



Julius Barnard (1769–after 1820) as Peripatetic Yankee Cabinetmaker

The life of Julius Barnard exemplifies the great mobility of many New England cabinetmakers during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This mobility resulted in the transmission of design characteristics of one particular region to another and reaffirms a cultural connectedness of regions both within and outside New England, wherever Yankees went.

By Ross Fox

In the decades following the American War of Independence, the limits of Yankee settlement were pushed to the far corners of New England and beyond, to western New York, Pennsylvania, and the Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois territories.¹ People also spilled over into adjacent areas of Canada. Vermont was a major staging ground for much of this outward migration. It was a period of pervasive restlessness that weighed heavily on the trades, forcing many expert craft persons into a cycle of repeated geographic relocation and even occupational adjustment in search of a viable livelihood. The life of Julius Barnard exemplifies the great mobility of many New England cabinetmakers during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

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This mobility of cabinetmakers resulted in the transmission of design characteristics of one particular region to another, and raises a question about the reliability of any canon of so-called regional characteristics as a hard-and-fast indicator of the place of origin of a piece of furniture during this period. In reality, designs were carried over great distances in a dissemination of influences of far greater complexity than is sometimes recognized. They reaffirm a cultural connectedness of regions both within and outside New England, wherever Yankees went. Barnard, as a leading cabinetmaker in western New England, had a part in this transmission of furniture designs.

A native of Northampton, Massachusetts, Barnard apprenticed in East Windsor, Connecticut, worked briefly in New York City, and then in Northampton, Hanover (New Hampshire), Windsor (Vermont), Montreal, and Pittsfield (Massachusetts). This article attempts the first overview of Barnard's activity as a cabinetmaker, even though much has yet to be learned about him. The first part melds information from various publications together with some new documentation, and traces Barnard's activity in towns of the Connecticut River Valley, principally Northampton and Windsor. The second part, which is based on recently unearthed documents, adds two entirely new chapters to his story in a partial reconstruction of his activity in Montreal and Pittsfield.²

EARLY YEARS

Julius Barnard was born on July 18, 1769, in Northampton, the son of Rachel Catlin and Abner Barnard, a prosperous clothier or clothing merchant, who belonged to a long-established Deerfield family. During the mid-1780s, he served his apprenticeship under Eliphalet Chapin, who operated a large furniture shop in East Windsor, which was a training ground for many cabinetmakers in the region. A combination desk and bookcase in a private collection, thought to be from the Chapin shop, is inscribed with the names of Barnard and two others—William Flagg and Israel Porter—indicating a collaborative work. A date in the late 1780s has been suggested, when all three were most likely to have worked together under Chapin.³ The only documentation to surface so far that fixes Barnard in the Chapin shop are five entries bearing his name in the account books of Daniel Burnap, clockmaker, instrument maker, silversmith, and brass founder of East Windsor. Listed under Chapin's account, these entries date from August 1788 to February 1790. They were for incidental items, for instance, a key for a flute and a watch crystal.⁴

Upon leaving Chapin's shop, Barnard went to New York City where he claimed "the most distinguished workmen" employed him. This experience introduced him to "the latest and most elegant patterns for

Chairs and Cabinet work,"⁵ which meant he was well prepared when he set up shop in Northampton in late 1792. The town had a population of approximately 1,600. Barnard's shop was centrally located on Licking-water (later South) Street until 1796, and subsequently in the Tontine Building on Bridge Street. The latter was a large, brick, three-story purpose-built structure that housed eight shops for craftsmen in the first two stories.⁶ The fact that Barnard advertised in the *Greenfield Gazette* as well as the *Northampton Gazette* during this period suggests that his customer base extended beyond Northampton to the towns of the Connecticut River in northern Massachusetts. No doubt the Greenfield newspaper was utilized in an attempt to attract the business of his many kinsmen in the nearby Deerfield area.

Barnard produced case furniture in cherry and mahogany and various kinds of seating furniture (plain chairs, easy chairs, compass chairs).

Cabinet Work.

Julius Barnard,

A his shop in Licking-water Street Northampton, makes and has for sale, Desks, and Secretary's, Book-cases, Chest upon Chest of drawers, Bureaus, Side-boards, Breakfast, Dining, and Tea-tables; Also, Card-tables, Beadsteads of all kinds, Clock-cases, Fire-screens, Nightstools, Winecisterns, Wash-hand-stands, Sofa's, Easy Chairs, Comfats, do. framed do. plain do. of all kinds, Crimping boards, Looking Glasses, framed and gilt, do. Bench planes and Moulding Tools. Flutes and Fifes, a variety of other articles made in the neatest manner and on the shortest notice. The subscriber having worked sometime with the most distinguished workmen in New-York, and being possessed of the latest and most elegant patterns for Chairs and Cabinet work, he flatters himself that he shall be able to give entire satisfaction to those who may favor him with their commands.

N. B. The subscriber is in immediate want of a quantity of good seasoned Cherry and curl'd Maple Boards; also, a few good Sleigh runners, for which Cash and the highest price will be given, by the

Public & Humble Servant,

JULIUS BARNARD.

Northampton, Dec. 5, 1792.

Advertisement in the Hampshire Gazette (Northampton, Mass.), December 5, 1792. This and the other illustrations for this article are available in color at the Vermont History web page, vermonthistory.org/cabinetmaker.

By the end of the decade Windsor chairs, which required a chairmaker who was an expert in the specialized skill of turnery, became a significant part of his shop's output.⁷ In 1799 and again in 1800, he advertised for a Windsor chair maker.⁸ He was also looking to purchase basswood for "three or four hundred" Windsor chair seats. In February 1801, he sought basswood for 1,000 Windsor chair seats and, in November of the same year, basswood for 400 Windsor chair seats.⁹ Chairs often formed a sizable component of the stock-in-trade of larger furniture-making shops. Despite the success of his chair-making enterprise, Barnard was careful to clarify that he "continues the Cabinet-Making Business as usual."¹⁰

Apprentices and journeymen worked for Barnard. In 1796, he advertised for two apprentices, "one fifteen the other sixteen years of age."¹¹ Two years later he sought two young journeymen.¹² The 1800 federal census enumerated three males between the ages of sixteen and twenty-six in the Barnard household, suggesting that he had one or more apprentices and at least one journeyman working for him at the time. Once again in 1801, he advertised for two apprentices.¹³

The main body of furniture attributable to Barnard dates from his Northampton years and is found in the collection of Historic Deerfield. However, no single piece of furniture can be firmly ascribed to him on the basis of documentation. Moreover, he is not known to have signed, labeled, or otherwise marked any of his furniture so as to identify himself as maker, except for the desk and bookcase already mentioned. All attributions are therefore tenuous and based on design affinities and provenance.

The Historic Deerfield furniture includes a high chest of drawers made of cherry¹⁴ that belonged to Caleb Strong (1744–1819) of Northampton, who was a state senator (1780–1789), United States senator (1789–1796) and governor of Massachusetts (1800–1807, 1812–1816). Despite Barnard's earlier boasting of his familiarity with the latest New York designs, at times he would have been compelled to revert to more traditional preferences, of which this high chest is an example. It was a form that, by the 1790s, had fallen out of favor in major urban centers, but lingered on in western Massachusetts, as in other rural areas of New England.¹⁵ The Strong high chest adheres to a Chapin design—most apparent in the broken-arch scrolled pediment with latticework—which ultimately is Philadelphia-derived, reflecting Chapin's training in that city.¹⁶

Another high chest that sold at Sotheby's, New York, several years ago, is a simplified version of the Strong example. It lacks the quarter columns with brass mounts; otherwise it is remarkably similar in design and construction and likely derives from the same workshop.¹⁷ It descended in

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High Chests (1792/1800) attributed to Julius Barnard. LEFT: Historic Deerfield (acc. no. HD 63.164). Courtesy of Historic Deerfield. Photo by Penny Leveritt. RIGHT: Sotheby's, New York, October 4, 2007, lot 143.

the Porter family of New England and the original owner may have been William Porter (1763–1847) of Hadley, Massachusetts, who, when he died, “left a larger estate than any previously left in town.”¹⁸

Three Chippendale side chairs with claw-and-ball feet are part of a former set of six that are also attributed to Barnard.¹⁹ Again their character is decidedly Chapin school. The original owner of the chairs was Samuel Barnard (1746–1819), a first cousin of Julius. Samuel Barnard was a lawyer and justice of the peace in Deerfield who, upon encountering financial difficulties, moved to Vermont in 1795, where he became one of the first settlers in the new township of Montgomery. Therefore, the side chairs most likely date to the early 1790s.

It seems Barnard encountered considerable competition in the furniture making trade in Northampton. There were a number of skilled

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*Side Chair (1792/1800)
attributed to Julius Barnard.
Historic Deerfield
(HD 57.022). Courtesy
of Historic Deerfield.
Photo by Amanda Merullo.*

cabinetmakers in town: David Judd, Asa King, Oliver Pomroy (Pome-roy), Lewis S. Sage, and Anson P. Fairchild, among others. No doubt this situation motivated him to investigate prospects in Vermont.

VERMONT YEARS

A letter written by Barnard from Royalton on February 28, 1801, indicates that he made an extended trip to various towns of Windsor County that winter.²⁰ This letter also provides a rare, immediate glimpse into Barnard's life and work. It was addressed to Mills Olcott (1774–1845), a prominent resident of Hanover, New Hampshire, who was the son of the first lieutenant governor of Vermont under statehood, and an attorney, businessman, and member of the New Hampshire House of Representatives. In his letter, Barnard stated that he had contact with an unnamed brother of Olcott's while visiting Woodstock. This brother arranged for Barnard to buy some cherry boards, with which he was to "employ me to make his cabinet work." This work was to be done in Norwich, implying that the brother was Roswell Olcott (1768–1841).²¹ Barnard stated furthermore that, while in Norwich, he was ready to make furniture for Mills Olcott: "If there is any mahogany furniture wanted

[by you] there will be time to get it [i.e., mahogany] from Boston before I shall want it." Barnard sought other orders for furniture, requesting that Mills Olcott inquire of a Mr. Lang²² if he wanted any. Prior to visiting Windsor County, Barnard had stopped in Hanover, intending to see Olcott, but the latter had "gone to Canada."

By June of the same year, Barnard was working in Hanover, in a shop near Dartmouth College. It was a temporary arrangement, for he announced in an advertisement that he intended to remain for "several months" only. Again, he offered to make "Mahogany or Cherry Furniture, of any description."²³ While in Vermont and New Hampshire during this period, Barnard retained his shop in Northampton.

In the past it has been proposed that a sideboard in the Hood Museum, Dartmouth College, might date from Barnard's Hanover stay.²⁴ Though Barnard advertised sideboards as early as 1792, none is attributable to him or any other cabinetmaker in western New England before 1800.²⁵ The Dartmouth College sideboard originally belonged to Mills Olcott. An account book of Olcott's records a payment of \$25.00 to Barnard on July 9, 1801 as a "settlement for [unspecified] furniture."²⁶

The Olcott sideboard is distinguished by a serpentine front with incurved side bays, bowed center with lower recessed cabinet, and canted



Sideboard (ca. 1800-05) possibly by Julius Barnard. Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire; bequest of Philip H. Chase, class of 1907 (acc. no. F.980.64).

front legs. Ultimately it is derivative of a form popularized by the English designer, Thomas Shearer, with the addition of a central cabinet.²⁷ The form was made in all major American cities along the seaboard, but the source of this particular version lies in New York furniture.²⁸ The panels inset with oval, circular, and elliptical inlays of contrasting crotch veneer are decorative features that also hark back to New York, as are the frames of stringing with lunette corners.²⁹ So are the bellflowers on the stiles, except they are inverted, a feature that has its closest parallels in the furniture of Concord, New Hampshire.³⁰

On September 23, 1801, Barnard bought a tract of land with buildings near the courthouse common in Windsor, Vermont.³¹ By November, he was back in Northampton, where he advertised as continuing business as usual, but intending to move from town in February.³² The following June, he settled in Windsor,³³ which was the largest town in the eastern half of the state with a population of approximately 2,200.³⁴ His shop was “next door south” of Pettes’s Coffee House (and hotel).³⁵ In 1805, he moved to a “brick-building next door south” of Samuel Patrick, Sr.’s tavern.³⁶ It was a new structure on the east side of Main Street “adjoining the brick shop of Samuel Patrick [Jr.] both being under one roof.”³⁷ Elsewhere the property where it was located is described as having his “dwelling house Cabinet & Chair shop Black smith shop and barn and other buildings.”³⁸

Barnard is reputed to have operated the largest furniture-making shop in Vermont during his time.³⁹ He would have had both apprentices and journeymen working for him. The only one identified so far is the chairmaker John Wilder, who worked in Barnard’s shop for an unspecified period up until 1804.⁴⁰ Chairs continued to be an important dimension to his trade. By 1807, Barnard had entered into partnership with the cabinetmaker Rufus Norton (1781–1818) as Barnard & Norton. A native of Suffield, Connecticut, Norton had his own shop in Windsor by 1804.⁴¹

No documented furniture from Barnard’s Windsor phase has been identified so far. While his advertisements claim that he carried on the customary “cabinet and chair work,” they also tell of a shift in his case furniture over the preceding decade, with some forms being added and others dropped, no doubt owing to changes in fashion. He no longer listed high chests, whereas sideboards figure prominently among his cabinetwork. Sideboards were a relatively recent introduction to American furniture in general. They included “sash-corner’d, commode, & strait front sideboards.” Also new were “ladies writing desks and book-cases.” Tables were always a part of his output—card, Pembroke, dining, and breakfast—and to these were added “circular and octagon end tables.”⁴²

Coach, Chaise, & Cabinet Work.

JULIUS BARNARD,

informs the public that he now carries on his several branches of business in the Brick-building next door south of Mr. Patrick's tavern, where he will make for sale the following Articles, viz :

Sash-cornered, commode, & strait front Sideboards—Secretaries and Bookcases—Ladies Writing-desks and Bookcases—Circular and Strait front Bureaus—Card and Pembroke Tables, Dining and Breakfast Tables—Circular and Octagon end Tables—Candlestands—Clockcases.—Field, High post, Low-post, and Cross Bedheads.—Sofas, Easy and Lolling Chairs, Windsor and Dining Chairs, Bamboo and Cottage Chairs, Mahogany and Cherry fram'd Chairs, &c. &c. in the best and most fashionable manner,

He is desirous further to give notice, that he has employed accomplished workmen at each of the different branches for completing Elegant or plain Coaches, Phaetons, Jersey-waggons, Giggs, or common Waggons.

Having taken the utmost pains to procure the best of timber from below, and materials of every kind, he flatters himself that he shall be able to give satisfaction to all who wish to encourage the above useful branches of business.

Lumber, Beef-Cattle, and most kinds of Country produce will be received in payment, and a generous discount will be made to those who purchase to a considerable amount with cash, and every favor gratefully acknowledged by the public's humble servant,

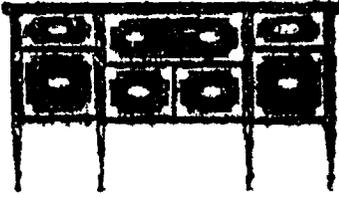
JULIUS BARNARD,

*N. B. Cash will be paid for a quantity of
Bees Wax.*

Windsor, Sept. 16, 1815.

*Advertisement in the
Post-Boy, and Vermont &
New-Hampshire Federal
Courier (Windsor, Vt.),
October 8, 1805.*

One of the last advertisements of Barnard & Norton in 1809 included an engraved image of a sideboard.⁴³ No doubt it represents a generic type, because it was reused in the same newspaper in subsequent advertisements for both Rufus Norton and Lemuel Hedge.⁴⁴ It may also have some basis in reality. The image suggests a sideboard with straight or bow (also "commode") front, panels with lunette corners and turned legs. An example of this type by William Lloyd (1779–1845)



*Illustration of sideboard in
Spooner's Vermont Journal
(Windsor, Vt.), July 10, 1809.*



*Sideboard (1811/20) by William Lloyd. Historic Deerfield (HD 1998.32).
Courtesy of Historic Deerfield. Photo by Penny Leveritt.*

of Springfield, Massachusetts, dated c. 1811–15, is in the collection of Historic Deerfield.⁴⁵ In other words, it reflects a design shared by cabinetmakers in the upper Connecticut Valley.

While in Windsor, Barnard's chief furniture-making competitor was John C. Dana in nearby Woodstock. Otherwise he, and later he and Norton, would have had a near monopoly of the Windsor area market. This, and the fact that throughout much of his career Barnard advertised the making of clock cases, lend validity to the speculation that he must have made clock cases for his contemporaries, Nathan Hale and Martin Cheney, who were Windsor's leading clockmakers. Hale was active in Windsor from 1796 until 1805, while Cheney was there from 1801 until 1809, that is, for almost the same period as Barnard, except the former arrived there a year earlier.⁴⁶ The shops of all three were in close

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Tallcase Clock (ca. 1805–09), works by Martin Cheney, case probably from the workshop of Julius Barnard. Christie's, New York, Sale, January 21, 1994, lot 261.



proximity on the east side of Main Street and, until 1805, both Barnard and Cheney were in Pettes's Block. The following year the latter were among the founders of the Windsor Mechanics' Institute.⁴⁷ Barnard also owned property jointly with Samuel Patrick, Jr., who was Cheney's brother-in-law. Both Cheney and Barnard moved to Montreal in 1809. When Barnard's son and namesake died in 1812, Cheney was a signatory to the burial record (see below). These synchronous circumstances reinforce the plausibility of a craft linkage between the two.

Care must be exercised, however, when making attributions. Known tallcase clocks, with works from Cheney's Windsor phase, suggest the cases were made by at least two different cabinetmakers, but not necessarily from different shops. One of these clocks has stylistic features suggesting connections with the Windsor-Hartford-Colchester region of Connecticut.⁴⁸ This is seen in the tall, narrow bonnet with fluted

pilasters, steep scroll pediment, bold rosettes, and cornice with dentils.⁴⁹ It suggests a cabinetmaker trained in Connecticut made the case, possibly Norton, during his partnership with Barnard.

Still another new dimension to Barnard's output was coach- and wagon-making, or the carriage trade: "elegant or plain Coaches, Phaetons, Jersey Waggons, Giggs, or common Waggons."⁵⁰ Again it required many different specialized workmen, among whom joiners filled a critical role, and thus was a trade allied to furniture making. If advertisements are a true measure of his custom, the carriage trade formed a significant part of his business during his Windsor phase.⁵¹ In 1807, he announced that he expected "to finish and have ready for sale by June next, Twenty Chaises and several four wheel carriages of various descriptions."⁵² The previous year he charged Mills Olcott \$15.00 for the repair of a chaise.⁵³

While in Windsor, Barnard maintained ongoing contacts with Northampton, as seen in his occasional purchasing of furniture- and carriage-making supplies from the merchant John Breck. On March 29, 1806, Barnard had an order valued at £11 19s.⁵⁴ Among the items listed were five dozen rose handles, one dozen commode handles, six sets of drawer locks, one and a half dozen locks (twelve with keys), six pairs of chaise bits, and so on. Another order of May 21, 1807, was for "Swedes" and "Russia" iron valued at \$158.81, no doubt for use in the carriage trade.⁵⁵ Breck was a major importer of hardware and other goods from Great Britain and the geographical range of his customers extended throughout western Massachusetts, southern Vermont, and southwestern New Hampshire. They included cabinetmakers and clockmakers, as well as a cross-section of the broader population.⁵⁶ Breck's supplies for Barnard were usually shipped to Windsor by stage, except for the iron, which went by ferry.

On March 14, 1809, Barnard sold his shop and house in Windsor's center to Rufus Norton.⁵⁷ On June 1, the partnership of Barnard & Norton was formally dissolved, in preparation for Barnard's departure for Montreal in September.⁵⁸ Martin Cheney preceded Barnard to Montreal by just about six months.⁵⁹ The circumstances of their move were no doubt tied to the adverse economic conditions of the time.

EMIGRATION TO CANADA

President Thomas Jefferson's Embargo Act of 1807 followed by President James Madison's Non-Intercourse Act of 1809 precipitated a dramatic downturn in the economy of New England in the years immediately preceding the War of 1812. Foreign trade by sea was severely curtailed, while that by land with Canada, though illegal, increased exponentially. Many New Englanders, Vermonters in particular, flouted

the embargo and continued commerce with Canada.⁶⁰ Commodities such as lumber, potash, beef, pork, flour, tobacco, and tea flowed north; furs, salt, fish, rum, and manufactured products from Great Britain such as hardware and pottery flowed south. But this stream was far stronger toward the north than the south. A concomitant effect was an intensified movement of New Englanders north.⁶¹ While this post-Loyalist (i.e., post-independence) emigration had gone on since the 1790s, at first as a trickle, it peaked just before the War of 1812. The *New-Hampshire Patriot* (Concord) provided a contemporary commentary on this phenomenon: "It is well known that by the enterprising spirit of the sons of New-England, within three years the consequence of Canada, particularly the city of Montreal, has been greatly increased. Many people, from the advantages held out to industry and speculation, have migrated thither."⁶²

As the chief commercial center of Lower Canada, Montreal attracted many American traders and craftsmen. When Julius Barnard arrived there in 1809, it had a population of approximately 11,000–12,000, comparable to Salem. In New England, it was exceeded in size only by Boston with 33,000 people. Montreal's environment was not universally hospitable to the American newcomers, who were generally regarded as interlopers and faced with a linguistic and cultural divide between Francophones and Anglophones, with the former in the majority. Any estimation of the ethnic composition of the Anglophone population cannot be precisely delineated, owing to a lack of data, though Scots were relatively numerous, followed by Americans (including some Loyalist/Tory refugees from the American Revolution, but the vast majority were later seekers of economic opportunity rather than politically motivated),⁶³ Irish (including native Irish, Anglo-Irish and Ulster Scots), English, and Germans, respectively.⁶⁴

The American emigrants to Lower Canada were most numerous in the southern borderlands known as the Eastern Townships, which was essentially part of the American frontier except in name. In 1801, William Barnard, a first cousin once removed of Julius Barnard, was awarded a grant of 40,200 acres in the Township of Brompton. Land allocation was according to the New England "leader and associates" system. In addition to William Barnard himself, of the thirty associates he had enlisted to participate in this settlement, twenty-three were from Deerfield, Massachusetts, including one of William's brothers. Six others were from nearby Bernardston, while the last, Samuel Barnard, Jr., was a son of Julius Barnard's earlier patron of the same name, who at this time resided in Montgomery, Vermont.⁶⁵ Consequently Julius Barnard must have had knowledge of this settlement, a fact that would have been a further inducement for him to try his own prospects in Canada.

Nahum Mower may also have been a factor in Barnard's decision to emigrate. Mower was a disenchanted Federalist and critic of Jefferson's policies who had been owner and publisher of the *Post-Boy* newspaper in Windsor. In 1807, he settled in Montreal, where he founded the *Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser*.⁶⁶ Ironically, of three Montreal newspapers, it was the most receptive to an American viewpoint. Nahum Mower and Martin Cheney were brothers-in-law,⁶⁷ so the assumption arises that Mower influenced Cheney to relocate and they in turn influenced Barnard.

In Montreal, Barnard became a hotelier as well as a cabinetmaker, both occupations in which Yankees were key players.⁶⁸ Effective May 1, 1810, he signed a three-year lease for a building to be called the Union Hotel. Eli Barnard, apparently no relation, was his partner. He is identified as an innkeeper and was no doubt the person who actually ran the inn, while Julius continued as a cabinetmaker. The inn was a building recently erected and owned by Pierre Berthelet, a real estate developer who was one of the city's major property owners. It was a stone structure of three stories with stables and outbuildings, which was located at the western end of the city, on St. Paul Street, where the city wall had recently been razed. The rent was the considerable sum of £225 for the first year, £250 for each of the remaining years.⁶⁹ An advertisement of 1811 stated the inn had a capacity whereby "ten or twelve Gentlemen boarders will be supplied with a private room and separated table."⁷⁰

During this period, it was not unusual for a craftsman to invest in a business or businesses other than his craft, if he could afford to do so, and was characteristic of the Americans in Montreal. It reflected an ingrained entrepreneurial spirit that was aptly phrased by a contemporary writer to the *Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser*: "The American merchants recently settled in this city have taken the advantage of our incredulity and now enjoy the fruits of what we might have reaped, had we been more enterprising."⁷¹ The same applied to craftsmen. The Americans in Montreal had an important role in the city's economic development during the nineteenth century.⁷²

Like many of his compatriots Barnard was also interested in acquiring land. On December 3, 1811, he purchased property in the arrièrefief of La Gauchetière, to the north of the city.⁷³ A condition of the purchase was that he build a house within three years. These circumstances suggest that he intended to stay in Montreal permanently.

Julius Barnard operated a furniture shop adjacent to the inn, in another partnership as Barnard & Clark.⁷⁴ The partner has yet to be identified. No furniture by Barnard from Montreal is known—but Montreal furniture of this period has been poorly studied in general.⁷⁵ In 1811, he

Valuable and Extensive Sale.

ON WEDNESDAY the 3d JUNE and continued THURSDAY and FRIDAY, with the whole is disposed of, at the House of Mr. JULIUS BARNARD, end of St. Paul Street, near the new College.

All the valuable and extensive HOUSEHOLD FURNITURE AND STOCK IN TRADE, and comprising an elegant full trimmed Couch, perfectly new, and ditto. Phaeton ditto, a pair of handsome young Horses, warranted sound, a complete set of plated harness, 51 Dining, Breakfast and Tea Tables, of every description, perfectly new, Ladies work Tables, an elegant mahogany Sideboard, ditto. ditto. Sopha, with arms, 10 Mahogany and Cherry tree double and single Chests of Drawers, new, a curled Maple Secretary, 35 new eight day Clocks,

with and without cases, 20 Esater-Beds, of a superior quality, Mahogany 4 post Bedsteads with curtains, Field and common ditto, 4 dozen Chairs, Mattresses, Blankets, Bolsters, Pillows, Silver table and tea Spoons, Plated Ware, China and Glass Ware, table and Bed Linen, Kitchen Utensils, table and tea Services, Carpets, &c. complete assortments of Cabinet Joiners and Carpenters tools and Benches, comprising every article in the respective branches.

Several hundred pieces of boards, among which are Mahogany, curled Maple & Cherry, a quantity of Plated Mouldings, Carriage and Harness trimmings, craped Hair, Gum Copal, empty casks, &c. &c. May be viewed on Tuesday, and the mornings of Sale.

Sale to commence at 10 o'clock each day precisely.

M'CNIIDER & BRIDGE, A. & D.
May 30, 1812.

*Advertisement in the
Montreal Herald,
May 30, 1812.*

advertised as having "cabinet and chair work of all descriptions finished in a superior style . . . for sale."⁷⁶ An auction of his movable property the following year provides a clearer glimpse of his furniture output. His stock in trade included 51 dining, breakfast (i.e., Pembroke), and tea tables "of every description, perfectly new"; 10 mahogany and cherry "double and single" chests of drawers; four-post bedsteads with curtains, and field and common bedsteads; four dozen chairs; and "35 new eight day Clocks, with and without cases."⁷⁷ There was also a curly maple secretary.

If the above list correctly reflects the type of furniture Barnard was making in Montreal, it represents a great reduction in the types of his

casework and a shift to furniture dependent on turned elements. Consequently, he would have needed a turner. Could this have been the unidentified “Clark”? Equally revealing is the number of clock movements, whether cased or not. Eight-day movements most likely signify tallcase and mantel clocks.⁷⁸ Having thirty-five of them suggests Barnard was a specialist maker of clock cases at this time and, moreover, was one of the city’s major retailer of clocks.⁷⁹ Furthermore, it reinforces the hypothesis that Barnard made clock cases for Cheney in Windsor, Vermont, a relationship that may have continued. The leading working and/or retail clockmakers in Montreal during the same period were Canadian-born Charles Arnoldi and the New Englanders, Benjamin Comens Jr., Joseph Lovis, Nathaniel P. Atkinson, and Cheney.

The new focus of Barnard’s furniture may have been driven by different market conditions. Samuel Park, who operated a large wareroom, dominated the local market for English-style furniture. As outlined in an advertisement of 1812, the quantity and range of Park’s stock was considerably greater than that of Barnard, and included a large amount of case furniture.⁸⁰ Yet, only six clock cases are listed. The conclusion may be adduced that Barnard turned to niche products rather than compete directly with Park.

There is nothing to suggest that Barnard adopted French designs while in Montreal. The evidence of the few known pieces by other cabinetmakers suggests that Anglo-American and, more specifically, New England versions of English designs prevailed in Montreal in the decade before 1812. This tendency reflects the origins of a great many of the English-speaking cabinetmakers themselves and does not necessarily imply a preference for American design over English *per se*. The cabinetmakers simply reproduced what was familiar to them, while most of their customers probably did not distinguish between Anglo-American and English design. Furthermore, many of their customers were of Anglo-American background.

In general, there is no evidence of Anglophone cabinetmakers producing French designs. Any exchange was in the opposite direction, usually by young French Canadians who apprenticed under English-speaking cabinetmakers. This division emanated in part from deep, ongoing ethnic tensions and concepts of identity.⁸¹ To a certain extent design was symbolically charged and could be interpreted as a quasi-metaphor for national and/or political allegiances. A difference in basic construction techniques also inhibited the easy adaptation of designs by one or the other. Traditional French-Canadian case furniture utilized panel-and-frame construction and mortise-and-tenon joinery, whereas English and Anglo-American furniture relied on the more modern

dovetailed case construction.⁸² The finest of French-Canadian furniture also lacked the refinement of its Anglo-Montreal counterpart. For instance, the latter used veneers and, occasionally, inlays, while the former did not. A dichotomy also existed in the woods used. While pine was ubiquitous for most common furniture, butternut was the customary primary wood for most French-style fine furniture, mahogany for English-style.

The wealthier echelons of colonial society, the preponderance of whom were English speaking, were naturally predisposed to current English or English-derived fashion in this period of British ascendancy at the turn of the nineteenth century. Many of the French-Canadian element among them were similarly disposed. Besides, French-Canadian furniture had not evolved past the Rococo style, which was long out of date. Among the middle and lower ranks of French-Canadian society, there was a stronger, inherent resistance to the shedding of traditional, outward trappings of ethnic identity, as in furniture design. It was a reflection of the natural conservatism of a people who, in their isolation from the homeland of France, feared the demise of their language and culture, if not of themselves as a people. The legitimacy of this anxiety rests undisputed.

The sale of Barnard's shop contents included several hundred mahogany, maple and cherry boards. In his New England advertisements, on the other hand, curly maple is only mentioned during his early Northampton years. It may mean that during his Montreal phase he made a fair amount of curly maple furniture, which was becoming more of a universal fashion by this time in the northeastern United States and Canada.

Many of Barnard's business and personal relationships in Montreal were with other Yankees, reflecting a strong sense of ethnic bonds. His partner, Eli Barnard, was from New England (possibly from Vermont).⁸³ In 1810, the Barnard partnership sublet one of their outbuildings, a two-story bakehouse, to the bakers Charles Lord and Nahum Hall.⁸⁴ The former was a native of Connecticut, the latter of New Hampshire. In a dispute with his landlord, Pierre Berthelet, Barnard was represented by Abner Rice, a native of Massachusetts.⁸⁵ Barnard belonged to the Scotch Church, or St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church, which had a large New England contingent among its membership. When Barnard's wife was buried,⁸⁶ a witness was Ebenezer Drury, who was of New England lineage, though possibly from New York. When Barnard's infant son and namesake was buried, the witnesses were Martin Cheney and Samuel Pomroy, another innkeeper, who was a native of Northampton, Massachusetts.⁸⁷

RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES

1812 was a year of tribulation for Barnard. Both his wife and youngest son died that year. Moreover, he seems to have encountered financial difficulties, which would account for the auctioning of all his possessions on May 30, 1812.⁸⁸ Another indicator of a troubled situation is that on June 26 he was issued a writ of *capias ad respondendum* by the Court of King's Bench for the District of Montreal for default on a debt of £12 6s.⁸⁹ He avoided prison, so the debt would have been paid.

Ironically, just two days earlier news had reached Montreal from New York City that the United States had declared war against Great Britain, which meant that Lower Canada, as a British colony, was also at war.⁹⁰ While authorities always harbored suspicions about the loyalty of Americans living in the colony, this distrust quickly escalated into a form of xenophobia. All Americans were regarded as potential enemies. On June 30, Sir George Prevost, governor of Lower Canada, issued a proclamation ordering "all persons who are Subjects of the United States of America, to depart from this Province within Fourteen days."⁹¹ Two weeks later this proclamation was followed by more specific regulations whereby American citizens were given the option of remaining if they took an Oath of Allegiance, conditional upon their consenting to bear arms on behalf of Great Britain.⁹² Many could not agree to these terms and departed the colony.

Among the latter were both Julius Barnard and Eli Barnard. On July 2, they transferred their lease on the Union Hotel to Jesse Hollister,⁹³ an innkeeper from New York, who chose to take the oath. Julius Barnard's youngest son died in Montreal on December 2, but it is likely that Julius himself left the city months earlier, for he is listed in the tax records of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, on December 30.⁹⁴ He would remain in Pittsfield for at least the next eight years.

Beginning on August 3, 1813, Barnard announced in a series of advertisements that he had opened a furniture shop "a few rods east" of the Pittsfield Hotel in the center of town. He also indicated that he was seeking "two or three journeymen . . . and an active lad as an apprentice."⁹⁵ Though apparently back in business, nothing is known about the furniture of his Pittsfield phase. No newspaper advertisements have been traced after 1814.

Pittsfield had a population of about 2,700⁹⁶ and apparently was sufficiently supplied with furniture makers. Among them were the chairmakers John Ayres⁹⁷ and George W. Fish,⁹⁸ and the cabinetmakers Amos Barns,⁹⁹ Augustus Hitchcock,¹⁰⁰ John Garland,¹⁰¹ and Calvin Taylor.¹⁰² Just as in Montreal, Barnard faced strong competition. A failure

to gain a firm foothold in the local trade may explain his seeming financial adversity for the remainder of the decade.

Court records indicate a succession of legal difficulties, mostly for the non-payment of debts. To cite some examples, in 1814, Jonathan Edwards of Montpelier, Vermont, pursued Barnard to Pittsfield for repayment of \$250.00.¹⁰³ In 1817, he was involved in a business deal gone sour concerning the sale of patent rights on the Hotchkiss straw cutter for fifteen counties in the State of New York.¹⁰⁴ Invented by Elihu Hotchkiss of Brattleboro, Vermont, the straw cutter was a machine for cutting straw and hay as feed for horses.¹⁰⁵ Barnard's diversification into such an enterprise intimates that his furniture business was not faring well.

He left town before 1821, for a legal action against him that year refers to him as "Julius Barnard late of Pittsfield" and that he was now living "out of this Commonwealth."¹⁰⁶ Barnard had defaulted on \$70.00 for board and lodging that he had incurred in 1816, further confirming that he had fallen on hard times. The great economic depression or Panic of 1819 may have dealt the final blow to his financial troubles. Afterwards his whereabouts prove elusive. He may have gone to Westfield, Massachusetts, where his daughter, Olivia, was married in 1824.¹⁰⁷ It is more likely, however, that he went to Seneca County or the adjacent burgeoning Genesee Country of New York. His two younger daughters were married and living in Waterloo, Seneca County, by the mid-1820s. Sometime in the next decade both of these daughters migrated with their husbands to Michigan.¹⁰⁸

Barnard's later obscurity was a harbinger of the fate of a hard-pressed craft tradition in western New England in the advanced stages of proto-industrialization. A general surplus of highly trained craftsmen coupled with the essential rural character of the region, which had no large urban centers, meant intense competition for a limited market. As a result, craftsmen were often compelled to relocate or take on other occupational endeavors. Adaptability was requisite. But this was just one aspect of the instabilities and adversities arising from a much greater migratory phenomenon: the relentless Yankee exodus that characterized eastern and central North America during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. These people were not intimidated by political boundaries. Some, like Barnard, ventured to Lower Canada, while others went to Upper Canada (Ontario). Vermont was a hub for this migration.

These conditions had an impact on furniture history, as designs were carried along the path of migration, northward up the Connecticut River Valley and beyond and, no doubt, westward, though the latter has yet

to be studied properly. Barnard must have been a player in this transmission. During the 1790s, he was a leading cabinetmaker and chairmaker in Northampton, Massachusetts, a role that was repeated in Windsor, Vermont, the succeeding decade. His stay in Montreal was more short-lived, and not as easily evaluated. But he was representative of an influx of skilled Yankee craftsmen into that city in the decade before the War of 1812. The furniture makers among them compensated for a shortage of local craftsmen who were familiar with essential English design and fabrication techniques. Rather than relinquish his national allegiance, Barnard returned to Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where later financial troubles would compel him to relocate once again, to an as yet unknown destination. The vicissitudes experienced by Julius Barnard were far from anomalous in this age of migration.

APPENDIX

Besides Julius Barnard, the writer has newly identified other furniture makers who went to Montreal from Vermont during the same period.¹⁰⁹ It is the product of broader, ongoing research of Montreal furniture makers. Those with Vermont connections were among several dozen American furniture makers in Montreal, some of whom settled there while others, like Barnard, stayed only temporarily, returning to the United States or moving on to Upper Canada. Unlike the western destinations, those settlers who went to Lower Canada encountered a different political and legal system, and an alien culture. The government was overseen by an appointed British governor, there was less respect for democratic principles, the civil law was French in origin, and the vast majority of the population was Roman Catholic and French speaking. These factors were a discouragement for many new arrivals, making them less inclined to stay permanently. This situation is reflected in the experience of the Vermonter, Abraham Brinsmaid, who wrote in a journal entry for 1793, "it was a lonesome place especially for a stranger that could not speak French."¹¹⁰ The War of 1812 and the decades following witnessed overt hostility toward Americans, which was a further deterrent to emigration. Despite these drawbacks, many did so anyway.

Jacob Buhanan (Buchanan?) of Fairfax, Vermont, is the earliest of these furniture makers to be uncovered so far. According to a contract of August 7, 1798, he agreed to make "four hundred of dining fan back Windsor chairs and one hundred of new fashioned armed Windsor chairs" for Samuel Park.¹¹¹ Nothing else is known about his activity, either in Canada or Vermont.

The brothers James and Robert Perrigo exemplify rare cases of

young Montrealers going to Vermont to train as chairmakers. Why they did so has two possible explanations. They were actually born in Vermont, emigrating to Canada with their parents as young children; at this time Montreal likely had a shortfall in skilled chairmakers who were versed in up-to-date English or Anglo-American designs. The brothers were apprenticed to the chairmaker, Mark Rice, originally from the Boston area, who operated a shop in Burlington. James's indenture papers date from 1801, when he was fourteen years old, and committed him to serve his apprenticeship until he was twenty-one.¹¹² Apparently he did not complete the agreed term because he was back in Montreal three years later, where he was engaged to Henry Corse for a year to learn the "trade of painter."¹¹³ Corse was a native of Northfield, Massachusetts, who worked for a spell in Peacham, Vermont, before settling in Montreal in 1803.¹¹⁴ Many chairmakers, such as Corse, were trained as decorative painters, which explains James Perrigo's spell under him.¹¹⁵ In 1804, Robert Perrigo followed his brother to Rice's workshop.¹¹⁶

The following year Uriah Mitcham (also Meacham) was described as a cabinetmaker upon his marriage in Montreal's St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church.¹¹⁷ He was from Strafford, Vermont. Earlier in the year he had been confined to prison in Danville for debt, which may explain why he subsequently left the state.¹¹⁸ The same church register contains an entry for the burial of Jabez Swift in 1808. Again his occupation is that of cabinetmaker. In 1805, Swift had run into financial difficulties while residing in Bridport, Vermont, and was confined to jail in Middlebury.¹¹⁹ He was originally from Kent, Connecticut.

The person who most closely parallels the situation of Julius Barnard is Michael Stevens, who was born in Connecticut and raised in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, where he presumably trained as a cabinetmaker. In 1808 he was in Middlebury and in 1809 in Orwell, Vermont, where he was in a brief partnership with Timothy F. Cook.¹²⁰ By early summer 1810 he was in Montreal, when his son was baptized.¹²¹ Stevens, like Barnard, declined to take the oath of allegiance and went to Pittsfield. Unlike Barnard, he returned to Montreal and is recorded there before the end of the war.¹²²

NOTES

¹ Stewart H. Holbrook, *The Yankee Exodus: An Account of Migration from New England* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1950), 10–38.

² I thank Philip Zea, president of Historic Deerfield, whose critical reading of the text yielded some corrections and expanded insights. A special debt of gratitude is also due Susan Denault, archivist, Massachusetts College of Liberal Arts, whom I enlisted to explore documentary sources on Barnard in Pittsfield repositories; Barbara L. Krieger, archives supervisor, Rauner Library, Dartmouth College, for copies of the Mills Olcott papers; Rebecca Woodbury Tucker for research in the town clerk's office and Windsor Public Library, Windsor, Vt.; Marie Panik, archivist, Historic

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Northampton Museum; and Jeanne Solensky, librarian, The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts & Printed Ephemera, Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum.

³This piece is discussed in Thomas P. Kugelmann, Alice K. Kugelmann et al., *Connecticut Valley Furniture: Eliphalet Chapin and His Contemporaries, 1750–1899* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society Museum, 2005), 162–164.

⁴“Ledger Account with Eliphalet Chapin, East Windsor,” in Penrose R. Hoopes, *Shop Records of Daniel Burnap Clockmaker* (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, 1958), 78–79. In 1788, Barnard’s name is also found in an account book of Ezra Clark of Northampton, indicating Clark loaned him £18 in June. Another entry for January of the same year, which immediately precedes that for Barnard, concerns purchases made by Eliphalet Chapin. Clark was a tavern owner and keeper of a toll gate. The precise implications of these entries remain uncertain, but suggest Chapin had business dealings in Northampton, as did Barnard (on Chapin’s behalf?), when the latter resided in East Windsor. Historic Northampton Museum, Ledger of Ezra Clark and Jonas Clark (1788–1802), f. 6. Also see n. 10, below.

⁵*Hampshire Gazette*, 5 December 1792; *Greenfield Gazette*, 27 December 1792. For other early newspaper references to Barnard’s activity in Northampton see Leigh Keno, “The Windsor-Chair Makers of Northampton, Massachusetts, 1790–1820,” *Magazine Antiques* 117, 5 (May 1980): 1104.

⁶*Historical Localities in Northampton* (Northampton, Mass.: Gazette Printing Co., 1904), 36–37; Christopher Clark, “The Roots of Rural Capitalism,” in *A Place Called Paradise: Culture and Community in Northampton, Massachusetts, 1654–2004*, ed. Kerry W. Buckley (Amherst and Boston: Historic Northampton in association with University of Massachusetts Press, 2004), 209.

⁷Nancy Goyne Evans, *American Windsor Chairs* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1996), 391.

⁸*Hampshire Gazette*, 13 November 1799 and 30 July 1800.

⁹*Ibid.*, 4 February and 11 November 1801.

¹⁰Picture frames formed another, albeit small aspect of his business. On June 13, 1794, Barnard received payment of £2 15s 2d from the Northampton firm of Robert Breck & Son for 16 picture frames and a table, the latter for John Breck, the son. Winterthur Museum, The Joseph Downs Collection of Manuscripts and Printed Ephemera, Breck Family Daybooks, vol. 1, f. 4. On June 4, 1789, while still in East Windsor, Barnard is credited with supplying Ezra Clark of Northampton with six picture frames. Ledger of Ezra Clark and Jonas Clark, f. 10.

¹¹*Greenfield Gazette*, 25 August 1796.

¹²*Hampshire Gazette*, 24 January 1798.

¹³*Ibid.*, 11 November 1801.

¹⁴Kugelmann, *Connecticut Valley*, 178–180.

¹⁵The “House Joiners’ and Cabinetmakers’ Price List” for Hampshire County that was published in 1796 listed high cases (i.e., high chests) with scrolled head, such as that for Caleb Strong. Gerald W. R. Ward and William N. Hosley, Jr., eds., *The Great River: Art & Society of the Connecticut Valley, 1635–1820* (Hartford: Wadsworth Atheneum, 1985), 474.

¹⁶Kugelmann, *Connecticut Valley*, 142–155.

¹⁷Sotheby’s, New York, 4 October 2007, lot 143.

¹⁸Josiah Gilbert Holland, *History of Western Massachusetts: The Counties of Hampden, Hampshire, Franklin and Berkshire*. vol. 2, bk. 3 (Springfield, Mass.: Samuel Bowles and Company, 1855), 227.

¹⁹Historic Deerfield acc. nos. HD 57.022A-B; Kugelmann, *Connecticut Valley*, 179–180. According to Philip Zea, the other three chairs remain with descendants of Samuel Barnard.

²⁰Rauner Library, Dartmouth College, Papers of Mills Olcott and the Olcott Family, Julius Barnard to Mills Olcott, 28 February 1801.

²¹Mills Olcott had two brothers living in Windsor County, Roswell and Timothy, who, according to the 1800 census, lived in Norwich and Chester respectively. Roswell was a trader, member of the Vermont House of Representatives, justice of the peace, and brigadier general in the Vermont militia. He later emigrated to the Eastern Townships of Quebec.

²²Probably Richard Lang, who was the first in Hanover “to engage in general merchandizing on a large scale, and was by far the prince of business men here of that day.” John King Lord, *A History of the Town of Hanover, N.H.* (Hanover: Dartmouth Press, 1928), 25.

²³*Dartmouth Gazette*, 13 June 1801.

²⁴Barbara J. MacAdam, *American Art at Dartmouth: Highlights from the Hood Museum of Art* (Hanover: Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College/University Press of New England, 2007), 217. Another possibility is that it was made by another local cabinetmaker, such as Elijah Pomroy, who advertised in the *Dartmouth Gazette*, 9 January 1803.

²⁵Ward and Hosley, *Great River*, 256, n. 2.

²⁶Accounts of Mills Olcott, 1800–1840, vol. 1, f. 11v. Also see Margaret Moody Stier, “Note,” *Dartmouth College Library Bulletin* 22 (April 1982): 84–86.

²⁷*The Cabinet-Maker’s London Book of Prices, Designs of Cabinet Work*, 2nd ed. (London: London Society of Cabinetmakers, 1793), 129–130, pl. 4, fig. 1.

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²⁸Deanne Levison and Harold Sack, "Identifying Regionalism in Sideboards: A Study of Documented Tapered-Leg Examples," *Magazine Antiques* 141, 5 (May 1992): 827–829.

²⁹Bradford L. Rauschenberg and John Bivins, Jr., *The Furniture of Charleston, 1680–1820*, 3 vols. (Winston-Salem, N.C.: Old Salem Inc./The Museum of Early Southern Decorative Arts, 2003), 2:632. Also note Bernard and S. Dean Levy, Inc., *Gallery Catalog 6* (New York), 171.

³⁰Cf. a sideboard attributed to George Rogers with C. L. Prickett of Yardley, Pa., <http://www.clprickett.com/> (accessed 29 January 2009).

³¹Town clerk's office, Windsor, Vt., Land Records, September 23, 1801, Bk. 7: 165–166.

³²*Hampshire Gazette*, 11 November 1801.

³³*Ibid.*, 30 June 1802. Also see Charles A. Robinson, *Vermont Cabinetmakers & Chairmakers Before 1855: A Checklist* (Shelburne, Vt.: Shelburne Museum, 1994), 31; William N. Hosley, Jr., "Vermont Furniture, 1790–1830," in *New England Furniture: Essays in Memory of Benno M. Forman* (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1987), 248, 262–263, 268.

³⁴In a contemporary appraisal of Windsor, Timothy Dwight wrote: "More mercantile and mechanical business is done here than in any other town on the river north of Massachusetts." *Travels in New England and New York*, 4 vols. (1821; reprint, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1969), 2:321.

³⁵*Spooner's Vermont Journal* (Windsor), 13 July 1802.

³⁶*Ibid.*, 8 October 1805.

³⁷Town clerk's office, Windsor, Vt., Land Records, 6 July 1805, Bk. 8: 214–215; *ibid.*, 24 January 1806, Bk. 8: 303–304. This second Samuel Patrick was the son of Samuel Patrick, Sr. He was a hatter.

³⁸*Ibid.*, 9 April 1808, Bk. 9: 205–206.

³⁹Hosley, "Vermont Furniture," 248.

⁴⁰Robinson, *Vermont Cabinetmakers*, 111; Evans, *Windsor Chairs*, 525–526.

⁴¹*Spooner's Vermont Journal*, 4 December 1804.

⁴²*Post-Boy, and Vermont & New-Hampshire Federal Courier* (Windsor), 8 October 1805.

⁴³*Spooner's Vermont Journal*, 3 July 1809.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, 17 September 1809; 30 December 1811.

⁴⁵Philip Zea, "William Lloyd and the Workmanship of Change," in *Rural New England Furniture: People, Place, and Production*, The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, Annual Proceedings (Boston: Boston University, 1998), 72–73, fig. 8.

⁴⁶Cheney was in Windsor by June 30. *Spooner's Vermont Journal*, 14 July 1801.

⁴⁷*Weekly Wanderer* (Randolph, Vt.), 24 November 1806.

⁴⁸Christie's, New York, Sale, 21 January 1994, lot 261.

⁴⁹Thomas P. Kugelman and Alice K. Kugelman, "Furniture in the Colchester, Connecticut, Style," *Magazine Antiques* 168, 3 (September 2005): 98; Kugelman, *Connecticut Valley*, 337.

⁵⁰*The Post-Boy*, 8 October 1805.

⁵¹*Ibid.*, 29 April 1806.

⁵²*Ibid.*, 24 March 1807.

⁵³Papers of Mills Olcott and the Olcott Family, Julius Barnard to Mills Olcott, 12 June 1806.

⁵⁴Breck Family Daybooks, vol. 3, f. 178.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, vol. 3, fol. 229

⁵⁶In the *Hampshire Gazette* of May 8, 1801, Breck advertised that he had just received from Bristol and Liverpool (via Boston) "Brass and Cabinet Wares, Cutlery, Common and Plated Sadlery Wares, Coach and Harness wares, Clock and Watch Wares, Carpenter's, Cabinet-Maker's, Joiner's, Saddler's, Shoemaker's, Watch and Clock-Maker's Tools" etc.

⁵⁷Town clerk's office, Windsor, Vt., Land Records, Bk. 9. Later that year he also sold a house to the cabinetmaker, William Ayres, who had just moved to town. *Ibid.*, 10 October 1809. Ayres experienced financial difficulties in 1819 and absconded to Montreal, where he lived until his death in 1832. *Spooner's Vermont Journal*, 10 July 1809; *Brattleboro Messenger*, 7 July 1832.

⁵⁸*Spooner's Vermont Journal*, 10 July 1809.

⁵⁹*Ibid.*, 3 April and 7 August 1809.

⁶⁰Michael Sherman, Gene Sessions, and P. Jeffrey Potash, *Freedom and Unity: A History of Vermont* (Barre: Vermont Historical Society, 2004), 155–156.

⁶¹Marcus Lee Hansen and John Bartlett Brebner, *The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940), 89.

⁶²Cited in *Old Colony Gazette* (New Bedford, Mass.), 6 September 1811.

⁶³Holbrook captured the essence of their motivation in this analogy: "Ethan Allen was unquestionably more typical of the Yankee migrants . . . he left home with the idea of bettering himself materially, nor was he too particular as to how it came about." *Yankee Exodus*, 14.

⁶⁴Modern historians have tended to downplay or even ignore the size and relative importance of Montreal's American community during this period, as was the case more recently with Daniel

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Massicotte, "Dynamique de croissance et de changement à Montréal de 1792 à 1819: le passage de la ville préindustrielle à la ville industrielle," *Urban History Review* 28, 1 (October 1999): 19. Presbyterians were the largest Protestant denomination in Montreal and many of its adherents were American as well as Scottish, reflecting the Calvinist heritage of New England. As the Rev. Robert Campbell, who was more immediate to the situation, wrote: "One of the most interesting features of Montreal at the beginning of the century, was the large New England element of its population. . . The skilled mechanics, who ministered to the comfort of the inhabitants, and helped to build up the city, 75 or 100 years ago, were mainly drawn from across the line 45°." *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal* (Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co., 1887), 251–252.

⁶⁵R. W. McLachlan, "The Original Settlement of the Township of Brompton," *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal* 11, 3 (July 1914): 100–103.

⁶⁶The editor of the *Walpole*, New Hampshire, *Political Observatory* (5 June 1807), remarked on Mower's move: "In the 'King's dominions' he will doubtless receive more extensive patronage than here, as he will there find many whose principles are congenial with his own."

⁶⁷Mower was married to Freedom Patrick, while Cheney was married to her sister, Fanny.

⁶⁸In an ongoing study of cabinetmakers in Montreal between 1790 and 1812, so far the writer has identified some two score cabinetmakers and chairmakers from the United States. They were overwhelmingly from New England, with a few from New York. See the appendix for some furniture makers from Vermont in Montreal.

⁶⁹Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de Montréal (hereafter BANQ), Greffe Louis Chabaille, 12 March 1810.

⁷⁰*Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser*, 15 April 1811.

⁷¹*Ibid.*, 25 February 1811.

⁷²Gerald J. J. Tulchinsky, *The River Barons: Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation, 1837–53* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), 10–13.

⁷³BANQ, Greffe Louis Chabaille.

⁷⁴*Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser*, 15 April 1811.

⁷⁵Early Montreal furniture is treated by Donald Blake Webster, "Furniture of English Quebec," in *The Book of Canadian Antiques* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1974), 53–70; and *Early Canadian Furniture of the Georgian Period* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979); but there is no discussion of cabinetmakers or workshops in either publication. The other seminal work, based on information extracted from early newspapers, is Elizabeth Collard, "Montreal Cabinetmakers and Chairmakers, 1800–1850: A Check List," *Magazine Antiques* 105, 5 (May 1974): 1132–1146. The Royal Ontario Museum is the only public institution that proactively collects early English-style Montreal furniture, a course assumed at the initiative of Donald Webster.

⁷⁶*Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser*, 15 April 1811.

⁷⁷*Montreal Herald*, 30 May 1812.

⁷⁸They most likely had brass movements, which would have been imported from England. If it were not for the early date, it would be safer to speculate that such a large number of clocks must have been indicative of much cheaper wooden movements. I want to thank James Connell, Philip Morris, and Gary R. Sullivan for their thoughts on this matter.

⁷⁹Sullivan has demonstrated that some cabinetmakers in southeastern Massachusetts retailed clocks in numbers comparable to clockmakers. These same cabinetmakers were usually specialist makers of clock cases, who made cases for clockmakers, or acquired clock works from the latter, which they cased and sold themselves. This phenomenon is indicative of complex retailing practices in the clock trade, which likely occurred in other regions of New England as well. "Clockmaking in Southeastern Massachusetts: The Bailey Family of Hanover," in Brock Jobe, Gary R. Sullivan, and Jack O'Brien, *Harbor & Home: Furniture of Southeastern Massachusetts, 1710–1850* (Hanover, N.H. & London: University Press of New England, 2009), 40.

⁸⁰*Canadian Courant and Montreal Advertiser*, 10 February 1812. Samuel Park was at the hub of a network of cabinetmakers and chairmakers in the city, consisting of outworkers and jobbers, mostly American emigrants, who worked for him. Park himself was originally from the Boston area (Framingham).

⁸¹See F. Murray Greenwood, *Legacies of Fear: Law and Politics in Quebec in the Era of the French Revolution* (Toronto: The Osgoode Society, 1993).

⁸²See Jeffrey P. Greene, *American Furniture of the 18th Century* (Newtown, Conn.: The Taunton Press, 1996), 7, 137–139; and Donald Blake Webster, *Rococo to Rustique: Early French-Canadian Furniture in the Royal Ontario Museum* (Toronto: Royal Ontario Museum, 2000), 30–31.

⁸³Eli Barnard is probably the person who later operated the Green Mountain House, an inn in Burlington, Vermont. W. S. Rann, ed., *History of Chittenden County, Vermont* (Syracuse, N.Y.: D. Mason & Co., 1886), 504.

⁸⁴BANQ, Greffe Louis Chabaille, 10 October 1810.

⁸⁵*Ibid.*, 25 December 1811.

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⁸⁶ His wife was Lovisa Pynchon Pomeroy, a native of Northampton. They married on 28 August 1796.

⁸⁷ BAnQ, Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church, Montreal, 29 February and 2 December 1812. Pomroy resided in Derby Line, Vermont, before going to Montreal. Albert A. Pomeroy, *History and Genealogy of the Pomeroy Family* (Toledo, Oh.: Franklin Printing and Engraving Company, 1912), 306.

⁸⁸ *Montreal Herald*, 30 May 1812.

⁸⁹ *Appendix to the XXXVIIIth Volume of the Journals of the House of Assembly of the Province of Lower-Canada, Second Session of the Thirteenth Provincial Parliament, Sess. 1828–29* (Quebec: Neilson & Cowan, 1829), n. pag.

⁹⁰ *Montreal Herald*, 27 June 1812.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 4 July 1812.

⁹² *Regulations, Established by His Excellency the Governor, Respecting American Subjects, Now Residing in the Province of Lower Canada* (Montreal: Gray, 1812).

⁹³ BAnQ, Greffe Louis Chaboillez, 12 March 1810 and 2 July 1812.

⁹⁴ Berkshire Athenaeum (hereafter BA), Pittsfield, Mass., Local History and Genealogy Collection, Tax Records. Barnard is listed in tax records up until 1 July 1818.

⁹⁵ *Pittsfield Sun*, 12 August 1813.

⁹⁶ Jesse Chickering, *Statistical View of the Population of Massachusetts from 1765 to 1840* (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1846), 28.

⁹⁷ *Pittsfield Sun*, 28 December 1815.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 28 November 1822.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 19 July 1816.

¹⁰⁰ *Berkshire Star* (Stockbridge, Mass.), 18 December 1817.

¹⁰¹ *New-Hampshire Patriot & State Gazette* (Concord), 5 November 1821.

¹⁰² *Pittsfield Sun*, 22 August 1821.

¹⁰³ BA, Court of Common Pleas, 18 April 1814, Bk. 32: 536.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 7 March 1819, Bk. 39: 149–151.

¹⁰⁵ *American Beacon and Commercial Diary* (Norfolk, Va.), 7 June 1817; *American Farmer* (Baltimore), 9 June 1820.

¹⁰⁶ BA, Court of Common Pleas, Bk. 42: 314–315.

¹⁰⁷ *Hampshire Gazette*, 26 May 1824. Olivia Barnard was born in Northampton on January 12, 1800, and died in Sharon, Connecticut, on March 25, 1825. Lawrence Van Alostyne, *Burying Grounds of Sharon, Connecticut, Amenia and North East, New York* (Amenia, N.Y.: Walsh, Griffin & Hoysradt, 1903), 6.

¹⁰⁸ George H. Swift, *William Swyft of Sandwich and Some of His Descendants* (Millbrook, N.Y.: Round Table Press, 1900), 83; Pomeroy, *Pomeroy Family*, 323.

¹⁰⁹ None of the furniture makers in the appendix are listed in Robinson, *Vermont Cabinetmakers*.

¹¹⁰ C. W. Walton, “A Vermont Sketchbook: Abraham Brinsmaid, Vermont Silversmith,” *Vermont History* 25, 3 (July 1957): 225.

¹¹¹ BAnQ, Greffe Louis Chaboillez, 7 August 1798.

¹¹² BAnQ, Greffe Jonathan A. Gray, 27 August 1801.

¹¹³ “Fancy” or painted furniture, which came into vogue in the United States at the turn of the nineteenth century, required the skill of decorative painters. The term “fancy” applies chiefly to seating furniture. The painting was often outsourced to specialists, some of whom, like Corse, became involved in the furniture trade to the point of retailing “fancy” seating furniture themselves. Dean A. Fales, Jr., *American Painted Furniture, 1660–1880* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1986), 102, 133.

¹¹⁴ *Green Mountain Patriot* (Peacham), 19 January 1803; *Montreal Gazette*, 8 August 1803.

¹¹⁵ Corse advertised in the *Montreal Gazette* (4 August 1806) that he had “on hand a large assortment of chairs of the newest fashions, consisting of japann’d, gilt, cane bottomed drawing room chairs; japann’d, gilt and painted bamboo chairs and sofas; dining chairs of every description. He will have made on short notice fancy drawing room chairs, sofas, cornices, window seats, bedsteads with and without cornices, after any particular pattern.”

¹¹⁶ BAnQ, Greffe Jonathan A. Gray, 9 July 1804.

¹¹⁷ BAnQ, Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, 16 December 1805.

¹¹⁸ *Green Mountain Patriot*, 30 April 1805.

¹¹⁹ *Middlebury Mercury*, 8 January 1806.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 14 September 1808; 19 April 1809; Robinson, *Vermont Cabinetmakers*, 43.

¹²¹ BAnQ, Register of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials, St. Gabriel Street Presbyterian Church, Montreal, 11 July 1810.

¹²² BAnQ, Greffe Joseph Desautels, 24 January 1814.