/2 spoons & knives 1 16 3.

Tea pot 1 barrel 12 1/4, saddle 3 1/2 1 6 8.

3 pails, lead & earthen pot 1 1/2, chain 1 1/2, 4 1/2.

4 chains 2 1/2 on the chain salt & tarting 20 1 2 8.

3 box not divided 2 1/2, 2 port cravels 2 1/2, 2 1/2 how 1/4 1 4 5.

Hand saw 2 1/2 100 feet 1/2, basket & shovin 1/2 7 7.

half a stone 1 1/6, 1 1/2, small glass 1 1/2, depth wa 1 15.

1 1/2 1 1/2 iron hammer 3, box with old iron 1/4 7 8.

1 1/2 all metal kettle & copper pot & sauce pan 13 4.

Drying pan sauce pan (newer) 3, box iron & hook 1/4 4 4 12.

Charcoal Toaster such taylor's sheet 3, box 1/2 1/4.

Things in the old chest 1/2.

A Negro girl named Violet £ 13 6 8.

Carried Over.

Five Core 10 1/2 one two year old heifer 11 1/4 10 11 8

Right sheep & Lamb 4 1/2, of Grey minor 6 6 15 12 4.

May 29 1756 William Collin. £ 325 16 6.


John Leete. 1/4.


APPENDIX B

ESSEX COUNTY PROBATE RECORDS, Vol. 333, P. 545

407
A fit spin trunk. At time said 1s. 3d. for all boxes of 7.
Bread loaf & weights by. bread & cakes making.
Jewel bullet & other wood (3d.) on board.
A wooden wheel Linen wheel Clock reel.
One feather bed bedding certain to all furniture. 3s. 6d.
A looking glass 13s. 4d. In a box & table of all table. 40s. 6d. 14.
High table stick 6s. 3d. Cunning Bullion 2s. 2d.
Five fumaroles 2s. gold 2s. 4½ silver watch.
Two chair one in a frame (3s.) on board.
Ab 20 fractions 20½ one East of army 1½.
A book 1½. 6 plate. 5 dishes. 1 bowl. 3 large bowl. 1½.
One date 2½. 2. wings & lid 2½. 2 draw backs & 3½.
A bundle stick, candle box. five all be 1s. 6d.
3d. Canary. 1 bowl. 4½ mug. bowl by lemon pot 2s. 4½.
Two bowls 1s. 4 black chairs of 3d. costing 4d. pot 6s.
Three quarters of bush 1s. 2 bushels wheat 3s. 4d. 1. 18.
3 bushels rye 4½ half bushel white barley 3½. 14. 6.
Appendix C

Essex County Probate Records, Vol. 378, P. 215

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APPENDIX D
BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Primary Sources


II. Secondary Sources


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Illustration 1.

James Taylor Estate Division, 1724.
JAMES TAYLOR ESTATE DIVISION
1724

CALLAMOUNT PASTURE

32 ACRES AND 40 POLES
(to Sarah Taylor)

32 ACRES AND 40 POLES
(to R. Kelsey's heirs)

13 1/2 ACRES
(to Ann Taylor)

17 ACRES AND 40 POLES
(to Rebecca Kelsey's heirs)

17 ACRES AND 34 POLES
(to Abigail Taylor)

17 ACRES AND 34 POLES
(to Anna Taylor)

17 ACRES AND 34 POLES
(to Sarah Taylor)

17 ACRES AND 34 POLES
(to Mary Taylor)

5 ACRES AND 145 POLES
(to Mary Taylor)

2 ACRES AND 135 POLES
(to Sarah Taylor)

2 ACRES AND 135 POLES
(to Anna Taylor)

2 ACRES AND 135 POLES
(to Abigail Taylor)

2 ACRES AND 135 POLES
(to William Taylor)

2 ACRES AND 135 POLES
(to R. Kelsey's heirs)

5 ACRES AND 145 POLES
(to R. Taylor)

5 ACRES AND 145 POLES
(to William Taylor)

5 ACRES AND 145 POLES
(to Anna Taylor)

5 ACRES AND 145 POLES
(to Abigail Taylor)

51 1/2 POLES

27 1/2 POLES

1 ACRE

HABERFIELD FULLING MILL

GRIST MILL

SAUGUS RIVER

LONG BARN

KITCHEN

DWELLING HOUSE

SITE OF IRON WORKS

"THE NECK"

100 ACRES--IN PART
(to William Taylor)

THE WAY TO
ABRAM BURRILL'S

ONE POLE WAY

36 3/4 POLES

29 POLES 2'

23 POLES 8'

22 POLES 11'

22 POLES 11'

5 ACRES AND 145 POLES
(to William Taylor)

Note:
The exact locations of Long Barn and Brick Kitchen are conjectural.
Illustration 2.

"Saugus Centre," from 1884 Atlas.
Illustration 3.
Roby-Mansfield Division, 1757.
ROBY-MANSFIELD DIVISION 1757

(TOMAS MANSFIELD LAND)

9 ACRES AND 142 POLES
(TO SARAH ROBY)

8 ACRES AND 65 POLES
(WID., SARAH (ROBY) FRY'S THIRDS)

26 POLES

22 POLES

BIRCH PLAIN

15 ACRES AND 89 POLES
(TO SARAH ROBY)

FIGURE 3  421
Illustration 4.
Samuel Mansfield Estate Division, 1809.
Illustration 5.

Mansfield to Capen Conveyance, 1821.
MANSFIELD TO CAPEN CONVEYANCE 1821

(THOMAS MANSFIELD JR., LAND)

75 FEET

30 POLES AND HALF HOUSE
(JOSEPH MANSFIELD TO DAVID CAPEN)

T M JR.

75½ FEET

LANE

FIGURE 5

425
Illustration 6.
City of Lynn, Mass., from 1905 Atlas.
Figure 6
L.J. Richards & Co., 1905
(REvised Feb., 1976)
Illustration 7.

Map of Ironmaster's House Property, 1915.
As the Nation's principal conservation agency, the Department of the Interior has basic responsibilities to protect and conserve our land and water, energy and minerals, fish and wildlife, parks and recreation areas, and to ensure the wise use of all these resources. The Department also has major responsibility for American Indian reservation communities and for people who live in island territories under U. S. administration.