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CAPTAIN EDWARD MARRETT

A GENTLEMAN TAILOR

by

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A thesis submitted to the

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Captain Edward Marrett, A Gentleman Tailor

Thesis directed by Professor George W. Pilcher

This biography portrays Captain Edward Marrett (1713-1780), tailor, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, his family, his tailoring occupation, and his entrepreneurial diversification. It is the story of how one man chose to direct his life, and how it was influenced by the Revolutionary War and his family's long residency in Cambridge. Subordinate to this is a discussion of two marketplaces and their respective media of exchange as they involved Marrett.

In addition to tailoring, Edward Marrett was involved in dry goods retailing, food sales, lumber and warehousing, and charitable disbursements for the town of Cambridge, the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and the "Continent". Furthermore, not only was he descended from one of the first settlers in Cambridge, but as such was a member of the elitist Proprietary and heir to a respectable landed estate. He was elected town selectman during the conflict with England, was a Captain in the militia, and served on numerous local and church committees. By 1764 he had begun using the title "Gentleman" and his only living son had graduated from Harvard.

After his death in 1780 part of Marrett's estate was sold to settle his accounts. Following the untimely death of his sole and unmarried heir the remainder of the estate was dispersed to his relatives and descendants of his second wife.

Sources used include account and daybooks belonging to Marrett, his annotated almanacs for 1751, 1753, and 1765-1780, as

well as Middlesex and Suffolk County Probate Court records and Registries of Deeds. In addition, Tax Valuation Lists for Cambridge for 1688, 1713, 1747, and 1766 were analized to recreate eighteenth-century Cambridge society.

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PREFACE

In the eighteenth century personal clothiers, such as dressmakers and tailors, performed needed services. Not only did the apparel they sew provide protection from the elements while disguising or manipulating anatomical features into aesthetically pleasing silhouettes, it also afforded a medium of communication of social class and personal estate. Consequently, there was an interdependence of apparel silhouette, technology used in drafting the patterns and constructing the garments, and availability and selection of the various textiles for individual clothing articles. Lastly, personal clothiers and the technology they developed became the basis for the modern-day mass production and distribution of apparel. However, little is known about these personal clothiers whose trades and technology evolved into the ready-to-wear garment industry and even less is known about their lives in eighteenth century New England.[1]

The present study of an eighteenth century Cambridge, Massa-

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[1] Among the authors and works addressing this issue are Carl Bridenbaugh, The Colonial Craftsman, (New York: New York University Press, 1950), Claudia Kidwell and Margaret Christman, Suiting Everyone: The Democratization of Clothing in America, (Wash. D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974), Jackson T. Main, The Social Structure of Revolutionary America, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965) and Gary Nash, The Urban Crucible, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979).

chusetts tailor reflects the researcher's interest in the clothing trades as well as her professional skills in apparel fabrication. The specific personal clothier was selected on the basis of extant records. Therefore the project was undertaken first as a general study of an eighteenth century personal clothier, and second as the personal biography of an artisan and his socio-economic position in revolutionary New England society. Several account books and a daybook for Edward Marrett (1713-1780), tailor, were discovered in the Baker Library of Harvard University, while annotated almanacs (1751, 1753, and 1765-1780) attributed to him were located in the Houghton Reading Room of the Harvard University Library. Additional material referring to this long deceased tailor was found in the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Cambridge Public Library, and of course, the Middlesex County Courthouse. As the story of his life began to unfold through extant documentation it became evident that this personal clothier, as one of only three tailors in Cambridge in 1765, then boasting a population of 1571[2], was not solely involved in tailoring. Other entrepreneurial activities included involvement in dry goods retailing, food sales, lumber, and charitable disbursements for the town of Cambridge, the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the "Continent". Furthermore, not only was he descended from one of the first settlers in Cambridge, but as such

[2]Cambridge Historical Commission, Report 4. Survey of Architectural History in Cambridge: "Old Cambridge", (Distributed by the MIT Press, 1973), p. 19.

was a member of the proprietary and heir to a respectable landed estate. Consequently, the focus of his story quickly shifted from a single tailor to the socio-economic ascendancy of a multifaceted, influential man who lived through nearly three-quarters of the eighteenth century, and was also a tailor. Discovery of the Tax Valuation Lists for Cambridge for 1713, 1747 and 1766 at the Cambridge Public Library, lists not previously studied by researchers, helped to trace the Marrett family's socio-economic mobility within Cambridge and permitted analysis of Cambridge society, particularly residency. These lists also detailed Edward Marrett's placement within that society. Interestingly, these records, when studied in conjunction with those of the First Parish Church, the town selectmen, and the Proprietor's Records along with Marrett's own documents painted a life not much different from that of today, in which social and entrepreneurial activities co-mingle with Church membership and participation, and familial permanence in a community as a factor in one's potential accumulation of local wealth as well as in perceived social class. While permanence was important in eighteenth century Cambridge, apparently more significant to one's ability to convert assets into estate was inheritance. Land, the major component of a man's inherited estate, was the primary item, which responded to a supply-demand situation fluctuating in value during the century. Therefore, land was one vehicle in the local economy which could facilitate socio-economic ascendancy. Of course one could just as easily lose everything by speculating in land.

As Marrett's life and position in Cambridge society unfolded, two equally important yet non-parallel social hierarchies emerged. These were occupational and socio-economic, the one not totally dependent upon the other. The first apparently set a limit on earning capacity within the local market, while the second was based on familial permanence, hence, inherited estate, church membership, and individually directed efforts. Related to the latter and most significant in ascendant social mobility was entrepreneurial diversification. This diversification was reflective not only of the type of activity but also of one's participation in both the local and the intercolonial or international markets. This required knowledge and understanding of the various currencies and their relative values.

The significance of this diversification in regards to marketplace lay in the shortage of any currency "in specie", and the colonial perception of the pound sterling as a solid and constant indicator of the value of local currency. On the local scene, while the lawful currency was almost constantly revalued to accommodate its devaluation relative to the pound sterling, set prices were ascribed to services and products. These prices did not fluctuate on the whim of the provider and were in old tenor value prior to 1750 and new tenor value after that date. In fact, in the late 1770s when inflation began to hit hard for the first time, laws were enacted to regulate the prices of certain products and services.

These had obviously begun to fluctuate on their own. This constancy in price meant that as the local currency was devalued, an artisan was actually receiving less value for his services over time as expressed in pounds sterling. Of course if all other services were also held constant and the artisan only traded on the local economy this was unimportant, but then he might never ascend the social scale either. Through participation in these two economies one could take advantage of the fluctuating value of the New England currency while playing on the fixed pricing of the local market. During the latter 1770s, and in 1780 in particular, consumer goods such as food and fuel suffered under incredible inflation which reached a peak of 3200% in 1780 alone. Therefore, diversification and participation in more than one market economy was significant to economic survival. In fact, had Marrett not diversified his activities and been involved in the international market he would probably not have been able to survive with his estate intact past 1773 or 1775. Indeed, as it was, the last years of his life were dire ones.

In summary, the present work portrays Captain Edward Marrett, tailor, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, his family, his tailoring occupation, and his entrepreneurial diversification. It is the story of how one man chose to direct his life. Subordinate to this is a discussion of two marketplaces and their respective media of exchange as they involved Marrett.

This researcher believes that Marrett consciously strove to

better his socio-economic position by following several avenues but that, unfortunately, his untimely death during an incredibly inflationary year, followed by his childless only son's death several years later destroyed any social aspirations he may have held for future generations of Marretts.

During the past several years many people have contributed in diverse ways to the development of this biography. The research was facilitated through the kind cooperation of the Interlibrary Loan staff of Colorado State University under the direction of Julie Wessling, Dorothy Price and Loretto Saracino; Donald York, librarian at the Cambridge Public Library; the Houghton Reading Room, Harvard University staff; the volunteer staff at the Genealogical Library at the Church of the Latter Day Saints in Fort Collins, Colorado; and my brother Craig Trautman. My brother and sister-in-law Edwin and Gunilla Trautman provided a place to stay on more than one occasion while in Boston. The maps were developed and executed by Allen Maier. Among those who criticized and commented upon the manuscript I wish to thank George Pilcher, Ralph Mann, Art Worrall, Matthew Downey, Amy Vandersall, H. Lee Scamehorn, Lee Chambers-Schiller, Allen Maier, and my parents, Retta and Woody Trautman. At this time friends, colleagues and family members are owed a special acknowledgement for their support, encouragement and humor which kept this project going and on target.

INTRODUCTION

The eighth and last child of Edward and Hannah Marrett was born November 5, 1713, some twenty years after their marriage, and named Edward after his father. The Marrett family had been represented in Cambridge continuously since 1635 and therefore participated in the proprietary rights and social privilege generally accorded such permanence. However, as the youngest son of an illiterate tradesman and inn-keeper, who himself had been a youngest child, Edward could not expect to inherit a large estate. The most he could probably aspire to was training in some marketable occupation so as to earn a creditable living and provide for a family. And so, Edward Jr. learned to write and was trained as a tailor.

His training in a saleable skill, along with his continued residence in Cambridge and his family history were probably all significant factors in his ability to build a sizeable estate in spite of his birth order, and, over time, Edward Jr.'s business activities came to involve much more than tailoring. Representative of these was ownership of the town wharf, and merchandizing of dry goods, food stuffs and lumber. Through such diversification of entrepreneurial activities he was able to amass sufficient property and income and its attendant social status by 1764 to be called "Gentleman" rather than "tailor" in public documents. This title

recognized his socio-economic ascendancy including election as Captain of Militia and as town selectman. Clearly, occupational and socio-economic hierarchies did not necessarily overlap: the road to wealth and social esteem lay not through occupational status alone but involved a conscious and directed effort on the part of the individual. At the same time it was also bound to a family's participation in the development of the town.

CHAPTER I

THE FAMILY MARRETT

Social ascendancy and accumulated wealth are measures of socio-economic success. Two influencing factors in that success are familial permanence in a community and the estate passed on to future generations. In Cambridge, where the Church was the original town proprietor, church membership and town proprietary rights were also inextricably interwoven with residential permanence and estate accumulation.

The first male bearing the Marrett surname arrived in Cambridge in 1635. Thomas Mariot was probably a member of the Reverend Thomas Shepard's company and congregation. Upon arrival this group found a town which had already been established, but whose inhabitants were removing to Connecticut.

These earlier inhabitants were mainly members of the Reverend Thomas Hooker's company which had landed in Boston in 1632, although Hooker himself had arrived the following year. The first church in New Towne, later to be called Cambridge, was gathered in October, 1633, with Thomas Hooker as its spiritual leader. However, by 1636 most of the members of this first church, along with its pastor, and its teacher Samuel Stone, had removed to Hartford, Connecticut. No more than eleven families are thought to have re-

mained behind in New Towne. Among the numerous reasons they cited for going to Connecticut were:

1. Their want for accommodation for their cattle, so as they were not able to maintain their ministers, nor could receive any more of their friends to help them; and here it was alleged by Mr. Hooker, as a fundamental error, that towns were set so near each to other.
2. The fruitfulness and commodiousness of Connecticut, and the danger of having it possessed by others, Dutch or English.
3. The strong bent of their spirits to remove thither.[1]

However, more important, and tied to the last reason cited above, was " ... [that] two such eminent stars, such as were Mr. Mather and Mr. Hooker, both of the first magnitude, though of different influence, could not well continue in one and the same orb."[2]

Mr. Shepard's congregation and company had first arrived in October, 1635 on the ship The Defence, with other members arriving later the following spring and summer. When they arrived in New Towne they found many of the houses empty and the owners willing to sell. The company bought these homes until they could find a better place to live. Therefore, the Reverend Thomas Shepard and his company enjoyed the advantage of entering into a settlement "already cultivated and furnished with comfortable accommodations."[3]

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[1]Lucius Paige, History of Cambridge 1630-1877, with a Genealogical Register. (Boston: H.S. Houghton & Co., 1877) p. 28.

[2]Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, vol.1: 1806, pp. 305,306; Paige, p. 30.

[3]Francis Jackson, A History of the Early Settlements of New-

As the Company purchased the whole dimensions of the town as originally granted the "Harford" Company, rights of proprietorship to New Towne passed to the members of Shepard's congregation. Thus were proprietary rights and church membership bound together at an early date. Later in 1637 when the town granted two and two thirds acres of land to "the Professor" for what was to become Harvard College, it too became tied to proprietary rights as well as to the established church.

Under the original grant New Towne's boundaries were placed at four and one half miles in each direction, measured from the then existing meeting house. This was modified in March 1635/6 by the Massachusetts Bay General Court to run eight miles into the countryside, from the meeting house.[4] This new grant included present day Arlington, and, most likely, all of present day Lexington.[5] On May 2, 1638 New Towne was renamed Cambridge by order of the Massachusetts Bay General Court. The name of the town was selected after Cambridge, England, seat of a University where several Magistrates and Elders had been educated,[6] while Harvard was selected the college name after John Harvard who had endowed the institution with half his estate and all his library in 1638. The name change took effect in early 1639.[7] In 1643/4 an additional

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ton from 1639 to 1800, with an Appendix embracing Historical, Statistical and Ecclesiastical Information pertaining to the Town of Newton. (Boston: Stacy & Richardson, 1854), p.16.

[4]Paige, p. 3.

[5]Ibid., p. 253.

[6]Ibid., p. 43.

[7]Ibid., p. 253.

grant from the Massachusetts Bay General Court further enlarged Cambridge to include the town of Billerica, parts of Bedford and Carlisle, and part of Tewksbury and/or Chelmsford; essentially all of the land lying between the Concord, Charles, and Merrimac Rivers. This grant was made in part to satisfy urges of the inhabitants to remove themselves for reasons similar to those stated by the Harford Company several years prior. In 1651 Billerica was incorporated as a separate town[8], thirty-seven years later Newton, on the south side of the Charles River, also split from Cambridge, and finally, in 1713, Lexington was incorporated. The northwest part of the town was made a separate precinct in December 1732 and afterwards was know as the Second Parish or Menotomy.[9] Cambridge was subsequently enlarged only slightly in April 1754 when its boundaries were pushed about one half mile further westward and this land set off from Watertown and annexed to Cambridge.[10] Cambridge Town lay about eight miles from Boston going through Brookline and Roxbury.

The soil in the southwest portion of Cambridge within a mile of the River was loamy and hilly with springs, and natural to grass. The soil in the northwest part of Cambridge was also hilly, similar to that of the southwest sector, and was a source of large quantities of stone. From the foot of the hills on the south side of the River was three hundred acres of marshlands on each side of the River, with light soil intermingled with loam, lying on a stra-

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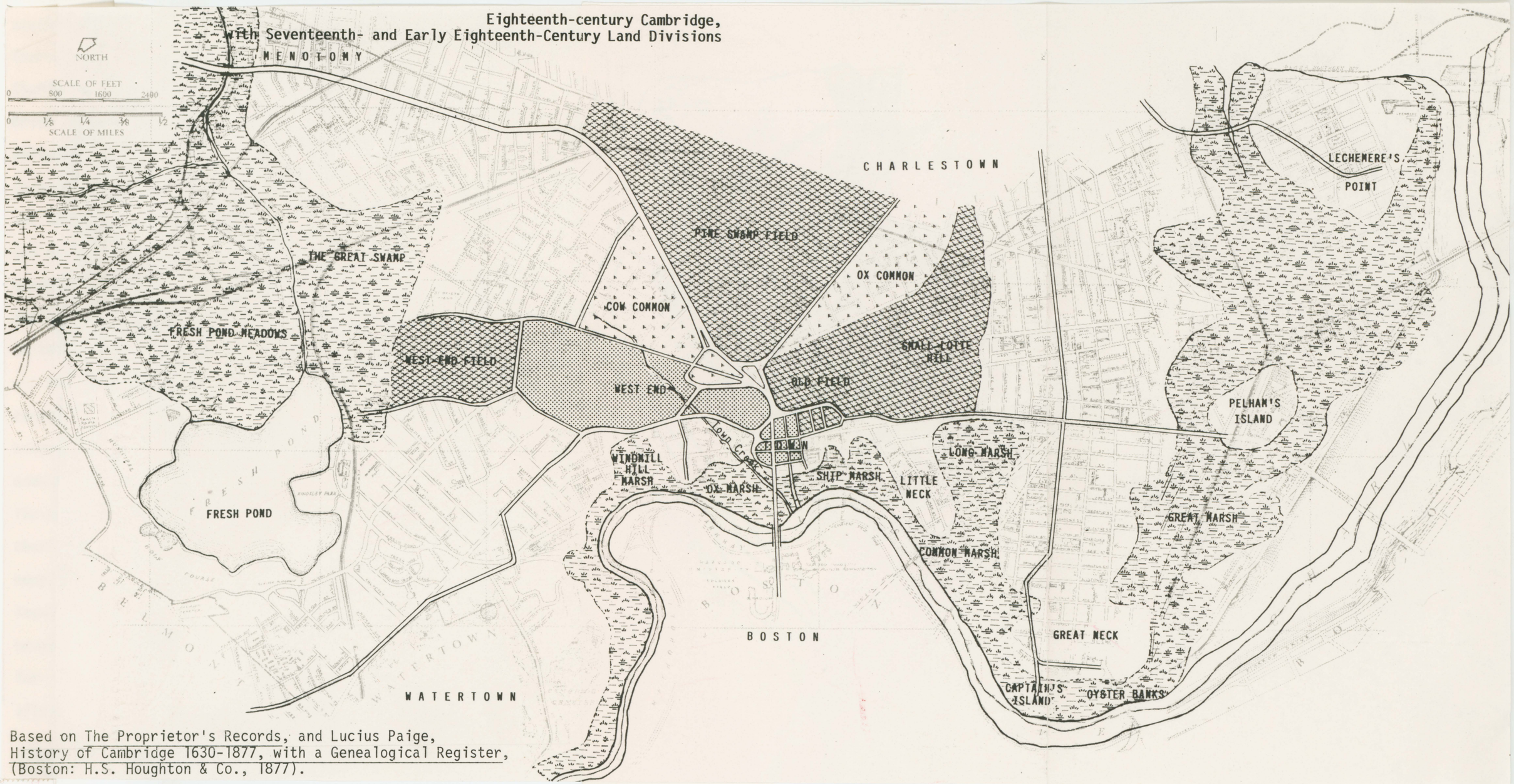
[8]Ibid., p. 4.

[9]Menotomy became Arlington in 1867. [10]Paige, p. 4.

Eighteenth-century Cambridge,
with Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century Land Divisions



Based on The Proprietor's Records, and Lucius Paige, History of Cambridge 1630-1877, with a Genealogical Register, (Boston: H.S. Houghton & Co., 1877).

Plate

tum of clay which at times reached the surface. The ground was similar in the First Parish (the Town) and the Menotomy plains. There were lowland and upland marshes on the north side of the Charles River. The lowland were Windmill Hill (later referred to as Brick Wharf) Marsh, Ox Marsh, Ship Marsh, and Common Marsh. The upland were Long Marsh and Great Marsh separated by Captain's Island adjacent to the oyster banks, and Pelham's Island, an upland marsh yet an island at high tide. On the two sides of the Little River, and divided equally between the First Parish and Menotomy were large meadows of an inferior quality grass. Other areas of Cambridge included Fresh Meadows and Fresh Pond Meadows adjoining Fresh Pond in the west.

The town as originally laid out was traversed by four streets running east to west and four running north to south, arranged in a kidney shape with various highways leading into it. The Common, with five radiating highways, punctuated the northwest end of Town. These highways usually were routes to other towns; the one between Charlestown and Watertown predated the settlement of New Towne and most likely figured into the decision to establish the town at that location. In the earliest divisions of common land in Cambridge house lots were laid out in the "Town" and "West End"[11] while lands for cultivation were first assigned in the impaled "Neck" and afterwards elsewhere. This Neck consisted of three major subdivi-

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[11] See map for location of all geographic areas mentioned in text.

sions: "Old Field" ("planting field") with sixty three acres laid out in small portions, in the west; "Small-lotte Hill" with forty six acres laid out in eighteen narrow lots of two to five acres each; and a section east of there bordering on the south side of the Great Marsh where land was divided in large lots of six to sixty-three acres each. The amount of land allowed was apparently fixed by wealth and standing.[12]

When Thomas Marrett, aged forty six, freeman and shoemaker, arrived in 1635 with his wife Susan, sons Thomas and John, and daughters Abigail, Sussannah, and Hannah, he purchased various properties and started building a future for himself and his family in the New World. In 1635 the Proprietor's Records of Newtowne list purchases by Thomas Marrett of properties belonging to Thomas Hitte (Heate) who had gone to Higham; Edward Stebbin, a member of Hooker's congregation who had followed his pastor to Hartford, Connecticut; Richard Webbe; and Thomas Hosner and William Wadsworth. From Hitte he purchased one house, garden and backside on the northeast corner of Spring and Water Streets. From Edward Stebbin he bought three Roods[13] land more or less in "cow lott rowe" south of the ox pasture, and one acre of Ox Marsh, northwest of the Charles River and Southwest of the Creek. From Richard Webbe he purchased an undetermined amount of acreage in the West End next to Watertowne;

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[12]Cambridge Historical Commission, Report 4. Survey of Architectural History in Cambridge: "Old Cambridge". (Distributed by The MIT Press, 1973), p. 16.

[13]This is equal to three-quarters of an acre with one rood equivalent to one quarter acre.

and from Thomas Hosner and William Wadsworth five and one half acres in the West End. In addition he acquired five acres of upland in the New Lottes next to Menotomy, two acres in the Great Marsh just east of the oyster banks, and two acres in Small-lotte Hill southwest of the common pales.[14] Marrett was wealthier than most and was therefore able to piece together a known estate of over sixteen acres. As a member of Shepard's company and, consequently, a town proprietor, he would also benefit from divisions of common lands. The Proprietor's books record such a division in 1636 from which he received sixteen acres in two parcels on the south side of the Charles River, an allotment nearly doubling his holdings, and triple the average acreage granted that year.[15] Marrett later sold five of his allotted acres, and by 1648 he had also sold over five acres in the west field, and next to the Great Swamp, to a "Brother" Withes.[16] Therefore by 1652 he apparently owned over twenty two acres including a town lot and house. The 1647 Rate List appraised the average house at £28/4, broken land at one pound per acre, unbroken and marsh land at ten shillings per acre, and far meadows

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[14]Cambridge, Massachusetts, Proprietors, The Register Book of the Lands and Houses in the "New Towne" & the Town of Cambridge, with Records of the Proprietors of the Common Lands, being the Records Generally called "The Proprietors' Records" 1634-1829. (Cambridge: J. Wilson, 1896), p. 51. (Hereafter cited as The Proprietors' Records.)

[15]The seventeenth-century land divisions in Cambridge, Massachusetts are compiled in Appendix C and represented in the map on page 7.

[16]The Proprietors' Records, p. 355.

at six shillings per acre, which would ascribe Marrett an economic status in excess of what one might assume based on his occupation as a shoemaker. A further indication of his high socio-economic status was his election as town selectman along with other men of high standing in the church, in October 1639. This election also pointed out the close relationship between selectman, church member, and town proprietor.

The 1652 division of the lands which had been formerly granted as the Shawshine also illustrated this close relationship between roles mentioned above. The Shawshine grant, 10720 acres northwest of the town and encompassing lands north to the Shawshine River, was "peculiar to the Church only", having been granted in part to keep Shepard's congregation in Cambridge. Furthermore, since it had been Shepard's company, hence congregation, that had bought the proprietary rights of the Harford company the church had control over these seventeenth-century land divisions. Initially, the Church set aside a 1000 acre farm "for a public stock, and improved for the good of the Church", and several farms for "brethren that had no house-right in the town"; also in 1649 Henry Dunster, President of Harvard College, was given 500 acres, 400 of it for his own use, and one hundred for the College's use, while a Daniell Gookin and an Edward Collins were each given 500 acres.[17] Then the subsequent, and final division of the Shawshine grant in

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[17]Paige, p. 57.

1652 followed the rule that

> every man shall have proportion of land more or less according to proportion now allotted him. Also that every man shall have a part of the meadow in proportion with his upland, to be laid out after the same rule that the upland is, both by lot and quantity.[18]

One person, Shepard's successor Jonathan Mitchell, received 500 acres, the largest parcel granted. Thomas Marrett received two hundred acres, as one of only fourteen freemen to receive at least that amount. All those receiving at least one hundred and eighty acres were participants in Church governance[19] and/or town selectmen. In a socio-economic pyramid this would place Thomas Marrett in the upper 12% of Cambridge freemen proprietors. This was an excellent situation for a shoemaker, particularly since in all likelihood subsequent divisions of common lands would also be made based on the proportion then allotted. In addition, as newcomers to the town were not guaranteed participation in future divisions, the value of Marrett's real holdings would increase and membership in the proprietary would be important.

Both Marrett and his son John appear in the 1662 land division of three hundred acres arranged in three breadths: one between the rivers, and two on "this side" of the Shawshine River. John received two and one half acres on the south side of the Charles River in the fourth division with an allowance of two rods width for

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[18] Ibid., p. 58.

[19] Report on the Connection at Various Times Existing Between the First Parish in Cambridge and Harvard College, (Cambridge: Metcalf and Company, 1852), p. 5.

a highway to cross where it was most convenient. Thomas Marrett Sr., aged seventy-three, received three acres in the seventh division.[20] Not as many participated in this 1662 division, which also included widows of proprietors. Thomas Marrett Jr. did not participate in this land division even though he was the elder Marrett son because he had parted Cambridge for Dedham in 1659.

It appears that prior to February 27,1664 a proprietor's son and other male freemen residents of Cambridge were admitted as proprietors and enjoyed benefits in the land divisions, but on that date and again on March 27, 1665 the town proprietors voted that no others would be admitted without the unanimous consent of the current body of town proprietors. Otherwise, rights in the common lands were inherited. Furthermore, it is apparent that inheritance of rights in the common lands and participation in further division of these lands was not committed to writing. However, these rights could also be sold, in which case the transaction may have been recorded.

Upon his death on June 30, 1664 at age seventy-five Thomas Marrett Sr. apportioned his estate to his family by will dated October 15, 1663, with his youngest son John appointed executor. Marrett left to this same son John farm implements, working oxen, and two acres of marsh at the oyster banks. All houses and lands were also to pass to him after the death or remarriage of his mother Susan. This was in keeping with the contemporary laws of dower and

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[20] The Proprietors' Records, pp. 140-144.

thirds, and in line with the current practice of leaving the real property to a male heir to protect the estate and the line of succession while continuing to provide for at least a subsistence lifestyle for the widow. There would be no way for Marrett's widow to amass property or deal in real estate; widows and women do not consistently appear at this time in the division of common lands as some would later and a few had earlier. At her death or remarriage a widow's portion would revert to the male heirs of her late husband's choice. At the same time, Marrett's son John would not be at liberty to move away from Cambridge since he was bound by his father's will to manage his mother's lands and improvements until he inherited full rights and use of the property for himself. This occurred upon his mother's death on February 23, 1665, eight months after that of her husband.

To his first born son, Thomas, then resident of Dedham, Marrett left £20 (if not paid before his death) for a total of £70, the remainder of his double portion in his father's estate having already been given. Perhaps Marrett realized that as a non-resident it would be difficult for his son to administer his estate and to care for his elderly widow, and therefore did not leave him the bulk of his real estate. Or perhaps Thomas Jr. simply could not wait longer for his father to settle him with an estate, since in 1659, at the time he moved to Dedham, he would have been at least in his early thirties. Thomas Jr. died in 1664, not long after his father.

The younger son John, who was a resident of Cambridge, inherited the family real estate. He was thirty four at his

father's death, and had patiently waited for his portion, there being no evidence that he was accorded any family property prior to 1664.[21] John was listed as a shoemaker, his father probably having settled him in that occupation. In any case, he was in a position to marry Abigail Richardson in 1654, and to participate subsequently in the 1662 land division.

Thus, by mid-1665, John Marrett was in possession of about 225 acres, with houses and improvements, many in the West End and West Field[22], in addition to at least two and one half acres on the South side of the Charles River that he already held. In a time when a farm of forty acres of improved land, and woodland sufficient to produce thirty to eighty acres of wood for fire, was considered adequate for support of a family of five, John was a rather fortunate second son.[23] Like his father before him he was a shoemaker by trade, a member of the Church, and he remained in Cambridge to raise his family. Between 1656 and 1670 his wife bore him eleven children, including one set of twins, of whom eight survived to adulthood.

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[21] Middlesex County court records burned in a fire in 1671, consequently it is not known if there were any real estate transactions of which there are no extant documents. The record book which burned contained documents from 1663 to 1671, although some were reconstructed. Paige, p. 212.

[22] Arthur Gilman, The Cambridge of 1776, (Port Washington, 1970), p. 94.

[23] Christopher Jedrey, The World of John Cleaveland, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1979), p. 63.

In 1665 another division of common lands occurred.[24] In this division John Marrett received fifteen acres and two shares of cow commons. This was somewhat below the average 20.77 acres, but consistent with the 1.77 share average allotment of cow commons. At the same time as the land division and allocation of shares in the cow commons it was voted that these latter would never be divided into propriety unless there be unanimous consent and that they could be rented for no more than four pence per annum per share.

In 1683 another division of lots ocurred beyond the eight mile line "betwixt that and Concord line" with a substantial quantity of acreage and cow commons. John Marrett received thirty acres of land and four shares of cow commons in the third "squadrant", a square shaped plot of land, and twenty additional acres of land and two shares of cow commons in the seventh "squadrant". In the third squadrant nine people received over forty acres, and three allotments were made to women: twenty acres to Mrs. Elizabeth Dunster, fifteen acres to the Widow Cane, and ten acres for "Mrs. Frost's house", while in the seventh squadrant only six people received over forty acres, and none was allotted to women.[25] As in preceding land divisions John Marrett fared better than average but not as well as had his father; he received at or slightly better than the average and median acreage allotted while

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[24] The Proprietors' Records, pp. 145-148.

[25] Ibid., pp. 341, 342.

his father had rated in the upper 12%. The reasons for the difference are not evident, although parish records do not portray the younger Marrett so involved in the affairs of the Church as was his father. In addition, he was not elected to any posts in local government nor appointed to proprietor's committees.

However, at fifty-four John Marrett was prosperous. He owned 325 acres of land and eight shares in the cow commons, having added sixty-five acres and eight shares of cow commons to his holdings between 1665 and 1683. As a measure of his prosperity, in 1682 he moved from the town to the former mansion of John Bridge on the road to Watertown, west of Cambridge. On the Cambridge List of Persons and Estates taken in the month of August, 1688, which listed rateable polls,[26] John Marrett was down for one person (male, servant or other age sixteen and over) and assessed 4s2d for person and estate. A person was valued at £20, houses and lands at six times their annual income, and personal property at "standard" figures.[27] The poll tax and the property tax usually changed simultaneously, both increasing or decreasing in the same proportion. However, the levy was not identical. In the valuation John

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[26]This is equal to 1s8d or one penny in the pound on a valuation of twenty shillings per head and per estate or multiple thereof following a 1646 law. See Massachusetts Collections Records, ii, p. 173; and Margaret Myers, A Financial History of the United States (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 15.

[27]Ibid.; and Jackson T. Main, The Social Structure of Revolutionary America, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 13.

Marrett's son John Jr., then twenty-four and a seaman, was assessed 1s8d for one person residing in the "town", while Marrett's two other sons, Amos aged thirty-one, and Edward aged eighteen, and neither one a church member, were not assessed. The endorsed Cambridge rate for 1688 was £37/2/11 for person and estate with 192 assessed estates and/or persons, including three widows, two of whom paid one rateable poll. This resulted in an average tax of 3s10d. The median tax, subtracting twenty pence for all rateable polls over one and ascribing twenty pence to those estates without rateable poll to equalize taxes, was four shillings in a range of 1s9d to 12s1d,[28] paid by Thomas Danforth, Esquire. Based on this, John Marrett Sr. at sixty-one received a somewhat larger than average income from his lands. This probably reflected the size of the estate. But unlike his father he could not be considered among the more wealthy of Cambridge. If the valuation equalled six times the annual income derived from an estate then Marrett's income would have been £5 per annum.[29] Considering an assessment at five percent of market value would indicate an estate worth £600 New England money or £468

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[28]For a copy of the 1688 Valuation List for Cambridge see Paige, pp. 440-444.

[29]This was arrived at by converting the tax paid to pence, 50d, then subtracting the 20d poll tax as not everyone was liable for this tax. This resulted in an equalized tax of 30d for Marrett, or, at one penny in a pound of valuation, £30 New England currency. To arrive at the annual rents this amount was then divided by six.

sterling.[30] According to Nash[31] this was sufficient to place Marrett only in the upper forty percent.

On November 29, 1689 the last division of common lands of the seventeenth century took place, allocating western lands at the Watertown line, and westward into the Rocks to the Concord line. This area was known as the Cambridge Rocks. At this time fifteen additional proprietors were admitted, each receiving six acres of cow commons for twelve acres "in the other place or places forementioned", essentially trading established proprietors two for one in the cow common.[32] As usual the allocations were accomplished in two separate divisions. In the first John Marrett Sr. received an undetermined amount of acreage. However, since the practice was to grant about half an allotment in each of the two divisions, and he received sixteen acres in the second division, one could also assume that he was granted approximately sixteen acres in this first division. The first acreage allotted him was located southwest of the Concord road. The acreage received in the second division he then converted two for one to thirty-two acres on the Rocks.[33] In this last division forty acres was also allocated "to the ministry", while only nine proprietors received sixteen acres or better. This

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[30] See Appendix D for conversion of local New England currency to pound sterling.

[31] Gary Nash, The Urban Crucible, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 400.

[32] The Proprietor's Records, p. 167.

[33] Ibid., p. 200.

placed Marrett, at age fifty-nine, in the upper nine percent of grantees, even before conversion of the grant to double acreage. Why had his placement among grantees changed? Perhaps it was due to the admission of new proprietors who would have been admitted at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

Upon John Sr.'s death in 1695 at age sixty-five he had but two surviving sons: (Lieutenant) Amos born in 1657, married but without children, and Edward, born in 1670, married with one small child. His eldest son John Jr. had died at sea in 1690, while his other son Thomas had been killed by Indians in 1675. He also left four married daughters. His will left to his son Amos "for and in consideration of sundry payments by him made on my behalf" ... £60 ... as also in consideration of £40 more

> Over and above wt he hath payd by him to be payd to my executrix ... he shall have moiety or one half of my dwelling house, barns and all of my houses and lands and my other estates of which kind so ever. to Abigail, wife ... house and improvement as shee shall need for her support during her life and at death to dispose to yd ballance as shee shall moot. What remains at death of ... to Amos Marrett.[34]

This last item included £20 and about thirty acres of wasteland which were specified in the will. His other then living son Edward received £70 and one acre of wood lot on the Cambridge dock. His daughters Hannah and Mary received £6 each and an additional forty shillings to buy silver spoons. If any property remained after all the above conditions were met it was to be divided equally among all his children. It is not known if any property did remain since

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[34] Registry of Probate. Middlesex County. Loose Papers, First Series, #14629-14726.

probate records referring to the administration of the estate are no longer extant. Hence, Amos Marrett, elder son but not a member of the Church became owner of approximately one hundred and ninety acres, three shares of cow commons, and half of the Bridge mansion, where he and his wife Bethya would reside with his mother Abigail until her death in 1721.

The 1713 Valuation List for Cambridge[35] reflected Amos' inherited status as well as his penchant for dealing in real estate. He was one of the seven wealthiest men in Cambridge placing him in the top three percent of those listed and in a league with such names as Phipps, Goffe, and Foxcroft. His property was valued for tax purposes at £58/10, or £35.68 sterling. This indicates an annual income of £5.9 sterling from the lands, or a total land value of £713.6 sterling.[36] The value of Lieutenant Marrett's property, including "faculty", was £23 Lawful New England currency or £14.03 sterling, also sixth greatest in Cambridge. By contrast, his younger brother, Edward, ranked in the bottom 41% of the propertied residents, or the bottom half of all persons listed on the Valuation List, thus pointing out the difference a favorable birth order and a landed family estate could make in one's wealth.

All rights of proprietorship in the town commons lands also

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[35]The 1713 Valuation List is located in the Paige MSS Collection, The Cambridge Public Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

[36]The amount was arrived at by first applying the conversion rate of 61% (see Appendix D) to the valuation then dividing that amount by .05 to allow for full value of the property at a five percent of true value appraisal. [Myers, p. 15].

appear to have passed to Amos, although these were not mentioned specifically in the father's will; perhaps this was tradition. Amos Marrett's name first appeared in the Proprietor's Records on April 20, 1703 as a member of the committee "for the improving, regulation, and ordering of the remaining common and undivided land belonging to said proprietors". The land division of 1707 also listed him but not his younger brother Edward. At that time lots were distributed to the proprietors with three, including fifteen acres in Jackson Corner, granted to Amos Marrett, for a total of thirty-three and three-quarters acres. The following day he sold an undetermined one and one-half acres of these to a William Pattin for £2.

In addition to Lt. Amos Marrett, the subsequent land division of 1724 also included his brother Edward and his nephew-in-law Judah Monis, a hardware merchant and instructor of Hebrew at Harvard College. At this point it is not evident how these two relatives of the deceased John Marrett obtained proprietary rights. Possibly, as descendant and heir of a town proprietor and residents of Cambridge they were unanimously voted admission to that select group under the 1664 and 1665 rulings. Or perhaps Abigail Marrett, upon her death in 1721, passed on her assumed one-third share in the commons to Edward. In any case, the land division of 1724 allotted two and one-half acres and fourteen rods (2.58 acre) each to Edward Marrett and Judah Monis, small enough identical allotments to support the hypothesis of recent admission to the proprietary. On the other hand Amos Marrett, who had in-

herited his rights and was an active participant within that select group, received a substantially greater allotment. He received his portion in five pieces for a total of 9.045 acres, roughly three and one half times that allotted to his relatives in the same division.

Amos' brother Edward Marrett (born 1670) was the youngest of John and Abigail's children, and one of only two boys to survive their father. He was twenty-five at the time of his father's death and received as his share in the estate £70 and one acre of wood lot, a far cry from that passed on to his older brother Amos, thirteen years his senior. However, judging from his wealth at death he probably inherited some real property at his mother's death although the precise amount and nature cannot be verified. Unlike both his father and brother, Edward was illiterate. By trade he was a glazier and was also licensed in 1707 to sell bottled ale[37], in 1709 to keep an inn[38], and in 1733, 1734 and 1735 to retail alcoholic beverages[39]. In the Valuation List of 1713 Edward Marrett was listed at 1 poll, with real estate of £7/10 and personal property and "faculty" of £5/10. At five percent of the true market value this would result in an estate of £150 or £91.5 sterling, and personal property and "faculty" of £3.35 sterling, not a large estate. He married Hannah Bradish Stanhope, the apparent widow of

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[37]Middlesex County Superior Court, Cambridge, Massachusetts 1707-331-4.

[38]Paige, p. 226.

[39]Middlesex County Superior County Court, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 129-A-1733; Paige, p. 227.

Joseph Stanhope. Together they had eight children of whom six survived to adulthood, two boys dying before the age of twenty one. Of the remaining sons, Amos, born in 1703 and named after his wealthy but childless uncle Lt. Amos, was a glazier like his father; and Edward Jr., born in 1713, became a tailor. Unlike their father, both were able to read and write, perhaps learning this skill from their literate mother.

Amos, the elder son of Edward, became the direct heir of his uncle Lieutenant Amos when the latter died childless in 1739 at age eighty-one. It was not uncommon for boys to be named after a rich, childless relative in hopes that the name identity would result in a large inheritance.[40] In this case it paid off handsomely, to the exclusion of Lieutenant Amos' less wealthy brother Edward, and the rest of his nieces and nephews. Another factor in his uncle's decision may have been the fact that in 1732 Amos married Mary Dunster, the daughter of his uncle's second wife, Ruth Dunster. The marriage of the two Amos Marretts to mother and daughter occurred within two months of each other.

Lieutenant Amos was a farmer and bricklayer by reputed trade, yet a man of considerable wealth and a prominent citizen who was called a yeoman in the probate records. He had inherited over 380 acres from his father after his parents' death, assuming that he

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[40] Daniel Scott Smith, "Inheritance and the Position and Orientation of Colonial Women", unpublished paper, Second Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, Cambridge, Mass., 1974. p. 8. According to Smith it was not uncommon to pass on one's estate to a namesake in the absence of children.

received the majority of his father's estate upon his mother's death. He also bought and sold additional real estate on his own accord and received additional acreage through divisions of the common lands in 1707 and 1724. From these additional divisions he received forty-three acres. Included in his purchases were ten acres of land between the paternal homestead on the highway to Watertown, which he had inherited, and the neighboring estate, which would later embrace the house where General Washington headquartered while in Cambridge. Eventually, his land holdings totalled several hundred acres. In his will he left his wife Ruth, the former widow of Jonathan Dunster,

> all the household articles which she brot with her, bedding, pewter, privilege in dwelling house which we live in, corn, meal and provisions. half of the corn growing, choice of one of the cows, improvements of half of the lands with convenient room in my barn as she may need during her life, also use of calash and horse as occasion while widow.

In his provisions for his widow Lieutenant Amos was quite generous yet specific at the same time. The improvement of the other half of his lands and his personal estate not otherwise disposed of he left to his nephew and namesake, Amos Marrett. He had previously conveyed his homestead to him.[41] To his brother Edward Marrett he left "his choice ... sute of woolen apparel".

To his nephew Edward Marrett Jr. and niece Sussannah Marrett Peirce he left £5 each, and to his other nieces Hannah Marrett Lawrence, resident of Connecticut, and Mary Marrett Martyn, resident

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[41] Paige, p. 604.

of Northborough, he left forty shillings each, while to the children of his deceased sister Abigail Marrett Crackbone he left £55, with £50 going to the son Joseph, and £5 going to the daughter Elizabeth Crackbone Honeywell. He also provided a little bit for his last remaining sister Mary Marrett Hovey and her children, and various other nieces and nephews. With the exception of the amount to be paid to Joseph Crackbone, which was to be paid within six months of his death, "Aforesaid legacies [were] to be paid within two years after [his] wife's decease". In 1742 his widow married Peter Hayes of Stoneham.[42]

Amos Marrett, the heir, is listed as husbandman in the probate records concerning the administration of his uncle's estate. He, along with Samuel Gookin, gentleman, and Stephen Palmer, tanner, posted £1000 bond, worth £190 sterling[43] to Jonathan Remington, Esq., Judge of Probate of Wills "to do well and truly pay, or cause to be paid the deceased's debts and legacies, faithfully fulfill and administer the estate and render account." It is assumed that the bond posted was equivalent to, if not less than, the assumed value of the deceased's estate, including projected income for one year. Therefore, it is evident that the estate that Amos inherited from

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[42] Ibid.

[43] All amounts are converted to pound sterling for comparative reasons on the assumption that since there is no evidence to the contrary the colonies perceived this currency as stable. Furthermore, the colonies revalued their currency in line with its value in sterling, while coinage of English money varied in accordance with the value of silver. [Sir Albert Feavearyear, The Pound Sterling: A History of English Money, (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1963)].

his uncle was quite valuable. Amos Marrett was considered to be a man of wealth, dealing largely in real estate. He continued to reside in the inherited former Bridge estate on the road to Watertown until he sold it in 1746 to John Vassall and purchased the Fayerweather estate in Watertown. Unfortunately, Amos was to die nine years later.

Amos Marrett had married Mary Dunster in 1732 and together they had six children of whom four survived: Abigail, Amos, John, and Ruth. Upon his death he left a young wife and four small children, all of whom were ably provided for in his will. In addition to providing for his young family, including education at Harvard College for his youngest son John if he so desired, Amos left to his father Edward the "improvements of one and one quarter acre of marsh lying in Cambridge near the brick wharf during his natural life ... " then the land and improvements were to pass to his (Amos') brother Edward Jr., his heirs and assigns forever. He also left his silver hilted sword, valued at £20, £1.8 sterling, to his brother Edward directly.

The inventory filed for Probate in 1747 for Amos Marrett listed the following in addition to the above-mentioned items which were valued at £80 old tenor: Bonds due to estate, including one mortgage at £2500, for a total of £8650; House lot or land 40 acres and 2 acres of marsh with buildings ... £1920 (£172.8 sterling); 2 acres marsh and upland ... £150; 8 acres of meadows near Fresh Pond (from Colonel Brattle) ... £100; and 7 acres of upland in West Field next to house lot ... £280, for a total of £2510 old tenor or £225.9

sterling for lands and buildings, and £328.5 for bonds and mortgages. Other articles, not including household goods valued at £182.9 (£16.4 sterling) which would go to his wife, but including £32.18 under "army", were valued at £379.4 (£34.13 sterling). This estate inventory represents a total of £604.93 sterling in property.

This clearly does not represent the full assumed inheritance from Lieutenant Amos Marrett but does imply a well-to-do person, particularly at age forty-two. According to Nash[44] this known estate would be sufficient to place him in at least the top 25% of propertied decedents in Boston.

In 1756 the estate paid Edward Marrett Jr. £28, while a year later in 1757 it received from Edward Marrett Jr. £320/5 or £240 sterling, presumably for real property. By 1760 another inventory of Amos' estate showed buildings worth £46/13 or £35 sterling, "home place" worth £320 or £240 sterling, marsh and orchard valued at £42/53/4 or £31.5 sterling, one meadow worth £25 or £18.75 sterling, and land in the north parish, presumably Menotomy, £21/6/8 or £16 sterling, for a total estate of £451/13/4 or £338.75 sterling. This is a reduction of £266.18 sterling from the time of the first filing for probate in 1747. In comparing the two lists it appears likely that Edward Marrett could have purchased acreage of upland in Westfield, acreage of meadows near Fresh Pond, acreage of marsh and upland, and some bonds for £240 sterling in 1757. Furthermore, records show that a considerable amount of financial support was

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[44]Nash, p. 400.

needed for Amos' young family, while, by 1760, all of the children except Ruth would have received their portion in the estate.

On the Valuation List of 1747 Edward, the father, is down for 0 polls, an estate of £20, equivalent to £400 or £244 sterling at five percent valuation, and personal property of £5, or £3.05 sterling. The poll rating perhaps reflected his advanced age of seventy-seven or a state of infirmity while not entirely abating his tax obligation. The valuation probably indicated diminished property holdings, not wealth in his prime, since by the end of 1747 he had sold much of his real property to his son Edward Jr. However, a probate inventory of his estate in 1754 shows a personal estate valued at £521/10/6 or £46.94 sterling, comparing favorably with £50.4 sterling value placed on the personal estate of his late son Amos. When this appraisal is adjusted to compensate for the wholesale price differential between 1747 and 1754 the values are £43.12 and £50.4 respectively.[45] Based on this, Edward the father, owned a great deal of personal property. In 1752 he owed tax rates of 9s8d, and in 1753 tax rates of 5s2d[46] In 1754 Edward, aged eighty-four, and his wife Hannah, also eighty four, died within two days of each other and were buried in the same grave. Edward Jr.,

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[45]See Appendix E. These amounts are arrived at by applying the multiplier 0.91 to 1754 values to convert them to 1747 purchasing power. See The Statistical History of the United States from Colonial Times to the Present, prepared by the Bureau of the Census of the U.S. Department of Commerce, (distributed by Fairchild Publishers, Inc., 1965), p. 772.

[46]Edward Marrett, Probate Inventory--Debts of Estate 1754.

aged forty, became heir of both his and his mother's portions as provided for in his father's will. According to the father's will his real and personal property were to go to his wife and after her decease to his son Edward Jr., as his eldest son had preceded him in death. Each living daughter would receive one-fifth value of the land appraisal from Edward, who would then own the land. So Edward, in order to fulfill the terms of his father's will, had to financially compensate his four sisters for their portion in their father's estate. This was not uncommon, as women could not normally inherit, nor deal in, real estate directly. Men, on the other hand, depended on land to generate a living and to pass on an estate which was the most precious thing a father could leave his son. However, at the same time this also allowed a father the flexibility of leaving a legacy to his female issue without dissipating the real holdings. In this case each child received an equal share of all remaining properties. Bond for probate of Edward's estate was set at £500 or £375 sterling. Adjustment for wholesale prices lowers this amount to £313.08 sterling in actual purchasing power in 1739 currency, more than double that of his brother Lieutenant Amos' estate fifteen years prior.

And so, Edward Marrett Jr. inherited from his father, unencumbered, whatever lands and improvements, and personal property he had not already purchased prior to his death; a much larger estate than he could have hoped to aspire to given his birth order. However, it is not possible to tell exactly which or how much real estate was inherited as one did not necessarily file deeds on inher-

ited lands. In all likelihood, much of the household moveable goods went to his sisters as this was considered women's property. Household goods were usually brought into a marriage by the woman, and remained with her upon the death of her husband, even in the case of intestacy and insolvency of estate.[47]

At the time of his father's death in 1754 Edward Jr. was a man of forty-one, a tailor by occupation. At age twenty-three he had married Mary Wyatt of Boston in the Old South Church and together they had five children, four boys and one girl, prior to her untimely death in 1743/4. Only Thomas, born in 1742, was to survive childhood. Edward Marrett remarried in 1762, but did not have additional children by that union.

Edward was to die in 1780 at age sixty seven, the owner of a large landed estate, including the town wharf. His only son died four years later, unmarried and childless. Thomas Marrett's estate passed to his cousin John Marrett.[48] Edward Marrett's widow died in

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[47]Massachusetts (Colony), The Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay, (Boston: T.B. Wait & Co., 1814), p. 203-208, Chapter CIV "Acts Respecting Wills", Chapters CV, and VIII.

[48]The archival material in the possession of Harvard University that belonged to Edward Marrett initially formed part of the Sewall Collection. Thomas Marrett's cousin John Marrett married into the Sewall family. Therefore, the Marrett family papers must have been given to him. A fire in the Sewall homestead in Cambridge in the late nineteenth century could account for the singeing on the corners of several of the manuscripts, as well as the absence of chronological continuity in the same.

1787. At the time of her death what little remained of an estate built over time to ensure the continued well-being of the Marrett family went to Timothy Prout, Jr., cooper, resident of Nova Scotia and grandson of Sussannah Foster Marrett through her first marriage.

Plate 2

A French Tailor, ca. 1729
Source: Unknown
He is wearing cape, coat, shirt and knee breeches, and holding a great coat with turned-back cuffs and double collar.

Plate 2

A French Tailor, ca. 1729
Source: Unknown
He is wearing cape, coat, shirt and knee breeches, and holding a great coat with turned-back cuffs and double collar.

CHAPTER II

OCCUPATION: TAILOR

As the youngest son Edward Marrett could not expect to inherit a landed estate. Therefore he needed an occupation. In the eighteenth century the decision of which occupation to follow was usually made jointly between father and son, subsequently pursued through apprenticeship with a mastercraftsman. The choice of occupation was seemingly independent of the family's wealth and permanence in a town, and related more to an individual's birth order and preference.

In Edward's case, that the Marrett family had resided in Cambridge continuously since 1635 could translate into little more than business contacts. So Edward, and his father, decided on an education in a marketable skill: tailoring. As no men in the Marrett family were tailors, Edward had to learn his chosen trade from someone outside of the family.

Cambridge at Mid-Century

The Cambridge in which Marrett established his tailoring business was divided into three areas:[1] the town, the second parish

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[1] See map in Chapter I, p. 7.

or Menotomy, and the area south of the Charles River. According to the 1747 Valuation List for Cambridge,[2] there were at that time 121 households including those of five widows residing in the town, eighty-three households in Menotomy, and seventy-five households including those of six widows, on the south side of the Charles River. In addition, non-residents held 225.14 acres in town, 226.4 acres in Menotomy, and 390.12 acres on the south side of the Charles River. The Town appears to have encompassed all the land north of the Charles River and south of the Shawshine River, westward to Watertown, and eastward to Charlestown. The heart of the town, as in the seventeenth century, consisted of eight streets crossing each other at right angles. Wood Street, or the causeway to the great bridge, was the fashionable street and led from that bridge, past the market place between Long and Spring Street and John Winthrop's fashionable residence where the local intelligentsia gathered, to the Common where the new meeting house of the first parish would be built in 1756, then passed the President's orchard and Harvard college to fork, at the common undivided lands, north to the highways to Charlestown on the east, Menotomy on the north, and Watertown on the northwest. Bordering the southwesterly end of the Common were several shops including Osgood and Farring-

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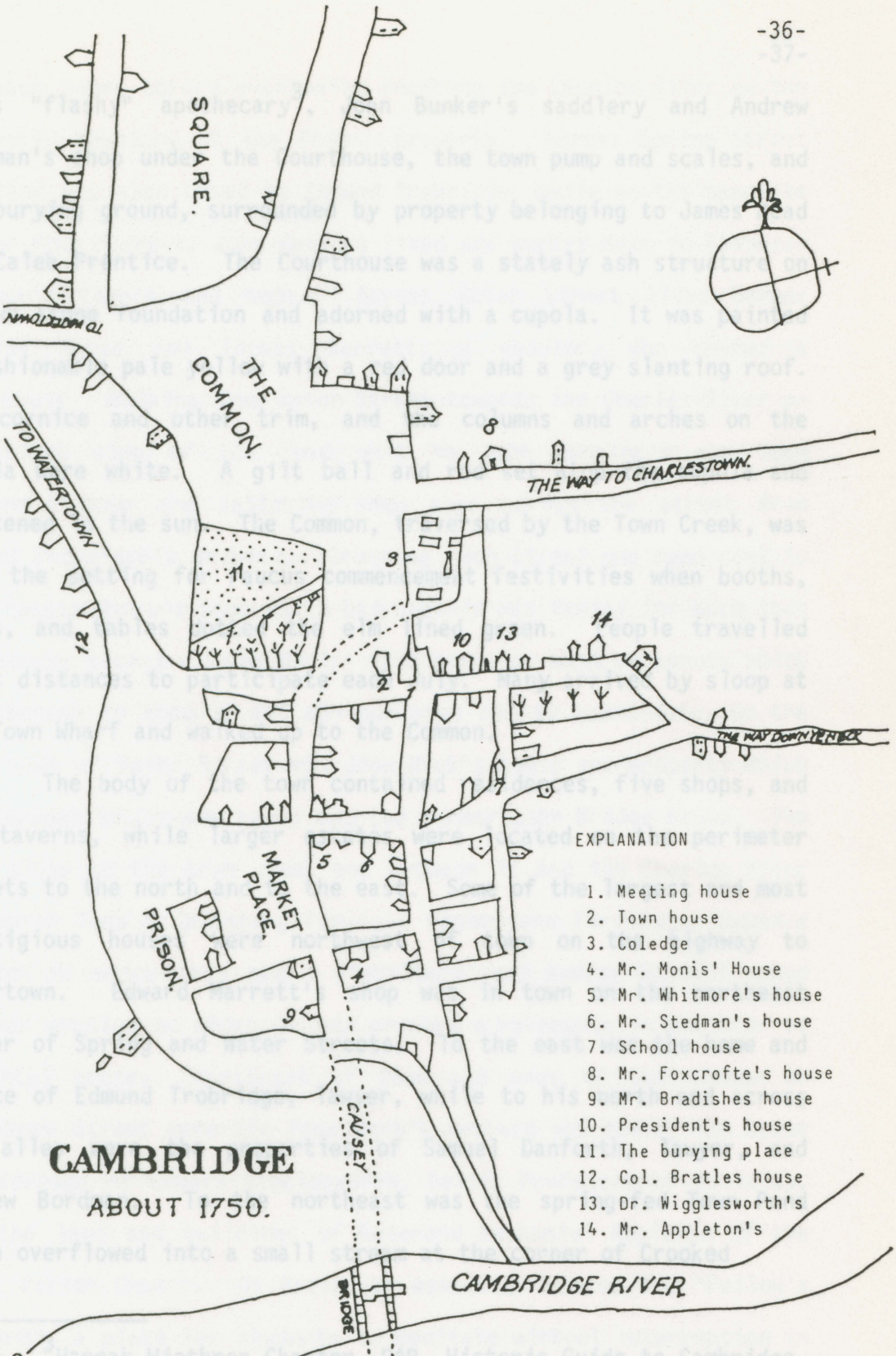
[2]The 1747 Tax Valuation List for Cambridge is located in the Paige MS Collection at the Cambridge Public Library, Cambridge, Mass.



CAMBRIDGE
ABOUT 1750.

Plate 3
Source: Lucius Paige, History of Cambridge 1630-1877, with a Genealogical Register, (Boston: H.S. Houghton & Co., 1877), p. 213.

ton's "flashy" apothecary[3], John Bunker's saddlery and Andrew Bordman's shop under the Courthouse, the town pump and scales, and the burying ground, surrounded by property belonging to James Read and Caleb Prentice. The Courthouse was a stately ash structure on a hewn stone foundation and adorned with a cupola. It was painted a fashionable pale yellow with a red door and a grey slanting roof. The cornice and other trim, and the columns and arches on the cupola were white. A gilt ball and rod set atop the cupola and glistened in the sun. The Common, traversed by the Town Creek, was also the setting for raucus commencement festivities when booths, tents, and tables dotted the elm lined green. People travelled great distances to participate each July. Many arrived by sloop at the Town Wharf and walked up to the Common.

The body of the town contained residences, five shops, and two taverns, while larger estates were located on the perimeter streets to the north and to the east. Some of the largest and most prestigious houses were northwest of town on the highway to Watertown. Edward Marrett's shop was in town on the northeast corner of Spring and Water Streets. To the east was the home and office of Edmund Trobridge, lawyer, while to his north and across the alley were the properties of Samuel Danforth, lawyer, and Andrew Bordman. To the northeast was the spring-fed Town Pond which overflowed into a small stream at the corner of Crooked

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[3]Hannah Winthrop Chapter, DAR, Historic Guide to Cambridge, (Cambridge, Mass.: Hannah Winthrop Chapter, DAR, 1907).

and Back Lanes before eventually reaching the Charles River on the southerly boundary of the Phips' property. Across Spring Street the land was also owned by Edmund Trobridge, while on the opposite corner from Marrett, John Manning lived and worked next to Ebenezer Stedman's tavern and home. Across Water Street lived barber William Morse and Thomas Barrett, a saddler, who shared a half-house. Walking down Water Street towards the Charles River on the right side of the road next to John Manning's was Owen Warland's home and tailoring shop also across the street from Edmund Trobridge's orchard. Crossing Long Street one came next to Dr. Francis Moore's home which had been in his family for more than a century, then to Judah Monis' five acre lot with warehouse which ran through to Wood Street and bordered on his house-lot. On the left side of Water Street was John Hick's house and property which ran through to Crooked Lane, and the former John Bridge house. The land close to the town creek and between it and the Charles River was marsh land or planting fields. Osgood and Farrington owned a portion on which they had a distillery, and Andrew Bordman owned another portion on which he had erected a warehouse in addition to a rental house. Northeast of town and east of the common on Braintree Street were the President's orchard and house, the house and acreage of Edward Wigglesworth, Hollis Professor of Divinity, and the land and buildings of Reverend Nathaniel Appleton of the First Parish Church. On Braintree was also located the "Fellow's Orchard", a place for students to meditate without interruption in the medieval European university tradition. A bit further east on

this "way down ye neck" the Phips family mansion was the setting for many social galas.

Fashionable Mid-Century Dress

At mid-eighteenth century the fashionable men and ladies strolling down the streets of Cambridge would have closely resembled their counterparts in England while showing some fashion influence from France. Luxurious imported fabrics of silk and cotton adorned the colonial dandies and their ladies with voluminous displays of conspicuous consumption intended to proclaim social position to all. The finery of the men included three-piece suits consisting of a coat or jacket, most likely a frock style even though this term was not used until the end of the century, a waistcoat or vest, and breeches. Under these would be a shirt, complemented by neckwear, and hose and garters. Accessories could have included a cane, a muff, and a hat.

Following English style the suit was made with all three pieces of the same fabric, although the waistcoat could be of richer material. The coat was mid-knee length, either caught slightly or open at the waist, with a good deal of side pleating fullness in the skirt.[4] The waistcoat was similarly cut, but without the side pleating so as to reduce bulk under the coat.

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[4]See Appendix F for sample patterns.

This resulted in a side seam which projected outward at an acute angle from the body. The waistcoat was shorter than the corresponding coat, and as the coat changed in style, cut and length, so did the waistcoat. On these coats of the first half of the eighteenth century the side pleats were held out through artifical means; i.e. whalebone, horsehair, buckram, or paper stiffenings, while the upper edge of the pleating was also reinforced, then restrained with a button, usually large and ornamental. The pleating was then allowed to hang freely, sometimes tacked at the base, or held by additional matching buttons. The sleeves of the coat were three-quarter to seven-eighths length, voluminous, with large cuffs which were either open, or closed with button closure arranged horizontally or vertically; lace, often matching the gentleman's neckwear, was seen protruding from these cuffs. Similarly, the waistcoat also had sleeves during this part of the eighteenth century, although generally of a lining fabric such as silesia or shalloon, as only the visible parts of the waistcoat were of fashion fabric. The American jacket was probably a derivation of this sleeved waistcoat and could be worn with or without a coat.

The women followed the whims of fashion expressed by the pannier, narrow lateral wings projecting over each hip that gave the ankle-length skirt its varied yet unnatural form throughout much of the century. Use of the pannier also required care in wind, and the use of a gentle gliding rhythm rather than abrupt movement so as not to dislodge and misalign the article of dress, or expose any ungenteel parts of anatomy. Around mid-century the

pannier was replaced to some degree by stiff petticoats made of a "strong canvas over semi-circles of bone or rush fastened to the waist by ribbons and held apart by other ribbons."[5] The visual skirt shape was wide from side-to-side while quite narrow front to back. Double skirting occurred after 1750 to accommodate the pannier with the center front of the overskirt opened in an inverted V shape to show the underskirt fabric and embellishment. The bodice continued to be form fitting and boned with a stomacher, or applied placard in that form, which could be ornamented by applied graduated bows, or edged with ruching. The ruching, shirred or not, straight or undulating, of a variety of fabrics, could extend around the back of the neck and continue down the edges of the center front skirt opening. The neckline was generally revealing in front, yet could also be partially concealed by a modesty piece, or edged in ruching or lace. The bodice sleeves were elbow length or a bit longer, cuffed during the first part of the eighteenth century then finished in ruffle engageants. These could match the neckline ruching or not. The Watteau or sack back with its graceful folds falling from the back of the neck to the skirt hem or flowing in a train, continued in vogue. The outfit was finished with bands around the throat matching the bodice trim and lace, and sometimes punctuated by a ribbon flower

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[5]François Boucher, 20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, [1966]), p. 296.

or a cameo. The floral motif was articulated further in the silk floral brocade and damask fabrics, and the posie bottle tucked away in a corset neckline pocket ready to accommodate a cut flower. Hair was high and dressed; artificial appurtenances sometimes were employed to maintain the structure, while flowers accented the curled form at various points. English women were fond of hats so bonnets and mops also adorned the head. Elaborate painted folding fans were "de rigueur" while etiquette regulated their use during social exchanges and courtship. While the basic elements of female costume changed little in the course of the century fashionability was always noticeable in nuances of dress. For example, season of dress was clearly demonstrated through newly loomed designs and their companion trims, while volume of the skirt also played its part.

The eighteenth century also saw its fashions of undress or négligée, such as the banyan for men. The banyan, of purported East Indian origin, was a form of formal undress, meaning that men wore it for comfort yet still felt sufficiently clothed to receive guests, attend to business, such as at the counting house, or have their portraits painted. Women and children also wore the banyan but not as frequently. This garment was made of British or East Indian colored calico or calliminco, or of imported French brocade following the wishes and whims of fashion and the wearer.

The Geography Lesson
by Pietro Longhi, ca. 1750

The gentlemen are wearing the fashionable frock coat, or jacket. The jacket has a curved center front opening edged with numerous buttons and buttonholes which are decorative. The skirt of the jacket is flared with side pleats set towards the back of the garment, and topped with buttons and trim. Set on a level with the top edge of the side pleats are the pockets which have scalloped flaps and are trimmed with braiding. The center back of the jacket skirt probably has a vent. The sleeves of the jacket are full in the sleeve cap, narrowing towards the elbow then flaring somewhat before terminating in a wide, flared, turned-back cuff. These cuffs are trimmed with braid and held in place with a series of three buttons. This painting shows one jacket fully trimmed and decorated with braid and one with no braid trim save the decorative buttonholes. Both jackets have the characteristic fallen collar with little to no stand. The jacket may or may not match the vest when one is worn. Both cases are present in this painting: one gentleman is wearing a matching waistcoat, trimmed in like manner to his jacket; the other gentleman is wearing one of a different fabric and color and more fully trimmed than his jacket. In both examples the vest is mid-thigh length yet tapers at center front below the waist.

A shirt of fine linen or cotton is worn under the vest. A stock and jabot at the neck, and accompanying ruffles at the wrist are visible. Both gentlemen wear knee breeches held in place at the knee by buttons, hose which end tucked under the breeches, and shoes with a slight heel and fastened by a buckle.

The lady is dressed fashionably in a pannier skirt and matching bodice, probably of silk taffeta. The bodice neckline is low and edged in lace ruching, while her below-elbow sleeves are finished with companion lace engageants displayed beneath the turned back wide sleeve cuffs.

Plate 4

The Geography Lesson
by Pietro Longhi, ca. 1750

Plate 5

Fashionable Full-skirted Coat, ca. 1740
Source: Norah Waugh, The Cut of Men's Clothes, 1600-1900. (N.Y.: Theatre Arts Books, 1964), p. 94.

Tailoring

> ... as to the working Part. one would think, by looking on it [tailoring] is easy, but it will tire a stout man that follows it all Day closely, and it requires very good Eye-sight and a quick Hand to make good Wages at it which most of them do and the least that they are allowed by Act of Parliament is 1s10d a Day. But the most dextrous Part is cutting out, on which depends the Fitting and Shape, the principal Articles that give Ease and Pleasure to the Wearers, and obtain Customers; therefore, a Man is not properly qualified to set up for himself who has not got a pretty good knack at.[6]

In general, it is thought that a person learning a trade would be apprenticed to a master craftsman for between four and seven years, roughly between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one.[7] Although this probably was the case with Edward Marrett, there is no documentation of it. However, as there were no tailors in his family from whom to learn his trade, and his surviving account books indicate a high level of skill, he would have had to go outside of the family circle to learn tailoring. In Cambridge in the 1770s there were only three tailors listed, including Marrett, so the available pool with whom to apprentice in the 1720s and 1730s would have been locally quite small. Consequently, he pro-

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[6] A General Description of All Trades, digested in Alphabetical Order, (London, 1747) as excerpted in Norah Waugh, The Cut of Mens' Clothes, 1600-1900, (New York: Theatre Arts Books, 1964), p. 91.

[7] Carl Bridenbaugh, The Colonial Craftsman, (New York: New York University Press, 1950), pp. 130, 134; Edwin Perkins, The Economy of Colonial America, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 82.

bably went to Boston to learn his trade. His apprenticeship is not recorded, but this could be due to his father's illiteracy, as the bond would have been between the master craftsman and the parent; or, perhaps, the person Edward served with was a close family acquaintance and no one felt the need to delineate the responsibilities and time frame. In all likelihood, his apprenticeship would have occurred between the years 1727 and 1734 at the latest. The year 1734 found Edward in Boston, and a member of the Brattle Street Church. Edward was admitted to full communion without evidence of being dismissed from another church which may indicate that he had been attending there for some time prior to admission. Based on this circumstantial evidence, it is reasonable to assume that Edward served an apprenticeship in Boston. Logic would dictate that his master tailor would have also been a member of the Brattle Street Church, as a common condition of apprenticeship would be overseeing the religious life of the apprentice. The assumption that he left Cambridge for training is further supported by his record books of later years which portray him constructing and tailoring complex garments, such as great coats and suits of apparel, and retailing dry goods, in addition to making leather breeches and mending clothes. Therefore he would have apprenticed with a merchant tailor and there were apparently none in Cambridge.

Upon completion of his apprenticeship, Edward Marrett would have been qualified as a journeyman. This implied freedom to offer labor to any master tailor who would hire him until such time as he had saved a large enough sum of money to set himself up in business

as a master tailor. Fortunately, with relatively high wages[8] and a labor shortage he was probably soon able to go into business. For Edward this would have occurred prior to his marriage to Mary Wyatt of Boston on May 13, 1736.

What comprised the art of tailoring in the eighteenth century? It was at that time more a matter of the ability to cut out a garment that would hang correctly on the body than of attention to the smooth, wrinkle-free fit[9] of an article of fashion:

> Whether practiced in England or in America the art of designing, cutting, fitting, and executing clothes was a skilled craft. The tools of the trade were few--a strip of paper or parchment, chalk, scissors, needle, and iron, each of these a hand tool meant to perform but one class of operation on a single garment. But to use these tools properly took a long apprenticeship and years of experience, besides ... 'an inborn gift and a clever eye as well'.[10]

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[8] According to Bridenbaugh (ibid., p. 134) and Perkins (ibid., p. 10, 82), the wages were higher than those paid in Britain. However, living expenses were also higher, and yet artisans experienced a constantly rising standard of living. See also Jackson T. Main, The Structure of Revolutionary America, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 77, 80, 274-275. Neither of the abovementioned statements is supported by Edward Marrett's records. This question of wages versus standard of living is not resolved as neither Bridenbaugh nor Main address the problem of relative value of such in a constant currency so that comparisons can be made. For example, Main discusses the cost of a pair of breeches at £1 as high; yet if he were to convert that to the pound sterling, and particularly if allowances were made for some inflation in New England, he would see that the cost was stable over time, or had decreased somewhat. Without currency conversion it is very easy to assume that one is receiving more for one's time in the course of the century when in fact wages were stable or on a downward trend.

[9] This would become a nineteenth century obsession.

[10] Claudia Kidwell and Margaret Christman, Suiting Everyone:

During the first part of the eighteenth century when Edward would have been learning his trade as a tailor there were no written texts on the subject to aid in his education.[11] Not only were there no texts, but for a trade that depended so much upon measurement and precision, there was not even a standardized unit of measure on which to depend. Such units included ells, about 39 inches, yards and yards plus "fingers" (sometimes to get the equivalent of an ell), nails equal to 2¼ inches, and inches with their multiple, feet. The approach that most tailors seem to have taken was to ignore the unit of measure per se and concentrate instead on duplicating it faithfully. To this end a strip of paper or parchment was used, a new one for each customer. All measurements for all garments for each client would be recorded on the same strip.[12] The waistcoat was measured the same as for the coat, but somewhat tighter. Each successive measurement was notched on the strip, which was used to adjust the size and shape of the pattern models prior to cutting out the garment. Once the measurements were taken, the tailor laid out the fabric, selected pattern models that approximated the size and style of garment, placed these on the

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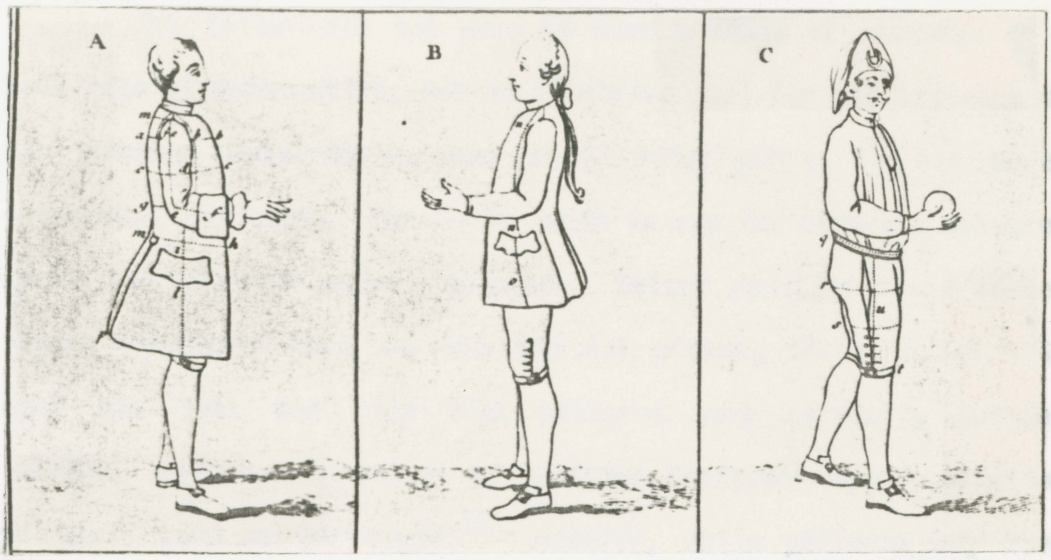
The Democratization of Clothing in America, (Wash. D.C.: The Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974), p. 25.

[11] There was one text published in French in 1671, and reissued in 1716, by M. Benoît de Bouillay but none in English; nor is there any evidence that the one in French was translated into English.

[12] M. François De Garsault, L'Art du Tailleur, (Paris, 1767), Plate iv. See also Norah Waugh, pp. 86-89.

Plate 6
Measuring the Body



Source: M. De Garsault. L'Art du Tailleur, Paris, France. 1769. Plate 4.

a, round the arm
b, breadth of back
c, breadth of front
d, length of arm to elbow
e, length of arm
f, round the body at waist
g, round the body above waist
h, round the body below waist
i, length to waist
l, length to waistcoat pocket
m, length to coat pocket
n, length of waistcoat
o, length of coat, back
p, length of coat, front
q, round the knee
r, round the middle of the thigh
s, round the top of the thigh
t, round the waist
u, length of breeches

fabric, and, using his notched strip compared measurements. With his chalk he then drew an adjusted pattern shape on the fabric. Once the material was cut out with heavy tailors' shears, the tailor handstitched the fabric pattern pieces together to fashion the garment.

The tailor did not need to have a sense of anatomy, or a knowledge of mathematics, but an intuitive feel for the accuracy of his notched measurements and their relationship to his model patterns. Obviously, the tailor with an eye for accurate measurements and superior models enjoyed a better reputation and larger repeat clientele than one who did not possess those traits. So much was this the case that patterns were carefully guarded secrets, sometimes promised to aspiring craftsmen upon completion of their term of servitude.[13] However, while patterns may have held the secret to the success of a tailor, they also made him less efficient in a nineteenth or twentieth century sense. The very thing that promised to guarantee the repeat business necessary to build a clientele or following, also made it virtually impossible for the tailor to duplicate his efforts. There is no evidence that patterns of garments that fit a client well were kept for future

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[13]This cannot be substantiated in extant records. However, this notion is continually perpetuated in University courses in Costume History.

use.[14] Each time an order was placed every garment had to be redrawn on the fabric, using the models as the base. In fact, the tailor also adjusted the fit and shape of the garment on his client. Rarely did he complete a garment without conducting fittings, and then only on garments such as breeches or shirts which could be made in small, medium, and large sizes and required little body fit.

In the eighteenth century tailors fashioned garments for men, and boys over the age of seven, when they could be considered to have acquired male sexual qualities, and some more complex ladies' garments, including bodices, Robins, and over-garments. The art of corset-making was an additional specialization. Because it required advanced knowledge and comprehension of the use of curved seaming to contour to the female anatomy it was considered too complex for the female mind and not to be left to women. Shirts, on the other hand, which required nothing more than straight seaming with fit achieved through the use of gathers or gauging, was generally done at home, and not by a tailor. In the nineteenth century these would become one of the first articles of clothing to be constructed by merchant tailors for sale over-the-counter. In some cases, women also constructed breeches for men, but never those intended for formal wear.

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[14]No patterns of any type appeared in Marrett's estate inventory or in the listing of the public vendue of his shop goods in 1780. However, in the 1770s Marrett did sell breeches patterns, perhaps ones that had been custom crafted, and went to "the fulling mill and took [his] pattern". The few patterns he did sell were kersey, which was a fulled fabric.

Apprentices, journeymen tailors and the less experienced tailors did mostly altering and mending of garments, and construction of simpler garments such as breeches. Sometimes they would also tailor suits of apparel for servants and children, and the lower classes who would dress in less expensive fabrics, similar in style to garments of the upper classes. The more experienced craftsmen constructed tailored garments, such as three piece suits including breeches, waistcoat, and coat, or suits with jacket and breeches, out of a variety of fabrics ranging from nankeen to silk velvets with elaborate trims, and great coats and banyans, which were the eighteenth century man's dressing gown and négligée fashion. They also altered, mended, and turned garments, and constructed leather breeches, which were considered the working man's apparel.

In addition to the technical knowledge required to actually draft, cut out, and construct a fashionable item of apparel, a master tailor had to be expert in fabrics and trims, accounting methods, and if in study to become a merchant tailor, the types of materials and supplies to stock in his shop.

A wide range of fabrics was available to the eighteenth century customer. Many, though not all, of these were imported from Europe. Advertisements in the Boston newspapers illustrate the variety of available fabrics. Thus, the tailor needed to be familiar with these textiles, cognizant of their characteristics, such as drape, hand, weave, and width, and their end use potential. Some of the more common varieties of fabrics included osnaburg,

bombasine, camlet, russel, shalloon, fearnought, drugget, thicksett, kersey, baize, fustian, duffel, calamanco, serge, and nankeen.[15] These various fabrics were woven of differing widths: woollen cloths, in the eighteenth century, ranged between twenty-one inches and fifty-eight inches wide, the latter being referred to as "broad cloths" being more than double the width of the former. These included calamanco, camlet and silesia (used for lining). Fabrics of silk, gold or silver, moirés, and velvets were usually around twenty-one inches wide (demi-aune), as was serge. Taffetas were twenty-nine inches wide, while silk serge used for lining was twenty-one inches.[16] In order to accommodate the wide pattern pieces that would obviously exceed the width of these fabrics, the tailor seamed the fabrics together at the selvedges, then placed the model pattern on top of the seamed fabric. In this manner, the placement of vertical seams was unimportant while efficient use of the textile was paramount.[17] During the eighteenth century knowledge of the width of any given fabric was necessary in order to know how many lengths to purchase or charge out for a particular garment. Interestingly, comprehension of the capabilities of the fabric grain and its influence on the drape of

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[15]See Glossary for a description of textiles, technical tailoring and costume terms not defined in the text.

[16]De Garsault, p. 8.

[17]This can be seen in actual eighteenth-century garments in which the seams are placed at the selvedges of the fabric, not necessarily at certain body locations, such as side seams and center back, as currently.

a garment would not be explored until the 1870s.

> From the beginning of the century cloth [see glossary] had been the correct material for day wear; its quality constantly improved and with this, the tailor's skill in cut and fit. Soon these became the distinguishing features in the well-dressed, and though originally the Frock and Buckskins had been comfortably loose, now the grip of Fashion ordained a tight fit; ease was sacrificed to a new ideal--to look smart.
>
> The word earned its new meaning as the elegant lines of the Frock moulded the gentleman's body while the breeches gripped his thighs ...
>
> As the ideal material for a close-fitting cut was cloth this fashion encouraged the wider use of that material. From as far back as the 30's at least woollen cloth had been allowed for ceremonial wear. In 1735 at Court ... chiefly velvets or dark colored coats ... and breeches of the same ... their waistcoats were either gold stuffs or rich flowered silks.[18]

Thus, the tailor was required to know how to manipulate woollen cloths to achieve a "smart" or close fit, and how to cut silk fabrics such as brocades for a looser fit in waistcoat and banyan. In addition, cloth and silk fabrics were embellished with trim and embroidery, this latter sometimes applied to the fabric while still yard goods. On other occasions the embroidery would be applied to the garment, perhaps by a local woman who might also embroider matching buttons. Fabric-covered and embroidered buttons were generally made by women, while gilt and other metal buttons were fabricated and sold by men.

To achieve a body fit, woollen fabrics were used as the animal fibers easily shrank, distorted, or molded when moisture, heat, and molding shapes were applied. While silk was a more luxu-

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[18] C. Willet Cunnington and Phillis Cunnington, Handbook of English Costume in the Eighteenth Century, (Boston: Plays, Inc., 1972), p. 19.

rious fiber, with richer color and pattern, it had a stiffer hand, less drape, and its wicking properties did not allow it to shrink and mold in the fashion of cloth. It continued to be used in garments where close fit was not necessary, such as waistcoats and banyans, and in ceremonial dress. In this latter category of dress the prevailing fashion was generally antiquated when compared to that of everyday dress. Therefore, during the eighteenth century the extravagant, conspicuous use of embellished silk fabrics was gradually replaced by close body fit and woollen fabrics in menswear. To achieve the requisite design lines the tailor of fashion used stiffeners, with interfacings, padding and wadding employed to disguise misshapen anatomies. By mid-century the formal attire was also emphasizing the use of cloth and close-body fit, but slowly[19]. By this time an erect stance with slightly puffed chest and a nipped-in waist were à la mode.

In addition to a knowledge of current fashion and materials, the aspiring tailor would also have to learn to keep an accounting of his business. Whether accounting practices in the eighteenth century were learned formally or evolved from the peculiarities of each businessman's activities is not clear. The colonial merchant bought from, and sold to, the same person through transactions that did not necessarily involve cash. Book-keeping, without always discerning which entries represent creditors and which debtors, appears more as notes detailing lengthy transactions

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[19] Ibid., p. 217.

than attempts to discover how much "profit" one was making at any one time. Some transactions were not only transferred to third parties but also took years to complete. And one cannot always tell if a transaction had been completed, with the X notation beside a name being perhaps the only indication of its successful terminus. In some instances, the death of one of the involved parties put an end to the arrangements while the executors of the estate were left to untangle and complete the transaction.[20]

> What sort of system did they use?
> ...Everyone in business had some inkling of standard double entry, and took its form as his model...crude single entry was overwhelmingly the rule...
> (A) reason for not keeping full accounts: a colonial trader was not obliged to calculate his year's income in order to please tax officials or stockholders. So he had little need for sales and expense figures; nor was there much point in closing off his ledger at regular intervals.
> ... for an eighteenth century trader the annual profit of his whole business was not the vital figure--what he needed to know was the outcome of various lesser enterprises as each reached its end. For, if he was a man of substance, he tended to engage in many short-lived ventures as side lines to his principal business--perhaps to get rid of commodity-money, and perhaps because there was no stock market through which to invest his surplus capital.[21]

There are a number of things one can ascertain from the cash and day books and diary kept by Edward Marrett. He was a skillful craftsman and knowledgeable of his materials while specializing in men's tailored garments. He had a knowledge of

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[20] W.T. Baxter. "Accounting in Colonial America", Studies in the History of Accounting, (Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1956), pp. 272-287.

[21] Ibid., p. 279, 280.

rudimentary single entry accounting and participated in lengthy, involved transactions. His business activities involved much more than tailoring. Perhaps these ancillary transactions developed in order to collect on tailoring debts from his merchant and artisan clientele, and later continued to expand and gather momentum of their own. But it would be through these various exchanges in addition to earned income by tailoring that Edward Marrett would able to amass sufficient property and income to be called "Gentleman" by 1764.

The Marrett Tailoring Shop

Edward established his tailoring shop in Cambridge, in a leased seventeenth-century house, with backlot and garden on the northeast corner of Spring and Water Streets in the 1730s. This was the same house that Edward's great-grandfather Thomas Mariot had purchased and lived in for twenty years following his arrival in Cambridge in 1635. It was a fairly typical two story house for its time. There were two chambers downstairs and two upstairs with a center entryhall which also served as passageway to the rear garden and stairwell access to the second floor. The second floor extended beyond the first in the front of the house. There were two chimneys, with a fireplace in each of the four chambers. The first floor chamber which bordered on Spring Street was probably the one used by Marrett for his tailoring shop as it had several

large windows opening on both Water and Spring Streets providing the essential working light. Each of the windows appear to have had large window seats. The chamber walls followed the lines of the Streets giving the room a trapezoidal shape as Water Street and Spring Street were not perpendicular to one another. The main door of the house and entryway would have been used for access to both the shop and residence. While not documented, it is probable that an ell extension and lean-to shed on the northeast end of the house, and the garrett[22] were later eighteenth century additions.

As a measure of the early success of his business, Marrett was able to purchase the house, on seven acres, five rods of land, in 1742, from Edmund Trobridge for £34 or £6.12 sterling.[23] This in-town houselot was enlarged slightly in 1758 when Marrett purchased a parcel 58 by 8 feet from the descendants of Samuel Andrews, who had at one point inherited the house,[24] so that he would own all the land from Spring Street to the alley.[25] He paid £2/10 new tenor or £1.875 sterling for less than a fifth of an acre. Marrett continued to reside in this house until his death, having

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[22]Edward Marrett, Annotated Almanac, 1767. Houghton Reading Room, Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass.

[23]This would have been expressed in old tenor prior to 1750. See Appendix D for the conversion rate.

[24]Hannah Winthrop Chapter, DAR, p. 57; Middlesex County, Registry of Deeds, vol. 55, p. 353.

[25]See map in Chapter I, p. 7.

Plate 7

A Fashionable Eighteenth-century Tailor's Establishment
Source: M. Diderot, Encyclopédie, (Paris, 1772-1777) in Carl Bridenbaugh, The Colonial Craftsman, (N.Y.: New York University Press, 1950), p. 116a.

remodelled and enlarged it in the late 1760s. Presumably Edward and Mary Marrett's five children were born in this house. Their daughter Mary was born in 1737/8, ten months after their marriage, followed twenty-one months later by Edward in 1738/39, and twenty-three months after that by Judah in 1740. None of these children were to survive childhood. In May 1742 Thomas was born, seventeen months after the birth of his brother Judah. The last child, and the second of the name, Edward was born in January 1744. He was baptised on Sunday, January 15, 1743/4, and his mother Mary Wyatt Marrett died that afternoon at age thirty. Thus, Marrett was left a widower with two infant sons; although Edward III died a short time later. It is not known how Marrett coped with raising his young son. However, in 1753 he sent "Tommy", then age eleven, to live with "Bro. Wendall",[26] probably in Boston. From this time until he married Sussannah Foster, a Boston widow, in November 1762, Marrett lived alone.

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[26]Edward Marrett, Annotated Almanac, 1753.

Plate 8: Captain Edward Marrett's Residence, 1760's.

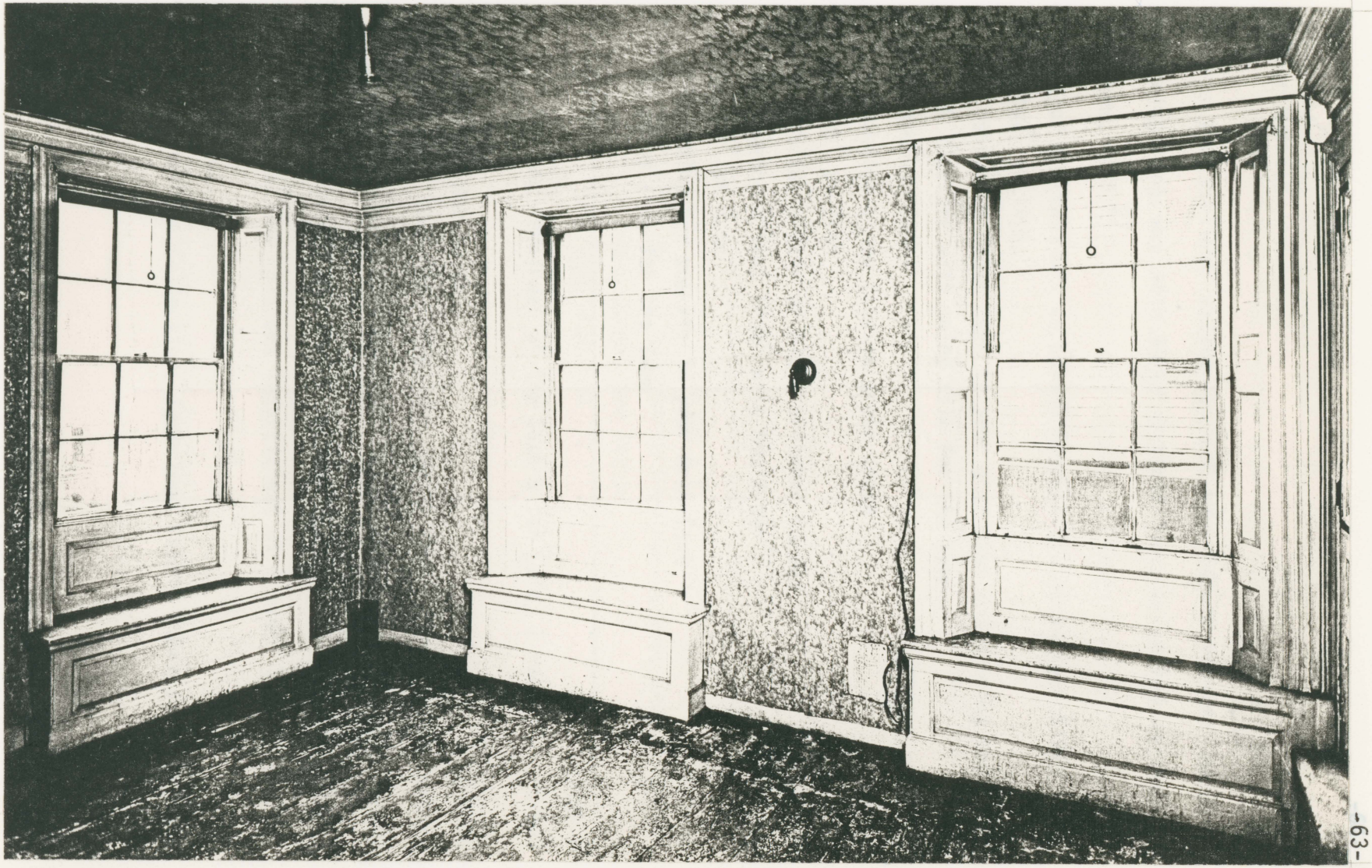

Plate 9: Marrett's Shop Chamber.

Tailor Marrett

The earliest extant account for Edward Marrett Junior's tailoring shop was with Major Brattle for the period October to December, 1735:[27]

Major Brattell Dr. to Edward Marrett Jr. in ye year 1735:

Octob^{r} ye 14th.	
to makeing a falen cape to your grat coat and mending the same together with soing silk for the same...	0-5-0
Novemb^{r} ye 13th	
to makeing a new fassion grate coate	1-12-0
Novemb^{r} ye 24th	
to makeing a pair of Plush Britches corded	0-8-6
to makeing a Vest Trim^{d} with Goold cor^{d}	0-18-0
Desemb^{r} ye 12th	
To putting New pockets in your Grat Coat	0-1-10
To soing silk for the same	0-0-4
	£3-05-8
Cr. to the remainder of the Cash witch [sic] I receiv^{d}	0-8-0
remaines due to me	£2-17-0

As can be seen in this one small bill, Marrett was making fashionable upper class apparel. Apparently Major Brattle's great coat was outmoded and first Marrett updated it by attaching a shoulder cape, but this was insufficient as a month later Marrett

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[27]Brattle Collection, Cambridge Public Library, Cambridge, Mass.

tailored a new style great coat. Marrett does not appear to have sold Major Brattle the fabric and notions as these were not itemized. Less than two weeks later Marrett made Brattle velvet breeches with a corded design on them along with a vest trimmed in gold and cording. From this scanty evidence one could say that Marrett was making fashionable apparel of expensive, probably imported, fabrics.

The year 1743 found Marrett again providing tailoring services for Colonel Brattle, for which there exists an account. The bill is as follows:[28]

June 4th to makeing a silk jacket	1-5-0
Buttons for the same 5/6 vellom and twist 10/	0-15-6
to makeing a skarlat broadcloth coat trim^{d} with gold	4-5-0
thred and tape 2/3 to alltring a Lose^{d} jacket 6/	0-8-3
to fitting a sute of clothes to Dick and to some mending	0-12-0
to making a Black Jacket and brech	1-16-0
to thred tape some buckorom	0-3-4
to makeing a Jacket and breech for John	0-12-0
	9-17-1
Credit by Cash in Part	1-0-0

In this situation it is evident that Marrett was still not providing the fashion fabric but was constructing fashionable tailored garments. The tape and buckrum imply the use of interfacings to build in a shape, while the vellom and twist indicate intricate hand worked buttonholes which were a conspicuous

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[28] Ibid.

design detail on fashionable jackets. Simultaneously, Marrett was providing the Brattle household with alteration services. In the case of the "sutes" for Colonel Brattle's servants Dick and John, since all that was listed was "Fitting", perhaps Colonel Brattle's wife did the actual construction, or perhaps the clothes had earlier belonged to someone else of a different size or build. A "Sute" implied three garment pieces and was typically presented to servants and apprentices upon termination of service. As with the previous account, only part of the bill was paid in cash.

Colonel Brattle must have liked Marrett's services as he continued to do business with him in several different enterprises until he left the colony as an avowed supporter of the Crown. In 1746 Brattle was party to a three way transaction in which Marrett made apparel for a Joseph Wanton of Boston while Colonel Brattle was financially obligated:[29]

To makeing a banyan	2-0-0
To six yds. half quarter best rosale @ 2q^{d}	8-17-8
to eight yards Callominco @ 14/	5-12-0
2 Doz.½ buttons @ 4/6	0-11-8
silk twist$_{8}$ buck^{rm} coarse type $_{11}$	0-29-0
silk and thred	0-14-0
	£18-14-[4]
To makeing a Jacket and brech.	2-10-0
to 3½ yards garmon serge @ 58/	9-12-6
to one y^{d} 3/4 Garlicke @ 14/6	1-5-0

[29] Ibid.

one y^d 3/4 Shuloon @ 24 2-2-0
to ___ Leather Lineings and Pockets 1-8-0
to a Doz ½ buttons @ 4/8 0-11-3
two coat ones for the wasband 0-1-6
$buck^m$ Canvas shaps paper 23. Silk thred 20/8 2-3-6
£11-13-9
the banyan £18-14-5
£38-08-2

Received of C Brattle 38-8-2 the full of the above account aug 15 1746

The verso of this bill contains the following:

Joseph Wanton Esq. to C Brattle D^o
Aug 15 1746
to cash paid Edward Marrett Jun^r the full of the ____ account £38-8-2

to cash paid Mr Joseph for a chest 4-8-0
£42-8-2
Credit by cash received £30-0-0
ballance due £12

Aug 15 1746 W Brattle

Aug 30 1746 cash paid Mr Joseph for books £6-0-0

This bill demonstrated several aspects of Marrett's business in the late 1740's. He was selling dry goods along with his tailoring services and was involved in third party transactions. It also points to a clientele that was not only of the up-

per socio-economic class but also included businessmen from Boston. Other extant records of the Boston merchant Jacob Wendell indicate this above cited transaction was not unusual.[30]

While Colonel Brattle and his family, including the slave Sambo, continued to patronize Marrett's shop, Marrett acquired additional clients and diversified his business interests. During the period December, 1750 to mid-1751 Edward Marrett had transactions with one hundred and fourteen identifiable persons from nine different towns. Of those clients who can be identified on the 1747 or 1766 Valuation Lists for Cambridge all but four resided in town and these resided on the south side of the Charles River. Also taking into consideration the three ministers and two professors who were clients of the tailoring shop but not named on the Valuation Lists, forty-five households out of 126 (36%) resident in the town were represented among his clientele. Of these individuals, the majority are assumed to be of a social class less than gentleman since their only listed title is Mr.,[31] five customers were clearly identified as craftsman or artisans and seven were known to be from the upper class. This followed colonial socio-economic stratification of the society-at-large. Together these one hundred and nine men and six women clients ac-

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[30]Jacob Wendell Accounts, Wendell Collection, Microfilm at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.

[31]Main, p. 218-219.

counted for 302 separate transactions, or an average of forty two per month. In addition to Colonel Brattle, Marrett's best repeat clients during this time were Jonathon Sprague (twenty), who bought dry goods but also ordered clothing; Owen Warland, another Cambridge tailor (twelve); Andrew Bordman, Esq., his neighbor, (eight); Captain John Erving, of Boston (twenty); Jacob Wendell, of Boston (ten); the Frothinghams (fifteen); Edward Goodyear, Charleston (eight); Abiel Richardson (seven); James Read (seven); and Josua Stratton and Cooper Prentice who mainly purchased dry goods. A good client and one of high social standing was noted in the daybook during the period as "His Honor" for eleven transactions. This title referred to Lt. Governor Spencer Phips whose daughter Elizabeth had married John Vasall. She died in 1739, and upon John Vasall's untimely death eight years later in 1747 the grandfather was appointed guardian of the issue of the marriage.[32] Hence, six of the noted transactions involved apparel for John Vasall Junior.

Of the noted transactions, only fifty three were a form of payment, and only eight of these payments were in cash. The more usual mode of payment was in three-way business dealings whereby no actual currency passed hands. This was true in fifteen instances during these almost seven months. In-kind payment in items Marrett could use in his business accounted for eight transactions, furniture was tendered in payment three times. On the other hand, dur-

[32]Edward Harris, The Vassalls of New England, (Albany, New York, 1862), p. 18.

ing the same period Marrett also sold two riding chaises, two desks, and seven chairs. Some of these were obtained in payment for his services while others were apparently purchased expressly for resale. Several items, unrelated to tailoring activities, were purchased after Marrett had already received an order for them. One example was rum, obtained from Captain John Erving, of Boston. Dry goods also made up an appreciable part of Marrett's business, constituting 26% of the 320 separate services rendered. Of the tailoring related services, 74% consisted of making garments, cutting them out, or providing the inner construction materials (buckram, thread, vellum, and twist). Alterations, mending, and miscellaneous services accounted for the remaining 25%. The clothing items most often made were coats (forty), including five great coats, one mourning coat, and one double-breasted coat, breeches (thirty three), including five pairs of leather breeches, and jackets (twenty eight), including one pea and three double-breasted ones. Additionally Marrett made banyans, coats, and breeches, suits, pockets, and gowns for men, presumably dressing gowns, a variant on the banyan. Full suits of clothing appear to have been ordered for a client's "man", suggesting clothing given a servant or apprentice at the termination of his indenture. Marrett also cut out garments, most likely leaving the sewing to the client's wife. This service was most often provided for breeches (nine times). Since materials and fabrics are not listed along with this service it is thought that the client brought in his own.

In many instances where Marrett made up the garments, it is also assumed that the client provided the fashion fabric, perhaps imported silks, while Marrett provided the inner construction fabrics and the lining if there were any. There are more than several instances where Marrett lists merely "to a coat" or "to breeches". Probably, these were already made up and in stock; perhaps a jacket that required little fit, or leather breeches, an item which could easily have been made in small-medium-large sizes, yet fit nearly everyone. Of the mended items that Marrett listed, breeches were the most often cited; seating or leathering was the most common service. Leather breeches were constructed full in both the fore and after parts with no flap in the front for an opening so that when the back wore out the tailor could "turn" the garment so that the front became the back and vice versa. Breeches hung on the wearer's hips with the waistcoat covering them to just above the knees so that fit in the crotch area was not critical. However, as the fashion for shorter waistcoats and tighter breeches became popular in the late 1760's and 1770's this means of saving breeches was used less. Jackets and coats were the garments most often represented constituting over fifty percent of all alterations listed. New linings, sleeves, skirt stiffenings, and cuff alterations, as well as garment restyling, are examples of these alterations. It should be noted that these were also the areas of the garments most susceptible to the whims of fashion, which underwent a transformation in the eighteenth century. Marrett also

"turned" coats or jackets (fourteen times). Although this is an unspecific term, particularly as applied to these garments, it could denote turning the garment wrong side out and resewing it. Lastly, Marrett put new buttonholes in garments, another fashion fancy, even though he may not have made the garment. Buttonholes were mostly sham, their shape, ornamentation and size determined by fashion and social rank, the more ostentatious and conspicuous denoting higher social rank.

The amount paid to have a coat tailored was from 10s8d to eighteen shillings, a great coat twelve shillings to £1/11/6, breeches five shillings to 5s4d, and a jacket 6s8d to eight shillings in labor costs. On the other hand, it cost only 1s4d, a savings of over 9s10d, to have a coat only cut out, seven pence to cut out breeches, and one shilling to cut out a jacket. One also saved seven shillings by having Marrett only cut out a banyan and then sewing it at home. In discernible labor costs listed in Marrett's daybook for this seven month period he earned £60/08 Lawful New England money, or old tenor. This does not include any "profit" on dry goods, buttons, or other sales such as the rum, or labor costs included in the price of a finished garment not broken down into labor and materials in his daybook. Therefore, assuming that he earned at a similar rate for the remainder of the year, and this amount represented only the minimum he earned, Edward Marrett could have earned the £200 annual income necessary to be considered

a member of the upper class.[33]

Clearly, in his tailoring activities Marrett spent more time on making clothes than on mending them, although he provided both services. His clientele was drawn from Cambridge Town although a number were from Charlestown and Boston. Among those from Boston were well-known merchants such as Blanchard, Wendell, and Erving. Retailing dry goods also occupied a portion of his time. Although he did not always sell the client the fashion fabric used in the garments he made, he did provide the lining fabric and the inner construction materials, and the garments he made were fashionable English styles.

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[33]Main, pp. 272-274. As Main does not always distinguish between new tenor and old it is assumed in this instance that he is referring to old tenor. Main further states that £70 to £100, or its equivalent, was needed to support a family decently. Perkins, p. 149 states that a master tailor earned up to £100 sterling per annum.

CHAPTER III

MARRETT: MERCHANT TAILOR

Even though tailoring remained Marrett's primary occupation he continued to diversify his activities. By 1759 he was stocking goods in his shop on invoice. His diary indicates that he ordered goods two times per year, and these arrived in late October and in late May. His invoice for the Fall 1764 included the following items:[1]

cloth culler, and mazareen blue broadcloth
mazareen blue drabb [like cloth]
bever coating
scarlet bever knapt
scarlet, and cloth culler whitney
red, and blue drapery bays
coultehister [Colchester, Conn.] bays
Scotch plaid
black Mantehister [Manchester, Eng.] velvit
good calliminco
striped camlet good culler and different stripes
ditto sprigged, Each p[c] Differing in Figgars
good buckorum for taylor's wife
good ozenbriggs
good wax thred
dowless
cotton linen Manchester check
ditto apron check and spotted
cabbachene silk flowered and spotted
snale and bone[d] lace
2 baggs 3 cand[d] scarlet jacket buttons sealf button, plain or deathhead
1 bag ditto saxon green [forest green color]

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[1]Brattle Collection, Cambridge Public Library, Cambridge, Mass.

5 dozen black kneegarters wide about 10/
6 gross buttons for leather breeches
plain lawn and long lawns
1 bagg ___ Flatt horshair button in mazareen blue, black, cloth culler, and scarlett
20 dozen newist fassign flowered ribbons
2 doz fine black Ribb[d] hose
2 ditto blue and blue ____
assorted ribbons

The order was placed through a merchant in Boston, possibly Francis Green, and arrived by sloop to Marrett's wharf, which he had obtained earlier through proprietary grant.[2] This invoice arrived October 11, 1764 and the goods followed nineteen days later. It points out several things: the inner construction materials such as interfacings, vellom, and buckrum were purchased locally and not invoiced bi-annually; the popular colors were mazareen blue, scarlet, cloth or drab [yellowish green], green, crimson, and black; scarlet and saxon green were the favored fall colors for jackets, while either plain or deathshead self-buttons were used; Marrett was still making numerous leather breeches; and kneegarters were worn. The lawns, and cotton linens were most likely for neckcloths, and the lace probable for shirt ruchings. The ribbons could have been for kneegarters, or neck ribbons, or for feminine customers. The buckram "for taylor's wife" would have been the needed stiffener for her panniers. Many of the above items were ordered from a pattern book as next to the entry is "pa[t] n[o] 1" or "like pattern 38". This would have required the mills to have prepared the fall fashions well in advance of the season. Or it may indicate only that apparel

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[2]See Chapter IV.

parel did not change much from one Fall season to another.

The busiest times in the tailoring shop occurred in June or July, and again in November, reflecting the arrival of new goods, and the Harvard Commencement exercises. At these busier times business increased by more than fifty percent over previous months, occasionally requiring the skills of at least one additional person; Marrett's step-son Thomas Waite Foster fulfilled this function in the mid-1770s on a couple of occasions. Conversely, the slowest times were August and January. Marrett usually took a vacation in August, coincident with that of the college.

In the mid-1760's fashionable male colonial dress continued to be influenced by that of England and the Continent. However, it also reflected a colonial flavor, particularly in the jacket. Thus there was some deviation from a strictly English style. While there was some French influence, particularly during the late 1770s, in no sense was it ever the dominant one. The fashion conscious man wore a carefully tailored suit of german serge, durant, or fustian. It was now more common for the breeches and jacket to match, while at times the coat also matched. The colonial jacket was the natural evolution from the sleeved waistcoat of earlier in the century. While Marrett's books do not specifically indicate if it had a collar, or a cape as they were then known, it did have pockets, buttons, and twist buttonholes, and sometimes other trim. It was loose fitting, perhaps with side slits where pleating had been on earlier coats, and knee length. It is not known if the center-front

curved towards the center back in a swallow-tail fashion as did the coat or if it was straight and buttoned.

This penchant for jacket and breeches permeated the entire social class structure, as clients of better means also ordered these but preferably in velvet or other silk fabrics. In these instances when a more luxurious fabric was called for cloth or durant or german serge, usually in a dark color, was used to construct the back of the jacket. This is puzzling in that this practice was general in Europe only when the back would not be seen as in waistcoats covered by a coat. In this colonial example there is no evidence that the jacket was to be covered by a coat. Furthermore, the jacket under discussion was not a waistcoat as it had lined sleeves of fashion fabric, nor does it appear to be the colonial equivalent of the continental frock as no collar or cape is mentioned. In several instances Marrett did make "lapell" and "loosed" jackets, and during the French troops' stay in Cambridge he made one "French" coat, all of which are assumed to be variants on the frock. So this jacket replaced the fancy European waistcoat and was worn for everyday wear in conjunction with matching breeches, with or without a coat on top. The coat was considered a separate apparel item, much like the modern-day blazer or sport coat in function. The coat had lost much of its skirt fullness and pleats from earlier times. Trimming was less frequent but still visible. Pockets and buttons continued to adorn as well as function. More usual was a bit of braid, and contrasting fabric for collar, cuffs, or lapel. Velvet was a favorite "cape" and lapel fabric. In gene-

ral the earlier prominence of the coat cuff was replaced by either much diminished cuffs, or simply a slit adorned by three buttons. Favorite colors for the plain suit were dark blue, black, scarlet, cloth, and less frequently, buff. Sometimes buff or scarlet were used as accents on collar, lapel, or cuffs.

These coats and jackets were worn with knee breeches, which were often of kersey or a knit fabric, even for the elite. The breeches had a double-fall fly, fobb pocket(s) in the waistband, and knee-garter, knee-banding or knee button closure. Straps, as the newly fashionable knee-banding was called, was a common way to update one's breeches. These straps also were subjected to stress, particularly when one sat down, as they held the breech in place under the knee. Therefore, Marrett frequently mended or replaced breech straps. Fewer leather breeches were being worn, except by the very young. These younger colonial men also donned trouser breeches which may have been looser fitting, older style breeches as the fashion for thigh tight breeches gained in popularity. The popularity of tight, nearly macaronic[3] style breeches was particularly evident among the Harvard clientele in the early 1770s.

Many knit breeches appeared in Marrett's daybook. Knit "pattorns" were also listed although what this refers to is unclear. A straight breech pattern was listed once as credit for services

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[3]These breeches reportedly fit so tightly to the body that one could not only tell the sex but also the religion of the wearer. Some were labelled as "standing breeches" as one could not sit down in them.

rendered. Perhaps for breeches the necessity of keeping the patterns for oneself was ludicrous since the fit was not particularly crucial unless they were of the "thin" style. This way one could order a pattern so that copies could be made up at home later. The name "pattorn" relects the modern-day name while modern European sources call the same item "model", translated from the French modèle.[4]

One particularly striking pair of breeches that Marrett made in 1773 were of white cloth, to be worn with knee garters of silver. The breeches were tailored for a wealthy client, David Phips, Esquire, for whom a "pink" coat had earlier been fashioned. As "pink" was the descriptive term used when discussing the "red" English riding habit perhaps this was the gentleman's riding or hunting habit.

As Marrett did not construct shirts, first-hand knowledge of these as typically colonial is difficult. It is assumed that they continued full, with a stand-up collar or a neck ruching of self fabric or lace and coordinating sleeve cuff treatment. Hose were knitted, patterned and worn in colors to coordinate or to contrast with one's outfit. The surtout was constructed of thick and fulled fabric. Napped beaver coating, garlick, fustian, or a fine broadcloth were popular. Contrasting color fabric or velvet capes

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[4]The name "model" may be erroneous, and since Marrett was selling patterns then the assumed shroud of secrecy surrounding them [See Chapter II] may also be erroneous when applied to eighteenth-century America.

were also seen. The surtout was probably knee length judging by the amount of fabric required in its construction. Two to two and one-half dozen coat buttons, and up to six jacket buttons were used on this sometimes double breasted garment. Oftentimes the surtout had pockets, but this was not requisite. Gloves were donned and muffs were sometimes carried to complete the winter outfit.

Womenswear changed little in style throughout the century; the panniers increased and decreased in size and shape, or a modified version of the pannier shape was achieved through petticoats. The bodice continued to be form-fitting through the use of boning or corsetting. A low neckline was usual although equally prevalent was the use of a fichu or other device to cover the décollétage. Sleeves were not cuffed but continued about elbow-length with a show of engageants at their terminus. The skirts were either closed fronts or open, in which case the usual petticoat was quilted and/or embroidered. An apron was usual but not obligatory.

Accessories included laces, ribbons, and ruching. One ruching which outlined the neckline and could continue down the inverted V shape of the open skirt was called a Robin or robing. Marrett constructed two of these in 1773, and cut out a third. The first two were tailored at the orders of their husbands, perhaps as a present. Patterned knitted hose were also popular among the ladies who used ribbon garters to hold them up. Hairstyles remained ornate but not as high as popular earlier. Some sort of head covering also remained in vogue. Fans, gold chain necklaces, neck ruchings, cameos, posie bottles, and handkerchieves were also pre-

sent in a lady's wardrobe. Cloaks of taffeta or velvet, sometimes hooded, were the favored outer wrap.

Curiously enough, however fashion may have changed over the eighteenth century, and however Marrett's career and his clientele may have altered, tailor Marrett charged the same amount in pound sterling equivalent for tailoring services and fabrics in 1770 as he had in 1743, 1750/1 and 1776. Individual services varied over this time, for example fewer leather breeches were worn in the 1770s and therefore he did less leather seating or turning. Cuffs were less prominent, but pockets and fobbs were more so. In addition everyone was charged the same for any given service, although boys garments may have cost a few pennies less than a similar style for men. Under this system there were two ways to increase an estate: by raising enough cash to buy wholesale and resell at a profit, this wholesale price also being fixed, or by increasing the amount of money collected for labor rather than raising individual prices charged. As the per unit labor cost remained the same this latter method would have involved putting on additional workers, probably apprentices or family members, to increase the total monetary income for services rendered. The quantity one purchased at wholesale was not important since there were no volume discounts. Marrett did not offer discounts to his clients either, and never held a "sale" in the twentieth century sense. According to the daybook there was at least a one to two month lag time from wholesale purchase to retail sale, while he allowed three years time for turnover of goods that he supplied his son in the 1770s to sell in Gloucester or he would

take them back again at no charge to Thomas. This indicates that although there was fashionability in dress from season to season there was also some stability and consistency in fashion's foibles, at least in menswear.

Payment for services rendered was in one of three forms: straight barter, goods for goods; a combination of barter and cash; and credit in bills-of-credit redeemable within a certain time period. This latter method became a medium of exchange much like specie as it, in turn, was passed on to someone else as payment, the face of the bill where one would normally write the payee's name being left blank. A fourth variant of payment was barter in the form of future services, such as a promised jacket in return for food stuffs delivered today. The advantage of this last type of barter arrangement was that, as a promissory note, it could in turn be traded for other services much like the bills-of-credit. Marrett participated in all these diverse payment methods. When goods that would be resold in the tailoring shop were taken as barter payment Marrett allowed full retail value, and these tailoring supplies were then entered in the daybook and not the invoice book. In return, when Marrett provided services "as per agreement" in exchange for goods, he was also allowed full retail value. However, if Marrett were to purchase identical goods from the same person as in the barter arrangement but as client and not seller it was entered in the invoice book and wholesale cost was paid. This was even the case if that wholesale merchant then allowed Marrett to pay for those goods in retail tailoring services. So there were several ways to in-

crease one's income, and all required entrepreneurial adaptability to cover as many aspects of the marketplace as possible. These further required readily available barter in many different forms so that when buying wholesale one did not have to depend upon one's own trade or cash to cover payment. These different barter arrangements also effectively increased the small money supply in specie; only a monetary value passed hands, not the specie itself. As long as services and goods remained at a constant value it was easy to use such in place of specie.

In spite of the fact that the General Court issued new tenor in 1750 and placed a finite time limit on redemption of the old tenor, Marret continued to accept, and to tender old tenor in business transactions through the 1770s. Without so indicating, his invoice book for the late 1760s and early 1770s was kept in old tenor values. The daybook was kept in both old and new tenor, sometimes the amount listed was the only indicator of the specie tendered. Therefore, while the listed cost for individual tailoring services and fabrics remained constant their value on the provincial and international markets did not. For example, the cost of a pair of breeches was 5s4d reflecting what was thought to be a fair price. However, that 5s4d in 1743 was worth eleven pence sterling[5], in 1750

[5]See Appendix D for conversion of New England currency to pound sterling. See Edwin Perkins, The Economy of Colonial America, (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 111 "... accept paper money at current market value."

four shillings, 4s2d in 1760, and 4s6d in 1775.[6] After 1775 inflation started to affect exchange rates while prices for commodities on the local scene began to fluctuate. Also after 1775 Marrett did progressively less tailoring until these activities virtually ceased by mid-1777 to be replaced by war-related business. Therefore, as long as one's business encompassed only the local marketplace the value or cost of services and barter were constant and inflation did not exist. It was only when one had to go beyond the local economy or convert one's assets to sterling that inflation became an issue. Given the fixed nature of the local marketplace, in order to increase one's income substantially without also increasing prices one needed to trade on the international level at propitious moments and then convert with advantage into New England currency.[7] This Marrett apparently did, although not on a great scale. Seen in the larger marketplace Marrett was therefore receiving more or less financial remuneration for his services and goods as the New England currency was revalued relative to the pound sterling. Meanwhile, after 1751 when he accepted old tenor for goods and services he accepted it at an exchange rate of .133 old tenor for new. The result was that while in 1770 5s4d new tenor was

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[6] Jackson T. Main, The Structure of Revolutionary America, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1965), p. 116. Main lists the price of a pair of breeches at £1 [assume old tenor] and states they lasted for two years, although the source of this latter information is not provided.

[7] "... Fundamental market forces were at work in the form of relative prices for internationally traded products and fluctuations in foreign exchange rates ..." Perkins, p. 104.

charged for breeches its equivalency in old tenor could also be charged for the same item.

Marrett continued to provide tailoring services after the confrontations with England began. However, by 1773 it was evident that the business was not as lucrative, with fewer new garments ordered, and civic responsibilities consuming more and more of his time. On October 9, 1775 he leased half of his shop to a Mr. Bradley for nine shillings per month.[8] About eighteen months later, in May, 1777 he leased his store for $30 to "the Continent" for storage[9], on a per-annum basis, perhaps indicating that he thought business would not pick up again for at least another year, but that there might be hope after that. He was not yet ready to give up completely. However, he did not record any further tailoring transactions in his daybook after leasing the store in 1777.

A number of Marrett's clients became loyalists (David Phips, the Vassalls, Lees, Inmans, and Lechemeres) while still others died defending liberty and home. Such were Moses Richardson and John Hicks who died at Concord. Still others were leaders in the rebellion, notably Robert Treat Paine and John Pigeon, and James Puttnam who was a member of the General Court. At least one, Gene-

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[8]Edward Marrett, Annotated Almanac, Houghton Reading Room at Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass.

[9]He later received the rent equivalent in turnips and carrots from Commissary Devlin. This store may have been separate from the tailoring shop. See Chapter IV; Edward Marrett, Annotated Almanac.

ral Brattle, became prominent on the British side. Otherwise, the clients registered in the daybook for the 1770s had familiar names as clients of his other activities, or descendents of clients from earlier days. Particularly as his involvement with Harvard grew, and his duties as town selectman took him into other towns and into contact with the residents of those towns, the geographical area represented in the daybooks increased. Even so, the preponderance of his clients continued to be residents of Cambridge. The steady clients, and particularly those that patronized multiple aspects of his business were long-time Cambridge residents: Brattle, Appleton, Phips, Stedman and Manning. Of those clients resident on the south side of the Charles River the names Dana and Cheney recurred most often. Marrett's relatives were not conspicuous customers of the tailoring shop nor of dry goods.

The students at Harvard were important clients of the tailoring shop. They dwindled in number after the Commencement exercises of 1773, but many patronized the shop for alterations and mending. These small jobs from a loyal group of people helped to keep Marrett gainfully employed.

The scholars, as the Harvard students were known, were clients of Marrett's tailoring shop in spite of the laws of the Harvard Corporation which attempted to limit the intermingling of its students with the town of Cambridge except during Commencement festivities in July of each year, and at Church meeting. They also purchased some other items such as glasses, and patronized his lumber/hardware business as well. More than a few of these young

clients continued to have business dealings with Marrett in his several enterprises after their graduation from Harvard. In some cases where they became lawyers or ministers Marrett provided their professional apparel. Often these young students were the sons or other relations of established clients and thereby gravitated toward Marrett's business. Marrett provided mending services most frequently, but he also was responsible for many of the black scholar's gowns and square caps seen about Cambridge on Commencement day. He also fashioned suits, breeches, jackets and coats.

According to the Harvard College Laws and Customs as revised in 1767, Chapter II, III and IV

> No Scholars belonging to the College, shall wear any Gold or Silver Lace, Cord or Edging, upon their Hats, Jackets, or any other Parts of their Cloathing, nor any Gold nor Silver Brocades in the College, or Town of Cambridge; and whosoever shall offend against this Law, shall be fined not exceeding twenty shillings; or, if he persist in his Offence notwithstanding such pecuniary Mulcts, he shall be degraded; and if he continue such Disobedience, he shall be rusticated
>
> If any scholar shall go beyond the College Yard, or Fences without Coat, Cloak or Gown, Hat or other covering, allowed by the Authority of the College, (unless in his lawful diversions) he shall be fined not exceeding six-pence: & if any shall presume to put on indecent Apparel, he shall be punished according to the Nature & Degree of the Offence, by the President or one of the Tutors; but if he wear Women's Apparel, He shall be liable to public Admonition, Degradation, Rustication or Expulsion.[10]

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[10] Harvard Laws and Customs as revised in 1767. "College Laws and Customs", The Colonial Society of Massachusetts, [n.d.], p. 355, 356. An earlier 1655 version had included "... neither it bee lawfull for any to weare Long haire Locks or foretops, nor to use Curling, Crisping, parting or Powdering their haire." Chapter 4, no.7 "Habit".

Apparently this latter part was necessary as in 1712 one of the scholars had indeed paraded about in women's apparel; George Hussey was publicly admonished, made a public confession, and degraded.[11]

In addition to the laws regarding everyday garb of the scholars, Chapter X, part VII of the Laws and Customs addressed the issue of apparel for Commencement:[12]

> black or dark Blue Cloth;& no one shall wear any Silk night Gown on the said day, nor any Gold or Silver Lace, Cord or Edging upon his Hatt, Jacket or any other Part of his clothing, nor any Gold or Silver Brocade, in the College or Town of Cambridge ...

It also appeared that the scholars regulated their own dress while students.[13] Sophomores apparently were permitted to obtain and to wear gowns of a color other than that allowed at Commencement after treating the upperclassmen to sufficient drink. A sample note to this effect is as follows:

> This may certify all, whom it may concern, that ... has paid sufficient Beverage for a new Gown one Side of which is red Russel and the other Plad.[14]

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[11] Ibid. College Book IV, 1712: "In the College-Hall, June 17, 1712 ... George Hussey being Convict of Dressing like a Woman..."

[12] Ibid., p. 382.

[13] Clifford Shipley, Biographical Sketches of Those Who Attended Harvard College in the Classes of 1761-1763. in Sibley's Harvard Graduates, XV (1761-1763). (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1970), p. 107.

[14] Ibid.

And indeed, Edward Marrett tailored gowns of crimson calliminco, and plaid, green russel and crimson calliminco, and green and crimson calliminco, as well as in the darker shades of holland, cloth, or "gown stuff".

The gown usually worn at commencement was typical enough and consistent from year to year that Marrett tailored a number of them to either sell over-the-counter ready made or to rent. In a public vendue of his personal estate after his death fourteen scholar's caps and gowns were listed, even though he had not rented or sold any for several years. The Commencement gowns usually required between ten and fourteen yards of fabric, to which "small trimming" might be added. Sometimes they were cuffed, while that made for a Mr. Loring was also gauged, finely pleated across the back and perhaps the front, with a loop closure, perhaps a frog. In 1772 Marrett altered the length of a gown and added a "cape" or collar. The price for making a gown was 7s4d throughout Marrett's career unless he added gauging, capes, or cuffs to it. The price for "small trimmings", assumed to be twist, braiding, looping, and/or buttons, was three shillings; the price per yard for "gown stuff" was four shillings.

The price for the "youse of ye schollars gown and cap" was in the neighborhood of eight shillings, however this fluctuated over the years probably due to the abuse to which these gowns were subjected. The commencement exercises of July 1773 appear particularly raucus as Marrett charged damages to several schollars ranging from 2s5d to four shillings ("bottom torn off and the neck") to six

shillings, in addition to the rental fee for that year of £3/10 OT or 9s6d new tenor. That same year he also charged one schollar 9s4d rental for the gown and six shillings for "very large damage done ye gown". On one occasion Marrett allowed for the use of a gown as credit in a transaction; he made two shillings on that particular rental. The July 1773 exercises appear to have been the last raucus ones, for in 1774 only one gown was ordered, and none in 1775. In 1776 just one gown was rented and none ordered; in 1777 the last gown was rented from the tailoring shop.

The scholar usually also purchased a square scholar's cap which cost 14s8d. These square scholar's caps were made by Marrett by the dozen. In 1772 he entered the cost of twelve hats:[15]

2 yd ½ a qtr broadcloth @ £9	@19.2.6
1 yd ½ perssion at 56/0	4.4.0
to 12 woods for hatt 7/6	4.10.0
to the brad for tossalls	
to _____ yd satting ribbon @	
soing silk & thred	
to 2 sheets parchment	1.7.0
to 2 yds buckrm	1.5.0

Sufficient alterations were performed on scholar's caps and gowns to indicate that these were passed from one person to another. Hats were also altered and mended; woods and satin ribbons were replaced, and the cloth was mended. There were usually more requests for mending gowns and hats in August, perhaps to repair the damages done at Commencement in July.

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[15]Edward Marrett, Daybook, Baker Library at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

The scholars also went to Marrett for other apparel. He altered clothes and made suits of clothes, jackets, coats and breeches, charging these young clients the same as he did his other clients for similar service. Indeed, in some cases the recorded client was the father, while Marrett listed the scholar as the recipient of the finished article. Marrett usually constructed apparel that was typical of the day, however two items stand alone as being peculiar, though not exclusive, to Harvard students: "thin" breeches, and striped jackets. There is no evidence that these were worn together. On a few occasions striped jackets were made for other young men in Cambridge. These items were popular in 1771 and 1772, with several orders after that time. Thin breeches probably refer to the thigh tight breeches, sometimes of buckskin, popularized by the English macaroni, giving rise to the appelative "buck" in reference to young men. A thin knit could also be used. It would have been easier to tailor a close body fit with thin material than with the typical german serge breech fabric. The fabric used was not listed so it was procured elsewhere, probably from an importer in Boston. Marrett charged 5s4d for these, the same as for other style breeches. On several pair there was an additional charge for a fobb or two, indicating that these colonial dandies owned watches, also in the style of their European counterparts. The striped jacket was generally made of sagathee or striped camlet, while on one occasion it was listed "silken", and Marrett usually provided the fabric. Perhaps this article became popular in an effort to distinguish the scholars from the rest of the community

and to show individuality while still conforming to the Harvard laws and customs regarding dress.

The tutors and the President at Harvard were also clients of Marrett's shop. On the few occasions when their order reflected professional garb it was for a cassock. In June of 1776 Marrett provided the President with a cassock with pockets for 13s4d as part of a three-way transaction.

Other professional garb was provided for lawyers and preachers. The Reverends Nathaniel Appleton and Samuel Lock were among Marrett's best customers. Black or dark blue german serge or durant suits, and black gowns, were tailored for "men of the cloth". Mr. Garnot (or Garrot), a preacher, purchased a durant cassock with fringe and ten frog closures, and a robe with small trimmings in 1774. He had previously been a client of the shop in 1772 when he ordered the first-ever pair of drawers. These dowlas drawers were distinct in that they were separate from the breeches. Other clerical orders included a prunella[16] minister's robe and a cassock for Mssrs. Adams, Oliver, and Sheaff for £12 new tenor (credited by £82.10.9 old tenor) in June 1773. Given the color the intended recipient was most likely Anglican. Lawyer's robes were fashioned for Robert Treat Pain of Taunton, John Adams, Esq., of Boston, Mr. Fitch of Boston, and Samuel Porter. In 1772, this last gentleman

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[16]Prunella referred to a color, prune, or to a tightly woven wool fabric, usually of a twill weave. If referring to the color this would indicate an Anglican robe, if referring to the fabric it would indicate a robe of superior quality. Given the price charged, in this instance prunella probably referred to the textile.

paid in-full for his robe in advance, and allowed one full month for the order to be filled. He paid £2/8/0 new tenor.

Marrett did not make leather aprons, which would have been the assumed garb of artisans during the eighteenth century. However, since he did construct leather breeches while they were in favor, and not solely for the lower classes, and he did make other apparel for the artisan class, the absence of this item from his daybook is curious. Perhaps the artisan class in Cambridge did not wear leather aprons, but aprons of fabric, which were made at home by the women. From Marrett's daybook it also appears that leather breeches were not a requisite garment for this class either, but that they wore fashionable styled breeches of a coarser stuff than the upper classes. The accepted notion of leather breeches and aprons as the uniform of the artisan classes may have developed following the idea that the lower classes have traditionally lagged in their adoption of fashionable styles, and these having been popular at an earlier time would have been considered in style for them in the 1770s. In spite of this, at no time did Marrett construct leather aprons although he did work in leather. Furthermore, vests or sleeveless jackets have also been ascribed to the working classes and at no time were these tailored by Marrett. He made only a few vests ever and these were part of suits.

In general, tailoring suffered during the middle 1770s. In June 1774 Marrett wrote in his diary "more than a common dull time in Tayloring". From mid-1773 until mid-1777 as tailoring activities were diminishing Marrett's involvement with town, provincial and

continental affairs were increasing. Although some alteration and mending activity continued, and some tailoring was done at the behest of the town for charity, by mid-1777 the entries in his daybook reflected his transition to a public role. Simultaneously the average number of transactions entered per month slipped from 44.5 in 1770 to twenty-one in 1774, continuing to slip to a low of six in 1776 from which they bounced back to 12.9 in 1777, perhaps reflecting the Cambridge sojourn of Burgoyne's troops. The year 1779 registered only thirty-five transactions in all activities for the entire year while only four were entered in 1780 prior to his death in September. Was he in ill health or could he have died of boredom, despair or stress? While inflation ran rampant in 1780 reaching 3200%, this would be the worst year for in 1781 the rate had reduced to about 300%.

Marrett's livelihood as a tailor had been eliminated by the hostilities but his earlier success in accummulating real estate that he could now sell, lease, or use for cash crops and livestock, and his diversification into food stuffs, dry goods, lumber, and warehousing all helped keep him and his household off the public charity rolls. In fact it was these assets, and not his tailoring activities, that allowed him instead to become disbursor of town charity, and town selectman. And it was through these public roles that he would support the patriot faction in the Massachusetts Bay, and help the other town leaders formulate political policy in the face of the continuing war effort.

CHAPTER IV

MARRETT: ENTREPRENEUR

One's estate, family and occupation enabled diversification of entrepreneurial activity and building of a business network. From a base as merchant tailor Edward Marrett entered dry goods retailing and specialized apparel rental. Eventually, a dual occupational situation arose as he ventured outside tailoring interests in his merchandizing efforts and in his middleman role vis à vis his wharf, even though he continued to identify himself as a tailor.

Perhaps the single most important acquisition for Marrett in his efforts to diversify and to accumulate a landed estate was the wharf. At the time of construction he probably did not realize the important role this would play in his life, particularly during the later conflict with England. In more pleasurable times the wharf was the Town Wharf where snows, sloops, and schooners would arrive with visitors from down river who would disembark and walk up Spring Lane to the meeting house, the town commons, and the College for a leisurely afternoon. Sloops also arrived with cargoes of dry goods, livestock, mud, dung, and lumber. These would be replaced in the 1770s by war materiel, and provisions for the armies.

In May, 1751 the Proprietors of the Common or Undivided Lands in Cambridge voted to grant Edward Marrett Junior some marsh *by the creek on the north side of the Charles River*

> where on to Erect a whorff ... extending on the westerly Side of the Creek 78 feet, on the Southerly End of s^{d} creek 37 feet, and at the Northerly End s^{d} creek 43 feet ... by him to be held and enjoyed as in fee simple conditional, He to cause a Sufficient whorff to be there erected within the Space of Two years from this time, & to Keep the same in good Repair, and allso to maintain a sufficient way to the lower Lotts, and in case Said whorff Shall at any time be out of Repair for more then [sic] Six month together, then, the Said marsh and appurtenances to Revert to the said proprietors.[1]

At the end of two years time Marrett had not fulfilled the obligations attached to the original grant. However, within that time he had purchased his father's rights in the proprietary for twenty shillings. Thus as a member of this select group he was allowed additional time to meet the initial conditions.[2] The originally stipulated way to the lower lotts became the extension of Spring Street. Due to the grant specifications the wharf was of an unusual shape: seventy-eight feet long by thirty-seven feet wide at the tip and forty-three feet wide at the shoreline. In December, 1756 Marrett was finally quieted in his possession of the wharf "and improvements of the Lands within the Fence near the Creek or Marsh: any Right which the proprietors might be supposed to have notwithstanding"[3].

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[1] The Proprietor's Records, p. 348.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

Consequently, by the mid-1750s Marrett had set in place the skeleton of the entrepreneurial activities which he hoped would result in enough wealth in land and other assets to join the elite of Cambridge. Ownership of the town wharf would lead to expanded involvement in lumber and hardware, as well as "wharfige" or warehousing. Tailoring, while continuing to be a primary activity, would diversify into retail dry goods while also providing the primary foundation for "book accounts" or barter transactions. His retailing activities came to involve food commodities as well. Concurrent with these entrepreneurial activities, membership in the elite prorietary would lend social prestige while providing acquisition of much needed land. Furthermore, book accounts in all these abovementioned areas would overlap, maintaining the requisite diversification so necessary to ensure one's continuing economic survival and eventual prosperity. This ongoing activity would also give the illusion of wealth appropriate to being elected selectman, committeeman of the proprietary and the Church, and officer in the militia, if not more. Personal and public roles would become intertwined, each reflecting the other.

That he inherited or otherwise aquired sufficient personal and real estate and maintained a respected public image in order to ascend the Cambridge social ladder can be seen in his use of the title Gentleman by 1764, more a reflection of rank and social class than of occupational status. The Tax Valuation Lists of 1747 and 1766 reflect his inherited wealth and his membership in the Proprietary, while the taxes Marrett paid in the late 1770s further

mirror his ascendant wealth in excess of what one might otherwise associate with a tailor.

Lumber and Wharfige

Until the early 1770s Marrett's wharf was one of several on the North side of the Charles River by the Town Creek. However, it was the largest and consequently referred to as the Town Wharf. The larger ships and pleasure schooners and snows would arrive at this wharf. Not only was Marrett's wharf utilized to load and unload cargoes but his warehouses nearby were used to store some of that cargo. By 1775 Marrett's was the sole remaining commercial wharf in Cambridge.

At one time or another during the 1770s Marrett referred to beef, bricks, bark, firewood, boards, rails and posts, dung, mud and food arriving at the wharf. Twice a year his invoiced dry goods for his tailoring shop also arrived in this manner. While some of the wood, dung and mud were for Marrett's household, he generally appeared to function as a middleman.

Another constant arrival at the wharf was lumber. In handling this material Marrett played a more active role. He served as paid middleman and was compensated in kind by the originating owner for his services. It is further assumed that this was the manner in which he accumulated enough lumber to expand his house in 1767 and to raise his barn in 1769.

In 1768 Marrett charged £16/9/9 old tenor for labor and

expenses in getting boards landed. He also arranged for carting, and for further removing the boards to his lumber yard, which was apparently at the head of the wharf. On another occasion he charged the owners "expenses"[4] including rum at 7s6d, sugar at two shillings, bread and meat at 12s6d, teams at fifty shillings per day, supper and drinks for the workers, including his two apprentices Bill and Henry, and surveying at £8, for a total of £32/1 old tenor or £4/5 new tenor and £3/3 sterling.[5] The amount paid to William Manning, surveyor for the town of Cambridge, was passed on directly to the customers, while his fee was paid in lumber at full retail value. The listed value of the boards as landed at Marrett's wharf was £12/10[6] per thousand board feet for merchantable and £19 per thousand board feet for clear wood. Evidently there were four major grades of lumber consigned to Marrett. These were clear, retailing at £26 per hundred board feet; merchantable, retailing at thirty-four shillings per hundred board feet; plank, retailing at £16 per thousand board feet; and merchantable plank, retailing at £15 per thousand board feet, in 1769. These retail prices reflected an increase of 36% for merchantable boards and 31% for clear boards when figured on the

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[4]Edward Marrett, Lumber Account Book, Baker Library at Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

[5]See Appendix D for conversion rate.

[6]These prices are assumed to be old tenor.

thousand board feet. This was not all clear profit as the retail price had to include the cost of getting the material from the sloop to the consumer. The retail price of lumber appeared to have fluctuated on the order of ten shillings per thousand board feet, not a great amount, over the course of the eighteen months for which there are extant records. There is no comparable documentation for prices at the wholesale level. In addition to lumber, clapboard, shingles, and rails and posts were also consigned to Marrett in a similar manner.

> May 31, 1779 ...
> Mr. Blanchard orders that in case he sends up another boat load of rails Mr. E. Bradish is to have the restfull [sic] of what he wants in the first place--then I am to sell the remainder at £15/5/0 hundred and to receive the money. also to receive the money due to him from Mr. Brown or Mr. Mason or Stratton.
> Mr. Blanchard haith informed me that John Foxcroft Esq. haith pd him for 300 rails not delivered.[7]

Firewood was by far the most common item warehoused. Usually it was owned by private individuals and warehoused for a few pennies a cord until needed for their use. Perhaps this was one way of stockpiling for winter. Dung and mud, likely used for fertilizer, were also warehoused until needed. Bricks, warehoused at four pennies per thousand in 1777, were also probably stored until a sufficient quantity could be secured. While the Convention Troops were in Cambridge during 1777 and 1778 Marrett unloaded cargoes of beef and flour, warehousing at least some of it. Storage appears to have been inexpensive, although it is unclear how long

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[7] Edward Marrett, Lumber Account Book, May 31, 1779.

any of these items were warehoused, or what period of time was covered by the rental fee. For example, Marrett noted that in April 1771 Thomas Foxcroft Esq. warehoused (for personal use or for resale) 5800 boards and 12000 shingles for 26s3d old tenor and 3s6d new. But the length of time these were to be stored was not specified. Presumably the period of time covered by the stated charge would be no longer than a month. If the above charge were for one month the per unit storage fee would be one and a half pence per thousand units. Or at one penny per thousand the storage could have been for just under a month and a half.

Marrett did not always enter the amount charged for warehousing items, just the fact that they were stored in his buildings and to whom the items belonged. However, wood storage was the most frequent and usually annotated with price. The cost of storing firewood appeared to have fluctuated during the 1770s from three pence in 1770 and 1771 to two pence in 1775, and four pence in 1780.[8]

While Marrett appeared to be only a middleman in the lumbering transactions he did develop another aspect of the building material business--hardware. He merchandised nails through his shop, and consequently these transactions were recorded in his daybook, instead of in the lumber account book. Similarly to Marrett's dealings in dry goods, nails were also accepted as credit at full retail value to be resold at a later date. Nails were pur-

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[8]Assumed old tenor.

chased at wholesale from several different vendors in a wide variety of sizes and types ranging from one penny to double-ten penny, and including tacks, brads, and shingle and shoe nails. Additionally, they were also purchased and sold in a number of different quantities. The more common units were m., or measure, or by the hundred, but they were also purchased and sold by any number, as well as by the barrel and by the pound. This makes it difficult to determine the markup as there was not necessarily a consistent relationship between these diverse units. In spite of this, in 1770 on one transaction Marrett charged a discernible 25% markup on both brads and ten penny nails.

Marrett listed himself in the lumber account book for goods kept for his own use. As mentioned earlier, it is assumed that he was paid in lumber for his role in dispersing the merchandise to customers. In 1769 he hoarded lumber for over ten months. During that time he collected 1098 clear boards, fifty merchantable, twenty-five planks, and 2096 merchantable planks. These were valued at £60/1/6 old tenor or £6 sterling, and probably used for his barn which was begun in September and finished October 27 of that year. As the housewright, a Mr. Twing, was also a customer of the tailoring shop it is further assumed that he provided his labor in return for tailoring services. Marrett presumably built the pump house behind his residence and remodelled his home, adding a garrett, in the same manner. And so Marrett added to his estate.

Marrett's Retail Trades

In addition to the hardware mentioned, Marrett also sold a variety of dry goods, tailoring supplies and food. Presumably at the least, the tailoring supplies and fabrics were sold out of his in-home tailoring shop. However, he owned several buildings in town after the mid-1750s, one of which he later referred to as a store. So quite possibly he kept a retail store in town in addition to the one associated with his tailoring shop. The first evidence of Marrett's active involvement in retailing, except for stocking some textiles such as shalloon which were necessary to his trade, appeared in the mid-1760s. Prior to that time his dabbling in other than tailoring activities had been kept to payment in-kind for services rendered.

While there is no evidence that his wife or her daughters helped out in his business activities, he did at various times have either servants or apprentices to help him. His first mention of a male servant or apprentice was in November 1770 in his Almanac. The reference was to a Bill Chadwick. He was alluded to off and on as he went to various towns to fetch food and people. Finally in March 1773 Marrett noted "William Chadwick free". Concurrently in 1770 "Henry" was mentioned in the context of a servant or apprentice. Henry helped out in the "Board Yard", and helped tailor garments. On January 13, 1773 Marrett noted "Harry Peirce and mother gave up

there [sic] indentures". Whether or not this was the same person as "Henry" is not known. However, during most of the period that Henry was with the Marrett household a "Betty" was also mentioned on occasion in the context of a maid. This could have been Harry's mother as no last name was ever mentioned. On March 7, 1773 Susana went to Boston and brought back a lad, Edmund Britt, to help out. This could have been in place of Henry. In 1774 Bill Addams was indentured with Marrett, and in 1778 Marrett mentioned a Nathaniel as working with him, presumably as indentured servant. All these people were considered part of the Marrett household and provided for by Marrett. Of all these servants and apprentices there was only one to whom Marrett ever referred after he left the Marrett household. That was Bill Chadwick. In 1774 he was on the Town poor list and received charitable contributions dispersed by Marrett for the Town. Perhaps there was no work available.

While tailoring depended upon repeat customers to build a strong clientele, the retail aspects of that occupation, the lumber yard, and the retail of food and dry goods enjoyed a larger, but more fickle clientele. Contrary to that of the tailoring business, the clientele of Marrett's other activities was not concentrated in the Town of Cambridge, but scattered around the three precincts and ten neighboring towns. Also, fewer Boston elite were included, even though the elite of Cambridge were. Therefore, while there was some crossover in clientele between the various enterprises, the tailoring shop was definitely independent of the others.

The mode of payment was in specie, credit in kind, or

three-way transactions. Generally old tenor values were entered in the daybook, sometimes with their new tenor equivalency. At other times the opposite was true. When no tenor was called out, Marrett had entered the old tenor value. In 1750, at the time that the old tenor emissions were replaced by New an equivalency of .133 old to new tenor was established. In Marrett's books this exchange rate held throughout the 1770s, even though the New England currency continued to devalue relative to the English pound sterling. An example of a typical entry for dry goods, showing both old and new tenor values, is a follows:

8 pr. stockings at 42/6	17.00.0	
2 wosted [sic] cap @18/	1.16.0	
2 brc. patterns @ £4	8.00.0	£2.11.5
	£26.16.0	

In 1778 Marrett also started entering a few transactions in dollars. For example, he rented a house to a David Geddish, Esq. for twelve dollars per week in July 1778. This was equivalent to £4/6 New England money and to £3.2 sterling per week or £167.7 sterling per annum. It should be noted that at the time of this example the Convention Troops were in Cambridge and they purportedly complained bitterly about having to give over £150 sterling rent per year, which was considered gouging. At some time Marrett must have also accepted New Hampshire bills of credit as in 1777 he remarked that he had given these bills to a third party in an attempt to redeem them--at any price.

There were five vendors of wholesale goods that Marrett dealt with on a continuing basis, although he did not buy exclu-

sively from them. Like Marrett, none were product specific. They were John Borland, Francis Green, Caleb Blanchard and John Hancock, and Debloye. Borland was a resident of Cambridge while the other four lived in Boston. From Borland, Marrett bought mostly fabrics and garlic; from Francis Green primarily "London" nails, tailoring supplies, dry goods, and textiles by "the piece"; from Blanchard and Hancock he purchased a wide variety of items ranging from rum to furniture to threads, dyes, snuff and food; and from Debloye he purchased spices of all kinds, tailoring supplies and fabrics. There appeared to have been no difference in the price charged by each of these vendors for any given item. However, as Marrett's books do not always record the quantity purchased but only the item with its attendant total price, the cost may have varied among them. Of the aforementioned vendors Blanchard was the most involved in Marrett's businesses. He was, throughout Marrett's more than forty year career, both a client and a supplier in the tailoring shop, the lumber and hardware business, and the dry goods and food retail store. He received payment in-kind or in-service from Marrett, and there is further evidence that Marrett also passed on some of his business debits, such as orders for furniture, to Blanchard in payment as well. Likewise, Marrett accepted in-kind payment from Blanchard for tailoring services. This was the case in the 1750s when he accepted ten gallons of rum in payment.

Tailoring supplies bought and stocked by Marrett fell into the following categories: threads and sewing silks, buttons, fabrics and Indigo. Threads, twists for buttonholes, buttons and decora-

tion, sewing silks, and cotton wool and crewel were sold by the pound or the skein. Cotton wool and crewel, heavy yarns used for embroidery, as for example on bed curtains, were also transacted by the bag. Marrett purchased buttons by the gross or double gross but usually sold them by the unit or by the dozen. Sometimes these were also allowed in credit either by the unit or by the bag. Fabrics were purchased by the piece, a variable length ranging from several yards to forty or more, by the yard, by the nail (2¼") or by any combination thereof. Indigo was purchased and sold by the pound. On none of these items was quality evident either from the entry or the description. A possible exception was superfine thread which wholesaled in 1768 at four and a half times that of "common" thread. The most expensive sewing silk was black and cost three times more than silks of any other color.

Five types of buttons were continually bought: gilt, metal, plated, horn and common. Each would have been bought in vest, jacket and coat sizes. The most expensive was gilt at £6/15[9] a gross, followed by plated at £6/12 a gross and, metal at £3/12/5 a gross, and horn at 18s9d a gross. The cheapest was "common sort" at twelve shilling a gross. All listed prices are in old tenor. Therefore buttons ranged in price from one penny a button for the "common sort" to eleven pence a button for gilt. Consequently, but-

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[9]It is not known what tenor these values are expressed in. However, to bring the prices in line with textile and labor costs these would have to be in old tenor values. Therefore, a gilt button would have cost eleven pence old tenor or 1½d new tenor.

tons were one place on a man's cloth coat that he could advertise his social class in a fashionable manner; up to thirty or more buttons could be placed on a coat.

While Marrett did stock some fashionable fabrics, such as striped camlet, in general those stocked were ones he would use in tailoring a garment and therefore billed to the customer as in "to thread, buckrum, stiffeners, wadding and shuloon for the pockets". However, as well as incorporating them into his regular tailoring projects he also sold them in quantity over-the-counter.

During the 1770s, for which there is extant documentation, Marrett stocked brown holland, black quallity, broadcloth, particularly in blue, half-thick, shalloon in several different colors and degrees of fineness, striped camlet, perhaps for the students at Harvard, dowlas, used for work clothes, tamina, Irish linen, "gown stuff", kersey, "weed stuff" for mourning attire, and silk ferrit. He also kept on hand a small amount of velvet and leathers. Other fabrics were accepted, by the yard or by the piece, as credit to be resold over-the-counter. Except for a short period of time when a particular fabric was the "heighth of fashion", such as with striped camlet in the 1770s, textiles enjoyed relatively stable prices throughout the eighteenth-century. Perhaps this was due to the fact that as a non-perishable their useful life was quite long. While it was true that weavers at Lyons, France were turning out fashionable silks for each season, and also true that one could tell the fashionability of a woman's garment more by the fabric than by the cut, it was equally true that some garments in their original con-

struction were fashioned out of textiles which predated the garment style by up to thirty years. The age of the fabric would have been of even less importance in the second half of the eighteenth century when cloth, which had no surface design, became even more fashionable for men's attire. Certainly at least some of the fabrics that clients brought into the tailoring shop to have made up would have been purchased much earlier and saved.

The wholesale price of fabric, excluding silk velvets and brocades, ranged from two shillings new tenor per yard for dowlas, to five shillings new tenor per yard for German serge in 1768. Broadcloth, being at least double the width of other textiles, wholesaled at 5s4d new tenor per yard that same year. Of the shalloons, purple was the most expensive. It was more expensive at wholesale in a medium quality than superfine shalloon #3 by 1.6 pence new tenor per yard in 1770. This was probably due to the cost of purple dye which had to be imported from the Middle East into England.

With the exception of broadcloth, the price of textiles fluctuated over the course of the eighteenth century in the magnitude of no more than several pence per yard at the retail level.[10] The retail price per yard ranged from around 2.5 shillings

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[10]This refers to the price stated in current tenor emission: old tenor in 1750 and new tenor thereafter. While the numerical value fluctuated little, its value relative to the pound sterling did fluctuate, as well as diminish throughout the century. See Appendix D.

for dowlas to six shillings for German serge in 1775. Not taking into consideration the unknown cost of transportation and other expenses Marrett might have incurred in getting the goods to his shop, he realized between an eleven and one hundred percent profit on textiles, the median profit being around thirty percent. Broadcloth retailed at 4s2d new tenor in 1750, eight shillings in 1770, 6s8sd in 1772 and 3s5d in 1775. In 1767/8 the wholesale price of broadcloth was 5s3d new tenor, almost as much as the retail price.

The price of the aforementioned textiles at retail was such that when matched with the appropriate garment usage and requisite yardage, and compared to the labor costs for that garment, the fabric would have represented about two-thirds of the total finished cost. If silk textiles and other than "common sort" buttons were used then the ratio of materials to labor would have been appreciably higher. For example, in November 1772 Marrett tailored a suit for Deacon Plummer's son, at Cape Ann. The labor costs were £1/4/8 new tenor while the cost for cloth for the back of the jacket, shalloon for the lining, buttons for the jacket and breeches, silk thread, leather lining for the pockets and fabric for the jacket pockets amounted to £1/15/4, slightly more than the amount charged to fashion the two garments. This amount did not include the fashion fabric used for the breeches, the sleeves and the front body of the jacket. If these had been of broadcloth, at

6s8d new tenor per yard retail in 1772, the total cost of the suit[11] would have increased about one and a half pounds new tenor. Fashioned in silk brocade or velvet the finished jacket could have escalated another pound or two in cost.

As discussed earlier, there did not appear to be a uniform method for measuring the human body, or for translating those measurements into a garment pattern. Likewise, the manner of calling out quantities of fabrics was not uniform either. Not only were there several basic units of measure but in describing a textile several of these units could be combined. An example would be "two yards one half quarter quarter" when referring to two yards and seven-eighths, or "half yard and half quarter" to refer to five-eighths of a yard. The term nail was used frequently in reference to the amount of velvet required for trim on a coat, or used to describe total yardage as in "two yards save one nail" required for a pair of breeches. Therefore, in order to figure the final cost of the required yardage at a price per yard, expressed in shillings and pence, Marrett apparently divided the unit price by each of the stated fractions, then added all the amounts together. On numerous occasions these separate amounts were listed and added together in the margin of the daybook, though not always without error.

Ancillary to tailoring services and supplies was dry goods

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[11] Based on 9¼ yards single width or 4½ yards of broadcloth for a jacket and breeches.

retailing. In this category would be included items of apparel such as knee garters, knee and shoe buckles, hose, thread gloves, handkerchieves, and hats. Related items included starch, peruke powder for wigs, and knit patterns. Marrett also bought and sold paper, wine and bevers[12] glasses, almanacs, soap, quils, candles and 18" pipes for tobacco and snuff, to mention a few.

The same problem existed with these items as with Marrett's other businesses: while items were recorded as they might have come into the shop, not always was the per unit cost, the quantity, or the quality of these purchased items recorded. Furthermore, as many items purchased were not listed as sold until several months or even a year had passed, and often after Marrett had purchased additional units, it is difficult to tell what the individual markup might have been. Additionally, other mitigating factors, such as transportation, involved in getting the goods to Marrett's shop were not itemized. Consequently, in figuring the range of possible markup on knee garters it was assumed both that the cheapest could have sold at the highest price and that the most expensive at wholesale could have been sold for the lesser recorded price. By further continuing to ignore transportation and delivery costs these calculations resulted in a potential markup ranging from four to forty-two percent. Garters and buckles were purchased by the pair or by the dozen. On rare occasions Marrett sold an odd buckle or knee garter; generally these were sold by the pair only. By the pair, knee

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[12] "bevers" was a cider-like drink.

buckles were sold at a 75% markup.

Snuff was the one commodity sold by Marrett through this aspect of his business for which wholesale, retail and markup values are discernible in the Daybook. Snuff was purchased and sold by the bottle. On one occasion in November 1777 Marrett purchased a thirty-six weight of snuff at eight shillings per pound old tenor or 1s1d new tenor, then divided it into bottles to be sold. Eight shillings per pound old tenor for snuff would put it on par with the cost of coffee and slightly more expensive than smoking tobacco at six shillings old tenor per pound in 1777.

In 1768 Marrett paid 1s8d[13] per bottle for snuff. That went up to 1s8½d in 1770 and 1771. At that time Marrett sold snuff for 1s10d, a markup of only eleven percent. However, by 1775 that price had increased to three shillings per bottle[14], climbing to 3s4d by the end of that year. It went down again in early 1776 to three shillings but in 1777 it was back up higher than ever to four shillings per bottle. The following year in 1778 it dropped dramatically in half to two shillings, after which no further transactions were noted.

Marrett appeared to experience a larger turnover in food than in tailoring supplies or dry goods. Due probably to its perishable nature, demanding a quicker turnover, food prices fluc-

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[13]New tenor values.

[14]Based on the prices, it is assumed that a bottle held close to a pound.

tuated more than dry goods, tailoring supplies or lumber. Food would also have been one item that could respond to the supply and demand factor of the local economy. Additionally, certain allowances in price appeared to have been acceptable for large food purchases. This had not been true for other items retailed by Marrett, except in rare cases. Coffee and tea fluctuated the most radically, sometimes mirroring the early political developments in the war with England. In 1768 coffee wholesaled at just over one shilling new tenor (eight shillings old tenor) per pound. By April of 1770 it had increased by 25% to 1s3d new tenor[15] per pound. By October of that year it had started a downturn in price. The following April the wholesale price of coffee stood at 1s1½d, and by May 1771 the price was even below the 1768 level, at just under one shilling per pound (7s6d old tenor). During this time Marrett saved a half shilling per pound if he bought a hundred weight of coffee. This he did on several occasions, but normally he bought by the pound. In 1777 the government fixed the retail price per pound of coffee at "1s4d [new tenor] a pound by the single pound"[16], suggesting that the free-market price then charged was higher than that. By the late 1770s Marrett's coffee sales were far outdistancing those of tea, for obvious reasons. Even prior to 1773 tea was not inexpen-

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[15]Unless otherwise noted, all prices are given in new tenor values.

[16]J.B. Felt, An Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency (Boston, 1839), p. 172.

sive. While a pound of tea makes more beverage than a pound of coffee, in 1768 it still wholesaled at a little over four times the cost of coffee per pound. In January of 1768 tea wholesaled at 4s3d per pound. By 1770 it had increased to five shillings per pound and by March 1771 it had increased further to six shillings per pound. Shortly thereafter however, as coffee, tea dropped in price, reaching 3s8d by June. The profit on tea and coffee appeared to be around 12% per pound.

Other beverages sold by Marrett included wine, rum, both West Indian and New England grades, and flip, sold by the mug. Marrett provided flip for laborers and for the selectmen when they apparently met at his house in the late 1770s. Flip was a

> 'most insinuating drink'. Made of homebrewed beer, sugar and a liberal dash of Jamaica rum, and mixed with a 'logger-head'--a great iron stirring stick which was heated in the fire until red hot, then thrust into the liquid. Seething iron made flip boil and bubble and imparted a burned, bitter taste which was its most attractive attribute.[17]

Only two transactions involving wine were entered in Marrett's Daybook. The one involved its allowance as a credit in July 1770 at ten shilling per quart old tenor. The other one involved the sale of wine in 1774 for fifteen shillings old tenor a quart. Wine was an avant-garde drink accompanying the gradual changeover from a pepper-spice to a sweeter diet. It may have been consumed more by the students at Harvard than other Cambridgians as the only wine glasses that Marrett ever sold were to two Harvard students. Rum,

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[17] Alice Morse Earle, The Sabbath in Puritan New England, (Detroit: Singing Tree Press, 1968), p. 111.

on the other hand, appeared to be an almost universal beverage. All social classes seemed to imbibe. It was not expensive, although West Indian rum was more costly than the New England product. It retailed for less than wine, at between 1s3d and 1s7d per quart during the second half of the 1770s up from 9½ pence in 1751.[18]. In 1779 it took a dramatic jump up to a high of 2s5d per quart on its way to 4s9d before the close of the year. The increase may have been due to the Army's needs taking precedence over those of civilians, leaving a sparse amount for a thirsty and demanding population of drinkers. Or the increased price could be reflecting an increase in the price of sugar or molasses. The aforementioned prices were for New England rum, therefore import taxes on rum would not have directly impacted the price, particularly as the prices were set based on free-market demand alone.

Spices sold by Marrett included mustard, pepper, garlic, nutmeg, cinnamon, cloves, allspice, mace and salt. Of these a retail price per unit is discernible only on nutmeg, cinnamon, cloves and salt. Of these, nutmeg and cinnamon were the items most frequently sold, perhaps for flip. Nutmeg wholesaled at just under twelve shillings new tenor per pound in 1768, and at 12s7d per pound in 1770 and 1771. On one occasion in 1771 Marrett purchased nutmeg at £6 old tenor, just under sixteen shillings new tenor, per pound. That year he also sold nutmeg at 1s4d new tenor per ounce, or 21s4d

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[18] In 1751 Marrett accepted ten gallons of rum in payment at £11/19 old tenor. At .133 conversion to new tenor this resulted in a cost of 9.48 pence per quart.

a pound. This resulted in a markup of one third if figured on the higher wholesale price and 70% if figured on the lower one. Cinnamon was also purchased by the pound. The wholesale price in 1768 ranged from 14s6d to 21s11d new tenor per pound. In the early 1770s the price appeared stable. In 1773 the retail price on this spice was 14s old tenor, 1s10d new tenor, per ounce, indicating a markup of 34% over the wholesale cited for 1771. In late 1773 the price dropped to 1s4d new tenor an ounce which would have dropped the profit to only 26%.

Marrett sold both local, sea water salt and imported Lisbon salt. The New England salt was sold in 1773 for four pence new tenor a bushel, a 77% markup over its cost in 1768, assuming price stability. However, in 1777 the Government fixed the price of New England salt at ten shillings per bushel, suggesting that if anything the quoted price in 1773 was low.

Cloves were not a high demand item like coffee, tea, nutmeg and cinnamon. In 1771 cloves wholesaled at 17s4d the pound. That same year they retailed at 1s10d the ounce, or twenty four shillings the pound, a 38% increase.

Sugar, in loaf, ball or hogshead; molasses by the quart or the hogshead; flour by the ball, the pound, or the barrell; and rice by the pound or the barrell; were all sold, traded, and dispersed by Marrett to the town poor on behalf of Cambridge and the First Church Parish. Because of the variety of different measures used in recording transactions in these perishables it is impossible to tell any relationship between unit prices and markup at any given time.

Chocolate was sold to the wealthy and disbursed to the poor. This was a fairly new dietary item in the eighteenth century. Although there may have been some imported chocolate it was also produced in the American colonies. In 1771 Marrett purchased some at 1s2d new tenor per pound, and then sold it at 1s7d the pound, a 36% markup. In 1777 the Government also fixed the price of American chocolate at 1s8d the pound, not much more than what it had been in 1771.

In addition to the abovementioned foods, Marrett also sold potatoes, turnips, carrots, beans and peas among others that were grown in his garden. In 1777 he was paid by the Commissary of the Army in carrots and turnips for his war involvement. These he then sold, at a deflated price, down three pence a bushel from the season before.

Cambridge

The Cambridge of 1766 was not much different from fifteen years before. The number of shops had increased from five to nineteen, the number of households from 279 to 359, including twenty-four widows.[19] The wealth was still concentrated in the

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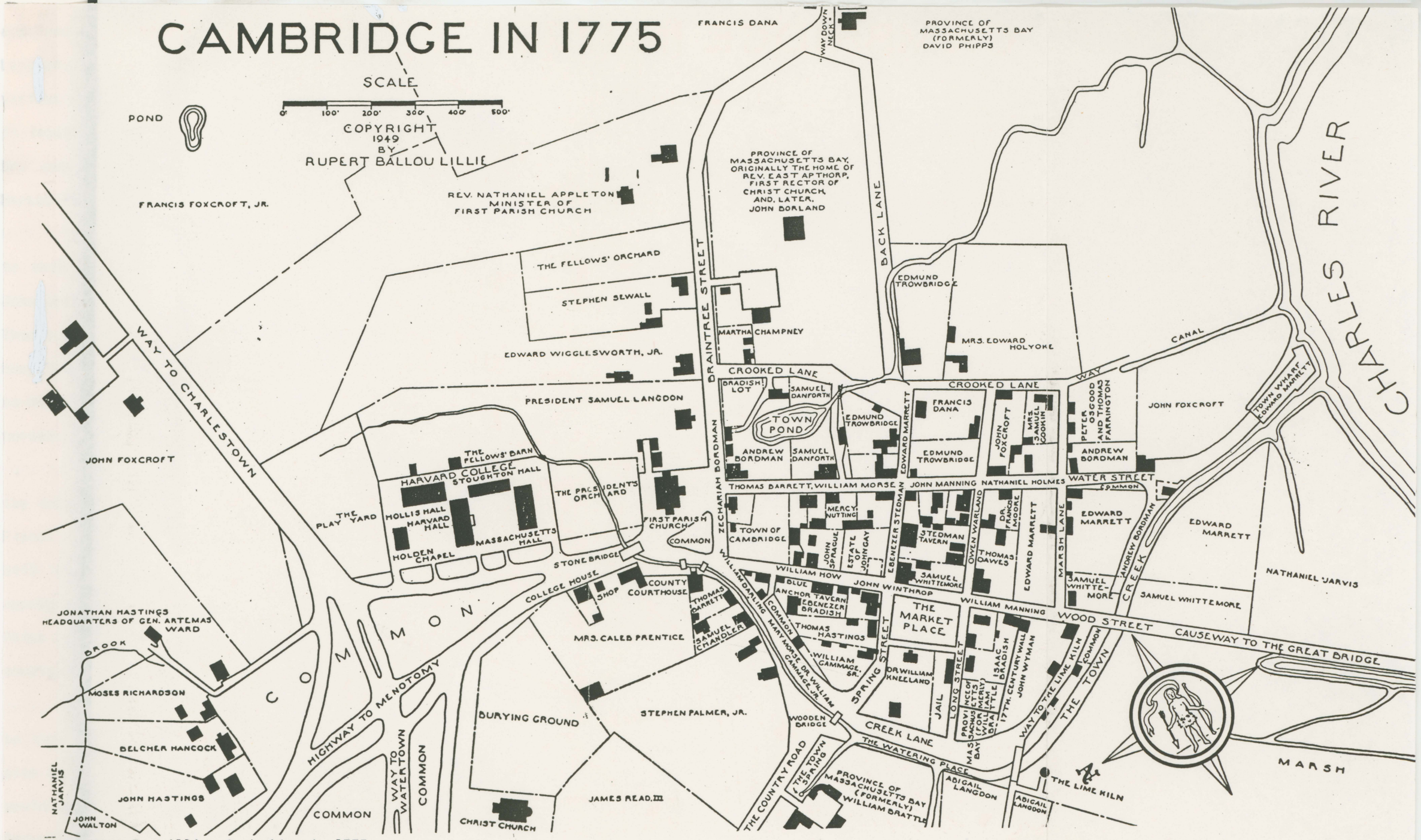
[19]Based on the Tax Valuation Lists for Cambridge for 1747 and 1766. Paige MS Collection, Cambridge Public Library, Cambridge, Mass. Joseph B. Felt, Collections of the American Statistical Association, containing Statistics of Population in Massachusetts, vol. I, part II, (Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown, 1845), p. 150, states there were 237 houses, 257 familes and 374 males over the age of sixteen in a population of 1481 based on the Cambridge census of 1763-65.

First Parish Precinct, the "Body of the Town", while the largest residences continued to be situated to the east of town and along the road to Watertown. A recent addition to the Townscape was a new Meetinghouse built in 1756 across from the Court House and the President's orchard, just off the common at the head of Water Street. By the waterfront the number of commercial wharves had been reduced to one--Edward Marrett's.

In 1775 after the battle at Concord men flocked to Cambridge. Within two days it was said that ten thousand had poured into the town. Harvard College dismissed the students and its kitchen was taken over by the Commissariat. Shortly thereafter most of the Cambridge loyalists fled to Boston and their elegant homes were taken over for military headquarters for the provincial military. General Israel Putnam headquartered in the John Hicks/Foxcroft house on Water Street, along with three companies; General Artemas Ward headquartered at the Jonathan Hastings residence north of town, along with the committee of safety, and various field officers; and General John Glover and the Essex Regiment headquartered at the Vassall mansion on the road to Watertown.

General George Washington arrived in Cambridge on July 3, 1775 to take command of the Continental army. At that time it was thought there were nineteen regiments, including 8,076 men, of whom six thousand were actually in camp, newly arrived in Town. Washington quartered at the President's house on Braintree Street southeast of Harvard in the northeast of town, until July 20. He

CAMBRIDGE IN 1775



Source: Rupert B. Lillie, Cambridge in 1775,
(Salem, Mass.: Newcomb & Gauss Co., Printers, 1949).

Plate 10

and General Lee occupied all but the one room reserved for President Langdon. A barracks had been set up north of the Commons and various men had taken rooms with Cambridge families or were housed in loyalist owned and abandoned homes. Some were also quartered in Dr. Kneeland's two and a half story seventeenth-century home on Market Place next to the jail.

Hospitals were needed and several residences were converted to this purpose. In town the house behind Dr. Kneeland's became John Hunt's hospital, and the Monis house, then in the possession of Thomas Dawes, on the southeast corner of Market Place also became a hospital after Bunker Hill. Later the Vassall mansion on the road to Watertown would be used as a hospital, and many wounded were also nursed in the meetinghouse.

In 1775 the Marquis de la Fayette stayed for a short time in the home of Professor Winthrop on the northwest corner of Market Place. John Borland's elegant tree rimmed home east of town on a hill overlooking the Phips estate and the Charles River was appropriated for three companies of army, and perhaps Putnam. The Phips house became the headquarters for the Continental Army commissary.

From 1775 until Marrett died in 1780 there would continue to be some military presence in Cambridge, although it was never the site of a major battle. During these five years the General Court would also meet off and on in Cambridge, and in 1779 the new Constitution of Massachusetts would be framed in the meeting house as well. This political and military presence coincided with the

dramatic shift in Marrett's activities away from tailoring.

Marrett's involvement with wartime activities was on two levels: local and continental. At the local level he helped provision townspeople adversely affected by the war, aided in supply procurement for the hospitals, transported goods and people, and supplied dinner and drink for the town selectmen. He also warehoused food, fuel and war material for the continental troops, in addition to helping dig entrenchments on Plowed Hill. However, his primary activity in this regard was charitable disbursement to the poor and suffering on behalf of Cambridge and the First Church. These disbursements were usually in-kind such as food, candles and some clothing. However, on occasion he also advanced these same people cash to buy meat. He then debited his daybook with the usual retail value for each item. While there is no evidence in the daybook of any payment for this public service, this could have been covered by what Marrett referred to as remittance by "in-kind contribution" for his Parish and provincial taxes. As partial remittance for his preaching tax Marrett credited himself for payment of repairs to the Church lock.

Beginning in 1777 Marrett debited the "State of Massachusetts Bay" for charitable disbursements. In August 1776 Marrett warehoused "large numbers of timbers of the barracks ... D^{o} large cannon and carriage Landed on wharffe ... large number of casks ... 105 balls flower [sic]". Later in 1776 he warehoused bricks, timbers and boards, and four cords of wood for the "Continent". However, flour and wood would remain the items most consistently

stored by the continental and state governments in Marrett's facilities. In 1777 "the State" also stored goods including bricks, and two tons of entrenching tools and ball shells, at four pence per ton. The following year Marrett stored beef, bags of bread, oatmeal, fish and one hundred firkens of butter. In return for his various activities on behalf of the Continent Commissary Devin paid Marrett in-kind with carrots and turnips.

Had Marrett perhaps thought that he might make money on the war effort as others had done in the past? Whether or not he thought this became immaterial as circumstances mitigated against it. One might think that Marrett should have become wealthy at the expense of the war if only he had used the business acumen that he presumably had. However, not only did he live in Cambridge, as opposed to a major urban area such as Boston, but many of his wealthier contacts had earlier fled as loyalists. Those who had chosen to stay in Boston had been patrons mainly of his tailoring enterprises and Marrett elected to concentrate his economic efforts on the wharf, not on tailoring. This is not to say that had he chosen to pursue wartime riches through tailoring that he would have been successful, but that his tailoring contacts were wealthier on the average than clients in his other entreprises and that this Boston elite had not been cultivated in the area in which he would be concentrating. Additionally, in September 1775, he "allowed" the Continental army to take over his "Great Room", also referred to as his store, for storage, and in October 1775 he rented out one half of his shop for nine shillings per month. These actions effectively

closed his tailoring business and cut off those remaining important contacts. However, for a short while Marrett did continue to tailor garments, although primarily for soldiers.

Following two bloody battles, in October 1777 General Burgoyne surrendered his entire army to the Americans. In November 1777 these so-called Convention Troops, under Generals Burgoyne and Riedesel, arrived to be quartered in Cambridge. Cambridge did not welcome the prospect of these prisoners staying in their town, even with their status of paying guest. The townspeople did not feel they had the resources, particularly firewood, to support an additional five thousand men. Lodging was the most pressing problem and the most vexatious to resolve. The prisoners had been promised quarters according to rank but Cambridge was not willing to comply. The town seemingly presented an organized front against quartering the troops in other than distressed rooms at exorbitant prices.[20] Many soldiers were lodged in barracks which had previously been used as the smallpox innoculating hospital on Sewall's Point--a fact these boarders did not appreciate.[21] On December 1, 1777, Marrett took in two men, a Captain Camplan and a Captain Solo[n], "to live in one part of my house for $12/week they finding all things for themselves ... also to use of one bed." This amounted to seventy shillings per person per week or 22.4 shillings sterling per week

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[20]Samuel Batchelder, Bits of Cambridge History, (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1930), p. 25. A rent of £150 sterling for an unfurnished house for about six months time is mentioned.

[21]Ibid., p. 30.

at the December 1777 exchange rate.[22] This rent, as all bills incurred by the Convention Troops, was to be paid in specie.

An additional problem that these troops encountered was insufficient and inappropriate clothing for the harsh New England winter. The troops were clothed at the expense of their commander, and the clothing was in Canada. While Marrett did fashion several garments, surtouts in particular, for the military, two freighters loaded with clothing for the troops did not arrive at Marrett's wharf until October 28, 1778.[23] The Continent, by Commissary Richardson, took responsiblity for the warehousing of at least some of this recently arrived clothing for the British troops. Additionally some soldiers, particularly the Hessian mercenary troops, did ply their trade in Cambridge, earning some money to obtain neccessities. Marrett hired soldiers as day labor to work in his garden and fields and also to unload cargo on the wharf, paying

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[22] J.B. Felt, An Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency, (Boston: n.p., 1839), p. 127. See also footnote 48, Chapter V, and Appendix D. As lawful money continued to depreciate monthly relative to £ sterling it is not feasible to postulate a yearly rental rate. However, in June 1779 Marrett rented a room to a Mr. Thayer of Plymton for £25 per month, equivalent to almost double the New England lawful money rate charged the British. Yet in the midst of extreme inflation this was only equivalent to £.44 sterling per week. Based on these two examples it would be difficult to sustain the concept of price gouging except solely within the local marketplace; the British were dealing in specie and not in lawful New England currency.

[23] Batchelder, p. 81 states that this did not arrive until the following January.

the going Cambridgian day rates. Apparently, aside from lodging, the troops were charged and paid the going rate for all commodities that Marrett dealt in.

These troops were required to pay their own way in specie, a fact which further depreciated New England currency and sent the inflation rate skyrocketing. This, coupled with payment in carrots and turnips by the Continental army commissary, and Marrett's continuing support of the Non-Importation Agreement which cut him off from the international mercantile marketplace, meant that in book accounts on the local economy he was suffering severe losses. A most unfortunate set of circumstances, and certainly not positive indicators of wealth and success.

An Artisan's Wealth

Over the years Marrett managed to accumulate real property in town, marshland by the wharf, planting fields bordering this marshland, in the Neck, on the south side of the Charles River, off the road to Watertown, near Fresh Pond and in Fresh Pond Meadows, by the Oyster Banks, and by Windmill Hill Marsh west of town. He also owned at least two warehouses and one house in addition to his in-town residence.

In the Valuation List of 1747 Marrett ranked only in the fiftieth percentile of propertied residents of the Town, and in the forty-sixth percentile of all Cambridge residents. Two decades

later, while the percentage of propertied residents (78%) had not changed, Marrett's ranking had improved to the top thirty percentile of all propertied residents of the Town and the top twenty-seven percent of all residents of Cambridge. This change in ranking reflected his continuing acquisition of his father's lands as well as the unencumbered inheritance of his father's estate since the 1747 List. It also reflected some dealings in real estate, ownership of the town wharf and thereby participation in related activities, and his newly acquired membership in the prestigious Proprietary. Even though he ranked in the upper twenty-seven percent of all Cambridge in real estate, his personal estate ranked conspicuously among the top nine estates, in company with Phips, Lee, Lechemere, Borland, Brattle, Bordman, Vassall and Trowbridge, all of whom used the title Esquire. While in 1766 his personal estate would have included those items brought into marriage by his second wife it is more likely that the increase in consumer goods reflected his increased business transactions over 1747, many of which could have been settled in goods and services, as well as increased activity in retailing and tailoring. In any case Marrett possessed both a personal and real estate larger than what one might assume based on his occupation. However, that estate was clearly more in keeping with his social position of Gentleman. Furthermore, this estate would have also reflected some inherited wealth, and his family's permanence in Cambridge and Proprietary membership. While Edward was not one of the wealthier Marretts his family tradition, dating from the settlement of Cambridge in the seventeenth century,

was probably never completely divorced from the elite of that town even though he obviously took pride in his skilled identity.

This large personal estate could also have reflected his association with the liberal Brattle Street Church of Boston, which Marrett had joined in September, 1734. The Brattle Street Church had been gathered in 1699, mostly by merchants who were interested in a more liberal application of Christian principles, where one would not have to make a choice between pursuit of wealth and peace of soul.[24] The pastor was the Reverend Benjamin Colman, a native Bostonian, who served until his death on August 29, 1747; at that time he was succeeded by the Reverend Dr. Samuel Cooper, another native Bostonian, as sole pastor of the church.

The liberal policy of the church was declared in a Manifesto including principles of government relating entirely to order and worship. The Principal among these included reading a portion of Holy Scripture in public worship at the discretion of the minister; baptism of children of any person who would make a genuine profession of Christian faith with a desire and purpose to provide a Christian education; not requiring the relation of religious experiences in order to be admitted to the church; and extension of the voting privileges and election of minister to all members of the congregation without distinction between communicants and non-com-

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[24]Charles Akers, "Religion and the American Revolution: Samuel Cooper and the Brattle Street Church," William and Mary Quarterly, third series, XXXV, no. 3 (July, 1978), p. 484; The Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, Records of the Church in Brattle Square, 1699-1872, (Boston: The Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, 1902).

municants. Full admission did not require that one's parents own the Covenant, a fact which paved the way for participation by all and not just a select group of Saints. This was probably appealing to Marrett whose own parents had not owned the Covenant even though his father had joined the First Church in Cambridge in 1732. Additionally, as the majority of members were merchants the attitude towards accumulation of wealth and its attendant external indicators was more lenient. The merchants of this church also used their money, power, and prestige to support certain war efforts throughout the eighteenth century. Its minsters, especially Reverend Cooper, knew how to arouse this side of the congregation and did so. For Marrett's side, early and sustained contact with this attitude, reinforced through his business contacts, may have made it possible to assemble a large personal estate without feeling remiss in his Christian duty. With other Manifesto Christian merchants, such as Jacob Wendell, Marrett used his position and wealth to help the poor and needy of the community, as they put into practice a philosophy, which, though elitist, promulgated social cohesion and "confirmed and guided the Christian's quest for mundane happiness."[25]

Edward Marrett had been born into an old Cambridge family. In spite of his birth order he had managed to become his family's principal heir through two untimely deaths. Furthermore, he had purchased his father's proprietary rights and some real estate which would have later come to him through inheritance. He then

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[25]Akers, pp. 477-499.

manipulated these rights and real estate unto additional property including the Town wharf. By the time he started using the title "Gentleman" in 1764 he held significant property and buildings in Cambridge and surrounding areas, while also continuing to expand his retailing, warehousing and tailoring activities, all of which were interconnected.

In spite of this apparent wealth Marrett was probably "commodity poor". His son Thomas attended Harvard, an outward sign of leisured wealth, yet was placed thirty-third out of forty in a time when class place was awarded based on parental social class. Thomas was also awarded the Saltonstall scholarship.[26] This indicated that although Marrett may have ranked in the upper quartile of Cambridgians he did not compare as favorably with Bostonians and West Indian planters who also sent their sons to Harvard. By sending his son to Harvard Marrett may have been indicating his aspirations to higher social class while his son's acceptance of a scholarship to help defray costs reflected Marrett's real economic situation. This idea is further reinforced by the fact that Thomas lived at home most of the time he attended Harvard, which was not common. However perhaps it was not necessary to know the precise economic worth of an individual prior to his death as his assumed wealth would be reflected in his title and demonstrated through lifestyle and consumption patterns.

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[26]Morison, Three Centuries of Harvard, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935), p. 104.

CHAPTER V

CAPTAIN EDWARD MARRETT: PERSONA

In the course of his life, this youngest son who had been settled a tailor had managed to accumulate sufficient and diversified enough estate to be called gentleman by age fifty. His social connections reached to Boston and a dozen or so other towns, and included members of the leadership who would in turn become local leaders in the conflict with the Mother Country. He was tied to these people through church and civic activities and his public role in Cambridge as well as through business affairs. Although Marrett did not take up arms in the War he was not merely a bystander either. From the time of the Stamp Act crisis in 1764 until he died his diary reflected his awareness of the political turbulence of his day. In fact, whether by choice or sheer necessity, the conflict began to take precedence over his other business activities by 1773. By May 1777 his daybook recorded only civic and war-related transactions, from charitable disbursements to warehousing war materiel and lumber and hardware procurement. Curiously he did not use his tailoring skills to aid in the conflict but instead utilized his other entrepreneurial connections and assets. Albeit warehousing, lumber, and food procurement were apparently more profitable

than fashionable clothing. Besides his more public responsibilities during this time, he was also concerned about providing for his household.

The Private Edward Marrett

Edward Marrett had remarried in 1762 after nineteen years of widowhood. This new union was with the widow of Seth Foster, a Boston grocer who had died intestate and insolvent in 1752. Sussannah Bill Foster, aged forty-two, was the mother of three living children, two daughters and a son. She had one grandson, Timothy Prout by her daughter, then deceased, Mary Foster Prout. At the time of Marrett's marriage to Sussannah she was apparently living in the Prout household while her other children were living in Boston with her deceased husband's family. As Marrett was bound, or contracted, to her son-in-law Timothy Prout Sr. at the time of their marriage it is quite possible they met at his house. The extant marriage contract[1] indicates Edward bound to Prout for £500 lawful money, £226/13/4 of which was abated by Sussannah's dowry. This was later to be paid back to her or her heirs in a manner set forth in the Marriage Contract. Only her son and grandson, to the exclusion of her daughters, were considered heirs in this contract, reflecting the common male linear-descent bias towards estate and inheritance.[2]

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[1]Edward Marrett, Bond, November 1, 1762, C.E. French Collection, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Mass.

[2]Daniel Scott Smith, "Inheritance and the Position and

Edward brought his new wife to Cambridge to reside in his seventeenth century house on the corner of Spring and Wood Streets. Sussannah brought her household goods including furniture, dishes and linens, to add to those that Edward owned. Edward continued to have his tailoring shop in the lower south chamber. As was customary at the time, clients would use the main entrance to the house for personal as well as business calls. The living quarters encompassed the other large first floor chamber which was used for a sitting room and dining area, the lean-to kitchen area directly accessible by a door next to the fireplace, and the two great chambers on the second floor. The entrance hallway was also arranged with several small tables, chairs, and framed pictures, and a "looking glass". The direct access to the back garden and outbuildings continued to be through this hallway. By the late 1760s these outbuildings included a pump house with a well, and a barn. In 1767 Marrett added a third story storage garrett. At this time the overhang of the second floor was probably eliminated and the exterior façade given an eighteenth century look that included an ornamental balustrade at the break in the new gambrel roof and Doric pilasters with classical entablature framing the main entrance door on the west façade.[3] The front panelled door was similar to

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Orientation of Colonial Women", unpublished paper, Second Berkshire Conference on the History of Women, Cambridge, Mass., 1974, p. 8.

[3]The Cambridge Historical Commission, Cambridge, Massachusetts has a file on the Marrett house, with pictures of each room and the front façade prior to its removal from Cambridge in 1929. A

one on the Vassall mansion. These improvements transformed a one hundred fifty year old house into an elegant eighteenth century home. In this remodelled house at least one fireplace was outlined in imported blue Delft tile, and several rooms may have been carpeted. In the 1770s Marrett had ordered 2000 yards of carpet woven. Carpet at this time was a recent item of conspicuous consumption not yet available to the masses. However, either Sussannah did not like this interior design innovation or Marrett also sold carpet in his shop for some was offered for sale at the public vendue of his personal estate upon his death.

Sussannah fulfilled the role of lady of the house and did not help out in the shop, even though she did work in the back garden, or went to nearby towns on occasion to pick up food. Apparently she maintained close ties with Boston as Marrett's diary frequently mentioned her trips there. On numerous occasions she also accompanied him to nearby towns, and, at least once a year, to Cape Ann for vacation. Shortly after her arrival in Cambridge her daughter Susana, then eighteen, moved to Cambridge to live with her mother and step-father. Edward was fond of this step-daughter and remarked frequently on her activities in his diary, mentioning where

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written description can be found in Rupert Ballou Lillie, Cambridge in 1775, (Salem, Mass.: Newcomb & Gauss Co., Printers, 1949), p. 34 and a recreation of the house can be seen in a model of Cambridge in 1776, constructed by students at Harvard University in 1936, and on permanent display at the Harvard University Library. See also plate 8, p. 62.

she went and with whom. Once, after a soldier had struck her with his fist, he referred to her as his daughter. On more than one occasion she accompanied him in the absence of her mother to neighboring towns, sometimes for overnight stays. Susana never married. Neither did her sister Hannah who was much older. Whether this was due to lack of dowry because their father had died insolvent, or whether it was due to a shortage of elegible men during a time of military conflict when they would have been of marriageable age, is not known. That Marrett did not feel responsible for the future of these children of his second wife was reflected in his will which did not even mention their names. While Marrett may have liked Susana, and been indifferent towards Hannah who would join the household only a few years before his death, he did not like their brother Thomas Waite Foster. As part of the marriage contract Marrett was to pay back some of the dowery money to Thomas Waite. And so Edward kept track in the daybook or in his diary of all expenses related to provisions of any sort for this step-son. Apparently, Thomas Waite was sickly as most of the noted expenses were for medicine, doctors, or nursing care. In addition, the male household servants were sent on more than one occasion to fetch him to be nursed in Cambridge. Where this man lived on a permanent basis is hard to tell. Other listed expenses for his support included wine, cash, snuff, and some food. In his favor it should be noted that he helped repay Edward by tailoring a few garments in the shop. Thomas Waite must have joined the militia as in the later 1770s his visits are ascribed to Captain Foster. The

tenor of Marrett's comments in the diary in reference to his step-son, as compared to those noted for his own son, are terse. His step-son was referred to as "Thomas Waite Foster" as though he were a client, or simply an unwelcome guest. By contrast Marrett fondly described his own son's arrival after a long absence and more than once referred to him as Tommy. After 1762 other members of the Marrett household also included Betty Bemas or another female maid and at least two male servants or apprentices. In the Cambridge Valuation List of 1766 [4] Marrett was assessed three polls so these servants or apprentices would have been men, over the age of sixteen who resided in the Marrett household.

Edward provided for the household table with items he grew in his garden or fields, two cows, several goats, and a couple of pigs. It is possible that he also had sheep as his family ate lamb. Later in the 1770s hens were also referred to, but eggs were not mentioned. Fish, particularly haddock, was obtained as a credit transaction through his shop. In the late 1760s he built a barn to house his livestock and at least one horse, required for his sleigh and chaise.

In his garden he grew parsley, little onions, peas, beans, carrots, turnips, radishes, parsnips, beets, potatoes, buck beans and lettuce. In the fields and sometimes on his acreage across the Charles River he grew corn, salt hay for fodder, wheat, and rye. In

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[4] The Tax Valuation List for Cambridge, Mass. for 1766 is located in the Paige MS Collection at the Cambridge Public Library, Cambridge, Mass.

1778 he also mentioned sowing his field with flax but this may have been a new endeavor. He also had apple trees and made cider. Other items set out on the Marrett table but not grown or raised by the household were molasses, butter, rum, chocolate, rice, oatmeal, currants, raisins, and sugar. Both tea and coffee were served. Spices included a small amount of salt, pepper and mustard, cinnamon, nutmeg, allspice, cloves, and mace. According to Fernand Braudel[5] these items reflected the European change from a pepper-spice diet of the seventeenth century to a sugar-spice diet typical of the upper class Southern and Central European home of the eighteenth century. Potatoes, sweet bread, and lettuce were Western dietary innovations of the eighteenth century that also found their way to the Marrett table. In addition to evidence that the family consumed sugar there is also reference to purchases from a "sugar baker" who, it is assumed, baked cakes or pastries rather than unsweetened breads. Sugar came in a loaf or in a hogshead. The former would be hung over the table. A hot dish or drink which required sweetening would be held under the sugar loaf so that the steam would melt some which would drip in. The loose sugar required for baking was stored in hogsheads or bushel barrells and sold either in these units or by the pound. The type of flavoring the family used was evidently not unusual in Cambridge as Marrett also sold these through his shop.

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[5]Fernand Braudel, Civilization & Capitalism 15th-18th Century, vol. 1: The Structures of Everyday Life. (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1981), pp. 220-227.

Mace, allspice, cloves, mustard, and salt and pepper were outsold considerably by sugar, molasses, chocolate, cinnamon and nutmeg. These last two, in conjunction with cloves, were used in flip. That these sweet flavors were not prerogatives of the upper class is further demonstrated by the charitable dispersals that Edward made on behalf of the Town, or the Church, and which always included sugar and molasses, as well as tea and/or coffee, rice, and sometimes, chocolate.[6] In the 1770s tea was still sold and drunk, but coffee was becoming extremely popular. Apparently, coffee was also an item that appeared more frequently in a sweet diet than in a pepper spice diet. Another drink that complemented the sweet diet was wine (rather than beer) which was making a small appearance in America during the second half of the eighteenth century, while not displacing rum, cider, or flip.

Of the food Marrett grew, turnips and radishes were sold in Boston, but the other items were not mentioned in this context. Wheat was taken to the miller to be ground, with some of it to be used at home, some sold in the shop, and the remainder stored. However, Marrett also purchased flour or allowed it as credit in the daybook. The animals were not exclusively for the family table either as it was carefully noted who paid how much for each part of the slaughtered beast. Goatshair and lambswool from the livestock

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[6]Braudel, p. 223; Carl Bridenbaugh, The Colonial Craftsman, (New York: New York University Press, 1950), p. 135: "...Tea, coffee and chocolate, among the lowest ranks, are almost as common as tea in England."

was presumably spun in the home, probably by the women of the household who were traditionally responsible for such tasks. Marrett then carried the spun yarns to the weaver, and the dyer. This was likely the homespun fabric he later sold in his shop at 2s8d per yard.

Comments in Marrett's diary reflected his penchant for beauty and material goods, while his ever increasing use of the personal pronoun "I" indicated a growing awareness of self. While his diary mostly related weather changes, as many eighteenth century diaries did, it also depicted the rhythm of life, planting cycles, successes and failures, some routine activites such as chimney sweeping, gardening, calving, soap making, lectures, vacations, business status, or Harvard activities. The geographic sphere of his or his family's travels was also described. All Sabbath meetings were noted along with presiding preachers and, sometimes, commentary on their sermons. Every winter was described as colder than previous ones, while August was always hot, whether sultry, humid or uncommonly dry. He delighted in good sledding weather, clear with not too much snow, and good spring-like weather in May or June.

Apparently his sleigh with bells was purchased in the late 1760s, perhaps after he built his barn in 1769, and became a favorite winter-time activity. He delighted in recounting sledding conditions, and where he went by sleigh including neighboring towns and Boston. Sometimes these trips were for pleasure, and other times to pick up merchandise or wood. One of the first occasions

out of the house after having been ill he went sledding. Sussannah apparently did not enjoy this activity for he rarely mentioned her in this context. She did go visiting by chaise however, and in his will he left her the horse and chaise. The sleigh was then sold at public vendue. Marrett also delighted in wintery scenes; iced trees and fences, which he called the most beautiful thing he had ever seen; boys skating in the streets; and people walking over the frozen Charles River. Rarely did he comment on spring or summer scenes. Even his trips to Cape Ann or Fresh Pond did not move him to comment beyond the fact that he had gone.

Marrett's greatest personal concern was smallpox. In this fear he was not alone but he did make its control part of his public role. Not only did smallpox strike Cambridge at least once a year, but Edward's older brother John had died of the pox in 1729 when Edward was sixteen. Since John was only two years older than Edward these two brothers would probably have been very close. Furthermore, it is likely that several of Edward's own children had also died of the distemper.[7] So Edward's fear was not of disease in general, even though he suffered from that occupational hazard, piles. He was rarely sick but poignantly described the day he and his family were diagnosed with the pox on January 22, 1774:

> a sorrowful time in my family respecting the chicken or small pox. Dn. Rand, Dn. Foster, Dn. Danforth, Dn. Kneeland and Dn. Moore all of them pronounced it to be the small pox. General

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[7] The grave markers give this impression.

Brattle who haith attended the family as a doctor declared it to be chicken pox.[8]

The following Sunday he wrote "Mr. Appleton taken ill at sermon time and was carried out--we are all shut up in the house no one went to meeting. A sorrowful day and time indeed. What I feared most is come upon me." He and his family also missed subsequent Sunday meetings on account of the "repeated small pox". Fear of contagion was such that Edward moved his store goods up to the house garrett during this time. On the thirty-first of the month he reported that he was thankful to God that they were all recovered. He then started to decontaminate the house and household items. On the fifth of February he smoked and cleaned the house then buried the bed, bolster, and pillow in the ground. Several days later an indentured servant with the household, Bill Addams, came down with a headache which was later confirmed to be the smallpox. He was moved to the "pest house" in the Neck where Susana and Mrs. Marrett visited with him through the window when they dropped off food. A month later Bill, fully recovered, "came home from ye neck".

While it was a full three weeks after first contracting the pox until Edward sold any merchandise, it was also about this same time before he rode even a short distance by sleigh after not having even crossed the road since the inception of his illness. The next day he rode as far as Menotomy but felt faint, and a month after

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[8]Edward Marrett, Interleaving in Almanac, January 22, 1774, Houghton Reading Room, Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass.

being stricken he still was not allowed to attend meeting on Sunday. By the end of February he was feeling chipper enough to comment that it was the best sledding in thirty years. But he would not attempt the longer trip to Boston until mid-April.

After his bout with the dreaded disease Marrett always commented on smallpox victims, even using his chaise or sleigh to transport several to the Neck. He also took a more active part in ridding Cambridge of this terrifying illness. His diary carefully recorded innoculations, including that of his son who spent a week following innoculation at the hospital on Sewalls Point.

In 1776 the barracks and hospital on Sewalls Point were believed by many to harbor the smallpox germ so that when ships with wood or other goods would come into town, they would not leave again if the wind were blowing from that direction for fear of contagion, but stayed docked, at full wage, until the wind changed direction. Sometimes this would take several days. Consequently, the price of wood, which was already quite scarce and expensive since the Continental Army had decimated Cambridge's trees for fuel, would increase dramatically.[9] Marrett petitioned the General Court in September 1776 in this matter.[10] The General Court, after investigation, decided to rid the barracks of smallpox and not to use the facility again as an innoculating hospital.

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[9]Province Laws, 1776-1777, Massachusetts Bay, September 5, 1776, p. 663 [Notes].

[10]Ibid.; Town Records, vol. II, p. 61 as in Paige MS, Cambridge Public Library, Cambridge, Mass.

The Public Edward Marrett

The hierarchies of social standing and leadership did not necessarily coincide but they did reinforce one another. A man could show his fitness for a major office in several ways. He could serve as a comissioned or non-commisioned officer in the militia; be a leader of the Church; acquire a liberal education; gain a reputation for financial acumen by building and maintaining a prosperous estate, and/or; serve on ad-hoc committees.[11]

Marrett's involvement with the church would have reinforced his perceived status in the community and could have enhanced his chances for election to a major office. Although he did participate in parish affairs, serving on several important committees, he was never elected Deacon. Marrett had been admitted to the First Church in Cambridge in 1739 upon dismissal from "Dr. Colman's church". However, there is no evidence of any participation on his part until 1756 and then in conjunction with collecting contributions for the "parson's chaise".[12]

In that same year he also contributed £11/6/8 towards con-

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[11]Edward M. Cook, Jr. The Fathers of the Towns: Leadership and Community Structure in Eighteenth-Century New England, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p. 42.

[12]Vassall Expense Book, Cambridge Public Library, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

struction of the new meeting house,[13] an act which won him the privilege of constructing a private pew on the first floor. Increasingly, the privilege of a private pew was due more to subscription to the cost of a new meeting house than to prestige,[14] although by this date Marrett had received his inheritance, entered the Proprietary, owned the town wharf, and had a profitable tailoring business. The pew owner was responsible for its construction and considered it part of his real estate which could then be mortgaged and/or sold. In spite of private ownership, pew owners usually allowed visitors and sometimes strangers to sit with them and their family.[15]

In 1765 he was on the Committee for "ye Seating of the Meeting House".[16] This task required that the committee know the social standing, perceived or real, as it may have been altered by age and/or infirmity, of every member of the Church.

> In most cases, monetary worth and age were the two most important considerations, though other factors such as high political office could also be influential ... When figuring the relative age and estate usually one year of age was taken as the equivalent of one or two pounds in the assessment of real and

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[13] Lucius Paige, History of Cambridge 1630-1877, with a Genealogical Register, (Boston: H.S. Houghton & Co., 1877), p. 292 cfn.

[14] Robert J. Dinkin, "Seating the Meetinghouse in Early Massachusetts", New England Quarterly, 43 (1970), p. 455.

[15] Ibid., p. 457.

[16] Paige MS. Copied from a paper in the files of the First Parish in Cambridge, 18 May 1859.

personal estate.[17]

These committee assignments ran in tandem with his strict attendance at Sunday meetings and weekday lectures, frequently held in Boston or Charlestown. This would not have been uncommon as the Brattle Street Church in Boston, and perhaps other churches as well, shared common lectures and admitted members of other churches for Sunday services. From 1768 to 1774 and again from 1777 to 1779 he was a member of the "Committee to Inspect ye Manners of Professing Christians". This was a committee of five to eight members who handled matters of discipline within the church. Therefore, he must have been a member in good standing, a good Christian in all his relationships, and a respected member of the community. In 1778 and 1779 he was also elected to "inquire into ye Church stock of monies, Bonds or notes in ye Deacon's Hands & to report ye state thereof to ye church & how ye Produce is applied". On several occasions these Parish committees met at Marrett's home. In Church records he is referred to as Captain Edward Marrett.[18]

Marrett was also involved in the charitable activities of the Church. He collected money for the poor of Cambridge and other towns at Thanksgiving, and dispersed goods to them out of his shop at the Church's request. This dispersal was distinct from a similar function he served for the town.

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[17] Dinkin, p. 453.

[18] Letter Susan D. Moran, d. June 8, 1982.

That Marrett was more than marginally involved in Church and religious matters was also reflected in his library and his attendance at Church functions other than Sunday meeting and lecture. In his meager library of fourteen books were several Bibles and a copy of Mather's Magnalia.[19] Marrett's interest in Church and religion can also be seen in his attendance at the ordination of several ministers including that of his own nephew.

As a last comment it should be noted that in spite of the fact that the Wesleyan evangelist, Reverend George Whitefield, had not been permitted to preach from the pulpit of Cambridge's First Church in 1744/5[20] and 1754, when he returned in August 1770, Marrett went to hear him, then travelled to Boston two days later to hear him again. Marrett noted that on the first occasion, Whitefield preached from the "3--1 Corinthians II other foundations can no man lay than that which is laid [through] Jesus Christ". On the 30th of August he preached from Job "acquaint now thyself with him and be at peace. thereby good shall come unto you." As Whitefield had previously preached in "Dr. Colman's Church" [21], Old South Church in Boston and from the First Church pulpit in 1740, it

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[19]Sussannah Marrett, Probate Inventory, Register of Probate, Middlesex County, Second Series, no. 14673.

[20]Samuel Adams Drake (ed.), History of Middlesex Massachusetts containing Carefully Prepared Histories of Every City and Town in the County, (Boston: Estes & Lauriat, 1880), vol. I, p. 329; Paige, p. 294.

[21]Ibid.

is likely that Marrett had also attended on at least one of those occasions. While he was not enthusiastic about Whitefield's preaching, Marrett did go out of his way to attend two lectures.

Marrett tithed to the church, in addition to the required parish tax to gather the minister's salary, between 5s4d and 7s6d old tenor per week for a yearly total of nearly £12 old tenor. If tithes were assumed equivalent to ten percent of income this amount would ascribe to Edward Marrett an annual income of just under £120 old tenor per year for each year over a fifteen year period. In the late 1770s he listed his parish tax in his day book, along with his state and local taxes: for 1777 he owed £1/8/2; for 1776 he paid £1/0/6; for 1777 £1/2/2, and; for 1778 £1/19/6. In 1779 he wrote down "preaching 1779 tax ... £15/10/10 paid ... 9/17/6 by contribution ... £ 5/13/4 balance due. By 1779 not only was inflation hitting hard, but it was also increasingly difficult to come up with payment. Marrett made no mention of any preaching taxes for 1780, although he owed a total of £160/2/10 New England money for state, town and county taxes that year.

Marrett's church leadership role overlapped and complemented his several other public roles. That he had an interest in community affairs was undeniable as he never once turned down election to any committee or position, thus demonstrating his willingness to devote time and energy to these voluntary pursuits. He also served on juries which at times required travel to nearby towns and overnight stays. Furthermore, he petitioned the General Court on at least two occasions, while on many more he was a specta-

tor at its sessions, carefully noting where and when it sat. Several members of the General Court, and later the Provincial Congress, were also his clients. Representative of the former were James Pitt and Benjamin Greenleaf, and of the latter were Robert Treat Paine and John Pigeon, who later became Commissary. Additionally, he helped in such seemingly insignificant areas as the protection of the alewife, a local herring type fish considered a delicacy. These were apparently in danger of extinction due to the numbers of mill wheels on the rivers, which impeded the alewives' return up river for spawning.[22] Marrett's concern was with the regulation of the millers, and the correct legislation to award alewife fishing rights, so that this fish might not disappear as its relative the herring had earlier from the Baltic Sea.[23]

Marrett's public roles were principally in three spheres: within the proprietary, those related to election as town selectman and officer of militia, and those associated with the war. This latter overlapped his role as private citizen, involving use of his wharf and other real property. Marrett was definitely aware of and involved in his environment and the turbulence of the times in which he lived. A month after the battle at Bunker Hill he visited the site with his cousin and his sister.

Marrett had bought his way into the Proprietary in 1752. In

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[22]Province Laws, 1773-1774 [Second Session], Chapter 30, pp. 341, 342.

[23]Braudel, p. 215.

Massachusetts the proprietary groups had been legally organized since 1713[24], while after the Massachusetts Act of 1723 the rights of a deceased proprietor could only be assigned to his heirs, even if there were no will.[25] Therefore membership in this elite minority was significant. It was an exclusive organization, which, as the town grew, excluded more and more of the population. Socially,

> the proprietors formed a distinct privileged class, the shareholders in the division of the common and undivided lands. The personnel of any board of proprietors will convince us that they were, more or less, wealthier than the rest of the inhabitants; that they represented the higher level of the social structure of the time; and that they constituted a landed, conservative, gentry class... Privileged class through claims of blood, wealth, and influence, backed by pronounced support of the Church.[26]

In addition, the proprietor's meetings were also important in that all kinds of social gossip would be passed while liquor flowed freely, and entertainments were sometimes provided; all at the expense of the proprietary.[27] That it was a conservative, narrow and selfish organization[28] cannot always be supported by the data available on Cambridge. In Cambridge the proprietary was responsible for the school building and the land on which it was erected

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[24]Roy H. Akagi, The Town Proprietors of the New England Colonies, (Philadelphia: Press of the University of Pennsylvania, 1924), p. 56.

[25]Massachusetts Acts II, June 17, 1723, pp. 284-285.

[26]Akagi, p. 156.

[27]Ibid., p. 64.

[28]Ibid., p. 71.

(1769), land for a county court building, and provision for a training field out of common lands (1769). However, these lands were never freely dispersed. Once a plot of land was decided upon for the location of the new schoolhouse in 1769 the proprietor's three person committee, of which Marrett was a member, also tackled the question of who owned the land where the old schoolhouse had sat so that he, or the proprietary, could receive just compensation. The land where the new schoolhouse would sit was then granted to the town for that purpose. A similar situation had arisen when the new meeting house had been built in 1756. The proprietary also granted a portion of the common lands fronting the college "not heretofore granted or allotted ... for use as a training field, to lye undivided for ever."[29]

Marrett was first mentioned in the proprietary records of 1767 when he was "voted a committee with Captain Ebenezer Stedman, Deacon Henry Prentice, Deacon Samuel Whittemore, Samuel Danforth Esquire to demand and recover monies for lands sold, may be sold or authorized."[30] These committee meetings were held at Captain Stedman's tavern. On August 9, 1769 "voted Captain Edward Marrett be a committee man in Roome of Andrew Bordman Deceased." Apparently the proprietary was run by a committee of five to seven members. Logically then, these were the more prestigious of the group, serving for life. Marrett also became involved on the committee for

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[29] The Proprietors' Records, November 20, 1769. pp. 361, 362.

[30] Ibid., p. 362.

the schoolhouse, both as proprietor and as selectman. But the major concern of the proprietors was by far the determination of who owned what lands, and making sure that newcomers or sons of proprietors did not squat or otherwise illegally obtain a portion of the common lands. In a number of cases the trepassing party was permitted to purchase the squatted land, which monies were then divided among all the proprietors in proportion to their shares. Otherwise, these lands were sold at auction or recovered for the proprietary. In several instances the trespasser was a member of the proprietary. In these cases it was to the discretion of the committee that looked into such affairs to ask for interest on the monies due. Interest could be charged on the sale of land if payment were not imediately forthcoming, as in the case of the old schoolhouse land sale. The Reverend Appleton purchased this land in 1769 for £8 but did not pay until two years later, which added 13s7d interest.[31] In 1769, 1770, and 1771 "delinquent squatters" paid the committee for squatter lands. This money was then paid out to the proprietors, with some going to Captain Stedman for "refreshments past and future". In 1771 £59/18/9 was recovered from squatters and distributed to each proprietor at the rate of five shillings for each right. Marrett owned a double right.

The proprietary also imposed rules that touched on the town in general. Such was the one passed on October 12, 1773 that prohibited persons from digging clay, except by special license, in

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[31] Ibid., p. 357.

any piece of the land "where the gallows stood save for the northwest corner". The town inhabitants were also asked to keep to one path only in that area.

This period in which Marrett sat on the proprietary committee coincided with his tenure as selectman, but both were preceded by his initial participation in the militia. In 1763 commissions were issued "to William Brattle, Colonel, & Henry Vassall, Lieutenant of the First Regiment in Middlesex, also to Edward Marrett, Captain Lieutenant ..."[32] A Captain Lieutenant was the officer in immediate command of the train-band. According to a private genealogy of the Dunster family, Edward Marrett was subsequently a Captain of a foot company in Cambridge, and afterwards of a company division. On at least one occasion he also held an independent Captain's commission over both companies. Marrett's diary listed each training day, sometimes with a commentary on the extreme weather. Training days were held at least three or four times a year in the Commons fronting Harvard. It was not unusual for many of the townspeople to turn out to watch the sessions. However, even though he was forever to be known as Captain Edward Marrett he laid down both his commissions.[33] In 1775 Marrett also aided the Massachusetts militia, which was frequently recruited sans firearms or uniforms, by loaning his gun, valued at

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[32]Paige, p. 407.

[33]Samuel Dunster, Henry Dunster and His Descendants, (Central Falls, R.I.: Private Printing, 1976), p. 65. It is not known when or why he laid down his commissions.

£1/4/0 "for use by the army". It was to be returned to him or he was to be reimbursed for the posted amount at the end of the conflict.[34] In addition to his gun, each man was to provide his own uniform and guidelines were issued so that one could hopefully tell the officers and non-officers, as well as armies, apart. General John Glover's Orderly Book addressed this problem:

> As the continental army have unfortunately no Uniforms and consequently many inconveniences must arise from not being able always to distinguish the commisssioned officers from the non-commissioned and the non-commissioned from the privates, it is desired that some badges of distinction may be imediately provided; for instance--the Field Officers may have red or pink coloured cockades in their hats, the Captains yellow or buff, and the Subalterns green. They are to furnish themselves accordingly. The Sergeants may be distinguished by epaulette or stripe of red cloth sewed upon the right shoulder. The Corporals by one of green.[35]

General Glover reinforced the rag-tag image of the troops in his comments on one of their activities, bathing at or near the bridge while in Cambridge

> ... expressly forbids any Person doing it at or near the Bridge in Cambridge, where it has been observed and complained of that many men lost to all sense of Decency and Common Modesty are Running about Naked upon the Bridge while Passengers and even ladies of the First Fashion in the Neighborhood are passing over it as if they meant to glory in their shame.[36]

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[34]Paige, p. 426.

[35]General Glover's General Orders, July 23, 1775 at Cambridge, Mass. In Historical Collections, Essex Institute, 1863, vol. 115.

[36]Harriette Forbes, "Early Cambridge Diaries", Cambridge Historical Society Publications, vol. 11, 1916, p. 65.

That the uniforms of both sides were confusing was also demonstrated in a communiqué issued by Headquarters in Morristown, New Jersey on May 24, 1777 to Jackson's regiment which was then attaching to the continental line

> ... get a genteel uniform, but remember his Excellency the General has ordered not one square inch of red in the whole army ... the bearer must have the red coats dyed ... there have mistakes happened already...[37]

Unfortunately Marrett did not describe the uniforms worn by either side in the conflict, although he did tailor a red coat with buff turned cuffs and lapels for General Brattle, the rebel turned loyalist.

Marrett's first election as town selectman came in 1769 at age fifty-six. He would serve eight consecutive terms, three longer than the average[38], encompassing the major part of the conflict with England. The proprietary and the committee of selectmen overlapped in membership. Curiously, both groups generally met at Captain Stedman's tavern, he being a member of both groups, for dinner and a mug of flip at town expense. Several times in the late 1770s they also met at Marrett's home, and he provided the food and drink.

When Marrett took his place on the committee of town selectmen the Cambridge position on the crisis with England had already been established. At the time of the Stamp Act Crisis in

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[37] Special Collections, Boston Public Library, Boston, Mass.

[38] Cook, p. 54.

1765 Cambridge had expressed its position when it voted on October 14, 1765

> ... the inhabitants of this Province have a legal claim to all the natural, inherent, constitutional rights of Englishmen, notwithstanding their distance from Great Britain; that the Stamp Act is an infraction upon these rights. ... hereby advise their Representatives by no means whatsoever to do any one thing that may aid said Act in its operation; but that in conjunction with the friends of liberty, they use their utmost endeavors that the same might be repealed...[39]

The town thereby protested against arbitrary use of power by Parliament, and enforcement of the Stamp Act, but stopped short of encouraging violence[40] or condoning the outbreak of popular fury that this act had caused in Boston. Previously, on August 29, 1765, the town had passed a resolution that they

> ...do detest and abhor the riotous proceedings in the town of Boston, in robbing and destroying the dwelling houses of the Lieutenant-governor and others; and they will, on all occasions, use their utmost endeavors to secure their own inhabitants and their dwelling-houses and property against such ravages.[41]

The Governor recommended that compensation be awarded the victims, but that if it were not forthcoming voluntarily it might be imposed by force. Therefore, in October Cambridge instructed its Representatives not to vote any monies for the sufferers of this violence. So the town's position became one which was essentially forced upon them; they disapproved of the violence but refused to be coerced

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[39] Paige MS.

[40] Paige, p. 137.

[41] Paige MS.

into compensating the victims, particularly when the precipitating circumstances had not changed. On December 15, 1765 Marrett wrote in his diary, "Capt Scott arrived from London brot news yt they had news at home of our Disturbances and wt was the whole talk all over England and yt the poppulis commended us for our doings". The following January 23, 1766 he further wrote, "An earthquake abt a qtr after five in the morning--news the same day from England yt the stamp should be forced on us". Over the next several months entries reflected the contradicting news of the stamp act repeal. Finally on the sixteenth of May Marrett could positively state "grate and good news of ye total repeal of ye stamp act came by Capt Coffin", and then on the twentieth "Rejoicing for the repeal of the stamp act". In the midst of conflicting news from England concerning the status of this Act, the Massachusetts General Court did vote compensation for victims of the initial violence in August, 1765 in Boston. Marrett, and Boston, remembered the repeal of the Stamp Act on March 18, 1766. He went to Boston that day, describing it thus "Grate doing in Boston on acct of the repeal of ye stamp act this day twelve month".

As Marrett made frequent trips to Boston he usually went to the docks when vessels from London came in to catch any news. Even though the crisis appeared to be over after the repeal, Marrett and his fellow townsmen continued to be wary of any further encroachment on their freedoms. In May 1766 the town gave instructions to its representatives that reflected their continuing desire for friendship between the British government and the American colonies and a

general confidence in the good intention of Parliament, yet counseling the utmost watchfulness against any possible encroachment of arbitrary power.[42] Soon afterwards word was received in the colonies of the intention to levy a three penny tax on tea imported into the colonies, and that commissioners of customs were to be appointed, presumably to collect this new tax.

The next seating of the General Court would not be until May 1768, but at that time this new controversy would come to a head. The Governor then dissolved the House, when it refused to cooperate in this new tax, as he had threatened. "It was thus made known that the vital right of representation was to be enjoyed only on the condition of a servile compliance with an arbitrary instruction."[43] Three regiments of soldiers were reportedly to be stationed in Boston to enforce submission to the government. Marrett reported only that on June 10 "a mobb in Boston on acct of the commissioners. [B]urnt their boat," and on the twelfth "commissioners flee aboard the man of war". On June 14 he wrote "Sons of Liberty appointed to meet at Libberty [sic] Tree", and that on the following two days town meetings were held in Boston. The next entry in his diary relative to these continuing disturbances was September 12, 1768: "Town meeting at Boston on acct of the troops coming in". Eighteen days later he wrote that the troops had arrived in Boston. Near the end of September Cambridge voted to send a representative to the

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[42]Paige, p. 140.

[43]Frothingham, Rise of the Republic, p. 221.

Committee of Convention of the Province, which sat in Boston. After three people refused the service Thomas Gardner was elected and accepted. He continued as their representative to the various provincial assemblies at least through 1774.

Captain Edward Marrett was elected town selectman at the June 1, 1769 town meeting. Curiously his diary only mentioned that a meeting had been held, not that he had been elected a selectman. That same day a town clerk, Andrew Bordman, and a treasurer were also elected, and, in other business, a representative was selected for the House of Representatives and a petition drawn up to send with him. Usually Marrett did not comment on the town meeting proceedings or speculate on political affairs, only committing to paper factual accountings of the more major transgressions of England. The smallpox in Boston, particularly at the "Libberty" and Orange Trees, which were meeting places of the patriots, received more attention in his diary than did town meetings. That is, until March 1770. On March 6 he wrote

> A melancoly fray happened last night at Boston, in the evening the gard and soldiers fired on a great number of men and killed and wounded some others, a very great commotion in Boston this day.[44]

On the seventh he wrote "soldiers not gone". He reiterated this again on the eighth, and on the ninth he wrote "a report some gone off." In June he reported that the General Court was again sitting in Cambridge.

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[44]Edward Marrett, Annotated Almanac, March 6, 1770.

The War and Edward Marrett

Marrett's diary portrays a private person who was not yet ready to pass judgment on the events that were happening around him. Judging by the number of entries in his diary, he had as much interest in how the Boston merchants were handling the taxation issues as in the larger philosophical arena. The former were issues that would have affected him more directly. Furthermore, as many of the original members of the Non-Importation Committee were acquaintances and clients of his he would have had a more personal interest in and knowledge of these concerns. In January 1770 he wrote that "the merchants in Boston had a meeting about the importers", and on the following day "went to Boston and the Hutchasons came into the agreement with the merchants and great hopes of peace amongst ourselves." Seemingly he counted himself among this group of merchants, and, indeed, in 1775 would be Cambridge's representative to the Committee on Non-Importation to enforce this agreement in the town.

Perhaps the more philosophical and larger issues of right of taxation were too global to elicit much comment in his diary. And perhaps too, he never dreamed that the dissatisfaction would escalate into armed confrontation, that it would not blow over. But, by August 1774 he began equating the oppression by "home" with a loss of liberty. He wrote "A great struggle for liberty a large body of men here. Mr. Lee and Mr. Danforth resigned."

Marrett had not declared for the patriot cause by early 1775, and had not accepted the possibility of anything greater than an internal conflict between England and her colonies. Even so, "Liberty" and "Oppression" were Marrett's watchwords. Seemingly he was on the side of the colonies, and his fellow townsmen also saw it that way as they reelected him selectman throughout much of the war. But he was cautious. In relating armed or verbal confrontations he was careful not to ascribe "victory" to either side. His entry for February 1775 demonstrated this ambivalent caution:" ...Last Sabbath one Rigement of the Reggulars went to Marblehead and Salem to get the grass Cannon but were prevented and came away ashamed."

After three friends and clients, William Mercy, Moses Richardson and John Hicks, were killed April 19, 1775 both the number and length of entries which addressed the problems with England increased. These continued to be interpreted on a personal level, as in the trilogy life, liberty, and home. In April he wrote "We are soing [sic] but who will reap we know not, Even if our lives are spared--it is a day of darkness, clouds and thick darkness in our publick affairs".

In October, 1775 when the Congress moved to Cambridge from Concord to sit, Marrett was upset that it would be sitting behind closed doors. This decision was made after the congress received "news from the Congress at Philadelphia". They met for twelve days in private session. Marrett was fond of attending these sessions whenever possible, and this action indicated that delicate issues were probably being debated. Marrett felt his home and occupation

were at risk. The cautious tone of his observations did not change until a little over a year later in March 1776. The entries for early that month related the continued bombing of Boston and the one for March 17 recounted the actions at Bunker Hill.

> The Reggulars went of [sic] from Bunker Hill - and the Town of Boston, in a very remarkable manner, allmost in a miracular manner, a large body of the provential [sic] troops went in boat and by land and tuck possession of Boston and Charleston.

The following month Marrett and his sister and brother-in-law visited Bunker Hill. This episode seemingly gave Marrett hope that all was not lost. By this time he was clearly in the patriot camp, yet still maintaining caution in his comments.

After the battles at Lexington and Concord the war was very close to home. There was fighting on Noodles Island, in Boston neck, and a schooner with livestock was burned; Washington and his troops came to town. Marrett was busy obtaining blankets for the soldiers and disbursing provisions to their families. In July 1775 he wrote "a troublesome day being obliged by authority to deny all persons from having so much as a dram without orders from the Captain."

The meeting house during this time was first pronounced "lousey", so that meetings were held outdoors, and then taken over by riflemen for refuge and a hospital. For more than a month the Sabbath meetings were held under "Mr. Hastings' trees". The war was actually disrupting Marrett's daily routine.

In August he helped dig an entrenchment on Plowed Hill. The war was getting closer to home. The year 1775 ended with cold clear

weather and without directly involving Marrett in the war.

Early 1776 appeared routine, the harsh weather dampening the war. However, by early spring wartime activity had picked up again. In May 1776 he noted that there were "numbers of men as volunteers at work in raising a fort on Nodal Island". And on May 17 he joined with others in a fast day "through ye Continent". But this little bit of optimism was soon dashed by news on the twenty-first from Canada that the regulars had defeated "our army". The next mention of this "gloomy business" was not until September first when Marrett stated matter-of-factly, "Mr. Appleton red [sic] the independant Praclamation [sic]". As the fighting moved to New York and consequently was not an immediate threat to Marrett, he devoted little space to it in his almanac. He did not even speculate on the meaning of a declaration of independence. Perhaps this was because the thought of independence had been a familiar one for many months, or because news of the proclamation had reached Boston earlier on July 19th. However, Marrett did not mention it at that time either.

In spite of the fact that little mention of independence appeared in the almanac interleaving, Marrett did come face-to-face with the issue as a town selectman. On May 27, 1776 a town meeting was held in Cambridge in which it was unaninmously voted to "solemnly engage with our lives and fortunes to support ym [the General Court] in yd measure [... for ye safety of ye sd colonies, declare ym independent of ye Kingdom of Great Britain].[45]

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[45]Town Records, vol. II, Paige MS.

Even though the Town had agreed to independence, they opposed any attempt to form a new state constitution and showed it in a vote taken on June 16, 1777.[46] However, less than a year later, on January 19, 1778, they voted to "give his [the representative] vote in ye General Assembly, yt ye delegates of ys state may be authorized to ratify ye sd articles of Confederation, in order yt ye same may become conclusive." It appears that while the town was against establishing a new state government it was in favor of expediting the establishment of a regional one. This was further reinforced by the Town vote taken on May 25, 1778:

> The plan of Constitution and Form of Government for ys State of ye Massachusetts Bay, as proposed by ye Convention, was read and fully debated on; ye number of voters present was seventy-nine, all of ym being freemen more yn twenty-one years of age, and neither a negro, indian, or mulatto, among ym; the question was determined by yeas and nays; when yt appeared for ye proposed form, none, and against it, seventy-nine.[47]

But by mid-1777, at the time the aforementioned debate took place, Marrett was no longer a town selectman. While he owned the franchise he was not a member of the inner circle of elites who formulated policy for presentation to the town, perhaps because of his reluctance to take a positive stance.

Concurrent with the end of his tenure as town selectman, the number of entries in Marrett's almanac relating the ongoing politi-

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[46] Ibid., p. 61.

[47] Ibid.

cal and military turmoil began to increase once more. Perhaps he felt freer to comment since he was no longer in public office. On August 1 there was a "report that the fleet of Regullars are between the two Capes _____ 150 set sail moving out of Boston, Gloomye" The next day's entry summed up this action: "a false allarm". On the eleventh he further wrote "Dull newes respecting Amaraca [sic]". The last two weeks of the month the Court sat in Cambridge again for the trials of the Tories. There is no indication that Marrett observed these proceedings, perhaps because many had been friends and clients and he wished to remain aloof. Caution again.

On November 6, 1777 Marrett observed the arrival of "the Prisoners ... in a Great rain". Both Marrett and Cambridge had changed by late 1777 when General Burgoyne, the Baron von Riedesel and the convention troops moved into town. Earlier a barracks had been built on the Common for Washington's recruits, and the meeting house had been used as a hospital, as had Judah Monis' house in town and the Vassall homestead on the road to Watertown. By 1777 the Town had also changed in that many of the more prominent men and their families had fled, taking with them the Cambridge social scene. Also the Harvard students and their Commencement exercises were maintaining a low profile. Even though the General Court sat in Cambridge a number of times, and the new Massachusetts Constitution was framed in the Cambridge meeting house, there was a generally sober overtone to life during the latter 1770s. As firewood in particular was extremely scarce and its cost continued

to escalate, many of the fine Cambridge trees were cut down to accommodate the Army's insatiable need for this item. Marrett was also forced to cut down many of the trees surrounding his in-town house for fuel. Yet even these measures were insufficient in meeting the population's need.

During 1778 Marrett's greater concern was with providing for his household. Except for an occasional entry it would be hard to tell from his diary that life was not normal and routine in Cambridge, that a war was being fought not far away. Marrett described the weather, the arrival of the robins, the deaths of friends and neighbors, mending his wharf, and planting and harvesting his garden and land. Only his daybook reflected the distressing economic times, the arrival and warehousing of war provisions and material at his wharf, and the sublease of his shop. Additionally, in early September he rented out one of his houses, and in October took in at least one boarder in his home. Otherwise, day-to-day activities continued with a rhythm not much different from that of twenty years before.

Winter 1779/80 was particularly hard in Cambridge. Marrett entered the following on January 11:

> Snow. It haith been the uncommonest winter to this time for cold and snow, being in many places in a level with the fences. No passing or repassing by reason there of for many days and peoples suffer for wood and provisions.

In late January the situation had still not improved and it was not until the twenty-seventh that Marrett secured a load of

wood, less than a cord, for $111.[48] The winter continued extremely cold. Marrett's last entry in 1780 was for May 19: "A Remarkable day--so dark at noon obliged to lit [sic] a candle."

1780 was a terrible year. The weather was uncommonly cold and snowy during the winter, and the spring was late. Provisions were scarce, the near countryside and orchards were practically decimated to fulfill the local need for firewood, and business was virtually at a standstill. All this was in the midst of incredible economic inflation[49], an unheard-of phenomenon only five years earlier.

In September of 1780 Captain Edward Marrett died at home. His writing that year was cramped and difficult to decipher. Only during January had he written comments for more than a couple of days, while each month through July he noted only his tithes to the Church. After July all entries ceased until his son Thomas noted the hour and day of his death: noon on September thirteenth.

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[48] $111. = £162/15 Lawful Money in January 1780. See Paige MS. In July 1778 Edward Marrett was paid $9, also entered as £2/14, an exchange of six shillings to the dollar, the same rate as in effect in April 1750. See also J.B. Felt, An Historical Account of Massachusetts Currency, (Boston, 1839), p. 127.

[49] According to Town Records, June 12, 1780 "Voted to allow £9 for a day's work on yd highways ye current year; and £18 for a man and team." In August 1779 on the advice of the Convention at Concord day labor had been set at "40/ per day (found) or 60/ per day (& finding himself) ... carpenters and other tradesmen £3.18s per day finding yms or £2.8s being found." Town Records, vol. II, p. 62, Paige MS.

CHAPTER VI

DENOUEMENT, OR THE UNDOING OF A SUCCESS STORY

For a man who in his early adulthood had little chance of rising above the "middling sort" Marrett did very well. Captain Edward Marrett's life demonstrated that it was possible for the youngest son of a man of only moderate wealth and little social status to become a respected community and Church member through diligent and persistent work mixed with a little luck. His was not a rags-to-riches story but one of solid personal prosperity resulting from directed labor and aided by inheritance. He must have realized that land and proprietary rights were important to his success for he purchased from his father lands that he would have inherited later, and his father's share of the proprietary rights.[1] This indicates that he was aware of the potential of these assets and wanted them as soon as possible in order to effectively use them in assembling his estate, although he was not able to fully acquire these until his late thirties. Furthermore, he never turned down an elective office, reflecting his confidence in the potential of such service. This researcher believes that Edward Marrett made a

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[1] He only purchased lands and proprietary rights from his father after the death of his elder brother Amos in 1747, who would have been the primary heir.

conscious effort to assemble the appropriate accoutrements requisite in a move towards an increase in social prestige, even though he continued to take pride in his skilled identity, and that one indicator of this aspiration was the provision of a liberal education his son. However, good fortune was also with him. He might not have prospered as he did, had his elder brother and childless uncle not preceded him in death by quite a few years, and had his next oldest brother not died at an early age as well. His prosperity was also possible in part because of his family's longevity in Cambridge and membership in the proprietary, and consequent association with a Cambridge elite. The proprietary grant for erection of his wharf was probably the most fundamental single instrument in his later ability to care for his household during the war, while also providing an opportunity for his own participation in the conflict without recourse to taking up arms. Had he not died in 1780 perhaps it could have also been his vehicle for entry into post-Revolutionary riches. The aforementioned fortunate circumstances tied to diligent entrepreneurial activities in tailoring, retailing and warehousing formed the foundation of Marrett's wealth and prosperity.

Marrett's intended result from this methodical contruction of a respected estate and position in Cambridge society was first the title of Gentleman for himself and his son, and then a legacy for future generations of Marretts. By 1764 he was using the title

Gentleman, a term more of rank or social class than occupation,[2] and his son had graduated Harvard College. He owned property and buildings in and nearby Cambridge and was prospering in his business dealings. His personal wealth was ultimately reflected in the court directed inventory of his wife's personal estate in 1787. Interspersed among the traditional goods were silver spoons, Delft dishes, framed paintings, Damask table linen, and a gold necklace. Sadly, first the conflict with England put a damper on the momentum he had built, and then the childless state of his only surviving son forever destroyed the dream of a legacy for these efforts of a lifetime.

> Cambridge September 13, 1780. Departed this life ye master of ye house my dear father Capt. Edward Marrett had he lived till Nov. 12 he would have been 67 years of age. He died about half past 12 o'clock in the afternoon. God is righteous in all and Holy in all his works.[3]

Captain Edward Marrett died at home three years before resolution of the conflict with England, in the midst of great economic inflation and mercantile depression. In spite of having managed to accumulate a substantial landed as well as personal estate and rise to a respected position in town affairs, the last several years of his life had been trying ones. However, even though he had sold a small amount of acreage, and mortgaged another property to defray expenses he had so far been able to keep his es-

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[2]Alice Hanson Jones, Wealth of a Nation to Be, (New York, Columbia University Press, 1980), p. 147.

[3]Edward Marrett, Annotated Almanac, 1780. Written by his son Thomas Marrett.

tate intact while continuing to provide for his household. That household had increased over the last several years as well; his wife's spinster daughter Hannah had joined them from Boston, and several servants and a boarder or two had at various times both contributed to and helped alleviate the economic pressures of a wartime economy. Sundry other relatives also joined Edward, his wife, and her daughter Susanna, for sojourns of several days to several weeks at a time.

Edward was fortunate enough to own tillable land of different types so that he could cultivate some diversified cash crops, as well as feed his household. He also kept an extensive garden behind his house, with several cows, pigeons, pigs, and chickens in a barn. Additional income was generated by his wharf and his warehouses (one of which he had mortgaged[4]), which provided needed services in wartime, and the lease of a portion of his house and store to "the Continent". So it was indeed unfortunate that he could not have lived long enough to see the fruits of his scrimping and entrepreneurial negotiations. Instead it was left to his unmarried son Thomas of Gloucester, and his widow Sussannah Foster Marrett to continue to provide for the household. To this end, Thomas moved from Gloucester to the paternal home in Cambridge. There he resided with his stepmother and the rest of the household. But, as fate would have it, Thomas was to die, intestate, four years after his father. Through intestacy and due to his childless, un-

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[4]Registry of Deeds, vol. 85, No. 392, 394, May 8, 1784.

married status at death the estate would have been divided among all living relatives, and their heirs. A £10,000 surety bond was required, which in 1780 currency would be equivalent to one million pounds New England lawful money. When Sussannah died three years after that the remainder of her portion of the estate passed out of Marrett hands into the possession of a descendant of Sussannah, a former loyalist, who had removed to Nova Scotia.

In a will dated May, 1767 Edward Marrett, Gentleman, gave[5]

> ... to beloved wife Sussannah Marrett forever all the household furniture of whatever kind which she brought me at our intermarriage that shall be removing at my decease, all my household linen that shall be remaining as aforesaid and also my horse and chaise and cows.
>
> Item, I further give and devise to my said wife so long as she shall continue my widow the use and improvements of my dwelling house wherein we live together with the Barns, Out house, yard and garden adjoining thereto and my land on the South Side of the Charles's River called Monis' Lot and I do hereby declare that whatsoever I have hereby given unto my said wife is and shall be to her to be in Lawful Recompense and full satisfaction of and for all her Dower and thirds in all or any of my Lands, Tenements, and Hereditaments.
>
> Item I give and Devise all the rest and residue of my estate both real and personal to my sole son Thomas Marrett and his Heirs forever--And I do hereby make and constitute my good friend John Pigeon of Boston in the County of Suffolk, Merchant, Sussannah my wife, and my said son Thomas Marrett, the survivor or survivor of them, executors of this my last will and testament.
>
> ... if personal estate exclusive of what I have hereby given unto my said wife, should not be sufficient to discharge and satisfy all my just debts, funeral expense and the costs and charges of the execution of this my last will and testament, that in such case, my executors ... may and shall sell for that

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[5]Edward Marrett, Probate, in Register of Probate. Middlesex *County. Loose Papers, First Series, #14629-14726.*

> purpose so much of other part of my Real Estate, the use and improvements of which I have not given as abovesaid to my said wife as shall be necessary to supply and make up such deficiency. And in case the whole of such part of my Real Estate be not sufficient therefore that then my said executors ... shall sell any other Part of my Real Estate which shall be judged most expedient and shall be necessary to the payment and full satisfaction of the Debts, Expenses, Costs and Charges aforesaid.
>
> ... Revoke and Anull all former Wills and Bequests...

This will was written five years after Marrett's remarriage, and shortly after Susana went to live with them. Marrett's son Thomas was then living in Gloucester, having graduated Harvard. That his wife was named a co-executrix of his will, and that he left her unencumbered property indicates that she was a trusted partner. According to Daniel Scott Smith[6], during this period only eight percent of all wills named both the wife and son as co-executors, and then only in an elite socio-economic group.

Marrett provided well for his widow, as long as she continued his widow. While he did not endow her with any real estate, he did leave her the unencumbered use of the dwelling house, barns and other adjoining buildings, as well as a horse and chaise, cows, and the crops harvested on the five acre Monis Lot. Unfortunately, what had appeared to be a comfortable settlement at the time the will was written thirteen years earlier, had become at the time of his death inadequate to provide a living for his family. Thus much of the estate had to be sold.

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[6]Daniel Scott Smith, "Inheritance and the Position and Orientation of Colonial Women", unpublished paper, Second Bershire Conference on the History of Women, Cambridge, Mass. 1974.

The bond required at the probate of Edward's estate was £200,000 lawful New England money. In order to grasp the meaning of this apparently enormous bond amount it is first necessary to remember that 1780 was a time of great inflation, with a devaluation factor close to thirty-two times that of the prior year's currency. Thus, when comparing this amount to the probate bond required at the death of Edward's father in 1754, this bond would have been worth .007 of its face value in 1754 currency to account for inflation. This would reduce the face value of probate bond and thus the assumed value of the probated estate to around £1400 lawful New England currency or £1050 sterling, indicating the expected larger estate than that of his father (£750 sterling), while also reflecting the depressed economic times. In better times the real estate that Edward had accumulated might have brought higher prices. No inventory of the estate was required[7] at his death because the executors were also residuary legatees, in this case Thomas and Sussannah. In spite of the fact that the probate bond was not unusually high if viewed in terms of real value, the amount was of such a proportion to warrant the mortgaging of nearly the entire estate to the two other appointed executors to protect them against financial ruin should Thomas and Sussannah not appropriately discharge their duties. This deed was declared void in 1784.

In order to comply with the wishes of Marrett's will and pay

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[7]Provincial Records, 1738/39, Chapter 23 as amended 1752, Chapter 12.

his "just debts" and funeral expenses Thomas and Sussannah first held a public vendue of his personal estate about a month after his decease, then began to liquidate his real estate. At the public vendue personal items that were not part of Sussannah's legacy were offered for sale. Probably these included household furniture and goods, exclusive of household linens, which Marrett owned at the time of his marriage to Sussannah. There were also a case of aged flour, carpet, and other items that formed part of the shop inventory, as well as tailoring grey goods and shears, and fourteen scholar's black gowns and hats, a good horse cart, and a sleigh with a set of bells. The announcement of the sale in The Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser[8] of October 5, 1780 specifically mentioned looking glasses, tables, chairs, chest of drawers, a bed, and some pewter. The sale was held at Marrett's house in Cambridge on the twelfth of October, 1780. In the February 14, 1781 issue of the same Boston newspaper the executors of the estate placed the following announcement:

> All Persons having a demand on the Estate of Edward Marrett, late of Cambridge, Gentleman, deceased, are desired to bring in their claims to us the subscribers, in order for Settlement, and all those who are indebted to said Estate, are desired to make immediate payment.

In all probability businessman Marrett had found himself caught in a book-credit scheme that had essentially been stopped by war. This would have made it difficult for debtors to settle their bills as well as for the estate to settle its debts. Certainly a

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[8]Ibid., vol. XIII, No. 632.

lack of specie coupled with rampant economic inflation was not advantageous to speedy settlement. Furthermore, the in-kind settlement of some debts would not have alleviated the problem. As alluded to earlier, had Marrett lived for several more years, and his outstanding debts not called due and payable at this time, there may have been a more fortuitous resolution to this situation. But the Court asked for timely relief and settlement of the estate following the terms of Marrett's will.

As the sale of Marrett's personal estate did not raise sufficient cash to cover his indebtedness Thomas and Sussannah proceeded to sell some of the real estate. In each instance in which they did this they had to petition the court and show just cause. Within four years they had sold two acres with appurtenances east of Cambridge to Mr. Trowbridge for £20 lawful silver money; two tracts of land of two and one-quarter acres, the northern one of upland and the southern one of upland and marsh; a tract of five acres of land lying on the south side of the Charles River; and conveyed the land "in occupation of Sussannah Marrett. One-eighth acre butted and bound by the house", to L.V. Borland for £710 lawful silver. For an additional ten shillings lawful money Borland purchased a quit claim and warranty to this property. At the time the seven hundred and thirty pounds sterling was equivalent to £973.3 lawful New England money[9], a purchasing power of £97333.3

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[9]See Appendix D for conversion of New England currency to pound sterling.

1780 New England currency[10] and represented nearly half the assumed value of Edward's estate. Also prior to Thomas' death in 1784 he and Sussannah sold nine acres and ten rods of "mostly marshland" on the way to the oyster banks at public auction for £52/2/2 lawful money.

In 1784 Thomas and his step-sister Susana Foster, both in their early forties and unmarried, died, leaving the "relict" of Edward Marrett, her aging spinster daughter Hannah, and a housekeeper, Mrs. Anna Bennett, to carry forth. Since Thomas died intestate his portion of his father's estate as well as any estate he may have accumulated on his own behalf would have gone to his next of kin in equal degree.[11] Sussannah may have received a portion of the estate as the wharf was not sold until after Thomas' death, with Sussannah as signatory in the Registry of Deeds. Edward's estate was not closed until 1791 at which time an inventory worth £26 was shown and subsequently transferred to Thomas' estate. And so an estate built and consolidated over time was dissipated to the many rather than continued intact to the select. Edward Marrett's plans for the endowment of future generations of Marretts were marred by a solitary heir who never married. When Marrett's widow sold the wharf and marsh nearby, as granted in 1751 and under the conditions of the original grant, to Jonathan Simpson, Esquire,[12] for £15

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[10] See Appendix E for wholesale price indexing.

[11] Province Laws. Chapter VIII, Section 2.

[12] Simpson, son of Martha Lechemere, was also a son-in-law of

lawful money it was likely the last remaining property of value.

According to Sussannah's Will her gold necklace and better clothes were to go to her daughter Hannah, who subsequently married Cornelius Thayer the executor of the estate. Some other gowns went to the housekeeper, while still others were sold at vendue, and the residue of the estate whether personal or real[13], went to her grandson Timothy Prout of Nova Scotia. What little remained of Edward Marrett's estate left Marrett family hands in 1787.

By 1791 when the probate records were closed, Captain Edward Marrett's life-work of building an estate had been eradicated and all that remained was his epitaph in the old burying ground:

Memento mori
The remains of
Capt Edward Marrett
are here interred
who departed this life
Sept. 13th 1780
AEtatis 67.

Thrice happy, forever blessed is He
Whose life if hid with Christ in God,
In Life, at Death & throughout Eternity.

LV Borland, having married his daughter Jane. Therefore he also had ties to Cambridge. Like Borland, Simpson had left New England during the War but returned after the peace was signed in 1783, and moved to Cambridge to administer Borland's estate. Marrett had previously mortgaged a portion of his estate to LV Borland.

[13]Sussannah Marrett, Will.

GLOSSARY

Textile and Technical Tailoring Terms

Baize: coarse woolen fabric with a long nap. Used for linings and some warm articles of apparel.

Bombasine: a twilled or corded dress material, of various combinations of silk and cotton. Used for mourning in black.

Brocade: complex woven patterned fabric made of silk. Can contain many different colored yarns. Used in womanswear, or in male evening attire or waistcoats.

Buckskins: tight fitting breeches. Usually with a full-fall fly.

Banyan: common name for a dressing gown. Of East Indian origin, more typically British, made of bright colored calico cotton, could be made of brocaded silks for more elegant ocasions of undress. A comfortable négligée of man, woman, and child, usually worn during the heat of summer, but also worn to the counting house and other business ocasions. Some also had their portraits painted in this attire. Worn at times in conjunction with those other articles of East Indian origin: the turban, and slip-on or **mule** slippers.(Wilcox. Five Centuries of American Costume)

Camlet: woven of wool and hair, in imitation of camel's hair in Bourges in the Low Countries. When produced in Rheims or Amiens, or in Asia Minor and imported to Europe or the Colonies, it was usually a rich textile sometimes woven with silk or gold. Camlet comes from camelote meaning tawdry, referring to the cheapening of the textile by the weavers of Bourges.

Calamanco or **calaminco:** woolen stuff with glossy surface and so woven that checks are seen on one side only. Used as general dress goods and utility cloth.

Coat Buttons: usually 3/4 inch in diameter or larger, covered in cloth and embroidered, or of metal. They were generally placed down center front, on the cuffs, pockets, and pleat tops. The center back pleat could also be adorned with buttons and/or decorative buttonholes. A coat could have thirty or more buttons.

A. B.

Plate 11

A. All-wool Banyan

B. Silk Damask Banyan with Attached Vest Fronts

Source: Exhibit Suiting Everyone at the National Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., 1974.

Cloth: a plain weave, woollen textile that was so common that its name has become synonimous with all woven textiles.

Corduroy: common type was coarse, thick cotton worn by laborers. Varieties of corduroy include velverett, velveteen and **thicksett.**

Dowlas: a heavy-weight linen fabric named after Doulas in Brittany. A strong fabric especially popular for shirts, smocks, and other apparel for the owrking classes.

Drugget: chiefly wool, used as a lining.

Duffel: from the town of Duffel in Belgium. Coarse linen with a thick nap, used for articles of hard wear, such as duffel bags and dressing gowns.

Everlasting or lasting: textile of combed wool closely woven with a double twill or satin twill. Sometimes used for ladies' boots.

Fearnought: stout woollen for overgarments, yet also used for lining windows and doors against the weather.

Frock: man's jacket constructed of cloth with little to no embellishment save for some trimming or braiding . Its distinguishing feature is the turned-down collar or cape (collier) fitting round the neck when buttoned, sometimes faced with a different material and in a different color from the body. The collar was flat of rolled from the 1760's on, becoming narrow in the 1770's, while it could also fall away in two short squared flaps. Riding frocks usually had several collars. The style was more one of undress for comfort and sport. The English frock was always plain, trimmed with loops or braid but never embroidered. The French frock was full trimmed, with a small closed cuff and three buttons. (Cunningham Eighteenth Century, Penelope Byrd. The Male Image)

Fustian: coarse twilled cloth of cotton and flax. The warp is probably flax. Generally a dark or dull color. Velvet, and corduroy can be classified as fustians.

Garlick or Garlits: a kind of linen fabric such as dowlas.

Garters: item of apparel worn about the knee, usually twisted two times below the knee and tied. Either hidden under the knee-band of breeches or allowed to dangle down the outer side of the leg, when they were often tasselled. Other garters were buckled below the kneeband and visible. Made of ribbons of silk, gold, silver, or cloth, could be embroidered or figured.

Grate Coat: long, loose overcoat with two side seams, slit up at center back for riding, with a standing or turned-down collar with a cape. It could be single or double breasted. Increased in popularity throughout the century.(Waugh. Cut of Men's Clothes. p. 52)

Half-thick: coarse woollen cloth.

Hessian: coarse hempen textile, usually enumerated in advertisements under linens.

Jacket: referred to in American literature but rarely in eighteenth-century European sources. Jacket could refer to a waistcoat or vest with sleeves, or a European frock coat. The jacket replaced the European coat/waistcoat combination, and was more informal than the coat. Was not trimmed. Usually constructed of a woollen textile, and lined in shalloon. Pockets were optional.

Jacket buttons: 5/8 to 3/4 inch in diameter, covered or metal. If metal they could be copper or brass, or a double-weight, which would be a combination of metals.

Kersey: originated in the Suffolk town of that name. Coarse, narrow fabric woven from long wool and usually ribbed and well fulled with a firm napped surface. Used for work clothes and outerwear.

Mohair: either stiffening to help maintain the shape of the garment, as in side pleats of behing buttons, or in the skein form used as buttonhole twist to edge buttonholes. Mohair was also used to cover buttons.

Nankeen: cotton cloth, usually dyed yellow.

Osnaburg: a type of coarse woollen originally made in Osnabrück, a Prussian city in Hanover. Usually used for breeches and outerwear. Similar to ticklenburg originating in Tecklenburg, a German city near Osnabrück. These fabrics became popular in England after the ascension of the Hanoverian George I in 1714.

Plush: long napped velvet made of cotton, silk, wool or hair. (Beck)

Pockets: either be a part of the garment, as in a coat or jacket, or could be constructed as a separate item of apparel. They were not included as a matter of course. On coats they varied little from the seventeenth century, usually had scalloped flaps set on a level with the top edge of the side pleat, and were decorated similarly to the buttons and trim on the garment.

Prunella: a coarse kind of shalloon once universally worn by the clergy in gowns or upper garments. Also refers to a cloth of plum or prune color. (Beck)

A.

B.

Plate 12

A. Cotton Jacket and Breeches, ca. 1775

B. Three-piece Velvet Suit, 1765-75

Source: Exhibit Suiting Everyone at the National Museum of History and Technology, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C., 1974.

Ratteen: generic title of coarse thick woollens. Drugget, frieze, and baize are examples. There are some ratteens dressed and prepared like cloths, others left simply in the hair; and others where the hair or nap is frizzed. (Beck. Draper's Dictionary.)

Robins: a roping type trim arranged along the outside edge of a woman's décolletté bodice neckline. Could be ruched.

Russel: from Rijssel, the Flemish word for Lille, where the fabric originated. A wool fabric later used in a generic sense to denote a variety of woolen-twilled clothing i.e. russel-satin, and russel-silk.

Sagathee: slight woollen textile of ratteen or serge character. Sometimes it was mixed with a little silk.

Scarlet: woollen fabric, but can also refer to a reddish color. However, when referring to the color red one usually stated "red" or crimson.

Shalloon: the anglicized form of Chalons, France, where it origninated. Woolen fabric of twill weave mostly used for linings and pockets, particularly of coats. Apparently used more in the colonies than in Western Europe, where silk textiles were preferred for linings.

Serge: France's gift to the world of cloth. Woollen cloth, generally twill weave, usually designated additionally by place of manufacture, such as serge de Nîmes, or denim, serge de Chalons. Great durability.

Straps: the Americanized name for knee bands on breeches. Was used in the stead of garters.

Stuff: woollen fabric, of a variety of different weaves.

Thicksett: see corduroy.

Trouser Breeches: breeches which may have been cut fuller in the leg than the fashionable breech, and would have hung to just below the knee. Worn only by young boys.

Twist: a several-ply yarn used for buttonholes, and to cover buttons. Women were employed to cover buttons with twist, while only men were permitted to make metal buttons. (Waugh. pg. 90)

Vest Buttons: five-eighths inch buttons of similar type to that worn on a jacket or coat.

Vest Coat: sleeved vest or waistcoat. The foreparts, and the cuufs of the sleeve were made of fashion fabric while the rest was constructed of lining fabric, either silk or woollen.

Velvet: rich silk textile of complex weave in which the looped nap, constructed of a third set of yarns as in corduroy, is clipped and brushed.

Wadding: front padding or shaping of a coat or jacket to give it shape in the lapel area, or to camouflage a physiognomic defect.

Many fabrics were simply called after the geographical area where they were manufactured, such as Irish linen, Hessian, and Russia sheeting.

APPENDIX A

Biographical Sketches of Members of the Family Marrett

A. Thomas Mariot (1589-1664)

1. Born in England, came to the Massachussetts Bay Colony with his wife **Susan**, sons **John** and **Thomas**, and daughters **Abigail, Sussanah,** and **Hannah.**
2. Occupation shoemaker.
3. Town proprietor of New Towne, to become Cambridge.
4. Deacon of Shepard's church, and town selectman.
5. Died June 30, 1664 age 75 at Cambridge.

B. John Marret

1. Son of **Thomas** but not his direct heir.
2. Married **Abigail Richardson** in Cambridge in 1654. Had eleven children, five of whom lived to adulthood: **Abigail, Edward, Lidya, Mary,** and **Amos.**

C. Edward Marret ((1670-1754)

1. Son of **John** but not his direct heir. Born in Cambridge August 2, 1670.
2. Married **Hannah Bradish Stanhope** (1669/70-1754), the daughter of **Joseph Bradish**, a tavern keeper, and the widow of one **Joseph Stanhope**, occupation unknown. Had eight children of whom seven lived to adulthood, one having died of the smallpox at age eighteen.
3. Occupation glazier, although he was issued a license to retail liquor.
4. Died in Cambridge in 1754 within several days of his wife. They were buried in the same grave.

D. **Edward Marrett, Jr.** (1713-1780)

1. Second son of **Edward** and his direct heir.

2. Born in Cambridge November 1713. Married first **Mary Wyatt** (1713-1743/4) in 1736, with whom he had five children of whom only one lived to adulthood: **Thomas** (1742-1784). Married second **Sussanah Waite Foster**, widow of **Seth Foster**, grocier of Boston, in 1762. There was no known issue of the Marrett/Foster marriage, however **Sussanah Waite Foster** had five children from her first marriage, **Thomas Waite** (two of this name),**Hannah, Susanna,** and **Mary.**

3. Occupation tailor, however he engaged in other activities such as retail sales, lumbering, and shipping.

4. Town proprietor, town selectman, and Captain of Militia.

5. Bound to Timothy Prout, Boston merchant, at time of second marriage. **Timothy Prout** was the son-in-law of **Sussannah Waite Foster** whose daughter **Mary** he had married.

6. Owner of a wharf in Cambridge.

7. Owner of property and house at the northeast corner of Mount Auburn and Dunster streets in Cambridge. This property had previously been owned by a member of the Marrett family. **Edward Jr.** purchased it in 1742, and died in it in 1780.

8. Died September 13, 1780 in Cambridge, at age 67.

E. **Thomas Marrett** (1742-1784)

1. Son and direct heir of **Edward Jr.**.

2. Born in Cambridge, and baptized in 1742, the third child of **Edward** and **Mary.** His mother died the same day as the baptism of her fourth child, and **Thomas'** brother, **Edward** in 1743/4 (January 15).

3. Seven years after the death of his mother, at age nine he was sent to live with "Brother Wendel".

4. Entered Harvard College in the class of 1761,at age 15, ranked 33 out of 40. Held a Saltonstall Scholarship.

5. After graduation from Harvard kept the Weston school for a year or two, then moved to Gloucester where he kept the school at the Harbor. Then he moved to Squam Parish where he kept the school part time and earned a living as a "traider", in part with dry goods supplied by his father.

6. Deacon of the Third Church of Gloucester, and clerk of the parish.

7. Town selectman in Gloucester during the Revolution.

8. Following father's death he returned to Cambridge to live in the family house with his stepmother. Joined the First Church in Cambridge in 1781.

9. Never married and died intestate in Cambridge on January 24, 1784.

F. **(Lieutenant) Amos Marrett** (1657-1739)

1. Son of **John**, and uncle of **Edward Marrett, Jr.**.Direct heir of father **John**.

2. Born in Cambridge February 25, 1657. Married first **Bethya Longhorn** on November 2, 1681 of which there was no issue. **Bethya** died November 20, 1730 at age 70 in Cambridge. Married second **Ruth Dunster**, widow of **Johnathon Dunster** November 22, 1732 (intention not recorded). **Mary Dunster** outlived him to marry **Peter Hayes** of Stoneham in Stoneham on October 29, 1742. There was no issue of either marriage.

3. Died in Cambridge on November 17,1739. His heir was his nephew **Amos** whose wife, **Mary Dunster**, was the daughter of **Ruth Dunster**, Amos' second wife.

G. **Abigail Marrett Monis** (1700/1-1761)

1. Sister of **Edward, Jr.** Married **Judah Monis** (1683-1764) in 1723. There was no issue. **Judah Monis** was a Jew born in Italy, converted to Christianity in 1722, admitted to Harvard, and became instructor of Hebrew there.

2. Died in Cambridge in 1761. Husband went to live with sister **Mary** and her husband **Rev. John Martyn** in Northborough.

H. **Sussannah Marrett Pierce Witt** (1698-1794)

1. Sister of **Abigail** and **Edward, Jr.** Born in Cambridge in 1698.

2. Married first **John Pierce** of Boston on September 27,1722, intention not recorded. Married second **Samuel Witt** of Marlborough.

3. Died in 1794 at age 96.

I. **Hannah Marrett Lawrence**

1. Born in Cambridge in 1696 the second child of **Edward** and

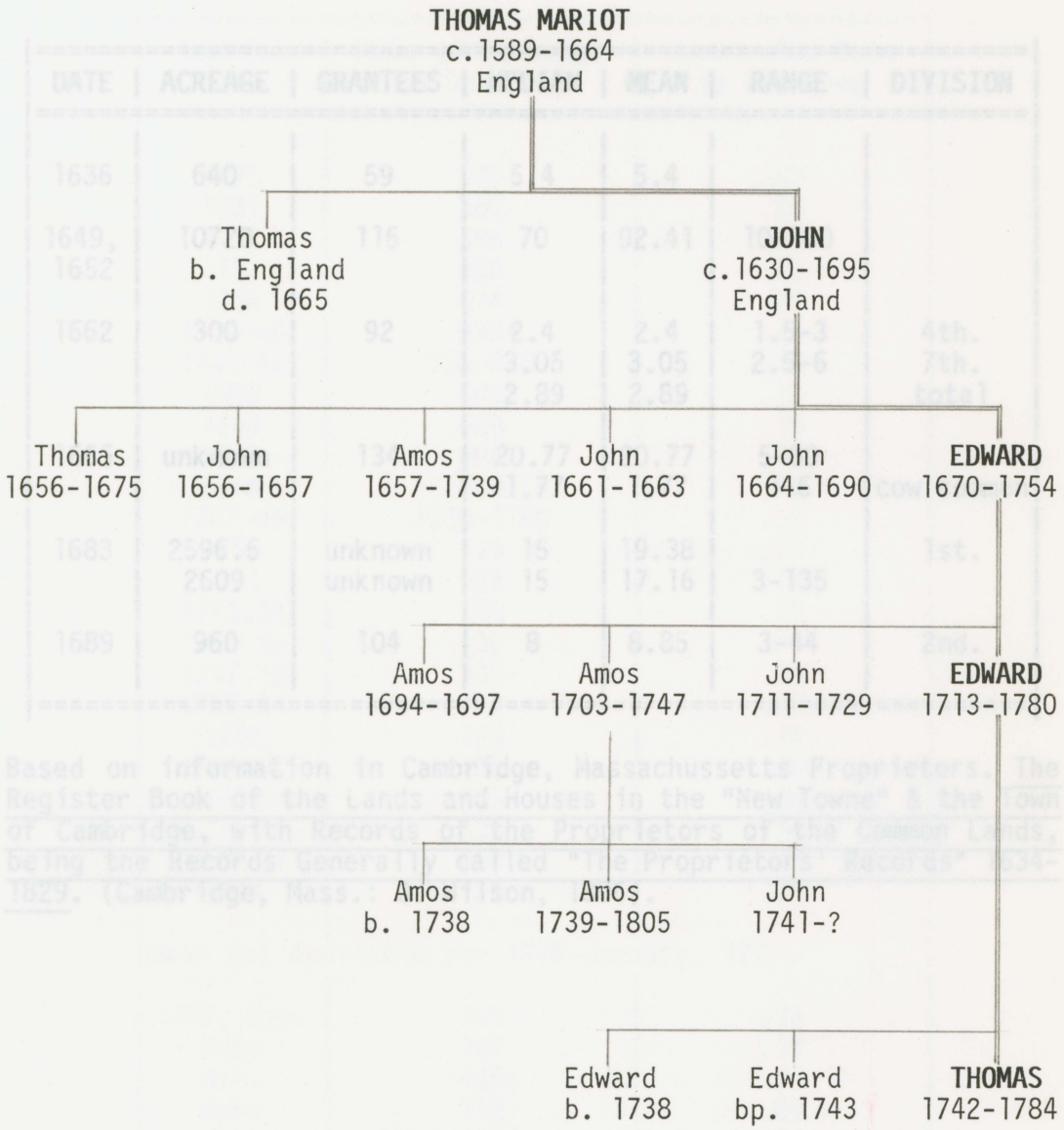
Hannah Marrett.

2. Married **Joseph Lawrence** on February 17, 1714/15.

3. They removed to Connecticut to live.

APPENDIX B

The Male Ancestry of Thomas Marrett



APPENDIX C

Seventeenth-Century Land Divisions in Cambridge, Massachussetts

DATE	ACREAGE	GRANTEES	MEDIAN	MEAN	RANGE	DIVISION
1636	640	59	5.4	5.4		
1649, 1652	10720	116	70	92.41	10-450	
1662	300	92	2.4	2.4	1.5-3	4th.
			3.05	3.05	2.5-6	7th.
			2.89	2.89		total
1665	unknown	134	20.77	20.77	5-80	
			1.77	1.77	1-6	cow common
1683	2596.5	unknown	15	19.38		1st.
	2609	unknown	15	17.16	3-135	
1689	960	104	8	8.85	3-44	2nd.

Based on information in Cambridge, Massachussetts Proprietors. The Register Book of the Lands and Houses in the "New Towne" & the Town of Cambridge, with Records of the Proprietors of the Common Lands, being the Records Generally called "The Proprietors' Records" 1634-1829. (Cambridge, Mass.: J. Wilson, 1896).

APPENDIX D

Value of Massachusetts Paper Currency, 1730-1781

Year(s)	Rate of Exchange on Sterling	Conversion Rate to Sterling
1730	386	.26*
1731	360	.28
1732	386	.26
1733	426	.23
1734	494	.20
1735-40	530	.19
1741-42	560-570	.18
1743	600	.17
1744	680	.15
1745	698	.14
1746	748	.13
1747-49	1060-1160	.09
1750	133	.75
1751	126	.79
1753,54	133	.75
1755,56	130	.77
1757,58	133	.75
1759-61	129	.775
1762	133	.75
1763-69	135	.74
1770	125	.80
1771	133	.75
1772,73	130	.77
1774	133	.75
Data Not Available for 1775-January, 1777.		
1777, Jan.	105	.95
Feb.	107	.93
Mar.	109	.91
Apr.	112	.89
May	115	.87
June	120	.83
July	125	.80
Aug.	150	.67
Sept.	175	.57
Oct.	275	.36

Nov.	300	.33
Dec.	310	.32
1778, Jan.	325	.31
Feb.	350	.29
Mar.	375	.27
Apr.-June	400	.25
July	425	.24
Aug.	450	.22
Sept.	475	.21
Oct.	500	.20
Nov.	543	.18
Dec.	634	.16
1779, Jan.	742	.13
Feb.	868	.12
Mar.	1000	.10
Apr.	1104	.09
May	1125	.09
June	1342	.07
July	1477	.07
Aug.	1630	.06
Sept.	1800	.06
Oct.	2030	.05
Nov.	2308	.04
Dec.	2592	.04
1780, Jan.	2934	.03
Feb.-Apr.	3322-4000	.03
1780, April: Lawful Currency revalued 40 to 1.		
April 25	42	.02
May 5	46	.02
May 20	54	.02
June 10	64	.02
June 20	69	.01
Aug. 15	70	.01
Nov. 30	74	.01
1781, Feb.	75	.01

*All numbers are rounded to nearest one-tenth.

Sources: 1730 to 1747 figures are based on Table 12. "Value of Massachusetts Paper Currency, 1685-1775" in Gary Nash, The Urban Crucible, (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979), pp. 405.406; 1747 to 1775 figures are based on John J. McCusker, Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600-1775: A Handbook, (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1978); and 1777 to 1780 figures are based on "Scale of Depreciation", Paige MS, Cambridge Public Library, Cambridge, Mass.

APPENDIX E

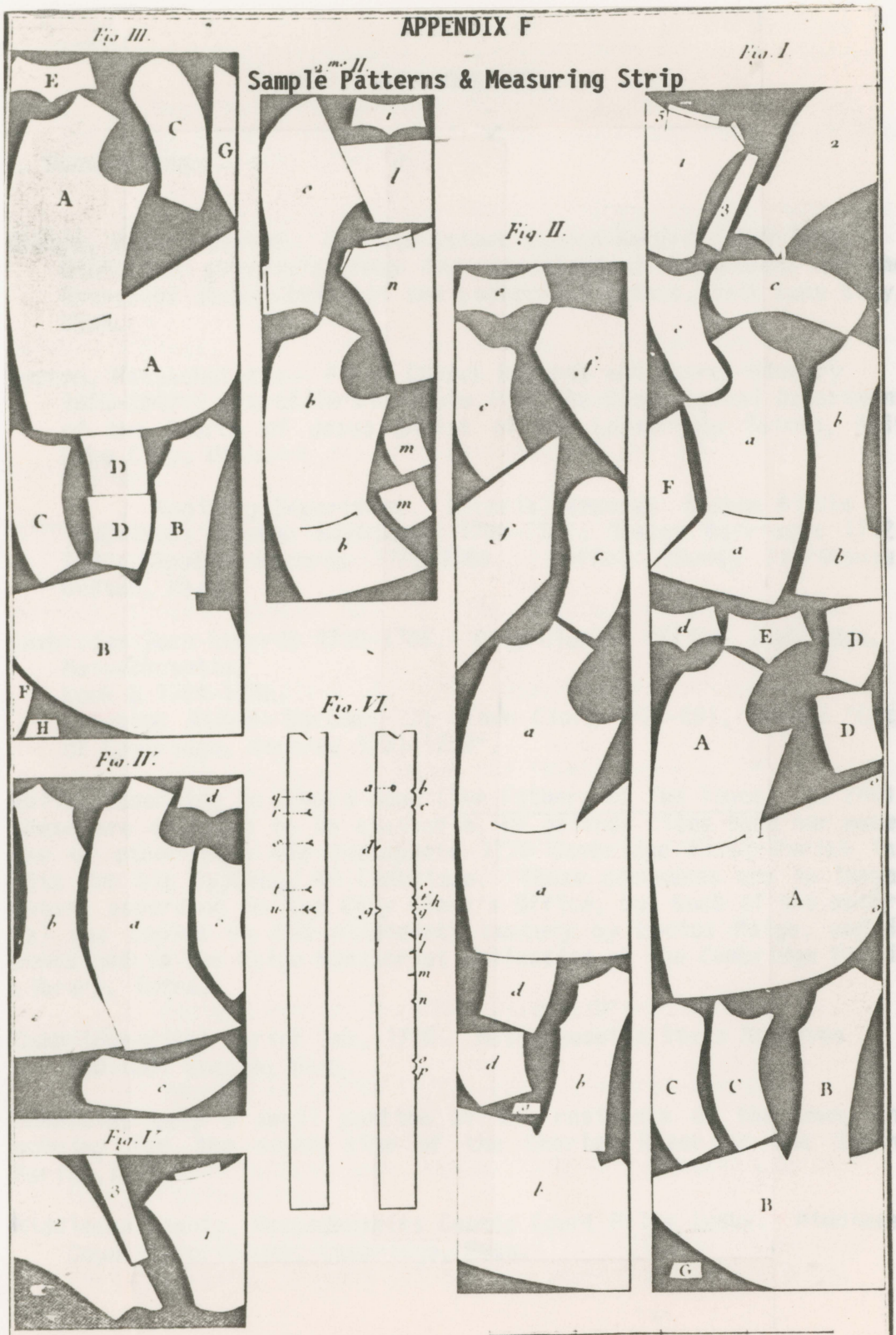
Wholesale Pricing Index Conversion Chart

YEAR	INDEX	1780 CURRENCY	1786 CURRENCY
1786	105.1	.01	1
1784	112.7	.01	1.07
1782	139.6	.013	1.33
1777	329.6	.031	3.14
1774	84.3	.008	0.80
1764	77.2	.007	0.73
1763	83.5	.008	0.79
1760	81.5	.008	0.78
1758	73.9	.007	0.70
1754	71.4	.007	0.68
1753	78.2	.007	0.74
1752	75.6	.007	0.72
1749	76.1	.007	0.72
1747	65.6	.006	0.62
1746	55.0	.005	0.52
1742	69.7	.0066	0.663
1780 index value = 10,544.1			

Based on information contained in chart Series **Z 336** "Index of Wholesale Prices Estimated for the United States: 1720-1789", in The Statistical History of the United States from Colonial Times to the Present (1965) prepared by the Bureau of the Census of the U.S. Department of Commerce, and distributed by Fairchild Publishers, Inc.

APPENDIX F

Sample Patterns & Measuring Strip



Source: M. de Garsault, L'Art du Tailleur, (Paris, 1769).

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Book B 1704-1788;
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(Contains only a small portion of the residents of the Town, and nothing for the south side of the Charles River or the Second Parish.)

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Note: This list of sources does not include all the material searched or read in the preparation of the above work, but only those materials cited in the footnotes or otherwise used in the conclusions.