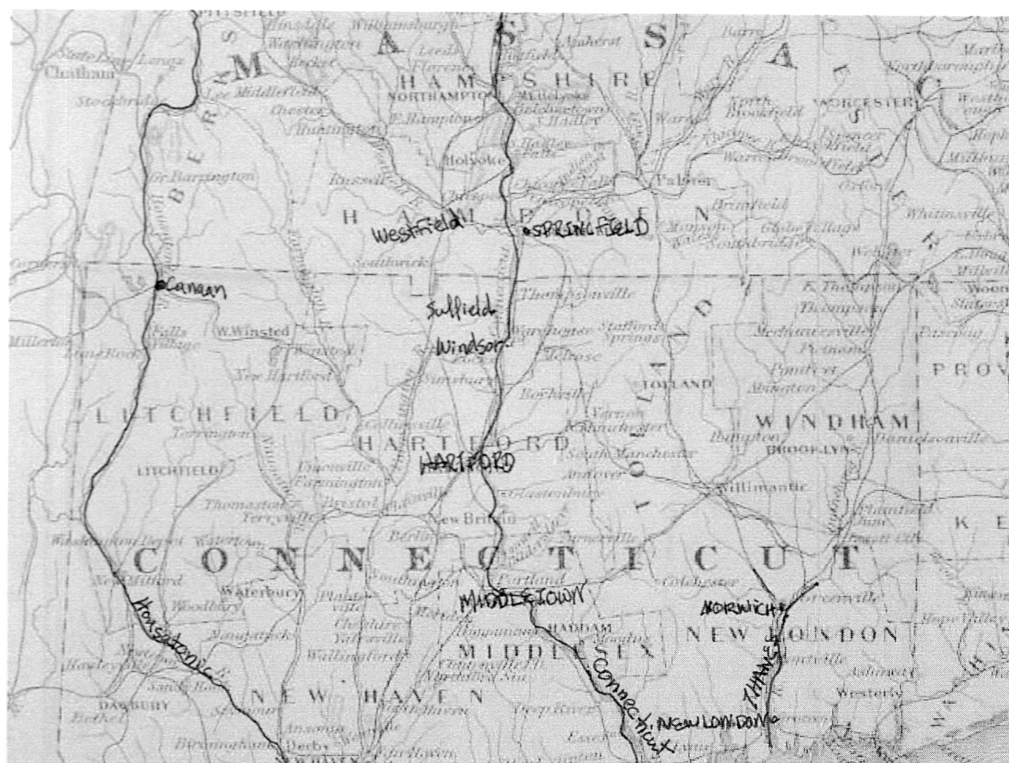


THE LUM CHEST: A CONNECTICUT YANKEE IN SCOTLAND?

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About twenty thousand Britons from East Anglia, Yorkshire and the west of England resettled the shores of North America during the Great Migration of 1620–40; the houses, boxes, chests, coffers and chairs created in the New World repeating the patterns of material culture left behind. The mapping of distinct British regional forms in American seventeenth century furniture — more than a dozen have been identified — has been the focus of much work on early American furniture. The fairly clear genealogies and importance in the community of many of the immigrant craftsmen are a direct link with the regional tradition on which their expression is based. Distance, both temporal and philosophical, from changing British fashion, but more importantly, the confluence of competing regional British craft traditions, assured that distinctly American statements would eventually evolve.

The emigration to New England of Lowland, Highland and the Scots-Irish, Scots who had settled in the northern part of Ireland, during the seventeenth and eighteenth century was statistically tiny compared with the immigration from England, but consequential in terms of the evolution and acceptance of form particularly in Connecticut, long known for ‘quirky’ furniture, and in the Connecticut Valley, the region bordering the Connecticut river (Figure 1). As immigration from these regions increased during the eighteenth century, one can discern regional British forms recast according to local need, preference and practicality into products resonant of the mixed culture of their communities.¹ The course of such borrowings usually went one way, from the British Isles and Europe to America, but while rare, the reintroduction of American forms back across the Atlantic into Britain cannot be dismissed. An instance of such reverse migration may have occurred with respect to the appearance in Scotland and the border regions of England of the *lum* chest, recognisable by its highly specific configuration of a centred square drawer and two smaller drawers, one above the other, on either side of it. Not surprisingly, wherever Scots formed cohesive communities in America, features related to Scots taste can be identified and it was primarily in Scots communities in New England and New York that the *lum* configuration remained prominent. The identification of Scots preferences in New York furniture particularly is the topic of a forthcoming study. In the preparation of this work, however, it appeared more likely that the developed design configuration of five drawers that characterises a *lum* chest, migrated from America to north Britain and Scotland rather than the other way round. Furniture connoisseurs are occasionally hard pressed to categorise furniture that to British eyes has an American cast and to Americans is doubtlessly British, and in such instances the possibility of such reverse migration should be considered.



1. Central Portion of the Connecticut Valley, USA

The *lum* form is presently identified primarily with Scotland and the northern regions of England; the earliest dated *lum* chest extant is at Mellerstain, labelled by James Mein of Kelso from about 1825.² A chest formerly at Malleny House that appears stylistically somewhat earlier is owned by the National Trust of Scotland (Figure 2).³ Exhibiting a flat front enlivened by stringing which outlines the drawers and raised on tapering 'French' feet, the Malleny House chest consists of elements that relate it to the more restrained features of the Hepplewhite style of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Although it is true that '... the grouping of four small drawers around a square drawer, perhaps for storing hats ... is long recognized as a Scottish preference', it is only true from the nineteenth century onward.⁴ No earlier documented British versions of this form have yet come to light and early undocumented forms are exceedingly rare. The very distinctive square drawer with two drawers at either side, however, is a frequent decorative motif appearing on New England furniture from certain locations as early as the mid-eighteenth century. The *lum* form as a prominent design choice for the top portion of chests of drawers, high chests of drawers, high chests on frames or 'highboys' appeared in all of the furniture making centres in the New England state of Connecticut and along the Connecticut River and, in some instances, signed and dated versions are extant. Interestingly, the *lum* configuration is



2. Chest of Drawers. Made by Thomas Lindsay for James Mein, Ledso, Scotland, 1825.
Mellerstain Collection

Photograph courtesy of David Jones

usually found on chests on frames or highboys that have flat, rather than arched bonnet tops or 'scroll heads', perhaps a less expensive means of adding increased visual interest to the top of a piece than a full bonnet top or stepped tops intended for the display of silver or porcelain.

Connecticut cabinet making was for the most part centred on the three large navigable rivers that course more or less north-south through the state — the Thames, the Connecticut and the Housatonic. The prosperity of these settlements along the rivers was tied to the fortunes of the China and West Indian trade. Supplying horses, flax, lumber and the ships and the sea captains that carried them, the wealthy river and coastal towns of Connecticut attracted merchants, seamen and woodworkers. In the western part of the state, the plainly elegant cherry furniture that characterises Connecticut cabinet making was produced in the towns of Canaan, Kent, Woodbury, and Litchfield in the Housatonic Valley. A tall chest or chest with the *lum* configuration inscribed 'Bates How' appeared on the art market recently and can be ascribed to the Canaan cabinet maker, Bates Hoyt How (1776–?), while another chest by his hand is in the Garvan Collection at Yale.⁵ In nearby New Marlborough, Massachusetts, the cabinet maker Reuben Beman Jr. (1742–?) (there is a chest by him at Winterthur) made case furniture like that of Bates How (Figure 3). Both cabinet makers preferred not to extend the bottom of their chests the full depth of the case, a method of construction that may be related to the preference for the three-quarter depth dustboards of late eighteenth century Edinburgh furniture. It has been noticed that the pinwheels and slats in the scrolls on the bonnet of the Winterthur chest are motifs also found in the work of a professed Scotsman, Thomas Shearer, a cabinet maker who inscribed his Edinburgh origins on furniture he made in Virginia.⁶ Pierced scrolls of varying forms were favoured by Edinburgh cabinet makers like William Brodie and remained a preference in Scotland after they had gone out of fashion in England. As many Scots arrived in Boston, Shearer may have passed through Connecticut, as he sought his fortune farther south. This was not an uncommon pattern of migration and many Connecticut features are in fact found on Southern furniture. A possible link between Shearer and How or Beman remains to be discovered; all more probably drew from a common source of ideas. Although Beman's genealogy remains unclear, a 'William Beames' and a 'John Beme' were among Scots prisoners sent to America, some sent to work at the iron works in Lynn, Massachusetts in 1652.⁷

Farther south along the Housatonic, a cherry desk and book case associated with the Woodbury cabinet maker Elijah Booth is notable for the *lum* configuration on the lower (rather than the upper) case, its spiralled rosettes, deeply ridged slides, the nearly circular tops of the inset panels on the book case doors, and short cabriole legs ending in thickly ridged chunky versions of a trifold foot, resembling those common on Irish furniture. Another high chest of drawers with a *lum* configuration and attributed to this maker is made of mahogany and unusual for the gigantic cornice and rosettes of its bonnet and the scaled or 'snakeskin' carving on the knees that recalls the Irish taste for using blind trellising or latticework on the knees of tables (Figure 4).⁸

In the eastern part of the state, New London at the mouth of the Thames was an important colonial seaport. Norwich, an inland town at the head of the Thames was a thriving river port dispersing the bounty of the coastwise, West Indian and China trade



3. Chest on Chest, New Marlborough, Massachusetts (Housatonic Valley)
Ruben Beman, Jr. c. 1795–1805
Courtesy of Winterthur Museum



4. High Chest of Drawers, Woodbury or Colchester, Connecticut
(Connecticut Valley) c. 1770–90
Courtesy of Wayne Pratt, Inc., Woodbury, Connecticut



5. High Chest of Drawers, (New London County) Inscribed 'Made by Joshua Read, Norwich in the year 1752'. Whereabouts unknown

Photograph courtesy of The Connecticut Historical Society, Hartford, Connecticut

to surrounding communities. With a population of 7000 in 1782, it was the second largest city in Connecticut with a large cabinet making trade. A number of chests with the *lum* form were made in New London County, the area generally in the vicinity of the Thames River. An early dated example is a walnut veneered Queen Anne flat-top chest of drawers on legs, or 'highboy,' with a prominent moulded cornice beneath which is the unusual feature of an arched mirror between two smaller drawers to either side. Above the mirror is the inscription 'Made by Joshua Read Norwich in the year 1752' (Figure 5). The chest was last examined in 1964 when it was determined that the mirror was original to the piece.⁹ Read was probably an apprentice as, generally, apprentices, not masters, tended to sign their work during this period and perhaps this piece is one example of experimentation with the idea of using a square form at the top as a decorative feature. An early signed high chest of drawers in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston is inscribed with the name 'E. Hartshorn' of Charlestown, Massachusetts (near Boston) and the date, 1739. Although not a *lum* form, this chest has a very tall 'bonnet-top' in the centre of which is a nearly square drawer, that matches the proportions of a centred drawer on the lower part of the case and is likewise carved with a scallop shell. On either side of the centred drawer on the upper case is one small drawer with a six-pointed inlaid star above it. The tendency to attenuate the bonnet and repeat the centred, usually squarish, deep drawer of the lower case in the top case perhaps suggested the development of the *lum* form. It is a logical progression to incorporate two small drawers on either side of a large centred one to make use of the space at the top of a very tall bonnet. Similarly, Joshua Read's use of an expensive looking glass between double sets of drawers on his version of a flat topped high chest of drawers may represent an innovative design that an apprentice would have been proud to sign. Although the *lum* form was made in and around the fashionable coastal cities of Boston and Newport, it was not as prominent a design idea in those centres as in the Connecticut Valley.

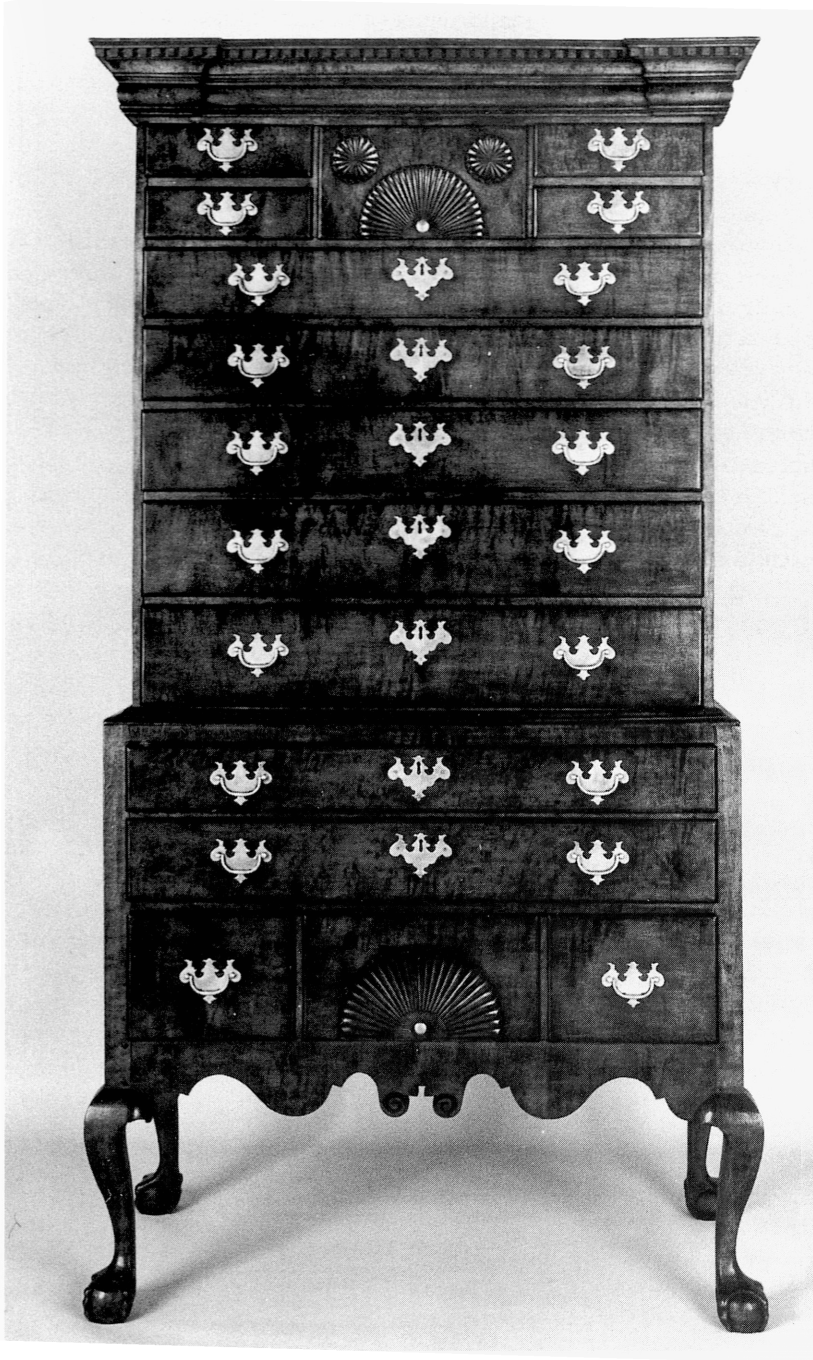
The Connecticut River, the 'Great River' was the greatest navigable waterway in Colonial New England, extending from the coast north through the present states of Connecticut and Massachusetts and forming the border between Vermont and New Hampshire. The *lum* form is found in its settlements from south to north. In the centre of the state just below Hartford on the Connecticut River, was Wethersfield a wealthy river port whose thriving ship yards supplied both Connecticut and New York. It was prominent for its ship building as well as its cabinet making, woodworking trades being second only in economic importance after agriculture in this region.¹⁰ The *lum* form seems to have been especially favoured here.¹¹ A *lum* form 'highboy', unusual in that it was made of mahogany, can be dated to the 1750s from probate records. Today, owned by the Brooklyn Museum, it is a Wethersfield-made piece with a history of ownership in that town. Hartford and Glastonbury and to the south, Middletown, also had prosperous cabinet making communities. A maple highboy with a *lum* configuration at the top, the central drawer carved with a round ribbed design reminiscent of a sunflower¹² was made in Glastonbury, and a cherry version with a half-sunburst design in the central drawer can be ascribed to Hartford.¹³ Because of their Queen Anne pad feet, both of these are dated to the middle of the eighteenth century. Another Connecticut Valley version of a *lum* chest made from poplar and retaining its original

graining descended in a family in Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, north of Hartford by twenty or so miles.¹⁴

Two low chests of drawers notable for their curvaceous 'scalloped' tops are important for our purposes because of the *lum* configuration of their drawers, the fact that they can be dated and their point of origin. Made as marriage presents to the daughters of David Hoyt, the chests were made in the Deerfield vicinity of Massachusetts, where another prosperous grouping of settlements on the Connecticut River supported a number of cabinet makers. Of the three chests made, the first two, one made for Persis's wedding in 1769 and the next for Mercy's wedding in 1779, have the five drawer configuration with the middle square drawer ornamented by a fan.¹⁵

Other tall versions were made in the cabinet making communities of Hatfield, Northampton, Deerfield & Greenfield by a variety of makers between 1740 and 1800, and several pieces of furniture with the *lum* configuration are found in the collection of Historic Deerfield.¹⁶ Of particular note in their collection is a tall chest of drawers of a type with as many as eight banks of drawers, on straight bracket feet and a heavy corniced top. Found predominantly in New Hampshire, this pattern appears to be an early incarnation of the nineteenth century version of the tall and broad *lum* chest that became favoured in Scotland and northern Britain. Further up the Connecticut River, the Dunlap family of cabinet makers of Henniker, New Hampshire, whose inventive and idiosyncratic furniture has been shown elsewhere to incorporate seventeenth century Scottish motifs, utilised this configuration. Producing a large identifiable body of work in an area of New Hampshire populated predominantly by Scots immigrants from around Londonderry in Northern Ireland, the *lum* form is found on a number of high chests of drawers produced by this shop and others between 1780 and 1800 (Figure 6).¹⁷ Eventually so widely used in this area on a variety of case pieces, the *lum* form became identifiable with northern New England furniture.

The migration of the *lum* form and indeed other design ideas throughout Connecticut and the Connecticut Valley is easy to explain given the transmigration of people and objects and general flux of activity up and down the Connecticut river. Wethersfield particularly, straining to supply ships for merchants engaged in the China trade, drew ship joiners, cabinet makers and woodworkers generally from coastal Massachusetts and Eastern Connecticut. Some moved further upriver, the New London cabinet maker Daniel Clay (1770–1848) for example, on whose furniture one finds the New London features of gadrooning and rope-twisting, eventually settled in Greenfield, Massachusetts, an area of some Scottish settlement and close to the large cluster of Scots-Irish in Colraine. Others moved westward into the Housatonic Valley, like William Peabody (1769–1841) most probably from Norwich, who settled in Woodbury. Many distinctive New London County features such as rope turned quarter columns on the sides and along the bottom of case furniture, the lavish use of rope-twisting (a feature most closely associated with Irish furniture), continuously, deeply scalloped skirts or friezes, and 'lobster' or 'fish tail' pendants on the skirt (also found on Lancashire backstools) appear elsewhere in the Connecticut Valley, particularly in the westernmost portion of Connecticut. As the number of surviving examples has demonstrated, the *lum* form was an extremely popular design variation in the Connecticut Valley and this too, seems based in the area's particular mix of culture and commerce, the local 'River



6. High Chest of Drawers, Southern New Hampshire, Possibly Gilmanton
c. 1780-1800

Courtesy of Wayne Pratt, Inc. Woodbury, Connecticut

Gods', a small group of controlling landowners and merchants, more accepting of new or localised forms than their urban compatriots.

Like early Scots motifs found in the work of the Dunlaps, the possibility exists that the *lum* form was a seventeenth century regional idea prominent in north Britain and re-interpreted in the New World. The most logical pieces to review in support of this theory are chests or coffers, the predecessors of chests of drawers, but nothing has turned up in any number with a convincing prototypical *lum* configuration. Most seventeenth century chests in both Britain and America exhibit three panels or divisions across the front and are otherwise ornamented with painting or carving.¹⁸ Mid-eighteenth century dressers from Lancashire or Yorkshire were usually closed at the bottom with a centered one or two door cupboard surrounded or flanked by banks of three drawers. This idea was the closest in Britain to a *lum* configuration, but it was not varied to encompass a centred drawer. Perhaps this regional taste for a centered section surrounded by banks of drawers was at some point reconfigured by a North Country cabinet maker in the New World into the very specific and unvaried *lum* form on New England chests.¹⁹ The sheer number of surviving examples of the *lum* form in New England as well as the fact that this drawer configuration is later not specified in early northern English or Scottish — or American — cabinet makers books of prices, which did indicate the usual number of drawers on chests of drawers (the Scots especially favouring two to three drawers at the top of their chests of drawers), however, suggests that this form is likely to have been an import.

The migration of the *lum* form back to Britain is as probable as its migration along the Connecticut River. A network of settlements existed of predominantly Scots and Scots-Irish that necessarily would include cabinet makers; a host of merchants and shippers, many of Scots and Scots-Irish background traded in the Connecticut Valley; and a range of people travelled from, or to, the old country. The 1790 census reveals that slightly less than three percent of Connecticut heads of families had Scots surnames, most coming to settlements in Connecticut or the Connecticut Valley after arrival in other ports — primarily Boston or Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. During the seventeenth century, the town of Darien, Connecticut, on the western coast, was probably named after the Scottish Darien Company that attempted to organise a colony on the Isthmus of Darien in Central America. Scots prisoners from the Battle of Dunbar brought into the Boston area as indentured servants settled west towards the Connecticut River and south towards Norwich and New London, establishing Scots communities along the way. 'Scotland', Connecticut, due north of New London, was founded about 1700 by the immigrant Scot, Isaac Magoon. Voluntown, to the northeast of New London and Norwich, was established about 1719 by the four Dorrance brothers who emigrated from Scotland, settling this area together with a group of Scots from Ulster, and establishing in 1723 the first Presbyterian Church in Connecticut. One of the Dorrance brothers, Samuel, eventually settled in the Scots-Irish community in Colrairie, Massachusetts. A failed attempt to establish the Ulster Presbyterian Church in Milford in 1737 along the western coast of the state, nevertheless underscores the fact that communities of Scots existed in this region as well from a fairly early date. During the latter part of the 1780s and the 1790s, Connecticut drew from Scotland stonemasons who settled around Middletown on the Connecticut River, textile workers

who followed the importation of Merino sheep into Connecticut in 1802, seamen and metal workers.²⁰

The patterns of emigration to the New World were different for Lowland, Highland and Scots-Irish as to area settled and time of arrival. Generally, there was not much interaction between the Scots and Scots-Irish in the New World — except in New England. In 1717–18, Boston found itself overcrowded by a sudden influx of immigrants from Northern Ireland and made land available for them in Nutfield, New Hampshire, renamed Londonderry. Land was also made available near Springfield and this settlement, now called Blandford, was originally called Glasgow or New Glasgow. The extremely large Loomis family, originally from Essex, England, were a dynasty of cabinet makers working primarily in and around the Windsor and Hartford area, where the *lum* configuration was prominent, but a branch of them migrated north to Blandford/New Glasgow where they constituted a large part of the population of that town. In 1735, Scots from Ulster established Colrairie, along the northern route from Boston to the Connecticut River, in the vicinity of Greenfield and Deerfield, where the Hoyt family chests were made. Scots also formed small but significant groups in established communities such as Suffield, Connecticut, where the Scot John McMorran built houses as well as chests and cases of drawers. Research reveals the names of a number of Scots among the inhabitants.²¹

Further north along the Connecticut River, the town of Ryegate was settled by a company of Scots farmers from the Glasgow area in 1774 and another syndicate of Scots farmers from Dundee established themselves in the nearby town of Barnet in 1775, and more Scots followed them to the area that became Caledonia County, Vermont. 'It received its name from "Caledonia", the ancient Roman name of Scotland, out of courtesy to the numerous emigrants from that country who located here.'²²

Trade between the Connecticut Valley and the West Indies ensured that the products of this area spread far and wide and much of this trade was controlled by Scottish merchants from the Lowlands, Lowland Scots in any event tending to settle along the Eastern coast. 'The well documented influx of Scottish merchants gives some idea of the scale of the expansion (of the Connecticut Valley) during the mid 1700s. By the 1740s all of the river ports in Hartford County had at least one Scot.'²³ This statement could be expanded to include the prominent merchant families of the Scots-Irish; Thomas Fanning in Norwich and Nathaniel Shaw in New London among them. Nathaniel Shaw, Jr., whose extensive account books survive at Yale University shipped premium Connecticut flax seed to Ireland as well as merchandise to the West Indies, some of which was furniture.²⁴ A number of 'desks' were sent to the West Indies from 'New London' and 'Connecticut', perhaps from the Connecticut Valley port of Wethersfield, from which at least half a dozen sea captains regularly sailed.²⁵ Furniture from the shop of the well-known Connecticut cabinet maker Eliphalet Chapin of East Windsor appears in the account book of Captain Roswell Grant for the years 1774–1805 and cabinet makers themselves sought opportunity in the West Indies, an example, the New London born cabinet maker Daniel Champlin, recorded as having died in St Christopher.²⁶ Some American furniture, purchased for use on the Islands unquestionably ended up returning to Britain with its owners, Lowland Scots being particularly numerous in Antigua, Jamaica and Barbadoes.

The reverse migration of certain types of people should also be highlighted as a possible conduit of the *lum* form. At least one cabinet maker is thought to have tried to return to Britain, to claim an inheritance, a fairly common occurrence in a society of recent immigrants. The New London County cabinet maker, Benjamin Burnham (1730–73?), who seems to have been the master of one of the Loomis family cabinet makers, Samuel Loomis (1748–1814), apparently left for the United Kingdom on a ship called the ‘North Britain’ for this reason. A high chest of drawers dating about 1738 with the *lum* configuration and with a continuous history in a Chester, Connecticut family is attributed to Burnham.²⁷

The probability that a Connecticut cabinet maker was among repatriated or resettled Loyalists is high. About two thousand strongly Anglican Loyalists clustered along the western coast of Connecticut and left both during and after the Revolutionary period; many resettled in British Nova Scotia or New Brunswick. The *lum* form seems to have travelled to Canada with these Loyalists and became and remained particularly popular there, where it was usually made of maple or birch and the idea may have returned to Britain from these ports. As distinct from the fervently patriotic Scots-Irish, there was a virtual exodus of Loyalist Lowland and Highland Scots from America, including those in New England, during the Revolution, some paying nearly seven times the passage to America, to get home.²⁸ Among the Loyalists who left Connecticut were the Scottish followers of Robert Sandeman who taught that obedience to an earthly king was part of one’s duty to a heavenly king and petitioned the General Assembly of Connecticut to resettle elsewhere. At least one Connecticut cabinet maker, Julius Barnard, is known to have left the Connecticut Valley for Woodstock, Vermont, and then Montreal, Canada, during the outward migration from the Connecticut Valley after the Revolution.²⁹

Soldiers sent to America during the Revolution who returned home or were relocated in Nova Scotia after the war could have been direct conveyors of style, Scotland being a particularly fertile area for recruits both during the Seven Years War and the Revolution. The New London cabinet maker, Jonathan Starr (1743–1838), who made desks and bureaux as venture cargo for Nathaniel Shaw, advertised for British prisoners who were cabinet makers by trade.³⁰ A Scots prisoner of war who remained was the architect William Sprats (1747–1810), known as William Pretcell in Edinburgh, who built houses in the Palladian style from Connecticut into Vermont.³¹

Numerous religious leaders of Scots background were called to Connecticut and a constant stream of ministers travelled in either direction during this period, ministers belonging to a class of society that would have had reasonably good furniture. The Presbyterian Deacon Elisha Hawley (1759–1850) of Ridgefield, Connecticut, was an active cabinet maker whose account book from 1781–1800 survives, indicating that he made many cases and chests of drawers.³² The religious tenor of Connecticut was particularly favorable to Scots. The dominant state-sanctioned Congregationalists nevertheless admitted Presbyterian beliefs in a dictum called the Saybrook Platform, and many Scots Presbyterians ended up as ministers of Congregational churches, as was the case in two New London parishes and another in East Windsor, just above Hartford, home to one branch of the Loomis family of cabinet makers. Presbyterian ‘Dissenters’ were more or less tolerated in the merchant based culture of the Connecticut Valley. The establishment of Presbyterian parishes moreover is a good indication of the

existence of a Scots community. At least a half dozen Scots families lived in the Canaan, Connecticut, area (where Bates How worked) during the early eighteenth century, including a university graduate from Edinburgh dispatched to minister to the Indians there in 1749.³³ Widows constituted another sizeable group that returned to Britain and were likely to take along possessions.³⁴

In short, genealogical records and other data reveal that Scots communities or families formed a network throughout the Connecticut Valley, populated the important mercantile areas of Connecticut and the Connecticut River, and blended early through faith and marriage with the dominant English culture, but also imprinted it. Explaining the origin of the exuberant decorative aspects of Connecticut furniture such as scrolled hoods terminating in voluptuous rosettes, the use of pinwheels and peacocks, fans with tails, scaled or snakeskin and rope-twist carving, curving carved vines, scalloped skirts and friezes and trifold or Spanish feet has been the subject of much American scholarship. The success of such forms in the Connecticut Valley seems predicated on the existence of an accepting population, in this case one that happened to include pockets of those 'North Britons' from Scotland and Northern Ireland who shared a taste for inventive, robustly carved, decorative, 'alert' forms. Among New London cabinet makers, for example, several can be identified as of Scots or Scots-Irish descent. Patrick Robertson (1751-?) a cabinet maker in New London, the son of another Patrick Robertson who emigrated from 'North Britain' in the 1730s, bought mahogany from and made furniture for Nathaniel Shaw's trading ventures. In 1796, Patrick Robertson Jr. left New London not to be heard from again. Others were Stephen Douglas (1719-48), Jacob Elliot (1765-?) and Elisha Mack (1745-?).³⁵ Perhaps the different sensibility expressed by craftsmen of this background is what underlies the uniqueness of Connecticut and Connecticut Valley furniture. High chests of drawers produced in and around Boston, by contrast, are nearly always mahogany and exhibit a homogeneity of form and ornament, reflecting the conservative preferences of the population. Although some highboys with the *lum* configuration are found in coastal Massachusetts and Rhode Island, the overwhelming number of them, made of different woods and ornamented in a variety of ways, emerged from Connecticut and the Connecticut Valley.

Widespread over Connecticut during the eighteenth century, the *lum* form re-emerged during the first part of the nineteenth century predominantly in the Scots communities in New Hampshire and northern Massachusetts in the form of numerous small sideboards, servers and chests. *Lum* chests appeared in northern New York state, relocation to this area being a natural migration pattern for those in the Connecticut Valley. Connecticut Loyalists also fled to this area and to Canada and although not yet fully researched, the *lum* form appears to have been favoured in Scots settlements in those localities. A Canadian *lum* chest appeared on the art market recently its inlaid pinwheels betraying Connecticut inspiration.³⁵

The story of the *lum* chest takes on a complicated twist of regional recognition and cultural endorsement. Perhaps brought back to the United Kingdom by a returning woodworker or soldier or transferred by merchants trading in the Connecticut Valley and the West Indies, the *lum* form became a widespread regional form in Scotland and the north of Britain by the early nineteenth century. It was never a form associated

during the 1780s or 1790s with high style cabinet making in Edinburgh or other urban centres, including those in America. Conversely, nineteenth century immigrants to North America from these areas of Britain reinforced the currency of this form in their new home as an icon of regional visual language, ensuring the continuity of the *lum* chest well into mid century.

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2. This chest, signed and dated by the journey man cabinet maker, Thomas Lindsay, is illustrated and described in David Jones, *Looking at Scottish Furniture, A Documented Anthology 1570–1900*, St. Andrews, 1987, cat. no. 20.
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4. Philip Zea and Donald Dunlap, *The Dunlap Cabinetmakers*, Mechanicsburg, Pa., Stackpole Books, 1994, p. 38. See David Jones, 'Scotch Chests', *Regional Furniture*, II (1988), pp. 38–47. An East Anglian chest has recently been cited as the model for a Mecklenburg County, Virginia, American chest of drawers (See Ronald L. Hurst and Jonathan Prown, *Southern Furniture*, New York, Harry N. Abrams, 1997, pp. 356–57), but the *lum* form is unusual for this region. The *lum* chest is associated with the North and probably reached East Anglia through trading routes between East Anglia and the eastern coast of Scotland. David Jones confirms that the *lum* configuration has been recorded in East Anglia. He cites the appearance of linen pressers containing drawers in: *The Edinburgh Cabinet & Chair Makers' Books of Prices, 1805–25*, Kirk Wynd Press, Cupar, 2000, p. 14. Other Scottish forms appear in East Anglia as well, such as the button back chair. (In conversation with Dr Bernard Cotton, 16 Feb. 2000.)
5. For the Garvan Collection chest, see Gerald Ward, *American Case Furniture in the Mabel Brady Garvan and Other Collections at Yale University*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1988, cat. no. 63. See also cat. no. 106, 107, 136.
6. *New England Furniture at Winterthur*, Plate 195. William C. Ketchum, *American Cabinetmakers: Marked American Furniture*, New York, Museum of American Folk Art, 1995, pp. 309–10. Another desk and bookcase from Hartford and made for the Eaton family between 1790 and 1795 also has pierced slats in its tall bonnet. Wayne Pratt, Inc. Woodbury, Ct.
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13. The Hartford version is illustrated in *Antiques*, CVIII, no. 7 (July 1976), Elizabeth R. Daniel Antiques.
14. The Chicopee Falls version is illustrated in *Antiques*, ??, no. 5 (May 1968), Harry Arons Antiques.
15. Michael Brown, 'Scalloped-top furniture of the Connecticut River Valley', *Antiques*, 62 no. 5 (May 1980), 1095–. Illustrated in Dean A. Fales, *The Furniture of Historic Deerfield*, Deerfield, Mass. Historic Deerfield, 1981, fig. 1, p. 87. Another scalloped top chest without a *lum* configuration was given to the third sister, Mary Hoyt, who in 1786, married Dr William Stoddard Williams of Greenfield, a Scot.

16. D. A. Fales, Jr. *The Furniture of Historic Deerfield*, 1981. See figs. 388, 400, 433. Also see P. Zea and D. Dunlap, *The Dunlap Cabinetmakers*, p. 198.
17. Zea & Dunlap, *The Dunlap Cabinetmakers*, p. 8. Archibald Dunlap (1713–54) emigrated from Northern Ireland and although himself a farmer, had five sons who became woodworkers, Major John Dunlap (1747–92) and his brother Lieutenant Samuel Dunlap most prominent among their generation, but followed in the woodworking trades by children and grandchildren.
18. See Victor Chinnery, *Oak Furniture: The British Tradition*, Woodbridge and Suffolk, Antiques Collectors Club, 1979, pp. 498–516.
19. Joshua Read could have been either of English or Scots descent. There were numerous Reads in Windham County (around Norwich), some from 'the Kingdom of England' but many from Antrim in Northern Ireland settled in Saybrook, Connecticut, at the mouth of the Thames during the mid eighteenth century.
20. Frank Andrews Stone, *Scots and Scotch Irish in Connecticut*, Storrs, Conn, University of Connecticut Press, 1978; Ian C. C. Graham, *Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707–1783*, Baltimore, Maryland, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1997.
21. Doris W. Haydon and Jean H. York, *The Families of Blandford, Mass.*, Connecticut Valley Historical Association: Typescript, 1981; Sumner G. Wood, *Ulster Scots and Blandford Scouts*, West Medway, Mass., 1928; Charles H. McClellan, *The Early Settlers of Colraine, Mass.*, Greenfield, Mass., W.S. Carson, 1885. There was considerable intermarriage among the Scots and Scots-Irish settlements in New England, people from Blandford marrying into families from Londonderry for example, as well as marriage among geographically related communities. On the members of the Loomis family who worked in Windsor, Connecticut, see William N. Hosley, 'Timothy Loomis and the Economy of Joinery in Windsor, Connecticut, 1740–1786', in Gerald W. R. Ward, ed., *Perspectives on American Furniture*, New York and London, W.W. Norton & Co., 1988, pp. 127–51. For the members of this family in Blandford, see D. Haydon and J. York, *The Families of Blandford, Mass.*, 11, 'The Loomis Family', pp. 1–40. See also, *The Account Book of John McMorran*, Kent Memorial Library, Suffield Connecticut.
22. Hamilton Child, *Gazetteer of Caledonia and Essex Counties, Vermont*, Syracuse, New York, Syracuse Journal Co., 1887, p. 13.
23. G. Ward & W. Hosley, *The Great River: Art and Society of the Connecticut Valley, 1635–1820*, p. 23. For information on Scots merchants, see T. C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of the Union 1660–1707*, Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1963; 'English and Scottish Tobacco Traders of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Economic History Review*, 35 (1982), pp. 54–72; I. Graham, *Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America, 1707–1783*, Chapter vi.
24. *New London County Furniture 1640–1840*, New London, The Lyman Allyn Museum, 1974; Walter Frederick Brooks, *History of the Fanning Family*, 2 Vols., privately printed, 1905. There was also a huge market in New York City for both ships and captains from Connecticut. Many merchants and originators of New York shipping lines were Connecticut born. See Robert Owen Decker, *The Whaling City*, New London County Historical Society, Pequot Press, 1976.
25. 'Exports from North America to Great Britain', 1768–1778, CUST 16, Public Records Office, London.
26. Houghton Bulkeley, File Notes on Cabinet makers, Connecticut Historical Society.
27. A cherry desk at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York is ascribed to Burnham as well as the cherry high chest of drawers with the *lum* configuration on Queen Anne feet. Black Pearl Antiques & Fine Art, Glastonbury, Connecticut. On Burnham, see *New London County Furniture*, pp. 111–13 and 'Connecticut Cabinetmakers', The Connecticut Historical Society, *Bulletin*, 32, no. 4 (October 1967), p. 111.
28. See Ian C. C. Graham, *Colonists from Scotland: Emigration to North America 1707–1783*, Baltimore, Maryland, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1997, pp. 157, 171.
29. F. Stone, *The Scots and Scots-Irish in Connecticut*, p. 17. The clock maker Macock Ward, b. 1702 of Wallingford, Connecticut, an apprentice of Ebenezer Parmele of Guilford, was a Tory. See Houghton Bulkley, File Notes on Cabinet makers, Connecticut Historical Society. I am grateful to Dr Thomas Kugelman of West Hartford, Ct., for his observations on this subject generally and for the reference to Julius Barnard.
30. Ward & Hosley, *The Great River*, pp. 81–82.
31. See William Lamson Warren, 'William Sprats and his Civil and Ecclesiastical Architecture in New England', *Old Time New England*, XLVI (Jan.–March 1954), 65–75; 'William Sprats, Master Joiner, Connecticut's Federalist Architect', *Connecticut Antiquarian*, IX, no. 2 (Dec. 1957), p. 11.
32. Houghton Bulkley, File Notes on Cabinet makers, Connecticut Historical Society.
33. F. Stone, *The Scots and Scots-Irish in Connecticut*, pp. 4–14. Genealogical Records, Scoville Library, Salisbury, Conn.
34. For example, an Ann Erving of Boston, the widow of the Scots born Duncan Stewart, died in Edinburgh in 1804, and an Elizabeth Brine, from St. John, Newfoundland, died in Greenock in 1854. As to ministers returning, an Andrew Brown, a minister in Halifax, Nova Scotia, died in Edinburgh in 1834, and a Thomas Scott, a minister for 25 years in America returned to Edinburgh in 1812. See David Dobson, *Directory of*

Scottish Settlers in America, Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1990; *Scottish American Heirs 1683-1883*, Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., 1990, that records inheritances and other dispositions of property and *Scottish-American Gravestones 1700-1900*, Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1998, that identifies Scottish emigrants to America, but also those who returned to Scotland from America, by inscriptions on gravestones.

35. See *New London County Furniture*, pp. 126-27, and generally, Appendix C; *Genealogical and Family History of the State of Connecticut*, 4 Vols., New York, Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1911; Houghton Bulkeley, 'The Norwich Cabinetmakers', *Bulletin*, Connecticut Historical Society, 29, no. 3 (July 1964), p. 82; G. B. Roberts, *Genealogies of Connecticut Families from the New England Historical and Genealogical Record*, Baltimore, Genealogical Publishing Co., 1983; Sophia Smith Martin, *The Descendants of John Mack of Lyme, Conn.*, Rutland, Vt., Tuttle Co., 1905.

36. Copake Auction Gallery, Copake, N.Y. July, 1999.