

The Davenport Estate

Land Use, Agriculture, and Architectural Display



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Land Use of the Davenport Estate in Milton, Massachusetts

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Introduction

This document is the result of research undertaken in Spring 2011 on the land use of the Davenport Estate in Milton, Massachusetts. In this report, primary and secondary source findings specific to the Davenport Estate are put into the context of the larger landscape of the town of Milton and of Massachusetts. While the primary focus of this report is the Davenport Estate, comparisons are made to regional and national trends in agriculture and land development. This report draws on a variety of sources, including period tax lists enumerating the Davenports and their property, secondary sources on agriculture and land development, nineteenth century town and county histories, primary source documents from the Wakefield Estate archives, and prior reports on the Estate and Milton.¹ The report is organized according to periods of ownership, with relevant information on agricultural development and land-use patterns integrated into each period of ownership. Annotated transcriptions of period tax lists and other primary source documents collected over the course of this research are located in the appendices at the end of this report.

Davenport Estate

Located near the intersection of Brush Hill Road and Blue Hill Avenue in Milton, the property in question in its various configurations has served as the seat of the same Milton-based family for nearly three centuries. Now known locally as the Wakefield Estate (its name owed to its most recent owner) the property is currently composed of four distinct pieces. This represents, however, only a portion of the former landholdings of the Estate during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Fig. 1.1). The fluctuations in size and composition of the Davenport's property over time reflect the changing use of the property and the relative social, financial, and occupational standings of its owners over time.

The Davenport Estate contains a variety of buildings used for residential, agricultural and horticultural capacities from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. The major buildings on the estate include an eighteenth-century farmhouse and a late eighteenth-century mansion (Fig 1.2, 1.3, 1.4).² The farmhouse, located to the south of a lane running southwest off Brush Hill Road, was earlier oriented to the south toward what is now Blue Hill Avenue. The remains of the stone walls which bordered the access route to Blue Hill Avenue are visible in what is now dense woods. The construction of this two-story, central-chimney farmhouse is traditionally associated with John Davenport, founder of the Davenport family line in Milton. Davenport first appears in Milton's tax records in 1707, suggesting the house was built in the first decade of the eighteenth century. The most recent research, however, suggests that the construction of the farmhouse may be associated with John Davenport's son Samuel's ownership of the property beginning in the mid-eighteenth century.³ Though John Davenport certainly owned land in Milton, whether he built the house on this land remains uncertain. The second major property on the Estate, hereafter referred to as the mansion house, is sited facing Brush Hill Road near the current eastern edge of the property. Documentary evidence suggests that initial construction on the house began between 1792 and 1794. These dates are associated with fourth generation Davenport Isaac's purchase of the mansion house's lot from Dr. John Sprague and the appearance of the house on a plan of an adjacent lot, respectively. The house and its surroundings have evolved considerably over time in response to changing family needs. The

¹ Earlier reports include National Register nominations on various districts in Milton, materials generated by the Massachusetts Historical Commission, and research completed by fellows of the Wakefield Charitable Trust.

² For detailed reports on the history and architecture of these buildings, see Leo Greene et al., "The Davenport Farmhouse: A Preliminary Report on its History," (September 2009) and Zachary Violette, "Isaac Davenport House, Milton, Mass.," (draft, Boston University, June 2008).

³ Dempsey et al., "Title History of the Wakefield Property, in Milton and Canton, MA," (August 2009).

current formal gardens, which to a large extent now define the character of the mansion house, are attributed to the tenure of the property's most recent, twentieth-century owner, Mary M.B. Wakefield.

The growth and development of the Estate largely mirrors that of the town of Milton. Documentary evidence suggests that the landscape in question served as a family farm in a relatively sparsely populated landscape under the first three generations of Davenports. The Estate began with the acquisition of a small collection of contiguous land parcels under John Davenport. Under the succeeding two generations throughout the century the property and its agricultural operations grew as the family gained more acreage and more wealth. Study of the family and its early ownership, divisions, and use of the property during the eighteenth century exposes settlement patterns of the region in Colonial-era New England, as succeeding generations sought to sustain their families and livelihoods both in Milton and elsewhere. At the turn of the nineteenth century, ownership of the Davenport Estate transitioned to a new generation with stronger ties to the city of Boston and a more elevated social and financial standing. Isaac Davenport, a wealthy Boston merchant and the fourth generation of the family to own this property in Milton, constructed a grand country house on the property eclipsing the estate's farmhouse in style, size, and amenities. Country estates with non-agricultural focuses such as these and gentlemen owners like Isaac Davenport began to dot Milton's landscape in the mid to late nineteenth century, and represented a change to the architectural and social landscape of the town. During this period agricultural operations ceased to be the focus of the Davenport line in Milton; while the family continued its ownership of land, their holdings were reduced in scale and the property served primarily as a residence and recreational site for the family. Like many estates in Milton, the agricultural activity of the surrounding land was largely reduced or sublet to tenant farmers. Ensuing generations in the nineteenth century subdivided the Estate, typical for the town as its economy shifted away from agriculture and developed as a more densely populated landscape in the early twentieth century.⁴ During this period, the developed of large numbers of middle-class suburban houses on small plots of land entered the architectural vocabulary of the town and the Davenport Estate. Much of the property to the south, west, and north of the current parcel has historically been associated with the Davenport line, which will be discussed in further detail in this report.

⁴ Though Milton sustained agricultural activity through the 1920s, it appears that large-scale farming had ceased on the Davenport Estate by the 1840s, after which the farm was operated as what they called a milk farm.

Figure 1.1. Town of Milton Assessor's Map, ca 1955.



Figure 1.2. Davenport Farmhouse, viewed from the southeast.



Figure 1.3. Isaac Davenport Mansion House, north and east elevations. 1936.



Figure 1.4. Isaac Davenport Mansion House, north elevation. 2006. Zachary Violette.

Davenport Farm (1707-1793)

During the roughly one hundred year period from 1675 to 1775, the town of Milton developed from a small, sparsely settled agricultural town to a larger, more stable, and prosperous town with significant industrial developments as well as expanded agricultural activities. In 1700, around the time when the Davenport line came to settle in Milton, the population of the town was just under 400 people housed in approximately 60 dwellings. By 1770, when a third generation of Davenports had made Milton their home, the town numbered nearly 1000. Additionally, by this time, with the help of capital from the nearby city of Boston, gunpowder manufacturing, iron slitting, sawmilling, and paper milling along the Neponset had diversified and expanded the town's economy, bringing additional capital, income and development possibilities. Milton Village (located several miles to the northeast of the Davenport's farm) developed as a center for commercial activity and trade for the interior due to its location at the head of the tidewater.⁵ During this period of growth in Milton, the Davenports established themselves as significant landowners and community members on Milton's developing landscape. The family's ownership, division, and use of their property in Milton during this period reveals not only one family's process of sustaining themselves and their livelihoods in Colonial New England, but exposes settlement and land-use patterns of the region.

Milton and Colonial Era Farming

The town of Milton encompasses 13 square miles and is situated to the south west of Boston within the Boston basin, a geological bowl divided by the Mystic, the Charles, and the Neponset Rivers. These rivers served as natural early transportation and communication routes, and salt marshes and meadows made their watersheds favorable for early settlement and agriculture.⁶ Milton overlooks the Neponset River marshes, with Blue Hill Mountain rising on its southern edge near the Davenport Estate. The town was primarily focused on agriculture through the early twentieth century, though milling along the Neponset began in the seventeenth century with the first grist mill, in 1634, and by the mid-eighteenth century mills produced gunpowder, iron, paper, and chocolate.⁷ The Neponset River forms the north and northeast borders with the town of Dorchester (Fig 2.1). Canton, into which the Davenport landholdings once extended, is located on the southwest border of Milton, and the town of Quincy is located to the east.

The first documented European settlers arrived in Milton around 1634, with early settlement clustered around Lower Mills Village and economic activity focused on agricultural pursuits. The majority of the town was laid out in the Sixth Division of Dorchester, of which Milton was a part until the town was incorporated in 1662. Early records show that cattle were a very important part of the Milton economy in the seventeenth century, though it was primarily a farming town during this period, aside from some fishing in the Neponset.⁸ By 1700, around the time that the Davenport line began in Milton, the population of Milton had nearly reached 400 residents and it has been suggested that by this time the town was a "well-established farming community."⁹ Major crops included barley, rye, Indian corn, pea vines and some fruit orchards.¹⁰

⁵ Massachusetts Historical Commission. *Reconnaissance Survey Town Report: Milton* (1981), 5.

⁶ Keith N. Morgan et al., *Buildings of Massachusetts: Metropolitan Boston* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 1.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 542.

⁸ Edward P. Hamilton, *A History of Milton* (Milton: Milton Historical Society, 1957), 21, 29. Hamilton notes that early records for the town and its agricultural and economic activity are scarce.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 30.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 26.

Scholars of agricultural history contend that early American farming, the driving force behind land use and land divisions, was largely an adaptation of the English model of mixed husbandry. In addition to cows, four major land elements make up the system of mixed husbandry observed in many early New England towns. Historian Brian Donahue details these land types and their respective uses most clearly in his study of colonial-era Concord, in which he mapped all original land grants in the town. In many ways a typical early New England town, Concord forms a useful study for comparative purposes. In his analysis, Donahue clearly identifies the land elements of mixed husbandry on Concord's landscape. These elements are: village house lots, tillage, meadows, and commons. This system, called the four-field system by scholar Thomas Hubka, is illustrated in Figure 2.2. In this model, subsistence depended on acquiring and combining livestock and various land types suited for different types of agricultural production to produce the necessary foods for both humans and animals.¹¹

According to Donahue, a village house lot served as the "focal point of a much larger constellation of lands and privileges."¹² This lot, in Concord typically 6-8 acres, generally contained a house and barn, outbuildings, a cowyard, and garden. Depending on the location of the lot and condition of the soil, this lot may also have contained a small piece of tillage land, pasture, or meadow. Donahue notes, however, that at the low end of the economic spectrum in Concord, some poor families owned only a small house or lived in rented dwellings.¹³ The second land type distributed among landholders in this model was tillage, on which bread grains were produced. Landowners, as evidenced in Donahue's study, held various pieces in different locations. Though they may have a small tillage lot appended to their house lot, the majority of their tillage lands were highly dispersed and some miles away from their houses. A typical example provided by Donahue is that of Luke Potter, a tailor in Concord. His First Division tillage lands were the following: 5 acres located a quarter mile from his house, 10 acres in Concord's Cranefield, located two miles from his house, 8.5 acres just beyond the Cranefield, and another 3.5 acres further south but also two miles from home.¹⁴ This total of 27 acres of tillage alone far exceeds averages Massachusetts-wide in the eighteenth century, at which time the median amount of total improved land (tillage and meadows) was 20 acres.¹⁵

Third among the land types necessary for mixed husbandry is meadow, on which farmers cultivated hay for feeding livestock in winter. Parcels of meadowland were generally even more widely dispersed than tillage, consisting of between 30 and 50 acres of land divided over approximately half a dozen parcels. Luke Potter, whose tillage parcels are described above, owned 36 acres of meadow distributed among five parcels approximately three miles from his house lot in town. Some men, however, through trade or other means had far more consolidated meadows.¹⁶ The final land element of the mixed husbandry system employed in Concord and other colonial-era New England towns was the Commons. The Commons, which made up roughly three quarters of Concord's land after the First Division, was used by all landowners for grazing livestock as well as a source of wood for fuel, timber, clay, sand, and gravel. Though no full account of their use exists, rights to the Commons were regulated.¹⁷ As later generations of Concord men matured, the

¹¹ Brian Donahue, *The Great Meadow: Farmers and the Land in Colonial Concord* (Yale University Press, 2004), 55.

¹² Donahue, 80.

¹³ Ibid., 80.

¹⁴ Ibid., 81.

¹⁵ Bettye Hobbs Pruitt, "Self-Sufficiency and the Agricultural Economy of Eighteenth Century Massachusetts," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, Vol. 41, No.3 (July 1984), 338.

¹⁶ Donahue, 85. For further examples, see Donahue's mapping of first division parcels in "The First Division and the Common Field System," in *The Great Meadow*.

¹⁷ Ibid., 86.

Common lands were further divided to support their expanding numbers of offspring and heirs. Eventually, the Commons system was abandoned, but the process was neither hasty nor instantaneous.¹⁸

In mixed husbandry in New England, each of these land types were manipulated and cultivated through a careful and systematic use of livestock and manpower. In place of using fallow periods to permit fields to regain a rich enough nutrient base to once again support growth of crops, manure—moved either by hand or by moving animals from common or private grazing lands to tillage fields—is used to replenish the soil. The meadows, though dispersed, were generally located along streams and marshes. At the bottom of landscapes and subject to seasonal flooding, these lands were well-fertilized, and produced nutrient-rich hay for winter livestock feed (in summer, livestock grazed on the Commons). At harvest, farmers cut and carted this grass to their livestock, often several miles and over many trips. Through digesting this nutrient rich hay, livestock produced the fertilizer necessary for renewing the soil of tillage lands, as opposed to allowing the land to lie fallow. The livestock manure was either carted to tillage lands or deposited by livestock themselves, mucking and folding, respectively. Through the use of manure and livestock, fields could be in continual use year to year. In addition to procuring manpower and healthy livestock, farmers attempted to ensure their success, and thus their survival, by spreading tillage and meadow plots over different areas, hedging their bets on soil type and its inherent properties. House lots would provide garden vegetables and fruit if orchards were cultivated.¹⁹

Unlike many seventeenth century New England towns, whose lands were appropriated based on this colonial-era model of mixed husbandry, Milton's division into lots in the seventeenth century represents a later style of land division. As towns brought more land under cultivation and as their populations grew, more of the commons was divided among the town's free men. The area that is now Milton was apportioned in the Sixth Division of Dorchester in 1660 and appropriated to first division landholders in Dorchester. In this division the remaining undivided Dorchester lands, stretching south of the Neponset River to the current Canton border, were divided into long and narrow lots perpendicular to what is now Canton Avenue on both north and south sides of the throughway. The northern set of parcels stretched from Canton Avenue to the Neponset River. The southern strip extended to the town's border with Braintree, at this time defined by a straight line drawn between the tops of Woodcock and Great Blue Hills. Strips of land were assigned according to taxable income of each landowner, or, by the amount of money invested in the Massachusetts Bay Company, founders of Massachusetts Bay Colony.²⁰

Lot size in Dorchester's Sixth Division ranged from 10 acres to 456 acres, however, 80% of grants were of 60 acres or less and only three grants were over 100 acres.²¹ These consolidated lots were divided without regard to land type as opposed to the specified parcels of Concord's division. As they stretched from the banks of the Neponset inland to the hills, however, they most likely contained at least some diversity of land and soil type. As can be seen in a comparison of the maps of Dorchester's Sixth Division and Concord's First Division, the character of the division of the Milton lands starkly contrasts the networks of small pieces of land scattered across the landscape that characterized early Colonial-era towns (Fig. 2.3, 2.4). Only a small piece of land, 160 of the approximately 3000 acres appropriated in the Sixth Division, was reserved as common land. This amount is negligible compared to Concord's common lands, which made up three quarters of the land area following the First Division.

¹⁸ Donahue, 102.

¹⁹ Ibid., 59-64.

²⁰ Albert Kendall Teele, *The History of Milton, Mass., 1640 to 1877* (Boston: Press of Rockwell and Churchill, 1887), 14-16.

²¹ See table in Teele, *The History of Milton*, 18.

John Davenport (1664, Dorchester–1725, Milton)

John Davenport first appears on the tax lists in Milton in 1707. Deeds in the Wakefield Estate's archives from May of 1706 document John Davenport's purchase of contiguous parcels from John Daniel and Thomas Vose in the Sixth Division lands near Great Blue Hill in Milton. In these deeds, both John Daniel and John Davenport are listed as husbandmen, and Vose as yeoman. Neither Vose nor Daniels are listed as original owners of parcels in Dorchester's Sixth Division lands. However, as recorded by historian Albert Teele, these lands exchanged hands rapidly after the incorporation of the town of Milton in 1662,²² and both Daniel and Vose are associated with sales of Milton's common lands in 1705 and 1706. Davenport's purchases from these individuals approximately 46 years after Dorchester's Sixth Division totaled 49 acres of land. The parcel purchased from John Daniel, the deed to which is transcribed by Henry Cunningham but not recorded, describes a parcel in the Sixth Division lands near Blue Hill of 13 acres "abutted upon and bounded by land belonging to the Church of Dorchester northerly, upon blew-hill on Brantry [Braintree] line easterly, upon land of sd John Davenport southerly, and upon the Blew-hill Meadow westerly; upon the south side of Neponset River."²³ The parcel, by its description reaching the Braintree line, appears to extend across what is now Canton Avenue, encompassing more lands east to west than the current parcel. If the Sixth Division map reproduced in Teele's history of Milton is accurate, it appears that this parcel consists of a portion of the former "Common Land" and the parcel numbered 29, its shape a long narrow strip consisting of 13 acres from the Braintree border to the meadows abutting the Neponset. Following the models of New England farm production detailed by historians such as Donahue, the east end of this parcel, abutting the Neponset River and its marshes, likely served as location of hay production for the farm's livestock over ensuing decades.

Similarly, the parcel purchased from Thomas Vose several days before Davenport's transaction with Daniel is described in the transcribed deed as bound "easterly with the land of John Daniel, southerly with brantry line, westerly with a parcel of common land sold tsd Davenport by a committee of Dorchester, northerly with the fresh marsh [illeg]...southerly land of sd lot lying upon the Great Blue Hill. "²⁴ This description appears to assign a different directionality from the Daniel's deed; according to the above description in the Daniels-Davenport exchange the Neponset runs north to south, in the Vose description west to east. This is likely because the directionality of the Braintree line as well as the Neponset do not align precisely with the cardinal directions. Following the description of Vose's parcel with this in mind, it appears that the piece of land appears to sit in the "Common Land," parallel and contiguous to the Daniels parcel and closer to the Canton border. According to the deed the land consists of 36 acres.

The parameters of the third contiguous parcel, to which this deed refers as a portion of "common land" sold to Davenport by committee of the town of Dorchester are not known. This final parcel is likely another part of the remaining Common Lands in Milton on the southern end of the town as shown on the map of Dorchester's Sixth Division. The size of this parcel, however, has yet to be determined. As has been established by past researchers of the Davenport Estate, during town meetings held on December 17, 1705 and March 22, 1706, a committee of the town of Dorchester was tasked with selling parts of this remaining piece of common land. Researchers note that though town meeting records are incomplete, it appears that the Davenports could have acquired a parcel of the common land during these divisions in 1705 and 1706.²⁵

²² Teele, *The History of Milton*, 16.

²³ Dempsey et al, "Title History of the Wakefield Property," 22.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ "Dorchester Town Records," in *Records of the City of Boston, 1634-1914* (Waltham: Graphic Microfilm of New England), microfilm, p. 496, reels 175-6.

The above descriptions of John Davenport's purchases show us that the Davenport's land, in later years limited to the area to the north of what is now Canton Avenue, once stretched further south to Great Blue Hill and the Braintree line, and did not extend north to Brush Hill Road. The assembling of contiguous parcels, which John Davenport undertook to create a homestead, diverges from the methods used in Colonial Concord, where diversification of land type and location was both common and desirable. The 49 acres alone assembled from the Vose and Daniels parcels far exceeds the size of a single average house lot, meadow land, or tillage lot in Colonial Concord.

Prior biographical research conducted on the Davenports offers some clues to understanding the family, their lives in New England, and their beginnings in Milton. John Davenport's family originated in the adjacent town of Dorchester; his father Thomas Davenport (-1685) of Dorchester is believed to be the first Davenport of this line. John was the youngest of nine children, and was most likely raised on the eastern slope of Mount Bowdoin, approximately 5 miles north of the farm in Milton and far closer to Boston. Upon Thomas Davenport's death his estate was left to his widow, and subsequently to his youngest son John following her death in 1691. John is believed to have lived with his brother Ebenezer at Casco Bay (now in the Gulf of Maine) before moving to Milton. It appears that he returned to the Boston area in the early 1690s, as he married Naomi Foster of Dorchester at this time, presumably before the birth of their first child in 1695.²⁶ Together the couple bore seven children between 1695 and 1707, and all were born in Dorchester aside from the youngest, Benjamin. Over the course of 19 years as a landowner in Milton and raising his family in Dorchester and possibly in Milton, John had accumulated 114 acres of land in Milton, making his farm four times the size of the average land grant in Milton. At the current time, not all of Davenport's land has been accounted for, and his land possessions are not enumerated in his will. His landholdings exceed the average private landholdings of Concord's First Division landholders, who generally received a dozen or fewer parcels totaling well under one hundred acres per landowner.²⁷

As is described in biographical and deed research, upon his death in 1725 John Davenport divided his estate into three parts, with one third given to his widow, one third to his unmarried sons Stephen and Benjamin, and one third to the four children Samuel, Ephraim, Joseph and Mehitabel. The remaining son, John, had prior gifts confirmed in the will; he is believed to have already established a homestead on Cherry Hill in what later became the town of Canton. John's wife Naomi outlived him for nearly 15 years. Sons Ephraim and Joseph are believed to have lived in Stoughton and in Newton Lower Falls, respectively, and Benjamin died young. Stephen and Samuel remained in Milton.²⁸

Transcriptions of deeds completed by Henry Cunningham suggest that John Davenport's offspring divided their father's property differently than specified in his will, leaving only Stephen and Samuel with land in Milton. Firstly, Benjamin, the sibling with whom Stephen was to have shared one third of their father's estate, had died, leaving his portion to be divided by the family. Among the four children who were to have shared a second third of the estate, Joseph sold his share to Stephen and Samuel in June 1725. In this deed, Joseph is identified as a clothier living in Needham, suggesting he had established himself and was not in need of the land in Milton. In June 1725, eldest son John sold all of his rights to and shares of the farm to Stephen and Samuel. It is not known what became of Ephraim and Mehitabel's shares,²⁹ but an

²⁶ Shelby Graham, Annie Rotner and Claire Dempsey, "Biographies of Wakefield Property Owners," 2.

²⁷ Donahue, 86.

²⁸ Graham et al, "Biographies," 2.

²⁹ The Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771 records Ephraim as holding a small piece of tillage and one house in Stoughton, suggesting he had taken up residence there. A transaction of his sale of his father's estate to his brothers, however, has not been located.

unrecorded indenture dating to 8 October 1734 between Stephen Davenport and Samuel Davenport shows these two brothers dividing the entire Davenport estate of 114 acres between the two (with no reference to either John's wife Naomi, who would still have been alive, or any remaining siblings). This would suggest that by this time Ephraim and Mehitable had sold their shares. According to this 1734 deed, Samuel was "to take 42 acres on the northwest end of the lot, Stephen to take 72 acres on the southeast end with all the buildings thereon."³⁰ As Davenport's early land holdings stretched from the Braintree line to the Neponset, it appears likely that Samuel Davenport inherited a portion of land between the Neponset and Canton Avenue on the location of the current Davenport Estate. In these exchanges and rearrangements of property, the family made strategic decisions, allowing family members to establish themselves as landowners in Milton.

Ambiguity in the documentary and physical record remains concerning whether John or his son Samuel constructed the eighteenth-century farmhouse currently on the Estate. If the house was indeed built by Samuel, as current research implies, it is worth considering whether John's land acquisitions in the fledgling town of Milton represent an investment for his family and preparations for supporting his children into adulthood; according to this hypothesis, John may have lived the majority or all of his late life in Dorchester. Contrary to this, local historians consistently describe John Davenport as a Milton resident. It is also possible that John lived in Milton in a house that is no longer extant, yet to be identified in Milton, or that he truly was the first inhabitant of the still-standing farmhouse. Notably, the 42-acre parcel inherited by Samuel, according to the will by which he received it from his father, contained no buildings. The indenture between Samuel and Stephen cited above mentions buildings on Stephen's portion of the land, which consisted of seventy-two acres of the southeast end of the lot. This indenture, therefore, would suggest that John Davenport's residence resided on Stephen's portion of the lot. A definitive conclusion will only come with further research.

Samuel Davenport Sr. (1697/99, Dorchester–1773, Mendon)

According to genealogical research, Samuel's first two children were born in Roxbury, hometown of his wife Rebecca, where he worked as a housewright. The couple's remaining children were born between 1726 and 1739 in Milton, suggesting they moved to Milton following his inheritance of his father's land and division of the property with his siblings after 1725. During this period, his mother would still have resided at the family's estate; it is possible that at this point Samuel and his family lived with his mother and brother Stephen in Milton in their father's house. His younger sibling Mehitable would have been approximately 20 years old at the time of their father's death; it is possible that this sibling was also still living at home, though evidence of this is scant. Three of Samuel and Rebecca's children died in 1738, leaving them with two sons and two daughters.

In 1748, when his youngest child Seth would have been only 11, Samuel moved to Mendon, in Worcester County. Why he may have moved and established a new estate at this point in his life is not entirely clear and documentary evidence explaining this move is scarce. Samuel Davenport is not listed in the Massachusetts Tax Valuation of 1771 for Mendon, however, according to the published transcription of these records, a significant portion of Mendon's tax transcript is obscured. Earlier researchers suggest that his move was perhaps driven by a desire to take advantage of the land opportunities further west of Boston. Mendon was a large town, in the Blackstone Valley, and though it had also been established in the 1660s, was far less densely settled. In 1748, however, his son Samuel Jr. would have been of age, and after moving to Mendon John transferred ownership of his 42-acre parcel in Milton to his eldest son, Samuel Jr. His

³⁰ 30 April 1742/8 October 1734. Indenture between Stephen Davenport and his brother Samuel Davenport, Cunningham transcription, not recorded.

move thus may have been prompted by a desire to establish his son Samuel and family in Milton after Samuel's marriage in June 1741; it appears Samuel had taken over the Milton farm sometime in the early 1740s. The elder Samuel's occupation as housewright may suggest that he constructed the house himself for his son during this period. Samuel Sr.'s youngest son Seth inherited the property established by his father in Mendon following his death in 1773. A close reading of Samuel Sr.'s will suggests that Samuel was deeply indebted to his son Seth, and that the two may have worked to establish the Mendon homestead together. In the will, not only is Seth appointed executor and given the Worcester County property, but Samuel inscribes his love, affection and gratitude for his son in greater detail than even his wife.³¹ Having established this second property in Mendon, Samuel Sr. successfully provided homesteads for his two sons who survived to adulthood. To his daughters he left 60 pounds each in his will.³²

Samuel Davenport Jr. (1720, Milton–1793, Milton)

Having come into ownership of his father's property in the mid-18th century, Samuel Jr. expanded the family's landholdings into the neighboring town of Canton. Biographical research suggests that he worked as a silversmith, and married twice. His first marriage, to Sarah Whiting of Dedham, lasted from June 1741 to her death in 1764. This marriage bore 8 children, all born in Milton. In 1769, Samuel married again, to Sarah Tucker, widow of Reverend Nathaniel Tucker.³³ While Samuel Jr. appears to have settled in Milton by the 1740s, his deed to the property was not filed in Norfolk County until after his death. In this deed, filed in February of 1799, the parcel is described as "containing forty-two acres more or less being butted and follows southeast on land belonging to Stephen Davenport, southwest on land of Ebenezer Clapp partly and partly on said Samuel Davenport Jr. his land, northwest on the Blue Hill meadow, northeast on land belonging to the church of Dorchester..."³⁴ The description of the parcel's location and size appears to be nearly the same as that of the land Samuel Sr. received in 1734. Notably, this deed refers to buildings on the above-described parcel, suggesting that the Davenport farmhouse may have been built during Samuel Jr.'s occupation of the property.³⁵

Samuel Jr. greatly expanded his landholdings surrounding this 42-acre parcel. Between 1753 and 1785, Samuel purchased six parcels in Canton, totaling 28 acres, from William Royall and various members of the Clap family (the Clap transactions suggest the break-up of an inheritance); two of the parcels were described specifically as woodland. Samuel purchased at least two other properties during this period, the locations of which have not been determined at this time, including a six-acre piece of cranberry bog in Milton and an eight-acre piece of swampland in Canton. These parcels may or may not have been contiguous with the Davenport Farm. Samuel's land thus doubled in from 1753 to 1785, reaching 84 acres. Though portions of this land are in Canton and thus not counted in the Milton tax record, these purchases represent a significant expansion of his landholdings and a significant monetary investment in expanding the family's farming operations.

³¹ Samuel Davenport, Worcester County Probate 15543. Will, March 13, 1773. He writes: "I Give to my son Seth Davenport (not only for the love I bear to him but also for his many services done by him for me in the time of my long confinement and distressed condition all my holdings and land lying in the County of Worcester together with all my Personal estate except what is already bequeathed as above. Further my will is that if my sd wife after death should leave any personal estate that my said son Seth have the same. It is the true intention of this my will that said son Seth shall pay out of my Estate the sum herein set down and that he should be [instituted?] to every worldly thing that shall remain in any wise belonging to me anything to contrary notwithstanding."

³² Samuel Davenport, Worcester County Probate 15543, 1773.

³³ Graham et al, "Biographies," 3.

³⁴ Dempsey et al, "Title History of the Wakefield Property," 19.

³⁵ Ibid.

Aiding somewhat in our understanding of Samuel Jr.'s tenure on the property are a number of tax records for the estate showing the type of land he owned as well as his personal property in the Massachusetts Tax Valuation of 1771, as well as 1780 and 1792 Massachusetts state tax valuations.³⁶ The 1771 Massachusetts Tax Valuation records Samuel Davenport Jr. as possessing 20 acres of pasture land, 4 acres of tillage, and 10 acres of upland mowing. In addition to one house and two outbuildings, Samuel Jr. possessed 6 cattle, 4 oxen, 4 swine, 3 horses, and 24 goats and sheep. The farm is listed as producing 60 bushels of grain, 4 tons of English and upland hay, 3 tons of fresh meadow hay, and 5 barrels of cider per year (Appendix A).³⁷ The inventory of 1780 is more extensive, and like the previous, enumerates the values of various property types. In this valuation, Samuel Davenport Jr. is listed as possessing 23 acres of pasture land, 3 acres of tillage, 6.5 acres of English mowing, 2 acres of salt and fresh meadow, 8 acres of woodland, 6 cows, 2 oxen, 3 horses, and 13 goats and sheep. The farm is listed as producing 45 bushels of grain, 4 tons of English hay, 2 tons of salt and fresh meadow hay and 7 barrels of cider (Appendix A). In 1792, Davenport reported 24 acres of pasture, 1 acre of tillage, 3 acres of fresh meadow, 8 acres of English and upland mowing, 6 acres of unimproved land, 8 cows, 2 oxen, 3 swine, and 2 horses. The farms production is enumerated as 8 bushels of rye, 30 bushels of Indian corn, 6 tons of English and upland hay, and 3 tons of fresh meadow hay. Notable among the property types Davenport did not own at this time include salt marsh and woodland. Davenport also did not report possessing any money or silver plate.³⁸

The most useful study of eighteenth century agricultural economies remains at the time of this report Bettye Hobbs Pruitt's, based on the Massachusetts Tax Valuation of 1771, and here will be relied on to interpret the relative size and production of the Davenport farm at this era. The 1771 Tax Valuation, undertaken as per a July 1771 act of the Massachusetts General Court, consisted of valuations of 27 categories of taxable property. Now, records survive for approximately two thirds of towns and districts extant in 1771, including 19,000 farms.³⁹ According to Pruitt's analysis, in 1771, 83% of landowners in Massachusetts were likely farmers, owning both livestock and improved land. Of these more than 19,000 farms in Massachusetts for which records are extant, under 4,000 possessed between 25 and 40 acres of improved land, as did the Davenport's farm in 1771. Of farms 20 acres or more in size (the median farm size of those in Pruitt's analysis) nearly half of farms were without one of the three enumerated land types, 5% had no cows, 64% had no oxen, 51% had no ox or cow for plowing, and 73% produced no cider.⁴⁰ The Davenport farm throughout the last quarter of the eighteenth century did not lack in any of the major criteria Pruitt notes as necessary for self-sufficiency.⁴¹ At this period, the Davenport farm could already be

³⁶ Milton is also enumerated in a Massachusetts state tax valuation from 1784, which lists names of individual property holders and their dwellings, barns, acres of land, tons of hay and other real property, as well as valuations from 1783 and 1791 listing only polls and values for real estate and personal estate. For the purposes of this report a ten year interval was selected and these valuations omitted.

³⁷ Bettye Hobbs Pruitt, ed., *The Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1978), 504-505.

³⁸ Massachusetts General Court Committees on Valuation. 1792. Massachusetts State Library, microfilm, box 386.

³⁹ Pruitt, "Self-Sufficiency," 338.

⁴⁰ Pruitt, "Self-Sufficiency," 338.

⁴¹ Despite the fact that it appears that the Davenports maintained all of the necessary elements of a self-sufficient farm, Pruitt's analysis suggests a model of interdependency among farms in eighteenth century Massachusetts, suggesting at least that the Davenports may be an exception. She writes: "[...] it seems wisest [...] to work toward a description of the agricultural economy of 18th century Massachusetts based on the assumption that its foundation was interdependence rather than self-sufficiency." According to Pruitt, the balance of need between animals and feed was met at the town level, not the individual, and that this interdependent model aligns with other regions ("Self-Sufficiency," 348, 356). Further, Pruitt argues for the existence of integrated local and provincial-wide markets, stating that they could not be independent of one another "nor could [farmers] have been, even in their daily, local transactions, either ignorant of or insensitive to conditions in the larger provincial and Atlantic economies of which they were a part" ("Self Sufficiency," 364).

considered above average for Milton in its real estate value. In 1771, Samuel's real estate was valued at 11 pounds and 8 shillings, while the average for Milton was around 9 pounds. The most common values of real estate at this time were 1 and 5 pounds. Only a handful of landowner's estates were valued at over 20 pounds.

The three tax evaluations from the late eighteenth century suggest both the type and scale of farming which existed on the Davenport Estate during this period. As Davenport possessed pasture, tillage, mowing and cows, it is likely that he engaged in mixed husbandry, characteristic of the era and the region. The change in amounts of these land types and livestock over time can be seen below in Table 1. Farm output is listed in Table 2.

Table 1: Improved land and livestock at the Davenport Estate.

Year	Pasture in Milton (acres)	Tillage in Milton (acres)	Total meadow and/or mowing land in Milton (acres)	Total improved land in Milton	Cows
1771	20	4	10	34	6
1780	23	3	8.5	34.5	6
1792	24	1	11	36	8

Table 2: Grain and hay production at the Davenport Estate in Milton.

Year	Grain (bushels)	Corn (bushels)	Hay (tons)
1771	60		7
1780	45		9
1792	8	30	9

Approximately 50% of farms in Massachusetts were of the Davenport's size or larger in 1771, and the median farm size was 20 acres of improved land.⁴² At 34 acres of improved land and an output of 60 bushels of grain, the Davenports were slightly above the median for size and output for the state of Massachusetts in 1771. The number of farms of their size (25-40 acres) in Massachusetts producing more than 45 bushels of grain per year is 74% of the total number evaluated in 1771.⁴³ In holding all three types of land needed for mixed husbandry, however, the Davenports were more self-sufficient and in a better economic position than many of their neighbors. In Milton, nearly a third of landowners owned no pasture, of those that did own pasture, holding under 10 acres was common (the Davenports held double this amount in 1771.) A similar proportion of residents owned no tillage and only approximately 1 in 5 landowners held no hay-producing land. Roughly 3 in 10 landowners lacked one of the three land types necessary for mixed husbandry (either pasture, tillage, and mowing land).

In 1780, the grain output of the Davenport farm is recorded as having fallen 25% since 1771. As the amount of tillage land owned had dropped by 25% in this period, this reduction in output is expected. If we compare to the statistics produced through analysis of the 1771 valuation, we see 20% of farms of 25 to 40 acres producing between 30 and 45 bushels of grain per year like the Davenports; 74% of farms this size

⁴² Pruitt, "Self-Sufficiency," 338.

⁴³ Statistics drawn from Bettye Hobbs Pruitt's analysis. Bettye Hobbs Pruitt, "Self-Sufficiency," 346.

produced more than 45 bushels per year. The Davenports appear to be average in their production of grain Massachusetts-wide.⁴⁴ Compared to their neighbors, however, at 60 bushels of grain produced the Davenports appear to have been above average. Nearly one third of landowners in Milton in 1771 produced no grain, and of landowners who did produce grain, only a small number produced more than 60 bushels in that year. Most commonly, farms produced under 40 bushels per year in 1771.

In 1792 grains are recorded independently for the first time, and the farm is listed as producing 8 bushels of rye and 30 bushels of Indian corn. The overall size of the farm with regard to improved land increased by 2 acres between 1771 and 1792. This increase could have resulted from the improvement of previously unimproved land; the amount of woodland dropped by 2 acres between 1780 and 1792, suggesting Samuel cleared the land for farming use during this period. The 38 bushels of grain produced for this now 36-acre farm is slightly below the median output for Massachusetts farms (based on 1771 valuation analysis) and falls in the bottom 26% of farms 25-40 acres in size. The land, however, appears to have remained highly productive for its size, as despite the 75% reduction in tillage land since 1771, output of grains dropped only by 40%.

All of these valuations, however, must be examined in tandem with other evidence regarding Samuel's land ownership. Unfortunately, Samuel Jr.'s will does not provide much useful evidence; though he leaves his estate to his children, he does not enumerate his property, and no inventory was made that has been located at the current time. A posthumous deed filed in February of 1799 records the transaction between Samuel Sr. and Samuel Jr. of Samuel Davenport Sr.'s land in Milton. As described above, Samuel is known to have purchased woodland, swampland, and a six-acre cranberry bog during his lifetime, among other parcels, significantly expanding his family's landholdings in Milton. The Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771 records Samuel Jr. as a non-resident landowner in Stoughton, a portion of which was incorporated as Canton in the last decade of the eighteenth century. This property included 8 acres of pasture supporting 2 cows and 1 acre of fresh meadow producing 1 ton of hay. It also is recorded as producing 4 barrels of cider, bringing his total landholdings for 1771 to 43 acres of improved land.⁴⁵ In order to further clarify the content and the output of his full estate as it expanded between 1771 and 1785, when we know Samuel continued to expand his landholdings to a total of 84 acres, later tax records for Stoughton and Canton should be consulted.

Further of note is that Isaac Davenport, the son to whom Samuel Jr. bequeathed the majority of the estate at his death in 1794, is listed as a landholder in Milton in the 1780 tax valuation, at which point Isaac would have been 27 years of age. No deeds located thus far show Isaac inheriting a portion of the land in Milton before his father's death. Despite this, Isaac is listed as owning one dwelling house, a barn, 4 acres of salt marsh, 21 acres of pasture, 11 acres of woodland and 2 acres of mowing land in the 1780 valuation.⁴⁶ Isaac does not appear in the 1771 tax records, suggesting that some land transactions took place during the period 1771-1780. Unlike his father Samuel Jr., who resided and worked at the Milton farm, Isaac's identity was rooted both in his professional life as a merchant in the city of Boston and at the Milton property. In his will, Isaac identifies himself as resident of Milton.

In his will, Samuel refers to himself as a gentleman, a significant departure from his identity in earlier documents, in which he is referred to as "yeoman." In the will, he bequeaths to his wife all of their household goods and the possessions she had at marriage, as well as the "east lower room" of his house and as much space as she needed in the cellar. To his three daughters, he left forty pounds each, and to sons

⁴⁴ Pruitt, "Self-Sufficiency," 346.

⁴⁵ Pruitt, ed., *The Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771*, 524-525.

⁴⁶ Massachusetts General Court Committees on Valuation. 1780. Massachusetts State Library, microfilm, box 375.

Lemuel and Nathaniel one and 15 pounds, respectively, plus non-enumerated gifts already given. To his youngest son Isaac, he willed the whole of his estate. The estate itself is not described in detail, and a recording of its physical boundaries or contents is not included.⁴⁷ Though Isaac was the youngest son, it does not appear that he was unable to establish himself on his own. As will be described in further detail below, Isaac occupied a distinctly different social, financial, and occupational position than the preceding Davenport generation.

During the eighteenth century, the first three generations of Davenports established themselves in Milton as a family of stable and diversified land resources and ample means. Their landholdings and value thereof exceeded many of their neighbors, and over time the family was able to not only maintain their holdings but to expand them, as well as provide inheritances for all of their many offspring. During this period, their physical living conditions also improved and expanded; analysis of the Davenport farmhouse suggests that the house was expanded in at least three campaigns in the eighteenth century. The farmhouse was likely built during the elder Samuel's ownership of the property, with later alterations made by the younger Samuel. In its earliest form, the farmhouse was likely a single-story, three-bay, center-chimney structure with a gable roof. As a timber-framed structure, the farmhouse adheres to regional building practices of the period, utilizing substantial hewn posts and beams harvested from New England's extensive stock of timber. The farmhouse was subsequently expanded by raising its western half to a full story and adding a two-story bay. Framing methods and finish during this second phase of construction were similar to the farmhouse core, suggesting that the expansion was completed during the mid-eighteenth century, not long after the building's initial construction. During its final eighteenth-century phase of construction, the eastern bay of the farmhouse core was raised to two stories and the present gable roof was installed. With this expansion, the farmhouse more closely resembled period center-chimney types, albeit with an added western bay that gave it an asymmetrical form.

Interior finishes were also altered and refined over time. The family's ability to undertake such renovations further solidifies our understanding of their comfortable means following their settling in the town. In less than one hundred years, the family achieved a distinctly higher level of land ownership and level of comfort in their living space. Like these first generations, in the ensuing century, later generations of Davenports continued to change, expand, and manipulate the resources of the Estate to meet their changing needs and expectations.

⁴⁷ Samuel Davenport, NCRP # 5242, 1794.

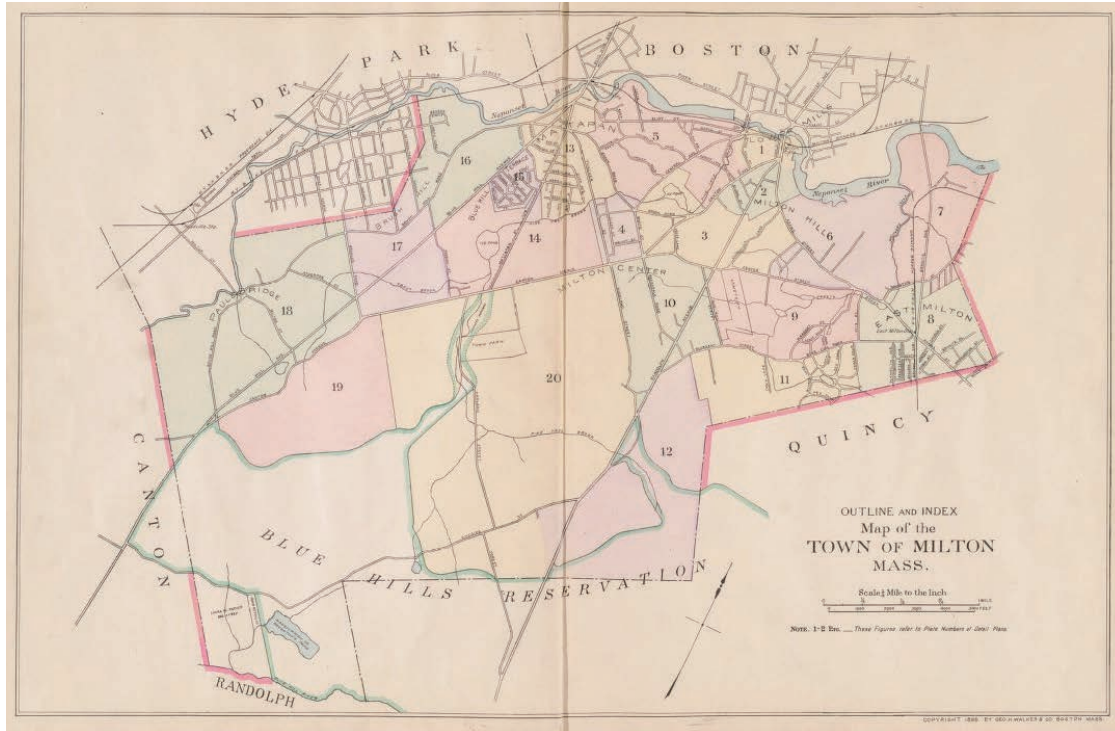


Figure 2.1. Map of the Town of Milton. Geo. H. Walker & Co., Boston, 1896.

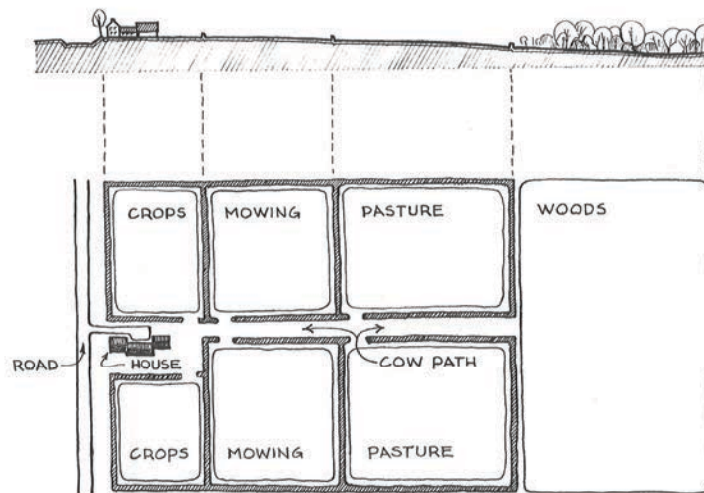


Fig. 65. The four-field system.

Figure 2.2. The four-field system. Thomas Hubka, *Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn.*

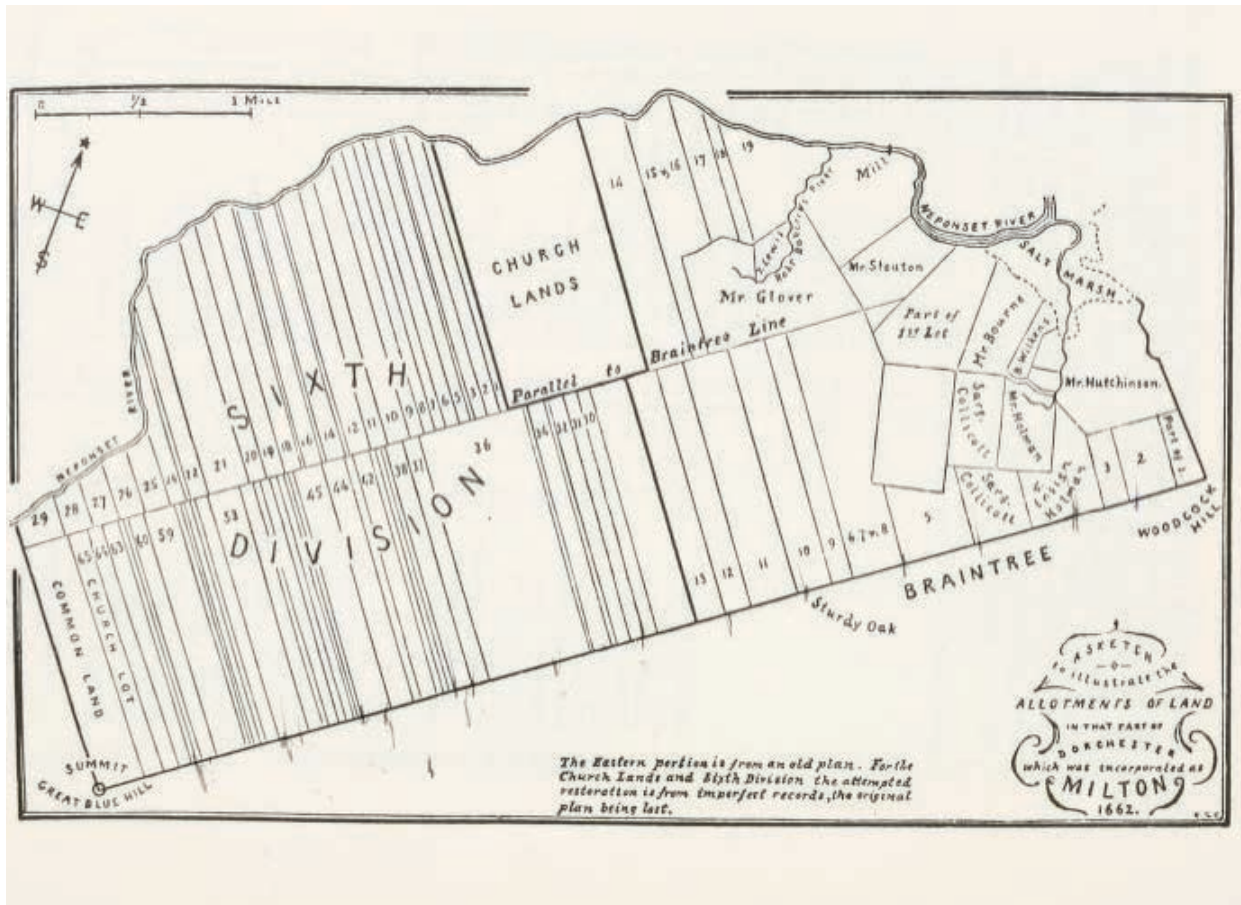


Figure 2.3. Milton's Sixth Division land allocations. 1662. Teele, *The History of Milton*.

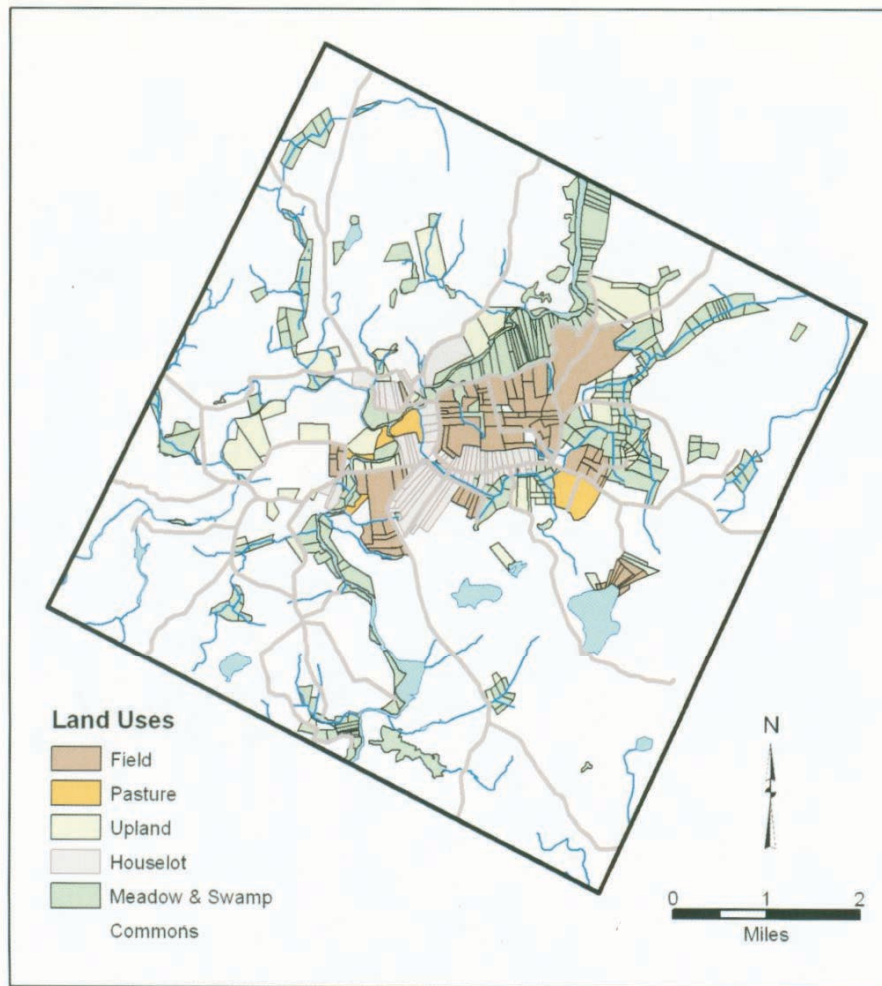


Figure 2.4. Concord's First Division. Brian Donahue, *The Great Meadow: Famers and the Land in Colonial Concord*.

Isaac and Mary May Davenport Country Seat (1793-1865?)

In the early Republic and antebellum years, Milton experienced slow population growth, reaching around 1,500 people by 1830 and 2,600 in 1870. This rise of an average of 27 people per year was particularly slow compared to other towns surrounding Boston. The landscape remained predominantly agricultural, and small-scale industrial activity continued to expand at Milton Upper and Lower Falls. Ownership of the Davenport Estate in Milton during this period, following Samuel Davenport Jr.'s death in 1793, was left to Samuel's youngest son Isaac Davenport (1753 Milton – 1828). As described above, in the late eighteenth century, tax and documentary evidence suggests that though Estate had grown to be above average in income and property holdings, it remained a predominantly agricultural operation. Contrary to his father Samuel, who is described in historical records as living and accumulating property in Milton throughout his lifetime, Isaac was a successful merchant in the city of Boston, with a distinctly different relationship to Milton and its rural landscape. During this period the Estate took on a secondary, recreational, character, marked by the construction of the family's grand mansion house at the edge of the Estate and the transformation of the landscape from solely a farm to country seat. Despite its new function as a rural outpost for leisure for Isaac and his family, the Estate retained its rural and agrarian character and agricultural function. Though Milton experienced slow growth and a continued agricultural base of which the Davenport Estate was a part, a significant number of high-style houses with sophisticated period detailing like that on the Davenport Estate appeared across Milton.⁴⁸

Isaac Davenport

Born in Milton in 1753 as the youngest child of Samuel Jr., Isaac lived part of his young adult life in Boston, and in 1787 wed Mary May, a daughter of well-known Bostonian Samuel May. The couple had two children, Mary May and Louisa, in 1795 and 1807, respectively. As described in the prior section, Isaac is recorded as a landowner in Milton as early as 1780, with his holdings consisting of one dwelling house, a barn, 4 acres of salt marsh, 21 acres of pasture, 11 acres of woodland and 2 acres of mowing land.⁴⁹ Previous research suggests that between 1778 and 1783 alone, Isaac bought five parcels of land in Milton, and sold all by 1799, and that by 1792 he had moved to Boston, and conducted his work out of a store on Boston's Long Wharf. His commercial activities included real estate investments as well as interests in molasses, steel, iron, gunpowder, glass, and cattle.⁵⁰ In addition to these commercial activities and investments, Isaac Davenport aggressively expanded his family's Estate in Milton, more than doubling the size of his father's land holdings in Milton and building a fashionable and sophisticated new house on the Estate.⁵¹ By the time of his death in 1828, Isaac's personal estate was valued at \$120,000,⁵² and preliminary analysis of tax schedules places Isaac in the top ten percent of the population in Milton. With regard to his social standing, Isaac is recorded as having served as a trustee for Milton Academy in 1800 and as having participated in the Brighton cattle show in 1820, typical pursuits of a gentleman farmer of his era.⁵³

At his death, Isaac's estate in Milton alone contained the mansion house and its 3.5 acre lot, 2.75 acres of orchard, 140 acres of land partly in Milton and partly in Canton, and 53.5 acres of woodland in Milton. Additionally, he owned multiple properties ranging from 9 to 18 acres on Beacon Hill, in Quincy,

⁴⁸ Massachusetts Historical Commission. *Reconnaissance Survey Town Report: Milton* (1981), 8.

⁴⁹ Massachusetts General Court Committees on Valuation. 1780. Massachusetts State Library, microfilm, box 375.

⁵⁰ Violette, "Isaac Davenport House," 9.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Shelby Graham et al., "Probate Summaries for Owners of the Wakefield Property, Milton, MA," (September 2006), 20.

⁵³ Shelby Graham, Annie Rotner and Claire Dempsey, "Biographies of Wakefield Property Owners," 4.

Dorchester, Cambridge, and Canton, and over 2000 acres of land in Bangor, Maine.⁵⁴ Given Isaac's penchant for real estate speculation and his strong ties to Boston, his retention of the family Estate in Milton and expansion of its contents may initially appear curious. In this dual impulse toward commercialism and rural life, however, Isaac was certainly not alone. As scholar Tamara Plakins Thornton suggests in her work *Cultivating Gentlemen: The Meaning of Country Life among the Boston Elite, 1750-1860*, it is a peculiar fact of New England's Federal period that the same men who were responsible for shifting the Massachusetts economy away from agriculture and toward commercial and industrial pursuits also self-identified with the rural and agrarian in their personal lives.

According to Thornton, the coexistence of commercial and agrarian impulses is rooted in early Republican philosophy, Puritan beliefs, and mid-18th century French and Scottish historical theories disseminated in the mid-19th century. In the early Republic, economic enterprises were weighted with moral and symbolic meanings drawing from the aforementioned and other influences. As a result, manufacturing was largely seen in a negative light, and rural life and agriculture in a positive light, as signs and symbols of a virtuous and flourishing society. Puritan beliefs, which still held strong in the psyches and moral code of eighteenth century Massachusetts, measured meaning in true productivity; while trade only moved goods that they convinced the public they "needed," manufacturing and agriculture produced goods needed by all and was therefore of greater value. For the early Republic, the desire to produce and maintain productive and republican citizens was of great import. The farmer, who, at least in a mythic idealized version, put the good of all others before himself, thus was considered an ideal republican type. Placing a similar value on the agrarian, the cyclical theory put forth by mid-18th century French and Scottish theorists outlined a societal cycle of rise and decline associated with increasing wealth and prosperity. In order to arrest the progression of this cycle, a country or state must maintain an agricultural economy.⁵⁵

In antebellum Boston, examples of merchants integrating these beliefs in their personal lives and simultaneously pursuing commercial and agricultural or horticultural pursuits abound. Among two of Isaac's contemporaries in such pursuits are merchants Nathaniel Ingersoll (1773-1838) and Samuel Downer (1773-1854). Ingersoll, an East Indies merchant, purchased a 21-acre estate in Brookline at around 32 years of age. To assist in his extensive agrarian pursuits—which included growing fruits and vegetables as well as raising livestock—Ingersoll retained two full-time male laborers and during the plowing season hired additional day laborers. Among his greater agrarian achievements were his 160 carefully bred hogs, which took home prizes in the Brighton livestock shows in 1817.⁵⁶ Samuel Downer, a merchant and whale oil manufacturer in Boston, owned an estate in Dorchester (bordering Milton). On this landscape he bred new types of apples, pears and cherries, and studied the origin and character of native fruits. Downer was a founding member of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, and four times served as its counselor. His son, born in 1807, carried on both of these interests throughout the nineteenth century.⁵⁷ In the pursuits of these men and others, which ranged from breeding prize-winning livestock to pioneering new species of plants and flowers, the self-identification with the rural is evident. In the new Republic, where the farmer was considered the saving grace of the country, merchants and commercial leaders sought to create a new mode of citizenship, which melded the most valued aspects of both rural and urban worlds.

⁵⁴ Isaac Davenport, Norfolk County Registry of Probate #5215, 1827.

⁵⁵ Tamara Plakins Thornton. *Cultivating Gentlemen: The Meaning of Country Life among the Boston Elite, 1750-1860* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 1-6.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 224.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 222.

Symbolic of this mode is Isaac Davenport's mansion house, valued at no less than \$2,200 in 1798 and one of the most valuable in the neighborhood.⁵⁸ Constructed four years prior to that valuation, following Isaac's inheritance of the Estate, the house communicated both Isaac's standing as merchant and as a republican citizen invested in agrarian and rural pursuits. The house has been the subject of a major architectural and documentary study, and has been described as "an ambitious, double-pile house in a late Georgian mode...characteristic of a group of similar double-pile Georgian house built on the South Shore at the end of the eighteenth century."⁵⁹ Similar houses in the region include the Josiah Quincy House (1770) in Quincy and the Wildes House (1790) in Weymouth (Figure 3.1, 3.2). While the house has undergone four phases of change, it retains the major characteristics of its earliest style, "including a symmetrical façade, corner quoins, classical entry and a low hipped roof with a monitor and balustrade."⁶⁰ Notably, the house incorporates elements of the emerging Federal style, while still maintaining the character of the Georgian mode, traditional for large country houses in the region. The house's interior plan and furnishings, detailed in the inventory taken after Isaac's death, suggest a high level of refinement and engagement with the norms and trends of polite society at his era appropriate to his position as a Boston merchant.

Beginning even before he inherited his father's lands in Milton, Isaac began speculating in real estate in the town, but current research has not yet determined whether the parcels he obtained were contiguous. A map dating from the year of Isaac's death, 1828, provides information about the Estate's landscape at that era; no earlier representation of the Estate as expanded under Isaac has yet been located. This map shows both the early-eighteenth century farmhouse and Isaac's mansion house, in addition to a handful of other agricultural and recreational buildings. Northeast of the farmhouse the footprint of a long building is depicted, likely a barn, and a second building is likely the carpenter's shed. The footprint of a building to the south of the mansion house likely represents a carriage barn, no longer extant, replaced by the current carriage barn under Isaac's grandson's tenure of the property. Two additional small structures are depicted: one near the intersection of Blue Hill and Canton Avenues, and one northwest of the mansion house. Earlier researchers have suggested that these buildings were a toll stand and "summer house" respectively. At this era the term summer house generally referred to a recreational building such as an open pavilion or garden gazebo, or a larger screened in building for outdoor relaxation. Scholars of farm buildings note that while these types of buildings were more popular among non-farmers, by 1870 farmers also constructed these buildings to emulate genteel styles and attract summer tourists.⁶¹ The toll stand has been considered as such by earlier researchers due to its position on what was historically Brush Hill Turnpike. Also of note is an additional structure, a small building labeled "Cotton House" along Brush Hill Road in Canton at the southeast corner of the property. This property was likely the residence of one of Isaac's servants, Josiah Cotton, who was reportedly the first African-American to reside in Milton.

The map depicting the buildings of the Estate delineates specific parcels of land, but these parcels are not labeled with their use. They do, however, correspond with divisions on an 1865 map of the property, which contains labels referring to their use. The labels for these properties suggest that not only was the land used as a means of displaying gentility through architectural display in the nineteenth century, but also was a functioning farm. According to this map, drawn by surveyors L. Briggs and E.F. Bowker, parcels of tillage surround the mansion house's plot and the farmhouse, totaling approximately 19 acres. These are located to the north and west of the mansion house and farmhouse plots. To the exterior of this ring of

⁵⁸ Violette, "Isaac Davenport House," 15.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 3.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Thomas Hubka, *Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn: The Connected Farm Buildings of New England* (University Press of New England, 2004), 67.

tillage surrounding the dwellings are, moving from the south to north, a pasture with young cedars, an orchard, and another parcel of tillage. Further away from the two houses to the north and north-west are parcels of woodland, grassland, and marshes. The property appears to not reach the banks of the Neponset river, but does extend to its marshes. According to the map, the owners of the marshes abutting the river are unknown. Notably, this map shows two parcels on the east side of Brush Hill Road as part of the Davenport Estate.

The depiction of the Estate on this map, which contains the core of the Davenport Estate from the 18th century, shows contiguous parcels of land of different types making up one Estate. This arrangement, like the 18th century Estate, contrasts starkly with Colonial-era Concord, where discrete parcels belonging to single owners were scattered across the landscape of the town. The 1828 inventory of Isaac's Estate contains additional clues suggesting continued agricultural activity in the early nineteenth century. Within Isaac's inventory of his "carriage house and stable" can be found a number of agricultural implements, such as a corn sheller, a hay picket, a harrow, ploughs, a "stone drag," scythes, hay forks, and rakes. Isaac's livestock is also listed—one yoke of oxen, two carriage horses and one farm horse, sixteen cows and one bull, two swine and five shoats—along with their feed (corn, English and salt hay, and oats), which could have grown on the property.

Little documentary evidence exists to elucidate the use of the farmhouse and its relation to the agricultural functions of the Estate during Isaac's tenure. As described above, in his 1794 will Samuel Jr. left his wife, Isaac's stepmother, the east lower room of the house and use of the cellar. Her death date is unknown, but it is likely that until then she lived in the house. As per Isaac's will, following his death a trust was established to support his widow and two daughters. His widow lived another 25 years after Isaac's passing; the partitioning of the Estate after her death is described in further detail in the following section.

The Federal Population Census Schedule from 1800 offers some insight into the workings of the estate during this period, and shows that the Davenports retained additional help to run the estate under Isaac's tenure. The census enumerates 10 residents with Isaac Davenport noted as the head of household. In this year, Isaac's immediate family would have consisted of himself, his wife Mary, and his daughter Mary May, born in 1795. In addition to the family were seven additional residents: 1 woman aged 26-45, 1 woman aged 16-26, 1 woman 10-16 years of age, 3 men aged 16-26, and 1 male aged 10-16. Ten years later, 13 residents are enumerated, which now presumably included Isaac's second daughter Louisa. Additional members outside of Isaac's immediate family include: 3 males aged 16-26, 2 females 16-26 and 1 female aged 26-45. This census enumerates "People of Color" as a separate category without ages given; to the Davenport household the census attributes 3 persons of this category. In 1820, 16 household members are enumerated, meaning 12 individuals in addition to the Davenport's resided on the Estate. Of these, the census counted 4 individuals as engaged in agriculture and 1 in manufacturing.⁶² The occupations of the others members are not enumerated.

While information regarding the family's involvement in the agricultural operations of the Estate under Isaac and his widow Mary May Davenport is limited, by 1846 there is indisputable evidence that tenantry of the farm had begun, meaning that the Davenport family itself no longer farmed as their full occupation. Likely, this change began when Isaac assumed control of the Estate in the late 18th century; the centering of his commercial activities at Boston's Long Wharf and his various real estate and trade dealings suggests that while he maintained connections to the rural, his occupation was not agriculture. He is likely to have needed help managing the property as well as assistance in the fields. After his death, his widow and

⁶² United States Census Bureau. Federal Census Population Schedules, Norfolk County, Milton, Massachusetts. 1800, 1810, 1820.

daughters no doubt found such assistance useful. The Wakefield Archives contain several documents of relevance. The earliest is an agreement between Joseph Stevens of Weston and Joseph Hayward and Samuel Wigglesworth, husbands of Isaac Davenport's two daughters and heirs, dated 1 April 1846. This agreement is set for a five-year term. In this document, a full transcription of which can be found in Appendix B, the tenant agrees to operate the estate as a milk farm. This agreement between Joseph Stevens and the executors of Isaac's Estate is renewed in 1851. Both of these agreements include the entirety of the Estate excepting the mansion house, but do not enumerate its size or land types.⁶³

The Agricultural Census of 1850 fits into this period of tenant farming and shows the expansion of the land owned by the Davenports under Isaac's ownership and potential transformations of this land in the decades following his death. The 1850 Agricultural Census for the farm, listed under tenant Joseph Stevens, reports 200 acres of improved land, 20 milk cows, 1 horse, 4 working oxen, 10 other cattle, and 4 swine. Farm output is listed as 300 bushels of Indian corn, 150 bushels of Irish potatoes, 150 bushels of barley, and 130 tons of hay. The value of the produce of the market garden is \$375, and the total value of the farm is listed as \$15,000 (Appendix A).⁶⁴ The 200 acres of improved land alone represents a significant expansion of the farm operations from Samuel Davenport Jr.'s tenure, which is recorded as 36 acres in Milton. It is also an expansion of the amount of improved land reported upon Isaac Davenport's death, which, as cited above, was listed as 140 acres in his probate documents. In his probate inventory, however, an additional 53.5 acres of woodland and a 3.75 acre orchard are enumerated. It is possible that these parcels were altered through the felling of trees to serve as improved land for agriculture after his death, bringing the total land area near the 200 acres listed in the 1850 agricultural census.

At this time, the farm appears to no longer be operating in the same manner as it did in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. While the farm may have possessed all of the necessary land types for mixed husbandry (and indeed, it is possible that this type of farming continued, given the output of grain and hay and ten non-milk producing cattle), it appears to have taken on an additional farm function by 1850. In the indenture referenced above between Stevens, his brother Charles acting as security, and Hayward in 1846, it is clearly stated that the farm was to operate as a milk farm. The indenture does not state what type of dairy products were to be produced, only stating:

Schedule of the above described personal property shall be annexed to each of these instruments as soon as they can conveniently be made all which are demised and leased onto the said Joseph and Charles on the following terms and condition vis that said farm is to be carried on by the said Joseph and Charles as a milk farm in such a manner as they may think proper.⁶⁵

This description and the 1850 agricultural census record leave much room for speculation based on the history of dairying in New England.

Though during the seventeenth century dairying was a flourishing farm industry along the East coast, for the most part the only dairy products that could be sold as market commodities were cheese and butter.⁶⁶ The limiting factors to commercial milk farming were refrigeration during transportation as well as population densities; as milk could not be preserved without refrigeration, its sale necessitated a large

⁶³ 1 April 1846. Joseph Hayward and Samuel Wigglesworth to Joseph and Charles Stevens; 28 March 1851 Louisa Wigglesworth of Boston to Joseph Stevens of Milton. Wakefield Estate Archives.

⁶⁴ Massachusetts Agricultural Census, 1850. Massachusetts State Archives, Boston.

⁶⁵ 1 April 1846. Joseph Hayward and Samuel Wigglesworth to Joseph and Charles Stevens. Wakefield Estate Archives. Milton, Massachusetts.

⁶⁶ Ralph Selitzer, *The Dairy Industry in America* (New York: Books For Industry, 1976), 11, 19.

enough market in close enough proximity where farmers could sell their product before it perished.⁶⁷ Cheese and butter, due to their longer shelf life, could be transported to markets to barter for local goods, as well as exported. In the early to mid-1800s, a confluence of factors in American cities allowed for a major transformation in the dairy industry.

As cited by Elinor Oakes in her study of early American dairying, improvements in animal husbandry, factory production of butter, cheese and other dairy products, and advances in refrigeration and transportation combined to achieve a new level of technology in dairying in the nineteenth century. Whereas dairying in the eighteenth century depended on preservation, processing, and trade, "...transportation and urban markets became the keys to dairying from the 1850s onward."⁶⁸ In addition to advances in refrigerating milk, expanding cities that could no longer keep up with demand for milk provided a market for farmers; supplying milk to this growing market, formerly inaccessible due to the challenges of transporting milk, a highly perishable good, now became farmers most profitable operation.⁶⁹

In the 1850 agricultural census, Joseph Stevens reports the farm as producing neither butter nor cheese, despite the fact that he reports 20 milk cows. This can suggest that even at this early date, the Davenports were taking advantage of the growing market in Boston for fresh milk, and not processing any of it to cheese or butter for market.⁷⁰ For comparative purposes, the Fitchburg railroad, servicing the northern reaches of Boston's milkshed, transported 14,400 quarts of milk daily to Boston from outside of the city by the 1840s.⁷¹ It is possible that during this period, like many farms in New England and in the Boston basin, the Davenport farm had shifted its operations partially or entirely to milk production. Earlier in the nineteenth century, it appears that the farm did engage in cheese production; Isaac Davenport's 1828 inventory enumerated 78 cheeses, a "cheese press, pails, hoops, etc."⁷²

Following Isaac's death, his widows and two daughters inherited his estate. His daughters received equal shares, one third of the estate each, and his widow received the final third, specified as the mansion house and outbuildings as well as land of her choice in Milton and the adjacent towns of Canton, and Dorchester. Upon his widow's death, ownership of the estate was specified to transfer to his elder daughter, and in turn to the younger daughter.⁷³ As per this trust, his widow likely lived on the Estate until her death in 1853. As Mary Mary, Isaac's elder daughter, had already passed away, her children inherited the Estate excepting the mansion house and its plot. Ownership of mansion house and its plot transferred to Isaac's younger daughter Louisa, and she remained the owner of this property until her death in 1859. Census records from 1830, 1840 and 1850 provide some understanding of who lived on the estate during this period. In 1830, the census immediately following Isaac's death, Mary Davenport is listed as the head of household, and three women are reported as residents. One of the women, categorized as 50- 60, was presumably Mary (even though she turned 61 in that year); however, the identities of the other two, teenaged females are unclear. Louisa and Mary May were in their twenties and thirties, so it seems likely that the other two residents could have been Mary's servants. Significantly, the number of people

⁶⁷ John T. Schlebecker, *A History of American Dairying* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1967), 10.

⁶⁸ Elinor Oakes, "A Ticklish Business: Dairying in New England and Pennsylvania, 1750-1812," in *Pennsylvania History*, Vol. 47, No. 3 (July 1980), 212.

⁶⁹ Selitzer, 17.

⁷⁰ None of the Davenports associated with the Estate in 1850 as per family documents and census records were enumerated in the agricultural census, likely due to the fact that agricultural activity was limited to the tenanted farm.

⁷¹ Howard S. Russell, *A Long, Deep Furrow: Three Centuries of Farming in New England*. (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1976), 356.

⁷² Isaac Davenport, Norfolk County Registry of Probate #5215, 1827.

⁷³ Ibid.

associated with the estate was reduced from 16 to 3 in the years immediately following Isaac's death. In 1840, another woman around Mary's age came to live on the estate. As relative Catherine Davenport is reported as a member of the household in the 1850 census, it is possible that she came to live in the mansion house as early as 1840. Two males, including one child under the age of five, as well as four more females were counted as well; since it is not believed that either Mary May or Louisa had come with her husband to live at the mansion house by this time, the child may have belonged to one of the servants or to Mary May or Louisa.

In 1850, the family members living on the estate included Mary and Catherine, Louisa and her husband Samuel, and their son Francis, who appears to have died as a child. Additionally, three females and one male from Ireland in their 20s and a woman from Connecticut aged 30 are listed in the census.⁷⁴ Worth noting is that by 1865, 22% of Milton's population was foreign-born, and three quarters of this population was Irish, making the Davenport's employment of these Irish men and women not unusual.⁷⁵ The final members of the household were: Josiah Cotton, 47, Lydia Cotton, 14, Lybel Stevens, 60, Joseph A. Stevens, 28, and Osvaldo Bancroft, 30, all of Massachusetts. The Cotton family is listed as being African Americans, and Osvaldo Bancroft is listed as "Mulatto." Josiah Cotton's occupation is listed as coachman, Stevens, as yeoman, and Bancroft and Irishman Brophy, as laborers. The occupations of the non-Davenport females are not enumerated, but they most likely served as domestic servants.⁷⁶

The documentation that survives from this period for the Davenport Estate in Milton provides a rich picture of their use of the land and its dual function as residential and recreational estate and as a farming operation. Census and tax records for the period permit an understanding of the extensive support staff needed to run the Estate, as well as again reinforcing the comfort and wealth in which the family lived during this period. Isaac Davenport's occupation as a merchant in Boston and his existence as such in the early Republic and antebellum years appears to have led him to not only retain the family estate in Milton, but to give it an additional function as a sophisticated family retreat. Isaac's construction of the mansion house soon after his inheritance of the Estate marks a significant departure in the symbolic meaning of rural land ownership by the family. It also serves as a benchmark for the family's significantly altered wealth and social status in only four family generations in Milton. True to the persistent beliefs of his class, however, the agricultural function of the estate did not cease, and instead significantly expanded after his father's death. Thus the Davenport Estate transformed into a country seat as well as a tenanted farm.

As with previous generations, preceding his death, Isaac established the means by which the land would be passed to the next generation, which in this case would serve to support his widow and two daughters after his passing. Though he owned significant amounts of property in Boston and elsewhere, his Milton estate remained an important asset and a desirable piece of property after his death. Notable is that by his wife's death, the land which had been held in large, contiguous plots by members of the Davenport family for four generations began to be divided amongst multiple heirs in far smaller parcels, marking the start of the reduction of the overall land mass associated with the residences on the property. This process of dividing large tracts of land to distribute among multiple owners, familial and otherwise, took place in widespread manner across Milton and other Boston suburbs at this era.

⁷⁴ Isaac Davenport, Norfolk County Registry of Probate #5215, 1827.

⁷⁵ Massachusetts Historical Commission. *Reconnaissance Survey Town Report: Milton* (1981), 9.

⁷⁶ United States Census Bureau. Federal Census Population Schedules, Norfolk County, Milton, Massachusetts. 1850.



Figure 3.1. Josiah Quincy House, Quincy, Massachusetts (1770). Historic New England.



Figure 3.2. Wildes House, Weymouth, Massachusetts (1790). Matthew Lee.

Hayward-Cunningham Estate (1865?-1929)

In the second half of the nineteenth century, Milton experienced significant changes in its population, industry, and in the density of development on its landscape. Better connected to the metropolis of Boston through the implementation of the streetcar system, Milton became more accessible as a residential and commuter town, and subsequently saw a sharp decline in industrial and agricultural activity.⁷⁷ During the period 1870 to 1915, there was a brief but intense period of construction of large high-style estates of a character similar to the Davenport mansion house. In some cases, former farmhouses were transformed by subsequent owners to achieve a level of sophistication reaching new construction. Milton's population tripled during this period, and well over 300 new houses were constructed. By the turn of the 20th century, these houses were being constructed on subdivisions of former agricultural lands and many of the large high-style estates established only decades earlier. The Davenport Estate at this time also underwent significant change, its land broken up into smaller pieces under the ownership of various family members in the generation following Isaac Davenport's death. The Estate was partially reassembled under Isaac's grandchildren's generation, but on a much smaller scale, with much of the land subdivided into housing lots. The subsequent generation maintained a small portion of the estate in the early twentieth century. The breakup of the estate in the late nineteenth century is typical of the change in land-use witnessed across Milton at this time, as large estates were broken up for single-family residential housing. The use of the land by the Davenport family during this period contrasts significantly with earlier generations, who depended on the land and its agricultural output for their livelihood.

Partitioning of the Estate

As in prior generations of Davenports in Milton, following Isaac Davenport's death, his large estate was left in a trust to support his family, which consisted of his widow and two daughters, Mary May and Louisa. Each of these women were appointed a one-third interest in Isaac's estate. At his death, Isaac's estate in Milton alone contained the mansion house and its 3.5 acre lot, 2.75 acres of orchard, 140 acres of land partly in Milton and partly in Canton, and 53.5 acres of woodland in Milton. Additionally, he owned multiple properties ranging from 9 to 18 acres on Beacon Hill, in Quincy, Dorchester, Cambridge, and Canton, and over 2000 acres of land in Bangor, Maine.⁷⁸ His widow Mary received the mansion house, its outbuildings, and additional land in Milton, Canton and Dorchester. Following Mary's death, the two daughters would inherit property from their father's estate, the property first passing to his elder daughter and then his younger daughter. To Louisa he specifically left his Boston real estate, the mansion house and any additional land which his widow had occupied, and to Mary May the remainder of the farm in Milton and Canton. Isaac additionally specified that his daughter Mary May's husband was not to inherit any of his estate.

Upon Isaac Davenport's widow's death in 1853, this inheritance scheme was initiated. Mary May, the elder daughter, however, had predeceased both her mother and sister in 1843, leaving behind six children. Consequently, her share in the property passed to her children, which was made up of the majority of the farm in Milton, the farmhouse and surrounding land. Ownership of the mansion house and its associated property passed to Louisa. Six years later, in 1859, Louisa died without any children, initiating the inheritance of the estate in its entirety by her late sister's children. This division of the family estate ultimately ended in a partitioning of the property in 1865, represented on a map from that year and described in detail in a partitioning document. On this map (Figure 4.1) the divisions of property overlay designations according to land-use, and do not correspond with the natural breaks in these land-uses.

⁷⁷ Massachusetts Historical Commission. *Reconnaissance Survey Town Report: Milton*, 12.

⁷⁸ Isaac Davenport, Norfolk County Registry of Probate #5215, 1827.

Unlike the deeds and wills of earlier generations of Davenports describing the land, the partitioning document does not reference land type, soil type, or agricultural elements of the landscape.⁷⁹ The 1865 map also shows that by this year, Isaac Davenport's grandson Isaac Davenport Hayward (1828-1878, hereafter I.D. Hayward) was already in possession of a portion of the land, including the mansion house and its lot. As prior researchers have noted, I.D.'s interest in the estate began at a young age. Beginning in 1857, he began to accumulate land from his aunt and subsequent to the partitioning, his sisters, reconstructing a portion of his familial estate as it existed under his grandfather.

I.D. Hayward

I.D. Hayward, one of Isaac Davenport's six grandchildren, and his wife served as the primary owners of the Davenport Estate in the second half of the 19th century. While rather little biographical information exists on Hayward, his interest in owning the Davenport Estate from a relatively young age is well captured in historical records. In 1857, Hayward purchased the farmhouse, a "one-acre triangular lot near the intersection of Brush Hill Turnpike and the Old Canton Road and a nine-acre lot between the lane [and] the two roads named above."⁸⁰ In 1862, after his Aunt Louisa died, he acquired the mansion house and its nine-acre plot from the five Hayward sister heirs. In the aforementioned partitioning of the estate, which took place in 1865, Hayward added to his holdings, receiving 27 acres of the former Isaac Davenport estate and nine acres of woodland in Canton.⁸¹ The bounds of the parcel in Milton correspond with "Lot 1" on the partitioning map dated 1865. According to current research, soon after the partitioning was filed, Josephine Hayward Binney sold her portion (Lot 2 on the map), and the "Swett Lot" to her sister Louisa. Following Louisa's death, the property passed to I.D.'s ownership.⁸²

The remaining portions of Isaac Davenport's estate were passed to I.D.'s sisters in the partitioning document of 1865 and were variously sold and developed. I.D.'s sister Mary sold her lot (Lot 3) to John Homan in 1885, and the land later passed to the Minot family. Catherine (Hayward) Savage sold her approximately 26 acres in 1889 (Lot 4) and Harriet (Hayward) Winslow sold her lot in 1902 to Augustus Hemenway (Lot 5). Notably, Hemenway purchased the partially contiguous "Lot 1" from heirs of I.D. Hayward in the same year. Current research has not determined how the sixth lot on the partition map, belonging to Louisa (Hayward) Frothingham, was sold. According to commercial atlases from 1896 and 1905 the Minot family and the Kennedy family owned the former Davenport land to the west of the houses and on the north side of Brush Hill Road.⁸³ Thus, in this generation, the family estate was greatly reduced, from Isaac Davenport's more than 200 acres in Milton and Canton. I.D.'s land in Milton is shown on both 1896 and 1905 atlases on Milton, where it is labeled "I.D. Hayward heirs." In both 1896 and 1905 this land as depicted totals 27.87 acres (Fig. 4.2, 4.3).

I.D. Hayward married twice and had three children, one by his first wife, Mary H. Griswold, and two by his second wife, Mary B. Vose. During I.D.'s ownership of the family estate, he undertook a major renovation of the mansion house and the construction of a new carriage barn under the direction of architect Alexander W. Longfellow. During this renovation, beginning in 1862, the house was given a distinctly Victorian aesthetic, which included the addition of a large wraparound porch and a dark polychrome paint

⁷⁹ Norfolk County Registry of Deeds, 1865, May 1. Book 332, Page 211.

⁸⁰ Dempsey et al, "Title History of the Wakefield Property," 13.

⁸¹ Norfolk County Registry of Deeds, 1865, May 1. Book 332, Page 211.

⁸² Claire Dempsey, with Leo Greene, Dayl Cohen, Annie Rotner, and Shelby Graham, "The Breakup of the Davenport Farm during the late 19th century," working summary, August 2009, 4.

⁸³ Ibid.

scheme.⁸⁴ Leisure was certainly an objective in these renovations, as was a desire to show social and financial standing through architectural display (Fig. 4.4). The renovations on the mansion house in total cost over \$6,600, and in addition to the aforementioned changes, included reconstruction of the house's rear ell, roof reconstruction, and a remodeling of the front kitchen to transform it into a dining room. Additionally, though not specified in contracts with the architect, a central heating system was installed in the mansion house for the first time, remnants of which remain in the house.

Census records provide another view into the Davenport Estate under I.D. Hayward, showing the delegation of manual and domestic labor to full-time help. In 1860, after the death of his first wife, I.D. is listed as living in the mansion house with his first-born son, George. Three Irish immigrants are also listed in his household: Catherine Grey (age 20), Mary Grey (age 23), and Ferdinand Kelly (age 32). Catherine and Mary's occupations are listed as "Domestic," Kelly as "Laborer."⁸⁵ In 1865, the household had changed significantly. Now under I.D. the census enumerates a total of 8 individuals: his second wife Mary, his three children, and four individuals in their twenties. Three of these individuals were female servants from Nova Scotia, and the fourth and Irish man whose occupation is listed as "Laborer."⁸⁶ In 1870, the final census taken during I.D.'s lifetime, the household shows even greater expansion. In addition to I.D., his wife and their three children, three females are listed as domestic servants and two more men are listed as working on the farm. A woman aged 30, Margaret Welsh, and a girl aged 9, Delia Welsh are enumerated. These appear to be family members of one of the male farm workers, Bartholomew Welsh, and are listed as "Keeping House" and "Attending School," respectively.⁸⁷

In 1860 and 1870, the state of Massachusetts undertook agricultural censuses, capturing significant amounts of information regarding the real estate and output of farms across the Commonwealth. Unfortunately, the names of persons associated with the farm on the aforementioned census records do not appear in the 1860 or 1870 agricultural censuses for Milton. Some documents in the Wakefield archives suggest that the most likely tenant of the farm at this time was Edward E. Coles (in some documents spelled Cowls). One document, an inventory and valuation of property "which the heirs of the late Isaac Davenport left on the farm which E.E. Cowls leased of them," places Cowls on the estate in April of 1855. This document also stipulates, regarding a yoke of oxen worth \$85, that "at the end of his lease" Cowls is to return a yoke of oxen of that value or pay \$85.⁸⁸ Additionally, one month earlier, correspondence from Thos Wigglesworth details the departure of the former tenant, and an agreement is signed permitting Edward E. Cowls to sublet portions of his rented holdings (Appendix B).⁸⁹ An indenture between the I.D. Hayward and Edward Cowls has not been located, however, and the land associated with Cowls does not appear to correlate with known landownings of the Davenports.

In the 1860 agricultural census, I.D. Hayward is listed as possessing 3 acres of improved land, 3 horses, 1 milk cow, and 1 swine. His land is recorded as producing 27 bushels of Irish potatoes and 4 tons of hay.

⁸⁴ For further information on the renovation associated with Isaac Davenport Hayward's tenure, see Violette, "Isaac Davenport House."

⁸⁵ United States Census Bureau. Federal Census Population Schedules, Norfolk County, Milton, Massachusetts. 1860.

⁸⁶ United States Census Bureau. Federal Census Population Schedules, Norfolk County, Milton, Massachusetts. 1865.

⁸⁷ United States Census Bureau. Federal Census Population Schedules, Norfolk County, Milton, Massachusetts. 1870.

⁸⁸ Schedule of property on the farm dated 4.1.1855. Wakefield Archives.

⁸⁹ 1 April 1855. Inventory and valuation of property on the estate; 14 March 1855. Note, Wigglesworth; 24 March 1855. Authorization to Cowls. Archives of the Mary B. Wakefield Charitable Trust. Davenport, Box 1, Folder "Davenport, Isaac Will and associated documents."

The value of the orchard is listed at \$10 and the value of the market gardens at \$100. The farm is valued at \$3000. These three acres of improved land make up only a portion of the total of ten acres he had acquired of the estate by 1860. His presumed tenant, E.E. Cows, is attributed with 200 acres of improved land and 200 acres of unimproved land. The cash value of the farm is recorded as \$32,000.⁹⁰ In 1870, Edward E. Cows once again appears in the agricultural census record, but the size and value of the farm with which he is associated has been greatly reduced, to only 10 acres of improved land. Furthermore, Edward E. Cowles is believed to have lived in a farmhouse built in 1850 at 630 Brush Hill Road by 1873.⁹¹ Perhaps Cows was leasing and paying taxes on the larger Davenport Estate in 1860, prior to its subdivision among the Hayward heirs. A decade later, when the land was divided, he may have occupied his own smaller property. More research is needed to definitively establish who may have been living in the farmhouse at this time, how they may have contributed to the running of the estate, and what the agricultural activity of the estate may have been at this time. I.D. is not listed in the agricultural census of 1870.

By 1870, I.D. claimed “no occupation” on his census return. His personal property at this time was worth \$155,000. At the time of his death eight years later, his profession was listed as “gentleman.”⁹² Following his death, an inventory of his estate was undertaken, as he died without a will. His property in Milton consisted of the Milton estate and associated buildings and 17 acres of land, and the farmhouse and its adjoining 11 acres of land. I.D. also owned properties in Boston, 27 acres of pastureland in Canton (which is likely be the portion of land in Canton that was part of the estate from Samuel Jr.’s tenure), and interest in land in Bangor, Maine.⁹³ This inventory, though still of high value, represents a large reduction in the amount of property associated with the estate as compared to his grandfather Isaac Davenport.

During the tenure of I.D. and his heirs, the surrounding landscape underwent significant changes. As is described in scholarship on Milton, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Milton’s large estates, agricultural and otherwise, were broken up into small plots for single-family homes. Directly preceding this fast-paced development, however, a distinct typology flourished in the town’s architectural vocabulary: high style, non-vernacular houses, sometimes appearing by means of transforming existing farmhouses to be high-style homes. These houses were built on large plots of land, and their distinctly non-vernacular style differentiated their occupants and their lifestyles from the agriculturally based vernacular of the existing landscape. Whereas their surrounding neighborhood was distinctly tied to agricultural operations, these houses were closely tied to the idea of leisure, escape from the city of Boston, and gentility. Based on current research, the majority of these houses appear to have been occupied full-time from the time of their construction, with only a minority serving as only part-time residences for Boston residents, despite their classification as country or summer estates in the existing literature. Additionally, of these summer or part-time residences, several became full-time residences as early as the first years of twentieth century. By the early twentieth century, a new typology appeared on Milton’s landscape: single-family homes on systematically subdivided farms and estates or larger developments. The roots of this change, however, reach back to the mid nineteenth century. As described in the National Register nomination for the Brush Hill District, during the period 1830-1870, while the district saw little growth, two important events portended changes to come: in 1855, the Tucker family sold 60 acres of their extensive farm to the Fairmont Land Company, and in 1868, the town of Hyde Park was incorporated, subsuming 700 acres of Milton’s land. The Fairmont Land Company would proceed to subdivide the former agricultural land into small plots and build single family residences.

⁹⁰ Massachusetts Agricultural Census, 1860. Massachusetts State Archives, Boston.

⁹¹ “630 Brush Hill Road,” Massachusetts Historical Commission inventory, file MLT.606.

⁹² Graham et al, “Biographies,” 7.

⁹³ Norfolk County Registry of Probate, 21097, 1878.

Neighbors to the Davenports and I.D.'s updated, Victorianized mansion house were other grand high-style estates in the Brush Hill neighborhood, including the Charles Minot House and the Amor Hollingsworth Mansion, built between 1886 and 1896 and in 1858, respectively. The construction of the Amor Hollingsworth Mansion in 1858 precedes by only a few years I.D.'s renovations of the Mansion House, and the Charles Minot House follows I.D.'s renovations. Described in previous research as potentially a summer house, the Charles Minot house is a large-scale shingle style house with asymmetrical fenestration and massing. While described as a summer house, a conclusion possibly based on its architectural style, a closer examination of primary source records regarding the house's owner reveals that Charles Minot was most likely a full-time resident of the house from 1894 to his death in 1912.⁹⁴ Listed in street directories consistently between these dates, in his obituary in the *Milton News* he is cited as having died at his home on Brush Hill Road. Additionally, in his obituary, Minot is identified as an anatomist at Harvard Medical School in his obituary. No references to other residences or properties were made, which was customary in obituaries in this paper at the era.⁹⁵ The Amor Hollingsworth House, cited as the earliest of the Brush Hill mansions, was built in 1858 by Amor Hollingsworth, a mill owner in Milton. Unlike some of the later mansions, set back on private lanes and shrouded in densely landscaped surroundings, Hollingsworth built the mansion in clear view with a vista overlooking one of his paper mills on the Neponset River. This dramatic location served to heighten the impact of his distinctive brick mansion on the landscape, suggesting his wealth and influence in the town. According to his obituary, Hollingsworth was a resident in the town and has taken great interest in town affairs, serving on the Board of Trustees of the Public Library and the Board of the Milton Cemetery.⁹⁶

The systematic breakup of large farms and estates such as these for residential housing in Milton in the early 20th century has long been noted by local historians. According to the National Register nomination for the Brush Hill District, the 1920s and 1930s were a period of rapid suburban growth in Milton, and large estates and farms were subdivided for single-family houses. According to the nomination, it was during this period middle-class suburban housing entered the district.⁹⁷ The willingness of I.D.'s relatives to sell off portions of their inherited land in the late nineteenth century is thus not surprising given the acceleration of this process and the well noted development pressures from the expanding metropolis of Boston. As can be observed on atlas maps from the first half of the twentieth century, the residences of landowners such as Samuel Wolcott, Charles Swan, William Lawrence, and Marion Hallowell appear within the bounds of the former Davenport Estate (Fig. 4.5). While the Wolcotts held a substantial parcel of 13.366 acres, more similar to the Davenports at this time, the Swans, William Lawrence and Marion Hallowell all had small house lots of 5 to 8 acres, more typical of the suburban subdivisions which took place in the mid-twentieth century.

Following his death, I.D.'s widow occupied the 55 remaining acres of the Davenport estate until her death in 1901, when the property was divided among the couple's three children, George, Roland and Mary. George Hayward, the oldest of the three children, sold his share in the property to his half siblings in 1902. In 1906, Roland passed away, leaving his share in the Milton estate to Mary.

⁹⁴ Resident street lists, Milton, 1894-1914. Milton Historical Society, Milton, MA.

⁹⁵ *Milton News*, December 21, 1914. Microfilm, Milton Public Library.

⁹⁶ *Milton Record*, October 12, 1907. Microfilm, Milton Public Library.

⁹⁷ "Brush Hill Historic District," National Register Nomination, Section 8, page 14.

Ownership of the estate in the early twentieth century is thus attributed to Mary Hayward. Mary Hayward (-1929) married Henry Winchester Cunningham in 1899, an avid genealogist who collected and preserved documentation and papers regarding the Davenport Estate. In addition to family papers, Cunningham also left a detailed tax record for the years 1907 to 1929, which lists valuations of the couple's houses and land, giving a sense of its scale and operations. On this document, three buildings are enumerated: the house, a stable, and farm house. Several plots of land are also enumerated: a 9.4 acre house lot and orchard (presumably the farmhouse lot), 8.87 acres at Brush Hill Road and Blue Hill Avenue, 9.6 acres of pasture (reduced to 7.45 in 1919), and 4.22 acres at the Minot Estate, owned from 1912 to 1925 (Appendix B).⁹⁸ Thus, by the early twentieth century, I.D. Hayward's 55 acres had been significantly reduced to 27.87 acres. Also of note, with regard to the farming operations during this period, is that maps suggest that some of the major agricultural outbuildings were dismantled under Mary Hayward Cunningham's tenure, and more remodeling was undertaken at the mansion house.⁹⁹ Several changes to the property lines of the estate took place during Mary's ownership, including an adjustment of the property line with the land of neighbor Samuel Wolcott. The results of these adjustments can be seen on a 1929 map of the property entitled "Plan of Land in Milton Mass Belonging to the Late Mary H. Cunningham" (Fig. 4.6). This map also suggests that the majority of the outbuildings of the estate had been dismantled by this time; the cluster of buildings which appears near the farmhouse in the 1865 representation of the estate now is not recorded.

The amount of land recorded under Mary Hayward and Henry Winchester Cunningham represents a fraction of the property owned less than a half century earlier. By the time of their tenure in the early twentieth century, the property, like much of Milton, had ceased to serve an agricultural function. Soon after coming into ownership of the property, the Mary and Hayward began extensive renovations on the mansion house, replacing much of its Victorian details installed during I.D.'s tenure with fashionable Colonial Revival finishes. Additionally, Mary and Henry are believed to have split their time between a residence in Boston and their estate in Milton, though they are recorded as residents in Milton in the 1910 census. According to Henry Cunningham's obituary, for the last 23 years of his life he spent his summers at "the old estate on Brush Hill, Milton."¹⁰⁰

Under the succeeding generation, the land was further divided. As Mary had no children, she divided the property between her nephew Griswold Hayward and her cousin Henry Binney. To Griswold she gave the farmhouse and its approximately ten acre and to Henry Binney the remainder of her Milton estate, including the mansion house.¹⁰¹ This division is visible on a 1932 atlas map of Milton (Fig. 4.5). Again, in Mary's father's inheritance of the property, the division was not tied to use of the land and any agricultural function, but instead to the houses. 1936, shortly after purchasing Griswold's ten acres, Henry Binney's wife Alberta Binney sold a 5.15 acre portion of this lot to abutter Samuel Huntington Wolcott.

During this period, the successive division of the estate by members of the family mirrored that of many large Milton farms as the town developed into a wealthy residential suburb from its primarily agricultural focus through much of the nineteenth century. In contrast to earlier generations of Davenports, the passage of land from one generation to the next no longer signified the insurance of income through agricultural production, or the provision of a homestead on which a family would be supported. Instead, as

⁹⁸ "Valuation of Milton Place (on tax bills)." Wakefield Estate Archives. Milton, Massachusetts.

⁹⁹ Claire Dempsey with Shelby Graham and Annie Rotner, "Wakefield Property Owners," (December 2008), 3-4.

¹⁰⁰ Graham, "Biographies," 9.

¹⁰¹ Dempsey et al, "Title History of the Wakefield Property," 10.

is evidenced through reduced land ownership and agricultural operations, successive remodeling of the mansion house to remain fashionable, and part-time residence, the estate now served as a source of leisure and a real estate investment worth a considerable sum.

The wealth of information that can be gleaned from documentary and physical evidence regarding the Davenport family provides a rich picture of land-use on the estate over several centuries. The changes in size and composition of the Davenport's property over time reflect the changing use of the property as it relates to the relative social, financial, and occupational standings of its owners over time. Furthermore, study of the family and its ownership, divisions, and use of the property exposes settlement patterns of the region in Colonial-era New England, changing notions of identity as it relates to the rural landscape in the Federal and antebellum periods, and the development of suburban housing in the Boston region in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

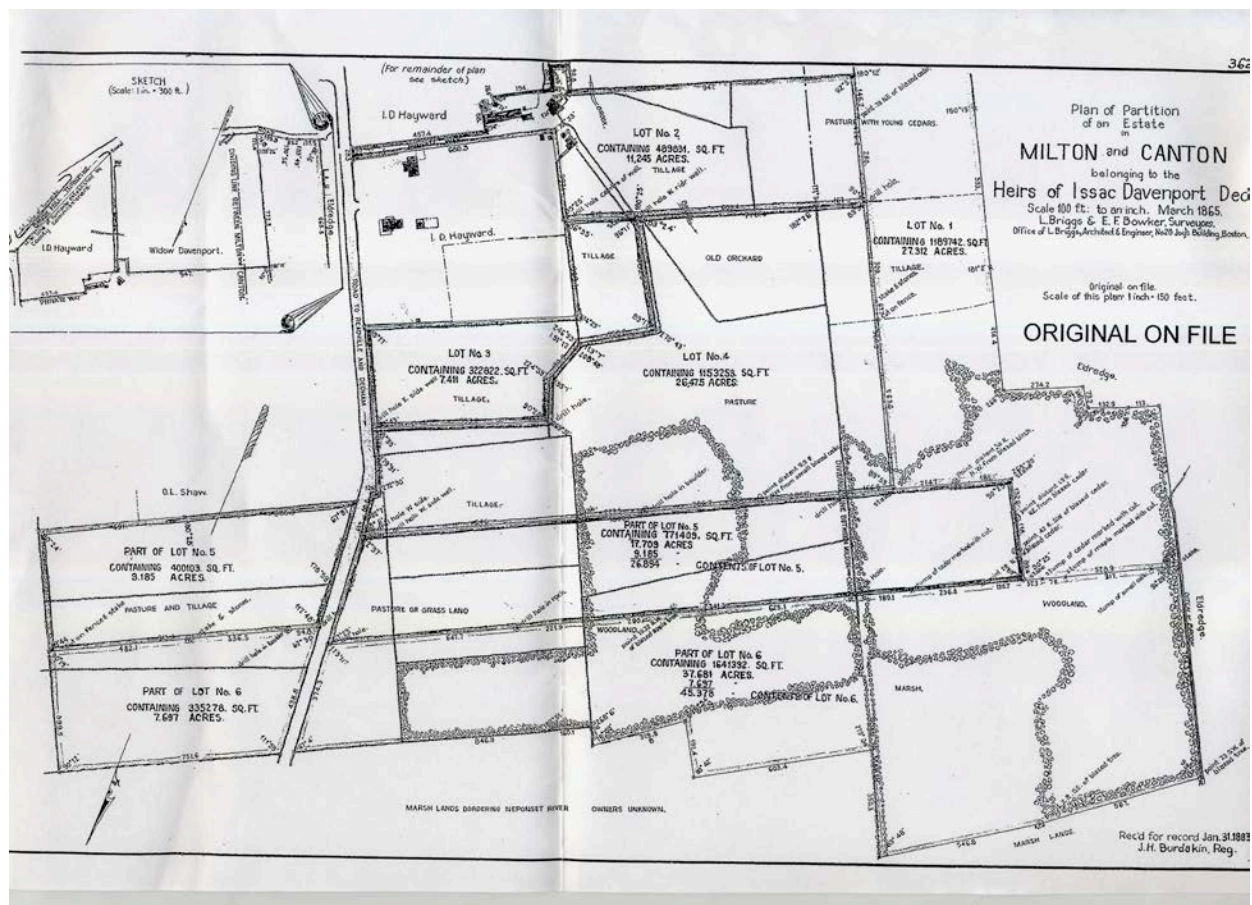


Figure 4.1. Briggs and Bowker Partition Map, 1865.



Figure 4.2. Detail of 1896 Walker Atlas map showing property marked “I.D. Hayward Heirs” as well as the subdivision of property reaching the Neponset River.

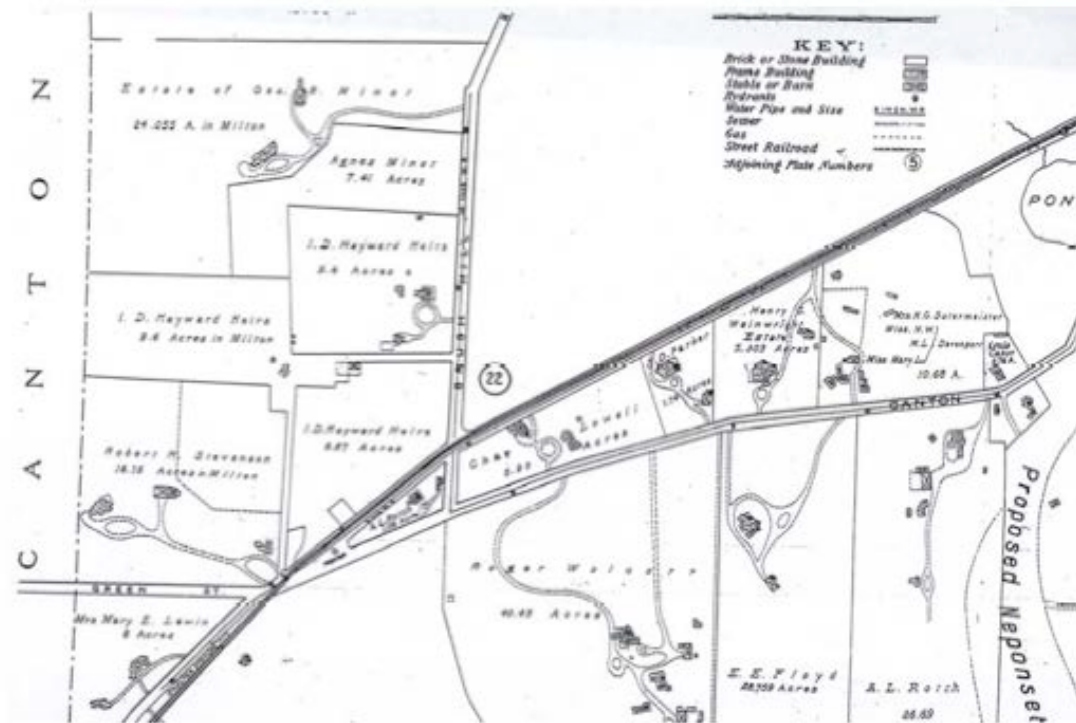


Figure 4.3. Atlas map from 1905 showing property owned by “I.D. Hayward Heirs.”



Figure 4.4. Hayward family on the porch of the mansion house following I.D. Hayward's renovations (1886). Collections of the Wakefield Estate.

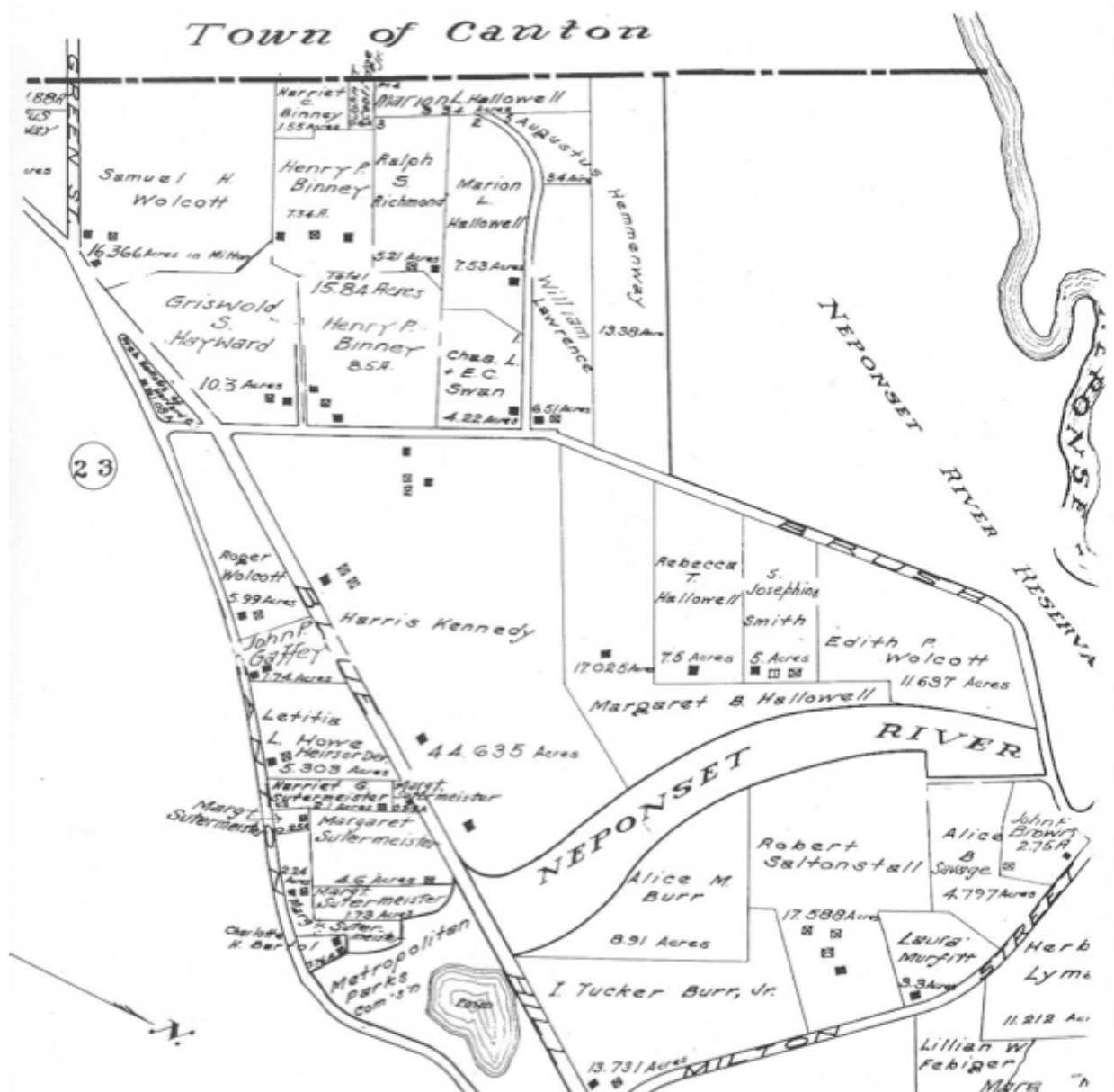


Figure 4.5. Atlas Map of 1932 showing land as divided by Mary H. Cunningham between her cousin Henry Binney and her nephew Griswold Hayward.

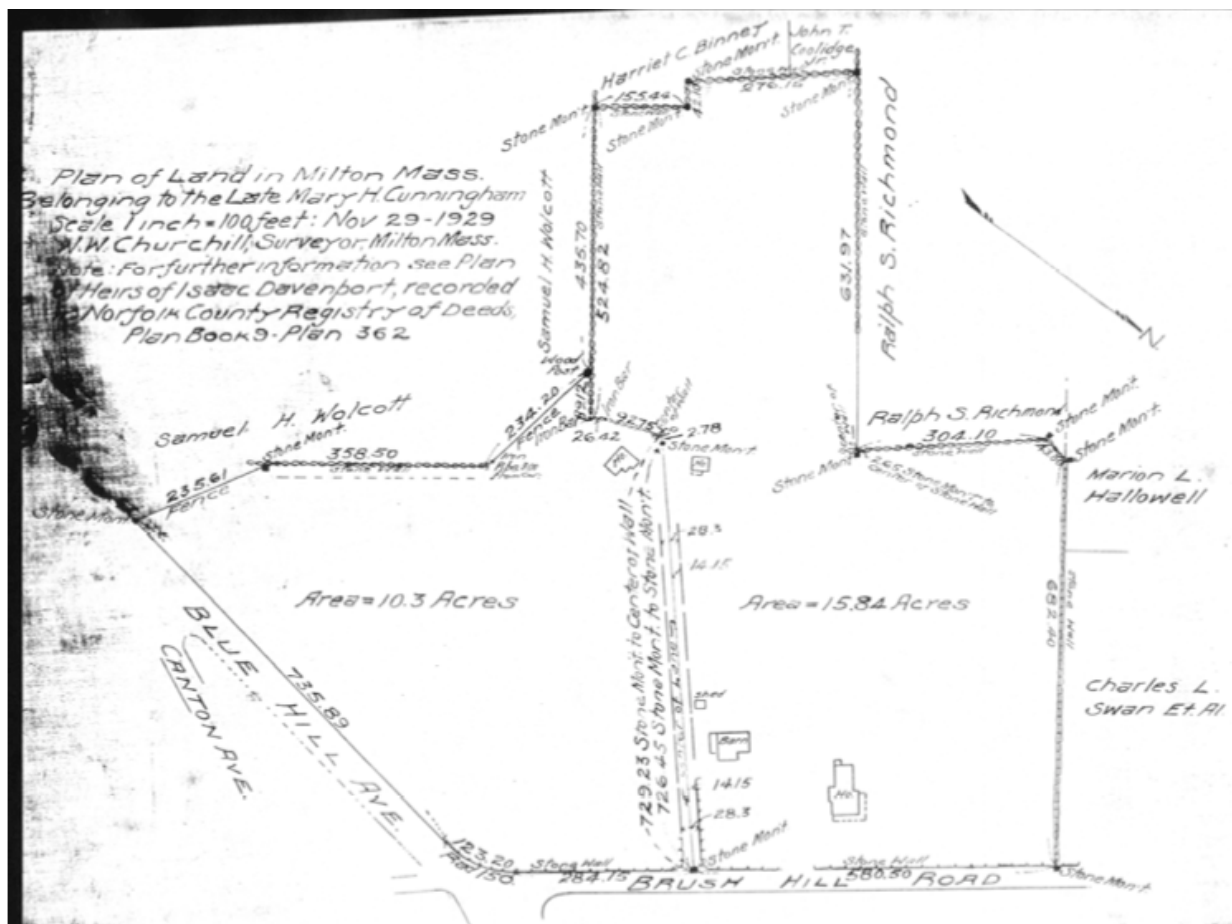


Figure 4.6. Plan of Land in Milton Mass Belonging to the Late Mary H. Cunningham. 1929.

Appendix A

Tax Schedules for the Davenport Estate

The Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771. From Bettye Hobbs Pruitt, ed., *The Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771*. Boston, G.K. Hall, 1978.

Samuel Davenport [Jr.]

Samuel Davenport [Jr.] inherited his property from his father Samuel, beginning in the 1740s when his father removed to Mendon.¹⁰² Upon his death, Samuel Jr.'s estate was settled in probate. He bequeathed household goods, a portion of the dwelling house and cellar to his wife, and forty pounds to each of his three daughters. To his eldest son Isaac, he gave "the whole of my estate real and personal." To his son Lemuel he gave one pound, and to his son Samuel, fifteen pounds.¹⁰³

Listed below is the property of Samuel Davenport [Jr.] as enumerated in the 1771 Massachusetts Tax Valuation.

Horses	3
Oxen	4
Cattle	6
Goats and sheet	24
Swine	4
Acres of pasture	20
Number of cows pasture will keep	6
Tillage, acres	4
Bushels of grain per year	60
Bushels of cider per year	5
English and Upland mowing	10
Tons of English and Upland hay per year	4
Acres of fresh meadow	4
Tons of freshmeadow hay per year	3

¹⁰² Norfolk County Registry of Deeds 10:107 (14 Feb 1799/27 October 1748). See Claire Dempsey et al., "Title History of the Wakefield Property, in Milton and Canton, MA," (August 2009).

¹⁰³ Norfolk County Probate, 5242, 1794.

Massachusetts General Court Committees on Valuation. 1780. Massachusetts State Library, microfilm, box 375.

Samuel Davenport [Jr.]

As described in the previous summary of the Massachusetts Valuation of 1771, Samuel Davenport [Jr.] owned the Davenport Estate at this time. Below is a list of the property attributed to Davenport as enumerated in the 1780 Massachusetts Valuation. The original and the microfilms are in very poor condition. The best possible attempt at accuracy was made in reading them.

Dwelling houses	1
Value thereof	80
Barns	1
Value thereof	40
Stores, warehouses and other buildings not otherwise mentioned	1
Value thereof	10
Acres and parts of acres of English mowing land and orcharding	6 1/2
Value of such mowing land and value of such orcharding	32
Tons of English hay one year with another	4
Barrels of cyder one year with another	7
Acres of tilled land one year with another	3
Value thereof	21
Bushels of grains one year with another	45
Acres of salt and fresh meadow	2
Value thereof	15
Tons of salt and fresh meadow hay one year with another	2
Acres of pasture land	23
Value thereof	115
Cows the same with keep one year with another	6
Acres of woodland and land [illegible]	8
Value thereof	[illegible; original is torn]
Horses of all ages	3
Oxen of four years old and upward	2
Cow of three years and upward	6
All other horned cattle not before enumerated	1
Sheep and goats of all ages	13
Horses of all ages	3

Massachusetts General Court Committees on Valuation. 1792. Massachusetts State Library, microfilm, box 386.

Samuel Davenport [Jr.]

Listed below are the items enumerated in the 1792 valuation for Samuel Davenport [Jr.]. Itemized property not possessed by Davenport at the time of the valuation are not included in the below table, for the sake of brevity. Notable among the types of property Davenport did not own at the time of this enumeration include salt marsh and woodland. Davenport also did not report possessing any money or silver plate.

Dwelling houses	1
Barnes	1
Acres of Tillage Land including orcharding tilled	1
Bushels of Rye	8
Bushels of Indian Corn	30
Acres of English and Upland, mowing, including Orcharding mowed	8
Tons of Hay, the yearly produce of the same	6
Acres of Fresh Meadow	3
Tons of Hay, the yearly produce of the same	3
Acres of Pasturing, including the Orcharding pastured	24
Cows the same will keep, with the after feed on the whole farm	6
Acres of unimproved land	6 [number partially obscured by ink blot, reader's best estimation]
Acres of land unimproveable	1
Horse 3 years & upwards	2
Oxen 4 years & upwards	2
Steers and Cows, four years old and upwards	8
Swine 6 months old & upwards	3

Massachusetts Agricultural Census, 1850.

Listed below is the enumerated agricultural property and output for the year 1850 at the Davenport estate according to the Massachusetts Agricultural Census.

According to papers in the family archives and census records, the farmhouse was rented and the farm worked by Joseph Stevens beginning in 1846. A copy of the first of his indentures, specified with a duration of 5 years, is located in the Wakefield Archives. Upon his death in 1828, Isaac Davenport had initiated a complex inheritance scheme. It is likely that his widow lived in the mansion house until her death in 1853. In the 1850 census, his widow Mary is listed as living in the house along with Catherine Davenport, Louisa and Samuel Wigglesworth, and their son Francis as well as a number of servants, laborers and caretakers. None of the Davenports are enumerated in the agricultural census, likely due to the fact that agricultural activity was limited to the tenanted farmstead.

Joseph Stevens

Acres of improved land	200
Cash value of Farm	15,000
Value of farming implements and machinery	500
Horses	1
Milch cows	20
Working oxen	4
Other cattle	10
Swine	4
Value of live stock	900
Indian corn, bushels of	300
Irish Potatoes, bushels of	150
Barley, bushels of	150
Value of produce of market garden	375
Hay, tons of	130
Value of animals slaughtered	475

Massachusetts Agricultural Census, 1860. "Productions of Agriculture in Milton in the County of Norfolk in the State of Massachusetts enumerated by me, on the 20th day of June, 1860. Sutter F. Thayer, Ass't Marshal." Massachusetts State Archives.

Isaac Davenport Hayward

Listed below is the enumerated agricultural property and output for the year 1860 at the Davenport estate according to the Massachusetts Agricultural Census. The estate was owned by the Isaac Davenport Hayward, grandson of Isaac Davenport during the second half of the 19th century. I.D. Hayward acquired the estate piecemeal through purchases from his relatives, and had only assembled a portion of the estate by 1860.¹⁰⁴

According to documents in the family papers archive, the most likely tenant of the farm at this time was Edward E. Coles (in some documents spelled Cowls). One document, an inventory and valuation of property "which the heirs of the late Isaac Davenport left on the farm which E.E. Cowls leased of them" places Cowls on the estate in April of 1855. Additionally, one month earlier, correspondence from Thos Wigglesworth details the departure of the former tenant, and an agreement is signed permitting Edward E. Cowls to sublet portions of his rented holdings.¹⁰⁵ A copy of an indenture, however, has not been located, and Cowls' holdings do not correlate with known landownings of the estate. I.D. Hayward's agricultural holdings are small in scale, limited to three acres of land. Produce outputs refer to the year ending June 1, 1860.

Isaac Davenport Hayward

Acres of land, Improved	3
Cash value of farm	3000
Value of farm implements and machinery	4
Horses	3
Milch cows	1
Swine	1
Value of livestock	250
Bushels of Irish Potatoes	27
Value of orchard	10
Value of produce of market gardens	100
Hay in tons	4
Value of animals slaughtered	30

¹⁰⁴ For a detailed report of how I.D. Hayward acquired his holdings, see "Title History of the Wakefield Property," Claire Dempsey et al.

¹⁰⁵ 1 April 1855. Inventory and valuation of property on the estate, and 14 March 1855. Note, Wigglesworth. 24 March 1855. Authorization to Cowls. Archives of the Mary B. Wakefield Charitable Trust. Davenport, Box 1, Folder "Davenport, Isaac Will and associated documents."

Appendix B

Transcriptions of land indenture documents from the Wakefield Archives

1 April 1846. Joseph Hayward and Samuel Wigglesworth to Joseph and Charles Stevens.

Indenture

"This indenture, made the first day of April A.D. eighteen hundred and forty six between Joseph H. Hayward and Samuel Wigglesworth of Boston in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts trustees duly appointed under the will of Isaac Davenport Esq late of Milton [illeg.] of the one part, and Joseph Stevens and Charles Stevens. Witnesseth, that in consideration of the covenants herein contained on the part of the said Joseph Stevens and Charles Stevens, of the other part they, the said Joseph H. Hayward + Samuel Wigglesworth and their representatives, to be kept and performed, doth hereby grant, demise and lease unto the said Joseph Stevens and Charles Stevens, their Heirs, Executors and administrators. All that farm situated in Milton belonging to the estate of the said Isaac Davenport deceased together with the farm house barns and all the other buildings on the premises, except the Mansion House, stable and to them the buildings together with the grounds connected with the same which are reserved for the use of Mary Davenport and also a piece of salt marsh belonging to said estate situated in Dorchester and also the cows, oxen and bull and all the wagons, carts, tools, and utensils belonging to said barn and all the grain hay fodder and manure now on hand. Schedule of the above described personal property shall be annexed to each of these instruments as soon as they can conveniently be made all which are demised and leased onto the said Joseph and Charles on the following terms and condition vis that said farm is to be carried on by the said Joseph and Charles as a milk farm in such a manner as they may think proper they enjoying all the privileges and appertenences there to belonging excepting and reserving out of this present lease to the lessors or their representatives all the timber and [illeg.] of every kind and the growth and use thereof other than the fruit trees on the premises with liberty for them for them to enter during said term and to [illeg.] cultivate cut and carry away at their pleasure any of the timber and trees hereby reserved. The lessees being at liberty to take the wood necessary for the fuel of the family off the farm but when necessary to cut trees for that purpose they shall select such trees which from decay or other cause shall be most for the interest of the owners to have cut and the lessees are during the lease to use on the premises all the hall and straw and grain that may be raised thereon or to bring on to said farm one cord of good barn manure for every ton disposed of from the place and all the compose and manure that shall be made or brought on shall be spread on the premises in a husbandlike manner. The family occupying the mansion house shall have the right to use the cattle to bring there wood and carry there grain to mill also to use the farming utensils free of expense and at the termination of this lease the lessees shall leave on the farm the same number of cattle and eaqual value and all the waggons cart tools and utensils grain hay fodder and manure as they found on the farm when they took possession thereof."

Boston, 24 March 1855. Thos Wigglesworth to Edward E. Cows of Milton.

“Mr Edward E. Cows of Milton the lessee named in a lease dated 24th March 1855 of the farm lands in Milton Canton Dorchester + Quincy belonging to the heirs of the late Isaac Davenport is authorized to underlet one piece of saltmarsh containing about six acres in the town of Dorchester – Also one piece of two acres or more at Squantum, and one other piece of four and a half acres, adjoining the Neponset turnpike, through which piece the Old Colony Rail Road is located – both pieces in the town o Quincy. And to underlet one lot of land in the town of Canton (sometimes called the “Kenney Meadow”) situated near to the dwelling house of McIntosh on the Canton back road (Green Street) containing about seven acres. – Also one small triangular strip of land on the South Easterly side of Wood’s lane in said town of Canton on which strip a house has been places by an undertenant of the former lessee of said farm lands. Thos Wigglesworth agent for the heirs of the late Isaac Davenport.”