Historic Deerfield

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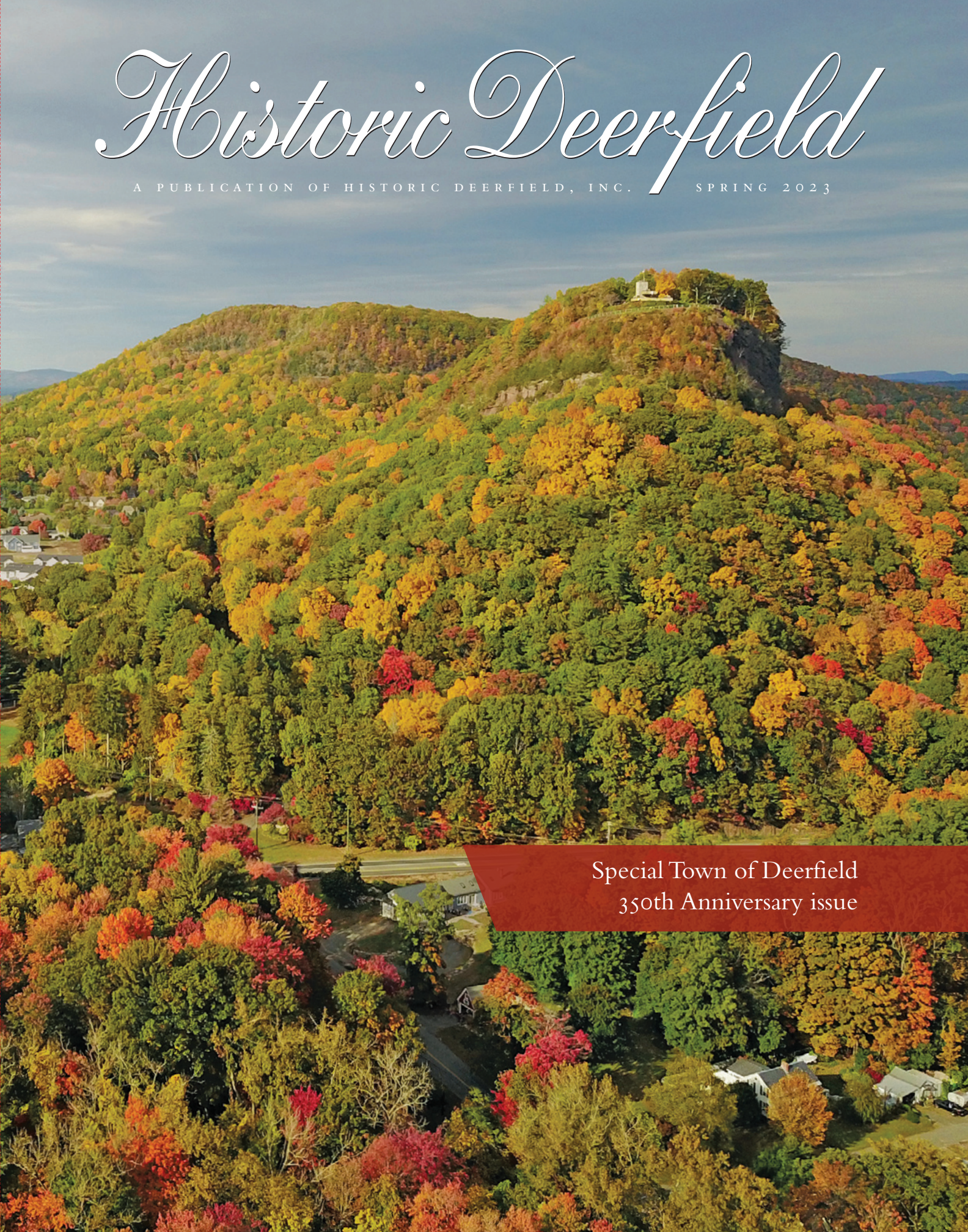

Special Town of Deerfield
350th Anniversary issue

IN THE AUTUMN OF 1819, Yale science professor Benjamin Silliman—who at age 40 already knew quite a bit about New England's natural geology—beheld a striking scene as he traveled north to Canada:

"Just at evening, we drove over to Deerfield . . . through the most luxuriant and beautiful country that we had anywhere seen in our whole journey. This country is the fine alluvial region, intersected by the Deerfield river, and probably formed by it, as the alluvial countries on rivers generally appear to be. Even now, in the latter part of October, the grass is most vividly green, thickly matted, and rich as the shag of velvet. The remains of the crops of corn, evinced also great productiveness, and seemed almost to realize the fables of the golden ages."

From the President

More than 200 years later, this description of Deerfield still strikes a chord for those of us who are fortunate enough to dwell in such a special place. Further in the past, a similar reflection on nature's potential bounty may have been front of mind for those "inhabitants of Paucumptucke" who petitioned the General Court in Boston in May 1673, for the incorporation of the town that would become Deerfield.

Despite the way they were identified in the official records, these petitioners were not the Pocumtuck people who had inhabited the Deerfield and Connecticut River valleys for millennia, but rather the European colonists who had arrived only several years earlier in the hopes of establishing the northwesternmost outpost of English settlement in North America. The use of an Indigenous name by these newcomers is a reminder that the 350 years we celebrate in this sesquarcentennial year of the town of Deerfield represents only a small portion of the span of human habitation of the area. As Abenaki scholar Margaret Bruchac reminds us in the essay that begins this issue, the Pocumtuck people had thrived in a large homeland, which was part of an even larger Algonkian cultural region that long preceded the establishment of New England.

Over the course of the 350 years that followed, there would be many groups of immigrants, voluntary or forced, who would build the town. Deerfield grew from its initial mile-long street located in today's northern section of town, ceded commercial and civic importance and population to the growing center of South Deerfield, and gave birth to the "daughter towns" of Greenfield (including Gill), Conway, and Shelburne. This issue of *Historic Deerfield* highlights the history of the entire town, not just Old Deerfield, and it reminds us of the contributions of many beyond the initial English settlers, such as immigrant groups from Ireland and central Europe.

At Historic Deerfield, we are launching programs to deepen and diversify the catalogue of stories we tell about the families and individuals who have lived along the banks of the Deerfield River. Visitors to Deerfield, virtual or in-person, may now download our "Encountering Pocumtuck" mobile app, enabling them to explore the Indigenous homelands and culture of the residents who walked the paths that crossed the Valley long before the Street was surveyed. And through our partnership with the Witness Stones Foundation, that same Street is now enriched with bronze markers that commemorate the lives and identities of the enslaved individuals who lived under extraordinarily unjust and trying circumstances in the 17th- and 18th-century town.

We recognize that these are just the first steps in broadening our interpretive mission, and we are grateful to our partners at the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association and the Deerfield 350th Committee for joining forces in crafting this publication that memorializes such a landmark celebration. Within these pages, you will learn about the town's industrial development, religious history, education, military history, placenames, natural topography, memorials, demographics, and much more.

The 2020 US census listed 5,090 residents in the town of Deerfield. We hope that each of them will see something of themselves in the stories of individuals and community that follow. My thanks to each of this issue's contributors. Their research and passion for history continue to transform the town for the better.

—John Davis, President, Historic Deerfield

Historic Deerfield

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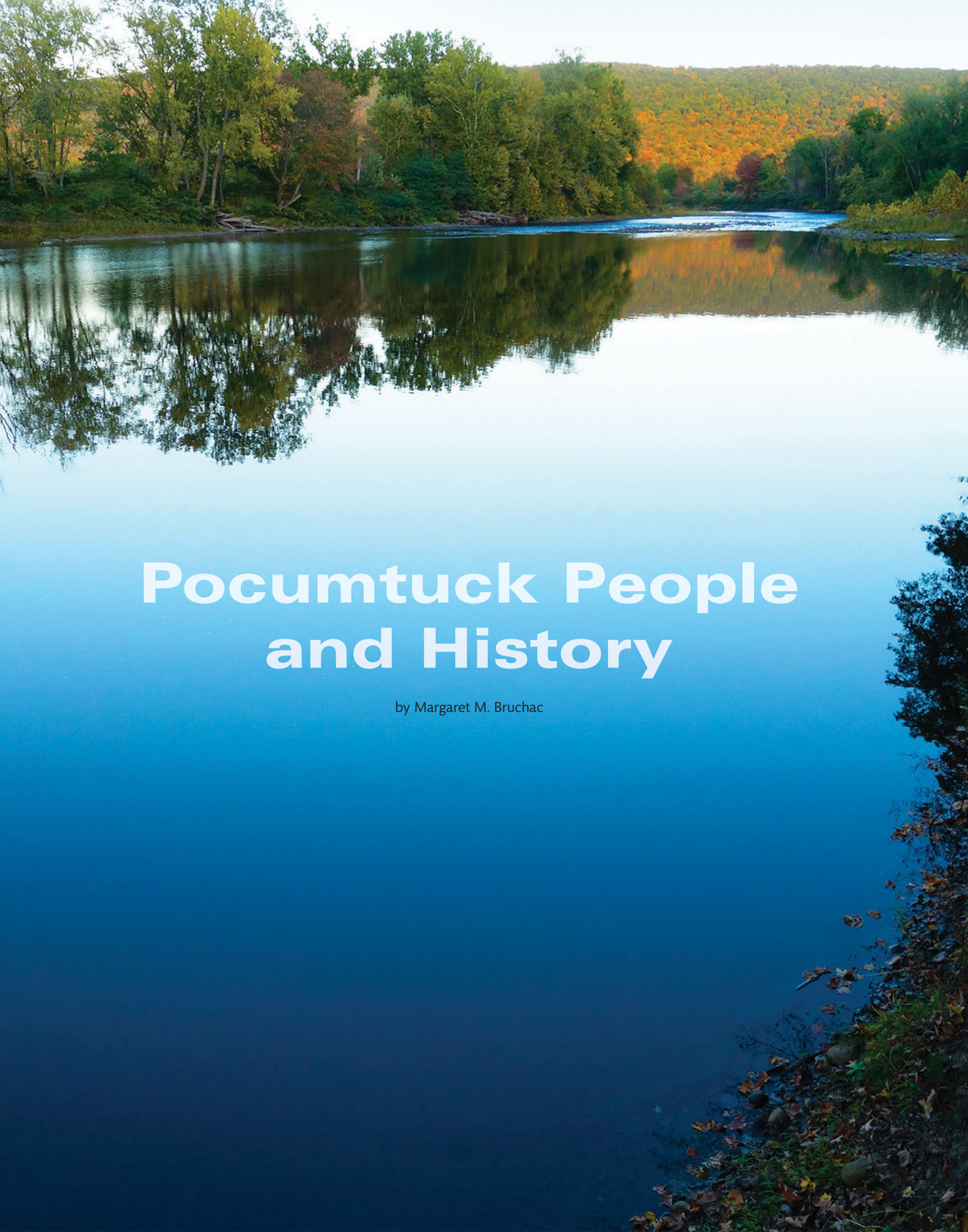
On the cover: View of Mt. Sugarloaf. Photo by Allison Bell.

Back cover: *View from Sugarloaf, Looking South Along the Connecticut River to Holyoke Range,* ca. 1877, by James Wells Champney. 2012.29.



Pocumtuck People and History

by Margaret M. Bruchac

When we consider the history of this place, it is important to acknowledge that the town we now call Deerfield lies within the ancestral homeland of the Indigenous Pocumtuck people. The central Connecticut River Valley has been a homeland for Native peoples for at least 10,000 years. Over time, Native people adapted their lifeways to new plants, animals, and changing environments. They knew precisely which seasonal resources to use for food, shelter, and medicine. The forests were a managed wilderness; planting lands were cleared and cultivated, and forest underbrush burned periodically to encourage the growth of useful plants, to generate new growth to feed deer herds, and to ease travel.

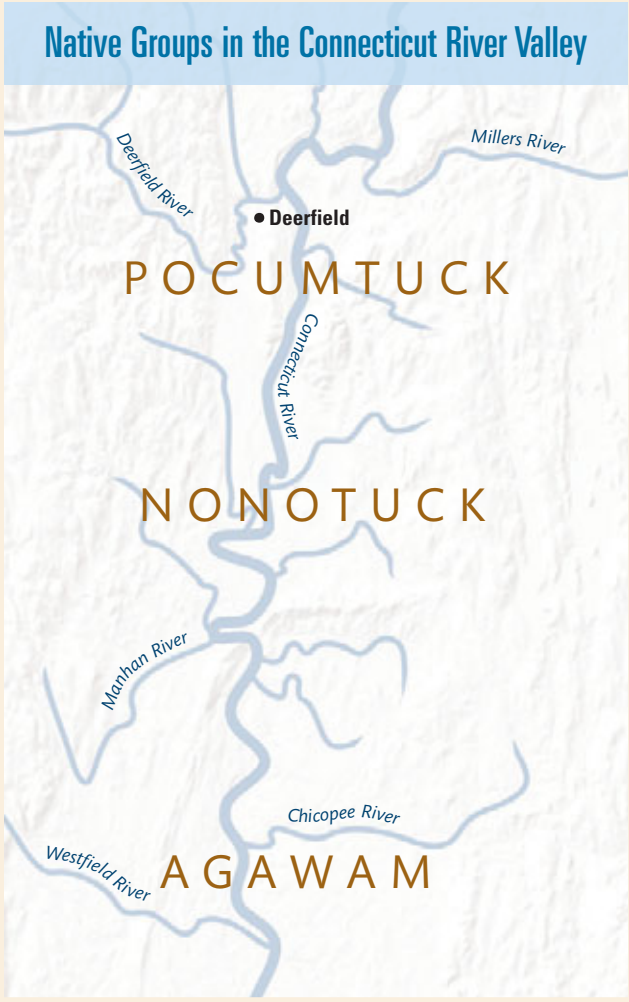
Pocumtuck people lived in a large homeland that included seasonal hunting territories, fishing areas, gathering places, and sacred sites. Native homes, known as wigwams, were covered with woven mats or bark that could be easily moved to different locations. Temporary fishing and traveling camps were built alongside the river, with more permanent homesites and food storage places situated on elevated lands above the floodplains. Networks of trails and waterways connected different extended kin groups and nations.

Pocumtuck people were related culturally and linguistically to other Algonkian Indian peoples in present-day New England, including: the Nipmuc and Wampanoag to the East; the Nonotuck, Mohegan and Pequot to the South; the Mohican to the West; and the Abenaki to the North, among others. Through times of conflict, diaspora, and loss, Native people formed new alliances and kinship relations. Marriage, kinship, and clan networks linked Pocumtuck families. Male and female sachems and councils of elders guided the community. Alliances with other Native nations were maintained by regular social, religious, and political activities, as well as trade through far ranging networks, and the exchange of gifts at gatherings and seasonal feasts held throughout the year. The Pocumtuck were closely related through trade, alliance, and intermarriage with other tribes living in the middle Connecticut River Valley. Each community maintained their own village sites and cornfields, and different peoples came together to fish for salmon and shad every spring at the falls along the Pocumpetook (now Deerfield) and Quinneticook (now Connecticut) Rivers, at places like Peskeompskut (now Turners Falls) and Salmon Falls (now Shelburne Falls).

The middle Connecticut River Valley forms the core of an Indigenous homeland where the Pocumtuck and other Native people made use of abundant natural resources. Local resources included a wide variety of foods and medicines from animals, fish, birds, berries, roots, barks, leaves, and saps. About 3,000 years ago, Native people here began to cultivate seeds and roots from plants such as sunflower and goosefoot. About 800 years ago they began growing and storing large quantities of corn. Common food mixtures included pemmican—dried meat and berries; yokeag—ground parched corn mixed with maple sugar; and succotash—a stew of corn and beans.

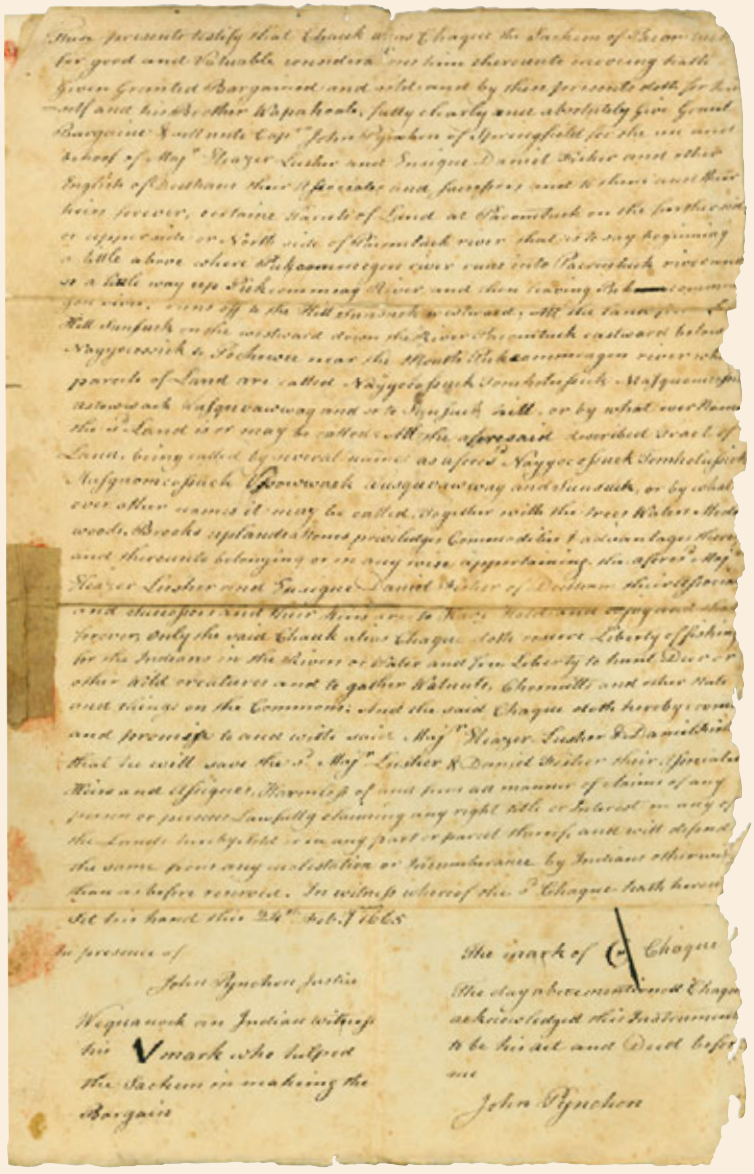
Names for Native People in the Valley

Native people were often identified by notable places in their homelands. The word Pocumtuck comes from the Native name of the river Pocumpetook that runs through Deerfield. It indicates a river that is, by turns, shallow, sandy and swift. Between about 1676 and 1740, many Native



Maize kernels from an archaeological site in Deerfield, likely dating to AD 1400-1600. Courtesy of UMass Amherst Archaeological Field School.

people from the Connecticut River Valley came to be known as Schaghticoke while they were living in a refugee village by that name. In the 1740s, a missionary named Father Mathevet encountered a Pocumtuck community living near Montreal, and learned that they also called themselves Amiskwôlowôkôiak, which roughly translates to mean people of the beaver-tail hill. The hills east of the village of Deerfield are shaped like a beaver, with the tail at the northern end. The Pocumtuck Range was once called Pemawatchuwatunck, meaning long, winding hill. Wequamps, now Mount Sugarloaf, refers to a place where a hill drops off.



Deed for land in Pocumtuck dated 1667. This 19th-century copy of the deed in the Dedham town hall was made by Jonathan Hoyt and given to Epaphras Hoyt of Deerfield, and by him added to his "Recollections of Times and Things of My Early Life." Historic Deerfield Library.

European Trade and Conflict, 1600-1650

When Europeans arrived, old inter-tribal relationships were reshaped by European disease, settlement, and war. During the 1620s, with the aid of the Dutch, the Kanienkehaka Mohawk conquered the Mohican in New Netherland (now New York State). The Mohawk then began making raids into the Connecticut River Valley.

When the English traders William and John Pynchon first arrived at Springfield in 1636, the Pocumtuck were eager to trade corn, beaver, and other furs for trade goods. The Pocumtuck sent wampum (shell beads) to the Mohawk to gain protection and access to Dutch traders at Fort Orange (Albany, NY), in order to buy guns and ammunition that English traders refused to sell. Colonial documents reveal that the first English settlers recognized the Pocumtuck and Nonotuck as sovereign peoples. William Pynchon wrote, in 1648, that they "must be esteemed as an Independant free people."

After several decades of inter-tribal warfare, the Pocumtuck constructed a fort for storage of food, ammunition, and trade goods. In 1648, the English interpreter Thomas Stanton reported "one thousand warriors at Pocomtucket, 300 or more having guns, powder and bullets." Pocumtuck sachems Onapequin, Massapetot, Shattoockquis, Mettawampe, and the Sunksqua (female sachem) Mashalisk tried to conduct peaceful trade while limiting English settlement. After Pocumtuck people became indebted for goods purchased at a time when the beaver population declined, the Pynchons pressured them to sell land.

Diplomacy and War

In 1664, several Dutch, Mohawk, and Mohican ambassadors attempted to make peace by sending wampum to the Pocumtuck. These efforts failed when the Mohawk sachem Saheda was killed. On September 8, 1664, colonial relations changed dramatically when the English took the colony of New Netherland from the Dutch. The English then signed a new treaty agreeing to aid the Mohawk and Mohican in any war against the Sokoki, Pennacook, and Pocumtuck. In early February 1665, the Mohawk attacked the Pocumtuck fort, killing the sachem Onapequin and his family. Some survivors went to live with the Nonotuck and Sokoki.

The Pocumtuck did not vanish when their fort was attacked, or when English surveyors came in 1671 to measure land for a settlement. They simply shifted their homesites and planting fields to other parts of their vast homeland. On February 24, 1667, the first deed for Pocumtuck land was transacted between John Pynchon and a Native man named Chaque. Many Indian deeds read like joint use agreements, so it is doubtful that Native people ever intended to leave. For example, the 1667 deed for Pocumtuck land reserved "Liberty of fishing for ye Indians in ye Rivers or waters & free Liberty to hunt deere or other wild creatures, & to gather walnuts chestnuts & other nuts things &c on ye Commons."

During Metacom's Rebellion (King Philip's War) from 1675-1676, the Pocumtuck people allied with Sokoki, Nonotuck, Quaboag, Wampanoag, Nipmuc, and Narragansett. They attacked Deerfield in September 1675, and forced the English to abandon the town. In May 1676, more than 300 Native women, children, and elderly non-combatants from several nations were killed by the English at the fishing

Oak forest on Pocumtuck RIdge (above) and floodplain forest along the Deerfield River (below). Photos by Allison Bell.

Historic Deerfield has worked with a team of museum staff, Indigenous advisors, and local historians to design a free mobile app titled "Encountering Pocumtuck: A Walk through Deerfield's Indigenous History." This audio walking tour, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, invites visitors to explore an area that has been inhabited for more than 12,000 years. The app emphasizes four essential insights to understanding Indigenous history, past and present:

➤ All of North America is Indigenous territory. This includes sacred sites, homesites and gathering places where Native peoples have lived and flourished for many thousands of years.

➤ The middle Connecticut River Valley is the core of an Indigenous homeland where the Pocumtuck and other Native people have made use of abundant natural resources.

➤ By exploring Pocumtuck histories, we can better understand how Indigenous peoples used different strategies to navigate life alongside European colonial settlers, and with other tribal nations.

➤ Pocumtuck people were not isolated. They were related culturally and linguistically to other Algonkian Indian peoples in present-day New England. Native people in the region did not simply disappear in the aftermath of colonial settlement and warfare. They formed new alliances and kinship relations, and their descendants have remembered and revisited their homelands from the 1600s to the present day.

At several stops, the Walking Tour offers examples of Native American oral traditions and experiences that reflect these histories.

www.historic-deerfield.org/mobile-app

camp at Peskeompskut (Turners Falls). After that attack, many Pocumtuck, Woronoco, Nonotuck, and Sokoki people moved to the refugee village of Schaghticoke, New York, while others stayed on in their traditional homelands.

The English re-settled Deerfield in 1682. Eight years later, about 150 Pocumtuck people left Schaghticoke and moved back to Deerfield. The Pocumtuck tried to re-establish friendly relations, but English fear and hostility forced them to move north for their own protection. By 1700, many Pocumtuck were living among the St. Francis Abenaki at Odanak, near the St. Lawrence River. A few joined the Kanienkehaka Mohawk at Kahnawake, near Montreal. The "Great Peace" of 1701 created a new alliance between the French and 30 Native nations in Canada. When a war party of French soldiers and more than 200 Native allies (Kahnawake Mohawk, St. Francis Abenaki, Pennacook and Wendat) went to attack Deerfield in 1704, Pocumtuck Indians went with them.

In later generations, Pocumtuck and Abenaki people continued to visit Deerfield and other familiar places. Although their stories were not always recorded in New England town histories, some families today have preserved Native names and oral traditions that originated in the Connecticut River Valley. Descendants of the Pocumtuck can be found among the Western Abenaki and other Native communities today.

English Occupation of Native Homelands

Over time, English roads replaced Native foot trails, and today's working farms replaced Native cornfields. The English made use of the same landscape that had long supported the Pocumtuck—two rivers with easy access for travel and trade, abundant flora and fauna, flat land and well-drained terraces for homesites, and fertile soil for planting crops. Archaeological investigations in Deerfield have uncovered more than 100 different Native use sites. The densest evidence is often right underfoot, since English towns occupied land in choice locations that had already been cleared by Native people.

Like so many locations in the Northeast, Deerfield is a place where Indigenous histories are inextricably entangled with colonial histories. Despite the imposing presence of 18th- and 19th-century English architecture and monuments, this is still an Indigenous landscape. We can still hear the stories, can still see the evidence of Native homelands, and can better understand the legacies of the past in Native memories today.

Note: This article is adapted from "Pocumtuck: A Native Homeland," a brochure written by Margaret Bruchac and printed in 2006 by Historic Deerfield as part of its Walking Tour series.

Living With the Past

History and Memory in Deerfield

by Barbara Mathews

In *The Federal Writers' Project Guide* to 1930s Massachusetts, American writer and poet Conrad Aiken lyrically described Deerfield in 1937 as "A beautiful ghost…Deerfield is one of those towns which have literally and completely been forgotten by time: it has fallen asleep." Aiken's romantic assessment notwithstanding, human activity, not ghostly stasis, has shaped Deerfield's history and its reputation as a significant site in the history of colonial North America and the early United States.

Deerfield, in company with other towns in the region, is located in the ancestral homeland of the Pocumtuck people. A remarkable confluence of preserved landscapes, archaeology, buildings, artifacts, and archival material enable us to access millennia of lived experience in the mid-Connecticut River Valley. Deerfield's two museums, the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association (PVMA) and Historic Deerfield, steward and continue to collect artifacts of all kinds relating to the history of the region. These wide-ranging collections include objects made, purchased, and used in Deerfield homes over the centuries as well as the books residents read and the documents they produced in the course of their daily lives.

When the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association opened a museum in 1880, the name, "Memorial Hall," clearly signaled its purpose. Spurred by what Abraham Lincoln called "mystic chords of memory," PVMA in company with other historical societies forming across the country in the aftermath of the Civil War sought to gather and preserve local artifacts and related histories for current and future generations. The new museum would hold the relics of Deerfield's past in an 18th-century brick edifice originally built to house Deerfield Academy.

PVMA's founders were especially interested in collecting and displaying objects that connected visitors to events that formed the core of Deerfield's early historical identity. Family legacies coalesced into a formulaic, oft-told ancestral story of hearty frontier pioneers enduring and ultimately overcoming hostile conditions. Persistent family and community memories focused especially on a devastating winter raid on the town in 1704 by French forces and their

Above: Shirred rug with Arabella Sheldon's depiction of the Old Indian House, 1842. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum. 1918.02.04.

Clockwise from left:

Engraving of the Ensign John Sheldon House, 1699, known as the Old Indian House after the raid of 1704. Historic Deerfield Library.

Memorial Hall Museum, the former Deerfield Academy building, opened by the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association in 1880.

Old Indian House Door in Memorial Hall. Photo taken in 2020 for a newspaper article. Courtesy of *Greenfield Recorder*/Paul Franz.

Allen Sisters photograph of the Old Indian House Door as originally installed in Memorial Hall. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum, 1996.14.0541.

Silver souvenir spoon made in Greenfield, MA, in the early 20th century, inscribed "OLD INDIAN HOUSE/ OLD DEERFIELD 1704" 2015.5.

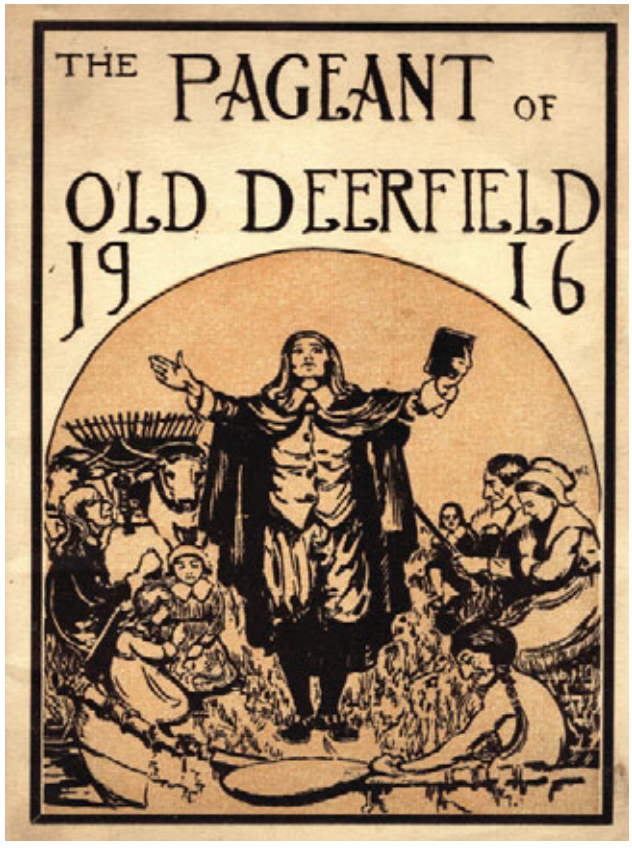
Native American allies. Much of the settlement was destroyed in the attack in which 40 residents and 10 would-be rescuers were killed. Of 112 men, women, and children taken captive, 21 perished during a traumatic 300-hundred-mile trek to Canada in deep winter.

The home of Ensign John Sheldon that survived the raid subsequently became known as "The Old Indian House." Epaphras Hoyt included an engraving of the house in his 1824 *Antiquarian Researches Comprising a History of the Colonial Wars.* An early tourist destination, it attracted sightseers wishing to see for themselves the hatchet-scarred front door and to hear the current occupants recount the dramatic events that had unfolded there long ago on that fateful February dawn. A Mount Holyoke student who traveled with classmates to see the house in 1837 described viewing the door "with the hole cut in it by the Indian hatchet." In her notes, now at the Mount Holyoke College Archives and Special Collections, she remarked that it took "several knocks…but at last an old woman came and showed us the room in which the bullet holes are to be seen…perhaps it was an old story which she was tired of repeating." Nor would time diminish the powerful hold both the raid and the Ensign Sheldon house continued to exercise upon the imaginations of residents and visitors alike. A shirred rug Arabella Sheldon of Deerfield completed in 1842 depicting the house suggests the iconic place it occupied in the memory of Sheldon family members and others whose ancestors had experienced the raid. Interestingly, tearing down of the Sheldon house in 1848 strengthened rather than diminished its identity as a colonial relic of a bygone era. The house's famous front door was rescued with other fragments in the wake of a spirited but ultimately unsuccessful preservation effort; a local artist, George Washington Mark, painted the structure on the eve of its destruction. Mark's own name testified to the importance of past people and events in informing Americans' historical understandings and national identity. His idealized depiction of "The Old Indian House" in company with the earlier engraving of 1824 would inspire subsequent versions in a variety of forms to the present day.

When PVMA opened the Memorial Hall Museum in 1880, the Sheldon house door became the proverbial threshold thousands of tourists crossed to encounter American heritage. Reverently placed in the Museum's Memorial Room complete with embedded hatchet, the "Old Indian House Door" offered a visceral connection to a perilous, heroic past. Surrounded by marble memorial plaques attesting to the struggles and dangers experienced by the town's early residents, the scarred door invited viewers to engage personally with iconic, material evidence of Deerfield's important place in the colonial frontier history of the United States.

The devotion of PVMA members and visitors to this particular Deerfield story was grounded in emotions far more powerful than simple antiquarian curiosity about a quaint and bygone era. The Old Indian House door had become, in the words of PVMA's founder and president, George Sheldon, "The most realistic relic of the strenuous life of our ancestors. The jagged hole in its face is tangible evidence of savagery and civilization in a context not elsewhere seen. . . ." Family histories passed down to those whose ancestors had experienced the raid and its legacies reinforced the popular historical thesis that an ever-advancing frontier moving from east to west across the continent had played a critical role in instilling Americans' defining characteristics as a people and a nation: hardy, egalitarian, aggressive, and innovative. These assumptions dominated and shaped many Americans' understanding of their own family, as well as regional and the nation's origin story. Founded in 1952, The Heritage Foundation, now Historic Deerfield, would carry much of this long-established, triumphal narrative forward well into the 20th century.

The strong sense of the town's historical significance and heritage similarly informed Deerfield's early commemorations in company with the many monuments placed

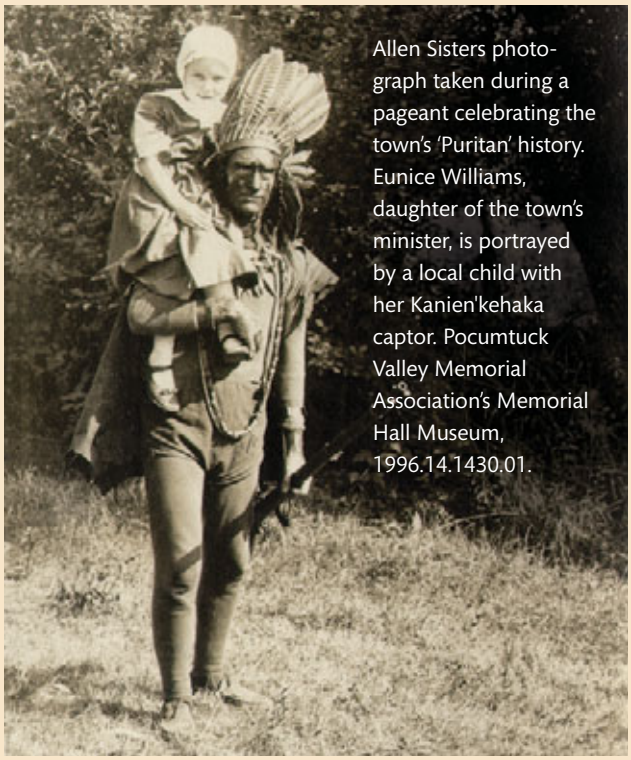


Cover of the program for the third pageant held in Deerfield celebrating the struggles and achievements of the colonial founders. Historic Deerfield Library.

along the village street and other locations, such as Bloody Brook in South Deerfield. The early colonial era in company with the stories of the raid of 1704 defined the town's identity. Everything in the village of Old Deerfield especially, including the restored buildings and the landscape itself, was tied to this imagined past. The carefully constructed, clear narrative helped to build the town's reputation as a tourist destination at the turn of the 20th century. Deerfield hosted a series of outdoor historical pageants in 1910, 1913, and 1916. Choreographed by a professional pageant director, town residents young and old donned vintage clothing and acted out scenes of the town's past in *tableau vivant* (with musical accompaniment by the Greenfield town band) before thousands of spectators. The performances, enthused the "bring home the romance of colonial life as no book could possibly do."

These successes inspired others. Books, cookie cutters, paper dolls, and even an early historical film by Thomas Edison featuring an Indian raid provided opportunities for people to feel connected to what they perceived as a romantic and exciting era. Visitors brought home stereoviews, booklets, postcards, souvenir plates and teacups, and commemorative silver spoons. In 1926, residents arranged to open and charge admission to 15 of the historic houses on Deerfield's old main street to raise money for the care of a town cemetery. More than 5,000 visitors poured into town. Their enthusiastic response testified to the impact of the Colonial Revival in doing just that—reviving Americans' interest in the nation's colonial past and a perceived shared heritage. Consequently, Memorial Hall's steadily increasing annual visitation reached more than 10,000 by 1930.

During the same period, Deerfield residents sought artistic inspiration from their town's 17th- and 18th-century past as they launched their own version of the International Arts and Crafts Movement, producing needlework, pottery,



Allen Sisters photograph taken during a pageant celebrating the town's 'Puritan' history. Eunice Williams, daughter of the town's minister, is portrayed by a local child with her Kanien'kehaka captor. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum, 1996.14.1430.01.

Promotional photo from the 1910 silent movie "Ononko's Vow" filmed in Deerfield by Edison Mfg. Co. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum, 1997.08.01.0128.

Woven raffia basket made by Sarah Cowles, a member of the Pocumtuck Basket Makers c. 1903. Cowles based her image of the Old Indian House on an 1848 painting by George Washington Mark. 71.043.

metalwork, woodworking, bookbinding, and basketry. Here, too, the powerful memory-making impulses embodied in the Old Indian House continued to leave their mark in the artistic handcrafts created in Deerfield. Pauline Bouve marveled how, "the revival and systematic pursuit of the arts and crafts that flourished a hundred and fifty years ago, should have had its beginning in a little New England town whose early history was marked by persistent physical struggles against conditions supremely antagonistic to art." In her article, "The Deerfield Renaissance" written in 1905 for *New England Magazine,* Bouve made sure to include on the first page the 1824 engraving of the Ensign Sheldon house, which she identified as the "scene of the Deerfield massacre."

Basket making was among the handicrafts that flourished in Deerfield during the Arts and Crafts era. Mary Allen, who with her sister Frances, achieved international recognition for artistic photography, described an impressive display of raffia baskets, an imported grass that "lends itself to as beautiful decorative effects as the weaver is capable of inventing." In her 1911 article for *Handicraft* magazine, "How They Do It In Deerfield," Mary Allen emphasized how "raffia work allows and even demands more individuality of expression . . . duplicates are not encouraged. Each woman follows her bent and develops a style of her own. . . ." Sarah Cowles chose to weave an image of the Old Indian House into a raffia basket she made in about 1903, based on George Washington Mark's 1848 painting of the house. Over time, Sarah's basket accreted a new, romantic association. When Historic Deerfield received the basket in 1971, an accompanying family note explained how "The basket—over 200 years old, was made

Eight-year-old Molly Harlow posing in the supposed act of taking a stone ax to the Indian House door in the 1950s suggests how powerful this affirmative, explanatory narrative was, and how long it would persist. Associated Press photo, 1954.

by Eunice Williams, who was captured at the sack of Deerfield, Mass, in 1704. Eunice was raised by a Canadian Indian family, the design is her memory of the house from which she was taken." This blurring of historical events—Eunice Williams's captivity and subsequent adoption into a Kanienkehaka family at Kahnewake outside Montreal—with Sarah Cowles' skillful rendering in 1903 based on an 1848 painting, exemplifies the powerful memory making impulses that characterized Deerfield at the turn of the 20th century.

Of course, these carefully constructed heritage stories did not reflect the far more complex, multi-faceted history of either the region or the United States as a whole. The triumphal version of a simpler past populated by heroic men and women of Western European descent overcoming adversity may have offered a reassuring counter point to a much less certain early-20th-century America characterized by rapid and unsettling changes through urbanization, industrialization, and immigration. Individuals and groups left out of Colonial Revival era heritage stories included Native people who continued to travel through and remained connected with their ancestral homelands through kinship and oral histories. Decades would pass before the history, contributions, and achievements of Eastern European immigrants who arrived in Deerfield and the surrounding region at the turn of the 20th century were recognized or celebrated.

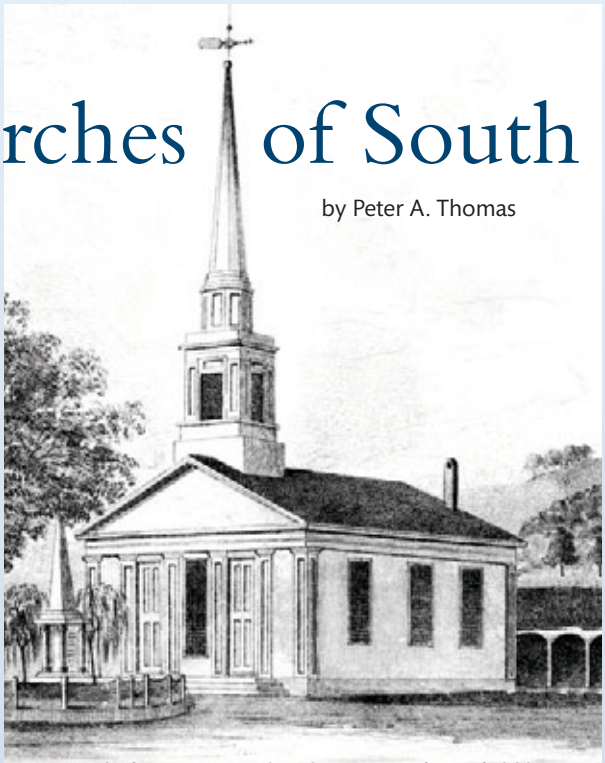
Deerfield's individual, family, and collective histories are becoming richer and more nuanced as increasingly diverse cultural perspectives and legacies reemerge after an extended period of erasure and historical amnesia. The Civil Rights Movement of 1960s and '70s, in company with the American Indian Movement, would lead many Americans to question the triumphal historical narratives they had imbibed for generations, transforming long-held beliefs, in the process. In 2004, Deerfield's museums jointly commemorated the 300th anniversary of the raid on Deerfield by collaborating on special programs and exhibits with Indigenous consultants and communities. Gifts from Indigenous descendants of those typically left out of earlier histories of Deerfield and the region offer important alternative perspectives traditionally obscured by or simply missing from the English colonial settler memory and narratives. Visitors to the Memorial Hall Museum can now view the Sheldon House door and other artifacts from multiple cultural perspectives of those involved in the 1704 raid.

Deerfield's museums continue to draw upon the remarkable confluence of archival resources, material culture, preserved landscapes and architecture to share the many histories of the mid-Connecticut River Valley. Initiatives by PVMA and Historic Deerfield are re-introducing to the public the town and the region's history of enslavement of Africans, African Americans, and Indigenous people. Historic Deerfield affiliation with the Witness Stones Project includes placing Witness Stones memorials at multiple sites along the mile-long village street where enslaved men, women and children lived. These and other efforts are part of the ongoing initiative to restore and share diverse individual and community histories with visitors and local residents alike. Efforts to recover and introduce place-based Indigenous histories to residents and visitors with the help of Native scholars and memory keepers include PVMA's extensive web exhibit, *Raid on Deerfield: The Many Stories of 1704,* and a free downloadable walking tour app created by Historic Deerfield and a consulting team of scholars led by Abenaki scholar Margaret Bruchac.

A student in Historic Deerfield's Summer Fellowship Program recently remarked, "People in the present are all foreigners when facing history." Deerfield offers the opportunity to reflect upon multiple histories and the process of memory making in a New England community as it celebrates the 350th anniversary of its founding. In the process, we all are empowered to consider the nature of our own connections to the past from an inherited present.

The Churches of South Deerfield

by Peter A. Thomas



Detail of Monument Church on map of Deerfield by Benjamin Clark (Philadelphia, 1855). 82.012.

THE FIELD BOOK of Arthur Hoyt (1811–1890), hired by the selectmen of Deerfield in response to the Commonwealth's 1830 mandate for each town to provide a survey, largely consists of compass bearings and measurements. Along with these typical details, Hoyt, a young mathematical prodigy, included small sketches of topographical and man-made features to help fix their position in the landscape. One of these was the earliest depiction of South Deerfield's first church.

The four earliest churches (the Congregational Church of South Deerfield, a Methodist Church, the Monument Church, and St. James Church), as well as related church properties stand or stood between the village common and the Bloody Brook monument (erected in 1837) along a half-mile stretch of North Main Street. In the 20th century, two Catholic churches were built on Sugarloaf Street. Throughout the history of the village these meeting houses have served as vital centers of community and religious activities. These structures provide a significant visual link to the town's history; each has a unique story and evolution.

In response to a petition from residents living in the southern part of the town, the Massachusetts General Court created the Second Congregational Parish of Deerfield in June 1818; the First Parish having been created in 1673. The boundary line separating the first and second parishes ran east-west across the town along a line lying just south of the Bars, roughly following the track of Lee Road, about two miles south of the village of Deerfield. This parish coincides with today's South Deerfield.

As a direct result of this legislative action, the Second Parish Congregational Church was founded in 1818, with construction of its meeting house completed in 1821. This large edifice stood on a lot on the west side of North Main Street about 1,000 feet north of the Bloody Brook monument. Hoyt's sketch shows a separate tower on the north side of the building that would have housed the belfry. In 1848, this meeting house was moved on rollers, over the course of several weeks, to its present site (71 North Main Street).

Sketch of Bloody Brook Church in Arthur Hoyt's survey notebook, 1830. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library.

A feud among members of the Second Parish Congregational Church resulted in several of the leading families in the village leaving the congregation in 1848. Disgruntled congregants established a second Congregational Society and constructed a new meeting house known as the Monument Church (110 North Main) with a parsonage on the lot immediately south. Between 1848 and 1865, each congregation had its own preacher and church officers. An upwelling of religious fervor during this interval led to several religious revival meetings at both churches. Unity of the two churches was finally restored after an Ecumenical Council of ministers and deputies from surrounding towns adjudicated the initial dispute and laid out a plan for reunion.

The two congregations agreed to merge and hold their services in the original meeting house. Carpenters began restoring and refurbishing it, including extending the building by 25 feet to accommodate a combined congregation of more than 200. The current steeple also dates to that time. This expanded structure is the oldest public building still standing in South Deerfield. One clause of the reconciliation agreement required the

sale and closure of the Monument Church after removing the steeple and bell. The bell was transferred to the remodeled Congregational Church, but the 1848 structure sat idle for a number of years before it again saw religious service.

Sometime in the 1840s, a Methodist Society formed in the village. Based on the evidence of a single photograph, the Methodist meeting house was a two-story wooden structure with its gable end to the street. Constructed in about 1850, by 1912 it began functioning as a club room, with a tin shop in the basement. Located near the town common (60 North Main Street) the building sold in 1923; an automotive business now occupies the site.

The largest number of South Deerfield church goers attended the Congregational Church, but by 1889 the community had become increasingly diversified. A church poll conducted that year showed that Catholics, Methodists, Baptists, Spiritualists, and Unitarians, resided in South Deerfield, with Catholics forming the greatest minority. In 1871, the disused Monument Church meeting house was purchased by the "Catholic Society" and served as a mission for the Holy Trinity Parish in Greenfield. With the founding of St. James Parish in 1895, the Catholic meeting house was literally rolled down the street on logs and drawn by oxen to its present location (83 North Main Street). The move took long enough for a Sunday mass, a funeral, and a wedding to take place while the building was in transit. St. James Church was substantially altered in 1923 by the addition of a portico and belfry to its front, and in 1925 with the addition of a large painting by Augustus Vincent Tack, a nationally known artist, in its interior. Nonetheless, the original form of the Monument Church is still discernible.

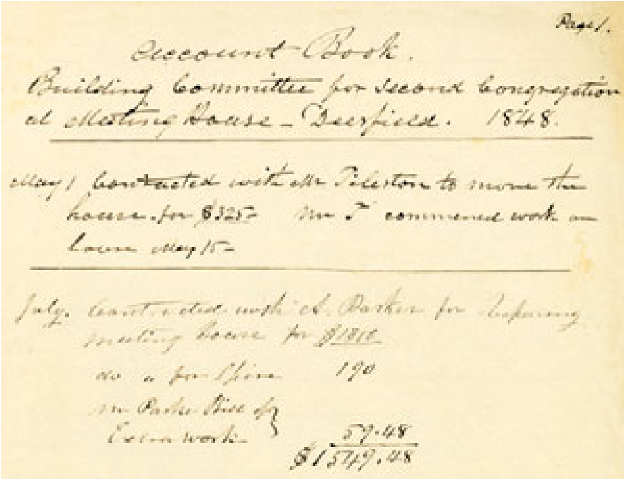
The Irish origin of many of the original parish members caused locals to refer to it as "the Irish church." Yet in the early days a number of Lithuanian immigrants attended, and a priest came to hear confessions in that language for many years. Lithuanian parishioners also donated the parish organ during one of the periods of renovations. With declining enrollment in the 20th century, the St. James Parish church closed and the church and parish house were sold to a private party. Both the church and parish house still stand; the former is currently vacant.

At the end of the 19th century, the Congregational Church of South Deerfield remained a vital organization. Feeling the need to expand, a chapel was constructed across North Main Street containing a large meeting hall and adjoining kitchen where community members enjoyed numerous church suppers. Just before World War I, the church felt an economic pinch and sold the chapel to the Freemasons who used it as a Masonic Lodge for many years before a private party purchased it.

The Eastern European immigrants who came to the area beginning in the late 1880s to work in the fields of Yankee farmers soon gained their own lands and became established in the community. These recent arrivals founded new businesses and institutions in South Deerfield, including churches to serve an ethnically diversifying community. In 1908, St. Stanislaus Roman Catholic Church was established as a parish to serve Polish Catholic immigrants. It met temporarily in a commercial building on Elm Street before construction of a church edifice on Sugarloaf Street in 1913. A century later (2008), St. Stanislaus combined with St. James into a single parish and took the name Holy Family Parish. In 1929, a non-papal Ukrainian Catholic church, Holy Name of Jesus Parish, was also established on Sugarloaf Street.

With a declining membership, but a strong sense of civic responsibility, officers of the Congregational Church of South Deerfield donated their meeting house and attached community room to the Town of Deerfield. In 2016, the church's records went to the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library, and its ecclesiastical pewter to Historic Deerfield. An ongoing review of the disposition of this historic structure that has served the community for nearly 200 years may allow it to continue as a senior center, meeting hall, or some other public purpose.

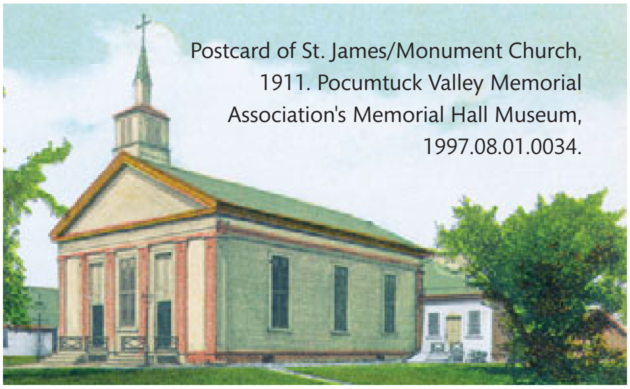
Pewter service made for the South Deerfield's Second Congregational Church by Thomas Danforth and Sherman Boardman, ca. 1818. Gift of the South Deerfield Congregational Church, South Deerfield, MA. 2016.33.

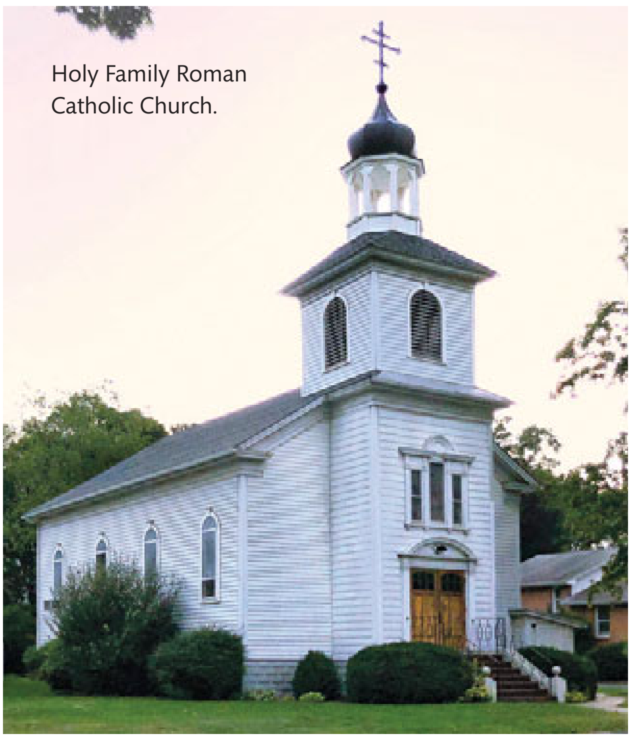

Page 1.
Account Book.
Building Committee for Second Congregation
at Meeting House – Deerfield. 1848.

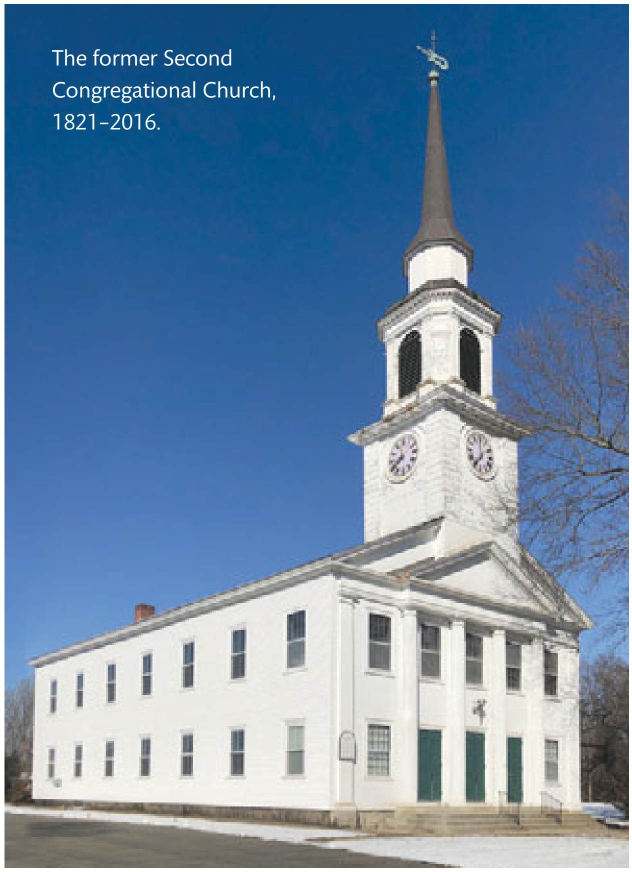
May 1 Contracted with Mr [illegible] to move the house for $325 [illegible] commenced work on house May 15

July. Contracted with A. Parker for [illegible] meeting house for $1810
do " for [illegible] 190
Mr Parker Bill of Extra work 57.48
$1549.48

Account listing expenses for moving and repairing the Church, 1848. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library.


Postcard of St. James/Monument Church, 1911. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum, 1997.08.01.0034.


Holy Family Roman Catholic Church.


The former Second Congregational Church, 1821–2016.


Holy Name of Jesus Parish.

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

Toponyms, or placenames, are geographical descriptors applied to large regions (Massachusetts) as well as minute locations (Pogue's Hole). Placenames often reflect a historical or cultural association with the place, or may indicate a proprietary association (e.g., Sheldon's Brook). Frequently the dominant society replaces older names with new ones of their choosing, a form of cultural erasure. Yet many locations retain a connection with past events or circumstances.

1. Cheapside: Now part of Greenfield, Cheapside became a commercial district on the Deerfield River, particularly after the opening of the South Hadley canal (1795) brought additional river traffic up the Connecticut. While tempting to attribute its name to the English term for "market place," Sheldon asserts its earliest usage as occurring in 1689. According to Kellogg, its distant location from the center of settlement made the land less valuable, and hence cheap.

2. Pine Hill: Site of Native settlement which served as a granary. It later became the location of the ferryman's house. An old ferry once crossed the Deerfield River at this point, but was abandoned when the river channel shifted. The ferryman's house, owned by the town, for a time became the site of the town's poor farm.

3. Arthur's Seat: The highest elevation in the town of Deerfield, located near the Shelburne line. Writing in 1939, Jonathan Ashley speculated that it was named for Arthur Hoyt (1811–1899) who as a teenager surveyed the town in 1830. The name does not appear on his survey, now in the Massachusetts Archives, nor on his 1832 printed map of the county. Arthur's father, Epaphras, who taught his son the science of surveying, may be the source of the name. An avid reader of Sir Walter Scott, the elder Hoyt may have noted the author's description of Arthur's Seat near Edinburgh, Scotland, as among the "solitary and romantic environs" he roamed as a schoolboy.

4. Wisdom: Area northwest of the Deerfield River bordering Greenfield and Shelburne. Deerfield physician, Stephen West Williams (1790–1855), left an undated manuscript discussing the town's early placenames. He noted that Wisdom was "so named for the knowledge and intelligence of early inhabitants." More likely it takes its name from Selah Wise (b. 1800) who settled in that corner of Deerfield in 1822, and generations of his descendants. The suffix "dom" indicates a jurisdiction.

5. Deerfield: Settlement and river called Pocumtuck by its original Native inhabitants, as well as early English settlers. The derivation of the English name Deerfield may relate to its earliest English male settler and original proprietor, Robert Hindsdale: hind being a deer, and dale a type of field.

6. Eagle Brook: Today synonymous with the private school of the same name, it refers to a stream flowing down the west slope of Pocumtuck Ridge, joining the Deerfield River south of the village of Deerfield. Sheldon notes its earliest use as 1670. It was later called Sawmill Brook, and Abijah's Brook, so named for the free Black man, Abijah Prince, who owned land along it near present-day Rte. 5/10.

7. Wapping: Settlement a mile south of Deerfield village. The area was initially referred to as Plumbtree Plain, with the name Wapping applied by 1687. Like London's Wapping district, the name may originally have referred to a marshy area. In the second half of the 19th century it had its own school and fire department.

8. The Bars: Located at the south end of Deerfield's common field fence, the Bars indicated an opening through which livestock and their owners could pass. The last raid on Deerfield, in 1746, and the subsequent poem by Lucy Terry Prince served to fix the name in local lore.

9. Pine Nook: An area adjacent to the Connecticut River that at one time abounded with pitch pine *(Pinus rigida).* For Indigenous people it offered a variety of medicinal uses; European settlers primarily used the resin-rich pine for lighting in the form of "torch wood" or "candle wood." Intensive harvesting of the tree in the late 17th century for turpentine and tar production and charcoal led to its decline.

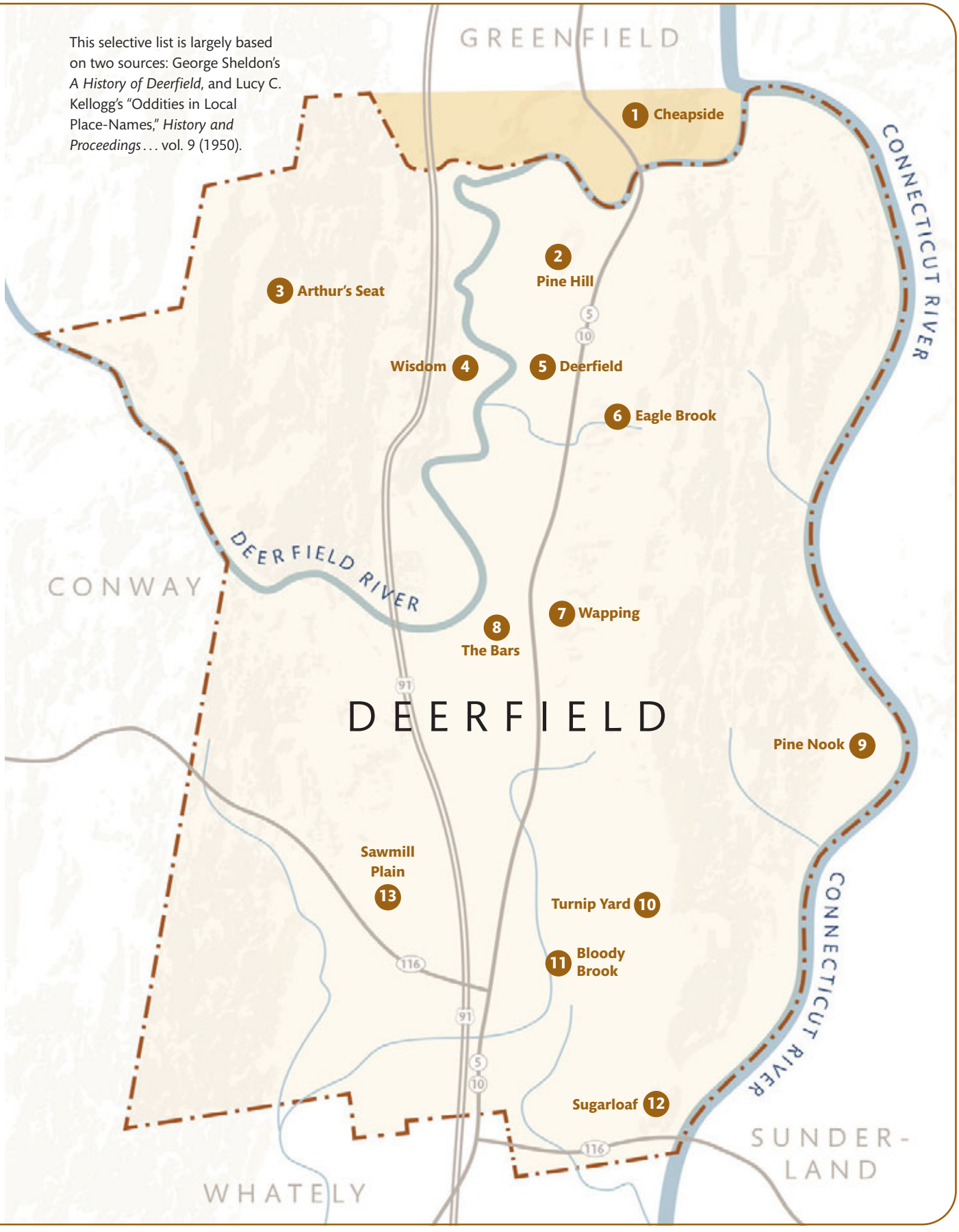
10. Turnip Yard: Located near the intersection of North and South Hillside Roads. It formerly consisted of 19 homes and a school. The name derives from an area sequestered by the town in 1753 for sheep to graze, and the practice of growing turnips to feed them. Sheldon notes with asperity that the "namby-pamby name of Hill Side has been applied to this district in accordance with a taste which would reduce to insipid sameness every original and suggestive local name."

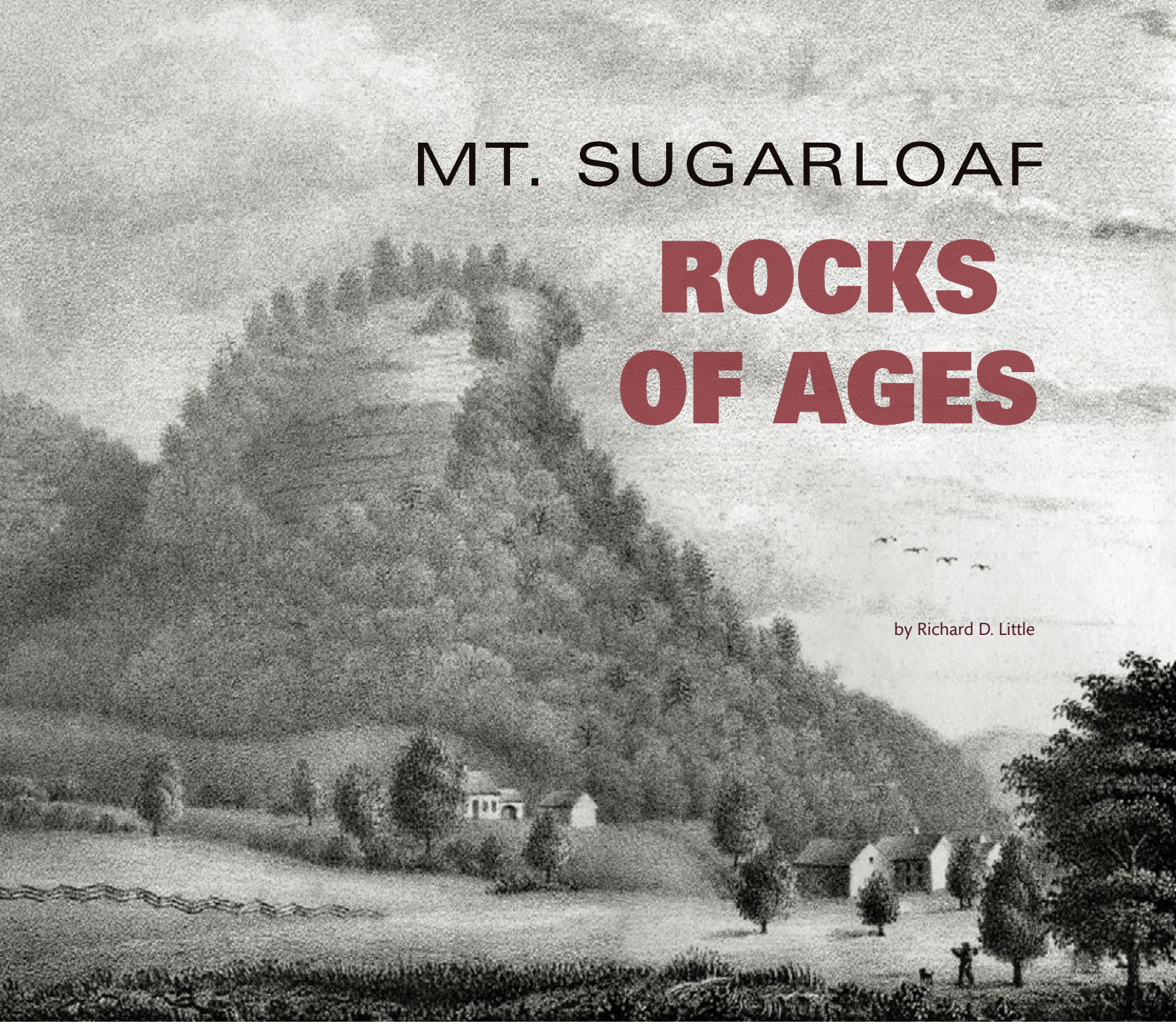
11. Bloody Brook: English settlers named this sluggish waterway Muddy Brook. After the battle of September 18, 1675, when teamsters with carts of grain bound for Hatfield were attacked by Native forces, some began referring to it as Bloody Brook. The nearby village took its name from the brook; the Post Office changed from Muddy Brook to Bloody Brook in Jan. 1824, to South Deerfield in the 19th century, although both names were used until the 1830s.

12. Sugarloaf: Native people referred to this promontory as Wequamps, signifying a place that drops off. Its resemblance to a loaf of sugar, the form in which the commodity was once retailed, caused English settlers to adopt the name.

13. Saw Mill Plain: With headwaters in Conway's hills, the Mill River provided power for a sawmill as early as 1689. The relatively flat land east of the mill became known as Sawmill Plain.

This selective list is largely based on two sources: George Sheldon's *A History of Deerfield*, and Lucy C. Kellogg's "Oddities in Local Place-Names," *History and Proceedings*... vol. 9 (1950).





MT. SUGARLOAF
ROCKS OF AGES

by Richard D. Little

In 1835, Deerfield native and first state geologist, Edward Hitchcock, described Mt. Sugarloaf as seen when approaching from the south: "It seems as if its summits were inaccessible. But it can be attained without difficulty on foot and affords a delightful view on almost every side. The Connecticut and the peaceful village of Sunderland on its bank, appear so near that one imagines he might almost reach them by a single leap." His statement, found in the *Report of the Geology, Mineralogy, Botany, and Zoology of Massachusetts,* forms one of the earliest printed observations on this remarkable geologic feature in Deerfield's landscape. Hitchcock's wife, Orra, sketched Sugarloaf, capturing its prominence as it looms above the village. Her view accompanied his *Report* as a lithograph done in Boston.

Earlier writers, such as Timothy Dwight of Yale, described Sugarloaf in 1797 as a "fine object to the eye." Like Hitchcock, his initial impression came from the southern side: "[it] presents a bold precipice, extending from the summit halfway to the base. A huge mass of rocks, and fragments of sandstone at the bottom has been shaken off from this eminence, either by the gradual influence of time, or by some violent convulsion of nature." Long before these observations, the oral tradition of Native peoples had explained the nature of this prominent location.

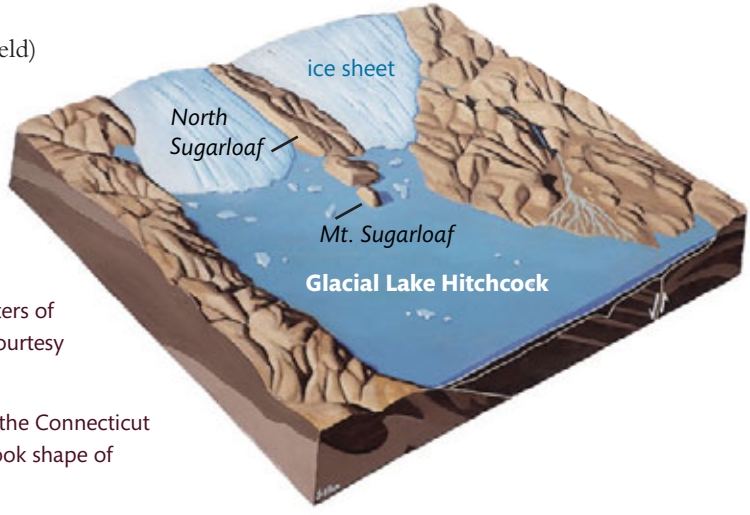
Mt. Sugarloaf is an iconic, colorful monolith, unique in the Connecticut River Valley. While a number of scenic hills appear along the 400-mile extent of the Connecticut River, none are like this dramatic 500-foot-high, cliff-topped, almost-at-river's edge, red sedimentary rock wonder. Sugarloaf is a remarkable landform that preserves the history, geology, and archaeology of Deerfield. An explanation of the long, slow creation of Deerfield's highest elevation follows.

Deep-earth movements of plate tectonics provide the origin of Sugarloaf's stone. The Mesozoic Era split of the Pangea supercontinent created rift valleys, the geologic environment for deposition of the red sandstone rock "arkose." Arkose and most other sedimentary rocks succumb to the forces of erosion and form landscape lowlands, such as the Connecticut River Valley. Adjacent to and a bit younger than the Sugarloaf Arkose is a lava flow, the Deerfield Basalt. Basalt, a resistant rock, underlies the Valley's scenic ridgelines such as Deerfield's Pocumtuck Range as well as the Holyoke Range farther south.

The imposing Mt. Sugarloaf, similar to (but half as high as) Australia's famous arkose outcrop of Uluru (Ayer's Rock), has been captured by generations of artists and photographers. Yet as beautiful as Mt. Sugarloaf is, its significance surpasses that of a pretty picture.

European settlers arrived in Pocumtuck (Deerfield) in 1669 and named the mountain "Sugarloaf" reflecting its resemblance to the common form in which sugar was sold. Native people had long called it "Wequamps," meaning a place where a hill drops off. Local Native history dates back to perhaps late glacial times, 15,000 years ago when the recently deglaciated valley was occupied by glacial Lake Hitchcock. Sugarloaf stood as an island 250 feet above the lake level and must have been a magical sight. Imagine a bare red monolith (thanks to ice eroding all the soil and trees) surrounded by the aqua-blue of glacial water with icebergs floating by! Native oral tradition spoke of a Great Beaver (Ktsi Amiskw) that built a dam creating a vast pond he jealously guarded. For living out of balance with life, the creator turned the Great Beaver to stone: its head became Mt. Sugarloaf with the body preserved as the adjacent Pocumtuck Ridge to the north. This tradition is one of the lines of evidence putting Indigenous people along the shore of Lake Hitchcock before it drained.

Mt. Sugarloaf's red arkose would not exist if not for the breakup of the supercontinent of Pangea. The stretching and splitting of that old continent created an interesting combination of geologic events. First let's consider the rock. Arkose, a type of sandstone geologists call "dirty sandstone," is common within the Connecticut River Valley of Massachusetts and Connecticut, but is rare elsewhere in New



Left: "Sugar Loaf Mountain Deerfield" by Orra White Hitchcock. From *Plates Illustrating the Geology & Scenery of Massachusetts,* Amherst, 1835. 1999.45.

Right: Mount Sugarloaf appears an island in the glacial waters of Lake Hitchcock and vicinity in late glacial times. Painting courtesy of Will Sillin.

Below: Mount Sugarloaf and North Sugarloaf rising above the Connecticut River. Note the gap separating them as well as the tilted book shape of North Sugarloaf. Photo by Ray Sebold.

Conglomerate sandstone exposed on Mt. Sugarloaf's eastern cliff face. Photos by Allison Bell.

England where metamorphic and igneous rocks dominate. The component sand is called "dirty" because it consists of weak minerals such as feldspar and mica, plus mud and rock chips along with quartz. "Clean" sandstone, by comparison, consists mostly of quartz grains and indicates a long distance of transport by rivers. Sandstone of the arkose variety indicates a nearby mountain source such as the uplifted highland sides of rift valleys. They are typically reddish due to the included feldspar and some percentage of rusty iron.

As the Mesozoic Era began, Pangea split, not with a simple, single break, but in a series of rift-faulted valleys. This type of landscape consists of sharp-edged, fault-bounded mountains with valleys disgorging great quantities of sediment forming alluvial fans that slope gradually outward from their source. The same situation existed for ancient Deerfield. From easterly mountains in what is now Leverett, Shutesbury, and vicinity, flowed streams transporting sediments westward into the rift valley lowlands. Sedimentary piles called alluvial fans accumulated in Sunderland and Deerfield. Mt. Sugarloaf is composed of those stream sediments: gravel, sand, and mud, now transformed into rocks: conglomerate, sandstone (variety "arkose"), and shale.

The top of Mt. Sugarloaf is capped by cobble-gravel, now conglomerate rock. Imagine stream floods disgorging from nearby mountains and depositing their load of coarse sediment onto alluvial fans. Conglomerate resists erosion more than most other sedimentary rock, and often acts as a topographic capstone on hill tops. Underneath Sugarloaf's strong conglomerate cap are occasionally layers of arkose sand and mud deposited when this spot was a Mesozoic lakeshore, not a rushing stream bed. So while the mountain top resists erosion, some underlying rock layers, a bit older in geological time, tend to be less resistant.

The short drive or hike to the top of Mt. Sugarloaf is a trip through perhaps a million years of time. Variations in climate and geological activity make an exact timeline impossible. A nearby rock quarry slices into these Sugarloaf rocks sometimes revealing dinosaur footprints and, rarely, the strange round shapes of armored mud balls. Mesozoic-age mud chunks rolled down stream and became coated in pebbles (the "armor"). Exceedingly rare petrified armored mud balls and dinosaur remains are very likely at Mt. Sugarloaf, but hidden within the mountain.

Mt. Sugarloaf would definitely not exist without this next geologic event: great outpourings of lava from fissures and fault cracks, not big volcanoes. Basalt is a "volcanic" rock; igneous, but not from a volcanic lava flow. Effusive flood basalt events often happen during continental rifting, and up to 300 feet of basalt covered the Deerfield rift valley. Thanks to the dating of radioactive minerals in the basalt we know this event happened in the early Jurassic Period,

201,000,000 years ago. Following the lava outpourings, more alluvial fan and lake deposits covered the basalt and filled in the rift valley. This sedimentary topping is completely eroded in Deerfield, but can be seen prominently in Mt. Toby across the Connecticut River to the east.

Deerfield Basalt, a hard, resistant-to-erosion rock forms the backbone of the north-south trending Pocumtuck Range. It is best shown in the prominent cliff at Greenfield's Poet's Seat Tower. In Deerfield, the underlying Sugarloaf Arkose is, surprisingly, geologically harder than basalt. Resistant conglomerate beds in the Sugarloaf Arkose form the dramatic cliffed edge of the Pocumtuck Range looming above Deerfield forming the eastern horizon. Mt. Sugarloaf, the prominent south end of the Pocumtuck Range, consists entirely of sedimentary rock, capped by this especially hard conglomerate layer. There is no lava in Mt. Sugarloaf! Deerfield Basalt last appears in the Pocumtuck Range at North Sugarloaf, and from there the thinning basalt progresses eastward into Mt. Toby.

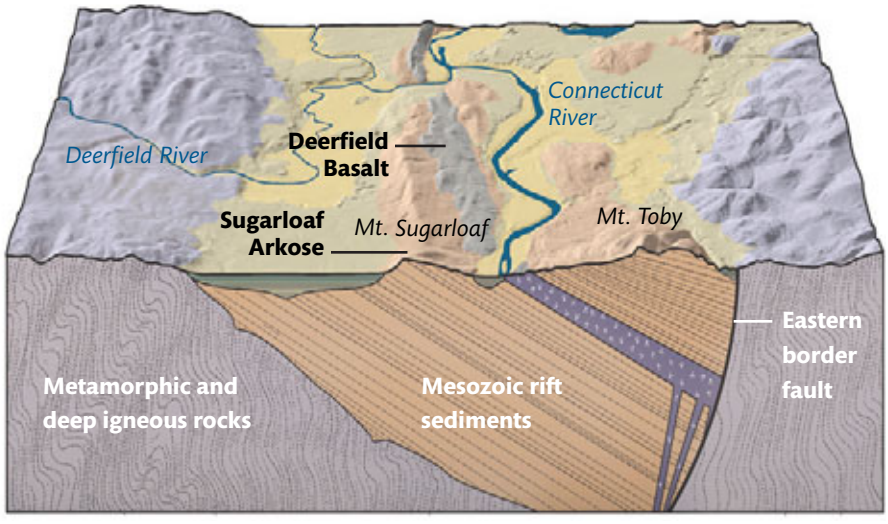
Why is the Sugarloaf Arkose so hard? Sedimentary rocks are rarely harder than igneous ones. Igneous rocks solidify from magma; their crystals grow and interlock as cooling occurs making them, usually, much harder than sedimentary rocks composed of rock pieces deposited in layers. The Deerfield Basalt eruptions brought heat into the Sugarloaf sediments. The magmatic heat from the lava, plus the molten intrusions that fed them, 'roasted' the Sugarloaf Arkose. Mineral-rich fluids cemented the layers into an especially hard rock. The Jurassic lava episode hardened the Sugarloaf Arkose, and much, much later that hard lava coating allowed the underlying Sugarloaf Arkose to resist glacial erosion and become the impressive cliff-forming monolith we see today. If the basalt had not formed a protective layer over Mt. Sugarloaf during glacial times, I think only a very minor hill of red arkose would remain. Majestic Mt. Sugarloaf owes its existence to the Deerfield Basalt.

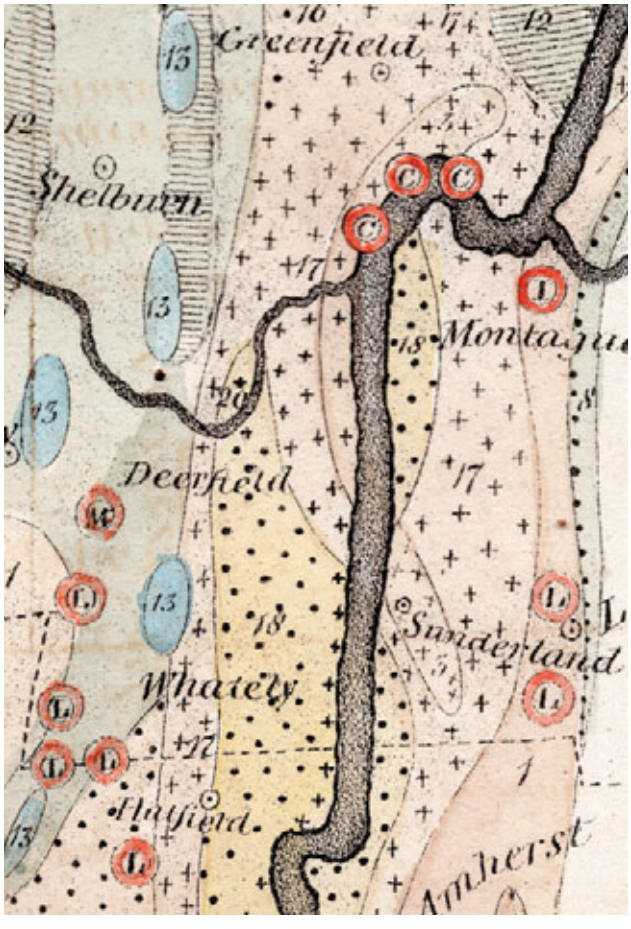
By the end of the Mesozoic, 66 million years ago, the whole region experienced extensive weathering and erosion, flattening it to a near level peneplain landscape, graded to sea level. The easterly tilt of the sedimentary rock and lava "sandwich" of the peneplain landscape is extremely important to the future development of our valley in general and Mt. Sugarloaf in particular. Tens of millions of years ago a regional uplift of about 1,000 feet began a new cycle of erosion. River systems carved V-shaped valleys and the familiar landscape of today starts to emerge from the peneplain's flatness in a process called differential erosion. Like sanding a board with a resistant knot, hard areas became topographic highs while softer rocks wore away into lowlands.

The tilt of Deerfield's rock layers also controlled the evolving dramatic hill shapes. To the east, the tilt of the basalt controls the gentle slope angle. The west side of Sugarloaf is cliffed due to river and glacier erosion. Imagine a book tilted about 25 degrees. One edge of the book is a sharp drop-off, like the eroded west edge of the Pocumtuck Range, while the inclined cover of the book forms the gentler easterly slope. The Deerfield Basalt and the conglomerate layers of the Sugarloaf Arkose resist erosion and stand high relative to the softer sedimentary rock layers to the east and west, which explains the Pocumtuck Range's distinctive shape.

Deerfield basalt, weathered and lichen-covered, on Pocumtuck Ridge. Photo by Allison Bell.

Block diagram showing the location of surficial arkose and basalt at Mt. Sugarloaf. Courtesy of Will Sillin.





Detail of the Connecticut River Valley from Edward Hitchcock's *Geological Map of Massachusetts* (1832). Alluvial deposits forming "New red Sandstone" are indicated by crosses and the number 17. Deposits of iron, copper, and lead appear as capital letters within red circles. Historic Deerfield Library.

During the glacial ages as ice advanced southward from Canada, the Pocumtuck Range just to the north of Mt. Sugarloaf sheltered it from further erosion. How did Mt. Sugarloaf become separated from North Sugarloaf and the rest of the Pocumtuck Range? The gap with North Sugarloaf resulted from uplift of the peneplain. As river systems advanced, the newly developing Connecticut River (or possibly the Deerfield River) took that path through the Pocumtuck Range and carved the gap valley. Subsequently, the river changed course and abandoned that route. This type of feature called a "wind gap" is another amazing geological story preserved at Mt. Sugarloaf.

Within relatively recent times, Native inhabitants and later settlers have made use of Mt. Sugarloaf's resources: shelter, game animals, medicinal and culinary plants, firewood, and lumber. Eventually rudimentary roads enabled visitors to ascend the mountain and take advantage of the pleasurable view. On the south-facing summit a hotel built in 1864 offered accommodations to guests until it burned in the 1960s. At the peak's base a dancehall provided entertainment in its shadow. In an effort to make the site more accessible, the Massachusetts Department of Conservation and Recreation created the Mount Sugarloaf State Reservation as a public recreation area in August 1974. The park includes the summits of Sugarloaf and North Sugarloaf, and nearly two miles of frontage on the Connecticut River, enhancing public use of the mountain while trying to preserve its character.

Mt. Sugarloaf is indeed an amazing location with dramatic beauty and unique red arkose cliffs, within which are records of geologic events from the Age of Dinosaurs. Impressive views from the summit look upon rolling hills, planted fields, and the meandering Connecticut River. But how long can Mt. Sugarloaf survive? Weathering and erosion are taking their toll and Mt. Sugarloaf may not survive another glacial advance. But long before the ice comes, we will have global warming. If the world's glaciers melt, sea levels will rise more than 200 feet. Saltwater waves will splash into the arkose halfway up the mountain. This relatively delicate monolith of arkose will not survive for long under those conditions. Luckily, we still have a lot of time on a human scale to appreciate this special spot. If humans can stabilize global climates, perhaps Mt. Sugarloaf can indeed last forever.

Postcard of Summit House, ca. 1910. Courtesy of Al Witham.

Postcard showing picnicking at the summit, ca. 1900. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum, 1999.03.0021.

The sweeping vistas of the Connecticut River Valley seen from the mountaintop have attracted sightseers for nearly 200 years. The local newspaper *Gazette and Courier* remarked in 1871, "To one who stands upon its summit is spread out a most beautiful landscape of river, forest and town, while far away to the south rise the steep side of the Holyoke range, and still south of these and to the west you see the blue summits of the Green mountains. Close by your side rolls the Connecticut, so close that it seems as though you might leap into the waters." For easier access to the top, roads and trails were created in the 1800s for people to hike or ride by carriage, with a paved road constructed in the 1930s by the Civilian Conservation Corps. A trolley service running to the base of the mountain in the early 1900s brought larger excursion groups of destination seekers. Capitalizing on the tourist trade, the Summit House opened in 1864, and enlarged in 1908. The structure, operating as a seasonal snack bar in the 1930s, burnt to the ground in 1966 after years of neglect; a three-story observation tower is now perched in its place. Mt. Sugarloaf remains a popular tourist destination today for hiking, picnicking, and mountain biking.

DEERFIELD TIMELINE

1636 Pocumtucks send corn to help starving settlers in Connecticut

1663 Original grant of 8,000 acres to Dedham proprietors

1664 Attack on the Pocumtuck fort by Mohawks

1667 Deed/land use agreement between English and Natives signed by Chauk, Pocumtuck sachem

1669 Robert Hinsdale becomes first white settler in Deerfield

1672 Deed/land use agreement between English and Natives signed by Mashalisk

1673 Town of Deerfield chartered; First Congregational Church founded

1675 Attack at Bloody Brook (South Deerfield)

1686 Rev. John Williams settled as the town's first minister

1693 First of several attacks on Deerfield during King William's War

1704 French and Natives raid Deerfield

1735 Treaty between Native tribes and the colonial government negotiated in Deerfield

1746 Last Native attack on Deerfield

1760 Bloody Brook tavern opens

1767 First schoolhouse built at Bloody Brook

1774 Liberty pole raised in Deerfield marking division between Tories and Patriots

1790 First federal census records Deerfield's population as 1,330

1797 Deerfield Academy founded

1810 Baptist meeting house built in Wisdom

1812 Toll bridge built across the Connecticut River between South Deerfield and Sunderland

1818 Second Congregational Parish founded in South Deerfield

1824 First Congregational Church builds their fifth meeting house (the current "Brick Church")

1834 John Russell cutlery factory opens on the Green River

1835 Orthodox Congregational Church founded

1837 One of many visits by Abenaki families to their ancestral homelands in Deerfield

1838 Dedication of Bloody Brook monument

1845 Arms Pocketbook factory opens in South Deerfield

1846 The Connecticut River Railroad begins to service Deerfield

1848 Monument Church founded; preservation effort to save the Old Indian House fails

1864 Summit House on Mt. Sugarloaf built (burned 1966)

1867 Civil War monument erected on Deerfield village common

1870 Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association founded

1871 South Deerfield Library Association founded

1877 Iron bridge built over the Connecticut River between South Deerfield and Sunderland

1880 Memorial Hall Museum opens

1893 South Deerfield Free Library established

1895 George Sheldon's *History of Deerfield* published; St. James Parish occupies the Monument Church

1896 The Village Room, Deerfield's first community center, opens; Oxford Pickle Co. established; Cheapside annexed by Greenfield; Deerfield Society of Blue and White Needlework established

1901 Connecticut Valley Street Railway Company begins operation through Deerfield

1902 Frank L. Boyden becomes Headmaster of Deerfield Academy

1906 Produce National Bank opens

1908 Gas works explosion in South Deerfield

1910 Edison Motion Picture Co. films *Onoko's Vow* in Deerfield; first of three historical pageants held in Deerfield

1916 Tilton Library opens

1922 Eaglebrook School founded

1923 Deerfield High School and Deerfield Academy separate; new town high school opens in South Deerfield in 1924

1925 Deerfield Woman's Club organized; Deerfield's town hall remodeled and expanded; Bement School founded

1936 Catastrophic flooding of the Connecticut River from New Hampshire to the Long Island Sound; bridge across Connecticut River to Sunderland destroyed

1938 The Great New England Hurricane, also called the Long Island Express, causes widespread damage

1948 Ashley House opens to the public as a museum by Henry and Helen Geier Flynt

1952 The Flynts create the Heritage Foundation (now Historic Deerfield)

1955 Seat of town government moved from Deerfield village to South Deerfield

1960 Old Deerfield Historic District created

1966 Completion of Interstate 91 in Franklin County

1973 Town celebrates 300th anniversary

1978 Traprock Peace Center organized

1983 Yankee Candle moves to South Deerfield

1990 Deerfield Land Trust founded

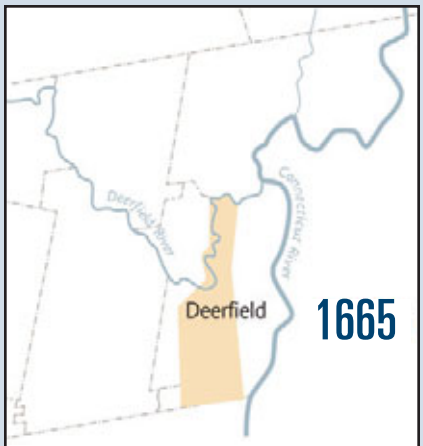
2004 300th anniversary of the 1704 raid commemorated

2011 Hurricane Irene results in severe flooding of the Deerfield River

2019 Replica of the Civil War soldier installed on the monument on Town Common, Old Deerfield

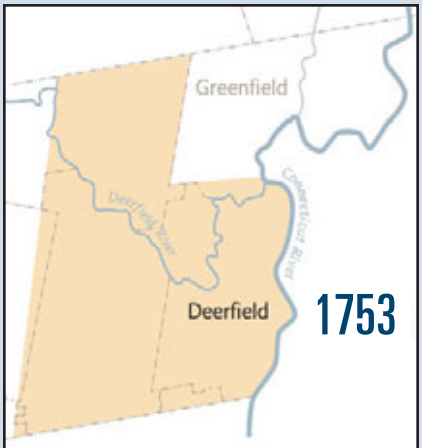
Deerfield Town Boundaries

A grant of 8,000 acres from the Massachusetts General Court to residents of the town of Dedham marked the beginnings of what became Deerfield. This grant compensated Dedham's founding proprietors for land taken by the colony to establish a settlement of "praying Indians" led by Puritan minister John Eliot. The proprietors chose land in the Connecticut River Valley homeland of the Pocumtuck people and surveyed the initial town tract in 1665. While negotiations with some tribal members resulted in a transfer of real estate in the English sense, the Pocumtucks believed that they retained continued access to and use of that land. The Massachusetts General Court granted the new English settlement "the liberty of a township" in 1673. Additional grants from the General Court in 1673 and 1712 increased Deerfield's size to 69,480 acres. Beginning in 1753, Deerfield ceded portions that were eventually incorporated as other towns. These maps follow the major changes affecting the boundaries of the town of Deerfield.

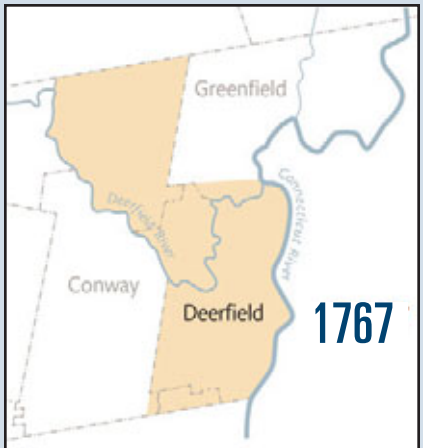


Approximately 2,000 acres are surveyed for the Dedham proprietors.

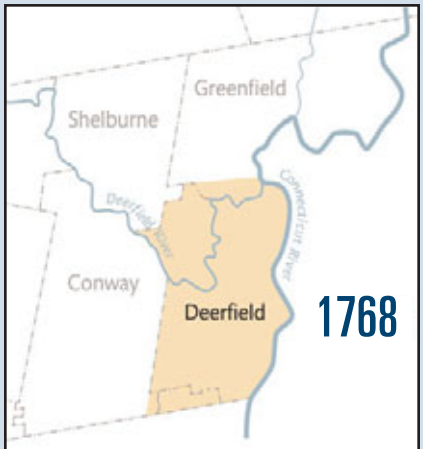
Town of Deerfield after the land grants of 1673 and 1712.



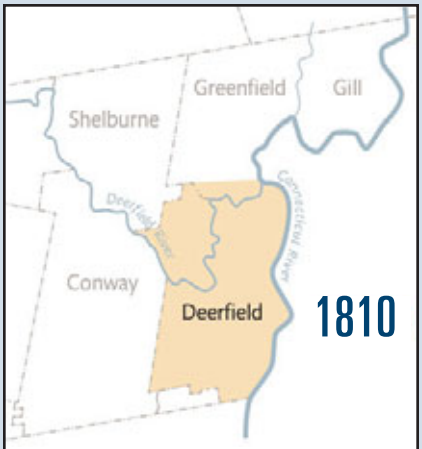
Greenfield, including land that would become Gill in 1793, is removed.



The town of Conway is separated from Deerfield.

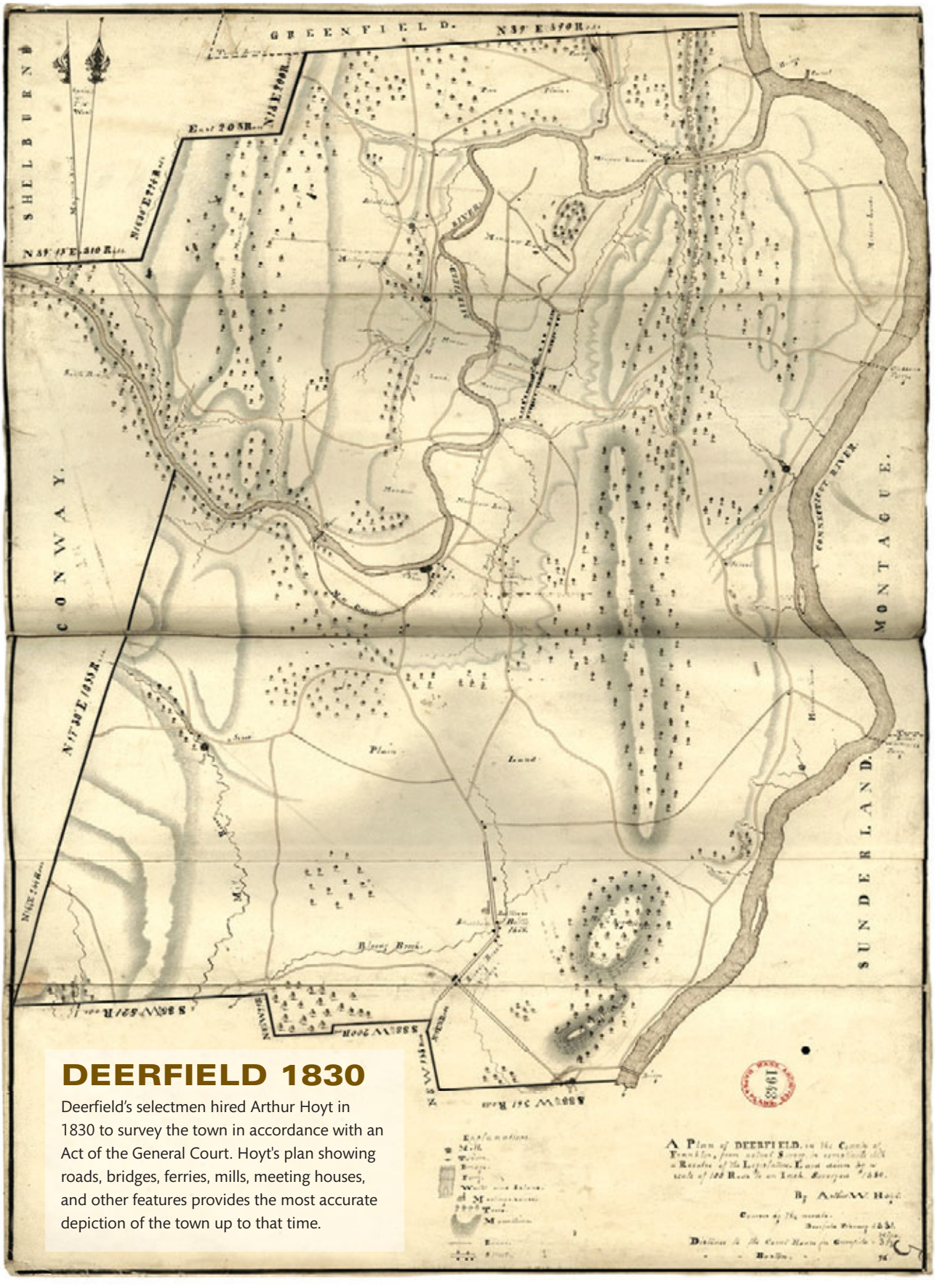


The town of Shelburne is formed from Deerfield lands.



Deerfield loses land annexed to Whately on the town's southern boundary.

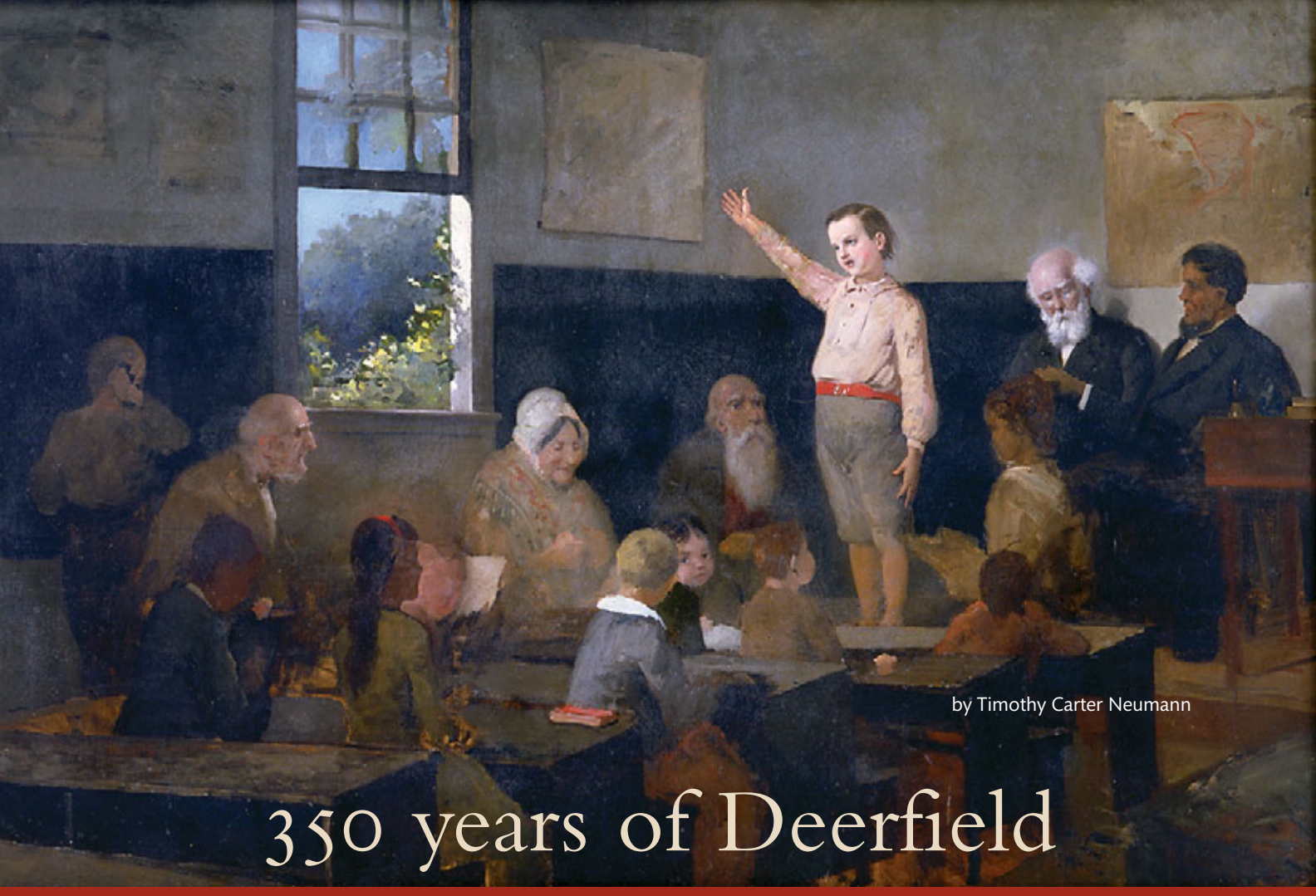
Area of Cheapside is annexed to Greenfield on Deerfield's northern boundary.



DEERFIELD 1830

Deerfield's selectmen hired Arthur Hoyt in 1830 to survey the town in accordance with an Act of the General Court. Hoyt's plan showing roads, bridges, ferries, mills, meeting houses, and other features provides the most accurate depiction of the town up to that time.

Massachusetts Archives, Boston



by Timothy Carter Neumann

350 years of Deerfield Public Elementary Schooling

AN ANCIENT HEBREW PROVERB about child rearing may seem a peculiar jumping off point for a look at public schools over the past three and a half centuries in our New England village. Yet our schools are rooted in the deeply held belief in mandatory community-wide education as the tool for redeeming American society from social, political, economic and even health ills. The commitment to training all children for the good of society itself was born during the early Puritan days—as Puritans focused on the Old Testament of the Bible to guide their social and political thinking. In time, public education which began as a tool for reinforcing Protestant religion, became itself a secular, public religion slowly replacing organized religion as the American institution of hope for the Republic.

Over the ensuing centuries Deerfield progressed from having no schools at all, to a system of portable schools that floated around the emerging population centers as needed, and from there the town established a network of independently managed schoolhouses with a school at nearly every crossroads. That arrangement expanded to as many as 14 schools. Most of these schools were housed in the traditional one-room schoolhouse, but not all. Early in the 19th century town population centers, first Deerfield Street and then South Deerfield, transitioned to a pattern of multi-roomed buildings with a public hall above.

Eventually over the course of more than a century, tightening of Town legal control and management of schools led to fewer and fewer neighborhood-based schools, replaced by expanded "center schools." In the 1990s, after many Town meeting debates, just one elementary school, in South Deerfield, survived. This progression (and heated debates at each point of change) is well documented in Deerfield's town records.

In 1642, the General Court passed an act holding parents legally responsible for their children's education, mainly reading, and holding the selectmen of the town responsible for the enforcement, thus introducing education into the realm of local town government and politics. Five

"Train up a child in the way he should go and he will not depart from it." Proverbs 22:6

"In Adams Fall, We sinned all." *The New England Primer,* 1680

years later, the General Court enacted the 1647 "Old Deluder Satan Act" ordering every township with 50 households to appoint someone within the town to teach all the children "as shall resort to him" to read and write. With no compulsory attendance, the town was still held responsible for making sure each child learned to read the Bible to avoid being misled by the Devil into misdeeds, thus protecting the Commonwealth from God's certain judgment.

Towns had the option of supporting the required schools by general taxation or by requiring the parents of attending children to pay tuition. Most often they required the parents to pay tuition. The towns either directly or through their selectmen attended to all school affairs. The place of meeting, the hiring of school teachers, length of school terms, tuition and fuel requirements were all carefully controlled. Such were the legal provisions for education when Deerfield was established in 1673. For more than 20 years Deerfield relied on inexpensive "dame schools"—schools held in the homes of community women literate enough to teach a little reading and numbers who parents paid directly—to meet the local requirements.

Deerfield has an early dame school heroine, Hannah Barnard Beaman. Deerfield experienced many attacks in its early years, attacks less well known than the major ones of Bloody Brook (1675) and the Raid of 1704. One such assault led by Baron St. Castine occurred on September 15, 1694. French soldiers and allied Natives attacked the town from the east not far from today's Allen House toward the north end of Old Main Street. According to the venerable town historian, George Sheldon, quick thinking by Hannah Beaman, who held a school in her home, bravely led her school children to safety in the stockade in the center of the village. Later, Hannah and her husband survived a second attack, that of 1704, although taken captive. Unlike many other captives, the couple survived to return. Being childless, Hannah's will of 1723 bequeathed her lands for the benefit of the schools of Deerfield. This is believed to be the first such bequest in western Massachusetts. In addition, she left a valuable silver cup to the First Church of Deerfield, now owned by Historic Deerfield, when she died in 1739.

Not until 1698 did Deerfield build its first schoolhouse and hired its first schoolmaster. This schoolhouse and master

Left: A young boy shows off his oration skills in Recitation Day, a ca. 1877 painting by James Wells Champney. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum, 1999.13.506.

Above: Children outside the one-room Wapping schoolhouse, 1890s. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum, 1996.12.2532.

	Males	Females
Town Street	72.	64.
Wisdom South	36.	24.
Wisdom North	20.	16.
Chapinville	20.	16.
Creatrimm	23.	27.
Pine Nook North	14.	9.
Pine Nook South	18.	20.
Furnish-yard	14.	8.
Washing	30.	23.
Millriver	13	11.
Saundersm district	3.	5.
Dublin	2.	3.
Bloody brook	36	54.
	301	290.

The above list contains the number of scholars in the several school districts as returned to the Assessors of Deerfield May 1st 1825 distinguishing the number of Males & Females between 4 & 15 years of age (inclusive)

Top: Postcard of the South Deerfield Grammar School in the 1910s. The building later served as a senior center. 2002.30.145.

Above: A grammar school class in South Deerfield, ca. 1910. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum. 1996.37.01.070.

Right: 1825 list of male and female students in each district. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library.

were under the direction of a special town committee whose work was "to hire a meet person or persons to teach ye Town's children to read and write, as also to repair ye Town's schoolhouse." Note that the teacher would be responsible for upkeep of the school building. Most towns would not or could not appropriate sufficient funds to maintain several schools simultaneously. Like many growing rural towns, Deerfield solved the problem by introducing "moving schools" as students could not possibly travel daily from remote parts of the town.

In the moving school system, a town would be divided into "geo-populated" areas called "angles," "squadrons," or "districts." School would be held for only part of the year in each division. Often a town would hire one teacher who moved with the school from one section of town to the next. Such was the case for Deerfield in 1751 (fairly late for the establishing of moving schools) when it was first voted "that a school be kept at Green River 3 months in the winter and ye school be omitted 3 months in ye town in ye summer, discretion which is to be repaired at ye Town's Charge: as also to proportion ye providing of firewood to ye scholars."

Generally, towns did not build schoolhouses to house moving schools. Rooms were rented somewhere in the designated district and fitted up with benches or desks. Records, however, show the town subsidizing the building of at least one schoolhouse. Deerfield voted in 1767 to "allow six pounds towards building a school there [Muddy Brook] provided there be a House built there to School their children in." The people of the district were expected to contribute the remainder of the cost.

The major functions of finding a place to rent for holding the school, setting the dates of the school session, and even more importantly, the very act of organizing a school, were left to the parents. As time went on and the population continued to grow and scatter throughout the town, a different solution for educating the young was called for. In Deerfield, as in Massachusetts generally, a new system of "Districts Schools" was authorized by the state in the 1780s. Deerfield voted in 1787 to establish such a district system. This District System within the town solely began as a geographical administrative division, but by the early-19th century these administrative divisions had developed into semi-independent governmental entities. At the same time the town's citizens came to identify these divisions as important and desirable democratic institutions representing the power of local control. Over the same period, one-room schoolhouses that came to dot the town became more than widely distributed rural centers of education; they, like town halls, became symbols; physical manifestations of a political, as well as an educational, system. And they became part of American mythology.

The areas that before had unofficial recognition as "Districts," those self-organized schools in the outlying areas, now were formally recognized by the town and state, given permanence, and semi-independent self-governance. Though no specific boundaries were set at the time, the first official Districts created in 1787 included Town Street and Cheapside, Wapping and the Bars, Great River, Muddy Brook, Mill River, and the West Side of Deerfield River. Deerfield's official school Districts operated loosely under the supervision of a Town Committee which included the town's minister.

Generally, towns fell into a schedule of "men's school" for older students led by a male teacher in the winter, and a summer "women's school" for younger children taught by a (less expensive) female teacher. This two-session pattern


Mr. Amos Hamilton

Receiv? this confirment of honor in testimony of his good behavior and attention to learning he was the first scholar in the second class at these presents may witness Given under my hand and Seal with my coat of Arms annexed at Deerfield in Wisdom first District school on the 19th Day of January in the year of our Lord 1795 & of the Independence of America 19

William Ames

Reward of merit awarded to student Amos Hamilton of the Wisdom District School for good behavior and attention to learning, 1795. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library.

Top: The Wapping Schoolhouse functioned from 1839 until 1923. Moved to Historic Deerfield in 1968, it hosts school field visits and educational programs. Above: Young visitors at the Wapping Schoolhouse during a Free Fun Friday event.

lasted in many towns until the end of the District System. The ca. 1877 painting by James Wells Champney depicts a summer women's school at Deerfield's Mill and Bars school on "Recitation Day" near the end of the District School System. You can see that the children are very young; older students are out working on the family farms. No parents appear in the painting as they are working as well, but note that the grandparents make a good showing. The young female teacher sits at the front; the Minister and a Selectman are seen making their annual visit.

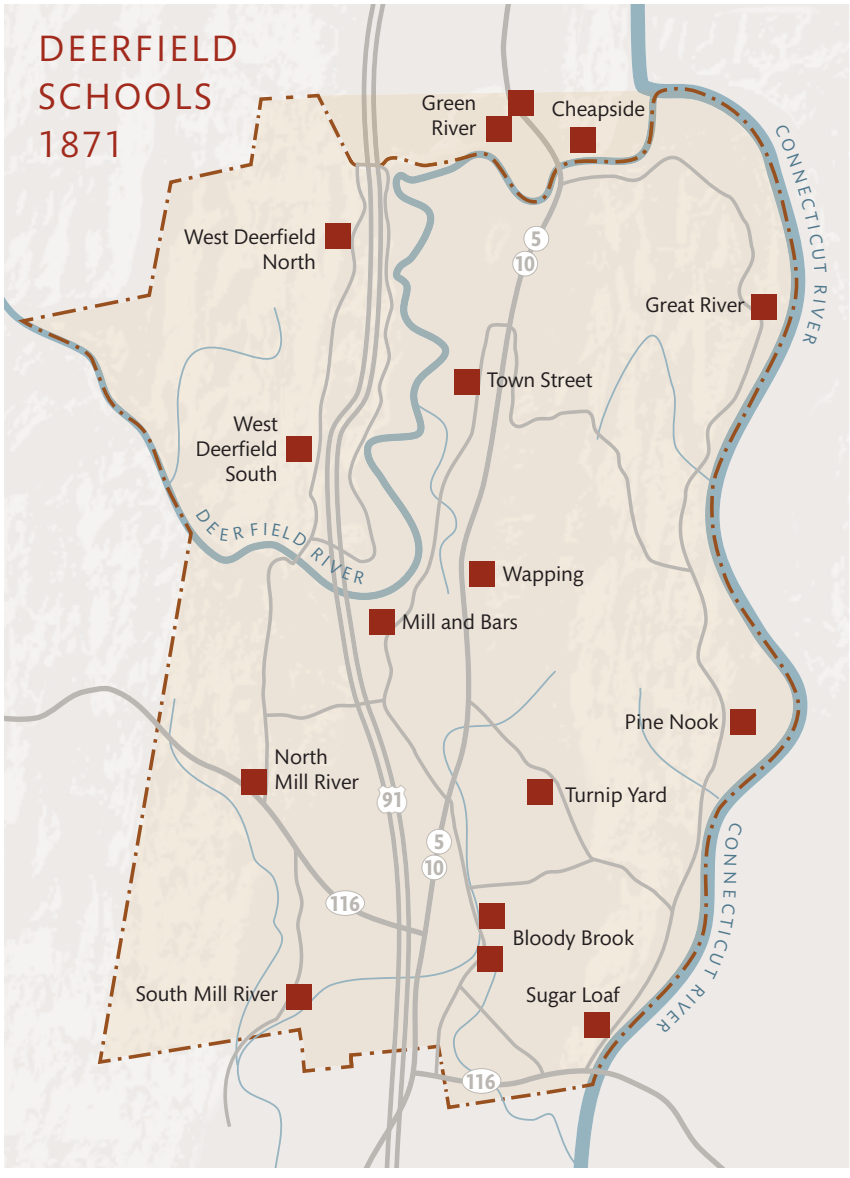
During the early period of District Schools the general emphasis in town schools supported the new American republic. "It may be an easy thing to make a republic; but it is a very laborious thing to make Republicans," observed Daniel Webster. Leaders of the Revolution such as Franklin and Jefferson strongly supported education as a way to build a common national identity. The most active and influential of the Republican educators was Noah Webster in nearby Connecticut. Webster's most influential contribution to American education was his little blue-backed speller first published in 1783, and that by 1829 had sold 20 million copies nationwide. Webster's spellers, readers, and dictionaries moved the country toward the goal of an American version of the English language standardized in pronunciation and spelling. PVMA's schoolbook collection is well populated with works by Webster, attesting to its wide use in local one-room schools.

Noah Webster had local competition as an influencer of education in Deerfield's minister, the Reverend Samuel Willard who came from the eastern part of Massachusetts. Willard brought the first keyboard musical instruments, a spinet harpsichord and a Clementi piano-forte (both now in Memorial Hall Museum), to Deerfield. He also instituted singing schools in the church to improve the congregational singing, and eventually introduced the town's first pipe organ in the elegant new Brick Church whose construction and design he oversaw in 1824. Willard took his legal role in town education very seriously for the 22 years he was Deerfield's minister. In most towns ministers did little more than certify the morals of candidates seeking to teach school, and inspected the schools annually. Among his reform efforts Willard wrote a series of four readers of graduated difficulty that were used for years in Deerfield and surrounding towns and went through more than 30 editions.

Although influential, Reverend Willard and other reformers' authority was limited. Early in the period of the District System issues concerning the quality of education at these decentralized schools arose. These focused on a lack of state requirements or standards for teacher training, guidelines for their selection and supervision, and regulation of textbooks or curriculum. With no funding available, families had to provide their own schoolbooks; many choose to pass on well-worn books used by another generation. The physical condition of schoolhouses was also an issue, as many were widely deemed unhealthy.

Fifty some years after the appearance of the District System, state-wide efforts to dismantle it began in 1837 with the establishment of the Massachusetts Board of Education. The founding purpose of the Board was the encouragement, coordination, and support of the efforts of "respectable persons" working for the betterment of the State educational system. The Board had no power to tax or coerce, nor any regulatory functions or powers. Public opinion was the only leverage with the legislature, with funding limited to interest from the School Fund established from the sale of Maine lands in 1834.

The great reformer, Horace Mann, served as the first Secretary of the Board. Mann concluded that the sad conditions of schools resulted from decentralized authority, and his early state reports are full of slights against the District System. A major contribution of Mann's to addressing these



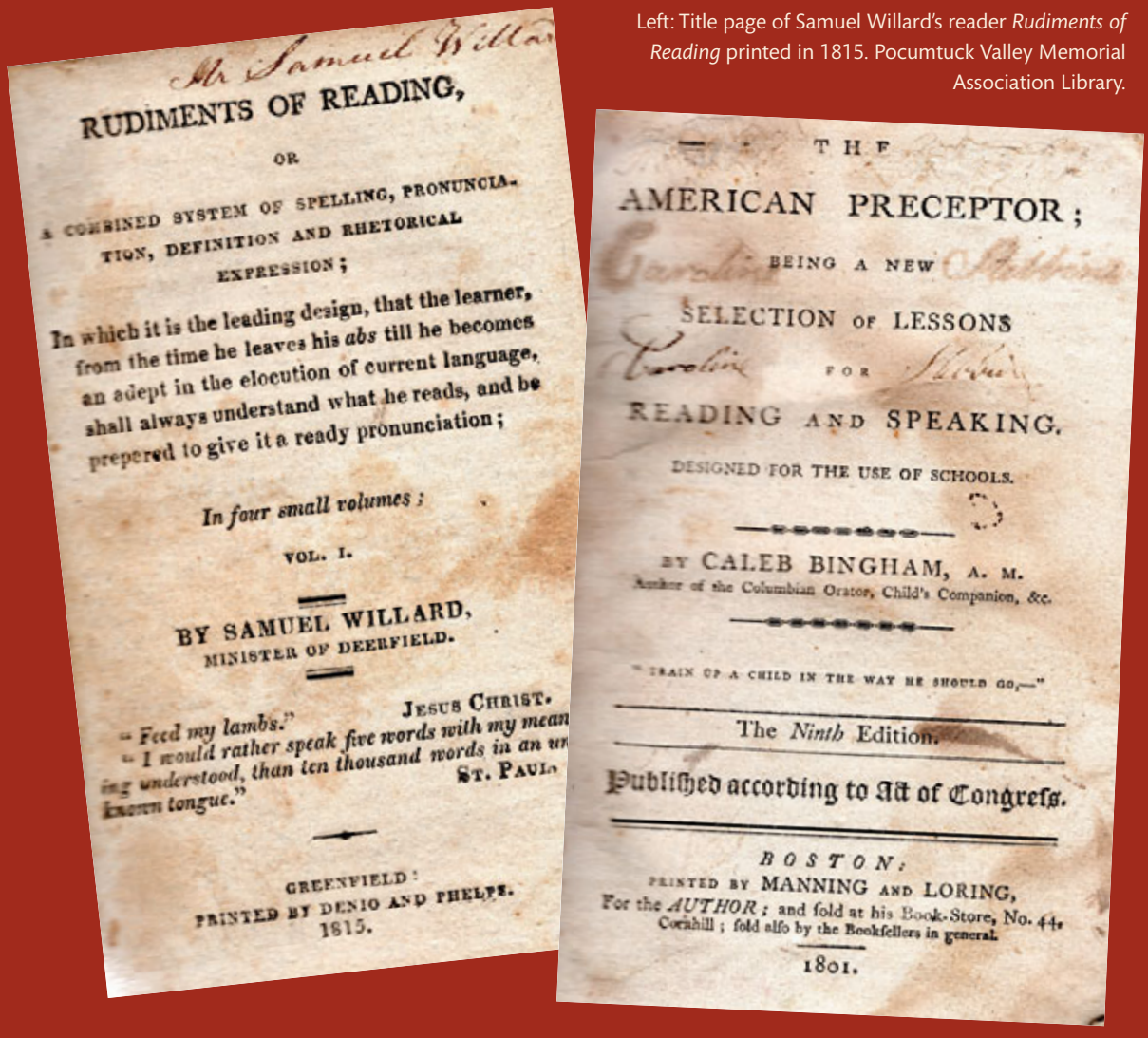
ills was a system of "Normal Schools" providing teacher education training across the state starting in 1839. Over a decade and a half four such schools were established, with a fifth added in 1871, that prepared generations of schoolteachers. Another of Mann's major contributions to improving schools on a tight budget were Teachers' Institutes held around the state to provide what we would today call "professional development." Several were held in Franklin County, and one in Deerfield, but not until 1852.

In that same year Massachusetts became the first state to pass a compulsory education law, requiring children to attend school (Mississippi was the last state to do so in 1918). We would not recognize the school year stipulated: the law mandated students between the ages of 8 and 14 to be in "a place of learning" for at least three months a year and for at least six consecutive weeks. Mandatory attendance raised the question of how many children actually went to school. This was addressed by the addition of a published school-by-school attendance record in the annual Town Meeting Reports, eventually along with a report of the town nurse who visited individual schools. These public records give us real insight into the school-aged population of Deerfield over these decades.

The independent District School system officially ended in Massachusetts 1869 by act of the Commonwealth. But the name "district" in regard to certain schools was highly ingrained in the public mind. In Deerfield, the school reports continue to refer to schools scattered outside the two town center schools as "District Schools" into the early 20th century. The last of Deerfield's outlying one-room schools closed in 1933 following a period of increased immigration and "modern" emphasis on proper heating, ventilating, and sanitation needs. As a result, a new building at the South Deerfield School in 1914 replaced the old 1880s building (previoiusly the town Senior Center). This was followed by an even more impressive new building in Old Deerfield eight years later in 1922 which moved that school out of the first floor of Deerfield's Town Hall on Memorial St. in order to make room for the Dickinson Library which needed to vacate its Deerfield Academy location.

The Town of Deerfield took great pride in both of its large, handsome school buildings. After the merger of the final two town schools and construction of a new school building on North Main St., the South Deerfield building was torn down to provide space for a new Deerfield police station and town hall. The Old Deerfield Elementary building survives as PVMA's Deerfield Teachers' Center, event space, and museum administrative offices, having been purchased by the Association from the town in 1992.

A group of long-surviving one-room schoolhouses throughout the Town of Deerfield kept the memory of the early schools alive, and an important symbol of local and New England history and lore. The restored Wapping Schoolhouse at Historic Deerfield preserves and shares Deerfield's 19th-century educational history to audiences from around the world.



Left: Title page of Samuel Willard's reader *Rudiments of Reading* printed in 1815. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library.

The PVMA Library has more than 600 schoolbooks published between 1712 and 1928. With an overwhelming majority dating from the early republic and antebellum periods, the collection constitutes an extraordinary view into early school education in this country. The emphasis on a well-informed youth for a successful democracy led to an explosion of schoolbook publishing to supply a seemingly insatiable demand. While Noah Webster is the name most recognized today, other educators from the time are represented in the collection with numerous titles.

School books passed through the hands of multiple children in families until no longer needed. Presciently collected in the decades soon after the Association was established in 1870, PVMA founder George Sheldon himself arranged them into categories of arithmetic, bookkeeping, geography, grammar, history, mathematics, reading, rhetoric, science, and spelling. Even more special are the numerous inscriptions inside reflecting ownership by many Deerfield families—the Balls, Bardwells, Clapps, Dickinsons, Hoyts, Nims, Sheldons, Stebbins, Willards, and Williams to name a few!

Above: Title page of *The American Preceptor,* a well-known reader written by educator Caleb Bingham. Short essays instructed readers on the evils of slavery, personal virtue and industry, ancient history, and, fittingly, female education. Faint inscriptions tell us this was owned by Caroline Stebbins (1789–1865) as a young girl, and later mother to George Sheldon. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library.

Going to the Sources: Researching Enslaved African Americans in Deerfield, Massachusetts

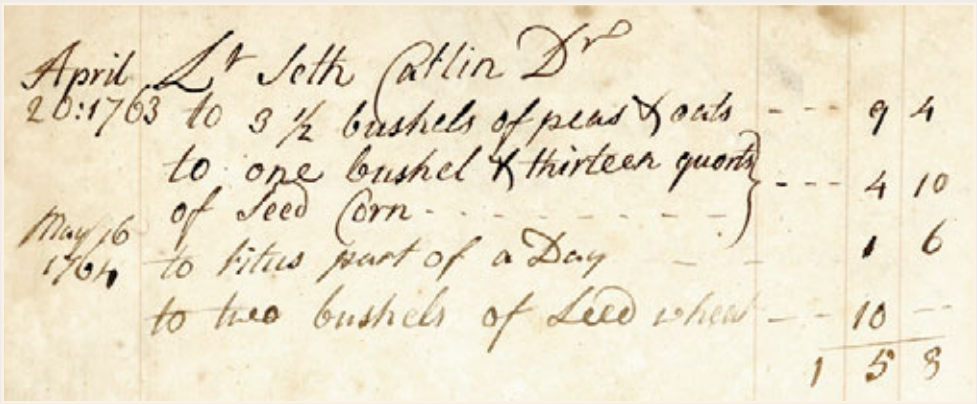
by Daniel S. Sousa

Historians and genealogists seeking to investigate the lives of enslaved persons in Deerfield, Massachusetts, are indebted to the work of Deerfield's venerable town historian, George Sheldon (1818-1916). Sheldon's monumental two-volume *History of Deerfield*, published in 1895–1896, included an 18-page section in volume two titled "Negro Slavery," in which Sheldon alerted his readers to the reality of slavery both in Deerfield and Massachusetts more broadly in the 17th and 18th centuries. He wrote:

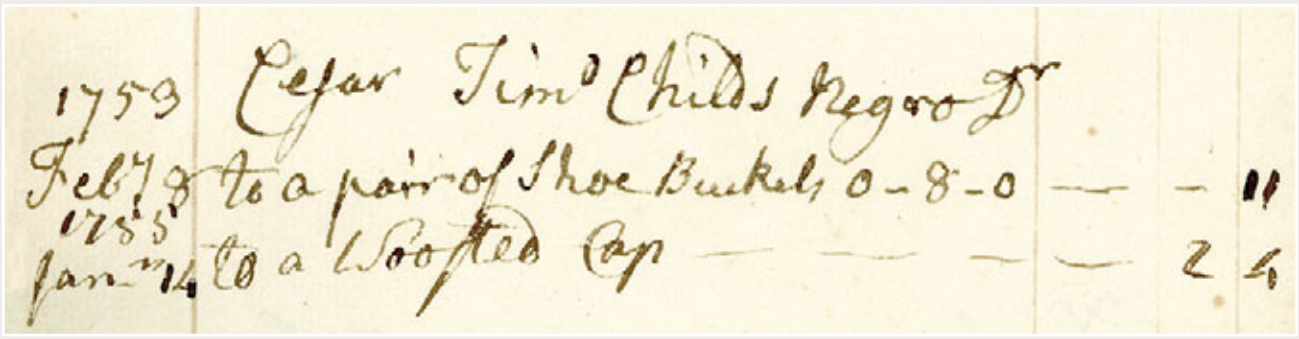
To those who have been in the habit of thinking of negro slavery as an exclusively Southern institution, this title may have in it an element of surprise, if not of offence. I know of no reason, however, why we should not face the facts relating to it, found in church and town records, and old family manuscripts. There can be no dispute that for more than a hundred years before the foot of a slave was allowed to pollute the soil of Georgia, men, women and children were bought and sold, and held, and worked, by the leading dignitaries of the Puritanic Colony of Massachusetts Bay; and on the death of their owners were inventoried in their estates as property, together with horses, hogs, cows, and other animals.

Sheldon filled the remainder of the section with quotes from a number of the church and town records referenced above, highlighting the presence of enslaved people in Deerfield. In doing so, he not only brought attention to the lives and experiences of Deerfield's African American residents, discussing them alongside the town's White majority, but also provided future historians with resources that could be further mined for additional information.

Over the years, Historic Deerfield staff members have worked to uncover more details and information about the lives of Deerfield's enslaved residents by consulting many of the types of sources referenced in Sheldon's *History of Deerfield*. A more recent partnership between Historic Deerfield and the Witness Stones Project—a nonprofit initiative designed to memorialize the lives of enslaved people in local communities—led to a more intensive mining of local sources, with the goal of erecting markers in Deerfield commemorating the lives of the town's enslaved residents. Historic Deerfield's Senior Vice President, Anne Digan Lanning, and Public Historian and Director of Academic Programs, Barbara A. Mathews, have led the effort, undertaking all of the research involved with identifying the names and dwelling places of Deerfield's enslaved residents. Below is a sampling of the types of sources consulted over the course of the project, along with information about what these sources reveal about the lives and experiences of Deerfield's enslaved population. While compiling this list, the



On May 16, 1764, Daniel Arms hired out his slave Titus for "part of a day" to Lt. Seth Catlin for 1 shilling, 6 pence. Daniel Arms Account Book, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library.



On February 8, 1753, Cesar, "Timo Childs Negro," purchased "a pair of shoe buckels" from Elijah Williams' store. Elijah Williams Daybook, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library.

author has relied heavily on the research findings of Barbara A. Mathews, which are discussed in greater detail in her unpublished paper, "'At the Dispose and Command of Others': Slavery in 18th-Century Deerfield, Massachusetts."

Account Books

Account books are an oftentimes overlooked resource, both in historical and genealogical research, but can shed a great deal of light on local residents' day-to-day interactions. Although primarily concerned with recording transactions, account books also leave behind a record of their owner's activities as well as the names of community members from all levels of society. Consequently, they can be particularly helpful when studying individuals who have "fallen through the cracks" of history—that is, individuals who tended not to leave behind a strong paper trail, such as poor, itinerant, or enslaved persons, as well as women. Enslaved persons in Deerfield, for example, appear in local account books in a variety of contexts. Deerfield resident Daniel Arms, Jr. noted in his account book—owned by the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association (PVMA) Library—when he hired out his slave, Titus, to assist other community members with various farming tasks. Many of the residents who paid Arms for Titus' labor did not own enslaved persons, revealing slavery's extension into the local community beyond slave-owning households in Deerfield.

While on the one hand appearing as laborers in account books, enslaved individuals are also present as consumers of goods. The account books of Elijah Williams, which survive in the collection of the PVMA Library, include the names of more than ten enslaved and free persons of color who had their own running accounts, and purchased a number of small personal items, from shoe buckles to chocolate, in the mid-18th century. Sometimes these items were purchased with goods or through an exchange of labor. For instance, another enslaved person named Titus, owned by the Reverend Jonathan Ashley, paid for several items from the store of John Williams in 1756 by "Bottoming 2 chairs" (i.e., weaving rush or splint seats for chairs). Such activities suggest a degree of independence and agency on the part of the enslaved, as well as their active participation and contribution to the local economy.

Probate Records

Considered personal property, enslaved persons are oftentimes listed in the wills of their enslavers as items of inheritance, similar to any other household good. In his 1780 will, the Reverend Jonathan Ashley of Deerfield did not free his enslaved servant, Jin, but instead bequeathed her to his wife. In Ashley's will, Jin's name appears among a group of other objects to be given to his wife, including a gray mare, cows, an easy chair, silver utensils, and other household furniture. The placement of Jin's name alongside these objects is not only a sad reminder of the indignity suffered by enslaved persons, but is also illustrative of the fact that slaves were considered valuable property or investments—similar to other household furnishings—and therefore indicative of an individual's personal wealth and social standing in the community. The 1729 inventory of the estate of Deerfield resident the Reverend John Williams, for instance, recorded the values of two enslaved individuals: "the Molatto boy Meseck" (valued at £80), and "the black boy Kedar" (valued at £80). After land and buildings, Mesek and Kedar were the most expensive property listed in Williams's inventory.

Church records

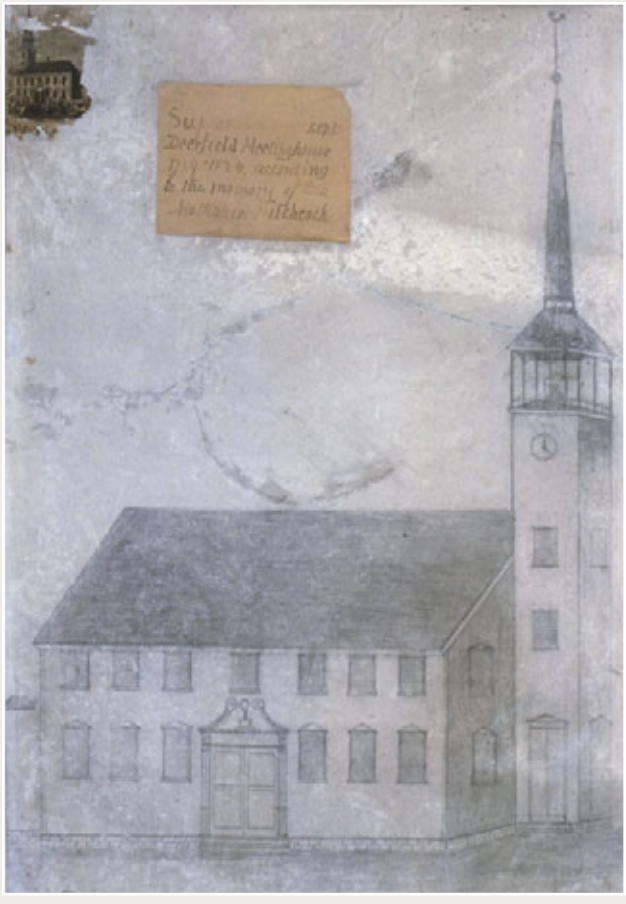
References to enslaved individuals also appear in local church records. The records of the Fourth Meetinghouse of Deerfield include the admittances, baptisms, and marriages of several enslaved individuals, including Humphry, owned by Lieut. Timothy Childs and baptized at the Meetinghouse in December 1762. Humphry's and other enslaved persons' presence in these records reveal something of the household dynamics of slave owning families in New England. As members of a particular household, the enslaved—like any other family member—were generally expected to attend church services. Yet even in this environment, enslaved persons rarely sat with their enslaver's family. Instead, many sat in the church's upper galleries. Clearly, enslavers saw no conflict between their religious beliefs and their ownership of other human beings.

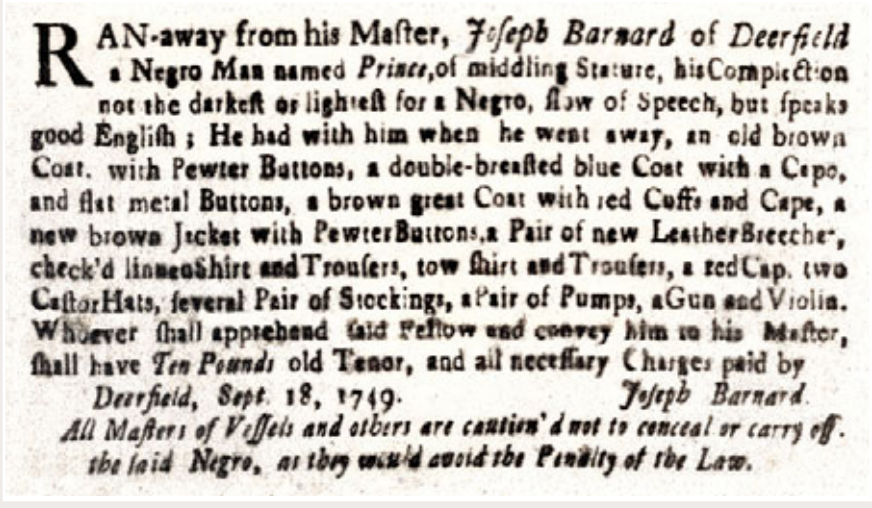
Newspapers

The names of enslaved persons can be found in period newspapers in a variety of contexts, including runaway advertisements. Deerfield's enslaved residents are not commonly encountered in newspapers, with one notable exception. Joseph Barnard of Deerfield ran the following notice in the September 28, 1749, issue of the *Boston Weekly News-Letter* pertaining to his escaped slave, Prince:

Ran-away from his master, Joseph Barnard of Deerfield, a Negro Man named Prince, of middling Stature, his Complection [sic] not the darkest or lightest for a Negro, slow of Speech, but speaks good English; He had with him when he went away, an old brown Coat, with Pewter Buttons, a double-breasted blue Coat with a Cape, and flat metal Buttons, a brown great Coat with red Cuffs and Cape, a new brown Jacket with Pewter Buttons, a Pair of new Leather Breeches, check'd linnen [sic] Shirt and Trowsers [sic], tow shirt and Trousers, a red Cap, two Castor Hats, several Pair of Stockings, a Pair of Pumps, a Gun and Violin. Whoever shall apprehend said Fellow and convey him to his Master, shall have Ten Pounds old Tenor, and all necessary Charge paid by Joseph Barnard, Deerfield, Sept. 18, 1749.

Prince had been instructed by the Reverend Jonathan Ashley to remain obedient to his master just several months earlier, but eventually Prince reacted by taking matters into his own hands and engaging in the ultimate act of defiance: escape. Prince's choice reveals something about the bitter relationships that could develop between enslaved persons and enslavers in Deerfield. The unhappiness of Deerfield's enslaved persons with their living situation and unfair treatment led them to sacrifice a great deal to obtain their

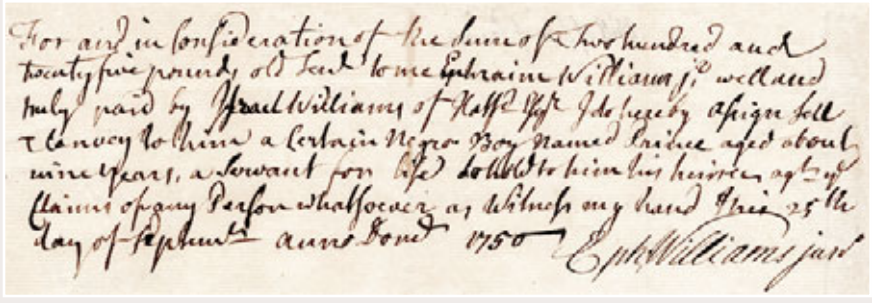




RAN-away from his Master, *Joseph Barnard* of *Deerfield* a Negro Man named *Prince*, of middling Stature, his Complection not the darkest or lightest for a Negro, slow of Speech, but speaks good English; He had with him when he went away, an old brown Coat, with Pewter Buttons, a double-breasted blue Coat with a Cape, and flat metal Buttons, a brown great Coat with red Cuffs and Cape, a new brown Jacket with Pewter Buttons, a Pair of new Leather Breeches, check'd linnen Shirt and Trousers, tow shirt and Trousers, a red Cap, two Castor Hats, several Pair of Stockings, a Pair of Pumps, a Gun and Violin. Whoever shall apprehend said Fellow and convey him to his Master, shall have *Ten Pounds* old Tenor, and all necessary Charges paid by

Deerfield, Sept. 18, 1749. *Joseph Barnard.*

All Masters of Vessels and others are caution'd not to conceal or carry off the said Negro, as they would avoid the Penalty of the Law.



For and in consideration of the sume of two hundred and twenty five pounds old tenor to me Ephraim Williams jr. well and truly paid by Israel Williams of Hatfield Esqr I do hereby assign sell & convey to him a certain Negro Boy named Prince aged about nine years, a Servant for life & do bind to him his heirs &c all claims of any Person whatsoever as witness my hand this 25th day of September anno Domi 1750 Ephm Williams jun

Top: The Fourth Meetinghouse (1729–1824), drawn from memory by Deacon Nathaniel Hitchcock, ca.1830. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum, 2000.03.500.

Above: A copy of the notice from the September 28, 1749, issue of the *Boston Weekly News-Letter*, alerting readers to the escape of Joseph Barnard's slave, Prince.

Right: A "Certain Negro Boy" named Prince was sold by Ephraim Williams to Israel Williams in 1750. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library.

freedom, as in the case with Prince. Other enslaved individuals had experienced similar hardships in Deerfield. Titus, owned by Daniel Arms, was not only scolded by his church community for "di[s]obedience to his master," but was also deprived of the right to a trial after stealing, and publicly whipped. These realities reveal that, despite their ability to exercise a degree of independence and agency in the local community, enslaved persons were at the bottom of a social hierarchy, which demanded subservience.

Local Histories

Local histories can, at times, be quite useful when researching the experiences of enslaved individuals. They might even be the only detailed record of the life and activities of an enslaved person. George Sheldon's *History of Deerfield* includes stories of enslaved persons that would have been lost to history if Sheldon had not sought them out from members of the local community. One poignant story concerns a woman named Jin Cole, one of several enslaved persons owned by the Reverend Jonathan Ashley. Jin Cole apparently collected a number of small artifacts throughout her life in Deerfield—from shells and stones to beads—in order to bring them back to Africa some day. Historians now believe that Jin Cole's "collecting" may have been influenced by native African spiritual traditions that associated spiritual powers with particular objects. This action in and of itself is significant, and reveals enslaved persons unwillingness to totally relinquish their native spiritual traditions. Although not as extreme as running away from one's enslaver, Jin Cole's actions can be interpreted as a type of subtle resistance to the predominantly Anglo-Christian culture in which she lived.

As George Sheldon highlighted more than a century ago, the names of enslaved persons found in Deerfield town records stand as a powerful reminder that slavery was not confined to the South, but a reality that pervaded all areas of colonial America and the young United States. Indeed, the common appearance of enslaved persons' names in local Deerfield records reveals how the system of slavery was considered the status quo—an acceptable practice embraced by some members of the community. Though these individual records are not always forthcoming in illuminating the details of a particular person's life, they can, when considered together as a body of evidence, help historians better understand the environment in which these enslaved persons lived, and how they navigated their challenging life circumstances. Research into the lives of Deerfield's enslaved residents continues, and it is hoped that future discoveries will shed additional light on this important chapter in Deerfield's history.

Above: Witness Stones memorializing the presence of enslaved persons Pompey and Rebecca.

Right: The Ware General Store on Old Main Street in the late 1800s, where enslaved people made purchases in the 1700s when it was owned by the Williams family. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum, 1878.32.04.

A VERY BRIEF Population History of Deerfield

by Alan C. Swedlund with Nicole Falk

In a general sense, the population history of the town of Deerfield mirrors that of other communities in Massachusetts and New England of the same period, with some distinctive and significant features of its own. Early settlement in New England occurred along the coasts beginning in the early 17th century, and gradually spread with settlements throughout the interior of the Commonwealth and New England. This secondary, interior expansion occurred primarily by descendants traveling up the major river valleys, including the Connecticut River Valley.

However, the population history of Deerfield cannot be properly told without first acknowledging the significant Indigenous population, primarily the Pocumtucks and their neighboring and closely related groups, whose homelands centered along the confluence of the Deerfield and Connecticut Rivers. As the larger region of New England was invaded and colonized over the first two centuries of contact by English, Dutch, and French immigrants to Canada and the Northeast, the Indigenous population experienced rapid reduction and displacement.

According to archaeologists Peter Thomas and Dean Snow, as many as 100,000 Indigenous inhabitants lived in southern New England when the first Europeans arrived. Snow estimates the size of the Pocumtuck population, more broadly defined as including neighboring communities in the middle Connecticut River Valley, as high as 15,000. Thomas defines Pocumtuck more narrowly geographically, and he estimates less than 2,000. Inter-tribal conflict had at times reduced the population of Pocumtuck prior to English arrival. Growing colonial expansion further aggravated these encounters, followed by a dramatic reduction of Indigenous inhabitants as settlers continued to arrive in Deerfield and surrounding communities.

The original tract of land that became Deerfield was granted to the town of Dedham, Massachusetts, in 1665, and while a few proprietors eventually came to Deerfield, the majority of early inhabitants arrived from other settlements to the south in the Connecticut River Valley. The Deerfield tract was expanded to 8,000 acres, and then expanded by the General Court in 1673 to an area of seven miles squared (31,360 acres). This area, in turn, was periodically partitioned off to encompass the towns of Greenfield (1753), Conway (1767), Shelburne (1768), and later Gill (1793). Finally, the Cheapside neighborhood of Deerfield was annexed to Greenfield in 1896.

The vital records collected by individual towns in Massachusetts provide a detailed and relatively accurate picture of the growth and composition of Deerfield as well as all other towns of Massachusetts. Before the American Revolution, the British Crown mandated that births, marriages, and deaths be recorded for each town in Massachusetts and in other colonies primarily for purposes of taxation and conscription. Following statehood (1788), the Commonwealth formally adopted the collection of vital records. In the 1840s, the passage of additional Massachusetts laws strengthened the requirement and prescribed penalties for towns and town clerks who failed to accurately record all births, marriages, and deaths.

The Federal and Massachusetts censuses can also reveal patterns, but changing categories over time, and the tendency to summarize information at levels above the small towns make them less useful for a fine-grained study of a particular community. Further, the census schedules of 1890 were destroyed in a fire. Even the original manuscript censuses do not adequately capture the changing composition of a community over time. For these reasons we focus primarily on the vital records of Deerfield, with occasional

supplementation of information from census data.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that between 1890 and 1910 the race and ethnicity of the United States population had become a preoccupation for the government and its citizens. In the 1910 U.S. Census nativity was broken down by categories such as "Native white-Native Parentage," "Native white-Foreign or mixed parentage," "Foreign-born white," etc. Twenty-four different countries and "other" accounted for the place of origin of foreign-born whites. United States citizens and residents of color included, Negro, Mulatto, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, and "all other."

The published statistics do not break down these categories by small towns, only by major cities and by county. For example, in Franklin County, Massachusetts, these categories by percentage were:

Native white-Native parentage	56.9%
Native white-Foreign or mixed parentage	24.9%
Foreign-born white	17.9%
Negro	.3%

Sentiments in the country ran strong about the rising number of immigrants coming to the United States. Some of the concern was pragmatic in nature: the promotion of literacy and education, public health improvements, and employment. Some was clearly anti-immigration as mentioned above with respect to the 1924 Immigration Act. With regard to the population history of Deerfield, we acknowledge the devastating impacts of colonialism on the Indigenous population of the region, while focusing on the diversity of people who subsequently arrived in Deerfield, and their contributions to the growth, economic success, and cultural life of the town.

FINDINGS

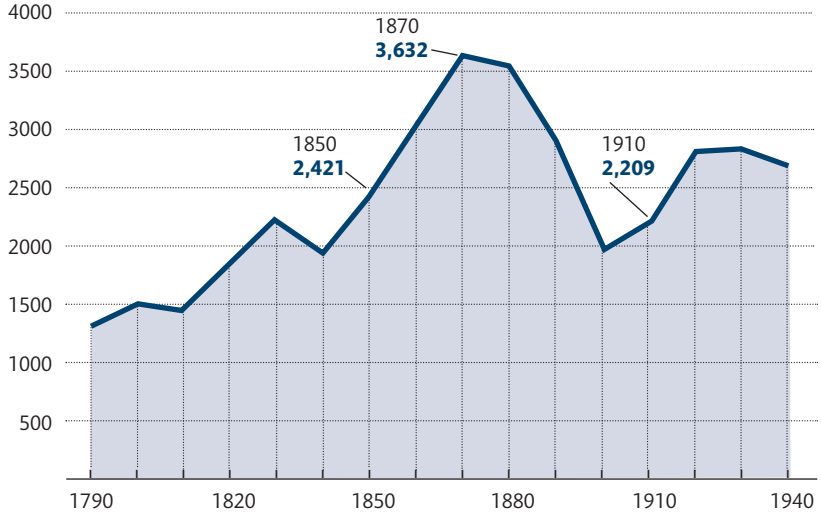
There are four important transitions in the growth of Deerfield's population. The first saw the establishment and growth of the village of Deerfield by expansion of the predominantly English descendants migrating up the Valley, and to a lesser extent coming east from the Boston area. Second was the Irish immigration to this region, including Deerfield, commencing in the 1840s, many of whom were employed in construction of railroads. A third wave consisted of migrants from Germany (ca. 1850-1890) to the Valley, especially valued for their skills in a number of trades. For Deerfield, arriving Germans worked primarily in the Russell Cutlery factory, then located in the neighborhood of Cheapside. The fourth major wave was Eastern Europeans, mostly of Polish descent (ca. 1890-1920), who generally engaged in agriculture.

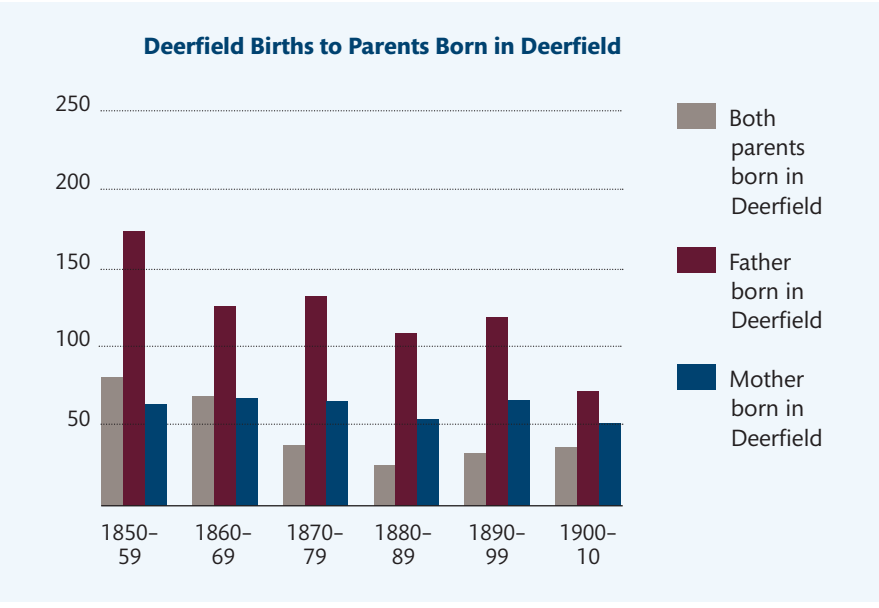
Scottish, Dutch, French Canadians, and Italians were also well represented in the Connecticut River Valley, along with smaller numbers of Swedes, European Jews, Greeks, African Americans, and others. But for Deerfield and surrounding Franklin County towns these four, principal waves formed the majority of their makeup. Each of these groups, including the early English, grew rapidly after their arrival, due to the flow of new immigrants and also to the large family sizes that were produced by the opportunities afforded in agriculture and manufacturing. Between 1820 and 1870, the population of Deerfield grew by almost 100%, then experienced a decline until about 1900 when it commenced growing again until about 1920.

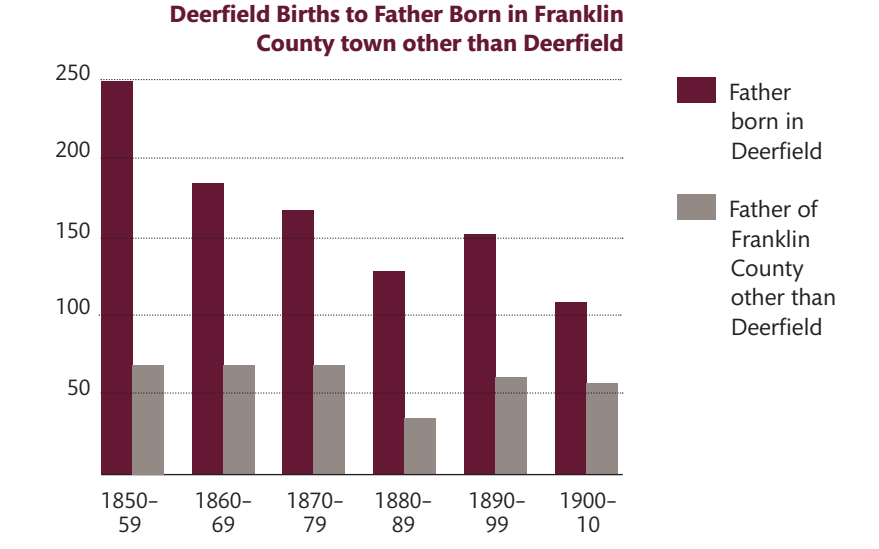
The Immigration Act of 1924, also referred to as the "Asian Exclusion Act," slowed migration precipitously. It also created quotas favoring predominantly European migrants who had previously emigrated to the United States in large numbers, yet significantly reduced their numbers. The purpose of the act was alleged to "preserve the ideal of U.S. homogeneity."

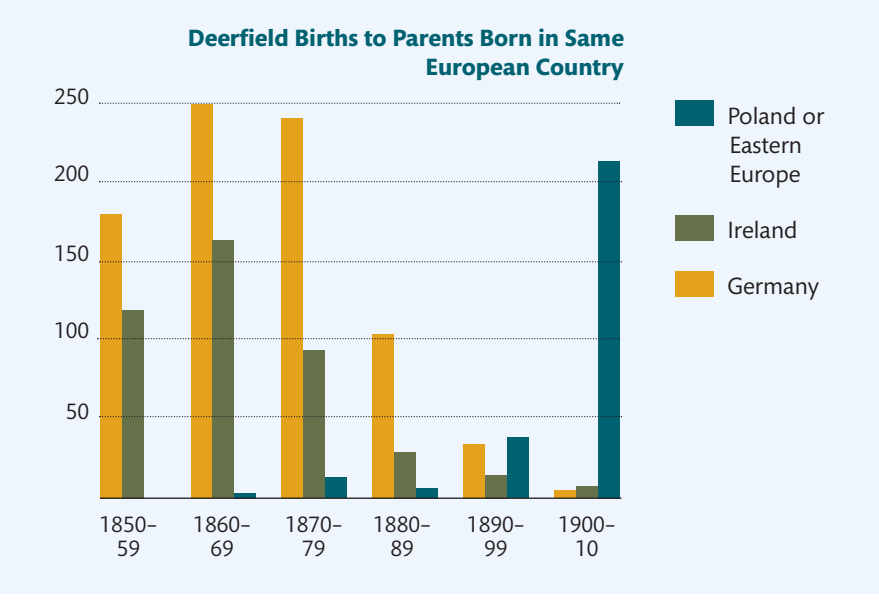
The population composition by means of migration and succeeding births is the most significant factor in Deerfield's population history over time. By using the vital records of births for the town of Deerfield, coupled with additional data from the manuscript Federal Censuses, it is possible to summarize changes in population composition through a series of graphic representations. By 1910, the composition of Deerfield's population became relatively stable, experiencing moderate growth with fluctuation in proportions of those of English, Irish, German, or Polish/East European ancestry through the 1930s. For these reasons we

Deerfield Population, 1790–1940





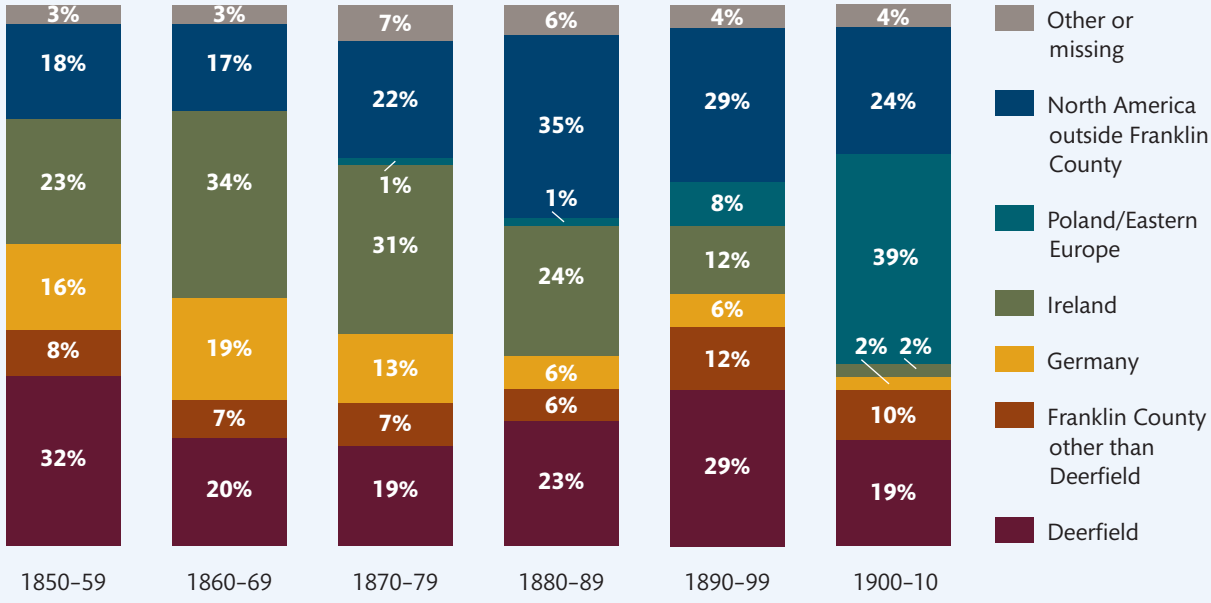




took the total number of births in the town of Deerfield between 1850 and 1910 whose parents' place of birth was known (n=4,305) and analyzed the patterns during that period. Using number of births by parentage captures both an immigration effect and a reproduction effect. It should be noted, however, that parents with multiple births will appear more than one time in the data, so this method emphasizes growth through childbirths and is not meant as an absolute count of immigrants.

Prior to 1850, the majority of marriages and births in Deerfield were between Deerfield residents, then, increasingly, between at least one Deerfield resident, more often the father, and a resident from another town, most often in Franklin County. After 1850, growth was increasingly influenced by new immigrants. Those of German ancestry originally settled primarily around the Cutlery and other factories in the neighborhood of Cheapside. In 1868, the Russell factory moved to Turners Falls, but many of the workers remained in Cheapside. Their representation becomes significantly reduced after Cheapside became part of Greenfield in the 1896 annexation. At that time approximately a third of Deerfield's population was lost to Greenfield. In the decades from 1850 to 1910 we can observe the transition in number of births by the later immigrant waves to Deerfield. For example, Irish and German-born fathers combined contributed 311 of the total births in 1850-59, compared to 475 for fathers from Deerfield or other towns in the region. Looking across the decades one can readily see the decline over time in births by Irish, and particularly German

Deerfield Births by Father's Birthplace, 1850–1910



fathers, and a significant rise in births by Polish and other Eastern European fathers.

Taken together, the births by percentage of all major groups over all decades, 1850–1910, gives an accurate representation of the changing composition of Deerfield. Fathers who themselves were born in Deerfield or Franklin County decreased over time, but still remain a substantial proportion of total births in 1900–1910 (29%). The representation of Irish and German parents gradually declines, and fathers of Polish/East European ancestry grow rapidly between 1890–1910.

CONCLUSION

It is important to acknowledge that the settlement and growth of Deerfield came at a very high cost for the region's original inhabitants, the Pocumtucks and their Indigenous neighbors. Their loss, displacement, and eventual cultural erasure was substantial in many ways. During the historical, post-contact period, the predominantly English population of Deerfield grew rapidly between 1750 and 1850, followed by the ensuing waves of predominantly Irish, German, and Polish, but also other smaller groups. These changes in population composition enriched Deerfield, both culturally and materially, and helped define the Deerfield of today.

The productive farmland, and the opportunities afforded in commercial enterprises and manufacturing, stimulated rapid population growth by immigration and sustained by high reproductive rates resulting in large family sizes. The arrival of the Connecticut Valley Railroad in 1846, with a depot in South Deerfield, shifted the center of population southward and established a thriving commercial center. This also marked a time when transportation began changing the population landscape.

Scholars have described the decline of New England's Yankee farmers ever since Frederick Jackson Turner studied it and advanced his Frontier Thesis in the late 1800s. Turner observed their westward migration first to New York, and then to the fertile lands of the Midwest, or their migration to eastern cities for jobs in manufacturing and other trades. The biggest losses were from upland farms throughout Massachusetts and western New England, but Deerfield and other towns in the Connecticut River Valley were affected as well. Where Yankees departed, European immigrants to the Valley found their opportunities in farming, the railroad, manufacturing, and other work in Deerfield and surrounding towns.

The population of Deerfield, according to the 2020 Census, is now about 5,100 and it has remained approximately this size for many years. South Deerfield continues as the population, commercial, and municipal center of the town. The village of Old Deerfield, the original settlement and town center, is known worldwide for its long history, agricultural productivity, private schools, and as a tourism destination.

Acknowledgments: We thank Peter Thomas for providing information on land changes and socioeconomic transitions in Deerfield's history.

CONFLICTED

Memory and Violence in Deerfield

by Philip Zea

DEERFIELD is known nationwide for three diverse contexts: education, tranquility, and violence. Private schools and museums define the first. They are parallel in mission and imperfectly aligned with historic preservation. The natural landscape, defined by the meanderings of the Deerfield River, intermingles with the architecture it sometimes threatens to destroy. The colonial wars, the American Revolution, and the Civil War (among others) have made Deerfield a famous symbol of perseverance held high by both winners and losers. A generation ago the revelation came that conflict is born of two or more incompatible causes rather than a right and a wrong. The winners always reward themselves by writing history, but each story about those involved brings an enlightened, sometimes ironic, perspective.

Facts abound in Deerfield. Together, they form the best documented small town in America thanks to the high survival rate of architecture, artifacts, archaeology, books, and manuscripts. But our minds rarely embrace all the evidence, or more precisely, the interpretation by others of the evidence. We always confuse opinions with facts, listen to what we want to hear, and question the propaganda of perceived threats from people we know less well than ourselves. We rarely consider opposing viewpoints, even to test them, and never see that all sides during the colonial wars, the Revolution, and the Civil War committed savagery.

One thing is certain in the study of conflict in Deerfield: conflict is the wrong word. Terror is a better one because of its human scale, but its inhumanity reveals the worst in us and is impossible to shake over time. Read Stephen Crane's *The Red Badge of Courage,* in continual print since 1895. The inner war of opposing emotions creates deeper scars than the weapons of war. The distance of time and the rubble of politics also add new purpose to telling old stories. The romance of the past obscures raw facts and provides new beliefs (sometimes excuses) to fight a new fight. A town like Deerfield, which brandishes the symbolism of something at every turn, is fertile ground for new debates. For example, the founder of Historic Deerfield, Henry N. Flynt (1893-1970), wrote the first edition of the picture book *Frontier of Freedom* (1947) to extol Old Deerfield as a symbol of American knowhow and self-reliance in fighting the threat of Communism during the early years of the Cold War with Soviet Russia. In the Foreword, he wrote:

In this tenuous and murky mid-century, when our young and powerful nation finds itself engaged in an ideological conflict with Communism, a constant challenge is being hurled at us . . . portraying the United States as a monstrous octopus with dollar signs for eyes. . . . But there is a legion of other replies to the vilification [by] the Communists. . . . Visual truth speaks louder than words in contradicting propaganda. A graphic picture of one of a hundred phrases of American life—a state university, a model factory, a New England Village—can be the most eloquent response to the strident falsehoods poisoning the air today.

The problem with the Deerfield story is that we think it is all true and stop there. Hyperbole joins bias to threaten the truth, and violence spices the narrative, ironically tempered by romance to remove the bite. Read Mary P. Wells Smith, *The Boy Captive of Old Deerfield* (1904), in continual print since, for the town's most popular, twice-told tale. Remembering the gamut of events recorded in the photography of *Life Magazine* during the 20th century, we wonder if history would work better in preventing repeat-

Above: Cutting sword blade, probably America, wrought iron, 1700–1750. Blade unearthed in the 1930s in a backyard on Old Main Street. Museum Purchase with Funds Provided by the Deerfield Collectors Guild. 2014.23.

Left: Seashell collection of Charles Hawks Munn (1844-1863), lost at sea in Burma. Gift of E.F. Judd. 66.183.2.

Below: Caleb Allen and daughter Eunice in front of the Bars Fight monument, ca. 1903. Photograph by Frances Allen. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum, 2004.15.02.

ed mistakes if it came with a technicolor option. The first to push that button was Matthew Brady whose photography made the Civil War too real. Pictures of Antietam and Andersonville still rip away the romance and most of the glory. Now we have Photoshop to end truth in photography, leaving only sensationalism and selective memory to skew the facts of the past.

One brief Deerfield example of obscuring the facts with more appealing violence, sensationalism, and romance is the genealogical entry for Charles Hawks Munn (1844-1863) written by town antiquarian George Sheldon (1818-1916) in his two-volume *History of Deerfield:* "he became a sailor, was drowned…by some unk[nown] Monster of the deep while bathing in the Irrawadda river, Burmah." What could create more awe than that? The truth is never enough. Only Munn's seashell collection, sent home to Deerfield with his effects, adds a touch of reality to Sheldon's romantic sketch. We need deeper layers of facts and more relevant description to tie history to learning and to understand the fabric and significance of history on its own terms in Deerfield or anywhere.

The 1704 raid is the logical first stop on the road through the Culture of Conflict that defines Deerfield. The attack is the oldest reason that the town holds a national reputation. The facts are that the French and Native raid on Deerfield took place during Queen Anne's War (known abroad as the War of the Spanish Succession, 1702-1713) on February 29, 1704, or on March 11 for the French who followed the newer Gregorian calendar. Depending on your viewpoint, it was either the most successful or devastating of all raids during the four colonial wars. The population of Deerfield at that time numbered about 250 citizens plus a handful of soldiers because the stockaded town was the northwesternmost outpost of English North America. The raiders killed 50 people in the predawn assault and the ensuing counterattack in the North Meadows. Then, 112 more, including the town's leading citizen, the Reverend John Williams (1664-1729), were taken prisoner and marched 300 miles to various destinations in Quebec. The attackers—the 50 Frenchmen and their 200 or so allies—suffered casualties as well and endured the roundtrip from Canada in the dead of winter. About 23 captives died or disappeared on the march north. Twenty-four more chose to remain in New France—among them 17 girls and young women, famously including Eunice Williams (1696-ca. 1786), the seven-year-old daughter of the minister. Eventually, by POW exchange or escape, 89 captives returned to Deerfield, including her father. Even after settlement pushed north and west, Deerfield remained oriented toward warfare as a major entrepot for shipping men and munitions to the front throughout the colonial wars and the American Revolution.

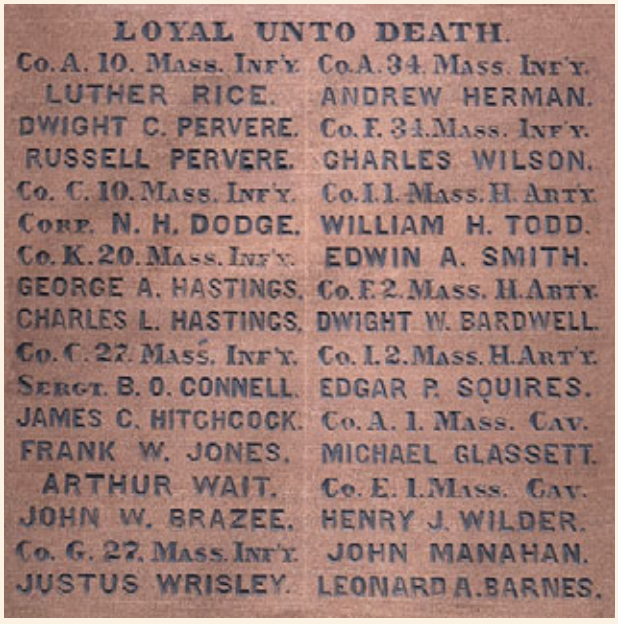
Close analysis of the raid and march north as a cultural event more than a military one by historians Kevin Sweeney and Evan Haefeli reveals many more facts, including the revelation that the labels—French, English, and Native—are simplistic. Instead, the authors of *Captors and Captives: The 1704 French and Indian Raid on Deerfield* (2003) show that both European and Canadian Frenchmen, Natives from at least five different tribes: Abenaki, Huron, Iroquois, Mohawk, and Pennacook, and both English settlers and soldiers experienced the raid and its aftermath in different ways. Each group's distinct and conflicting goals, other than survival, were best achieved by those most able to adapt and compromise on the run.

While facts clarify events, we often put aside objectivity to seek an emotional charge through a romantic embrace of "the real thing." Archaeological finds are inscrutable because of their authentic fabric and context, but they are also ready relics for those seeking alignment with the past to amplify self-definition. This cutting sword (period term) is a good example (see page 43). It was found on Lot 3 in Old Deerfield during the 1930s. English in form and made by a blacksmith in America, this rusted blade tempts even the most disciplined of us to whisper: Was it dropped during the 1704 raid?! In truth, we will never know when it was lost or discarded because dozens of raids occurred on Deerfield until the last one in 1746, and because we cannot narrow the date of the blade closer than 1700 to 1750 based on materials, design, and execution. Furthermore, the cultural origin of an artifact never reveals when, what, or who (plural) created details over time like the hack marks in the blade. Tools like everything else change in meaning and purpose over time. The sword thrust of the 1720s might become the swing of a hay knife in the 1850s and the playful "Charge of the Light Brigade" by Deerfield boys in the 1920s. Each generation leaves its mark, and each centennial celebration brings a review of what we think is important and what we think that we know about our community's past.

Cultural history is best understood as a reservoir of perspective. The artifacts at Historic Deerfield and the Memorial Hall Museum (Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association), opened in 1880, memorialize the past but also shed real light on their educational content when combined with other objects and manuscripts to create context. The powder horn owned by Colonel Joseph Stebbins (1749-1816) of Deerfield, inscribed "... August ye 6th[?] 1771 Blood A Son of Liberty" is inspiring of its own accord. While the horn is plain, the inscription is powerful for its clear allegiance and early date. But what more can the powder horn tell us through its context? Stebbins served as Lieutenant of the Deerfield company of Minute Men who marched to the Lexington Alarm in April 1775. He lived in an age when military rank was a common title applied to men in both war and peacetime. Stebbins held the same rank in the company formed by Captain Hugh Maxwell (1733-1799) of nearby Charlemont the following month. By mid-June, Stebbins was commissioned acting captain in the regiment of Colonel William Prescott (1726-1795), who held command of the center of the rebel line entrenched on Breed's Hill (although the battle carries the name of nearby Bunker Hill).

There on Saturday, June 17, stood Captain Stebbins with his musket and powder horn among the thousand men waiting in the hot sun for the British assault. We do not know the specific details about Stebbins other than that he survived, but about 3 p.m. the British rank and file of more than 2,500 men marched in formation up the hill—only 62 feet above sea level. Although outnumbered by the world's best professional soldiers, many New Englanders had been trained by the British during the French and Indian War 20 years before. Facing fixed bayonets and piercing fifes and drums, they held their fire with discipline until the first British rank was about 50 yards away—half a modern football field. The British advanced three times up that hill toward Stebbins and his comrades until they took the trenches from the New Englanders after Stebbins' powder horn and most others were emptied and the ammunition gone. The cow's horn inscribed "Blood a Son of Liberty" in 1771 remains a mute witness to the birth of revolution through our knowledge of who owned it and where. The word "story" is forever rooted in the word history.

Powder horn owned by Joseph Stebbins, Jr. (1749-1818), Deerfield area, 1771. Cow's horn, eastern white pine. 0258.



Above: Soldiers killed in the war memorialized on one side of the town's Civil War monument. Photo by Allison Bell.

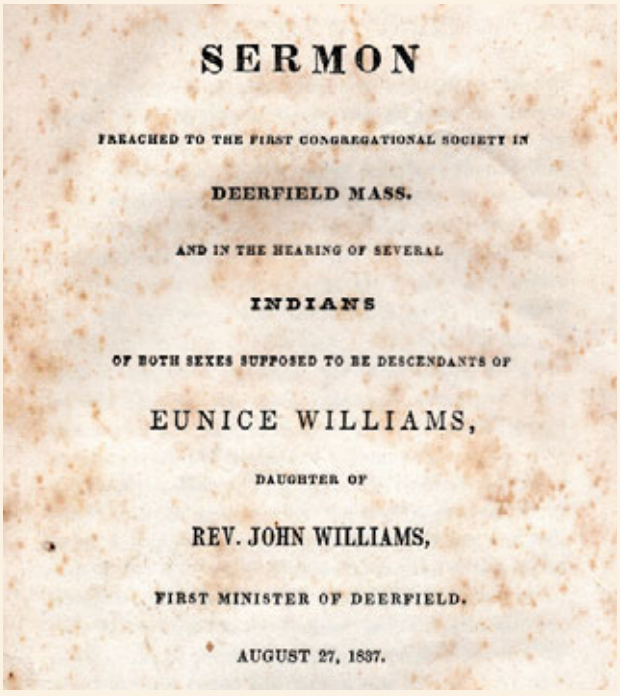
Left: Detail from *A View of the Deerfield Common* by James Wells Champney, ca. 1877, showing the Civil War Monument on the left. Partial Gift of Elizabeth S. Williams and the Museum Collections Fund, 2002.70.1.

We often cast the best ideas as symbolic messages to hold together communities like Deerfield. Ninety years after Bunker Hill, the March 1866 town meeting began the process of memorializing the fallen sons of Deerfield in the Civil War. Cyrus Alexander Stowell (1808-1894), who had lost three sons, was appointed the first chair of the committee. The Town voted "to erect a monument on the Common at a cost of $3000… similar to the Stockbridge monument, a shaft surmounted by a soldier." (The Stockbridge monument is topped by an eagle, but a similar soldier was erected in Granby, Connecticut.) The town common had been the commercial, educational, and civic center of Deerfield for two centuries, but the present task was so overwhelming that the Ware Store was eventually razed to transform the common into a park—really a kind of town cemetery with a single stone. For more than 150 years the sentinel stood above, exhausted at parade rest, overlooking Old Deerfield upon one of the earliest Civil War monuments in America. Victory was secured, but at a terrible cost.

The firm operated by James G. Batterson (1823-1901) of Hartford, Connecticut, created the public sculpture in Deerfield. They promised to "furnish and deliver on [railroad] cars at Hartford a monument according to plan voted upon by the qualified voters at the Town House in Deerfield." The committee further funded the memorial's foundation and final transportation to the center of town. After debate about the appearance of the soldier, which was redone, the town accepted the final design on June 14, 1867. The committee then set to work on the final draft of the inscriptions for the monument—the most immortal and symbolic ideas. They canvassed their neighbors, who sought to justify the loss of life—42 martyrs—through the preservation of the Union. Other families emphasized the memory of the fallen not buried in Deerfield, hoping to focus grief on the grandest of monuments. A sensitive point for Deerfielders remained their sons buried on Southern battlefields, captives through the lifetimes of loved ones left behind. Dedication of the Deerfield monument occurred on September 4, 1867. In the end, all of Deerfield's soldiers back in time were honored. The oldest people present that day had served in the War of 1812. Also featured in the procession was "Uncle Ned," formerly enslaved, whose banner read: "Unchained and Free." The message was clear. Despite the carnage, the cause was worth the sacrifice.

Deerfielders had honed the memory of loss since colonial times and the Revolution, which may explain the immediate erection of the monument right after the hostilities. Surmounted with the carved figure of the reflective soldier, the obelisk is further adorned with the words "Fredericksburg," "Wilderness," "Libby Prison," and "Andersonville," the latter two Southern prison camps. With the carved names of the fallen on either side, the front facing east proclaims in part: "In grateful appreciation of the patriotism and self sacrifice of her lamented sons and soldiers who for their country and for their freedom laid down their lives in the War of the Great Rebellion, Deerfield erects this monument A.D. 1867." The west-facing base of the obelisk in near equal prominence further expands the scope of the memorial: "This monument stands upon the Old Meeting House Hill and is within the limits of the old fort built A.D. 1689 and which remained until A.D. 1758 and was one of the chief defences of the early settlers against the attacks of the savage Indians."

Another problem with history is remembering all the facts, especially when they do not align. Because the Civil War was fresh, the pain was overwhelming and biased. A sign of the times, Deerfield turned to its past to underscore the generations of sacrifice since King Philip's War in the mid-1670s, right after English settlement. As if the monument were not high enough, it became a stone version of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." Imbedded here are layers of meaning that evoke concepts of hallowed ground and victory by intervention over their Native, French, and Southern enemies, forgetting in the shadow of a brutal civil war that all three have their places in Deerfield's muddled, intracultural past. In the 1830s alone, Deerfielders had



SERMON

PREACHED TO THE FIRST CONGREGATIONAL SOCIETY IN

DEERFIELD MASS.

AND IN THE HEARING OF SEVERAL

INDIANS

OF BOTH SEXES SUPPOSED TO BE DESCENDANTS OF

EUNICE WILLIAMS,

DAUGHTER OF

REV. JOHN WILLIAMS,

FIRST MINISTER OF DEERFIELD.

AUGUST 27, 1837.

Title page of the Rev. John Fessenden's 1837 sermon preached upon the visit of Native descendants of captives of the 1704 raid. Historic Deerfield Library.

helped to settle Jacksonville, Florida. Others lived elsewhere in the South. In 1837, 30 years before the monument's dedication, Deerfielders had welcomed to the First Church (Brick Church), with the Reverend John Fessenden (1804-1881) presiding, 25 Native cousins connected to the Sadoques and Watso families from Odanak, Quebec, descendants of captives taken 130 years before. Today, the power of the Deerfield monument continues through the recent preservation of the weather-worn sandstone soldier at the Town Offices in South Deerfield and its replacement, still at parade rest, above us all in Old Deerfield.

Within a decade of the dedication of the Deerfield monument, violence and memory took a different turn for shoemaker William Earl Smith (1853-1918), who died in South Deerfield at the end of World War I with stories to tell about another famous and violent conflict notorious in a far different way than Bunker Hill or Fredericksburg. Smith rode with Troop D of the US 7th Cavalry under the command of Lieutenant Colonel George Armstrong Custer. Seven hundred strong, they were annihilated in 1876 by a force of more than 2,000 Lakota Sioux, Cheyenne, and Arapaho warriors at the Battle of the Little Bighorn now in southeastern Montana.

That June 25th, Custer underestimated the size of the Native village before him, increased by the annual Sun Dance, a religious holiday, and the gathering of warriors for the summer buffalo hunt. He also misjudged his element of surprise when he ordered the daytime attack. What first appeared as opportunity before the huge village he wished to destroy quickly turned to catastrophe after dividing his command into three columns. Five companies of troopers remained with Custer, while three went with Major Marcus Reno, and the last three, including Smith's Troop D, followed Captain Frederick Benteen. Custer, and to some extent Reno, carried the attack. Benteen was slow to support either one. At the end of the afternoon, Troop D under the command of Captain Thomas Weir, disobeyed orders and moved forward to relieve Custer. As they came to the ridge above the Native village, the troopers were stunned to see 1,800 lodges below and the close of Custer's fight beyond. Troop D's presence immediately became the next Native target. Smith and his comrades held off their attackers for three hours until nightfall and remained under fire for the next two days until help arrived. Private Smith's movements are lost to time, but we know that he survived and returned home to Massachusetts. His commanding officer, Thomas Weir, however, died six months later in New York City in shattered depression. Like Bunker Hill, the Little Bighorn defined an era and entered the collective memory of each family and hometown of those engaged in the American West.

The embodiment of the Culture of Conflict in Deerfield, and our final story for now, lies like so many well outside the town's boundaries. Thomas Williams Ashley (1894-1918) grew up in Old Deerfield on his father's farm in the shadow of his third great grandfather, the Reverend Jonathan Ashley (1712-1780), the town's leading citizen during most of the 18th century. That heritage was eclipsed by the slow economic decline of Deerfield after the construction of the Erie Canal in the 1820s, and by the region's move to urban manufacturing and away from agriculture. This decline, or at least reorientation, put pressure on the "best and brightest" when they came along in rural towns like Deerfield. Tom Ashley fit that mold as a model child of this generation, forever young, handsome, athletic, and symbolic of the Yankee past.

Young Ashley became one of the first successful students of Deerfield Academy's legendary Headmaster, Frank L. Boyden (1879-1972), who came to town in 1902 right out of Amherst College. The school's trustees had hired him to pay off the debt, lock the door, and close the failed school after a century. Instead, Boyden took the challenge of building the Academy into one of the best private secondary schools in the country before his retirement in 1968. He did not accomplish this task alone, reflecting his astute skill in building relationships that branded the quality of what he was trying to create. The student body formed a critical part of the equation as the headmaster

sought to impress the parents of prospective students with what he could do for their children under his care and regimen in Old Deerfield.

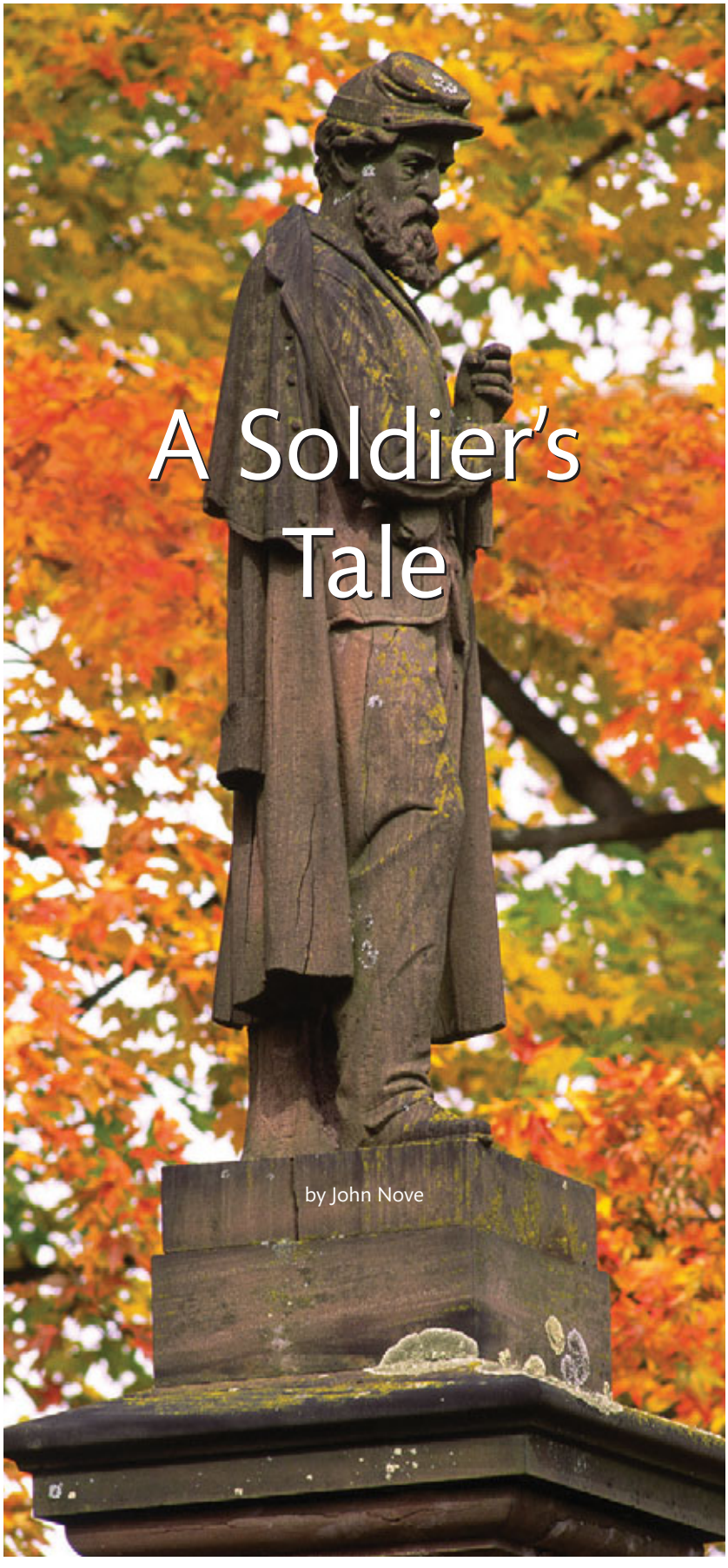
Tom Ashley was a "throwback" even in his own time. He embodied heritage and hope, masculinity and Protestantism. He sprang from a collective, colonial past that sought a future. He was leadership material of the best sort and a diamond in the rough that needed polishing at the local academy to benefit all concerned. Tom's grades were mediocre at the start but improved after hard work. That growth, with Boyden's help, enabled him to gain admission to Amherst College, Class of 1916. Again outclassed at the beginning, he worked hard enough to win the Wood Prize "given to the student who had made the greatest improvement." He graduated with a BA in history but was better remembered for his prowess on Amherst College's football team. Ironically, Tom's undergraduate thesis focused on "The Position of Germany in World Politics," in which he argued, "in the true spirit of neutrality," that Kaiser Wilhelm justifiably used force as a defensive strategy in securing his country's national rights. Tom dedicated his work "To those who defended the Fatherland, in a just, though unfortunate work." He returned to Deerfield Academy after graduation to teach history and perhaps more importantly, to serve as Athletic Director. He also poured himself into a written vision of the school's future, which he would never see.

Lt. Thomas Williams Ashley (1894-1918), United States Marine Corps, ca. 1918. Courtesy of Deerfield Academy Archives.

Irony is never far from conflict in the history of Deerfield. Tom Ashley left behind his college thesis and enlisted in the Marine Corps, as the United States came to grips with the fact that World War I was indeed a world war and not just "over there." As one might expect, he almost immediately received a junior role in leadership as a Second Lieutenant, 8th Machine-gun in the 67th Company, First Battalion, Fifth Regiment, U.S. Marines. His deployment to France as a platoon leader came in time for Germany's month-long offensive in June 1918 during the Battle of Belleau Wood. American troops suffered high casualties in their first major engagement: 1,811 dead and 7,966 wounded. Lieutenant Ashley was wounded and then killed in action at the end of the first week at Chateau-Thierry when his unit attacked entrenched German machine gunners on Hill 142. Tom died along with most of the other officers and sergeants. He remains far from home at the Aisne-Marne American Cemetery in Plot A, Row 6, Grave 63. His Victory Medal was sent home with two Bronze Stars to his father, Charles (1860-1925), with praise for "the supreme sacrifice in the cause of Liberty."

Deerfield and Amherst reeled at the news about Tom Ashley even though other local boys died as well. His memorial portrait at the Academy bears a plaque that reads in part: "In Whose Memory will Live Forever the Ideals of Our School." Memorials followed at Amherst College and in South Deerfield, where in 1926 American Legion Post 229 was named for him. The World War I monument in Tom's hometown lists four columns of names of those who served, three with asterisks denoting their ultimate sacrifice in France: "When the world war's scroll read finis /In History's Honor Hall/Deerfield's Voice will Proudly Chant/Heroes! Heroes! Heroes all!" Tom Ashley's calling, although cut much too short at only 24 years old, was nevertheless fulfilled as a model and a symbol of an age.

These stories define conflict as a major theme in the fabric of the Town of Deerfield since its beginning. Every emotion that frames life is found in human conflict. The worst fear, however, is not based in terror. It is that memory will either confuse the facts or use them as a weapon. The lessons of history are the best result. We can all distance ourselves far enough to say that the universal *they* were brave or foolish, and yet stand close enough to say that we remember. Finding one's place remains the most delicate task in looking back at human conflict. If we cast aside history, we lose ourselves in the process. Remembering the war stories of a place like Deerfield is a generational exercise: *please tell me one more time.* What we cannot forget about the history of conflict is its most disturbing and primal condition. The impact of ignorance is far greater than terror. Even enemies can agree on that.



A Soldier's Tale

by John Nove

LIKE MOST other New England towns, Deerfield suffered significant losses during the Civil War. Town enlistees and conscripts numbered 167 men, with another 136 serving as substitutes credited to Deerfield. During the course of the war, 42 "sons and soldiers" (the latter referring to substitutes) died of wounds or disease, both on battlefields and in Confederate prisons. In March 1866 the town formed a committee to plan for a monument; a year and a half later its dedication occurred on the old town common in September 1867.

The monument consists of a life-sized replica of a bearded Union soldier standing at parade-rest atop a 29-foot obelisk, one of the first such replicas erected in New England. All the components of the monument, made from Connecticut River Valley sandstone, had been fabricated by the Batterson Monumental Works of Hartford, CT. Over time soot, dirt, and lichens had marred the obelisk, and the soldier had lost most of his rifle at some point in the mid-20th century.

In the fall of 2013, two Deerfield Academy students, with the help of their parents and classmates, raised $4,000 for the professional cleaning of Deerfield's Civil War monument on the Old Deerfield town common near the Academy's administration building. A matching grant from the Massachusetts Department of Veterans Affairs to Deerfield's Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association (PVMA) doubled the project's budget. The funds were used to hire Kai Nalenz from Gravestone Services of New England, who had done extensive work in Deerfield's cemeteries.

A preliminary evaluation revealed that the sandstone soldier's problems went deeper than superficial lichen growth, soot, and acid-rain erosion and required a conservator's expertise. Francis Miller from ConserveART was hired by PVMA to perform a detailed evaluation. Miller determined that conservation of the obelisk and soldier would cost approximately $100,000. His examination lent an immediacy to the project when he found that the sandstone soldier had begun to delaminate and crumble. Most significantly, a deep crack extended upward from an iron attachment pin on the soldier's base, shearing his right leg. This posed a potential risk to passersby using the walkway adjacent to the monument. Needing to act quickly, the Deerfield Historical Commission (DHC), with the support of Deerfield Academy, Historic Deerfield, the town Highway Department (DPW) which manages its cemeteries, and PVMA requested Community Preservation Act (CPA) funds through the Town's Community Preservation Commission (CPC). The April 2016 Town Meeting voted to approve funds to continue the project.

Conservation began that summer. Stainless steel rods were inserted into holes carefully drilled through the soldier from head to toe, and a wooden frame constructed to support its removal. With the use of a crane, Deerfield Academy and the DPW moved the soldier and stored it at PVMA. After Miller determined that the sandstone soldier was beyond repair, he suggested conservation of the obelisk and replacing the soldier with a resin, stone, or bronze replica. Alternatively, a matching pyramidal finial similar to examples found throughout New England could top the obelisk. The second option would include exhibiting the original soldier indoors but would not preclude the installation of a privately funded replica at some point in the future. The use of CPA funds to create a replica soldier was judged inappropriate since that did not technically qualify as "historical preservation."

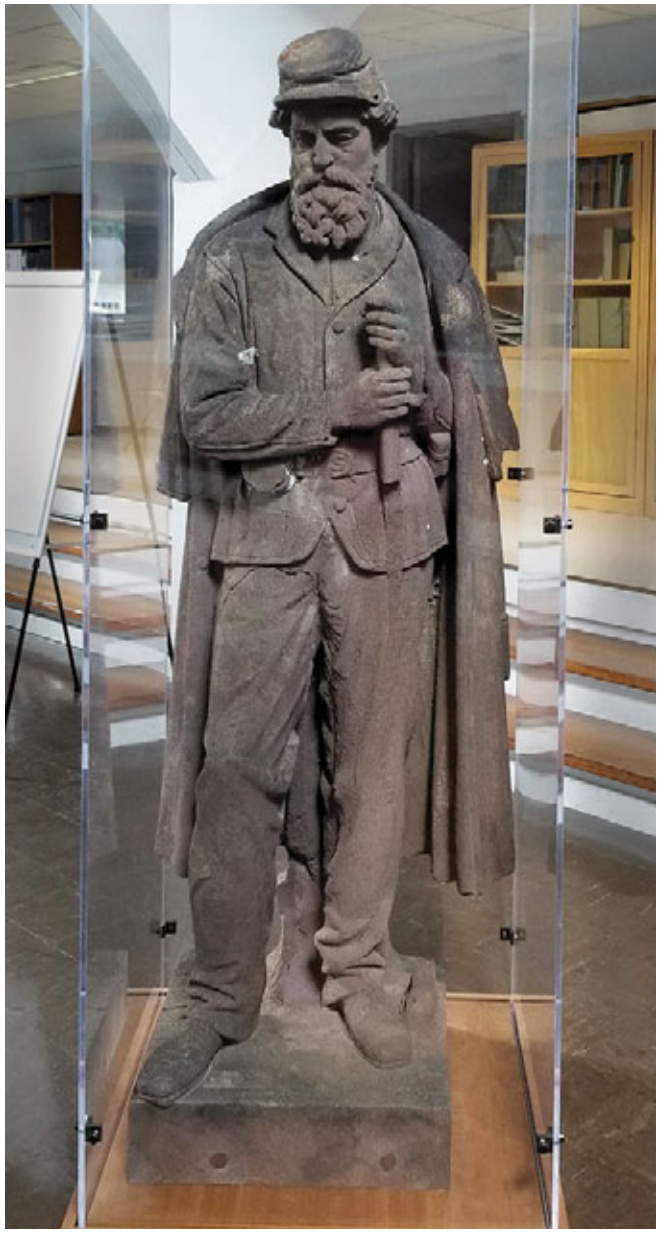
The following spring the DHC applied for additional CPA funds to complete Miller's work on the obelisk. A second application requested funds for constructing a protective structure to house the delaminating soldier. Funding was approved for both projects at the April 2017 Town Meeting. The internationally known SmallCorp in Greenfield, MA, constructed the case of 1/2" thick acrylic with a wooden base and cap, but no visible uprights to allow for 360-degree visibility of the soldier. That fall the Deerfield Town Hall became the soldier's home.

Left: The monument's sandstone soldier, ca. 2014, on the Old Deerfield common, prior to restoration.

Right: The soldier standing guard in Deerfield's town hall, protected by an acrylic case.

During the winter of 2017-18, a Deerfield Academy graduate and fellow classmates expressed interest in commissioning a bronze replica of the soldier to be given to the Academy (and in turn, the Town) as the Class Gift at their 50th reunion in June 2019. After consulting with Deerfield's select board, the DHC, Deerfield Academy, Historic Deerfield, and PVMA, plans went forward. Once a structural engineer gave approval to the modified memorial the project continued along two separate but interrelated lines: the completion of work on the obelisk by Miller during the 2018-19 work seasons and procurement of a bronze replica by the Academy group, with Miller closely involved.

Two possible replication technologies were considered: using an existing sandstone soldier by either making a latex mold directly from it, or employing laser-scanning technol-



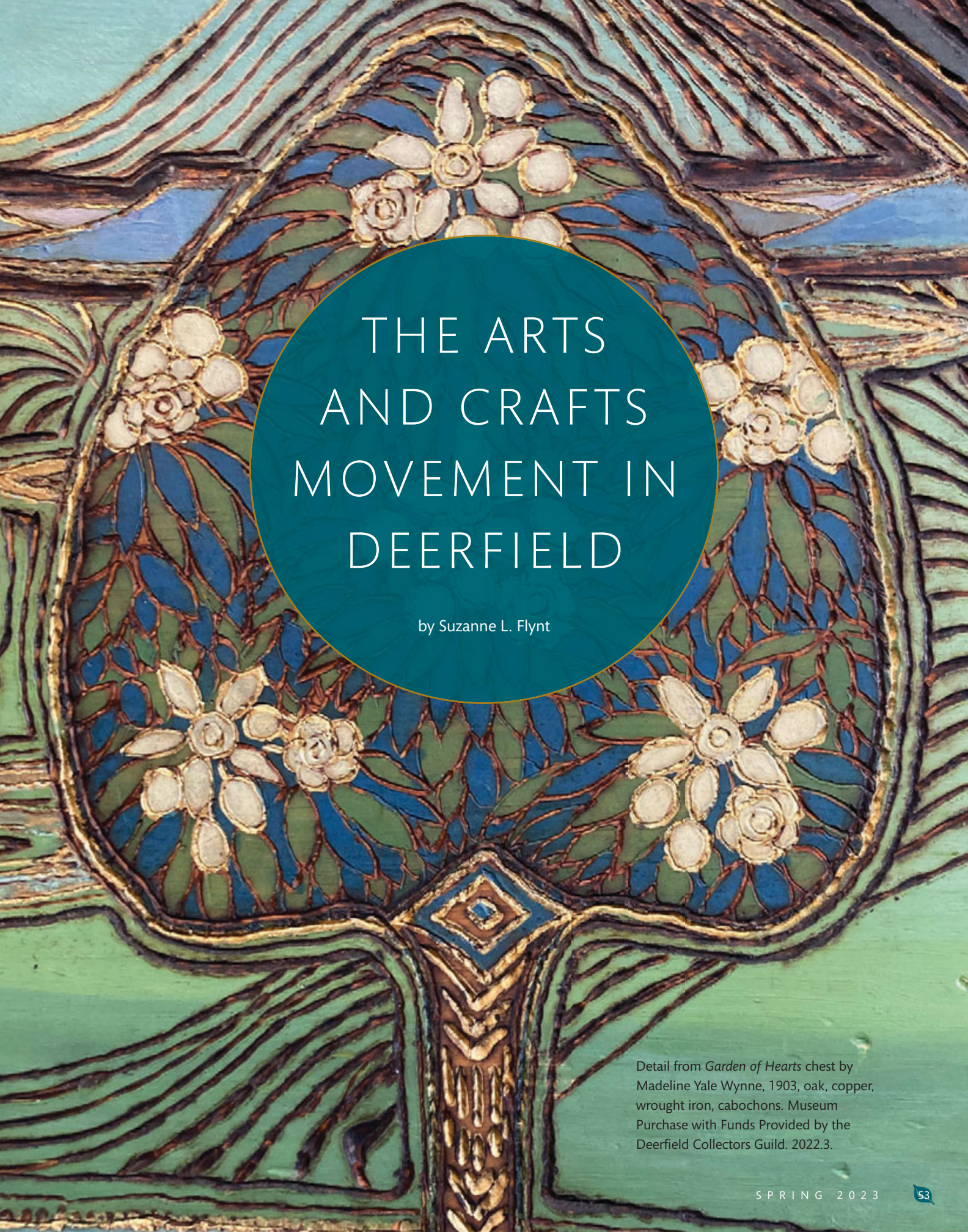
Right: Workers prepare the patinated bronze replica just prior to rejoining it with the restored obelisk.

Below: A crane moves the replica into place high above the Deerfield common.

ogy. The original soldier in the Deerfield Town Hall had the advantage of accessibility but might not withstand the stress of direct molding. And because of its flaws and damage, a laser replica would capture those imperfections and thus require painstaking digital "clean-up." Since Batterson made dozens of Civil War statues, the group began a New England-wide search for a soldier of the same size, in good condition, accessible for scanning, and with an owner amenable to the project. A soldier that was part of a monument in the Evergreen Cemetery in New Haven, CT, fit these requirements and had the added asset of having been carved out of granite with fewer eroded details.

In the summer of 2018, the Deerfield Academy alumni group contracted with a 3-D digital scanning firm, Direct Dimensions, and Sculpture House Casting, a company with extensive experience casting masterpieces of American sculptural art. The completed scan showed that the Evergreen statue was roughly 3% larger than its Deerfield counterpart. The base of the replica had to match that of the original soldier, and a simple digital adjustment solved the problem, allowing the replica to go into production.

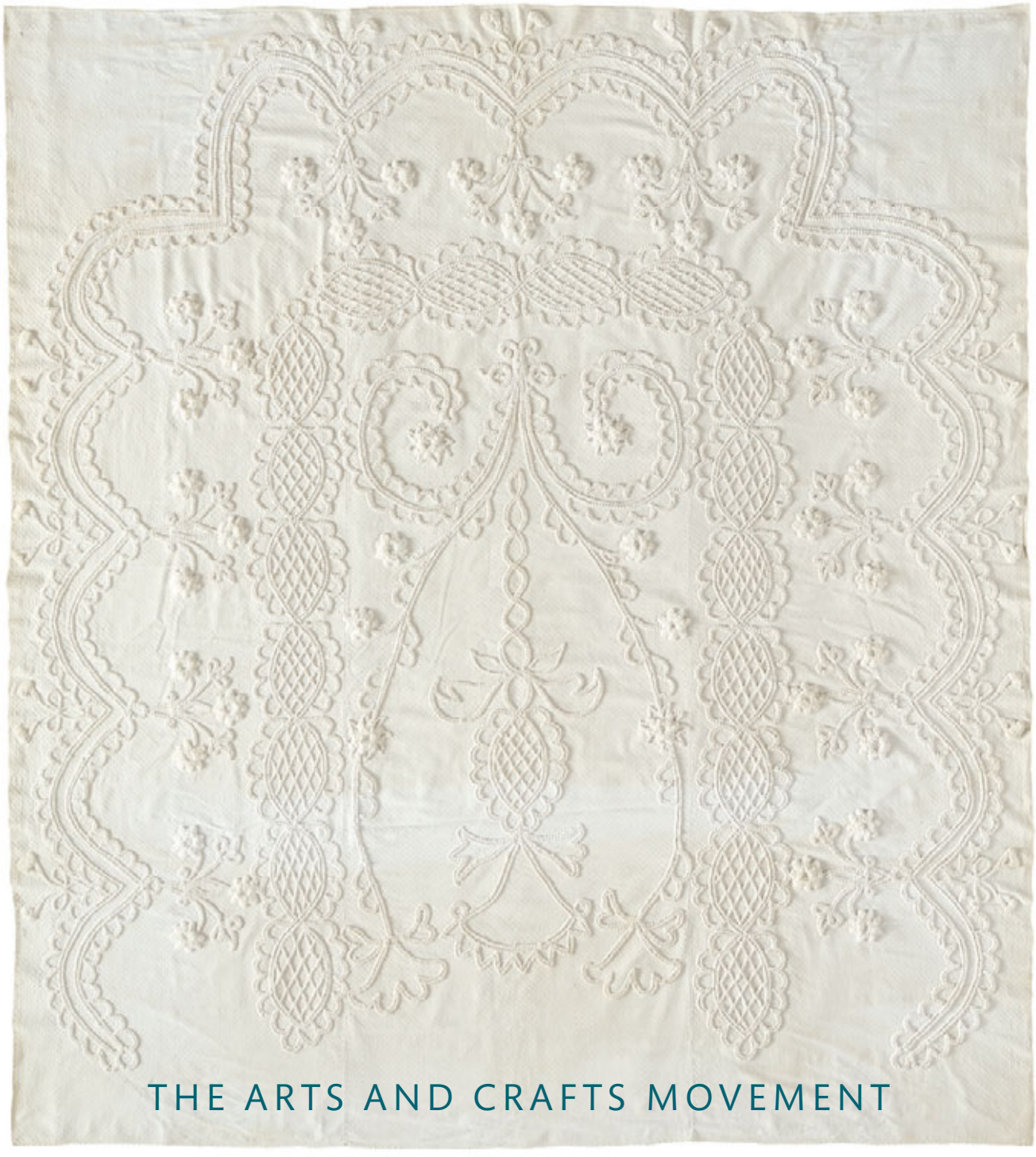
Over the course of eight months the components were joined together, detailed, patinated to match the original sandstone, and given a protective coating. In early June 2019 the bronze replica arrived at the Deerfield Common. Francis Miller guided the crane operator from an adjacent "cherry picker," and the soldier was re-bolted onto the obelisk to the applause of the gathered crowd. Several days later during the DA Class of '69 reunion festivities the replica was presented to the Academy. The completed project cost well over $200,000. A partnership of Town agencies and funds, Deerfield Academy, PVMA, Historic Deerfield and private funding enabled this tremendous preservation success: conservation of the obelisk, replication of the original soldier, and reinstallation of a newly fabricated iron fence, returning Deerfield's Civil War monument and the Old Deerfield Common to its post-Civil War-era appearance.



THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT IN DEERFIELD

by Suzanne L. Flynt

Detail from *Garden of Hearts* chest by Madeline Yale Wynne, 1903, oak, copper, wrought iron, cabochons. Museum Purchase with Funds Provided by the Deerfield Collectors Guild. 2022.3.



THE ARTS AND CRAFTS MOVEMENT

was a late-19th-century social and design reform promoted by British designer, craftsman, and reformer, William Morris (1834-1896), who admonished "have nothing in your home that is not useful or beautiful." Motivated by the movement, a small group of artistic women in Deerfield—with its picturesque 18th-century homes, scenic rural surroundings, and illustrious colonial history—shaped their community into one of the earliest and most revered Arts and Crafts centers in America.

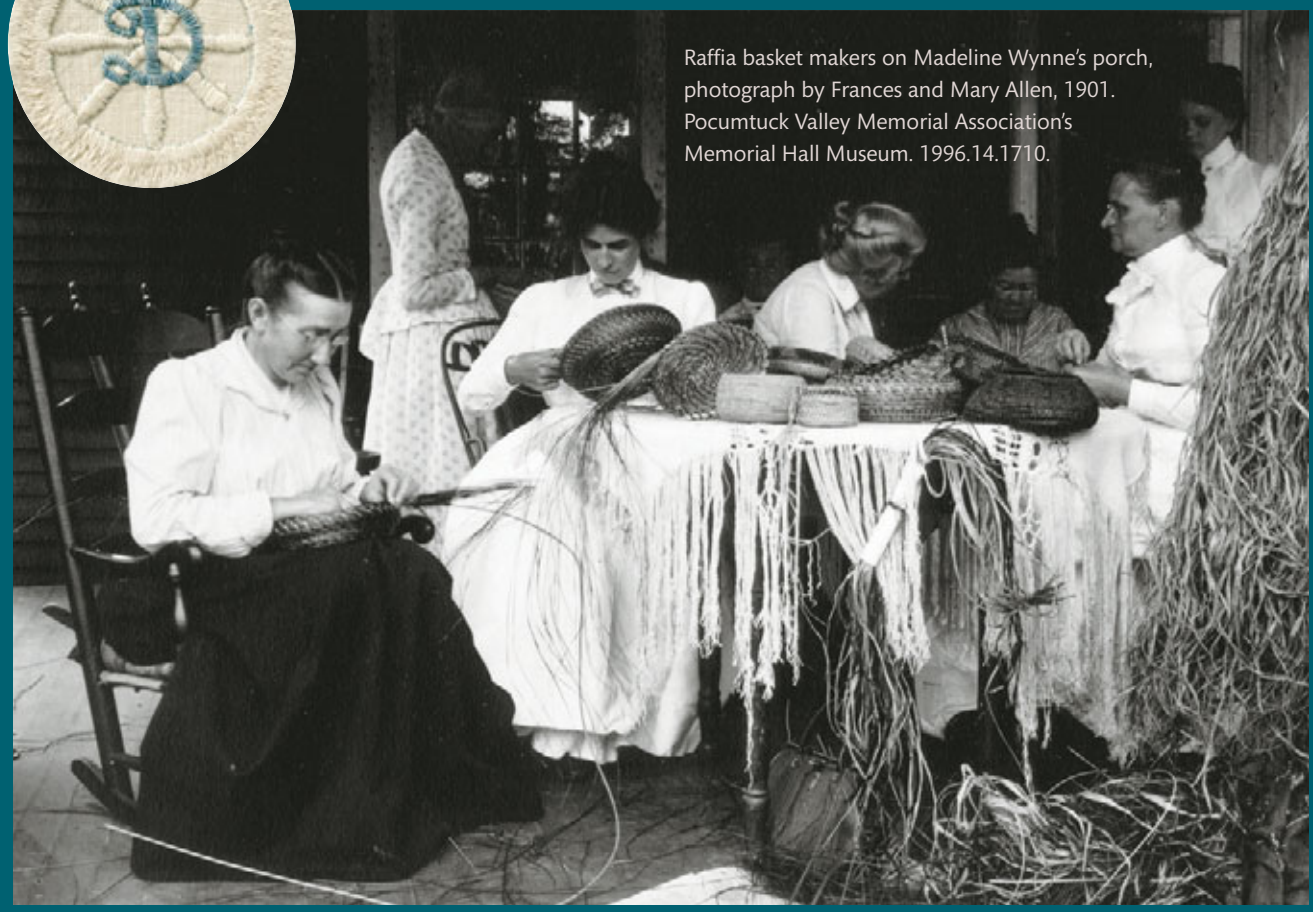
In 1896, Margaret Whiting (1860–1946) and Ellen Miller (1854–1929) founded the Deerfield Society of Blue and White Needlework. Serving as designers and managers, the two trained and employed up to 30 women who worked in their homes to stitch embroideries from provided patterns and materials. While initial designs were based on 18th-century indigo-dyed New England embroideries—with the notion of preserving patterns—Whiting and Miller also utilized designs and colors that resonated with contemporary life. The managers directed the work and tracked the time spent on each piece, and only after the needlework met their approval was it marked with their logo—a D within a flax wheel. The success of the Blue and White Society and their exceptional linen on linen bed hangings, table and cushion covers, doilies, and wall hangings brought publicity, fame, and orders to Deerfield.

With heightened interest in handicraft's potential, a rapt audience at the Brick Church gathered to hear artist and author Madeline Yale Wynne (1847–1918) talk about the simple, well-designed, and unique Arts and Crafts furnishings being created in Chicago. She explained that hand craftsmanship provided an alternative to poorly designed and constructed machine-made objects. As a painter, metalworker, and woodworker, Wynne convinced her neighbors to try their hand at weaving rag rugs or basket making. And so they did. With encouragement and practice, in 1899 they contributed rag rugs, ornamental wrought iron work, netted fringes, photographs, woodwork, and metalwork alongside the Blue and White embroideries at Deerfield's first Arts and Crafts exhibit.

After two more successful summer exhibitions, in 1901 Wynne assembled the craft participants to establish the Deerfield Society of Arts and Crafts. The organization's mission was to further Deerfield industries and to provide a standard of excellence of design and workmanship. The governing body included four officers, with Wynne elected as president; an

Opposite: Bed cover made by the Deerfield Society of Blue and White Needlework for Phoebe A. Hearst, 1898, linen on linen. C. Alice Baker Bequest, 69.1222.

Left: Detail of Deerfield Society of Blue and White Needlework insignia, a "D" within a flax wheel, on Kentucky Bow Knot bed cover, c. 1900, linen on linen. C. Alice Baker Bequest, 69.1208.



Raffia basket makers on Madeline Wynne's porch, photograph by Frances and Mary Allen, 1901. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum. 1996.14.1710.

executive committee with directors representing furniture, palm leaf, netting, metal, raffia, Blue and White needlework, weaving, dyeing, rugs, and later photography; and an advisory board. After reconsideration, the Blue and White Society split off in 1916. The Arts and Crafts society renamed itself Society of Deerfield Industries.

The "Morris wave" in Deerfield stimulated widespread handicraft participation, especially in basket making. Emma Coleman (1853–1942) taught palm leaf basket making in the Frary House assembly room, now part of Historic Deerfield's Barnard Tavern, an Eastern European farmhand taught local men how to harvest and weave willow and red osier into work baskets, and Madeline Wynne taught her neighbors raffia basket making. Interest was so great that an article in the *Greenfield Recorder* (July 23, 1902) noted: "Every one may be a basket-maker in Deerfield and nearly every woman is. Grandmother and mother and daughter, and the Polish servant in the kitchen, are in the democracy of weavers of the imported raffia, the panama straw that used to be wrought into hats at every farmhouse, and most interesting of all the native grasses." Deerfield Basket Makers produced palm leaf, reed, willow, and pine needle baskets, and Pocumtuck Basket Makers created raffia, grass, and corn husk baskets. In her first ten years at the craft, Gertrude Porter Ashley (1858–1936) reported having made more than 3,400 raffia baskets.

Knotted and tufted coverlet made by Emma Henry for C. Alice Baker, 1902, cotton. C. Alice Baker Bequest, 69.1208.

Above: Showroom of the Deerfield Society of Blue and White Needlework in the Nims house parlor, hand-colored photograph by E.M. Howard, c. 1915. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum. 1988.25.07.

Left: Chest made by Edwin Thorn, Cornelius Kelley, and Caleb Allen, c. 1901, oak, wrought iron, zinc. Gift of Preston Bassett, 1979.053.

Right: Andirons made by Cornelius Kelley, wrought iron, 1900–1934. Museum Collections Fund, 2015.8.1.

Below: Hammered and stamped bowl by Madeline Yale Wynne, c. 1899, patinated copper. Museum Collections Fund, 2022.26.

Opposite: Rose Tree wall hanging made by the Society of the Blue and White Needlework, 1910–16, linen. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum, 1992.031.

"The successful introduction of these crafts is an untold blessing to the town of Deerfield, not merely from the world-wide fame it has given the town, but in the money it has brought in, enabling the old homes to be kept up, and permitting those who must stay in the town or who love it too much to move away, to earn their living at home."
Gazette and Courier, Greenfield (April 30, 1904)

Garden of Hearts chest by Madeline Yale Wynne, 1903, oak, copper, wrought iron, cabochons. Museum Purchase with Funds Provided by the Deerfield Collectors Guild. 2022.3.

Madeline Wynne contributed distinctive metalwork (necklaces, brooches, and belt buckles) and carved, painted, and ornamented boxes to Deerfield's exhibitions. She also designed and built two chests inspired by late-17th to early 18th-century Connecticut River Valley oak chests. Following Wynne's lead, Dr. Edwin Thorn and Caleb Allen also built and exhibited chests, dressing tables, and boxes. Leaving behind horse shoeing, blacksmith Cornelius Kelley started his Arts and Crafts career by creating wrought iron hinges for the carved boxes and chests. His talents revealed, he went on to fashion a range of ornamental wrought iron work such as candle sticks, lighting devices, and fireplace sets. Textile production was done by Emma Henry, who created candlewick spreads and netted testers, and Eleanor Arms and Luanna Thorn, who wove rag rugs, table covers, blankets, and wall hangings. From the start, photographers Frances and Mary Allen were active in the Deerfield Industries. They exhibited and published their artistic platinum photographs, and Mary Allen's articles and Allen sisters' photographs of the crafters and their crafts furthered the reputation of Deerfield's handicrafts.

In the years following World War I, summer exhibitions were put on hold, and there occurred a changing of the guard. After Madeline Yale Wynne died in 1918, and the much-reduced Blue and White Society disbanded in 1926, new crafters joined the remaining first generation of handcrafters. In 1930, William Abercrombie opened the Indian House Memorial on Deerfield's Main Street for use as Deerfield Industries' studio and exhibition space. After the Bloody Brook Tavern in South Deerfield was relocated behind the Indian House Memorial, Randolph Johnston established Old Deerfield Pottery. Later, in 1938, Johnston and his wife, Margot Broxton, moved to South Deerfield where they set up a pottery and foundry known as Turnip Yard, Inc., which produced enameled copper wares, ceramics with hand-hammered aluminum lids, and trays into the 1950s.

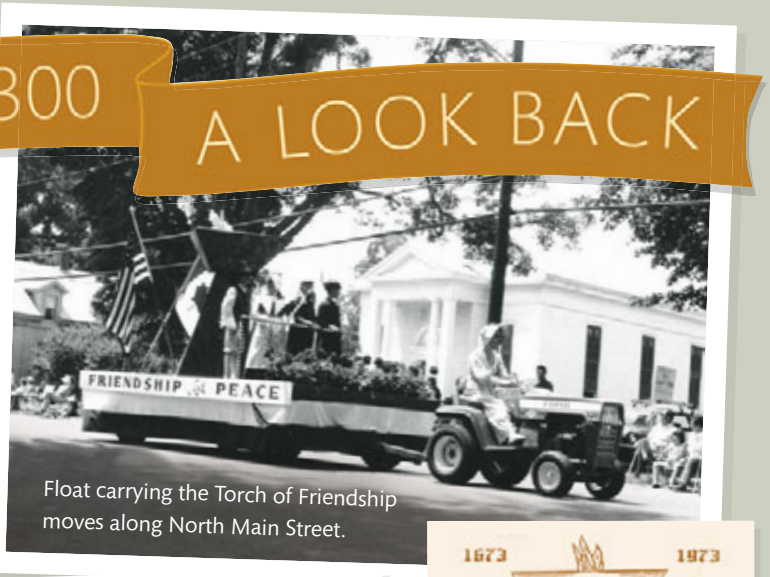
From the start, handicrafts created by the Deerfield Society of Blue and White Needlework and Deerfield Industries were featured in and won awards at important juried exhibitions throughout the country. Through articles in magazines such as *The Craftsman, House Beautiful, Good Housekeeping, Ladies Home Journal,* and *Handicrafts,* and critical reviews in Boston, Chicago, and New York newspapers, the world took note of the extraordinary work produced in Deerfield. Rewarded by artistic satisfaction, financial gain, and Colonial Revival sensibilities, Deerfield's skilled hands and creative minds continued creating distinctive handicrafts well into the 20th century.

Deerfield at 300

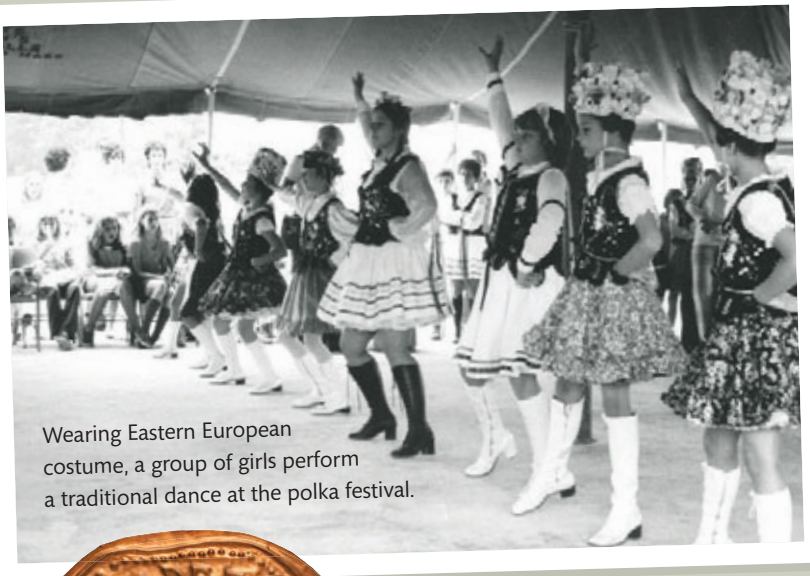
A LOOK BACK

Deerfield celebrated its 300th anniversary in 1973 with a variety of town-wide events. Among them were a grand parade, a fireman's muster, an arts and crafts exhibit, a tercentenary play, a fashion show, anniversary addresses, concerts, dances, fireworks, and a dedication ceremony.

Photos courtesy Town of Deerfield.



Float carrying the Torch of Friendship moves along North Main Street.



Wearing Eastern European costume, a group of girls perform a traditional dance at the polka festival.

The Tercentenary Program featured a Torch of Friendship and Peace representing the original inhabitants, the colonial palisade, and a "sacred flame."

Copper commemorative medal, attributed to artist Laura Jo Measure, 1973. It depicts the Ensign John Sheldon House, popularly called the Old Indian House. HD 2020.21

The internationally acclaimed St. Francis Xavier Choir of Kahnawake.

Apple orchard at Clarkdale Fruit Farms. Photo by Allison Bell.

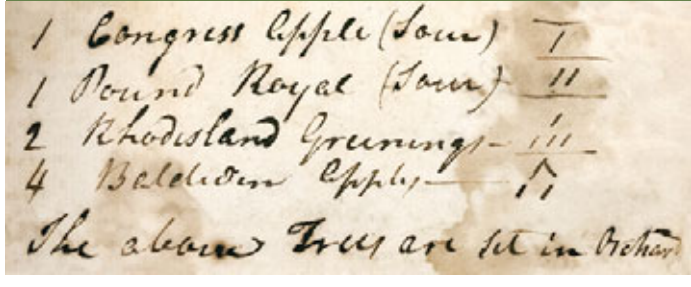
Growing Deerfield

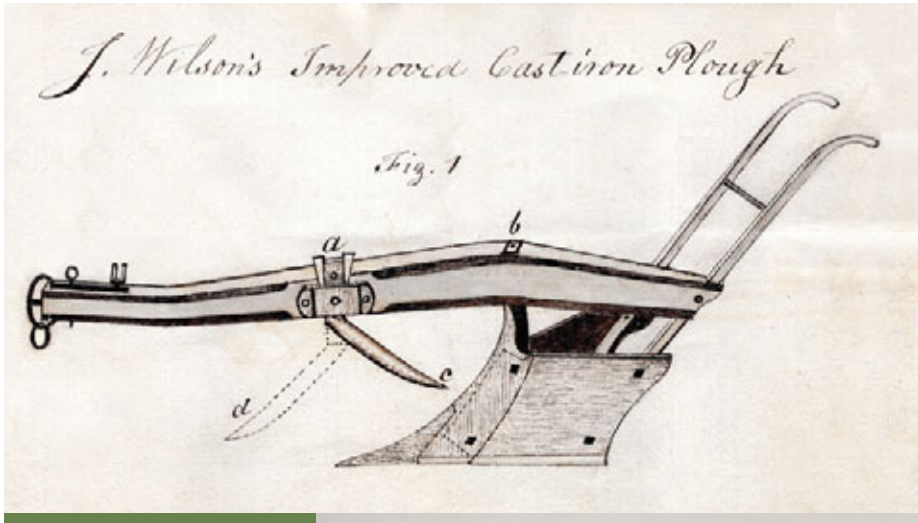
Rhode Island Greening apple at Clarkdale Fruit Farms. Photo by Allison Bell.

FOR MORE THAN 3,000 YEARS the rich alluvial soils of the Connecticut River Valley have supported a diverse agricultural tradition. Indigenous people cultivated a variety of crops, most notably corn, beans, and squash, a complementary trio known as the "Three Sisters." English settlers, drawn here in the 17th century by the fertile soil, grew vegetables and grain, planted orchards, and raised meat and dairy products. In the 18th century, onions became a crop traded with the West Indies. Farmers branched out into raising stall-fed oxen for the beef market before turning to alternative cash crops such as broomcorn and tobacco in the 19th century. A new wave of immigrants, mostly from Eastern Europe around the turn of the 20th century, grew onions, potatoes, and cucumbers. More recent arrivals from Southeast Asia, China, Russia, and Latin America have introduced new crops, among them bok choy and water spinach. The numerous farms in Deerfield, some having been in the same family for generations, are a testament to the prime farmland that we continue to enjoy today and hopefully for centuries to come.

Apples were among the first European fruit planted in early Deerfield. During the 18th century, several mills in town turned most apples into hard cider. Named varieties for eating and cooking became available at the beginning of the 19th century. In 1828, Deerfield printer and farmer John Wilson listed ten varieties he had grafted into his orchard, including Rhode Island Greening. Today, in West Deerfield, Clarkdale Fruit Farms is run by Tom and Ben Clark, third and fourth generation fruit growers. Tom's grandfather began the orchards which include century-old Rhode Island Greening trees that still produce fruit today.

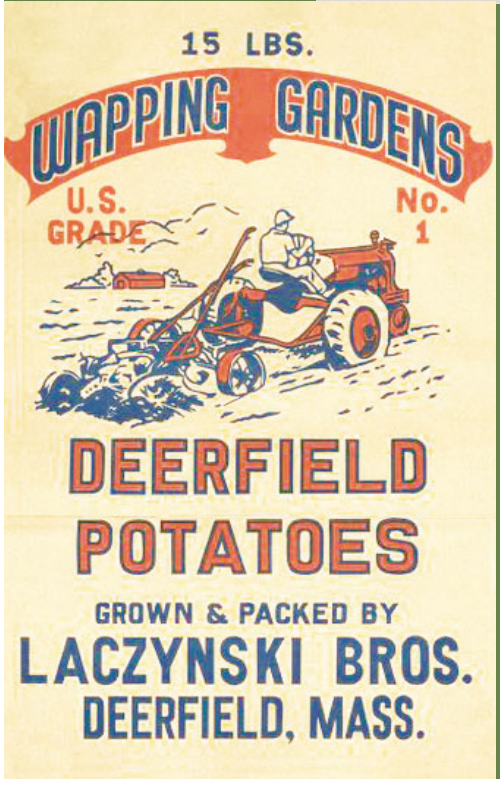
Below: Detail from John Wilson's October 1828 daybook entry. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library.





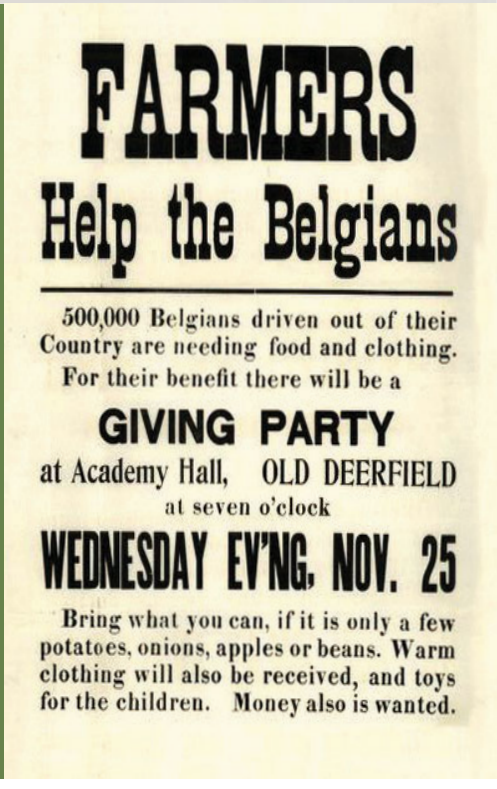
◀ Drawing accompanying the 1839 patent application for improved plow. John Wilson, who ran the town's poor farm at that time, claimed that the plowshare and mould created a wider furrow, and the new design of the coulter easily cut through stubble and weeds. No patent was awarded. Wilson Family Papers, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library.

► Dating from ca. 1820–1840, this small yoke would have been used to train young oxen for work as draft animals. Carved "H. Hoyt" on the top for Horatio Hoyt (1790–1877), a farmer who lived on Lot 17 in Deerfield. C. Alice Baker Bequest. 69.0459.



◀ Sack from the early 1950s used to package Laczynski potatoes. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum. 1992.11.

► Three months after Germany invaded Belgium at the beginning of World War I, relief efforts began for the beleaguered nation. Deerfield farmers and others in town donated potatoes, onions, clothing, and cash. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library.


FARMERS

Help the Belgians

500,000 Belgians driven out of their Country are needing food and clothing. For their benefit there will be a

GIVING PARTY

at Academy Hall, OLD DEERFIELD

at seven o'clock

WEDNESDAY EV'NG, NOV. 25

Bring what you can, if it is only a few potatoes, onions, apples or beans. Warm clothing will also be received, and toys for the children. Money also is wanted.

This 1913 postcard depicts the laborious job of weeding a field of onions. Once harvested, most of the crop would be shipped to regional buyers, but local businesses also purchased them. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum. 1997.08.01.0036.

Antonin Wysocki emigrated to the United States in 1889 from what was Russian Poland. Although listed on the 1900 federal census as a farm laborer, by 1910 he had built a successful onion cultivation business in South Deerfield. Mount Sugarloaf looms behind this warehouse on Sugarloaf Street while Wysocki and employees pose out front. Howes Brothers photograph, c. 1900. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association"s Memorial Hall Museum. 1996.12.3341. ▼

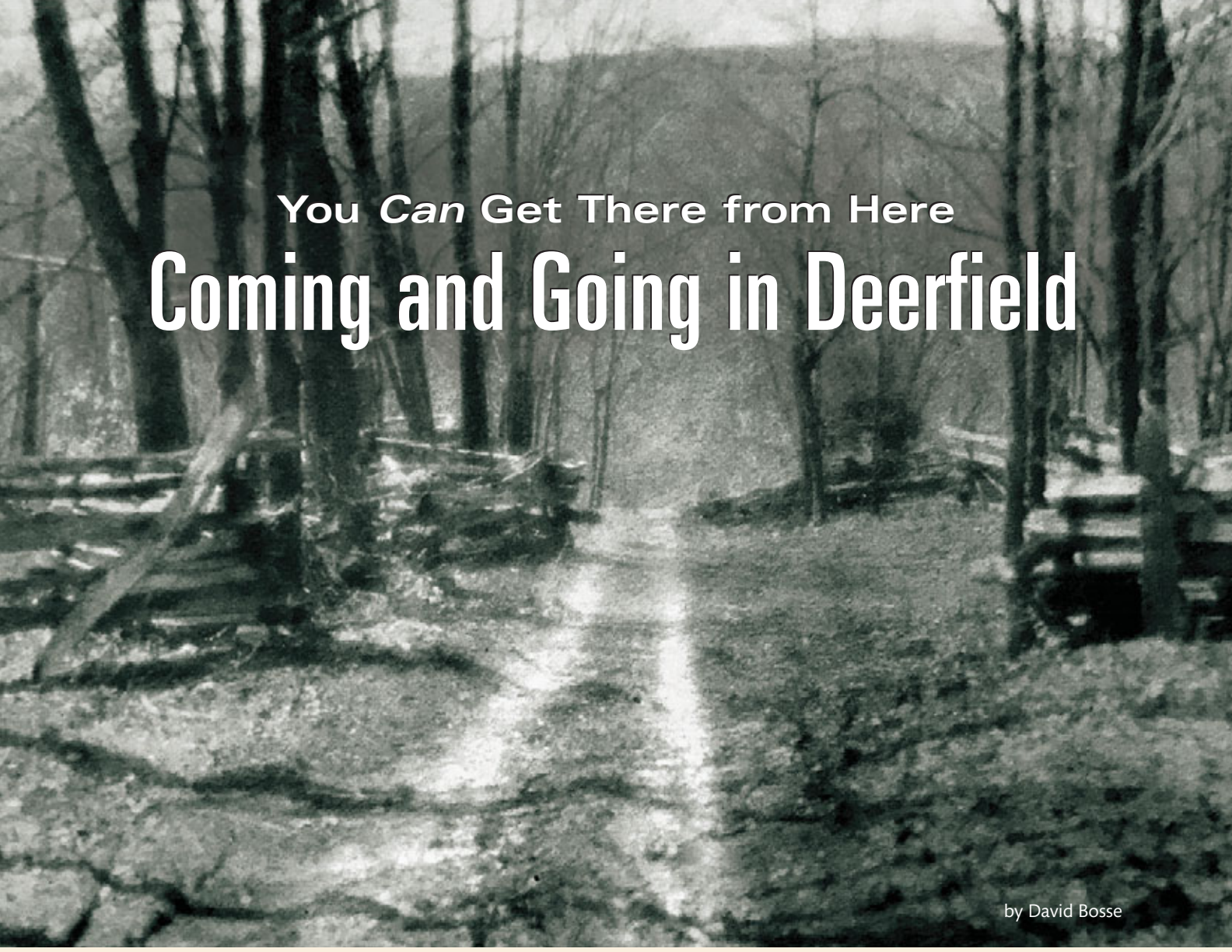
▲ South Deerfield became a pickle manufacturing center in the early 1900s. Edward Swan built a pickle house in 1896, which operated until at least 1926. Oxford Pickle Co., begun by Alvord Jewett, also opened in 1896. It remained in the family until the early 1950s when the John E. Cain Co. of Cambridge, MA, purchased it. Whately Historical Society.

► Connecticut River Valley tobacco was prized for cigar wrappers. In this 1916 photo taken in South Deerfield, men load tobacco leaves into a large-wheeled wagon, with tobacco barns seen in the distance. 82.175.

A herd of Holsteins moving to pasture. Deerfield farmers have raised dairy and beef cattle since the beginnings of English settlement. Allen Sisters photograph, c. 1910. 94.27.24. ▼

► In the 1830s, New England abolitionists seeking an alternative to cotton grown in the South began raising silkworms. Sericulture spread throughout the Connecticut River Valley, with mills established at Florence, MA, and mulberry trees planted throughout the region. After being fed on mulberry leaves, the worm spins a cocoon. Silk is spun from the fibers of the cocoon. Leaf of the mulberry (*Morus multicaulis)* pictured on a broadside promoting the sale of *The Silk Grower,* c. 1870. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association Library.

◄ At the time of English settlement the meadows south of Deerfield village were part of the common field where householders grazed livestock. These fields have also grown a range of crops that helped support the local market economy. Today, fields of varietals, such as garden perennials, are also raised.



You *Can* Get There from Here

Coming and Going in Deerfield

by David Bosse

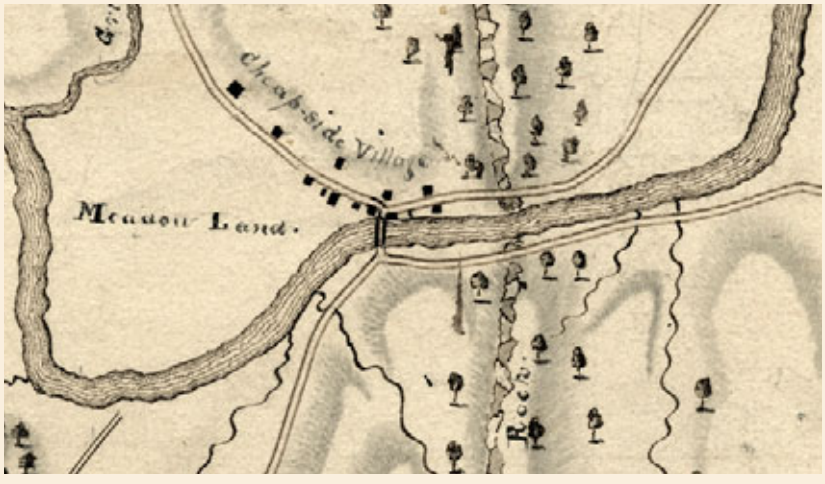
It has been said that all roads lead to Deerfield. While the veracity of the statement is disputable, the sentiment behind it reflects a long-held belief that Deerfield occupies a principal place in early America's historical and cultural identity. Its actual or perceived preeminence aside, Deerfield's role as a mother town that spawned several others in the area cannot be denied. Once situated on the periphery of English colonization in New England, it also served as a crossroads for Native and European communities that experienced conflict, but also peaceful exchanges. As the site of the 1735 peace conference involving representatives of more than ten Native American groups and leaders of the colonial Massachusetts government, Deerfield's location denoted its importance as contested space, but also one with a tradition of gathering. The participants, including Governor Jonathan Belcher, came great distances on footpaths and wagon tracks to reach Deerfield.

Of course most journeys to Deerfield were far less momentous. Beyond the travel of individuals, a trade in manufactured goods and agricultural products accounted for much of the period's traffic. The ledgers of storekeepers confirm that merchandise of every description came overland from Boston, and even New York, throughout the 18th century. In addition to being the recipient of products retailed locally, Deerfield and surrounding communities supplied grain, livestock, and finished goods such as brooms and palm leaf hats to distant markets. The movements of people are more difficult to track, but advertisements, almanacs, and broadsides show that coaches passed through the town, some stopping at Historic Deerfield's Barnard Tavern. Beginning in 1796, a stage line operated from Hartford, Connecticut, to Hanover, New Hampshire. Travelers would later be able to connect in Greenfield to the Fifth Massachusetts Turnpike (chartered in 1799) which would

take them to Montague, Erving, Orange, and points east.

As Peter Thomas has discussed elsewhere in *Historic Deerfield,* many of the earliest roads in and out of Deerfield followed well-worn Native American paths. The expansion of settlement in Deerfield and beyond necessitated laying out new roads to connect a growing, more dispersed population. A portion of the original Mohawk Trail, once an important path used by Native peoples, received the attention of Deerfield town officials in 1762 who called for proposed improvements to the "Albany Road" leading to Shelburne, Massachusetts. Early records show that petitions for new roads or repair of existing roads frequently occupied the attention of selectmen. Three categories of roads were noted: county roads which required the approval of the General Court in Boston connected towns with one another; town roads, approved by the selectmen, existed within the town; and so-called private roads, open to travel by anyone, extended to locations such as an individual's farm or mill at the behest of the town's selectmen. Together these roadways provided access to ferries, bridges, fords, farms, woodlots, meetinghouses, and schools.

The town's favorable situation among three rivers further facilitated reaching Deerfield or departing therefrom. People and goods traveled those water corridors, especially the Connecticut River, by mishoon (dugout) and other canoes, skiffs or flat-bottomed boats with or without sails, and eventually steamboats. With the completion of the South Hadley canal in 1795, larger vessels could bypass the falls below Deerfield. Several Deerfield merchants were among the proprietors of the canal and benefitted from the river traffic that more easily plied the river laden with commodities. Once the age of steam began locally with the arrival of the *Barnet* in 1826, boats came and went from Cheapside Landing (now part of Greenfield) on the



From top: Woodcut of a passenger coach, Albany, 1831. Detail from Union Telegraph Line broadside advertising routes to Boston. Coaches of this type passed through Deerfield. 1986.6.

Beginning in 1795, Erastus Barnard operated a tavern on Lot 29 near the eastern terminus of the Albany Road that accommodated travelers and locals.

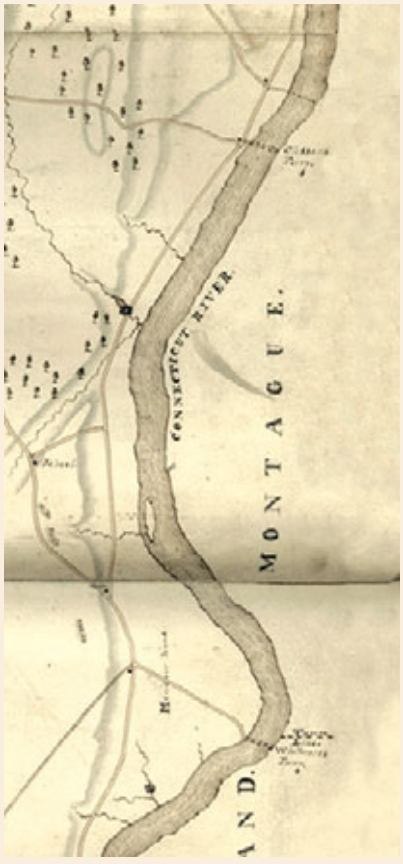
Detail from Arthur Hoyt's 1830 plan of Deerfield howing Cheapside bridge and village. Massachusetts Archives, Boston.

Previous page: The road to Deerfield. Allen Sisters photograph, c. 1890. 94.27.10.

Deerfield River. A proposed canal from Boston to the Connecticut River, continuing along the Deerfield River and through towns to the west to the Hudson River, never went beyond its initial survey, which Deerfield's Epaphras Hoyt (1765-1850) participated in making.

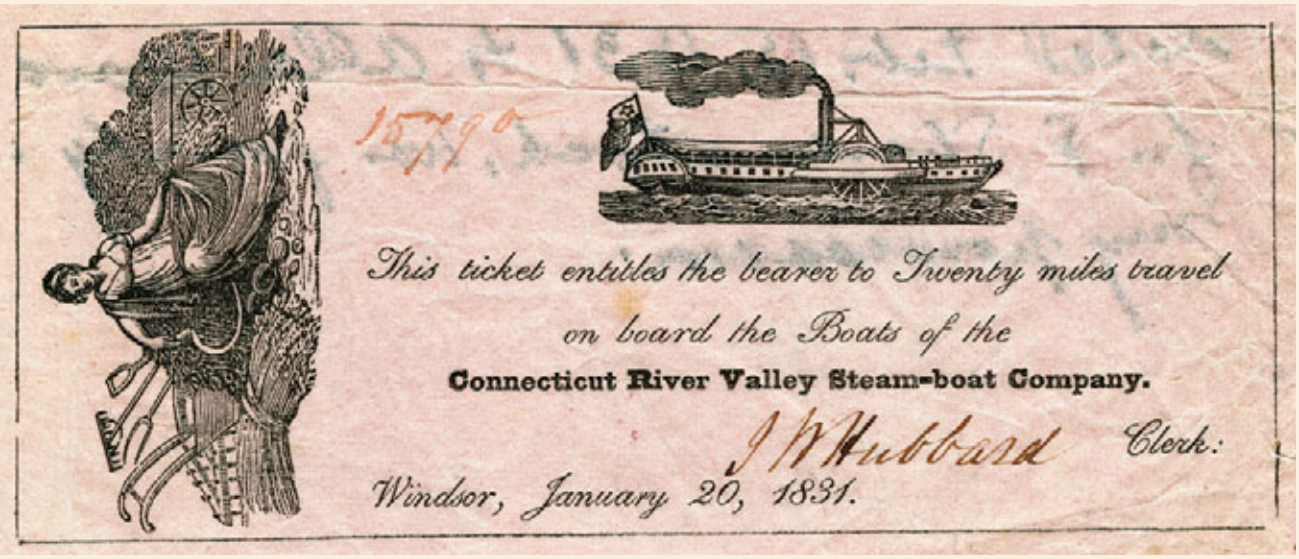
With rivers to the north, east, and northwest, Deerfield's easy access to waterways presented its own transit challenge for land-based travel. From as early as 1719, a ferry crossed the Connecticut from Deerfield to Sunderland near today's bridge leading to the center of the latter village. Farther upstream, Whitmore's ferry crossed from just below the Sunderland-Montague town line. By 1764, Clesson's ferry (later called Rice's) connected Deerfield with Montague, and just above there Cobb's ferry operated. Elsewhere an undependable "scow" was kept north of Pine Hill for anyone to use for crossing the Deerfield River to the Green River settlement (Greenfield). In 1758, by order of the Hampshire Court of General Sessions, the establishment of a conventional ferry guaranteed the river crossing when the scow had gone missing. In the Stillwater section of the Deerfield River, Loveridge's ferry began operating by 1805.

Numerous small bridges, sometimes named for the owner of the nearest house or farm, crossed brooks and streams throughout the town. For example, in his *History of Deerfield* George Sheldon notes a reference to Frary's bridge



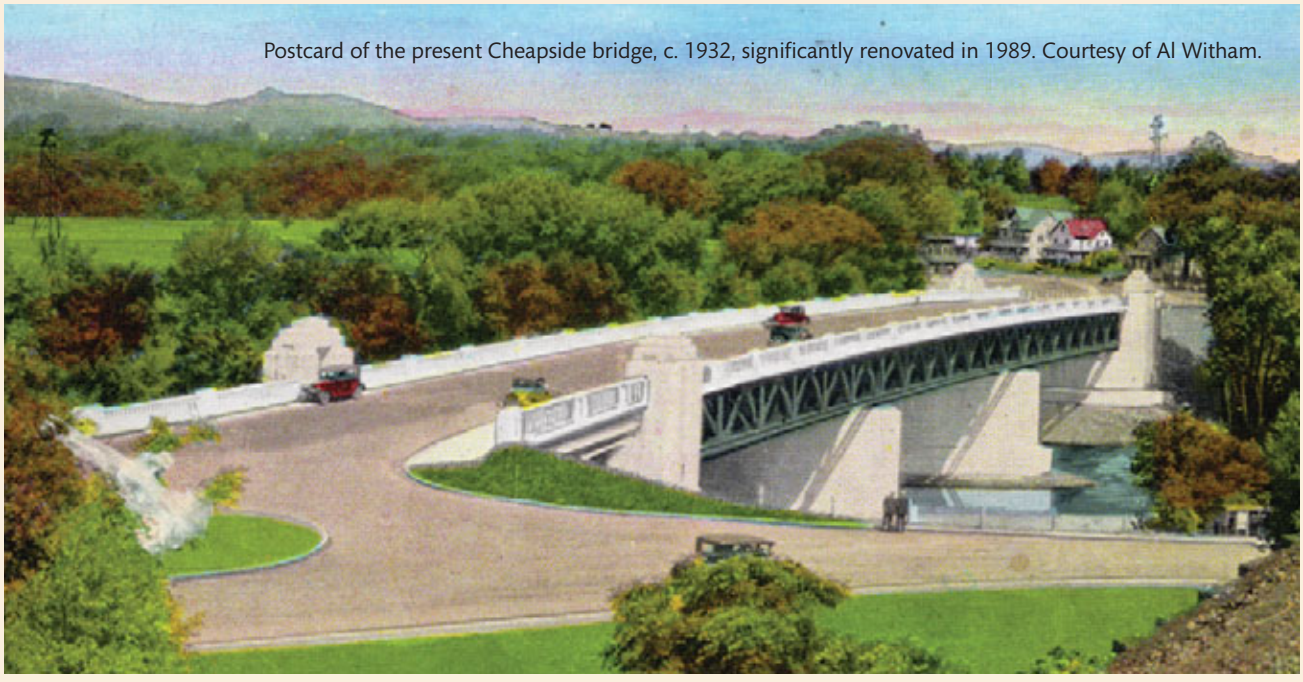
Left: Detail from Arthur Hoyt's 1830 hand-drawn map of Deerfield showing the location of ferries across the Connecticut River. Massachusetts Archives, Boston.

Below: Suspension bridge across the Deerfield River at Stillwater. Photograph from a glass plate negative taken by Lewis Kingsley. Hatfield Historical Society.



Above: By the mid-1820s, steamboats facilitated travel up and down the Connecticut River. The landing at Cheapside (Deerfield) became a busy hub for goods and passengers. Historic Deerfield Library.

Left: Postcard of the covered bridge (erected 1806) crossing the Deerfield River at Cheapside, rebuilt in 1839. Courtesy of Al Witham.



Postcard of the present Cheapside bridge, c. 1932, significantly renovated in 1989. Courtesy of Al Witham.

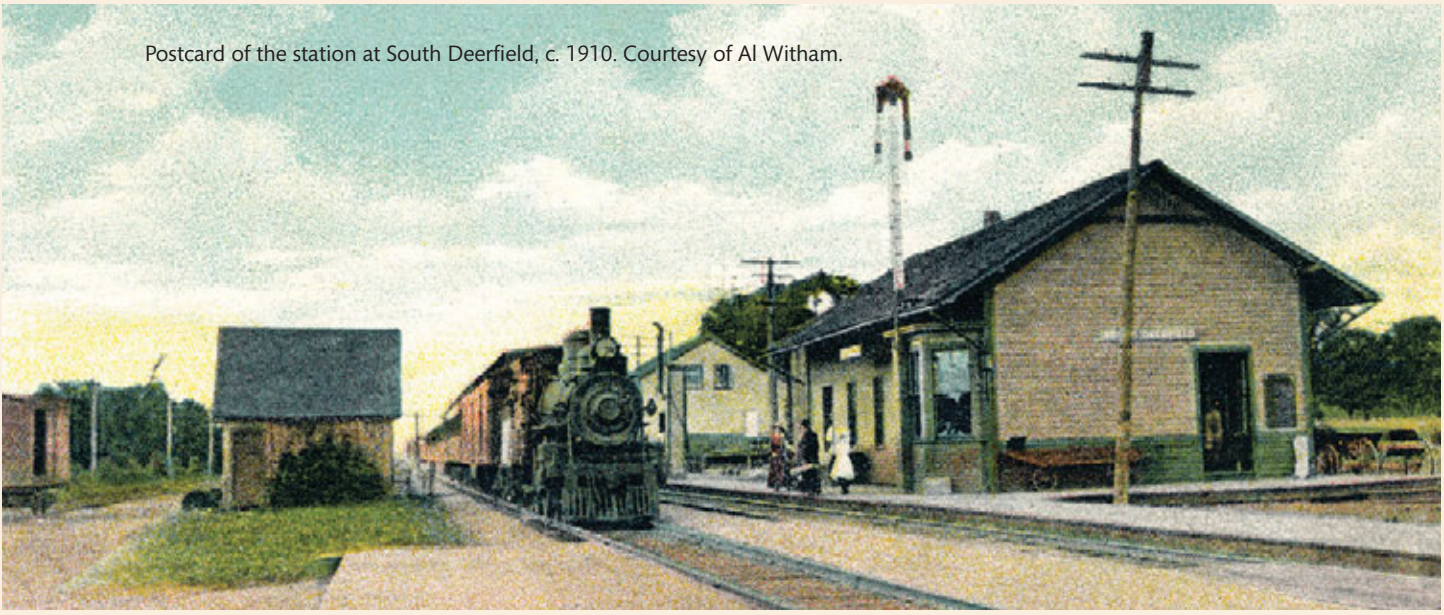
in 1703. This crossed the outlet of Broughton's Pond (Frary's Brook) in the north meadows on its way to join the Deerfield River. A land survey made in June 1800 showed a bridge still in that location. References in town records indicate a bridge at the foot of "Meeting House Hill," near Old Deerfield's Post Office, and one crossing Eagle Brook near the present Routes 5 & 10. Another example is the suspension foot bridge across the Deerfield River west of the town common as announced in the *Greenfield Gazette* of July 28, 1846. These structures and others have long disappeared.

More substantial bridges also began to cross local waterways. Some of these relied on subscriptions and lotteries to attract shareholders to underwrite the costs of construction when town government could not undertake the expense. In this way a privately funded toll bridge, built in 1798, became the first span across the Deerfield River at Cheapside. Not long after, a replacement erected in 1806 marked the beginning of the Deerfield River Bridge Corporation. That covered bridge, rebuilt in 1839, operated as a toll bridge until 1868 when the Corporation was dissolved. Today's Deerfield River bridge between Greenfield and Deerfield replaced the old covered bridge in 1932, and has undergone several reconstructions since. Farther upstream, plans began for a bridge and new road to cross the river at Stillwater in 1859. Finished in 1862, damage by ice and flooding caused the bridge to close for nearly three years. A suspension bridge replaced the old structure in 1870. The present bridge dates from 1950.

While several ferries enabled crossings of the Connecticut River, there began a need for bridges between the towns of Deerfield, Montague, and Sunderland to handle increased traffic. The first, completed in November 1802 by the Fifth Massachusetts Turnpike Corp., connected Deerfield (Cheapside) to Montague where today's General Pierce (Montague City) bridge stands. A decade later, the erection of a bridge just south of Mount Sugarloaf connected Deerfield with the village of Sunderland. This was the first of seven bridges to cross the river at that point in the 19th century. The last of these, built in 1877, stood until the devastating flood of March 1936. The present bridge, located slightly downstream from the earlier bridges, dates from 1937, with reconstruction in 1994. It carries a high volume of traffic on Route 116, calculated in 2010 to be used by more than 20,000 vehicles daily, and no doubt an increased number today.

As early as 1831, railroad construction began to transform travel in Massachusetts along with the state's landscape. While the earliest tracks connected eastern communities, western Massachusetts saw construction on lines from Springfield up to Northampton, later connecting to Deerfield, Greenfield, and eventually Brattleboro, Vermont, where it joined the Vermont and Massachusetts Railroad. Some of the many Irish immigrants to America in the 1840s settled in western Massachusetts and helped construct the many railroads that began to connect communities both large and small.

Deerfield's bridges initially accommodated wagons, coaches, riders on horseback, and pedestrians. Mechanized travel in the form of the railroad necessitated a more advanced type of bridge design, one that could bear the weight of an engine, cars, and load. The first local bridges,



Postcard of the station at South Deerfield, c. 1910. Courtesy of Al Witham.

Top: Postcard of the trolley at the base of Mount Sugarloaf, c. 1910. Courtesy of Al Witham.

Above: Interurban trolleys provided an important and inexpensive travel option in Western Massachusetts. This "way finder" consisted of maps and schedules published by the New England Street Railway Club in 1903. Historic Deerfield Library.

constructed of timber with stone pilings, tested the capabilities of structural engineers. In the spring of 1845 construction began on a wooden bridge over the Deerfield River at Cheapside for the Connecticut River Railroad Co. For years neither accidents nor gravity compromised the span high above the river, but during a period of anti-war unrest in 1863, the bridge fell victim to fire. As draft riots occurred in New York City and elsewhere, the July 20th issue of the *Greenfield Gazette and Courier* reported the destructive act of "secession incendiaries," none of whom were apprehended. Seventeen years later another, less malicious, fire claimed the replacement bridge.

If iron bridges seemed like the logical, if more costly, solution to the threat of fire, a local experience must have cast doubt on the alternative to timber. In April 1861, Deerfield's first iron truss bridge crossed the Green River below John Russell's factory in Cheapside. Intended to carry part of the line of the Troy and Greenfield Railroad, the Haupt Bridge (patented by Herman Haupt) collapsed on a trial run. Depending on one's outlook, poor design or poor materials were at fault. Yet the future demanded iron construction. Another bridge, completed in 1892, stood for 30 years at the Cheapside crossing until replaced in 1912 by the current railroad bridge over the Deerfield River.

Railroads had introduced "rapid" transit to western Massachusetts in the 1840s, greatly reducing the time of making some journeys. Deerfield resident Epaphras Hoyt grumbled that the speed of the trains to Boston prevented passengers from contemplating the landscape. Few, however, shared Hoyt's complaint. The eventual development of trolley lines represented another advance in intercity travel. Beginning in 1890, electric streetcar service became available in Springfield, Massachusetts. Operating as the Connecticut Valley Street Railway Co., the line reached South Deerfield by October 1901, and Deerfield village not long thereafter on its way to Greenfield.

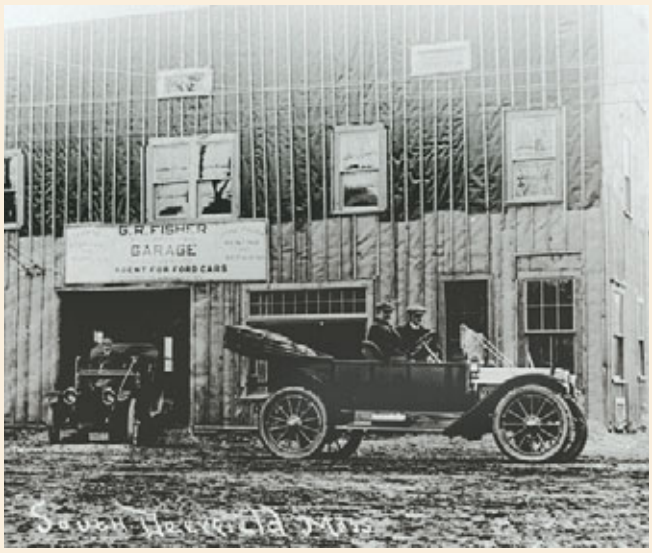
The next year a line opened between Northampton and South Deerfield. Unlike the majority of residents in South Deerfield, many in the village of Deerfield opposed the trolley's presence on the storied main street lined with historic homes and ancient elms. A preservation impulse ran deep in Old Deerfield, and some feared that the trolley would lead to a general desecration of the village. Controversy simmered in some quarters until the spring of 1924 when competition from automobiles doomed the trolley and it ceased to run in the town. In retrospect, the street railway had actually encouraged tourism and abetted local social life, such as making town-sponsored band concerts and the dance pavilion at the base of Mount

Sugarloaf so successful, rather than irreversibly undermining the area's historical character.

By 1915, automobiles and trucks had become a prevalent mode of transportation in Franklin County. As motorized travel expanded, the nature of roads began to change with Macadam paved roads replacing more and more dirt byways. Concurrent with road improvements to enhance auto travel, businesses that may once have catered to the needs of horse-drawn vehicles (and horses) began to offer repairs to their mechanized competition, and to sell fuel. As automobile travel became less of a novelty and more of a fact of life, the issue of traffic also began. An undated broadside, probably printed c. 1925, warned of the hazards of driving. Titled "A Request to Motorists," it announced that "several residents of the Village, both children and adults," had been killed by vehicles exceeding the 15 mile per hour speed limit, and accidents among motorists were multiplying. Furthermore, Old Deerfield's historic structures were suffering from the "constant vibration" of traffic. Here was progress with a price.

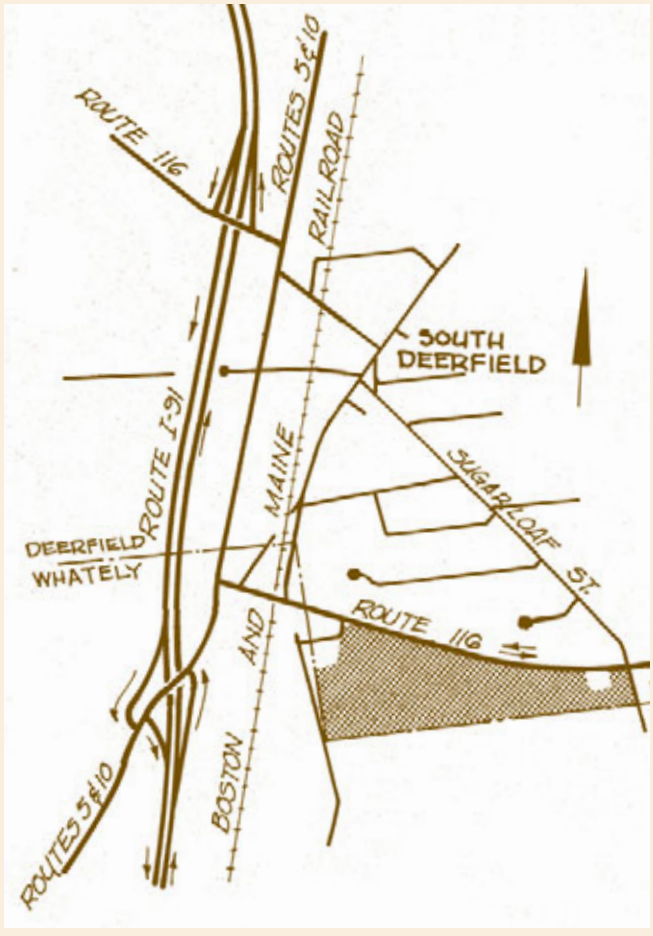
The construction of Routes 5 & 10 east of the village in 1928 diverted unwanted, careless drivers and restored equanimity. Decades later, Deerfield grudgingly became part of the interstate highway system. As originally planned, Interstate 91 would pass through South Deerfield paralleling the path of the Boston and Maine Railroad, proceed north to the village of Deerfield, cross Routes 5 & 10, and continue to Greenfield through the Deerfield River meadows north of the village. Local opposition to this route, led by Henry N. Flynt, Frank Boyden, and others who rallied support in Boston and Washington, caused construction of the road to shift to the west. At the same time construction of the Route 116 bypass around South Deerfield diverted traffic that previously had passed through the village center. Other changes in South Deerfield's traffic patterns affected Routes 5 & 10. In 1966, the section of the interstate highway between Greenfield and Whately opened to traffic, others to the north and south having previously been completed.

What lies ahead for Deerfield's transportation infrastructure? Perhaps relatively little, but could the owner of a horse-drawn wagon in 1823 imagine the building of railroads and proliferation of the internal combustion engine that made the automobile a staple of life? The rural nature of the town may delay the arrival of innovations that occur elsewhere, but if the past is indeed prologue, we can expect the unexpected.



Above: Fisher's Garage in South Deerfield opened as automobiles began to become common in Franklin County. Fisher's both serviced and sold cars. 1996.37.01.133.

Below: Plan of the South Deerfield bypass by surveyors Gordon Ainsworth & Associates. When the Deerfield section of Interstate 91 was completed, increased traffic on Route 116 was diverted around the village. Historic Deerfield Library.



by Jeremy Rogers

Fires, Floods and Strikes : Industry in Deerfield

ALONZO RICE was awoken from a dead sleep by a loud pounding on his front door a little after 2:00 a.m. "Fire!" shouted a man's voice, "Fire!" Hurrying down the stairs Rice pulled on his robe. "Fire, where?" "The factory's afire!" came the answer. Rice ran as fast as he could across the dark fields, illuminated solely by the glow of the fire. By the time he arrived at the wallet factory the whole front was engulfed in flames and smoke roiled from the windows.

Monday, July 29, 1889, had been a rainy pay day at the wallet factory; when Rice returned home he had supper, read for a while, and went to bed early. It was hard work getting the payroll resolved for the almost 100 employees, each paid in cash, at the Main Street manufacturer. Rice, treasurer and general manager of the Arms Manufacturing Company, had worked at the factory since 1867, and assumed new roles when Charles Arms died in 1888. On the morning of the 29th, Rice went from South Deerfield to Greenfield by train to fetch payroll cash from the bank.

Hours later when he arrived at the burning factory he opened the door, and despite the thick choking smoke, he instinctively made his way into his office and retrieved all the company books he could manage to carry. Running from the building he could scarcely breathe, and collapsed. The firemen trying heroically to control the inferno were hopelessly inadequate with their hand pumps and bucket brigade. Even the latest horse-drawn steamer could not manage to control this devastating conflagration.

Alonzo was assisted home by one of his employees who had come to help extinguish the blaze. After 80 years in business some books survived, but the stock, raw materials, machinery and building were gone in a firestorm that hot July night. As dawn broke the extent of the damage became clear; everything was lost except four safes later recovered from the ashes with their contents slightly singed but otherwise intact. What started as a small fire in the engine room had set the company back to scratch and deprived employees of work. The company's loss amounted to $20,000;

Leather billfold owned by Almerin Cooley of South Deerfield. Made by the Arms Manufacturing Co., ca. 1835. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum, 1986.12b.

Top: Photograph of the Arms Manufacturing Co., 1889. Historic Deerfield Library.

luckily they had insurance. By August 17, the company had rented the Rose Company building down the street and was back in business. Meanwhile construction of a replacement premises on the site had begun and would be complete and operational before Christmas.

The Arms Company was one of Deerfield's major employers. From humble beginnings in 1809, it had evolved from Dennis Arms making quality pairs of shoes to one of America's pioneer producers of pocketbooks (wallets), bill books, letter books, card cases, coin purses and sundry leather goods. From a small two-story building housing a general store in front, the premises had grown to a three-story affair reaching back from Main Street to the Bloody Brook, roughly 175 feet behind. Extensions to the south side provided office space and storage for the shipping department. Originally Dennis had tanned his own sheep skins into leather for making shoes, but as business grew he imported it from New York. Finished goods traveled to Hartford or Albany by ox team, and from there to New York City by boat. Returning teams brought leather from New York City.

When Dennis died his son Charles took over the company. By 1869, Charles had 75 employees producing goods to the value of $92,000 annually. In 1889, the Arms Manufacturing Company was the second-oldest manufacturing concern in Franklin County. The new factory built after the fire was smaller than the original, but as the company thrived the addition of a tower-like four-story extension in 1902 essentially created triple the production space of the burnt building. The company remained a successful endeavor, and in 1919 opened a second manufacturing plant in Malden, Massachusetts.

Farewell to Arms

The Arms Company building, vacated in 1950, sold to a newly started local business, Deerfield Plastics, founded in 1953. Deerfield Plastics specialized in the manufacture of plastic film for a variety of commercial uses. Ed Crafts, a local house builder and restorer, retrofitted the building for its new use. Machinery for extruding plastic film was unavailable, so the company designed and built its own. The machine used to create the film essentially blew a big bubble of plastic, three-stories high, making the Arms building ideal once holes were cut through the floors and the extruder installed in the basement.

Eventually Deerfield Plastics outgrew those premises and bought 12.4 acres for a new factory off South Main Street in South Deerfield alongside the railroad tracks. A spur from those tracks could accommodate railcars with 90,000 pounds of raw materials, much easier than using bags of plastic materials brought from the railroad to the old Arms building by road. Moving the five production lines took only four weeks, and the new factory opened in April 1961.

Detail from F.W Beers map of South Deerfield, 1871, with arrow showing location of the Arms factory. Historic Deerfield Library.

Line of extruders manufacturing rolls of high-density plastic film at Deerfield Plastics, 1970s.

Painting by Robert L. Merriam of the Green River Works located on the banks of the Green River, the first site of the J. Russell Co., c. 1975. The Museum of Our Industrial Heritage.

The move, however, had its share of drama. That September the workers voted to unionize and joined UE Local 274 (United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers). The catalyst for the change was an unconfirmed, undocumented charge that employees were stealing materials based on a discrepancy between the plant's incoming resin and the outgoing products. The management hired plainclothes Pinkerton agents to monitor the employees and to check them leaving the building at shift's end. This situation culminated in a three-week strike. Picket lines went up in March 1962, and management brought in non-union replacement workers. After settling the strike, the business grew; by 1963 six lines ran 24 hours, seven days a week, making film. The employees reportedly had become the highest paid United Electrical workers in Western Massachusetts, if not the nation.

In 2008 when the business closed, Deerfield still had a pioneer in plastics, Hardigg Industries, a leader in its treatment of employees and the design and manufacture of packaging, shipping cases, and industrial battery jars. Their main customer was the U.S. military, where the cases had a reputation for lasting forever no matter how mistreated. Hardigg created the injection-molded Storm Case in order to enter the consumer market. By the time Pelican Products bought the company in 2008, Hardigg Industries was the largest shipping case manufacturer in the world.

Northern Knives

At the north end of town business also thrived, but it also had its share of setbacks, dealing with fires and the Flood of 1836. John Russell bought a house lot for $1,500 in 1833 on Deerfield Street, Greenfield, then part of Deerfield until 1896 when the town of Greenfield annexed Cheapside. Until the company moved to Turners Falls in 1868, it paid its taxes to the town of Deerfield.

Russell immediately built a small brick and stone factory on the Green River and installed grindstones, emery wheels, hardening and tempering vats and two or three trip hammers. For the first time, manufacturing cutlery relied on machinery powered not by water, but by a 16-horsepower steam engine, the first in Greenfield. By mid-1834, Russell and his staff had built all the machinery and equipment, except the engine and grindstones which were purchased. Russell Cutlery produced two types of knives: a common butcher's knife and a large carving knife, as well as a range of other table cutlery. Then in March 1836, the forging shop burned to the ground, and to cap things off the great flood of April 9th swept away the nearby dam and "everything except the land." Some of Russell's surviving machinery ended up far downstream in the Deerfield Meadows.

If not for a $10,000 investment by local businessman, Henry Clapp, the company would have failed after these back-to-back disasters. Clapp, Russell, and his brother Francis Russell became partners. They quickly rebuilt the factory to include 12 trip hammers, 70 grindstones, and 100

Green River cutting knife from the mid-19th century. The Museum of Our Industrial Heritage.

emery wheels in what became known as the Green River Works. The company was on the knife edge of fame.

The former bridge over the Green River had to be rebuilt. Russell had promised the seller of the land on the west side of the river, the widow Mary Arms, that he would always keep the bridge open. So she sold him the lot for $25. The *Greenfield Democrat* ran a story about the bridge rebuilding describing "Heavy timber—two of the finest sticks of timber we have seen in a long time—were brought in the other day from Warwick [MA] ...They are a little over sixty-five feet in length, some 10 to 12 inches square and straight as an arrow."

Russell started producing a simple yet rugged hunting knife. With an 8¾ inch blade and plain wooden handle, the knives were shipped dull so that the end customer could sharpen them for whatever purpose they needed. These very plain and utilitarian knives were heavily used, broken, and thrown away. But their owners loved them and "The Green River Knife" would achieve lasting fame in the West. They became one of the two indispensable items of "frontiersmen"—first was their rifle and powder, and then the trusty knife. Between 1840 and 1860, the company shipped 720,000 knives west.

By the 1860s, Russell and the Lamson and Goodnow Company in Shelburne Falls produced 49% of all the cutlery sold in the United States.

In the summer of 1868, John Russell bought water rights on the new power canal in Turners Falls for $5 a year, in perpetuity, and moved production to a newly built 200,000-square-foot plant.

The new Wiley and Russell Company purchased the vacant Green River Works in 1879 for $15,000. Solon L. Wiley and Charles P. Russell had formed a partnership with John J. Grant, a Northampton, Massachusetts, inventor who in 1871 patented a new tool for cutting threads into bolts and nuts. Little did he know that his invention would start a revolution in manufacturing technology

The Green River Cutlery Plant Number 1 was back in action on Deerfield Street. By 1874, 40 hands turned out the new high-quality taps and dies by the thousands; by the late 1870s they were being sold nationwide and to companies as far away as South Africa and Australia. The Greenfield Tap and Die Company went on to employ more than 1,200 workers with $7 million invested in factories in the area by the 1930s. At the time Greenfield was considered the tap and die center of the universe.

The Scenter of South Deerfield

What currently ranks as the number two tourist attraction in New England emerged in early 1983. Holyoke native Michael Kittredge, a teenager back in 1969, wanted a great Christmas gift for his mother, but lacking funds decided to make her a special candle. After experimenting he was happy with his creation and mom got her Christmas present. A neighbor, seeing it, asked if he could buy one, and did.

From this humble start Kittredge opened Yankee Candle in South Deerfield in what would become his flagship store and built his scented candle operation into a $1 billion plus industry. Next came a manufacturing plant in Whately and a distribution center on the site of the old Deerfield drive-in movie theater. Now more than 500 company-owned Yankee Candle retail stores operate throughout the United States, and the flagship South Deerfield location attracts more than a half million visitors annually. When the Jarden Corporation acquired Yankee Candle in 2013, it was worth about $1.8 billion.

Many people think of Deerfield as an agricultural town with a rich history dating back to before King Philip's War. Education and cultural tourism have brought the town national and international renown. But for the past 350 years Deerfield has also been a center for innovation and industrial success, second to none.

Yankee Candle factory production line. Photo courtesy of Lisa McCarthy.

by Peter A. Thomas

Seeking New Homes

Immigrant Communities Who Came to Deerfield, 1850–1935

There are numerous secondary sources about immigration into the United States during the 19th and 20th centuries, but relatively little about Deerfield's large immigrant communities who arrived here after 1850. Where might one begin to get a sense of how these folks from Germany, Ireland, Poland, and neighboring Eastern European countries fit into the history of this town? A compilation of birth, marriage, and death records amassed over many years by Dr. Alan Swedlund and the Connecticut Valley Historical Demography Project, Social and Demographic Research Institute, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, provides a reliable place to start. These data sets cover the period from 1850–1910. The birth records alone identify some 4,300 children, along with their parents' names, born in Deerfield during a critical 60-year period.

It is clear from these records that Deerfield witnessed significant influxes of later immigrants, initially from Germany and Ireland between 1850 and 1875, and finally from Poland, Ukraine, and other Eastern European countries starting in c. 1890 and rapidly expanding by 1910. What strikes one immediately is that more than 53% of the children born in Deerfield between 1850 and 1910 were sons or daughters of parents who had been born in Europe. Clearly, immigrants have had a more profound influence on Deerfield's historical evolution than most might imagine.

From vital statistics published in Deerfield's annual reports, town tax records, and limited federal census data, Swedlund's demographic data have been extended into the 1930s. This was done to explore the period when most Eastern Europeans arrived, but also to assess the possible effects of the United States closing its borders to all immigrants in 1924, and of the Great Depression that followed the stock market crash of 1929.

Elizabeth Brooks Fuller (1896–1979) portrayed onion pickers in Deerfield in this c. 1940 oil painting. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum. 1995.11.135.

The Patterns of Immigration Post-1850

Based on the births of children to parents from Germany or Ireland between 1850 and 1859, an influx of those families to Deerfield occurred prior to 1850 (see graph on page 40). The historical contexts of the settlement of these two ethnic communities are appreciably different; the causes of the subsequent decline in both populations stem from identical national and local events.

John Russell established a factory to manufacture cutlery on the Green River in Deerfield in 1836. Demand for high-quality Green River knives required increased production capacity, and the factory recruited German metalworkers from overseas, settling them in factory housing in the district of Cheapside along the Green and Deerfield Rivers. The rise in birth rates reflects the settling in of these German families by the mid-1850s, with annual birth rates ranging from 10–28 children per year between 1866 and 1875.

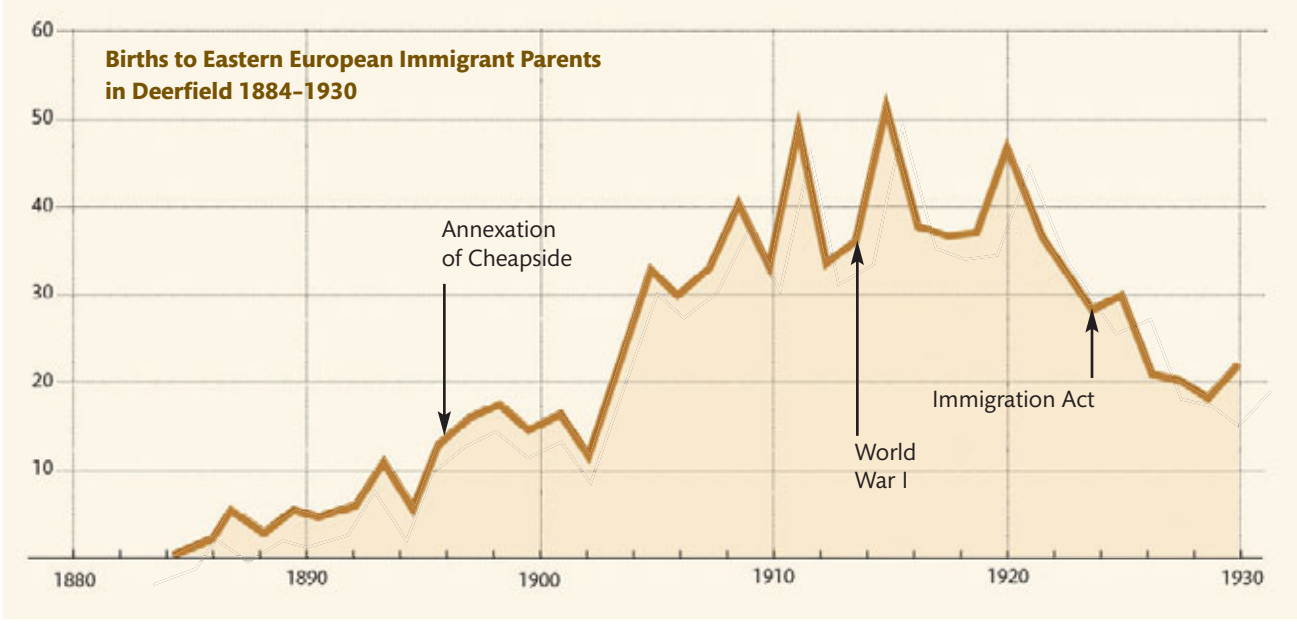
Many of the Irish arrivals were men who often brought their families and provided the labor necessary to construct various railroad lines that crisscrossed the Connecticut River Valley. Between roughly 1846 and the early 1850s, these rail lines formed a nexus of intersecting corridors through Deerfield. When the railroad work abated, many Irish laborers moved farther west; others stayed on in Deerfield and adjacent communities as the Industrial Revolution took a firm grip on the region. Large mills were constructed and housing for mill workers soon followed. Two general peaks in birth rates occurred. The first reflects births of 28–48 children per year between 1857 and 1875; the second records the births of 8–28 children per year between 1878 and 1895, as shown on graphs on page 41.

What caused these fluctuations? A period of national and local economic expansion between 1857 and the early 1870s led to the growth of both German and Irish immigrant families. Conversely, between 1873 and 1877, the national economy crashed and stagnation followed. Large numbers of workers were laid off in the mills, and the number of immigrant births dropped significantly. Some recovery did, however, occur between 1882 and the early 1890s. But in 1896 both the German and Irish birth rates apparently plummeted. This time, local and state politics were the root cause. The Massachusetts legislature removed Cheapside from Deerfield and made it part of Greenfield, resulting in a 32% loss of Deerfield's total population. These German and Irish families simply disappeared from Deerfield's records.

Some German and Irish families located south of the Deerfield River did continue to live in town, and their descendants became part of the town's general population. By the last quarter of the 19th century Irish families had become so prominent that in South Deerfield St. James Catholic Church became known as the Irish Catholic church. A few families of German ancestry also played prominent roles in South Deerfield affairs.

Eastern European Immigration: The Early Years

Polish and other immigrants from Eastern Europe began entering the United States in about 1890. A few made their way up the Connecticut River Valley. The earliest recorded birth of Polish parentage in Deerfield is that of Katrina Kurouski, daughter of Joseph Kurouski and Paulina Cyfulska in January 1892. A second child, Stanislaw, was born to the same parents in 1893.



Top: An upland farm on Mountain Road in South Deerfield. Howes Brothers photograph, c. 1905. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum. 1996.12.3362.03.

Above: "Polish Peasants, Onion Harvest on Mill River Plain," 1896. Allen Sisters photograph, Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum. 1996.14.0773.01.

In Deerfield, one to three births occurred annually until 1900. By 1901, the number jumped to ten births. Between 1910 and 1923, annual births ranged between 31 and a peak of 52 in 1918. Shortly thereafter, the numbers of children born to Polish and other Eastern European immigrants plummeted to the low 20s per annum, then dropped below 20 per year during the early 1930s. A Congressional decision to close the country's borders to foreigners in 1924 triggered the first decline. The market crash of 1929 and the nationwide depression that followed slowed the birth rate of both immigrant and older populations even further.

Marriage patterns of Polish immigrants parallel those of births. The earliest recorded marriage in which both the bride and groom were Deerfield residents occurred in November 1895. K. Borousky married M. Zagrubuski; he was 23, she 20. Parents of both the bride and groom are noted in the records, but it is unclear if they were present at the wedding. Members of both families had all been born in Poland.

Between 1896 and 1899, only four additional marriages occurred, all in the fall after harvest time. Ages of grooms ranged from 22 to 30; of brides, 18 to 20. Each had been born in Poland with all men listed as unskilled laborers. These men and women may have been recruited as farm labor or house servants when debarking from ships at New York or Baltimore. For them, a struggle for survival during these first years left little time for starting a family. From 1900 to 1910, the marriage rate of Polish immigrants living in Deerfield increased, although at an uneven pace. Of the 66 married couples in this category, marriages performed per year ranged from one to twelve, with the three lowest in 1901 (3), 1904 (2), and 1905 (1).

Even at a time when virtually all immigrant families worked as farm laborers, there are initial signs of upward economic mobility and new families being created. Of the 66 men married between 1905 and 1910, C. Malinouski is listed as a skilled laborer (carpenter, or like); V. Kowalski as a semi-skilled laborer (butcher, baker, etc.); and P. Sodowski (1906), A. Sokoloski (1906), W. Jablonous (1908), T. Jabonoski (1909), A. Karconie (1909), J. Kislouski (1909), A. Kolaski (1909), K. Mocroic (1910), W. Galinski (1910), and J. Podlo (1910) are cited as a "farmer who owns his own land." Somehow these men and their families had saved and borrowed to stake their claim to a piece of Deerfield. Four "farmers who own their own land" living in the towns of Montague and Sunderland came to Deerfield to claim a bride during these initial years. It should be noted that of the ten men reported to own land in 1910, only five remained on the tax roll in 1915. This suggests considerable fluidity of residency at this time, particularly if individuals were brought into the Valley by agents who had signed them to annual contracts.

Deerfield's tax records provide another means of evaluating how successfully the Eastern European immigrant community established itself in town. Each year, all males 16

years or older living in Deerfield were charged a "poll tax" whether or not they owned property. In addition, those adult males who owned "real estate" consisting of buildings and/or land, or "personal" property, consisting primarily of livestock, paid taxes based on the assessed value of their holdings. Deerfield's assessors' records from 1915 attest to the rapid influx of immigrants from Eastern Europe and their success at settling in.

In 1915, 713 adult males lived in the Town of Deerfield. Of these, 151 were Polish, Ukrainian, or Eastern European immigrants, making up 21% of the adult male population. Their numbers would continue to swell during the coming decade. What clearly bewildered and sometimes panicked their neighbors, if articles in local newspapers of the period are any indication, is that in roughly a single decade fully half of these men had gone from farm laborers hired and frequently boarded on large, established Valley farms, to property owners. Of the 526 dwellings located in Deerfield in 1915, immigrant men now owned 72 homes, or 13.7% of the total housing stock in the community. Perhaps even more significantly, most of this real estate consisted of small farmsteads. All contained a house; nearly all had barns. Thirty included one or more tobacco barns, and a few had ancillary buildings, such as ice houses, shops, and hen houses. Although a few may have been small homes on lots of less than an acre, many included sufficient acreage of tillage, meadow, pasture, and woodland to suggest that the owner could achieve at least some level of self-sufficiency.

Much like the early English colonists who moved into a developed Native American landscape, Eastern European immigrants moved into a well-established, but quite different landscape. English settlers coming to Deerfield in 1673 found the remnants of the Pocumtuck village surrounded by horticultural fields and woodlands cleared of brush by annual burning. This landscape was soon converted into a village that consisted of house lots strung out along a main street. Small fields with low mounds that had once supported maize, beans, and squash were immediately replaced with precisely laid-out fields that could be plowed and planted in wheat. Fences went up to keep livestock out of the fields. By 1688, thousands of acres of "common lands" had been divided into long, narrow strips that extended from the Connecticut River some seven miles to the west, and deeded to 48 proprietors. However, no settlement extended more than two miles south of the village until after 1750, and even then such farmsteads were very scattered.

In the subsequent 125 years, most proprietors' lots had been subdivided numerous times; farmsteads of from ten to several hundred acres had been established throughout the town, with some 75% of the land cut over. The Civil War had occurred, land as far west as California was opened to settlement, and a financial crisis in 1873-1877 led to economic stagnation. Members of old Yankee families, as well as substantial numbers of the Irish and German families who had arrived and profoundly changed the face of Deerfield between 1850 and 1873, moved west or into urban centers. They left behind numerous abandoned farmsteads that Polish and other immigrants began to purchase, as the statistics illustrate. The fates seem to have aligned themselves in Deerfield and in neighboring towns for these families to have arrived in the right place at the right time.

Undoubtedly, some Polish immigrants continued to work on larger farms, as did the other 75 immigrant men from Eastern Europe who had not yet acquired property. Their chances of establishing homes of their own would not be easy, as they would have to compete with the 259 other adult men in Deerfield who also lacked property in 1915. At least many of the latter were members of established families from whom they might inherit property and who could support them in the meantime. Most immigrants had no such options. Time would tell.

Farmers posing with tobacco leaves; the woman would have likely stitched leaves together. Howes Brothers photograph, c. 1905. Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association's Memorial Hall Museum. 1996.12.3343.

A Personal Insight of the IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE

by Diane Rotkiewicz Martin

Polish and Eastern European families have many stories to tell about their place of origin, early experiences of survival, setting down roots in a new community, contributing to the town, and leaving a legacy. Here is one family's story, that of Leon Rzodkiewicz and his children, as told by his granddaughter.

My grandfather, my Dziadziu, Leon Rzodkiewicz, and at least four of his siblings left Poland when it was being erased from the map of Europe. As a 17-year-old boy, Leon came to America in 1898. The details are unknown, but he evidently earned enough money to pay for his passage home in 1904 and to pay return passage in 1905 for himself, his father, and his future bride.

They took up residence in a predominantly Polish neighborhood in Brooklyn. There at age 25 he married Casimira Karczenski, age 15, in February 1906. Leon found work excavating subway tunnels; his father worked in a sugar house on the East River. His older brother, Anthony, joined them. Leon's and Casimira's first daughter, Leonia, was born in December 1906. Leon was either recruited or followed Polish acquaintances to the coal fields of West Virginia. By 1908 he had moved his family to Coalton, a 265-acre coal mining operation in Randolph County. Leon's first son, Joseph, was born among the clamor of the mills of Pittsburgh, known as "hell with the lid off," in July.

Meanwhile, Leon's older sister, Monica Rzodkiewicz Ciborowski, along with her husband and two children, arrived in America in 1909 and soon moved north. She gave birth to her third child in South Deerfield in 1912. That same year Leon's younger half-sister, Teophila Rzodkiewicz Karas, and her husband immigrated from Poland and settled in Whately, just south of Deerfield. The sisters wrote letters urging Leon and Anthony to join them. Casimira desperately wanted to leave Pittsburgh; she, Leon, and their four children soon did. Second son, Peter, was born in South Deerfield in June 1914, followed by a daughter, Helen, in August 1916.

By 1916, more than two decades after the first Polish immigrant took up residence, South Deerfield had a well-established Polish community. Polish residents had built the Produce National Bank in 1906, and established St. Stanislaus Church, one of the few Polish-American churches in New England, in 1908. Leon started working on local farms. His two sisters and their families became part of the Deerfield community. Leon and Casimira, or Catherine, as she was often called, lived on South Mill River Road. Catherine took in laundry, sold eggs and butter, and started saving whatever she could. They bought two acres of land containing a house and probably a barn in 1917. Their seventh child, Edward, was born there two years later.

The home lot lies just north of Great Swamp in the southwest corner of Deerfield. Onions formed the main crop. Throughout town farmers grew a market crop, competing with each other for yield and desperately wishing for a profit. Leon and Catherine also had many chickens which she would kill and dress for patrons in the village of South Deerfield. More children arrived; Leo was born in March 1922, and William in May 1923.

Studio portrait of Leon Rzodkiewicz, his wife Casimira, and their daughter Leonia. Brooklyn, 1907. All photos courtesy of the author.

Leonia moved back to the old Brooklyn neighborhood and became a housekeeper. Anna soon joined her and found work as a servant in a Manhattan home. Rose followed, as did her younger sister, Helen. As children we were told that all of Leon's and Catherine's daughters had left home as teenagers and went to work for rich people on Fifth Avenue. They all worked to support the farm.

In April 1930, Leon and Catherine bought an adjoining 11 acres of land with standing structures at public auction. My father, Stanley, the youngest of ten children, was born there in June of that year. During the Great Depression of the 1930s, a scarcity of cash made paying the mortgage and town taxes a frequent issue. Twice, liens for delinquent payment of taxes were placed on the property. Throughout those hard times the children never went hungry. My grandmother, my Babcia, would walk into the woods near the old bottle dump and come out with an apron full of mushrooms. She would make wild mushroom soup, as well as sorrel, cabbage, beet, and, of course, chicken soup. By the summer of 1939, all property debts had been paid.

In January of that year, Joseph, the eldest of six sons living in Deerfield, bought an adjoining 23 acres. At the time, tobacco was king, and it thrived in Connecticut River Valley soil. The family, now spelled Rotkiewicz, built a tobacco barn. Across the street, the Zukowski family put up another tobacco barn. The Daczczyn family also grew tobacco. This trio of neighbors, with their 16 children still living at home, received a good income from tobacco. The Trzcienski family, neighbors farther west, raised tobacco and expanded their dairy herd. Bottles full of milk or cream labeled Trzcienski Farm were delivered throughout town to families who no longer had their own cow. The village began to thrive as well.

In 1940, all of Leon's sons were employed. Joseph worked for the Kelleher Corporation, a local family business that did construction management. Peter and Edward worked for the Jewett Pickle Company in the village. Leo worked at Greenfield Tap and Die, while William was employed by the fertilizer company next to the railroad line. His daughters had all married and continued to live in Brooklyn.

All of these sons enlisted for military service in 1941-42, when World War II again found Poland and its people threatened. Joseph was assigned to the Military Police and stationed in Morocco. Peter served in the 2nd Regiment following Patton across Europe. Edward became a corporal in the North African desert and fought Rommel and his Panzer Division at Faid Pass in Tunisia, where allied forces took heavy casualties. Leo was stationed on several Pacific islands. William became Pharmacist Mate on a navy warship. They all returned from the war, but not as they had gone. Muzzle blasts from the tanks had damaged Eddy's hearing, Joseph had suffered a head injury from a severe concussion, William eventually recovered from malaria, and Peter was never the same.

Stanley, Leon, and Catherine kept the farm thriving into the 1950s. Families on the street helped each other in the fields, sharing children, sharing work. All the boys married and raised families in the village. When my dad, Stanley, married Stacia Fil, he moved into the family homestead. My Dziadziu, Leon, Catherine, Joseph, and Peter moved into the cottage on the next pasture over. The boys built Catherine a hen house. Behind the barn Babcia tended tobacco seedlings in a cold frame facing south in the early spring. A tractor replaced the horse pulling the planter. When the soil was ready, i.e., when no longer saturated and had the consistency of chocolate pudding, they planted. All summer the plants were tended and suckered. In late summer the men, including two nephews from Brooklyn, harvested.

Top: Catherine (Casimira) and son, Stanley, at their home on South Mill River Road, South Deerfield, with hay barn in the background.

Bottom: Catherine and Leon Rotkiewicz (Rzodkiewicz) at their farm, late 1940s.

In the summer of 1958, at age four, I ran slats to the workers or drove the tractor. I kept a slow-moving tractor straight while the men harvested stalks of tobacco. Uncle Joe would climb to the top of the barn, weaving the slats of tobacco plants onto the long poles, bent by bent, until the barn was full; only kids could fit under the hanging plants and run through the barn. We opened and closed the 50-plus long ventilation doors daily until a rainy stretch in the fall raised the humidity enough to make the leaves soft and pliable. When the slats came down plants were carefully positioned into a giant pile in the barn and covered with worn rugs from Fifth Avenue homes. The rainy night became magical in that tobacco barn. Surrounding the pile sat Catherine's and Leon's friends, laughing and talking in Polish under a string of lightbulbs. They stripped the leaves from each stalk until the pile had disappeared. In its place were tied, brown paper wrapped bales of pressed tobacco leaves.

In their old age, Leon and Catherine were cared for and their bills paid. When the daughters visited with their families, they brought cast-off furniture from New York and bought new dresses in Northampton for their mother. Chickens ran around, chased by the grandchildren. There was always soup on the stove. Catherine died in 1964. Only the youngest child, Stanley, farmed. In late summer, 1969, Stanley was cutting hay in the field adjoining Leon's cottage. Leon stood watching from the doorway. By the next drive by, Leon had collapsed. He died that day in the hospital, his only time of illness in his 91 years.

My uncle Eddy built houses for doctors and lawyers (the last house he built in 1980 was mine). Leo owned a thriving Zenith TV store on Elm Street. His cousin, Frank Karas, ran the laundromat next door. In the next building, "Pint" Szelewicki had a cobbler/dry goods store adjoining "Chick" Cackowski's Luncheonette. Boron's Market stood next to the Bloody Brook Bar, also owned by Frank Karas. Across the street was Baranowski's Dry Cleaners, and a few doors down stood Stanley Ostrowski's Bakery. Uncle Bill's Frontier Pharmacy stood on Sugarloaf Street across from the common. South Deerfield was a healthy village.

They are all gone now, buried in town cemeteries. My five uncles and all the others who served have their names on the World War II marker on the South Deerfield common. The parents who fled oppression in Poland and sought and found a new home, and their children, were part of the established Deerfield community and no longer considered immigrants. And the land? It still grows some of the best crops. It is Deerfield soil.

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Two visitors to Deerfield listen to town historian, George Sheldon, in this still from the 1910 Edison Co. film, *Onoko's Vow.* The encounter precedes the fictionalized account of the 1704 raid on Deerfield, filmed in the town, in which the Native chief, Ononko, protects a family of settlers. Historic Deerfield Library.

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