

MHC Reconnaissance Survey Town Report

GREENFIELD

Report Date: 1982

Associated Regional Report: Connecticut Valley

Reconnaissance Survey Town Reports, produced for MHC's Statewide Reconnaissance Survey between 1979 and 1987, introduce the historical development of each of the Commonwealth's municipalities. Each report begins with an historic overview, a description of topography, and political boundaries. For the purposes of the survey, the historic period has been subdivided into seven periods: Contact (1500–1620), Plantation (1620–1675), Colonial (1675–1775), Federal (1775–1830), Early Industrial (1830–1870), Late Industrial (1870–1915), and Early Modern (1915–1940/55). Each report concludes with survey observations that evaluate the town's existing historic properties inventory and highlight significant historic buildings, settlement patterns, and present threats to these resources. A bibliography lists key secondary resources.

Town reports are designed for use together with a series of town maps that demarcate settlement patterns, transportation corridors and industrial sites for each historic period. These maps are in the form of color-coded, polyester overlays to the USGS topographic base map for each town on file and available for consultation at MHC. For further information on the organization and preparation of town reports, readers should contact MHC.

Users should keep in mind that these reports are now two decades or more old. The information they contain, including assessments of existing knowledge, planning recommendations, understanding of local development, and bibliographic references all date to the time they were written. In some cases, information on certain topics was not completed. No attempt has been made to update this information.

Electronic text was not available for digital capture, and as a result most of the reports have been scanned as PDF files. While all have been processed with optical character recognition, there will inevitably be some character recognition errors.

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MHC RECONNAISSANCE SURVEY REPORT

DATE: 1982

COMMUNITY: Greenfield

I. TOPOGRAPHY

Greenfield is situated in the northernmost portion of the Connecticut River Valley study unit. The central portion of the town can be characterized as gently rolling lowlands, excluding two isolated kames located north of the village of Greenfield. These lowlands are flanked by two volcanic trap ridges situated on Greenfield's western and eastern borders and extending on a north-south axis. These uplands generally range between 300 feet and 800 feet in elevation, with the greatest heights occurring in western Greenfield. Prominent points include Greenfield Mountain (874 feet), the town's highest point and situated on the Shelburne/Greenfield boundary, Sachem Head (452 feet) which overlooks the village of East Greenfield and picturesque Poets Seat (494 feet) immediately east of the village of Greenfield. The Connecticut River delineates the town's eastern and southern borders. Turner's Falls, an important native and colonial fishing site, is located on the Connecticut directly opposite Canada Hill. Locally, the Connecticut River is fed by one of its primary tributaries, the Green River. The Green flows into the Connecticut west of Cheapside. The former river, in turn, is fed by several brooks that drain the local uplands. The only freshwater bodies are several mill ponds. Local soils are basically the fertile alluvial deposits of Greenfield's intervalles and the "light and gravelly" soils of northern Greenfield.

II. POLITICAL BOUNDARIES

Originally included as part of Deerfield 8000 acre grant in 1673 with eastern boundary along Connecticut River (Montague). Established as Greenfield district in 1753 with southern boundary at Deerfield line excluding Cheapside district along Deerfield River. Northern boundary defined with Bernardston in 1762 following original Deerfield grant and western boundary in 1768 with Shelburne. Incorporated as town of Greenfield in 1775 with eastern district established as town of Gill in 1793 following Fall River boundary. Cheapside district finally annexed to Greenfield in 1896 with boundary along Deerfield River.

III. HISTORIC OVERVIEW

Important commercial center at regional junction between Northampton and Vermont, the Berkshires and Boston. Located at the edge of the Hoosac highlands defined by Rocky Mountain along the Connecticut River with major native sites reported at Fort Hill on the Deerfield River, Smeads Island on the Connecticut and suspected potential in Greenfield Meadows. Settled from Deerfield after King Philip's War with agricultural district along Green River valley during Colonial period including some well-preserved mid-18th century houses along Colrain Road and original meeting house site on Silver Street. Developed as important commercial center after Revolution with Connecticut River port at Cheapside and focus of civic activity

around Court Square on Main Street axis, including restored Federal business blocks and notable Asher Benjamin house. Opening of regional railroad connections during Early Industrial period continued commercial expansion along Main Street axis with brick business blocks of mid-19th century date and formation of elite residential district at High and East Main with period Greek Revival and Italianate houses at base of Rocky Mountain. Industrial sites located along Green River with late 19th century factory complexes surviving at Rugg Place and Deerfield Street with adjacent boarding houses creating fringe district from Green River Cemetery to original Fairgrounds including recreated Shaker round barn and monumental railroad truss bridges.

Continued expansion of affluent neighborhood from East Main into Highland Park during Late Industrial period with suburban district of Queen Anne and Historic Revival estates to Poets Seat stone tower. Trolley system developed commercial corridor north on Federal Street from Court Square civic center with Neoclassical banks and Romanesque schools to Silver Street periphery. Modest residential district expanded along Conway Street northwest from Main Street axis with single and two-family housing aligned along industrial railroad corridor to Cleveland Street suburbs. Greenfield Meadows maintained as local agricultural district with tobacco and dairy farms through early 20th century gradually transformed into suburban village along Colrain Street with Historic Revival houses, including rare International Style example. Similar axis of affluence extended north on Bernardston Road with elaborate Colonial Revival and Craftsman bungalows. Central business district expanded on West Main Street to Mohawk Trail with remarkable bas relief on Early Modern auto showroom at Fort Square, intact movie theatre on East Main, and early auto filling stations on Deerfield Street south to Cheapside. Federal Street axis remained as primary suburban corridor with period commercial blocks at Silver Street.

Present development most evident along Interstate 91 beltway with considerable suburban expansion into Greenfield Meadows from community college nearly overwhelming remaining farmland. Main Street business district retains some period integrity especially around Court Square with affluent district intact around Highland Park, and housing decay evident along original railroad corridor from Clay Hill depot.

VI. CONTACT PERIOD (1500-1620)

A. Transportation Routes:

Important regional junction of Connecticut Valley routes to Pocumtuck (Deerfield) River. Primary north-south trail reported from Pocumtuck crossing at Pine-Fort Hill to suspected Pocommegan (Greenfield) fordway at Mill Street (Thompson, 1904, I, p.505). Main trail apparently branched north from Pocommegan fordway at Court Square (Clay Hill) northeast along base of Rocky Mountain following Mohawk Trail as Gill Road around White Ash Swamp and over Fall River fordway

at Factory Hollow (Ibid, p.557). Alternate loop around Sachem Head at Cheapside to Connecticut River fishing stations is reported from Highland Avenue up east face of Rocky Mountain to Poets Seat connecting with Mohawk Trail (Ibid.). Several routes from Mill Street fordway north to uplands appear likely as Leyden and Colrain Road along Pocumegan valley with Bernardston Road a possible branch north from Mohawk Trail at White Ash Swamp. Alternate route around Pocumtuck (Deerfield-Pine Hill) crossing appears likely from Pocumegan fordway at Smead Brook and south as Woodward-Munson-White Birch Road to West Deerfield. Precise location of trail routes from Mill Street fordway along Main Street axis at Court Square remains unclear.

B. Settlement Patterns:

There were no reported Contact period sites. A large site with a Woodland period component was situated in the vicinity of Canada Hill and overlooking the Connecticut River. A second Woodland occupation was noted on bluffs overlooking the Connecticut and west of Cheapside. Two undated sites were located immediately west of the Connecticut, northeast of Canada Hill and north of Cheapside. The presence of these sites and Greenfield's, extensive agricultural and riverine resource base suggests there was extensive native period settlement in the area. The largest encampments were probably established on the fertile intervalles of central and northern Greenfield. Large seasonal sites were likely situated along the Connecticut River, particularly in the vicinity of East Greenfield and Cheapside and the Connecticut River floodplain west of Cheapside. Smaller sites were probably established on Smead and Rawson Islands.

C. Subsistence Patterns:

The Connecticut River floodplain and the interior intervalles (e.g. Greenfield Meadows) provided native occupants with extensive high quality agricultural land. Native fishing most likely focused on the Connecticut, primarily in the vicinity of Turners Falls, a regionally important native fishing area (opposite Canada Hill). Additional fishing probably occurred on Connecticut tributaries such as Green River. Wild game would have abounded in Greenfield's level lowlands and uplands.

D. Observations:

Greenfield was probably part of a native period regional core that encompassed present Gill, Montague, Deerfield and Sunderland. The large areas of agricultural land and water sources likely supported a sizeable population during most of the year. The greatest potential for extant archaeological remains of period settlement in Greenfield should be in the town's interior lowlands where development is relatively limited. Vestiges of period sites may survive in the more heavily developed center of Greenfield and along the Connecticut River. The Connecticut River banks and islands should be periodically monitored for eroding period sites.

V. PLANTATION PERIOD (1620-1675)

A. Transportation Routes:

Native trails improved as regional routes with Pocumtuck (Deerfield River) crossing maintained at Pine Hill-Fort Hill and north to Rocky Mountain along Mohawk Trail axis to Fall River fordway.

B. Population:

The Greenfield area probably continued to be occupied by a substantial native population throughout this period. However, the epidemics that struck lower valley native settlements in the late 1610s and mid 1630s may have resulted in sizeable local population losses.

The area lacked a colonial population until the late 1680s.

C. Settlement Patterns:

The area's diverse resource base and absence of a colonial settlement suggests native settlement patterns remained basically the same as those outlined for the Contact period.

D. Economic Base:

Native subsistence patterns probably were similar to those of the preceding period. However, local natives likely participated in trade with colonial residents of neighboring Deerfield in addition to the English fur trade network established by William Pynchon of Springfield in the late 1630s.

Colonial residents of Deerfield probably utilized the interior meadows (e.g. Greenfield Meadows) for grazing and possible some crop production.

E. Observations:

Greenfield fell within a regional core that was similar to that which existed in the Contact period. Historically, this core fell under the control of the Pocumtucks who were centrally located in present Deerfield. Greenfield was probably the site of a semi-permanent horticultural village because of the large quantity of agricultural land and other resources capable of supporting such a settlement. Archaeologically sensitive areas are basically the same as those described in "Observation" section of the preceding period.

VI. COLONIAL PERIOD (1675-1775)

A. Transportation Routes:

Settlement of Cheapside district (1686) from Deerfield prompted improvement of local trail system, apparently including Deerfield-

Washington Street from Mill Street fordway and ferry service across Deerfield River from Pine Hill crossing, later established as full operation (1758). Green River division lots (1686) apparently formed Main Street axis at Court Square with Mill Street to Green River fordway and Fort Hill (1699). Gradual improvement of regional trails to highlands with Colrain Road (1741) and definition of Main Street (1749). Location of Greenfield meeting house on Trap Plain (1760) required connecting highways as Silver Street and Bernardston Road (1763) to Mohawk Trail axis at base of Rocky Mountain (Thompson, 1904, II, pp. 562-63). Cross highway connecting Greenfield meadows with Fall River located as Barton-Log Plain Road to Adams Road.

B. Population:

The only record of a sizeable native population occupying Greenfield was during King Philip's War (1675-76). At this time, part of the hostile native force of 1000+ occupying the northern portion of the Valley (in the study unit) had encamped at Cheapside. Greenfield's post-war native population was probably limited to small bands of individual families.

There were 49 Green River District proprietors in 1736. In 1765, the first complete census of Greenfield's colonial population listed 58 families, 368 individuals (included 1 black) and 45 houses. By 1776, the settlement had doubled in size to 735 individuals and 176 families. A large proportion of Greenfield's period settlers were former Deerfield residents.

C. Settlement Patterns:

As mentioned above, a portion of native forces supporting King Philip erected a camp of wigwams in Cheapside. The site appears to have been abandoned by the end of King Philip's War. Small native groups likely established encampments in the area's uplands or more isolated lowland locations.

The first colonial occupation probably did not take place until the late 1680s when several homes were established on Main Street. Ensuing settlement took place primarily on this street and Silver Street to the north. Growing fears of native attacks led to a call for construction of a stockade in the Main Street area in the mid 1740s. Although the town never underwent a full scale native attack, two local residents were killed and three were captured by a band of hostile natives in 1756. Greenfield's first meeting house was erected near the corner of Silver Street and Federal Street in c.1753 (not completed until c.1760). By the early 1770s, Main Street was the site of 21 dwelling houses and several specialty shops and stores. Scattered settlement took place on Green River Street, northeastern Greenfield and the vicinity of Turners Falls in the 2nd half of the 18th century.

D. Economic Base:

Native occupants combined traditional subsistence rounds with bartering and begging from local colonial residents.

The main pursuit of local settlers was crop and livestock production. Colonial agriculture focused on the town's expansive fertile lowlands. Considerable colonial fishing took place at Turners Falls. Most local residents probably undertook hunting and trapping as an additional subsistence activity. James Corse gained notoriety as the town's most successful hunter/trapper between the 1720s and 1780s. His territory encompassed the Deerfield, Green and Fall River Valley's and southern Vermont (Thompson 1904:427). Local industrial development was poorly documented. The settlement's first mill may have been established as early as c.1699 by Joseph Parsons of Northampton on the Green River (Ibid:244). By 1771, seven mills were operating in Greenfield. In 1774, a clothier's shop, tailor shop, blacksmith shop and store were operating on Main Street. The town's only documented tavern was one established by James Corse near the junction of Main and Federal Streets some time after 1720.

E. Architecture:

Residential: Less than a half-dozen houses of the Colonial period are known to survive in Greenfield. Of these, the earliest is the Jonathan Smead House (1735), a three-bay wide, center chimney structure with added lean-to. While the three-bay facade preserves the appearance of the regions earliest houses (many of which featured three facade bays rather than the traditional five), the structural integrity of this historically significant house has probably been lost through a ca.1980 "restoration" of the house which appears to have destroyed most of the original framing and details. Other surviving Colonial houses affiliated with the Smead family are the center chimney Lemuel Smead House (1764) and the center hall Jonathan Smead House (1765). Other colonial structures may survive as ells to later houses. All of the known surviving structures are located in the western half of town at Greenfield Meadows. The unusual paucity of extant Colonial houses is due to the later commercial development of the town center, where at least 30 houses were indicated on a 1774 map; none have survived.

Institutional: The first meeting house at Greenfield was constructed in 1760, seven years after the parish was made a district. The meeting house had dimensions of 50' x 40' and was not completed until 1769.

F. Observations:

Greenfield fell within a colonial regional core that encompassed this settlement and Deerfield. Despite Greenfield's separation from Deerfield in 1753, the community remained closely tied to the northern town throughout the remainder of this period. The greatest likelihood of surviving archaeological evidence of the colonial settlement should be in the northern half of Greenfield. Isolated fragments of period sites may occur in the present village of Greenfield.

VII. FEDERAL PERIOD (1775-1830)

A. Transportation Routes:

Significant improvement of local routes to Main Street axis with opening of Federal Street from Trap Plain meeting house (1787) and Deerfield River bridge to Cheapside (1798). Improvement of east-west axis across Connecticut River to Montague with Fifth Massachusetts Turnpike on Highland Avenue and East Greenfield bridge (1802). Expansion of local street grid from Main Street axis included Church-High Street replacing Mohawk Trail (1815) and School Street (1822).

B. Population:

Between 1776 and 1790 Greenfield's population doubled, reaching 1,498 in the latter year. By 1790, the population exceeded that of Deerfield as the largest of the river towns in the yet-to-be-established Franklin County. The removal of Gill in 1793 and subsequent losses until 1810 made a substantial dent in the town's population, which the gains after 1810 only partially made up for. Greenfield's growth after 1810 is probably due as much to its new importance as shiretown as the growing traffic from the river and hill towns that Cheapside (still part of Deerfield) encouraged. By 1830 Greenfield's population stood at 1,540.

C. Settlement Pattern:

Civic focus remained on Trap Plain (Silver Street) with establishment of regional civic center around Franklin County Court House (1813) and Second Congregational Church (1816) at Court Square. Commercial focus expanded along West Main Street axis from Court Square with secondary axis north on Federal Street. Affluent residential district developed on East Main Street to High Street at base of Rocky Mountain with secondary expansion parallel on Church Street (1822). Local industrial focus maintained on Green River at Mill Street with outlying textile village developed at Factory Hollow on Fall River and wharfage activity at Cheapside on Deerfield River. Agriculture remained as primary activity along Green River meadows to Bernardston with formation of farm village at Shelburne Road.

D. Economic Base:

Greenfield's prosperity in the Federal period was chiefly commercial. The establishment of Franklin County, and Greenfield as shiretown, brought prosperity to the village induced by the new class of lawyers, judges, and other officials. Cheapside, then still part of Deerfield, was another source of prosperity. With the completion of the South Hadley Canal in 1795, the upper Connecticut River suddenly became navigable for a large number of trading vessels. Cheapside immediately became the head of navigation and an important trading point. The first traders and stores appeared almost immediately.

(As a reflection of this new importance, when the county was erected in 1811, attempts were made to locate the county seat here.) Teams from Colrain, Charlemont, and other hill towns brought down shingles, broom handles, shaving boxes, combs, etc., exchanging them for goods from Boston and the West Indies. Cheapside was also the intersection of major stage lines, and with the opening of the Turners Falls Canal about 1800 (?), Cheapside's importance was further emphasized on this major artery. In the 1820s, various schemes were planned to link Boston and Troy, New York with a canal, passing through Cheapside -- a route which later the Fitchburg would seize upon.

Manufacturing in Greenfield at this period was limited. In 1791 Col. William Moore commenced a small industrial emoire which included a 6-story gristmill, reputedly establishing a cotton factory, nail mill, cooper shop, potash works, tannery, and slaughterhouse. To run the new shops Moore imported coopers from Groton, nailmaster Ambrose Ames from Bridgewater, among others. But Moore's efforts seem to have been overextended and undercapitalized; none of these ventures appear to have lasted for any length of time. In 1823 William Wilson erected a furnace and began manufacturing plows and other castings, by 1832 valued at \$4200.

Greenfield's largest manufacturing industry in the Federal period was Nathaniel Russell's satinet mill, established about 1825 on Fall River. Probably after a fire destroyed the mill in 1828, Russell obtained Springfield backing from Edmund and Jonathan Dwight, instrumental in setting up cotton mills in Chicopee. Incorporated as the Greenfield Manufacturing Co. in 1829, the firm was reincorporated in 1832 (with another \$25,000 in capital) with Boston Associate J.K. Mills. By that date the mill was producing annually 165,000 yards of satinet worth \$86,625, making it the largest producer of satinet in the three-county Connecticut Valley. (Another spur to this new industry would have been the 1828 tariff, which suddenly made woolen production more attractive to investors.)

E. Architecture:

Residential: At least two dozen houses and cottages of the Federal period survive in the town. This represents a substantial increase over the Colonial period and reflects, to some degree, the expansion that occurred in Greenfield during the period. The fact that houses and cottages of varying pretention and size survive is another indication of Greenfield's prosperity and diversity in the Federal period. Among the town's surviving period houses are two of Asher Benjamins earliest commissions, the Leavitt-Hovey House and the Coleman House, both 1797. Of these, the Leavitt-Hovey House is the more ambitious; it exhibits an elaborate five-part plan consisting of a central double interior chimney, hip roofed block with subsidiary one-story gable roofed wings linked by hyphens. Both the Coleman and Leavitt-Hovey Houses feature a profusion of Federal ornament such as swagged panels, arcaded pilasters, carved Ionic capitals, and complex molded cornices. In addition to the two Benjamin houses, both of which stand at the town center, a number of substantial and well-detailed Federal farmhouses stand in the western half of town at Greenfield

Meadow. The majority of these are center hall plan houses with double interior chimneys; many incorporate hip roofs and a few feature facade treatment on two walls. Among the houses noted are the Morgan Allen House, the Moses Arms House and the Thaddeus Coleman House (ca.1800). Of particular note is the Gould-Clapp-Porter House (1827, Elijah Hayden), a very early temple front Greek Revival house with flanking one-story colonnaded wings.

Houses of exceptional quality and preservation are located along Green River and Colrain Roads at Greenfield Meadows. In addition to the houses mentioned above, at least one twin rearwall chimney house and several center chimney houses, one with a straight Connecticut Valley entablature, were also observed. Surviving cottages of the period are somewhat less common but perhaps a half-dozen examples were observed. Most of these are center chimney five-bay wide structures but a few sidehall plan cottages were noted. Period cottages were observed on Gill, Leyden, Colrain and Adams Roads.

Institutional: The only extant institutional buildings of the period are the first Franklin County Courthouse (1813, Elijah Hayden and Thomas Pratt) and the Cheapside District School (ca.1790). Both buildings have been altered. The Courthouse, a five-bay wide, gable front brick structure with blind fans in the gable and above the second story windows, originally had a center entrance; it is now entered through the end bays. The Cheapside School with gable front orientation and recessed center entrance, appears to have been substantially altered or rebuilt ca.1840. An important institutional building which has been lost was the Second Congregational church (organized 1816, church 1819 - burned 1868), a two-and-a-half story brick structure with blind wall arches and a three-bay frontispiece with pediment and two-stage steeple, designed by Isaac Damon. Other institutional activity included the formation of the Third Society (Unitarian) in 1825 (meetinghouse 1837) and the establishment of an Episcopal Society (1812; church 1814).

Commercial: Only one tavern is indicated on the 1830 map, but others surely must have existed to service the trade generated by county business. One tavern known to have operated in the period was the Wells Tavern, established before 1787. Also founded in the period was the Franklin Bank (1822), later the First National Bank of Greenfield. The only known surviving commercial building is the Allen Block (1827), a two-story brick building with a later third floor addition.

VIII. EARLY INDUSTRIAL PERIOD (1830-1870)

A. Transportation Routes:

Significant improvement of north-south corridor with Connecticut River Railroad (1846) from Deerfield along base of Clay Hill to Washington Street depot and northern extension under Main Street along Mill River valley to Bernardston (1847) including surviving stonework bridges at Arch Street and Swamp Road. Further

definition of railroad corridor with east-west axis across Connecticut River to Montague as Vermont and Massachusetts branch of Fitchburg through Cheapside (1851). Expansion of local street grid around railroad corridor included Hope Street on Prospect Hill (1837) and Wells and Chapman Streets north from Main (1848-53). East-west railroad corridor extended along Deerfield River as Troy and Greenfield with aborted trestle over Petty Plain ravine collapse (1861) including surviving roadbed intact at Merridan-Water Street (Jekins, 1982, p.106). Railroad relocated north along Main Street axis after Civil War with Greenfield River crossing to Smeads Brook (1867). Local omnibus service from Depot Square suspected to Main Street up Clay Hill.

B. Population:

Greenfield's population grew by 133% during the Early Industrial period, and, but for a brief period during the Civil War years, maintained a consistently high level of growth. By 1870 Greenfield's population stood at 3,589 and, but for the inclusion of Cheapside in Deerfield, would have been the largest town in the county.

In 1855 Greenfield had the highest foreign-born population of any town in Franklin County. Of the 540 immigrants, 326 were Irish (60%) while 114 (21%) were from Germany and Holland and 13.8% from England. Cheapside also had a substantial German population: 161 Germans are reported in the Deerfield returns of 1855.

C. Settlement Pattern:

Original civic focus on Trap Plain abandoned (1831) and primary civic activities expanded around Court Square with commercial axis along West Main Street. Opening of regional railroad connections (1846-51) created fringe industrial district below Depot Square on Deerfield Street with related housing on Clay Hill to Prospect Street and cemetery fringe belt on Petty Plain. Continued expansion of elite residential district on East Main with primary focus around Franklin Street. Modest residential neighborhood developed from West Main axis north on School and Wells Street defined by railroad corridor. Industrial village at Factory Hollow expanded with water-side activities continued at Cheapside on Deerfield River.

D. Economic Base:

With the arrival of the Connecticut River Railroad in 1846, Cheapside lost the prominence and commercial prosperity that river traffic had brought. Greenfield's manufacturing in this period was dominated by the Green River Works of the John Russell Manufacturing Company.

Russell had returned from mercantile ventures in the south, anxious to start a new industry. Zachariah Allen's poetical description of the Sheffield cutlery works prompted Russell and his brother to erect a chisel factory to make cast-iron socket chisels (used in the button business at Haydenville?). So successful was the prize-winning first venture that the firm commenced on butcher and carving knives.

With new capital infusion from Henry Clapp, Greenfield banker and leading investor, the John Russell Mfg. Co. began importing cutlery workers from Sheffield and eventually from Solingen, in Germany. In the face of Sheffield's attempt to stifle this new competition, Russell made key improvements to the manufacturing process allowing him to eliminate entirely hand forging. By 1837 Russell employed 70 men producing cutlery valued at \$100,000. The production of the Green River Works was nationally known and sought after. With the arrival of the railroad, Russell's capacity expanded to 300 men and a product of \$250,000 by 1855 -- much the largest industry in Greenfield at the time. Although the company was induced to move to Turners Falls in 1869, the firm had established the conditions for the rise of the machine tool, tap-and-die industry of the succeeding period. (Reader, p.87) Equally important, many of the company's key Sheffield workers went on to establish the cutlery industry in other areas of the Connecticut Valley. Among them was Joseph Gardner, a Sheffield cutler who was instrumental in Lamson & Goodnow's success at Shelburne Falls.

The Russell Company's rival in industrial growth was the woolen mill on Fall River. With the collapse of business in 1837, the mill was taken over by its backer, J. K. Mills; in a similar panic twenty years later, it was bought by its agent Theodore Leonard. For virtually the entire period it employed 80 - 100 persons, and its cassimere production, valued at \$150,000 in 1855, was the only instance of the fabric's manufacture in the county. As it had done for the cutlery, the Turners Falls Company brought about the end of woolen manufacture in Greenfield when it purchased the Falls River privilege in 1872 from the ailing Theodore Leonard in order to supply the new paper mills with Fall River water.

The arrival of the Connecticut River Railroad in 1846 and the Vermont & Massachusetts Branch in 1850 stimulated a strong commercial growth at the center. Among the new businesses begun was the Greenfield Tool Company, relocated from Conway in 1851. A large number of Conway workers moved with the firm and by 1855, with 80 hands employed and a product in mechanics tools worth \$120,000, the new tool firm was Greenfield's third major industry. That year appears to have been the company's peak. By the 1870s, the makers of metal bench tools were taking considerable business from the concern which specialized in carpenters' planes, and the company was forced into liquidation.

Another new business apparently introduced in the period was the manufacture of baby carriages. The earliest known maker of an "improved" baby carriage in the state was J. P. Prentice of Greenfield in 1835 (Stone, 437). Its Franklin County location was probably due to the availability of hardwoods like ash, used for wheels and handles. By 1855 Greenfield had three makers of baby carriages; the industry in turn stimulated subsidiary firms to make carriage hardware: B.B. Noyes (1865), J.M. Munson, and others. By the turn of the century, the new major baby carriage makers, Charles R. Field and Henry W. Warner were both making only the ash wheels and handles, shipping them to western manufacturers who were short of the necessary hardwood.

Other wooden products made up much of the rest of the Early Industrial manufacturing economy, though the arrival of the railroads tended to transform the type of wooden ware from chairs and cabinetware (peaked in the pre-railroad era) to sashes, doors, and blinds, and other rough lumber.

E. Architecture:

Residential: The Early Industrial period was one of considerable expansion in Greenfield. Discrete neighborhoods of workers, middle class and elite housing appear to have developed by the end of the 1850s. While many of the neighborhoods have been obscured by later development, portions of mid 19th century residential neighborhoods survive on Elm Street, between Main and Maple Streets and on Hope Street. Scattered period farmhouses and cottages survive in rural settings along Leyden, Green River and Colrain Roads. At the town center, a variety of plan types and architectural styles were employed. In addition to the sidehall plan, which was widely employed for houses in the Greek Revival and Italianate styles, sidehall plan Gothic Revival and Stick Style houses were also constructed. The more traditional center hall plan with double interior chimneys remained common. It was used for conservative gable roofed five-bay wide Greek Revival and Italianate houses as well as for more stylish Italianate villas with square plans and hip roofs with belvederes. A number of ca.1855 Italianate villas have survived along Elm Street, for example. Other well-detailed houses are located on High and Church Streets as well. Of note are the sandstone Greek Revival Ripley House (ca.1836), the Gothic Revival Grinnell House (ca.1845) and the Childs-Wait-Devlin House (1851, G. F. Fuller, Boston), significant for its straight-profile mansard roof, the earliest example known in the town. Other unusual houses of the period were the Sylvester Allen House (ca.1845), an asymmetrical plan Greek Revival house with a monumental portico and lotus capitals (demolished 1932) and the mansard roofed Italianate William Washburn House (ca.1860). At least one octagon house survives in the town along with an oddly-formed board-and-batten structure known locally as the "Inkwell" House. The house, which features a hip roof main block with an octagonal tower, may have been constructed as a railroad freight depot and later converted to residential use. Among the notable aspects of Greenfield's period residential architecture is the ready acceptance of the mansard roof form, which appeared in the town as early as 1851.

Institutional: A number of institutional buildings of the period have survived in Greenfield. Among these are the Unitarian Church (1837), a two-and-a-half story gable front Greek Revival building presently occupied by the Recorder-Gazette newspaper, the Greek Revival First Church of Christ (1842), Saint James Episcopal Church (1847, Henry Sykes, Springfield), the Victorian Gothic Second Congregational Church (1868, Richards and Park, Boston) and the 1848 Town Hall (Isaac Damon). Of note are Saint James, a very early Gothic Revival chapel in granite with a bell-cote gable; the church is also of significance as one of the few surviving works of noted

Springfield architect, Henry Sykes. It is unclear if the present Town Hall is the Isaac Damon building of 1848; one report indicates that the Damon building, a two-and-a-half story brick Greek Revival building, was demolished in 1872 (Jenkins 1982) for a High Victorian Gothic building. In its current appearance, the building reflects a 1954 Colonial Revival remodelling. The only other known extant institutional building is the two-story North Meetinghouse District School (1839). In addition to the churches indicated above, other church organizations founded included the Baptist (1852), Methodist (1835) and Roman Catholic (1868). County courthouses were built in 1831 (of stone, 38' x 38') and 1856. In 1850, a Fire Department was established and in 1853, the first high school was instituted.

Commercial: Many of the commercial buildings at the town center were destroyed in an 1873 fire; thus, no buildings of the period are known to survive. Among the notable buildings of the period, however, were the temple front brick Greek Revival Colonnade Block (1842), Bank Row, the Italianate First National Bank (1852) and the Victorian Gothic Franklin County National Bank (1870, George Hathorne, New York).

Industrial: Only a fragment of the Greenfield Manufacturing Company mill (1830) at Factory Hollow has survived. The stair tower is all that remains standing of the one imposing fieldstone clerestory-monitor-roof mill.

IX. LATE INDUSTRIAL PERIOD (1870-1915)

A. Transportation Routes:

Continued expansion of local railroad system from Depot Square with Turners Falls Branch through East Greenfield across Connecticut River (c.1873) and replacement of mainline trestles at Deerfield and Greenfield River (1911), intact as inverted steel truss. Further connections with Turners Falls included opening of suspension bridge across Connecticut River (1873) from base of Canada Hill. Significant improvement of local transit system with electric trolley route from Depot Square to Turners Falls through East Greenfield on Deerfield-Montague City Road (1895) and suburban Greenfield street-car loop from Court Square on Federal-Silver-Conway-Main Street with extension south to Deerfield (1902). Expansion of local street grid included crosstown connectors as Deven, Grove and Pleasant Street and subdivision of Highland Park from Crescent Street (c.1890).

B. Population:

New industries at Turners Falls, together with the loss of the Russell Cutlery, left Greenfield with a population decline in the early 1870s as Montague's population leaped ahead. After 1880 however, Greenfield's population grew at a considerably faster rate than Montague's, and after 1890 grew at an average rate of nearly 300 new residents a year. In 1895 Greenfield surpassed Montague for the largest town in the county, a year before it gained the new Deerfield territory of Cheapside.

The ratio of immigrants to native-born residents remained relatively constant throughout the period. Through the 1880s, the Irish and German population remained the dominant ethnic groups, though in the 1880s and '90s increasing numbers of French Canadians and Poles appeared. By 1915 the Polish community (24%, with 73% of those from Russian Poland) was the dominant group, followed by Canadians (20%), Irish (15%), and Germans (10%).

C. Settlement Pattern:

Court Square remained as regional civic focus with business district defined along Main Street at Federal Street intersection. Significant expansion of affluent residential district along Highland Avenue at base of Rocky Mountain with secondary development on West Main at Fort Square. Railroad corridor defined fringe belt south of Depot Square along Deerfield Street to Cheapside and along Greenfield River to Smead Brook with surrounding cemeteries and county fairgrounds on Wisdom Way. Opening of suburban trolley lines (1895) created modest residential district northwest on Conway Avenue and multiple family neighborhood along Federal Street to Silver Street periphery. Tenement district developed on Prospect Street highlands south of railroad to Deerfield Street industrial district. Agriculture continued as primary activity along Colrain Road in Greenfield Meadows and Bernardston Road with dairy farming and tobacco.

D. Economic Base:

In the Late Industrial period, Greenfield developed a prominence in the tap and die industry which would, by the early 20th century, give the town a worldwide fame. The prominence was based on the 1871 patent of John J. Grant for a screw-cutting device. In 1872 John Russell's nephew, Charles P. Russell, and Solon Wiley formed Wiley and Russell Mfg. Company to produce taps and dies under Grant's patent. In the early phase of the industry, ingenious mechanics could easily devise some patentable improvement and then go into business for themselves. Thus in 1874 V. J. Reece and E. F. Reece, two brothers from Birmingham employed by W & R, invented an adjustable split die and set up their own shop. In 1876 Elisha Wells and his two sons left Russell to manufacture their own improved dies. Historian William Reader continues:

This devisive pattern continued so that the tap and die industry, ultimately became an eligarchic collection of two large concerns (Wiley & Russell Mfg. Co. and Wells Brothers Co.) and numerous smaller ones, each making their own specific lines of taps, dies or machine tools. These firms continually split off from one another, underwent mergers, or formed subsidiaries until 1912, when the Greenfield Tap and Die Co. conglomerate was formed. (p.92).

The loss of the Russell cutlery to Turners Falls was not a deterrent to other cutleries. A former Russell cutler, Henry Warner, returned

to Greenfield in 1871 to establish the Warner Mfg. Co., making plated table cutlery and baby carriage trimmings. Nichol Brothers Co. of 1879 made butchers knives and table cutlery. In 1890 A. F. Towle & Son moved their cutlery from Newburyport to Greenfield in order to be nearer their principal customer, the John J. Russell Co. The firm prospered until its president, R. N. Oakman, decided to diversify in 1897 with the production of the Hertel Horseless Carriage. Failure of this enterprise led Towle into bankruptcy in 1900. The firm was taken over by Oakman's assistant George Lunt, who with associates reorganized the firm as Rogers, Lunt & Bowlen.

Two other factors influenced Greenfield's expansion in this period. One was the establishment of new factories at Turners Falls. Between 1870 and 1880, over 1100 new jobs were established in Turners Falls. The new cutlery alone employed 600. Thus, in the early 1870s, as Montague's population leaped ahead, Greenfield's declined. But the decline was short-lived. New bridges and a shortage of housing in the new manufacturing center quickly developed a new commuter class of workers, who lived in Cheapside or Greenfield while working in Turners Falls. After 1880 Greenfield's population grew at a considerably faster rate than Montague's. The new housing demand meant an increase in brick yards in Greenfield and in other makers and dealers in building materials. In 1870 the town constructed a municipal waterworks with an aqueduct from Glenbrook Spring in Leyden, and in the late '70s a "Boston Store" was established in Greenfield -- true sign of a prosperous mercantile economy!

The second factor which fed into this prosperity was the Hoosac Tunnel and the Fitchburg's through route to Albany in 1876. What had been built as the Vermont & Massachusetts Railroad's branch to Greenfield became part of the Fitchburg main line, and with new yards constructed at East Deerfield in 1880, traffic through Greenfield was dramatically increased. As the junction of the Fitchburg, Connecticut River, Turners Falls Branch, and New Haven & Northampton railroads, Greenfield had become the northern hub of the Connecticut Valley. Probably as a result, Franklin County towns became leading beef and pork producers. In 1885 Greenfield, followed by Deerfield, Conway, and Shelburne produced more beef than any other towns in the state. Shelburne and Greenfield were also the county's leading milk producing towns.

At the same time, the local businessmen's association had been actively recruiting new industries, perhaps stung by the loss of the Russell cutlery to Turners Falls. In 1880, Cutler, Lyons & Field, a boot and shoe manufacturer, was brought from Bernardston; Emil Weissbrod, a pocketbook maker from Montague came in 1887; F. A. Rugg, a maker of hay and lawn rakes came from Montague in 1890; and A. F. Towle & Sons arrived from Newburyport the same year that Goodell Brothers Company moved from Shelburne Falls, 1892.

E. Architecture:

Residential: Great residential expansion occurred in the Late Industrial period. By the end of the period, the town had achieved

most of its present-day appearance and distinct neighborhoods of workers', middle-class and elite housing were well established. In general, areas of workers' housing developed along Hope Street, at Cheapside/East Greenfield, on lower Federal Street and along Davis Street. Middle-class single-family housing concentrated between Federal and High Streets and along Elm Street with small areas of affluent housing east of High Street and, to a lesser degree, at Greenfield Meadows. Period residential development extended north from the town center to the Silver Street vicinity. For workers' housing, sidehall plan Queen Anne and Stick Style cottages predominated through the 1890s with hip or gable roof sidehall Queen Anne and Colonial Revival two-family houses becoming common around the turn of the century. Tenements were not common although a few three-story brick tenements were observed on lower Federal Street. For middle-class housing, asymmetrical/towered Stick Style and Queen Anne houses of varying elaboration were common in the 1870s and '80s; notable examples survive on Main Street and along High Street. After the turn of the century, more formal Colonial Revival and Craftsman houses with symmetrical plans began to be built. Of special note, architecturally, was the strength of the Stick Style and later, of the Craftsman Style in Greenfield; both styles were relatively uncommon in the region and yet vigorous designed in both were noted in Greenfield. The relatively large number of well-detailed stucco bungalows, particularly in neighborhoods on the northern edge of the town reflects the strength of the Craftsman tradition in Greenfield.

Institutional: Several imposing churches and nearly all of the town's extant school buildings date from the Late Industrial period. Of the churches, the First Methodist (1885), a Shingle Style/Craftsman building, is one of the finest. Others are All Soul's Unitarian (1894, J. Williams Beal) and Holy Trinity Church (1871). Other churches which are not known to survive were the German Lutheran (c.1890), Second Baptist (c.1875), First Baptist (c.1900) and German Methodist (c.1895) churches. In addition to the churches, the town's first library was built in the period. The building, a High Victorian Gothic structure of polychrome brick, was constructed in 1878 to design of J. R. Richards. The most numerous category of institutional construction for the period were schools, of which at least ten examples were noted across the town. Most of these are well-detailed masonry buildings. The earliest of which appear to date from the 1880s (Pierce Street School). Of special note are a group of Colonial and Georgian Revival schools of the turn of the century (North Parish, Abercrombie, Newton), all probably designed by the same architect. Also of the period are the Third High School (1895; Furbush and Hathaway, Boston; 1903-04, E. C. and E. G. Gardner, Springfield), the County Jail (c.1885) and portions of the County Hospital.

Commercial: The bulk of the commercial buildings at the town center date from the Late Industrial period. Many were constructed after an 1873 fire destroyed portions of the downtown; others were built in the 1890s and after the turn of the century. Several blocks

of Main Street retain well-preserved streetscapes of three and four-story masonry Victorian Italianate commercial blocks; among these are the Hollister (1874), Ponds (1874), Arms (1878) and Lyons (1871) Blocks. At least one 1870s block, the Hovey-Barrett-Baker Block, was architect-designed; the region's leading 19th century architect, William F. Pratt, designed the three-story Panel Brick structure. Among the finest of the period's commercial buildings is the Sheldon Block (1912), a yellow brick four-story structure with Tudor Revival trim. Of special note for its remarkably early reinforced concrete construction is the Neo-classical Weldon Hotel (1905, W. B. Reid, Holyoke; National Register), built by innovative Greenfield industrialist, Frank O. Wells.

Industrial: A number of important industrial buildings were built in the period including the Nichol Brothers (1883; 1892) and Goodell Brothers (1892-1913) Cutlery works, both three-story brick buildings. Also of note are the Lunt Silversmith factory (1890), a two-story brick structure and a very early reinforced concrete pier and spandrel one-story factory built by the Greenfield Tap and Die company in 1903. Responsible for the construction of the Greenfield Tap and Die works in concrete was innovative industrialist, Frank O. Wells. The Riddell Street concrete building (now abandoned) was the second of Wells' model factories; the first, since demolished but built in 1890, was remarkable for its one-story plan, a novel concept at a time when multi-story industrial buildings prevailed. Industrial buildings are located on Hope, Federal and in the vicinity of Beacon streets.

X. EARLY MODERN PERIOD (1915-1940)

A. Transportation Routes:

Local streetcar service maintained to East Greenfield and Silver Street loop from Court Square until bus conversion (1934). Significant improvement of local highways as regional autoroads with primary north-south axis as U.S. Route 5-Route 10 from Deerfield to Vermont as Federal Street-Bernardston Road with monumental Art Deco bridge across Deerfield River (1938) after 1936 Flood. Primary east-west corridor improved as Route 2 following Mohawk Trail from Gill across Fall River (1931) south as High-Main Street through Greenfield Center and west up Greenfield highlands as early tourist highway of Mohawk Trail (1914). No airfield located within town limits during period.

B. Population:

During the war years, with Greenfield's industries booming, the town continued its rapid expansion, growing by 22% in the five years 1915-20 alone. The postwar depression took its toll, however, and Greenfield's population growth came to a sudden halt, actually declining in the early '20s. Between 1925 and 1935 Greenfield made modest gains, finishing the period in 1940 with 15,672 -- a net growth for the period of 24.2%. Greenfield's population, highest in the county, was by that date twice that of Mongague, the next highest town.

C. Settlement Pattern:

Primary civic and financial activities remained focused around Court Square and Main Street with secondary commercial expansion along Federal Street north to Silver Street, on West Main Street to Mohawk Trail and on Deerfield Street south to Cheapside. Affluent neighborhood remained around Rocky Mountain Park with secondary expansion north from Silver Street on Bernardston Road. Modest suburban development continued along Silver Street axis from Federal and Conway Avenue with agriculture maintained in Greenfield Meadows to Shelburne.

D. Economic Base:

Greenfield continued to expand throughout much of the Early Modern period, led by "G.T.D.," whose \$7 million capitalization and work force of 1200 men were much the largest in the city. Throughout the teens and early '20s G.T.D. acquired other firms not only in Greenfield but in other parts of the state (Taunton, Hyde Park, etc.) and New England, frequently moving the facility to Greenfield. Another maker of precision tools, the Goodell-Pratt Company, expanded with similar success, drawing several tool companies from Shelburne Falls: Goodell Tool in 1925 and Ducharmes & Co. about 1929. By 1930 the company had a line of over 2,000 tools and an employee list numbering 400 persons. Throughout the town there were numerous small machine shops.

Wooden products remained a major Greenfield staple. The town was headquarters of the New England Box Company, with fourteen plants scattered over Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont. The Rugg Manufacturing Company was the nation's largest maker of wooden hay rakes; Charles R. Field made wooden baby carriage parts.

Other long-time Greenfield firms continued unchanged. Emil Weissbrod & Sons employed 100 making pocketbooks, billfolds, and leather novelties; Rogers, Lunt & Bowlen became one of the leading makers of sterling silver tableware.

E. Architecture:

Residential: Residential construction appears to have continued at a relatively steady pace into the 1920s, particularly for middle class and elite housing. Infill construction occurred in neighborhoods in the northern sections of town with Craftsman and Colonial Revival bungalows and houses built along Silver, High, Maple and Federal Streets. There was relatively little construction in the southern half of town, except at East Greenfield and Cheapside where small gable and hip-roofed cottages and a few two-family houses were built in the 1920s. Of special note are a group of outstanding Georgian and Mission Revival and Craftsman houses of the late '20s and/or 1930s on Bernardston Road near Stoneleigh-Burnham School. Also of special note is a modest concrete and stucco International Style house of the late 1930s on Colrain Road.

Institutional: The only major new institutional construction was the building of the brick Georgian Revival Franklin County Courthouse (Frank W. S. King) on 1931.

Commercial: Several important commercial buildings were constructed in the period, among them the granite neoclassical First National Bank (1929, Dennison and Hiron, New York City), with stylized Moderne details and Colonial Revival Garden Theatre Block (1928, Mowel and Rand), an elaborately finished building with its original marquis and interior surviving. Additions were made to the Weldon Hotel and automobile-related commerce began to develop along Route 2. Of special note is the survival on Main Street of several gas stations and auto showrooms, one of which retains a streamlined bas-relief frieze of autos, trains and airplanes of the 1920s.

Industrial: At least one outstanding and very well-preserved concrete pier and spandrel Moderne factory (Greenfield Tap and Die) was noted near Maple Street. The building is remarkable for the retention of its original transomed and double-hung sash window panels, which form a crucial design element in an otherwise functional structure.

XI. SURVEY OBSERVATIONS

General: Greenfield's inventory forms are among the most complete and thoroughly-researched in the county. Almost all forms include full statements of historical use, deed history and construction dates. Commercial and institutional buildings, and to a somewhat lesser extent, industrial buildings are well represented; most houses predating 1830 appear to have been included in the inventory along with outstanding houses of post-1830 date. Missing from the inventory, however, are area forms or streetscape forms outlining and identifying the extensive pattern of residential development which occurred in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Mid 19th century workers' and middle-class housing has been similarly overlooked. Another class of building which receives little attention in the inventory are the town's late 19th and early 20th century schools, many of which are architecturally notable and most of which survive. A number are abandoned. Abandonment is also a concern in the fate of the 1903 reinforced concrete Greenfield Tap and Die factory on Riddell Street, notable for its connections with Frank O. Wells and significant as the earliest reinforced concrete building in the town and among the earliest in the state.

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