Massachusetts

Norfolk County

Milton


In 1728 Daniel Henchman, Gillam Phillips, Benjamin Faneuil, Thomas Hancock, and Henry Dering obtained a charter from the Province of Massachusetts Bay to start a papermaking business, which was granted a ten-year monopoly in the province provided that the proprietors succeeded in making 200 reams of brown and printing grades during their first year and progressively more until they reached the goal of making 500 reams of writing, printing, and wrapping grades a year. They leased a fulling mill in Milton, installed the necessary machinery, and built a house for the workers, with the upper story serving as a drying loft. The senior partner, Daniel Henchman, was a bookbinder, bookseller, and the father-in-law of Thomas Hancock, a merchant who imported paper from England, no doubt writing and printing grades of higher quality than the products of the Milton mill. Hancock became so heavily involved in the import trade that he began to smuggle paper from Amsterdam when English prices rose abruptly in 1737. Gillam Phillips, also a bookseller, was the brother-in-law of the merchant Benjamin Faneuil. (Most sources say he was the son-in-law of Benjamin Faneuil, who appears to have been confused with his father Benjamin Faneuil [d. ca. 1718].) Henry Dering acted as the business agent, probably tending the day-to-day financial affairs of the enterprise. The Henchman syndicate entrusted the management of the mill to Henry Woodman, whose efforts were not entirely satisfactory, although he did succeed in getting the mill under way in 1729 and was making cheap printing grades by 1730, when the publishers of an almanac announced that it was printed on “the first Paper made at Milton, N. Eng.” It is not known whether the partners were able to fulfill the terms of their charter, but Henchman was able to show sample sheets to the provincial legislature in 1731. In a letter dated 4 December 1731, Governor Jonathan Belcher reported to the Lords of Trade that the mill had been founded about three years ago and that its annual output was worth about £200 sterling. References: Baxter 1934, 21–23; Dorchester 1859, 611–12; Park 1923, 300, 310; Drake 1962, item 3031; Bidwell 2000, 175; O’Neal 1978, item 43; “The Belcher Papers,” Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 6th ser., 6 (1893): 70; Wallingford 1951, no. 1.

In 1733 Phillips sold his share in the mill to Peter Faneuil, brother of the younger Benjamin Faneuil. Reference: Baxter 1934, 23.

Jeremiah Smith replaced Woodman as foreman in 1737. Dering departed at about that time, complaining that it was too difficult to collect enough rags to keep the business going. Born in northern Ireland, Smith
was not a trained papermaker and must have been practicing another trade when he emigrated to Boston in 1726. Although the mill was no more profitable while Smith was in charge, he purchased the building and property the partners had been leasing, comprising seven acres, and bought out the Faneuil brothers in 1746 as well as Henchman in 1748. References: Baxter 1934, 23–24, 26; Dorchester 1859, 612–15.

After the original partners left, the mill suspended operations at times when Smith ran out of rags or ran short of skilled labor; at one point he employed no journeymen at all but only three boys. He hired papermakers wherever he could find them, even in the British garrison in Boston, where John Hazleton was stationed until he obtained a furlough to work in Milton ca. 1759. Smith employed the soldier as foreman and an American, Abijah Smith, as “chief vatman.” Hazleton’s industrial interlude did not last for long, as he had to rejoin the regiment when it was sent off to war against the French, and he died in battle during the assault on Quebec. Thoroughly discouraged, Smith neglected the mill and applied for a permit to run a tavern, a more reliable investment. References: Baxter 1934, 24, 26; Hunter 1952, 36; [Philadelphia, Pa.] Pennsylvania Mercury, 6 Jan. 1791, 4.

James Boies (also Boyce), a son-in-law of Smith, recruited the first truly qualified foreman of the mill, Richard Clarke (also Clark), an experienced papermaker from Newcastle upon Tyne. Clarke may have had twenty years’ experience if he was the same Richard Clarke who was seeking workmen for a brown-paper mill in the Newcastle area in 1741. Boies met Clarke on a ship carrying English immigrants to New York and persuaded him to work for Smith in 1760. Clarke succeeded in reviving the mill, a feat greatly appreciated by Boston publishers, who noted in a rag advertisement in 1763 that papermaking had languished in Massachusetts but that “lately one Mr. Clark, has carried it on at the Mills in Milton, to as great Perfection as at Pennsylvania.” Noting the benefits of papermaking, and the “ruinous Condition” of the mill, the Massachusetts legislature resolved in December 1763 to grant Boies and Clarke an interest-free loan of £400 so they could proceed with the necessary repairs. Soon after, Clarke left Smith’s employ to work with Boies at Mass. Mill 2. References: Shorter 1957, 222–23; O’Neal 1978, item 91; Nathaniel Ames, An Astronomical Diary, or Almanack for . . . 1764 (New London, Conn.: Reprinted and sold by Timothy Green, [1763]); Dorchester 1859, 613–14; Weeks 1916, 23–24.

After Clarke left, Smith carried on alone until 1769, when he invited his son-in-law Daniel Vose to take a half interest in the mill. Vose’s ledger lists a wide variety of products, including pasteboard, hanging paper, cartridge paper, large amounts of whitish brown paper, occasional small batches of writing paper, and many deliveries of printings in the foolscap, crown, and demy sizes. The Boston printers Edes & Gill were regular customers, as were Mills & Hicks, Ezekiel Russell, William M’Alpine, Isaiah Thomas, and John Kneeland. References: Dorchester 1859, 614; Teele 1887, 372, 398; Liberty Ledger.

When Smith retired in 1775, Vose bought the other half interest and became sole proprietor, although he also took on partners who operated under the name of Vose, Lewis & Crane between 1781 and 1787. I have not been able to identify Lewis and Crane, who could have been investors or journeymen charged with the management of the mill. Histories of the Crane Paper Mill in Dalton (Mass. Mill 47) state that Crane was Zenas Crane’s father Stephen Crane, who, however, died before the partnership was formed. I have not found his name in the Liberty Ledger and can only guess that he might have been confused with Henry Crane, who made some purchases in 1786 on the firm’s account. Perhaps this confusion stems from a misreading of the
Liberty Ledger, which records sales of paper as early as 1770. On this basis historians have assumed that the Vose, Lewis & Crane partnership was formed in that year, but the ledger contains a summary account of the partnership’s affairs, with annual statements starting in 1781 and ending in 1787. Vose was one of four paper manufacturers who petitioned the Massachusetts legislature in 1785 for an embargo on imported paper, promising that the five mills in the Commonwealth would supply all its needs at specified prices. References: Hopkins 2001; Liberty Ledger; Bemis Petition; Dorchester 1859, 614.

Between 1788 and 1804 part of the mill was employed in the manufacture of chocolate. Reference: Dorchester 1859, 614.

Vose rented the mill to John Sullivan and Joseph Bodge for a few years until 1800. Reference: Dorchester 1859, 616.

Vose rented the mill to Isaac Sanderson (also Saunderson) in 1801, and the Vose family sold it to him in 1810, when the water privilege was worth $2,500 and the improvements $3,500. Sanderson was making fine writing papers here in 1803 but later became more concerned with the board manufacture he carried on in Mass. Mill 4. Reference: Dorchester 1859, 616–17, 641.

James Boies purchased land at this location in 1764, built a paper mill there, and a year later sold a half interest in it to Richard Clarke, who had previously been working at Mass. Mill 1. The preface of Flagg’s Collection of the Best Psalm Tunes (1764) states that its paper “is the Manufacture of our own Country.” I have attributed the watermark below to Mass. Mill 2 rather than Mass. Mill 1 because this sort of advertisement is usually associated with a newly established mill and because Mass. Mill 1 may have been under repair at this time. The Upper Paper Mill burned down in 1768 and was rebuilt. Clarke offered for sale in 1773 his half share in the business, including “half of the Negro Caesar, and half Benefit of three Apprentices.” The partners Boies & Clark announced in a broadside dated 16 January 1775 that they were willing to pay an additional two pence per pound for white cotton and linen rags in an attempt to cope with the “present alarming situation of the Colonies.” References: Teele 1887, 374–75; Wallingford 1951, no. 2; Boston News-Letter, 11 Feb. 1773, 3.


In a single surround: Britannia | IB = crown | GR [laid] — blank sheet said to have been excised from the “New Mill Journal for 1777,” later in the possession of Tilton & Hollingsworth (AAS; Shipton 1950, 232).

Note: Although Gravell & Miller believed the IB | B watermark to be on foreign paper, it is almost certainly domestic, like the David Bemis & Co. paper described below, which also survives in a Medfield document.
dated 1791. This paper could also have been made at Mass. Mill 3.

When Richard Clarke died in 1777, his son George Clarke (also Clark) inherited his share and then sold it in 1779 to Hugh McLean, perhaps because he was already occupied, not very successfully, in Mass. Mill 11 in Dorchester. References: Teele 1887, 374–75; 397–98; Dorchester 1859, 622–23, 628.

Boies and McLean dissolved their partnership in Mass. Mills 2 and 3 in 1790, McLean taking sole possession of this mill and assigning his share in the other mill to Boies. Reference: Teele 1887, 375.

HM = fish [laid] — ms., n.p., ca. 1792–1793 (AAS); ms., Boston, Mass., 1792 (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk 424; countermark only);

Know all Men by these Presents, That we, John Abbot, Gentleman, and Moses Thomas, Housewright, both of Westford, printed doc. concerning sales of pews in Westford, Mass., inscribed 13 Nov. 1794 (DLC broadside port. 44:25a; countermark only).

Captain Henry Cox, at first an apprentice in this mill and then foreman, leased the mill from McLean’s widow, Agnes, after McLean died in 1798 or 1799. Around 1802 Cox left to join a partnership in Mass. Mill 3. Reference: Dorchester 1859, 624.

George Bird leased the mill between 1803 and 1805 and then moved to Dedham, where he bought Mass. Mill 9. A John McLean was seeking a new tenant in 1804 while Bird was still in residence. The mill was said to be in good condition and in such a promising situation for water power that it could be converted to a double mill. References: Teele 1887, 375; Dorchester 1859, 624; [Boston, Mass.] Columbian Centinel, 28 July 1804, 4.

Ebenezer Stedman and Josiah Randall leased the mill for two years, and then John Savels took the place of Stedman around 1807, or some years earlier if, as Hunter claims, he moved to Gardiner, Maine, in 1806. Savels was certainly in Maine by 1812, when he built
Mclean joined with two other paper manufacturers to petition the Massachusetts legislature in 1785 for an embargo on imported paper. References: Boston Evening-Post, 8 June 1782, 4; Bemis Petition; Dorchester 1859, 605, 623–24; Boyer 1977, 189.


Jeremiah Smith Boies, son of James Boies, operated this mill during his father’s last years and took over the mill when his father died in 1798. in 1795 he served as clerk at a meeting of Massachusetts mill owners who conferred on the possibility of establishing a cooperative salesroom in Boston. References: Teele 1887, 399; McMurtrie 1929, 1; Sellers Moulds Finished, 10 May 1791: post, watermarked JSB and posthorn. JSB = flower [laid] — mss., Medway, Mass., 1793, and Cambridge, Mass., 1799 (AAS); ms., Baltimore, Md., 1794 (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk. 589–90).

Boies leased it to his foreman Amasa Fuller, who ran it with George Bird until 1803, when Henry Cox took the place of Bird. Cox stayed only until 1807. Fuller then ran the mill on his own as a two-vat establishment and purchased the property sometime before 1825, when his son Richardson Fuller, Benjamin F. Crehore, and Jarvis Fenno took over the business. The younger Fuller died shortly afterward. When Crehore died in 1828, the executors of Amasa Fuller sold the mill to Tileston & Hollingsworth (Edmund Tileston and Mark Hollingsworth). Around 1809 the privilege was assessed at $3,000 and the improvements at $3,500. References: Teele 1887, 375; Dorchester 1859, 625, 641.

Tileston & Hollingsworth renovated this establishment and continued to run it for many years, perhaps as late as 1882 if it can be identified with the Fuller Mill, which manufactured colored mediums for this firm, one of three mills it owned in Milton at this time. In 1915 it was sold to the William Curtis Lumber Com-
pany. References: *Dorchester* 1859, 626; *Lockwood* 1882, 50; *Wallingford* 1951, no. 2.


In 1817 Isaac Sanderson built a new paper mill near the old Vose mill, which he had been running since 1801. He adopted and publicized an impressive number of manufacturing improvements, including a wrought iron tub wheel—the first iron water wheel in the area. An advertisement in a Baltimore newspaper credited the invention to David H. Gilbert and invited industrialists to view a model of the mill wheel that Sanderson proposed to bring to Baltimore. In 1827 he installed a cylinder machine used for the manufacture of pasteboard and press papers. He patented improvements in cylinder machines and in the manufacture of pasteboard for handboxes in 1829 and 1830. He is said to have experimented with making paper and pasteboard from beach grass harvested in Cape Cod. References: *Dorchester* 1859, 616–17; *Munsell* 1876, 85–86, 90; *Baltimore Patriot*, 13 Feb. 1834, 3; *Burke* 1847, 85.

Addendum

In 1832 twenty-one men and fourteen women were working in the Milton paper mills, which contained machinery valued at $18,000 and produced goods worth $61,000 a year. Reference: McLane Report, 1:398–99.

Needham


William Hoogs settled in Newton Lower Falls in 1775 and then acquired land across the bridge at this location, where he built a tannery. In 1793 he contracted with the Boston merchants Francis Wright and Joseph Greene and with another Newton resident, Edward Jackson, son of Ephraim Jackson I, to build near the tannery a paper mill to be operated by the papermaker Stephen Crane Jr., brother of Zenas Crane. Wright and Greene purchased Jackson’s interest in the mill a few weeks after it went into production in January 1794. Wright was one of the Massachusetts mill owners who met in 1795 to discuss the possibility of establishing a cooperative salesroom in Boston. References: *Wiswall* 1938, 44, 62–64; *Hurd* 1890, 3:103; *McMurtrie* 1929, 1; *Hopkins* 2001; *Sellers Moulds Finished*, 22 Nov. 1793: double foolscap, watermarked SC & C Needham.


SC & C = NEEDHAM [laid] — Commonwealth of Massachusetts, York, ss. *At a Court of General Sessions of the Peace* [23 Aug. 1796] (Portland [Me.?], 1796; PPL broadside; watermark only, lacking the half sheet with the SC & C countermark); [Boston, Mass.] *Independent Chronicle*, 29 May 1797 (AAS; countermark only, lacking the half sheet with the NEEDHAM watermark); ms.?, n.p., 1802 (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk 726–27; lacking the SC portion of the countermark); ms., Charleston [Mass.?], 1806 (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk 725; watermark only, lacking the half sheet with the SC & C countermark).


In 1796 the mill was insured for $3,000 and its stock in trade for $2,000. Reference: INA policies 122 and 123, 8 Feb. 1796.

Wright and Greene purchased Crane’s interest in July 1796, making them sole proprietors with Hoogs, who then bought them out in November 1799; he also bought a share owned by Russell Sturgis, who must have invested in this mill only briefly and appears to have had no other connection with the paper trade. Reference: *Wiswall* 1938, 64–66.

After Hoogs died in 1802, his son William Hoogs II ran the mill until his creditors took it over in 1810. Reference: *Wiswall* 1938, 66, 69.
Charles Rice purchased the mill from Hoog's creditors ca. 1818 and sold it in 1835, by which time it was known as the Nehoiden Mill. One of the five mills located in Needham by the McLane Report is said to have been run with the assistance of Charles Rice; if that was the Nehoiden Mill, it probably contained two vats consuming approximately 56 tons of rags a year to manufacture 2,817 reams valued at $11,268. Four men and two women were employed in the establishment, which was capitalized at $8,000 and equipped with machinery valued at $2,000. Charles Rice was running a two-vat mill in Needham in 1823. References: Wiswall 1938, 66, 68, 69; Kayser 1823, 114; McLane Report, 1:400–401.

6. On the Charles River at the Upper Dam.

Ephraim Jackson II, brother of Edward Jackson, built a mill at this location and operated it from 1801 until 1811. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 41–42.

A firm headed by Moses Grant II was renting the mill from Jackson in 1815, when it burned down along with a grist mill that was attached to it. Reference: [Boston, Mass.] New-England Palladium, 17 Nov. 1815, 2.

In 1815 the mill seat was sold to Joseph Jackson, Tyler Bigelow, and William Parker, who sold it a year later to Solomon Curtis and William Hurd. At this point, the mill had not yet been rebuilt. One advertisement notes that the previous mill had contained two vats and offers for sale iron hardware that had been salvaged from the fire. References: Wiswall 1938, 37, 41–42; [Boston, Mass.] Columbian Centinel, 23 Mar. 1816, 1.

After Solomon Curtis died in 1818, his heirs sold the property to Isaac Stevens, John Clark, and Rufus Ellis, who then sold the water rights and buildings to George Hooker and John Nichols in 1822; shortly thereafter, Hooker sold his share to A. C. & W. Curtis {Allen C. Curtis and William Curtis}. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 38, 41–42.

In 1822 A. C. & W. Curtis, George Hooker, and John Nichols sold land to Amos Lyon, who then built or rebuilt a two-vat paper mill on this location. In 1834 the mill of Amos Lyon & Co. burned down at a loss estimated at $50,000 but was rebuilt. One reason his losses were so large is that he had recently bought machinery from Phelps & Spafford, perhaps even a papermaking machine. References: Wiswall 1938, 41–42; Kayser 1823, 114; Munsell 1876, 100; Phelps & Spafford Ledger, 1829–1837; Hurd 1890, 3:102.

7. On the Charles River at the Upper Dam.

Peter Lyon, brother of Amos Lyon, built a mill at this location in 1810 and then sold it to William and Adolphus Durant in 1822. Their mill had two vats in 1823. Lyon later became the proprietor of a mill in Chaplin, Windham County, Connecticut. References: Wiswall 1938, 57, 59; Kayser 1823, 114; Pratt 1849, 305.

William Durant, formerly apprenticed to Boies and McLean, operated this mill after Adolphus Durant went on to run Mass. Mill 51. He sold it, along with land and water rights, to John L. Rice for $6,500 in 1831. Rice was the half-brother of Thomas Rice I. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 57–58.

8. On the Charles River at the Upper Dam.

A. C. & W. Curtis {Allen C. & William Curtis}, John Nichols, and Rufus Ellis either built this mill or somehow acquired it before 1824, when they sold it to John Dodd. Walcott & Willis bought it from Dodd in 1828 but went out of business in 1830 by way of a sheriff’s sale, where it passed into the hands of Alexander H. Twombly, one of their creditors, who then sold it to William Hurd and Lemuel Creshore in 1831. Possibly the same as Mass. Mill 6. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 50–51.

Hurd and Creshore owned several mills in a partnership that was dissolved in 1834, probably because they needed to regroup after the mill burned down in the same fire that destroyed Mass. Mill 6. Hurd then took over their properties on the Needham side of the river. References: Wiswall 1938, 25–26; [Portland, Me.] Eastern Argus, 26 May 1834, 3.

Addenda

After working at Mass. Mill 1, George Bird purchased a water privilege in Charles River Village in 1793. Three years later he offered to sell a quarter share in a Needham paper mill “owned by Ellis, Bird, and others.” References: Wheelwright 1952, 39; [Boston, Mass.] Columbian Centinel, 1 June 1796, 4.

Jonathan Ellis was the proprietor of a Needham paper mill in 1805, when he invited journeymen to discuss employment possibilities with him at his Boston address or with the “Foreman of his Paper-Mill in Needham.” Reference: [Boston, Mass.] Columbian Centinel, 10 Aug. 1805, 3.

In 1816 Hurd & Bemis {William Hurd and Charles Bemis} owned one-third of a Needham paper mill; Elliott & Curtis {Simon Elliott and Solomon Curtis} owned the other two-thirds. Possibly this was Mass. Mill 6. Reference: Hurd 1890, 3:102.

The McLane Report contains figures for five mills in Needham, one possibly the Nehoiden Mill (Mass. Mill 5) and one or two of the others perhaps actually situated in Newton, just across the river. All five of the establishments were small, none capitalized any-

where near the amount Amos Lyon & Co. was said to have lost when Mass. Mill 6 burned down in 1834. Besides the mill I consider to be the Nehoiden Mill, the others can be summarized as follows: (2) capitalized at $5,500, machinery valued at $1,200, four men and two women processing 57 tons of rags a year to manufacture 2,800 reams valued at $12,000; (3) capitalized at $6,000, machinery valued at $3,000, four men and one woman processing approximately 63 tons of rags a year to manufacture 9,390 reams valued at $4,695, probably wrappings; (4) capitalized at $3,000, machinery valued at $700, four men processing approximately 63 tons of rags a year to manufacture products valued at $4,650, probably wrappings; (5) capitalized at $8,000, machinery valued at $1,000, seventeen men and six women processing 130 tons of raw materials a year to manufacture pasteboard valued at $12,000. Reference: McLane Report, 1:400–401.

Dedham

9. On the lower dam of Mill Creek or Mother Brook.

Poor & Mann {Daniel Poor and Herman Mann} built a paper mill in Dedham sometime before 18 July 1799, when they solicited rags and advertised their services in Mann’s newspaper, the Columbian Minerva. Mann withdrew from the partnership in 1800 but continued as a job printer and started to manufacture marbled paper in 1809. In 1801 the town sheriff put up for sale at public auction Poor’s one-half share in the paper mill, including tools and utensils, as well as the right to purchase the water privilege, which had been leased to him in 1799. Poor’s share passed into the hands of Richard Jordan, previously the proprietor of N.H. Mill 1. Jordan was residing in Andover, Massachusetts, when he died in 1802, leaving the administrator of his estate to sell his share at auction on the same terms. References: Wolfe 1981, 4, 19–21, 32, 96, 127; [Dedham, Mass.] Columbian Minerva, 28 Apr. 1801, 1; [Boston, Mass.] Columbian Centinel, 21 Aug. 1802, 4, and 9 Mar. 1803, 4.

In 1804 the business passed into the hands of George Bird, who had been working in Milton at Mass. Mills 2
and 3. The mill burned down in 1809 or 1812 and was rebuilt. Poor went on to work at Andover in Mass. Mill 50. By 1818, Bird was renting the mill to papermakers on a yearly basis and on generous terms: if the tenant could not pay cash, he would supply the rags and buy the products of the establishment at set prices. Even on this basis it was hard to find a satisfactory tenant during the Panic of 1819, which was sufficiently discouraging that Bird tried to sell the mill at auction, apparently without success. He served on a committee of Boston-area papermakers who were to gather signatures for a petition urging Congress “to increase the present duty on paper.” References: Wolfe 1981, 20; Hurd 1884, 65; Wheelwright 1952, 40; Dedham Gazette, 13 Mar. 1818, 4, and 12 Mar. 1819, 4.

In 1823 Bird entered into a partnership with the textile manufacturer Frederick A. Taft and in the same year leased his property to the Norfolk Manufacturing Company, which Taft and John Lemist of Roxbury helped to organize. The corporation bought the property in 1830, after Bird had left to establish Mass. Mill 10 in East Walpole. Taft obtained patents for manufacturing pasteboard and a fire-resistant house sheathing paper. The mill burned down in 1833, about a year after Taft wrote an account of his thriving business for the McLane Report. He claimed to manufacture 100 tons of pasteboard and 4,000 reams of paper a year with a total value of $13,000, employing six men, one boy, and one woman to run machinery worth $1,500 in an establishment valued at $5,000. It was insured for $2,000. Phelps & Spafford later sold him machinery costing $1,273.41. References: Wolfe 1981, 20; Hurd 1884, 65; Wheelwright 1952, 40; Dedham Gazette, 13 Mar. 1818, 4, and 12 Mar. 1819, 4.

East Walpole


After having taken a partner in Mass. Mill 9, George Bird started a new mill in East Walpole, formerly South
Dorchester paper and grist mill came up for auction in 1798 along with other assets formerly belonging to Richard Clarke II. It is not clear what happened to his quarter interest in this business. References: *Dorchester* 1859, 628–30; Sellers Moulds Finished, 22 Jan. 1794: double cap, watermarked CLARKE, delivered to Thomas Dobson; [Boston, Mass.] *Columbian Centinel*, 31 Mar. 1798, 3.


*Note:* Gravell & Miller attribute the CLARKE & Co watermark to Richard Clarke I, who, however, died before this paper was made. A better candidate would be his grandson Richard Clarke II, who could have been alluding to his partnership with his father and Patrick Connor.

William Sumner ran the mill on his own after Richard Clarke II died in 1796. Reference: *Dorchester* 1859, 629.

In the spring of 1806 Sumner leased the mill to Tileston & Hollingsworth (Edmund Tileston and Mark Hollingsworth). References: *Dorchester* 1859, 630, 632; Sellers Moulds Ordered, 17 June 1808 = Sellers Moulds Finished, 22 July 1808: double cap for card paper.

Tileston & Hollingsworth left the mill in the spring of 1809 to purchase Mass. Mill 2 from Agnes McLean. Sumner then resumed the business with his son William Sumner II. In 1809 the water privilege was assessed at $4,500 and the improvements at $3,500. Reference: *Dorchester* 1859, 630, 641.

William Sumner I retired in 1822, leaving the business in the hands of his sons Edward Sumner and William Sumner II. Reference: *Dorchester* 1859, 630.

The Sumner brothers ran into financial trouble and

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**Suffolk County**

**Dorchester**

11. Between the Neponset River and River Street, west of Blue Hill Avenue.

After working for his father Richard Clarke in Milton, George Clarke (also Clark) went to Dorchester and in 1773 bought from the town 14 acres of land on which he built a paper mill. Apparently he never succeeded in gaining much of a profit from the mill, which he mortgaged to Abigail Quincy in 1781. He may have abandoned it around 1785, since it was not one of the five paper mills in Massachusetts mentioned by David Bemis in his petition against imported goods. References: *Dorchester* 1859, 628; Bemis Petition.

In 1786 Clarke sold the mill to Patrick Connor and William Sumner, who then purchased the mortgage from Abigail Quincy. A year later Connor sold half of his half interest to Richard Clarke II, son of George Clarke, and conveyed a life interest in the other half to George Clarke in 1794. However, a quarter share in a
in 1827 relinquished the management of the mill to Colonel Nathaniel Crane or Tileston & Hollingsworth (Edmund Tileston and Mark Hollingsworth). The new management repaired the facilities and installed a machine, possibly the first Fourdrinier machine in New England. References: *Dorchester* 1859, 630; Wallingford 1951, no. 4.

Crane may have left around 1832, and Edward Sumner ran the mill until he died in 1836. By one account, Crane, acting as administrator of the estate of William Sumner I, then sold the mill and four acres of land to Tileston & Hollingsworth. The machinists C. M. Pickering & Co. listed the Fourdrinier in this mill, or possibly Mass. Mill 14, as one of four they (or rather Phelps & Spafford) had erected in the Boston area before 1832. In that year Tileston & Hollingsworth bought from Phelps & Spafford deckle straps costing $17.50 and, for the dry end of their Fourdrinier, a drying and cutting machine costing $1,351.95. References: *Dorchester* 1859, 630; Wallingford 1951, no. 4; AAD 1832, 51, 143; Phelps & Spafford Ledger, 1829–1834.

In 1832 Edmund Tileston and Enoch Baldwin counted seventeen men and fourteen women working in the “Dorchester Paper Mills” and estimated their annual output at $37,000. They may have been referring to more than one mill, since they appraised the property and buildings at $20,000 and the machinery at $2,400; the latter figure seems low if there was a Fourdrinier on the premises. Reference: McLane Report, 1:380–81.

In 1849 Tileston & Hollingsworth’s main office was in Dorchester. At this time they were a major supplier to the Boston publishers Ticknor and Fields, whose cost books contain specifications for papers supplied by this firm during the 1850s. References: Pratt 1849, 174; Tryon & Charvat 1949.

Tileston & Hollingsworth continued to manufacture paper at this location as late as 1951, although they had torn down the old Sumner mill and replaced it with a new building containing four engines and a Fourdrinier. References: Wallingford 1951, no. 4; *Dorchester* 1859, 631; Lockwood 1882, 50.

12. On the Neponset River at the Lower Mills, just west of Dorchester Avenue.

In 1790 James Babcock, a papermaker from Watertown, converted a snuff mill at this location to the manufacture of paper in partnership with Samuel Leeds and Michael McCarney, who each owned a quarter share in the venture. Reference: *Dorchester* 1859, 603, 624.

Babcock died soon after he and his partners started the papermaking business. His half share was acquired by Abel Alline, who also owned an eighth share in the concern, which he sold to Leeds in 1795; he sold a half share to William Hawes in 1797. Joseph Hawes was also involved in the business. McCarney seems to have succeeded Babcock as the managing partner by 1792, when watermarks appearing in that year indicate that the firm was doing business as Michael McCarney & Co. In 1795 he met with other Massachusetts mill owners to confer on “general Customs in the different Mills,” probably meaning production quotas, labor regulations, and price controls. References: *Dorchester* 1859, 603–4; McMurtrie 1929, 1.


Baker became the sole proprietor in 1807, when he acquired McCarney’s share from McCarney’s son-in-law. He then retired from active management of the mill and rented it to Captain Henry Cox and Eliab Thorp, who carried on the business as Cox & Thorp for five years. In 1809 Baker was assessed $3,000 for the water privilege and $4,700 for the improvements at this location. Reference: *Dorchester* 1859, 605–6, 641.

Thorp left the firm in 1813 and went to Athol, where he was probably involved with Mass. Mill 44. Cox continued on his own until 1816, when Charles Baker, son of Edmund Baker, became a partner. Reference: *Dorchester* 1859, 606.
Henry Cox departed in 1819 to establish Me. Mill 4 in North Yarmouth and was succeeded by Caleb Jarvis, who had been foreman of the mill, henceforth operating as Charles Baker & Co. Reference: *Dorchester* 1859, 606.

Edmund Baker rented the mill to Tileston & Hollingsworth from 1823 to 1829. Jarvis continued as foreman. References: *Dorchester* 1859, 607; Wallingford 1951, no. 5.

In 1829 Jesse Lyon and Jeremiah Fisher Daniels occupied the mill, which was converted to machine manufacture. Lyon’s brother Amos Lyon may have also owned a share in this concern in 1829. References: *Dorchester* 1859, 607; Wiswall 1938, 45–46.

In 1843 Edmund Baker sold the mill to his son Walter Baker, who rented it once again to Tileston & Hollingsworth. They continued to operate it until 1860. References: Wallingford 1951, no. 5; *Dorchester* 1859, 607.

13. Between the Neponset River and River Street, east of Blue Hill Avenue.

In 1795 Jeremiah Smith Boies built at this location one or more mills for grinding corn and chocolate as well as for making paper. References: Teele 1887, 399; *Dorchester* 1859, 631.

Previously employed in New Jersey or in a mill on the Brandywine, Mark Hollingsworth worked here as foreman and then in 1801 purchased an interest in the mill in partnership with Edmund Tileston, who had been apprenticed to Leeds and McCarney in Mass. Mill 12 and had been working in Needham, probably at Mass. Mill 5. Boies resigned from active management of the firm, although he furnished some capital for it and allowed the partners the use of the manufacturing facilities. References: *Dorchester* 1859, 631–32; Teele 1887, 399; Wallingford 1951, no. 6.

Boies left the firm when the mill burned down in 1805. Tileston & Hollingsworth abandoned the papermaking business at this location and rented Mass. Mill 11. Reference: *Dorchester* 1859, 632.


In 1817 Tileston & Hollingsworth converted a chocolate mill formerly operated by Jeremiah Smith Boies to paper manufacture. Strangely, the usually voluble Dorchester history has nothing more to say about this establishment, which might be identified with Mass. Mill 13, except that it is clearly at a different location. Wallingford claims that Tileston & Hollingsworth bought it from Agnes McLean in 1809, possibly confusing it with Mass. Mill 2. In 1823 Tileston & Hollingsworth “owned and occupied” two mills, one in Milton and one in Dorchester, both with two vats. References: *Dorchester* 1859, 623–25; Kayser 1823, 114; Wallingford 1951, no. 8.


In 1778 David Bemis and Enos Sumner built a dam at this location, on land owned by Bemis on the Watertown side and by Sumner on the Newton side. Sumner sold his land a year later to John D. McDougall of Boston, Michael McCarney of Milton, and Nathaniel Patten, a bookbinder and possibly the same Nathaniel Patten who briefly left Boston in 1774 to ply this trade in comparatively peaceful Norwich, Connecti-
The Bemis brothers petitioned the Massachusetts General Court for assistance in rebuilding the mill after it burned down around June 1793. They received a loan of £1,000 for five years, free of interest. References: Hurd 1890, 3:104; [Warren, R.I.] Herald of the United States, 6 June 1793, 307.

Isaac Bemis committed suicide in 1794, leaving Luke Bemis as sole proprietor. In the following year Luke Bemis put the mill up for sale along with a saw mill, but found no buyers. He was an active member of the paper trade and met with other Massachusetts mill owners to confer on “general Customs in the different Mills,” probably meaning production quotas, labor regulations, and price controls. References: Draper 1900, 178; McMurtrie 1929, 1; Sellers Moulds Finished, 15 Aug. 1796: double pott, watermarked L BeMiS and plow; [Boston, Mass.] Columbian Centinel, 4 Feb. 1795, 3.

Sometime before 1815 Luke Bemis’s brother-in-law Caleb Eddy joined the business, henceforth operating as Bemis & Eddy. They owned a paper warehouse on the Long Wharf in Boston, where they also managed a rope walk and a ship chandlery. In 1820 they reported that they could not compete against Italian and other imported papers, which had glutted the market and undercut their sales to the point that they were running only one of the mill’s three vats. Probably having laid off some of their workforce, they employed six men, four women, and two children making writings, print-
In 1790 John Ware built a paper mill on 14 acres of land he purchased at this location in 1789. He also operated a saw mill and a forge on his property. By 1797 his Newton landholdings had grown to 150 acres, including a farm, a store, a bake house, the paper mill, a saw mill, and two vacant mill privileges. All this he was willing to sell or divide for sale as separate businesses. References: Wiswall 1938, 23; [Boston, Mass.] Columbian Centinel, 16 Sept. 1797, 4.

In 1815 Ware sold the property with the water privilege and the paper and saw mills to William Hurd, Charles Bemis, John Marston, and Charles Jackson for $3,000. A year later Marston and Jackson sold their interest in the property to Hurd and Bemis, and a year after that Bemis sold out to Hurd, leaving him the sole proprietor of the land and the mills. Hurd claimed the mill had been in operation about thirty-five years in 1820, when he was employing eight men, four girls, and four boys to manufacture writings, printings, press paper, bonnet paper, and other products, his annual output valued at $12,000. The mill contained two engines and two vats, consuming 52 tons of rags a year. Hurd complained that after the end of the European war a glut of Italian imports had “very much injured this business.” References: Wiswall 1938, 23; Census of 1820, reel 2, item 49; Kayser 1823, 114.

W HURD = NEWTON [wove] — ms. Smithfield, R.I., 1820 (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk 469–70); ms., n.p., not after 1819 (AAS).

LEMUEL CREHORE [laid] — mss., Savannah, Ga., 1815, and Arundel, Quebec, 1818 (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk 150); ms., n.p., not after 1819 (AAS).

In 1821 Seth Bemis, brother of Luke Bemis, purchased the property from Bemis & Eddy. Already involved in a cotton and woolen factory on the Watertown side of the river, he decided to relinquish the paper trade, which was doing poorly anyway, and to adapt the mill for the manufacture of dye-woods and drugs. References: Census of 1820, reel 2, item 51; Draper 1900, 178; Hurd 1890, 3:105.

In 1789 Ephraim Jackson II purchased a half acre of land at this location, which already had a leather mill with a water privilege. He built a paper mill here in partnership with the Milton papermakers Solomon Curtis and Thomas Annis and the Dorchester millwright Hezekiah R. Miller, who each purchased quarter shares in the property in June 1792. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 31–32.

In 1796 Simon Elliott accumulated a half interest in this mill, having acquired Miller’s quarter interest by way of Henry Cox and Annis’s quarter interest by way of Solomon Curtis, who bought and sold that share on the same day. The firm Elliott & Curtis ran this mill after Elliott bought Jackson’s quarter interest in 1799, and it also operated the adjoining Mass. Mill 18 after Elliott sold Curtis an interest in that mill in 1804. During the following years the partners frequently exchanged fractional shares in these properties and at least once brought in another partner, Peter Lyon, who owned a small interest in the firm between 1804 and 1806. In 1816 the firm owned the water rights for two of the six paper mills on the Needham and Newton sides of Newton Lower Falls, as well as the right to run glazing machines in their mills, provided that there was enough power to run all six establishments, a fulling mill, and a saw mill. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 27–29.


SE & CO = NEWTON [laid] — ms., Hatfield, Mass., 1814 (AAS).


Shortly before he died in 1818, Solomon Curtis sold for $2,500 a quarter interest in the property, which then comprised two paper mills on an acre of land, to his son William Curtis. At the same time, Elliott assigned his share in the property to Thomas H. Perkins and Rufus Ellis, representing the creditors of Simon Elliott & Company, but redeemed the property and then sold it the following year, probably caught short by the Panic of 1819. He sold his three-quarters interest in this mill to George Hooker, who purchased the remaining one-quarter interest from Allen C. & William Curtis, thus becoming sole proprietor. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 34.

In 1820 the firm of Nichols & Hooker was running a mill in Newton and employed in that establishment eight men, two women, and two children to manufacture wrapping grades, sheathing paper, and boards, with an annual output valued at $5,830. The mill contained two engines, but only one of its two vats was in operation. References: Census of 1820, reel 2, item 46; Kayser 1823, 114.
In 1824 Hooker sold the mill to Rufus Ellis, who sold it to John Nichols in 1826. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 34.

Nichols was directly involved in the day-to-day operations of the mill. While working alongside his employees one day in 1831, he got caught in the machinery, and his head was “literally bruised in pieces.” At a public sale later that year his heirs sold the mill to Allen C. and William Curtis for $5,193.66. References: Wiswall 1938, 34; [Portsmouth, N.H.] Portsmouth Journal, 5 Feb. 1831, 3.


Simon Elliott built a paper mill on this property, which he purchased by deeds dated 1791 and 1794. A grist mill previously occupied this site. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 32.

Elliott sold Solomon Curtis an interest in the mill in 1804; the partners operated this and the adjoining Mass. Mill 17 as Elliott & Curtis. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 32.

Allen C. Curtis and William Curtis purchased their father Solomon Curtis’s quarter interest in 1818. A year later they bought Elliott’s three-quarters interest for $4,125. They estimated that they had invested $12,000 in the mill by 1820, when they employed ten men, eight women and girls, and four boys to manufacture writings, printings, press papers, and bonnet papers, their annual output valued at $12,000 to $13,000. A 16-foot breast wheel ran two engines consuming 52 tons of rags a year, which would have been enough to supply two vats. References: Wiswall 1938, 33–35; Kayser 1823, 114; Census of 1820, reel 2, item 47.

AC & W CURTIS = eagle [wove] — ms., Middlesex County, Mass., 1827 (AAS); ms., Providence, R.I., 1828 (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk 283; lacks half sheet with watermark?).

The machinists C. M. Pickering & Co. listed the Fourdrinier in this mill as one of four they (or rather Phelps & Spafford) had erected in the Boston area before 1832. The Curtis brothers still owed money to Phelps & Spafford at that time, yet they also purchased from that firm a drying and cutting machine costing $1,594.17. Perhaps misled by local tradition, Wiswall claims that they obtained two machines in England and had them smuggled to America around 1828. Ref-
In 1832 James Foster employed eight men to manufacture pasteboard, press papers, and “sand sheeting paper,” with an annual output valued at $16,800. Perhaps Joseph Foster was employing a relative to manage the mill, or perhaps someone had mistaken his name, but in any case this account seems to fit this mill, which was said to have been “established” in 1817, when Foster bought it. Reference: McLane Report, 1:348–49.

Toward the end of his life, Foster fell into financial difficulties but continued to operate the mill until he died in 1853. Then his son Joseph Foster II managed the mill, and his assignee Ebenezer Bradley oversaw its financial affairs until Thomas Rice II purchased it in 1857. Containing three beaters, the mill was designed to manufacture binders’ board, dried in the loft or on a nearby plot of ground. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 76–77.

20. Foster’s Mills. On the Charles River, on an island at the west side of the raceway near Pratt’s Bridge (later Washington Street Bridge) between Newton and Needham.

In 1806 William Hoogs II, his brother Francis Hoogs, and Samuel Brown of Needham purchased a snuff mill at this location by a deed describing Francis Hoogs and Samuel Brown as papermakers. The firm of Hoogs & Brown was making paper somewhere in Newton in 1805, when the proprietors posted a reward for a runaway apprentice. They may have converted the mill, although there is no definite mention of papermaking at this site until 1813. Brown sold his share in the firm in 1807. References: Wiswall 1938, 73–74, 82; [Boston, Mass.] Democrat, 21 Aug. 1805, 3.

After the Hoogs brothers failed, one of their creditors, Samuel Brown of Boston, took possession of their property in 1810 and then sold it to Peter Lyon in 1815. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 73–74, 82.

In 1817 Lyon sold the property to Bartlett & Foster (Bartlett and Joseph Foster), reserving for himself a small grist mill he had built at the rear of the paper mill and a third of the water rights. Lyon obtained half of the water rights in 1819. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 74–76, 82.

The mill had one vat in 1823, when it was “owned and occupied” by Joseph Foster. During 1822 and 1823, it passed through the hands of Allen C. Curtis, William Parker, and Peter Lyon. Parker and Lyon sold it to Amasa Fuller, who ran it from 1824 until sometime before 1830, when the executors of Fuller’s estate sold it to Joseph H. Foster (=Joseph Foster?). References: Kayser 1823, 114; Hurd 1890, 3:103.

In 1834 the Curtis brothers tore down this and Mass. Mill 17 to build a new stone mill, still standing in 1938. For more information on the Curtis firm, see the entry for Mass. Mill 17. One of their ream labels is in the Robert C. Williams Paper Museum, Atlanta, Ga. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 35.
21. At the upper dam in Newton Lower Falls, on property originally owned by John Ware.

Moses Grant & Son (Moses Grant and Moses Grant II) purchased a small plot of land at this location to manufacture binders' board. In 1811 Moses Grant II sold his interest in the mill to his father. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 23–24.

Although the business had been suffering from the glut of low-priced imports, the mill was still in operation in 1820, when six men, four women, and two children were working at two vats consuming 50 tons of rags a year and producing goods worth $10,000 a year. Dated August 1820, the census return was submitted by Moses Grant II, who must have been managing the mill for the family, his father having died sometime before 10 January 1820. He claimed that $8,000 had been invested in this establishment. References: Census of 1820, reel 2, item 48; Wiswall 1938, 24.

William Hurd acquired the property from the Grant family in 1821 for $4,500. Moses Grant II continued to sell paper and deal in rags at a store in Boston, forming a partnership with Otis Daniell in 1830. In 1832 Grant & Daniell helped the Connecticut machinists Phelps & Spafford obtain machine wire for some of the first Fourdriniers made in America. References: Wiswall 1938, 24–25; Tryon & Charvat 1949, 478; Phelps & Spafford Ledger, 1829–1834.

Lemuel Crehore became a partner in the mill in 1825 and joined with Hurd in additional investments on the Needham side of the river. When the partnership was dissolved in 1834, Hurd sold to Crehore a number of lots on the Newton side of the river, including this mill and the Ware mill (Mass. Mill 16). In 1846 Crehore purchased Hurd’s remaining interest in the property and consolidated the two mills. Reference: Wiswall 1938, 27.

Addendum

Around 1810 Thomas Rice I moved from Needham to Newton Lower Falls, where he owned a mill also operated by his son Thomas Rice II. Reference: Weeks 1916, 199.

22. Eden Vale Mill. On the Charles River near the center of Waltham, ten miles from Boston.

John Boies (also John Boyce and perhaps John Smith Boies) built a paper mill at this location around 1788. The Massachusetts Magazine published an engraved view of the Eden Vale Mill in April 1793. Boies appears to have been a prominent member of the local paper trade. In 1795 he chaired a meeting of Massachusetts mill owners who conferred on the possibility of establishing a cooperative salesroom in Boston. He presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society a specimen of paper made from potato vines, not a very promising alternative to rags, he conceded, because the paper lacked strength and firmness. His estate was appraised at £4,550 in 1798. John Boies & Co. employed between fourteen and eighteen men, women, and boys in 1805 and gave them lodgings in a boarding house in the vicinity. The mill contained two vats, two engines, and three presses with iron screws when it was put up for sale by Geyer & Fletcher in 1807. Writing paper must have been an important product since the “for sale” advertisement made special note of two desirable features, the sizing apparatus in an adjacent building and a nearby spring, which supplied pure water to one of the engines. The dam harnessed enough water to run three additional mills, which might be used in cotton-spinning ventures. The Boston Manufacturing Company purchased the mill and water privilege in 1813, by which time the papermaking business had been abandoned. Moulds, felts, and other tools belonging to Boies were auctioned off in 1814. References: Hurd 1890, 3:751; Weeks 1916, 83; McMurtrie 1929, 1; [Boston, Mass.] Independent Chronicle, 31 Oct. 1805, 3, 23 Apr. 1807, suppl., p. 2, and 17 Mar. 1814, 3; Sellers Moulds Finished, 1 Nov. 1788: double foolscap laid, watermarked J BOIES and eagle; Sellers Moulds Finished, 10 July 1795: double cap, watermarked JB; Sellers Moulds Finished, 18 Sept. 1805: large post, watermarked J BOIES & C; WALTHAM; Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society 1 (1879): 90;
After serving their apprenticeship in Mass. Mill 22, the brothers Nathan and Amos Upham built a mill here in 1802 for the manufacture of coarse wrapping grades. Reference: Hurd 1890, 3:751.

In 1820 the Upham brothers sold the mill to John M. Gibbs, who may have also owned or operated a mill in Pepperell (Mass. Mill 30). He was still making brown wrappings in 1832, when he employed two men and one woman to manufacture 4,000 reams a year with a total value of $2,200. The McLane Report states that the mill was founded in 1824. References: Hurd 1890, 3:751; Weeks 1916, 83; http://www.waltham-community.org/history.html (accessed 18 Feb. 2011); [Boston, Mass.] Columbian Centinel, 10 Apr. 1813, 4.


24. On Stony Brook near Weston.

Christopher Gore built a paper mill on his property in Waltham in 1794. He probably did not operate it himself but either rented it to tenants or formed partnerships with other investors and members of the trade. At various times it was operated by William Parker of Cambridge, Major Uriah Moore, and Enoch Wiswall. By one account the Waltham Cotton and Woolen Company purchased the property around 1810. However, Thomas Parker and William Parker were the proprietors of a Waltham paper mill in 1813, when they put it up for sale on advantageous terms to “young men” who could buy a share in the firm and expect easy credit, or they could even pay in kind. This was probably Mass. Mill 23 rather than 22 because it was described as “small, but convenient,” terms suggesting a one-vat mill. Gore later became governor of Massachusetts. References: Hurd 1890, 3:751; Weeks 1916, 83; http://www.waltham-community.org/history.html (accessed 18 Feb. 2011); [Boston, Mass.] Columbian Centinel, 10 Apr. 1813, 4.

23. On the Charles River near the Waltham Bleachery.

Eagle [laid] — To the Selectmen or Assessors of the Town of [blank]. Whereas the Court of Sessions for the County of York, at Waterborough, Issued an Order ... [24 Dec. 1796] ([Me.: s.n., 1796]; PPL broadside; design similar to Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk 155, but no countermark in the other half sheet).


Note: Gravell & Miller attribute wmks 154–55 to James Boies even though he was nearly retired. John Boies was much more active in 1788, when “J. Boies” ordered moulds with this watermark.


I have not been able to find information about the origins of the Watertown Paper Mill. In 1803 it had been in business long enough to be implicated in the bankruptcy of Thomas Annis, who must have acquired a share in it after leaving Mass. Mill 17. Among other assets liquidated by his assignees were 70 reams of printing paper, 130 reams of wrappings, 17 reams of writings, ten pairs of moulds, three sets of felts, and
Parker mills provided a livelihood to fifteen men, six women, and two boys, making wrappings and printings worth $27,500 a year. Two-thirds of the sales were made in state, the rest in New York and Philadelphia. References: McLane Report, 1:360–61; Pratt 1849, 174.

Natick

27. Not located.

In 1816 Calvin Shepard announced that he wished to employ a journeyman papermaker and an apprentice boy who could count on “good encouragement and humane treatment.” His advertisement contains no information about his paper mill but identifies him as a resident of Natick. Reference: Dedham Gazette, 29 Nov. 1816, 4.

The Census of 1820 does not name the proprietor of the Natick paper mill, an average-sized concern containing two vats and one engine powered by a tub wheel. Seven men, four women, and three children worked at this establishment, which had thrived after the War of 1812 but had fallen on hard times during the last two years because imports were driving down prices. Sales in general were “dull at the present time.” It manufactured writings, printings, and wrappings, with an annual output valued at $9,052. Reference: Census of 1820, reel 2, item 29.

Ashland

28. On the Hopkinton River in a district formerly part of Framingham.

In 1818 a mill for the manufacture of writing grades was built at this location by John Bigelow, David Bigelow, Perkins Bigelow, and Gardner Wilder II. A Dexter Bigelow may have also been involved with the firm. Reference: Hurd 1890, 3:549, 646.


In 1832 D. Bigelow & Co. employed four men and four women to manufacture printing grades, with an annual
output valued at $10,200. This was probably a one-vat mill, given the size of the workforce and the amount of raw materials it required, 25 tons of rags a year. The machinery was valued at $700, and the entire establishment was said to be capitalized at $8,000. Reference: McLane Report, 1:330–31.

The Bigelow family was no longer connected with the business by 1846. Reference: Hurd 1890, 3:549.

29. Rail Road Mill. On the Hopkinton River in a district formerly part of Framingham, a half mile east of Ashland Village, at the intersection of Fountain and Union Streets.

Calvin Shepard & Son purchased a mill site at this location in 1828 and started manufacturing newsprint at the vat. Calvin Shepard Jr. succeeded to the busi-
ness when his father died. Reference: Hurd 1890, 3:547, 646.

In 1832 A. Shepard Jr. (=Calvin Shepard Jr.?) employed six men, two boys, and ten women to manufacture printing grades for customers in Massachusetts, with an annual output valued at $14,000. He estimated that the mill was capitalized at $12,000, that it contained machinery worth $1,200, and that it consumed 67 tons of rags a year. These figures indicate that it contained two vats. Reference: McLane Report, 1:330–31.

Calvin Shepard Jr. was manufacturing printing grades in two mills, one in Ashland and the other in Millbury, Worcester County, in 1849. In that year the Boston and Worcester Railroad opened the Framingham branch, a civic improvement that might have inspired the name of the paper mill. Reference: Pratt 1849, 174.

**Pepperell**

30. On the lower privilege of the Nissittisset River.

According to Hurd, Benjamin Lawrence built a paper mill on this location in 1818. It is unclear how long he owned it and how much he was involved with the business, which was carried on either for him or after him by E. & W. Curtis (Edward Curtis and William Curtis). The ream wrapper reproduced here notes that the products of the Pepperell mill could be had in the warehouse of the manufacturer William Parker & Co. in Boston. It is quite possible that Hurd was mistaken and that the mill was built by the Boston wholesale stationer William Parker in partnership with T. L. Parker of Cambridge. William Parker refers to the Pepperell establishment as “his Paper Mill” in his advertisements, which include itemized lists of his stock on hand, mostly wrappings. References: Hurd 1890, 3:244–45; Boston Commercial Gazette, 28 Dec. 1818, 2, and 29 Nov. 1819, 3.

In 1820 John M. Gibbs & Co. employed four men, five women, and two children at their Pepperell establishment, which consumed 22 tons of rags a year to manufacture “Papers of various qualities.” The number of hands employed and the amount of rags consumed indicate that this was a one-vat mill. Besides this census entry, there is no evidence that Gibbs was running a mill in Pepperell at this time, when he was just starting in Waltham at Mass. Mill 24. These figures might actually apply to his Waltham mill, although it is hard to imagine how the census could have mistaken its location. Reference: Census of 1820, reel 2, item 37.

In 1832 Bullard & Emerson (Bullard and Andrew Emerson) employed five men and four women in a Pepperell papermaking business capitalized at $8,000, probably this mill rather than the much larger establishment Andrew Emerson was running at the Babbittasset Falls around 1834 (and therefore not included in this directory). Bullard might be identified with a
Shirley

32. Not located.

In 1820 the partnership of Rice & Ayres (also Ayers) ran a one-vat, one-engine mill in Middlesex County, perhaps in the vicinity of Shirley. The proprietors employed six men and two boys in the manufacture of wrappings, pasteboard, and other low-grade paper products made from ropes, woolen rags, and cotton waste. They estimated their annual output to be worth $5,510. Reference: Census of 1820, reel 2, item 35.

Sudbury

31. On the Sudbury River?

William May & Co. occupied a paper mill, saw mill, and grist mill in Sudbury “for several years” before offering the mills for sale or lease in 1822. They took out an advertisement noting that their property was on the Concord River, which is formed by the Sudbury River and the Assabet River. Reference: *Boston Daily Advertiser*, 27 July 1822, 3.

Established or perhaps renovated in 1830, the Sudbury mill of Parker & Townsend had a Fourdrinier, a steam drying machine, and other machinery with an aggregate value of $4,000. Parker may have been the Boston paper merchant William Parker, who appears in a list of purchasers of Fourdrinier machines erected before 1832 by the machinists C. M. Pickering & Co. of New York (in association with or employed by Phelps & Spafford). During one year this mass-production facility consumed 250 tons of rags and made 10,400 reams worth $41,600, and yet required a workforce of only ten men and eight women. The owners reported that a third of their sales occurred in Massachusetts, the rest in southern and western states, although they also shipped consignments to Havana amounting to $3,500 a year. References: McLane Report, 1:358–59; *AAD* 1832, 143.

William T. Parker was running the mill in 1842 when it burned down. What became of his manufacturing career, I do not know, but he remained in the distribution sector in Boston, where he had a paper warehouse in 1849. References: Munsell 1876, 108; Pratt 1849, 174.

33. On the Catacunemaug River.

Jonas Parker and his brother Thomas Parker built a small one-vat, one-engine mill at this location, probably between 1820 and 1830. Residents of Shirley, they learned the papermaking trade in Waltham and then came back to go into business for themselves. John Edgerton owned an interest in this mill. References: Chandler 1883, 53; Weeks 1916, 135.

Not succeeding in this venture, the Parker brothers sold out after a few years to Lemuel Willard & Brother, who in turn sold the business to Joseph Edgerton & Company. The Edgerton firm also failed to make a profit in this mill and eventually converted it to a batting mill, which burned down in 1837. Reference: Chandler 1883, 53.


Joseph Edgerton owned a cotton factory in Shirley in 1820 as well as an interest in a nearby paper mill (Mass. Mill 33). In 1828 or 1829 he built a larger paper mill, operated by Edgerton, Whitcomb & Co., and continued to invest in industrial ventures in Shirley and elsewhere. By 1832 this firm was running three cotton mills in Shirley and was planning to establish paper mills in Groton and other towns nearby, while keeping a front office or salesroom in Boston. The paper mill in Shirley employed eight men and two women in the manufacture of wrappings for sale in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Mobile, and New
Orleans. In 1833 the foreman Henry P. Howe invented a fire-drying apparatus, which was promising enough for him to leave the mill around 1836 and to start his own business in Worcester manufacturing papermaking machinery. References: Census of 1820, reel 2, item 34; Chandler 1883, 54; Weeks 1916, 135; McLane Report, 1:350–51; AAD 1831, 18; AAD 1832, 248; Burke 1847, 85.

After Howe departed, the mill was reconfigured and expanded to accommodate four new engines in addition to the four already in use. The mill passed into other hands before it burned down in 1837. It was rebuilt on the same site around 1842 and was replaced in the 1850s by a new building, which also went up in flames and was then converted to woolen manufactures. References: Chandler 1883, 55; Weeks 1916, 135.

**Addendum**

William Coolidge of Boston purchased several pairs of moulds from the Sellers firm between 1805 and 1811. He was perhaps a wholesale stationer acting on behalf of papemakers in the vicinity, but he had some manufacturing interests, enough at least to have patented a paper-polishing machine in 1808. References: Sellers Moulds Finished, 30 Mar. 1805: vellum super royal; Sellers Moulds Ordered, 21 May 1811: laid double cap; Burke 1847, 86.

**Worcester County**

**Millbury**

35. On an outlet of Singletary Lake (originally known as Crooked Pond), a part of Sutton, Massachusetts, until it was transferred to Millbury in 1813.

Around 1761 Captain Abijah Burbank settled in Sutton, Massachusetts, where he ran a fulling mill and powder mill before the Revolutionary War. He built a paper mill here in 1775 or 1776, in response to a resolution of Worcester County delegates promising to support such an undertaking with “generous contributions and subscriptions.” The Worcester printer Isaiah Thomas endorsed the resolution in the 5 July 1775 *Massachusetts Spy*, where he published a notice soliciting the services of a millwright and foreman. Burbank began on a fairly large scale for his day, with a mill containing two vats and two engines, powered by a breast wheel, capable of producing 1,500 pounds a week. He was able to display samples of coarse paper in June 1776, but the mill was not fully operational until 1778, when he announced that he had obtained a qualified superintendent and promised to supply paper as good and cheap as the products of other Massachusetts mills. References: Sedgley 1928, 65; Crane 1887, 120–21; Nichols 1900, 435; Leonard 1950, 490–91.

For the sum of £600 Captain Burbank sold the mill and some properties in Sutton in 1783 to his sons Major General Caleb Burbank and Eliah Burbank. He then went to Vermont, where his son Abijah Burbank Jr. founded a mill in Sharon (Vt. Mill 7). In 1795 Jeremiah Smith Boies complained that the Burbanks had been paying too much for rags and had not sent a representative to meet with other Massachusetts papemakers to decide on “general Customs in the different Mills.” References: Sedgley 1928, 65; McMurtrie 1929, 3; Sellers Moulds Finished, 5 June 1789: double fools-cap and demy, ordered by Isaiah Thomas and both watermarked C & EB; Sellers Moulds Finished, 7 July 1792: double pott laid, ordered by Isaiah Thomas and watermarked CEB.


Elijah Burbank probably relinquished his share in the business by 1799, when he went to Worcester to take over the Isaiah Thomas paper mill (Mass. Mill 36). Caleb Burbank then continued on his own, apparently with some success in this and other business affairs. He was active in state politics, rose to high rank in the state militia, and built a mansion overlooking the town where he was known as “the richest man in Millbury.” He installed a cylinder machine in 1828 and a rag cutter in 1830, machinery valued at $500 in 1832, when he employed five men, one boy, and seven women to manufacture 5,100 reams a year worth $9,900. Then capitalized at $12,000, the establishment was said to have been founded in 1796, perhaps when he took over the mill or rebuilt it. His nephew Gardner Burbank may have worked here between 1829 and 1835. Like many other manufacturers, he became involved in the financial turmoil preceding the Panic of 1837, apparently by endorsing notes of colleagues who failed and whose creditors then called on him to discharge the protested notes. In 1834 he assigned his property to his creditors, who conveyed it to new proprietors in 1836. In other hands, the mill remained in operation until the Civil War. References: Kayser 1823, 114; McLane Report, 1:516–17; Crane 1887, 122–23; Sedgley 1928, 115–17; Weeks 1916, 137; Sellers Moulds Ordered, 4 Nov. 1800: pott, watermarked CB, ordered by Isaiah Thomas.


C BURBANK | 1803 = arms of Massachusetts in escutcheon [laid] — ms., Dandridge, Tenn., 1804 (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk 168–69); ms., n.p., 1820 (AAS; countermark only, lacking Massachusetts arms watermark).


Crossed arrows in a double surround = arms of Massachusetts in escutcheon | M [laid] — blank sheet (AAS); ms., Stockbridge, Mass., 1806 (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk 98; lacking Massachusetts arms watermark?); mss., Blue Hill, Mass. or Me., 1811, and n.p., 1813 (AAS; lacking Massachusetts arms watermark?); ms., Blue Hill, Mass. or Me., 1821 (AAS; deteriorated watermark; lacking crossed arrows countermark?).

C BURBANK = arms of Massachusetts in escutcheon 

Addendum

Elijah Burbank acquired a mill in or near Sutton, which he sold to his sons Gardner Burbank and General Leonard Burbank in 1834. Reference: Sedgley 1928, 117, 216.

Worcester


Isaiah Thomas purchased land at this location in 1793 and built a paper mill here in 1794, probably because his extensive printing operations required more than the Burbanks could supply with the products of Mass.

Fig. 2.9. One Ream, Caleb Burbank, Millbury, (Mass.). Letter-press ream label. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.
Mill 35. The American Antiquarian Society has in its Isaiah Thomas Papers the account book of the mill, 1794–1796, as well as the first sheet of writing paper made at the mill, finished on 1 August 1794. Thomas manufactured his own wove paper for his edition of Charlotte Smith’s *Elegiac Sonnets* (Worcester, 1795). On behalf of other Massachusetts mill owners, Jeremiah Smith Boies scolded Thomas in 1795, complaining that he had been paying too much for rags and that he had not met with them to decide on “general Customs in the different Mills.” Thomas’s mill was originally a two-vat establishment, employing ten men and eleven women. References: Crane 1887, 127–28; Sedgley 1928, 65; McMurtrie 1929, 3; Nichols 1900, 436; Shipton 1948, 63; Sellers Moulds Finished, 3 Apr. 1793: double cap and pott, ordered by Isaiah Thomas, both watermarked IT; Sellers Moulds Finished, 20 Feb. 1797: demy and medium, purchased by Thomas & Andrews.


IT | 1794 [wove, with watermarked guide lines for writing] — ms., New York, N.Y., 1802 (AAS).

In 1798 Thomas sold the mill to Caleb Burbank and Elijah Burbank. Elijah moved to Worcester and managed their business there under his own name and then on his own account when he bought out his brother in 1811. Reference: Crane 1887, 127–28.

E BURBANK | 1803 = arms of Massachusetts [laid] — ms., Kent County, R.I., 1804 (AAS); printed doc., Greenwich, Mass., 1807 (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk 176; countermark only, lacking Massachusetts arms watermark?).


Elijah Burbank brought his son Gardner Burbank into the business before 1820, though on what terms, it is hard to ascertain. According to Crane, Gardner had allocated for his use one engine and one vat where he manufactured wrappings in partnership with one Belknap. The 1820 census report on this mill originally listed him as the proprietor, but then added the name of Elijah Burbank in another hand. The census may corroborate Crane’s account of the Burbanks’ busi-
ness arrangements, in that it describes a mill of three vats, three engines, and three presses, perhaps two of each run by the father and one of each run by the son. Ten men, eight women, and ten children worked in this establishment, with an annual output valued at $17,160 but with minimal profits because of the recent glut of low-priced imported papers. The “upper part” of the mill burned down in 1827, additional evidence that there were two papermaking operations on the same premises. If Gardner was making wrappings on machinery configured for this purpose, that might explain why no watermarks have been found with his name. He patented an improvement in papermaking in 1826, possibly a new type of cylinder machine. Isaac Burbank, son of Abijah Burbank, patented an improvement in papermaking in 1824 while a resident of Worcester; possibly he too was experimenting with cylinder machines. References: Sedgley 1928, 66, 117–18; Crane 1887, 128; Census of 1820, reel 2, item 56; Kayser 1823, 114; Burke 1847, 85–86; Weeks 1916, 178.


In 1832 Elijah Burbank was running the mill under his own name, manufacturing writings, printings, and wrappings, with an annual output valued at $20,000, half for sale in New York City, the rest in Massachusetts and Rhode Island. He employed eight men, nine women, and a boy in an establishment capitalized at $30,000, with machinery valued at $300. He failed in 1834, and his papermaking machinery, including an “entirely new” cylinder machine made by Phelps & Spafford, was sold by the sheriff in 1835—possibly to new proprietors constituted as the Quinsigamond Paper Company, which was carrying on the business as of 1836. References: Sedgley 1928, 216; McLane Report, 1:568–69; Weeks 1916, 138; Boston Courier, 4 Apr. 1835; Lincoln 1837, 321.

Leominster

37. Not located.

Nichols & Kendall (William Nichols and Jonas Kendall) built a one-vat paper mill in Leominster in 1796, employing Samuel Crocker as a vatman. Beginning at age eight, his son Alvah Crocker worked there as an apprentice under the supervision of Israel Nichols. At an early date this firm may have been operating as Kendall & Carter, a name I have encountered only in ream labels (one at MWA, another advertised for sale in 2003 by De Wolfe and Wood Rare Books, Alfred, Maine). The mill burned down in 1810 but was rebuilt. Kendall may have also been involved in textile ventures, having patented in 1817 a method for bleaching cotton and linen yarn. References: Crane 1887, 128–29; Hunter 1950, 281; Kirkpatrick 1971, 1:170; Wheelwright & Kean 1957, 3–36; Burke 1847, 100.

![Fig. 2.11. *Pot Paper*. 1 Ream Elijah Burbank, Worcester, Mass. Letterpress ream wrapper, wood engraving by Abel Bowen. Courtesy, American Antiquarian Society.](image-url)
Producing $65,000 to $70,000 worth of paper per year in the early 1850s. His main office was in Boston. References: Wilder 1853, 126; Pratt 1849, 174.


Nichols & Kendall [William Nichols and Jonas Kendall] built a second mill at this location in 1801, and Nichols became sole proprietor in 1804, when the principals renegotiated or dissolved their partnership. Reference: Wilder 1853, 126.

Andrew J. Allen purchased the mill from Nichols in 1818, not a very onerous investment since it had only one vat at that time. His advertisements mention the “uncommon pains taken in pressing and finishing” his products, mainly writings but also drawings, prints, filter paper, blotting paper, cartridge paper, and “Log Book fine Blue Demy and Foolscap.” In 1834 Allen & Co. of Boston ordered moulds with a dove watermark. References: Hunter 1950, 281; Kayser 1823, 114; [Boston, Mass.] American Federalist Columbian Centinel, 15 Oct. 1823, 4; Sellers Order Book, 27 Oct. 1834: refacing post moulds watermarked ALLEN (?) and bird; Schreyer 1988, 22.

By 1825 the firm had installed a cylinder machine and was operating as J. Kendall & Sons. In 1833 the Kendalls upgraded their facilities once again and acquired a small Fourdrinier, probably made by Phelps & Spafford, whose ledgers record several small transactions with the Kendall company in 1834. J. G. & J. H. Kendall of Leominster took out a patent for bleaching paper in 1846. References: Hunter 1950, 281; Burke 1847, 100; Phelps & Spafford Ledger, 1829–1834.

In 1845 the mill was acquired by Edward Crehore, who installed a steam engine and new machinery, producing $65,000 to $70,000 worth of paper per year in the early 1850s. His main office was in Boston. References: Wilder 1853, 126; Pratt 1849, 174.

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In 1845 the mill was acquired by Edward Crehore, who installed a steam engine and new machinery, producing $65,000 to $70,000 worth of paper per year in the early 1850s. His main office was in Boston. References: Wilder 1853, 126; Pratt 1849, 174.

Caleb Leland (Jr.?) built a one-vat mill at this location in 1802 and then sold it to Edward Simmons in 1807. Still a single-vat mill, it belonged to William Simmons in 1823. References: Wilder 1853, 126–27; Kayser 1823, 114.

In 1836 the Simmons family sold the mill to William T. Parker, who was still running it in the early 1850s, manufacturing about $14,000 worth of paper per year. Reference: Wilder 1853, 127.


In 1828 J. Kendall & Sons purchased a carding and woolen factory next to their mill and converted it to paper manufacture. It was still in operation in 1851, when another papermaking establishment was being built on the same stream. The McLane Report calls for
Marshall Jr., who sold the property to two papermakers in June 1807: Edward Simmons of Dorchester and Solomon Dwinnell Jr. of Sutton. Dwinnell must have been working at the Burbank mill (Mass. Mill 35). Reference: Crane 1887, 129.

In September 1807 Simmons and Dwinnell sold the mill to Elijah Burbank, who then sold it in February 1808 to his son Leonard Burbank for $2,500. Reference: Crane 1887, 129.

In 1820 Leonard Burbank employed three men, three women, and two children at this mill, its one vat consuming 20 tons of rags a year. He complained that the market was “dull” due to an onslaught of imports and the “stagnation of business.” The mill burned down in 1823 but was promptly rebuilt. Samuel Crocker and his son Alvah Crocker worked there as journeymen in 1824. References: Census of 1820, reel 2, item 71; Kayser 1823, 114; Kirkpatrick 1971, 1:124; [Pittsfield, Mass.] Pittsfield Sun, 23 Jan. 1823, 1.

Already in a parlous state, Burbank’s business failed in 1835, about the same time his uncle Caleb Burbank defaulted on his debts. Alvah Crocker purchased the mill and installed a drying cylinder and a cutting machine to operate alongside a papermaking machine (probably a cylinder) supplied by two engines. In 1836 the firm Crocker & Gardner was manufacturing wrapping grades in this establishment. References: Kirkpatrick 1971, 1:172; Torrey 1836, 11.

In 1850 Alvah Crocker formed the firm of Crocker, Burbank & Co. with Gardner S. Burbank, son of Silas Burbank, proprietor of Vt. Mill 15. In 1882 Crocker, Burbank & Co. were operating six mills in Fitchburg, one of them supplying pulp for the others. References: Sedgley 1928, 220; Wheelwright & Kean 1957, 13; Lockwood 1882, 46.

Fitchburg

41. On the Nashua River, eighty rods downstream from Mass. Mill 42.

Thomas French, a blacksmith, built a mill at this location in 1804, possibly under a contract with Jonas Marshall Jr., who sold the property to two papermakers in June 1807: Edward Simmons of Dorchester and Solomon Dwinnell Jr. of Sutton. Dwinnell must have been working at the Burbank mill (Mass. Mill 35). Reference: Crane 1887, 129.

In September 1807 Simmons and Dwinnell sold the mill to Elijah Burbank, who then sold it in February 1808 to his son Leonard Burbank for $2,500. Reference: Crane 1887, 129.

In 1820 Leonard Burbank employed three men, three women, and two children at this mill, its one vat consuming 20 tons of rags a year. He complained that the market was “dull” due to an onslaught of imports and the “stagnation of business.” The mill burned down in 1823 but was promptly rebuilt. Samuel Crocker and his son Alvah Crocker worked there as journeymen in 1824. References: Census of 1820, reel 2, item 71; Kayser 1823, 114; Kirkpatrick 1971, 1:124; [Pittsfield, Mass.] Pittsfield Sun, 23 Jan. 1823, 1.

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42. On the Nashua River, one and a half miles west of Fitchburg Village.

After working for Leonard Burbank in Mass. Mill 41, Alvah Crocker built a mill at this location in 1826 at the cost of $12,000 for the building and $16,000 for the machinery. References: Wheelwright & Kean 1957, 7; Torrey 1836, 10.
After a flood destroyed the mill in 1829, Crocker rebuilt it on a larger scale and equipped it with a Fourdrinier machine purchased from Phelps & Spafford, who charged him $2,000 for the Fourdrinier, $1,000 for a drying machine, and about $100 for a cutting machine. In 1832 Crocker & Co. employed six men and three women to manufacture writing, printing, and wrapping grades for sale in Boston and New York, their annual output valued at $12,000. The establishment was said to have been capitalized at $8,000 and to contain machinery worth $600. For the later history of this firm, see Mass. Mill 41. References: Kirkpatrick 1971, 1:171; McLane Report, 1:486–87.

43. Not located.

In 1832 Dickinson & Goulding operated a mill in Fitchburg, where they employed five men in the manufacture of wrappings worth $5,000 a year. Reference: McLane Report, 1:486–87.

Athol

44. Not located.

Eliab Thorp left Mass. Mill 12 in 1813 to begin his own business in Athol, where he or Eliphalet Thorp built a one-vat mill sometime before 1820. At that time Eliphalet Thorp was employing four men, three women, and two children to manufacture foolscap and pot writings, demy and royal printings, and various wrappings, with an annual output valued at $6,000. In 1820 he reported that demand for his products had declined during the last two years and that his inventory included a large amount of goods one year old and some two years old. In 1832 he employed four men and three women in an establishment capitalized at $4,500, with machinery valued at $500. At that time the mill was making writings, printings, and wrappings, but mostly printings for sale in the New England area. He installed a small papermaking machine, probably a cylinder, in 1835. He retired in 1856, leaving the mill in the hands of his sons, who ran it until 1863. Yale University Library has an account book in which he recorded production figures between 1825 and 1845. References: Smith 1970, 38–39, 48; Census of 1820, reel 2, item 78; Kayser 1823, 114; McLane Report, 1:474–75.

Harvard

45. Not located.

In 1832 Whitcombe & Stacy employed three men in the manufacture of paper to be sold in Boston. They estimated that their total production for a year would be worth $3,500; given that small amount, they might have been making wrapping grades. Reference: McLane Report, 1:494–95.

Hardwick

46. Not located.

The paper mill of Dickinson & Merrick shared its building with a saw mill and a grist mill belonging to
another firm. In 1833 a fire broke out in the drying loft and consumed the entire building, inflicting uninsured losses of $2,000 on the papermaking side of the business. Reference: [Hartford, Conn.] Connecticut Courant, 29 Jan. 1833, 3.

Addendum

The Census of 1810 calls for seven paper mills in this county, only six of which can be accounted for in my listing. Reference: Coxe 1814, tables, p. 9.

Hampden County

Springfield

47. Mill River?

In 1786 Samuel Babcock was making writings, wrappings, cartridge paper, and newsprint in a mill at this location, either in partnership with or succeeded by John Babcock, who purchased moulds in 1793. Samuel Babcock was in New Haven when he died in 1790. References: Green 1888, 347; Weeks 1916, 85; Hunter 1952, 143; [New Haven, Conn.] Connecticut Journal, 25 Aug. 1790, 3; Sellers Moulds Finished, Sept. 1793: double cap and demy.

According to some sources, Eleazer Wright built a paper mill at this location prior to 1788, although the McLane Report states that the first Springfield mill was established in 1791. References: Weeks 1916, 85; Hunter 1952, 168; McLane Report, 1:96–97, 288–89.

Nathaniel Patten either owned or managed the Springfield mill while he was running a bookstore in Hartford, where he settled sometime after selling his share in Mass. Mill 15 in 1781. He sold paper to the state of Connecticut in that year. Keith Arbour has discovered an advertisement for rags in a 1793 almanac published by Patten, who was collecting them for this mill. Also in 1793 Patten announced that he was seeking a journeyman to work in the Springfield establishment. A local newspaper reported that it burned down in 1794 and that his losses were estimated at £250—not enough to drive him out of business, however, for he purchased moulds later in that year and in the following year. References: Baldwin 1908, 41; Conn. Public Records, 3:488; [Hartford, Conn.] American Mercury, 12 Aug. 1793, 4; Sellers Moulds Finished, 12 Apr. 1794: double pott; Sellers Moulds Finished, 4 July 1795: demy; [Stockbridge, Mass.] Western Star, 11 Feb. 1794, 3.

If Hunter is correct, David Ames purchased the mill in 1800, but Hunter may have garbled the account of Weeks, who noted merely that Ames purchased a Springfield mill built about 1800. It is more likely that he purchased his first mill in or after 1802. Trained as a gunsmith, Ames came to Springfield in 1794 to manage the armory but decided that his mechanical skills would be more profitably engaged in the paper trade. He was far enough along in 1806 to advertise for rags and to post job openings for apprentice boys. He enlarged the mill and purchased others in the vicinity, so that by 1820 he employed twenty-four men and forty-five children in establishments containing six vats and consuming 70 tons of rags a year. He or his representative claimed to manufacture “mostly best Superfine hot prest letter paper” with some success, but expressed disappointment in the current state of the trade, depressed by a glut of imported goods, which also caused a scarcity of specie. In 1818 Ames was selling letter paper to the Carey firm at the premium price of $5 a ream. References: Weeks 1916, 125; Hunter 1950, 265; [Springfield, Mass.] Hampshire Federalist, 7 Oct. 1806, 4; Hounshell 1984, 33; Census of 1820, reel 2, item 104; Kayser 1823, 114; Carey Papers, 31:5128; Sellers Moulds Ordered, 17 Mar. 1804: double cap, watermarked D AMES; Sellers Moulds Ordered, 3 Apr. 1804: demy, watermarked D AMES.

D AMES [laid] — ms., West Springfield, Mass., 1805 (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk 30); The Koran (Spring...
field, Mass.: Printed by Henry Brewer, for Isaiah Thomas, Jun., 1806; MWiW-C).


D AMES | 1815 [wove] — Wilson Cary Nicholas, Richmond, May 30th, 1816. Sir, By a Resolution of the General Assembly of Virginia, the President and Directors of the Literary Fund are Requested to Digest and Report a System of Public Education ([Richmond, Va.: s.n., 1816]; DLC); ms., Boston, Mass., 1816 (AAS); ms., Hartford, Conn., 1817 (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk 37).


D AMES = dove [wove] — ms., Philadelphia, Pa., 1818 (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmks 35–36); ms., Boston [Mass.??], after March 1822 (AAS); ms., William Bouch to William Learned Marcy, 1824 (MWiW-C); Circular, the Medical Department of the Columbian College in the District of Columbia ([Washington, D.C.: s.n., 1825]; DLC).


The firm began doing business as D. & J. Ames around 1823, when David Ames took into partnership his sons David Ames Jr. and John Ames. John Ames patented a cylinder machine in 1822 after trying and failing to obtain information about Thomas Gilpin’s cylinder in the Brandywine Paper Mill (Del. Mill 1). By 1824 he was making newsprint on his cylinder machine and selling it to the proprietor of the recently founded Springfield Republican, Samuel Bowles, who complained that it was “too thin and too hard.” Ames sold at least two cylinders to other papermakers and tried to collect royalties from those who had obtained similar models elsewhere. After Gilpin’s patent expired in 1830, he succeeded in asserting his patent rights in court, even though his competitors had gathered evidence disproving the originality of his invention (and Gilpin’s as well). However, the litigation gained them some time, and John Ames’s patent expired before he could corner the market for cylinder machines. He also patented other manufacturing improvements, including a cutting machine, sizing techniques, and methods for preparing rags. References: Sellers Letter Book, 29 July 1823; Samuel Bowles to Owen & Hurlbut, 20 Sept. 1824, Hurlbut Papers; Burke 1847, 85; Bidwell 1992, 293–96.

In 1832 the firm of D. & J. Ames was operating three mills with seventeen engines, employing 54 men, 122 women, and 6 boys to manufacture 39,324 reams in a year valued at $150,000. Among other observations recorded in the McLane Report, the proprietors noted that prices had declined steadily since 1824 because of improved machinery, cheaper raw materials, and greater competition at home and abroad. They were particularly concerned about imports of tissue and banknote papers and suggested that higher duties may not be as effective a remedy as legal protections against dumping surplus goods on the American market. They sent most of their exports to South America. At the height of their prosperity, the Ames brothers were
running sixteen engines in five paper mills consuming three tons of rags a day. References: McLane Report, 1:96–97, 288–89; Weeks 1916, 125.


48. Mill River?

Lathrop & Willard built a four-engine mill “10 miles above this place” sometime before 1825. Reference: Green 1888, 389–90.


Note: Gravell & Miller were not aware of this firm but may have been correct in conjecturing some relationship with Howard & Lathrop, proprietors of Mass. Mill 55.

Chicopee

49. On the Chicopee River, formerly part of Springfield.

William Bowman, Benjamin Cox, and Lemuel Cox built a mill at this location in or after 1806. The mill appears to have been managed by Benjamin Cox, who was residing in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1818, when he patented an improvement in preparing rags. References: Holland 1855, 2:45; Burke 1847, 87.


Sometime around 1819 Bowman and the Coxes sold out to Chauncey Brewer and Joshua Frost of Springfield. The mill contained two vats, two engines, and a hot press in 1819, when it was advertised for sale by Joshua Frost and Daniel C. Brewer. The proprietors employed the hot press in the manufacture of writing grades, which they could make to advantage with pure water supplied by a nearby spring. Around 1826 the mill passed into the hands of David Ames, who then installed one of the cylinder machines developed by his son John Ames. Along with Mass. Mill 46, this establishment became part of the Ames family’s sprawling manufacturing complex, designed to exploit their version of the cylinder machine. David Ames sold the water privilege to the Chicopee Manufacturing Company, probably when he was caught short by the Panic of 1837. However, his sons D. & J. Ames continued to operate the mill, specializing in writing grades, until 1853, when it was acquired by the Chicopee Manufacturing Company. Beginning around 1836, the Ames brothers marked many of their writing papers with their name in blind embossed crests. References: Holland 1855, 2:45; Boston Patriot & Daily Mercantile Advertiser, 20 Oct. 1819, 4; Pratt 1849, 174; Nickell 1993, 203–6.

Essex County

Andover

50. On the Shawshin River, near to where it flows into the Merrimack River.

Samuel Phillips built a gunpowder mill at this location in the winter of 1775–1776, but after some explosions and fatalities, he decided to convert the establishment to the manufacture of paper. The mill was managed for him by Thomas Houghton Jr., son of Thomas Houghton Sr., who has the distinction of running the first steam engine in a paper mill, at Sutton, near Hull, England. The Houghtons were obliged to begin bankruptcy proceedings in 1788, just after they installed the machine, built by Boulton & Watt. Their investment in steam power probably brought them down, although one source says that they failed because of tax litiga-
tion. At any rate, the younger Thomas Houghton must have emigrated immediately and found a position with Phillips as soon as he arrived. The powder mill was still in operation at that time, so Phillips built a new mill at his expense, with the understanding that he would not pay Houghton a salary or charge rent for the facilities, but that they would share the profits equally. They probably finished the new mill in late 1789, since Houghton complained in July 1791 that he had run up debts with Phillips after having been in business just over a year. Forty feet square, the main building contained two engines and two vats (one for printings and writings, the other for wrappings) as well as a rag room on the second floor. The drying loft, finishing room, and sizing kettle were in an adjacent building, 80 by 24 feet, not far from a third building used as a warehouse for rags and paper ready for shipment. Phillips moved the equipment for boiling size into a separate structure (no doubt because it was a fire hazard) sometime before November 1796, when he insured the mill for $2,500 and its stock in trade for $2,500. References: Bailey 1880, 580–85; Maxted 1985, 13; INA policies 231 and 232, 16 Nov. 1796; Sellers Moulds Finished, 5 June 1789: double foolscap, watermarked ANDOVER in double surround; [Walpole, N.H.] Farmer’s Weekly Museum, 25 Apr. 1797, 3.

ANDOVER [laid; in double surround] — ms., n.p., 1782 (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk 93); ms., Boston, Mass., 1793 (AAS).


Note: The date Gravell & Miller assign to their wmk 93 is difficult to accept because the Andover mill was not in operation until 1789.

Houghton became a partner in the firm in 1795, probably having paid off his debts by then. One of his sons took over the management of the mill after he retired. Charles Bunce was superintendent of the mill for four years before he established his own mill in Manchester (Conn. Mill 11). After Phillips died in 1802, his son Colonel John Phillips took his place in the firm. Turnover in the management of the mill caused some distress to a local printer, who complained that he “formerly purchased his paper with rags, but the Papermaker having broke and ran off, nothing but money will buy paper now. His rags he must keep, and rags he must wear, if obliged to plead much longer in vain.” The Census of 1810 stated that the mill had made 4,611 reams in a year, worth $10,300; at that rate of production, both vats were still in operation. The mill burned down in 1811 and was rebuilt. At that time it was being operated by Stedman & Prentiss, “industrious young men . . . in a very humble and distressing situation.” Stedman was probably Ebenezer Stedman, formerly a tenant of Mass. Mill 2. The Andover mill went down during the summer of 1813, leaving a Haverhill printer in such desperate straits that he hijacked a shipment of paper from one of the New Hampshire manufactories. References: Bailey 1880, 585; Coxe 1814, tables, p. 9; [Haverhill, Mass.] Merrimack Intelligencer, 11 Nov. 1809, and 10

sold him machinery in 1833 to the amount of $1,301.34. In 1836 the mill employed twelve hands. References: McLane Report, 1:242–43; Newhall 1836, 191; Phelps & Spafford Ledger, 1829–1834.

Middleton

52. Oak Dale Mill. On or near the Ipswich River.

The son of a Salem shipping master, Francis Peabody inherited the means to invest in several manufacturing ventures. He was an avid student of the practical sciences and sought to employ recent technological innovations in a wide range of industrial pursuits. He was a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences and, briefly, president of the Essex Institute. Among other ventures, he owned interests in a whale-oil candle-making firm and a lead mill in Salem, producing the prime ingredient of lead paint. He had grand plans for this paper mill, which he built from the bottom up on land he purchased in Middleton in 1832, a five-acre tract with water rights included. Fully mechanized, looking more like a factory than a mill house, the Oak Dale establishment contained a Fourdrinier and heated drying cylinders constructed by Phelps & Spafford. In 1836 F. Peabody & Co. was said to be running “the largest establishment of the kind in the country.” He sold it to Zenas and Luther Crane in 1843. References: Essex Institute Historical Collections 9, pt. 2 (1868): 43–80, and 99 (1963): 343; Newhall 1836, 194; Phelps & Spafford Ledger, 1829–1834; [Salem, Mass.] Salem Gazette, 11 Oct. 1833, 2.

Methuen

51. Not located.

After working in Mass. Mill 7, Adolphus Durant became the proprietor of this establishment in or before 1832, when he employed five men and seven women in the manufacture of goods worth $14,000 a year. At that time he appraised his fixed capital at $7,000 and his machinery at $6,000, which might have included a Fourdrinier constructed by Phelps & Spafford, who...
of geographical guesswork on the part of the clerks in the Sellers firm. References: Hunter 1950, 233; Sellers Moulds Finished, 2 Sept. 1794 and 20 Sept. 1794: demy, double crown wrapping, and double cap, sold to William Lyman.

Reuben Roberts and one Cox purchased the mill from Rowe around 1807. In 1809 Reuben’s brother Ephraim Roberts acquired Cox’s interest in the business, which henceforth operated as E. & R. Roberts. One of the firm’s ream wrappers is reproduced in Hunter 1950. The Census of 1820 does not name the proprietors of this mill, a modest concern employing six men, nine women, and five children at one vat, one engine, a glazing machine, and two presses. Although it contained a bare minimum of machinery, it was operating at full capacity and consumed 20 tons of rags a year to manufacture foolscap, demy, medium, and royal papers valued at $5,000. In 1832 the firm employed seven men and seven women, their annual output valued at $6,000. The McLane Report states that the mill was founded in 1810, perhaps meaning that the mill was rebuilt at that date. References: Carpenter 1896, 573; Hunter 1950, 233–35; Census of 1820, reel 2, item 119; McLane Report, 1:298–99.


In 1840 the firm of S. Roberts & Co. was producing 20,000 reams a year of straw, board, and wrapping papers at a mill in North Amherst, perhaps not the same as the E. & R. Roberts mill. Reference: Pratt 1849, 174.

In 1882 W. L. Roberts was making straw wrappings on cylinder machines in two mills, one of them idle, in North Amherst. Reference: Lockwood 1882, 51.

**Northampton**

*Paper Mill Village.*

After serving his time in the shop of Hudson & Goodwin in Hartford, the printer William Butler came to Northampton in 1786 and established a newspaper, which he supplied with newsprint from a paper mill he built in 1795. References: Trumbull 1898, 2:481; Sellers Moulds Finished, 22 May 1795; medium; Sellers Moulds Finished, 19 July 1800: double cap.

In 1817 William Butler sold the mill to his brother Daniel Butler, who had been running a variety store in Northampton. In 1820 Daniel Butler employed five men, two boys, and five girls in the manufacture of letter, printing, and brown papers at a single vat consuming 20 tons of rags a year. He estimated that $10,000 capital would be needed to run this mill profitably. In 1832 six men and eleven women were working in his establishment, capitalized at $6,000, its annual output valued at $9,000. The McLane Report notes that the mill was founded in 1798. References: Trumbull 1898, 2:482, 526; Census of 1820, reel 2, items 110, 111; McLane Report, 1:308–9.

**South Hadley Falls**

*Canal Village.*

Howard & Lathrop (Charles Howard and Wells Lathrop) built a paper mill at this location in 1825. The proprietors of a dry goods store in Springfield, they
probably invested in the papermaking trade after witnessing the accomplishments of their neighbors David and John Ames. They installed a cylinder machine closely resembling the model developed by the Ameses, who successfully sued them for the infringement of John Ames’s patent. By that time, 1833, Howard & Lathrop were operating a second machine different enough in its design that they could claim that it was not covered by the patent. They also purchased cylinder equipment from the Sellers firm, which had been conferring with them and other papermakers on ways to evade the Ameses’ attempts to control cylinder technology. In 1832 they employed twenty men and thirty women in an establishment capitalized at $13,500 and equipped with machinery valued at $5,000. They estimated that their annual output was worth $60,000. Their H & L initials appear in an embossed stamp in paper dated 1840. Joseph Carew managed the mill from 1830 until it closed in 1847. References: Ames v. Howard, 1 Fed. Cas. 755, No. 326 (C.C.D. Mass. 1833); McLane Report, 1:294–95; [Wilmington, Del.] Delaware Gazette, 14 Feb. 1834, 3; George Bliss to C. M. Owen, 3 May 1834, Hurlbut Papers; Sellers Order Book, 6 Aug. 1834: cylinder machine; Nickell 1993, 206; Gravell & Miller 2002, p. 249.

56. Canal Village.

In 1831 D. & J. Ames (David Ames Jr. and John Ames) purchased land and water rights close to the Howard & Lathrop mill with the intention of building an establishment fully equipped for exploiting the cylinder machine technology developed in their Springfield and Chicopee mills (Mass. Mills 40 and 41). Containing twelve engines, it was the largest paper mill in New England until the Ameses’ business succumbed in the Panic of 1837. References: Green 1939, 14; Weeks 1916, 125.

Addendum


Berkshire County

Dalton


In February 1801 Zenas Crane, Henry Wiswell, and John Willard advertised for rags and announced their intention to build a paper mill in Dalton. Crane came to Dalton after having learned the trade under the supervision of his elder brother, Stephen Crane Jr., at Mass. Mill 5 in Needham and after having worked for the Burbank family at Mass. Mill 35 in Millbury. Willard dropped out before the business was established and was replaced by Daniel Gilbert. Crane, Wiswell, and Gilbert erected a two-story, one-vat mill on 14 acres of land costing $194. References: Pierce 1977, 13–14; McGaw 1987, mill 1.


In 1807 Crane sold his share to Wiswell, left the papermaking business, and opened a “mercantile store” in Dalton. Reference: Pierce 1977, 13–14.

Wiswell failed around 1810, perhaps defaulting on a mortgage with Crane, who then briefly returned to the firm but then left again to work in Mass. Mill 58. David Carson had been managing the mill since 1807 or 1809, having served his apprenticeship under Solomon Curtis in Newton and perhaps having worked as a journeyman at the Craig mill in Newburgh (N.Y. Mill 17). After Wiswell left, Carson took over the establishment in partnership with David Campbell and Daniel Boardman. References: McGaw 1987, mill 1; McGaw 1987, 39; Munsell 1876, 67; Smith 1885, 29.

In 1813 Campbell sold out to Henry Marsh, and in the following year Carson bought out his partners. One of his ream wrappers is reproduced in Hunter 1950. In 1820 he reported to the census that the capital invested in the firm amounted to $6,000, not including the cost of the buildings. He employed four men, three boys, and five girls at one vat and one engine, manufacturing per year 200 reams of letter paper, 700 reams of writing
grades, 100 reams of writing medium, and 1,000 reams of medium printing and super royal printing. He estimated that his annual output was worth $6,000, but noted that demand had decreased, especially for the printing grades. He could sell only small quantities at a time, at credit terms ranging from three to twelve months. References: McGaw 1987, mill 1; Hunter 1950, 301, 305; Census of 1820, reel 2, item 126.

In 1831 and 1832 Carson was manufacturing about 6,000 reams a year of writing, printing, and currency papers here and in Mass. Mill 59. References: AAD 1831, 43; AAD 1832, 49.


DC = crown shield posthorn [wove] — ms., n.p., 1838 (AAS).

Note: Gravell & Miller attribute to this mill DC watermarks occurring in Philadelphia documents of the 1790s (wmks 292 and 293). Carson would not have been putting his own initials on his wares at such an early date.

Carson turned over the business to his sons when he retired in 1849. Reference: McGaw 1987, mill 1.


Joseph Chamberlin built a mill at this location in 1809 on land owned by Martin Chamberlin, who sold the land to Joseph Chamberlin, David Carson, and Henry Wiswell after the mill was completed. In 1810 Zenas Crane purchased Carson’s share, though he may have exchanged it with Wiswell for a share in Mass. Mill 57. References: Smith 1885, 28, 30; McGaw 1987, mill 2.

In 1813 Joseph Chamberlin sold his share to Crane, who then sold a half interest in the concern to Martin Chamberlin and William Cole(? ) in 1816. Cole sold his share to Crane in 1817. Reference: McGaw 1987, mill 2.

By 1820 Crane owned three-quarters and Martin Chamberlin one-quarter of the firm, operating as Crane & Chamberlin. They employed four men, six women, and three children at one vat and one engine, their annual output valued at $6,500. One of their ream wrappers is reproduced in Hunter 1950. References: McGaw 1987, mill 1; Census of 1820, reel 2, item 127; Hunter 1950, 301, 303.

Chamberlin sold his share to Crane in 1826 or perhaps as early as 1822. References: McGaw 1987, mill 2; Holland 1855, 2:484; Smith 1885, 28–33.

Z CRANE [wove] — ms., Albany, N.Y., 1826 (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk 280); ms., New Hanover County, N.C., not before 1827 (AAS).


Crane installed one of John Ames’s cylinder machines in 1831, when he was producing 5,000 to 6,000 reams a year of writing and printing grades. References: Smith 1885, 33; AAD 1831, 43; AAD 1832, 49.

Crane brought his sons Zenas Marshall Crane and James Brewer Crane into the firm as junior partners in 1836 and turned it over to them in 1842. A ream wrapper captioned Zenas Crane & Sons is reproduced in Hunter 1950, where it is tentatively dated about 1835. References: Holland 1855, 2:484; Pierce 1977, 17–18; Hunter 1950, 301, 307.


David Carson built the one-vat, one-engine Defiance Mill in 1821 or 1823, perhaps in partnership with Joseph Chamberlin. Papers bearing his watermark could have been made here or at Mass. Mill 57. References: Holland 1855, 2:483–84; Weston 1895, 18; McGaw 1987, mill 4.

Henry Chamberlin bought the mill in 1840, more as an investment than a vocation, as it was generally operated by others, including Plattner & Smith (George Plattner and Elizur Smith). In 1855 the proprietors employed twenty hands, manufacturing 60 tons of foolscap and ledger papers per year. References: Holland 1855, 2:483–84; Weston 1895, 18; McGaw 1987, mill 4.

The Defiance Mill was making ledger papers on
two Fourdrinier machines in 1873. Reference: Lockwood 1873, 36.

**South Lee**

60. On the Housatonic River at the Upper Hoplands, below the South Lee post office.

Trained in East Hartford, Connecticut, Samuel Church built a two-vat mill at this location in 1806. A local historian claimed that it was originally a stamping mill with twenty mortars, a story difficult to believe because all American mills were using beaters by the end of the eighteenth century—and it would have been impossible for Church to compete against the Dalton mills if he was using this antiquated technology. He later installed two additional vats, which certainly would have been worked in tandem with several engines. References: Holland 1855, 2:520; Smith 1885, 28; Weston 1895, 4; Snell 1929d, 1; Snell 1933b; McGaw 1987, mill 30.

Daniel Couch was making press papers in a South Lee mill in 1817. Since this mill is the only one known in that town to have been active at that time, there is a strong possibility that Couch was involved in it either as a tenant or as an investor. I have found his name mentioned in connection with the paper trade only in this one source, which raises the question whether it is a corruption of Daniel Church. Reference: [Stockbridge, Mass.] Berkshire Star, 9 Oct. 1817, 4.

Brown & Curtis purchased the mill sometime before 1822. References: Hyde 1878, 289; Weston 1895, 11.

Owen & Hurlbut (Charles M. Owen and Thomas Hurlbut) acquired the mill in 1822. Hyde states that they employed four men and six women, manufacturing 10 reams of letter paper a day, the output of a one-vat mill. However, two or three vats must have been in operation in 1831, when the mill was producing 6,000 reams a year. Owen & Hurlbut installed a cylinder machine in 1833, apparently not one of the Ames models, because they joined with other papermakers who contested John Ames’s patent. Around 1835 Owen & Hurlbut won a contract to make paper for the U.S. Congress, whose name appears in one of their embossed crests. By 1855 they were producing 120,000 reams a year of writing grades. The watermarks listed below could have been used in this mill, Mass. Mill 51, or Mass. Mill 52. References: Hyde 1878, 294–96; AAD 1831, 62; McGaw 1987, 71; Hurlbut Papers; Nickell 1993, 204–5.


After the Owen & Hurlbut firm was dissolved in 1860, Thomas Hurlbut’s sons formed the Hurlbut Paper Company. The mill remained in operation until it was superseded by a larger and better equipped manufacturing facility built between 1872 and 1874. Reference: Snell 1933b.


Owen & Hurlbut built this mill in 1822, one of three establishments they were operating in 1823. A ream wrapper with a view of the mill is reproduced in Snell 1929d. It was either designed to run four vats or enlarged to accommodate them. Owen & Hurlbut may have consolidated their manufacturing facilities by 1832, when they claimed to be running two mills, one of them founded in 1822, the other in 1827, the latter
probably rebuilt in that year. See Mass. Mills 60 and 62. References: Snell 1929d, 2; Snell 1933b; McGaw 1987, mill 31; McLane Report, 1:146–47.


Owen & Hurlbut converted a grist mill for paper manufacture in 1822, one of three establishments the firm was operating in 1823. Two of them may have been consolidated by 1832, when the proprietors claimed to be running two mills, one of them founded in 1822, the other in 1827, the latter probably rebuilt in that year. See Mass. Mills 60 and 61. References: Snell 1929d, 2; Snell 1933b; McGaw 1987, mill 32; McLane Report, 1:146–47; Weston 1895, 11.

Lee


Samuel Church built a mill here in 1808, not long after he built Mass. Mill 60. References: Hyde 1878, 289; McGaw 1987, mill 34.

Joseph and Leonard Church acquired the mill sometime before 1826. At one point each owned a quarter share in partnership with Milton Ingersoll and Joshua Briggs. Briggs’s interest in the firm was put up for auction in 1831 for the benefit of his heirs. In 1831 the Union Mill was making most types of paper as well as waterproof bonnets. The McLane Report does not include any statistical information about this business but states that it was founded in 1828, perhaps when the mill was rebuilt or modernized. The watermarks below could have been used in the firm’s other mill, Mass. Mill 68. References: McGaw 1987, mill 34; AAD 1831, 62; [Lenox, Mass.] Berkshire Journal, 28 Apr. 1831, 3.


Around 1838 Platner & Smith (George Platner and Elizur Smith) acquired the mill, one of several they operated in the area (see Mass. Mills 59, 65, and 71). Snell states that it was later renamed Eagle Mill, which McGaw records as a later name of Mass. Mill 65. By 1855 Platner & Smith employed 170–180 hands in the manufacture of writing grades, with an annual output valued at $225,000; they requisitioned 900 tons of rags a year for their manufacturing operations. The watermarks listed below could have been used in any of their mills. Embossed crests incorporating their names or initials have been found in papers dating between 1843 and 1859. References: McGaw 1987, mill 34; Snell 1929c, 2; Holland 1855, 2:521; Hyde 1878, 289; Nickell 1993, 208–9.

Eagle | P & S [laid] — ms., Columbiana County, Ohio, 1856 (AAS).

PLATNER & SMITH | LEE MASS [machine-made laid?] — ms., Providence, Pa., between 1860 and 1865 (AAS); ms., n.p., n.d. (Gravell & Miller 2002, wmk 803).

64. Castle Mill. On Laurel Lake Stream.

Samuel Church and William M. Black built a one-vat, one-engine mill at this location sometime before 1820. The mill must have been in operation several years before the Census of 1820, when Black & Church reported that they had recently repaired their facilities at some expense. They employed four men, three women, and two children to manufacture about 2,000 reams a year, mostly foolscap no. 2, but also foolscap no. 1, fine medium, coarse printing, wrapping, and hanging papers, their annual output valued at $4,150. Adjoining this establishment were a grist mill and a fulling mill with a carding machine, which were all destroyed when the paper mill caught fire in 1823. References: McGaw 1987, mill 38; Census of 1820, reel 2, item 134; [Newburyport, Mass.] Newburyport Herald, 14 Oct. 1823, 3.

John Nye Jr. & Co. (John Nye Jr., Ball & Bassett, Thomas Bassett, and Isaac C. Ives) purchased a half interest in the concern in 1827, and perhaps the rest in 1828, when the business was “founded” according to the McLane Report. Nye and his partners also kept a store in Lee as a sideline to their papermaking venture. In 1831 they were making 800 pounds a day of letter, foolscap, printing, and bonnet papers. Ball & Bassett converted the mill to a satinet factory in 1832, then in 1850 turned it over to Platner & Smith, who returned it to paper manufacture in 1857. References: Hyde 1838, 309; McGaw 1987, mill 38; McLane Report, 1:146-7; AAD 1831, 62.


Like Samuel Phillips (Mass. Mill 50), the brothers Walter Laflin, Winthrop Laflin, and Cutler Laflin were at first involved in gunpowder manufacture but then decided that papermaking was a more predictable and profitable investment. After an explosion destroyed their powder mill in 1824, they went into the paper-making business, trading as W. & W. & C. Laflin. In 1826 they built in the center of town a manufactory large enough that it could have been designed for mass production. The Housatonic Mill had an imposing main structure measuring 100 by 35 feet, with two wings on the west side and another one on the east side, a plan much larger than usual (but still not so large as the Mammoth Mill, Pa. Mill 97). It contained the first papermaking machine in the Berkshires (a cylinder), four engines, and workspace for twenty men and forty women, who were employed in the manufacture of newsprint for shipment to New York. The first issue of the New York Tribune appeared on Laflin paper. References: McGaw 1987, mill 37; McGaw 1987, 185; Weston 1895, 5; Snell 1929c, 2.

Walter Laflin and Joseph M. Boies owned the mill in 1836, apparently taking it over in the same year the Laflins’ other mill changed hands. If that is the case, the brothers may have quit these mills under duress, having invested so much in them that they could not meet their obligations when the economy faltered.
Their watermarks are listed here but could have been used in their other mill, Mass. Mill 66. In addition to these establishments, which produced about 1,500 pounds of paper a day, they started a paper hanging manufactory in 1830, which produced 132,000 pieces a year worth $19,800. References: Hyde 1878, 290–91; Munsell 1876, 97; Snell 1929c, 3; Huttner 1993, 133; McGaw 1987, mill 36; McLane Report, 1:146–47; AAD 1831, 62; [Hartford, Conn.] Connecticut Courant, 11 Nov. 1833, 3.


George H. Phelps and Matthew Field owned the mill in 1836. They and their successors rebuilt it three times after it burned down in 1840, 1856, and 1865. Reference: McGaw 1987, mill 36.

Note: Gravell & Miller attribute to this firm a LAFLIN’S | 1852 watermark, although the Laflin brothers had departed from both of their Berkshire mills in 1836, probably having failed in the turmoil preceding the Panic of 1837. Almost certainly this watermark identifies the products of a mill in Herkimer, New York, belonging to two sons of Walter Laflin. They established the business in 1849 and specialized in fine writings made on a machine with elaborate watermarks, two of which are noticed below. References: Weston 1895, 22; William D. Murphy, Biographical Sketches of the State Officers and Members of the Legislature of the State of New York, in 1859 (Albany: Printed by C. van Benthuyssen, 1859), 64–65.

LAFLIN’S | NEW YORK = cherub with American flag | portion of globe | cursive L [laid] — ms., Bangor, Me., 1853 (AAS; on blue paper embossed “Laflin Bro’s”).


Addendum

Beginning in 1835, Ives, Sturges & Co. owned a mercantile concern in Lee as well as an interest in one of

\[
\text{IS \& C'} = \text{dove [laid] — mss., Wilmington, Del., 1837, and New York, N.Y., 1838 (Gravell \& Miller 2002, wmks 497–98).}
\]

\[
\text{IS \& C'} = \text{IS \& C' [laid] — ms., Boston, Mass., 1841 (AAS).}
\]

East Lee

68. Forest Mill. On Lake May Stream.

Luman Church built a mill at this location in 1819 but soon failed, perhaps having run up debts while starting up this business and then losing his credit during the Panic of 1819. References: Hyde 1878, 289, 296; McGaw 1987, mill 42.

Joseph and Leonard Church occupied the mill for several years and were then succeeded by James Whiton & Son. Both firms had interests in other mills and used watermarks that could have originated in either one of their establishments. See Mass. Mills 63 and 65. References: Hyde 1878, 296; McGaw 1987, mill 42.

Ingersoll & Benton (Jared Ingersoll and Caleb Benton) acquired the mill in 1831. References: McGaw 1987, mill 42; McLane Report, 1:146–47.

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\text{I \& B = star [laid] — ms., Springfield, Mass., 1835 (AAS); ms., Baltimore, Md., 1838 (Gravell \& Miller 2002, wmks 480–81).}
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\text{I \& B [wove] — ms., Albany, N.Y., 1835 (Gravell \& Miller 2002, wmk 479).}
\]

Benton & Garfield (Caleb Benton and Harrison Garfield) took over the concern in 1835 and ran it profitably enough that they could build other paper mills in the vicinity. They specialized in writing and ledger papers. References: McGaw 1987, mill 42; Pratt 1849, 174; Hyde 1878, 296; Snell 1929a, 4, 6.

69. On Lake May Stream.

In 1824 the wire and chair manufacturer Stephen Thatcher bought an interest in this mill, operated by Zenas Crane and William Van Bergan, one of Crane’s employees. Crane was probably the silent partner in the firm Stephen Thatcher & Co. Unless Thatcher was involved in another mill in the area, Snell must be mistaken in saying that this mill was founded in 1833 by Thatcher & Son. References: McGaw 1987, 135; McGaw 1987, mill 50; Snell 1929a, 9.

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\text{S.T. \& C' [wove] — ms., New York, N.Y., 1827 (Gravell \& Miller 2002, wmk 881).}
\]

By 1827, Thatcher had bought out Crane and Van Bergan (if he too was a partner). Van Bergan went back to work in one of Crane’s mills, where he had been a vatman. In 1831 Thatcher announced that he was making all types of paper, about 500 pounds per day. References: McGaw 1987, 73, 135; McGaw 1987, mill 50; AAD 1831, 62.

Thatcher took his son George into the business around 1833, and his son-in-law Jared Ingersoll around 1840; how long either of them stayed in the firm is not clear, although it was operating as Thatcher & Ingersoll between 1840 and 1849. Thatcher sold out in 1852 and went to live in Saratoga, where he died in 1880. He claimed that he was the oldest papermaker in the United States. References: McGaw 1987, 135; McGaw 1987, mill 50; Pratt 1849, 174; Hill 1930, 96.


Luman Church built this mill in 1829 and was running it in partnership with someone named Brown in 1832. They manufactured fine writings. The McLane Report says nothing about the business of Church & Brown except to note that it was founded in 1831. References: Snell 1929a, 6; McGaw 1987, mill 51; McLane Report, 1:146–47.

Stephen Thatcher and Jared Ingersoll were running the mill in 1842. Reference: McGaw 1987, mill 51.

The firms Charles Sturges & Co. and Sturges, Phillips & Allen are named as the owners of the New England Mill in ream wrappers at MWA. I have not been
able to identify Sturges, but he might have been a partner in Ives, Sturges & Co. ca. 1835.

The establishment was known as the Waverly Mill in 1855 but was operating as the New England Mill in 1878. Reference: Hyde 1878, 297–98.

**Tyngham**

71. Turkey Mill. On Hop Brook.

According to the McLane Report, Milton Ingersoll built this mill in 1828, but Weston claims that it was founded in 1832 by Sweet & Judd (Riley Sweet and Asa Judd), who first relied on hand manufacturing techniques but soon installed a cylinder machine. References: McGaw 1987, mill 28; McLane Report, 1:146–47; Weston 1895, 15.

Ingersoll & Plattner {Jared Ingersoll and George Plattner} purchased the mill in 1833, while Jared Ingersoll was still involved in Mass. Mill 68. Elizur Smith bought a share in the mill in 1834 and bought out Ingersoll in 1835, thus founding the firm Plattner & Smith, which also operated Mass. Mill 63 and other Berkshire mills. Like the Whatmans’ Turkey Mill in Maidstone, Kent, this mill specialized in fine writing grades, made with pure water from a nearby spring rather than from the stream water that drove the mill wheel. Writings made by Plattner & Smith in this establishment won the “World’s Fair first premium” at the International Exhibition in 1862. At first a “huge” water wheel provided power for the mill, but the proprietors eventually installed two steam boilers in a wing at the front of the building. Smoke from the furnaces was vented through a 54-foot chimney, a landmark in the town of Tyngham even after the original structure burned down in 1869. Like other factories of the

Monterey

72. On Konkapot Brook.

John Manser established a small vat mill here in 1830. Not much is known about Manser or his mill, which he operated more or less on his own, one of the few Berkshire papermakers displaying no discernible family connections or trade contacts with other local mills. References: McGaw 1987, mill 20; McGaw 1987, 146.

Bristol County

Taunton

73. On the Three Mile River in Westville.

Boston bookseller and stationer John West moved to Taunton in 1809 and built a mill there in that year. He retained an interest in his bookstore until 1820, no doubt using it to distribute the goods he manufactured out of town. Richard Park managed the mill for him, perhaps beginning in 1810, when West purchased an assortment of moulds, which were billed to his Boston firm John West & Co. The Census of 1810 noted that he was making 3,000 rolls per year worth $4,500. References: Emery 1893, 642; Silver 1949, 46–47; Sellers Moulds Ordered, 2 Apr. 1810: assortment of moulds; Sellers Moulds Ordered, 21 July 1810: six pairs of moulds ordered by John West & Co.; Sellers Moulds Finished, 15 Nov. 1810: post vellum, watermarked JW & Co.; Coxe 1814, tables, p. 9.

West and Park identified themselves as owners of the mill in their 1820 census return, which contains a fairly detailed account of their business. They employed seven men, twelve women and girls, and four
boys in this establishment, valued at $10,000 in active capital and the same amount in fixed capital, comprising the cost of the mill, the water privilege, and their investment in machinery: two vats, two engines, and five presses, including a hot press for finishing fine writing papers. They manufactured writing, printing, and wrapping papers worth about $12,000 a year, consuming 40 tons of rags costing $4,000, the standard amount for a two-vat mill. Their sales had declined, but they believed that tariff protection was needed not so much against British imports as against cheap Mediterranean papers. They argued that a duty of ten to twenty cents a pound was “indispensably necessary to the Salvation of the Paper Manufacturing Business of this Country.” Although West and Park were both “owners” of the mill, Park began operating it under his own name at this time, West having retired from his bookstore and having become more interested in local manufacturing ventures. He and two partners built a cotton mill on the same property, later known as Westville. Reference: Census of 1820, reel 2, item 141.
The firm Park, Lincoln & Park (Richard Park, Caleb M. Lincoln, and Edwin Park) managed the mill some time before 1833, when Caleb M. Lincoln and Edwin Park took over the business upon the death of Richard Park. The new proprietors did not try to enlarge or modernize the mill, which employed twenty people in 1832 to manufacture 3,850 reams a year valued at $10,500. References: Emery 1891, 642; McLane Report, 1:160–61.

After the Panic of 1837 the cotton and paper mills on this property were consolidated, and the paper mill machinery was eventually sold to Caleb M. Lincoln and Lorenzo Lincoln for a mill they were operating in North Dighton, Massachusetts. Reference: Emery 1891, 642.

**Acushnet**

74. Acushnet Paper Mill? In Fairhaven, which borders on New Bedford and which included Acushnet between 1812 and 1861.

Stephen Taber resided on the premises of a paper mill near New Bedford in 1815, when he put it up for lease. He noted that he had a quantity of rags on hand as if he didn’t expect to be using them any time soon. Reference: [Boston, Mass.] *Independent Chronicle*, 23 Mar. 1815, suppl., p. 2.

The Census of 1820 does not name the proprietor of a one-vat, one-engine mill in Fairhaven, a very modest affair equipped with only two presses and four pairs of moulds. Nevertheless, the respondent claimed that business was good and reported that his workforce of six men and two women was making paper “of all Kinds” worth $4,700 a year. In 1825 Pardon Taber advertised for woolen rags, which he must have been using in the manufacture of wrapping grades in his mill at the “head of Accushnet river.” Business seems to have declined by 1832, when this establishment employed only two men and two women in the manufacture of wrappings worth $1,250 a year. References:
amounted to $3,000 on the building and $1,000 on
the stock, enough to repair the damage and to replace
the supplies and equipment lost by the tenants, Geo.
Hooker & Co. Reference: [Amherst, N.H.] The Farm-
ers’ Cabinet, 20 Dec. 1828, 3.

In 1832 Hooker & Warren employed seven men and
eight women in the manufacture of mostly wrapping
grades for sale in Massachusetts and Rhode Island.
The McLane Report contains an itemized account of
production in a typical year (presumably the previous
year): 300 reams writings; 700 reams royal (printing?);
1,022 reams hangings; 500 reams sheathings; 3,000
reams wrappings; and 8,000 pounds of blue candle
paper. The mill’s total output was valued at $9,469.
The proprietors estimated their fixed capital at $5,000
and the value of their machinery at $2,250, perhaps
representing an investment in a cylinder machine. Ref-
erences: McLane Report, 1:408–9; Nahum Mitchell,
History of the Early Settlement of Bridgewater (Boston:
Printed for the author, by Kidder & Wright, 1840), 55.

W areham
77. On the Weweantic River.

Pardon Taber (also Tabor) built the first paper mill in
Wareham in 1824. Reference: The Plymouth County Di-
rectory (Middleboro, Mass.: Published by Stillman B.
Pratt & Co., 1867), 117.

A Wareham mill, presumably Taber’s, was running
a papermaking machine in 1830. Reference: Rodman
1927.

Swansea

75. Swansey Paper Manufacturing Company. Near
Swansea Village.

The proprietors manufactured “all kinds of Paper”
and sold them through their agent William Mitchell
in Providence, Rhode Island. Their advertisement
appears unchanged in both editions of the American
Advertising Directory. It is possible that they went out
of business just before the 1832 edition was published
since their firm is not mentioned in the McLane Re-
port, which was being compiled at that time. Refer-
ences: AAD 1831, 122; AAD 1832, 241.

Plymouth County

Bridgewater

76. On the Great River, in the south parish.

Established in 1823, this mill belonged to M. and
J. M. Eddy in 1828, when it burned down with
losses estimated at $6,500. The insurance coverage
Census of 1820, reel 2, item 156; New Bedford Mercury,
1 July 1825, 1; McLane Report, 1:188–89.

The G. W. Blunt White Library at Mystic Seaport
contains the business papers of Jonathan P. Lund, who
operated the Acushnet Paper Mill around 1844 in as-
sociation with Charles W. Morgan.