

# Mulliken v. Wingate: “A Dispute about an Apprentice”

By Damon Di Mauro (MA)

**B**efore the Industrial Revolution, unless a craft was passed down from father to son, the apprenticeship system was the formalized rite of passage for learning a trade.<sup>1</sup> A legal document known as an indenture bound the apprentice to serve his master for a specified period of time and required the master in return to serve as a kind of surrogate parent.<sup>2</sup> The apprenticeship experience could vary widely, seeming at one extreme the primrose path to prosperity and at the other the very suburbs of hell.<sup>3</sup> Less is known about masterhood, though the constant flow of advertised runaways testifies that many considered themselves left in the lurch.<sup>4</sup> The present article is concerned with a lawsuit brought by William Wingate (1745–1821) against clockmaker Samuel Mulliken II (1761–1847), who had dismissed William’s son Paine Wingate (1767–1833) from an apprenticeship. The exact reasons for the dismissal are lost in the mists of time. Nevertheless, this “dispute about an apprentice,” as one justice characterized it, would bring together some of the most distinguished legal minds and rising political figures of the early Federalist era, including Theophilus Parsons (1750–1813) and his young law clerk John Quincy Adams (1767–1848). The horological significance of the case also lies in the fact that it sheds light on Samuel Mulliken’s likely hand in training other clockmakers, such as David Wood (1766–1855) and William Fitz (1770–1826).

**Figure 1.** Samuel Mulliken tall case clock, signed from Newburyport, MA, and on which apprentices Paine Wingate and David Wood may have worked. PHOTO BY SEAN DELANEY. COURTESY OF DELANEY ANTIQUE CLOCKS.



Samuel Mulliken II needs little introduction here as a leading representative of one of 18th-century America’s clockmaking dynasties (Figure 1).<sup>5</sup> Born in Haverhill, MA, and apprenticed in nearby Newburyport to his kinsman Jonathan Mulliken (1740–82), whose widow he married in 1783,<sup>6</sup> his craftsmanship has been featured in both erudite articles and coffee table books.<sup>7</sup> At the time when the apprenticeship with Paine Wingate was originally contracted (1784), Mulliken was living in Newburyport. As the legal action and its appeals dragged on (1786–90), he also had residence in Haverhill (1787–88) and Salem (1788–96).

William Wingate hailed from a prominent New England family. His father was the Reverend Paine Wingate (1703–86), whose pastorate at the Second Congregational Church in West Amesbury (now Merrimac), MA, lasted three score years (1726–86).<sup>8</sup> William’s elder brother, Paine Wingate Jr. (1739–1838), also became a man of the cloth,<sup>9</sup> occupying the pulpit for eight years in Hampton Falls, NH.<sup>10</sup> He then began what was to become a distinguished career in politics and the judiciary, eventually serving as a US congressman and senator. At the time of the *Mulliken v. Wingate* lawsuit, Paine Wingate Jr. was a delegate to the Continental Congress, where he became an ardent advocate for the ratification of the Constitution. William Wingate’s brother-in-law happened to be Timothy Pickering (1745–1829),<sup>11</sup> whom George Washington had appointed in 1777 to be adjutant general of the Continental Army. Pickering later had a meteoric rise in

politics, serving most notably as the third U.S. Secretary of State in the administrations of Washington and John Adams. As for William Wingate, little is known about his early life, except that he served in the Massachusetts militia during the Revolutionary War.<sup>12</sup> In Essex County deed records from 1769 to 1784, he is alternately described as a “silversmith,” “goldsmith,” and “trader.”<sup>13</sup>

Although William Wingate’s mother, Mary, belonged to the Balch clan<sup>14</sup>—clockmaker Daniel Balch, Sr. (1734–90) was her nephew and thus William Wingate’s first cousin<sup>15</sup>—it is a matter of no little interest that he turned to Samuel Mulliken to find a clock master for his son. Another curiosity is that Paine Wingate was 16 years old at the time the apprenticeship began in 1784, which makes one wonder if he had changed course. Perhaps he had begun learning the silversmithing trade from his father, since he later advertised precious-metal work among his various services and was at one point described as a “silver plate worker” in a lawsuit.<sup>16</sup> Highly irregular, too, is the fact that there was no indenture document to formalize the apprenticeship with Mulliken, which seems to have been more of a gentlemen’s agreement:

William Wingate of Haverhill in the County of Essex Trader *plaintiff* against Samuel Mulliken of Newbury port in the same county of Essex Clock & Watch maker *defendant* in a plea of the case, for that it was agreed by and between the said William & Samuel on the thirtieth day of October in the year of our Lord seventeen hundred & eighty four at Newbury port aforesaid that the said Samuel should take & retain the said William’s son (Paine) then a minor under the age of twenty one years into his the said Samuel’s service to learn him the said Paine his the said Samuel’s art, trade or mystery of a clock & watch maker and that the said Paine should abide & remain with him the said Samuel for that purpose until he should be twenty one years of age that Samuel should find and provide for the said Paine sufficient victuals, drink, washing, & lodging during that time, that said William should find his said son in clothing during said time & should pay said Mulliken for teaching him as aforesaid Eight pounds thirteen shillings & four pence in hand the further sum of eight pounds thirteen shillings & four pence in six Months from that date and another sum of Eight pounds thirteen shillings & four pence in twelve Months from that date. And upon that agreement so made and in consideration thereof and consideration of the sum of eight pounds thirteen shillings & four pence then and there in hand paid to the said Samuel by the said William and of the said William’s promise, then and there made

to the said Samuel to pay him a further sum of eight pounds thirteen shillings & four pence in six Months and a further sum of Eight pounds thirteen shillings & four pence in twelve Months from that date and to find the said Paine his clothing during said time, and that the said Paine should abide with & serve the said Samuel till he should arrive at the age of twenty one years in said art, trade & mystery the said Samuel then & there promised the said William that he the said Samuel would take said Paine as an apprentice & retain him in his the said Samuels service to said age of twenty one years that he would find and provide for him during that time sufficient victuals, drink & lodgings and washing, and that he would learn and teach said apprentice the clock & watch makers business trade and mystery in every part thereof according to his the said Samuels best knowledge & capacity – Now the said William avers that the said Samuel pursuant to said agreement took said Williams said son Paine into his the said Samuels service aforesaid & retained him therein until the twenty fifth day of October last, that said Paine faithfully served the said Samuel as an apprentice until that time and then & there was ready so to do still and until he should be twenty one years of age as aforesaid and that he the said William had then & there fulfilled & was ready and still is ready to fulfill on his part his promise and agreement aforesaid in all parts thereof.<sup>17</sup>

After Paine had served but 18 months in the apprenticeship, as William Wingate further maintained, Samuel Mulliken “dismissed” him and “compelled him to leave,” without sufficiently teaching him the trade. Although no specific reason was given for Paine’s inglorious congé, the possible grounds for discharge at the time were legion: disobedience; divulging the secrets of the craft; dissipating the master’s goods; playing cards or dice; licentiousness; contracting marriage; haunting taverns, alehouses, or places of gaming; taking leave without permission; and so on. In any case, William Wingate argued that he had been obligated to “support [Paine] ever since & must be at great loss and expence to maintain him for the time to come & to procure instruction for him in the art and trade aforesaid & is otherwise greatly injured,”<sup>18</sup> asking the court for the preposterous sum of £500 in compensation.

William Pynchon (1723–89), a Salem-based justice of the Court of Common Pleas,<sup>19</sup> relates the successive phases of the case in his diary. On May 16, 1786, he wrote:

A cool, fine morning. Mr. Pick[man], Osgood, and I, at half past six, set out for Andover; arrive at half past ten; the reference between Wingate

and Mulliken, Mr. Phillips, B. Bartlett, and myself referees, the parties meet in the evening, and, we not concluding, adjourn to July Court, Salem.<sup>20</sup>

This rather petty “dispute about an apprentice,” as Pynchon would characterize it, nevertheless brought together several up-and-coming legal and political figures from some of Massachusetts’ bluestocking families. The personages mentioned by Pynchon merit fleshing out here. Pynchon himself was a direct descendant of William Pynchon (1590–1661), the founder of Springfield, who had migrated to the New World with the Winthrop fleet and who was an important member of the Massachusetts Bay Co.<sup>21</sup> Benjamin Pickman Jr. (1763–1843) was from a well-to-do Salem family and was studying law under Pynchon at the time.<sup>22</sup> He shortly thereafter abandoned the law to engage in commercial pursuits and made a fortune as a shipping magnate. He later became prominent in political and civic affairs, holding several state offices, eventually serving as a representative to the US Congress (1809–11).<sup>23</sup> Isaac Osgood (1755–1847) hailed from an established Andover family. He served as clerk of the Court of Common Pleas from 1781–94.<sup>24</sup> As for the second justice hearing the case, Samuel Phillips Jr. (1752–1802) had founded Phillips Academy

in Andover (1778). At the time of the lawsuit, he was serving as president of the Massachusetts Senate (1785–1802), and he later became lieutenant governor of the Commonwealth (1801–02). The third justice in the case, Bailey Bartlett (1750–1830), whose family were early settlers of Haverhill, was a member of both branches of the State Legislature (1781–84, 1788–89) and would eventually be elected to the US Congress (1797–1801).<sup>25</sup> In April 1787, this eminent three-judge panel met to hear the case again, as Pynchon notes in his diary:

29. *Thursday*. Cloudy; N. E. wind and cold. I set out for Newbury on the reference between Wingate and Mulliken, on a dispute about an apprentice. Wingate’s statement of his case, with explanations, notes, and observations, takes up 116 pages, folio, foolscap paper, closely written, which he insists upon reading and remarking on as he reads; all interruptions or objections were in vain, so we let him go on, the referees taking liberty to sleep as they had occasion.

31. *Saturday*. At half past one Wingate ended, declaring he had a great deal to say, but, for want of time and through impatience of the gentlemen, he should then say no more.<sup>26</sup>



*Eastern view of Haverhill.*

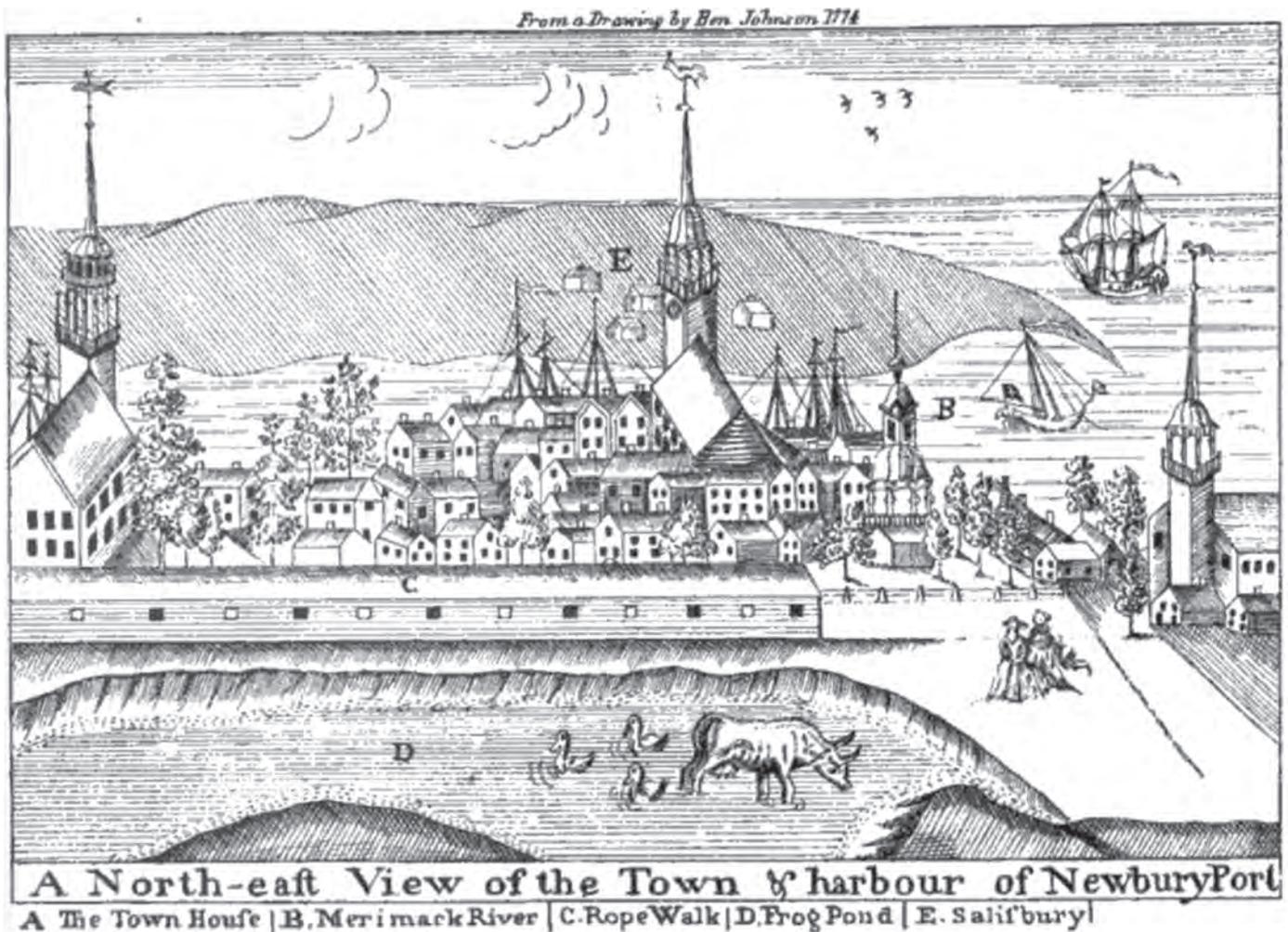
**Figure 2.** View of Haverhill, MA, at the turn of the 19th century. From John Warner Barber, *Historical Collections, Being a General Collection of Interesting Facts, Traditions, Biographical Sketches, Anecdotes, etc. Relating to the History and Antiquities of Every Town in Massachusetts* (Worcester: Warren Lazell, 1848), 183.

Suffice it to say, Wingate did not impress the judges with his long-windedness. He was obviously an eccentric or perhaps, as modern parlance would have it, something of a kook.

A month later, in May 1787, an Andover justice of the peace named Nathaniel Lovejoy (1744–1812)<sup>27</sup> was appointed to replace Samuel Phillips Jr. In his daybook, Pynchon indicates that the justices met in Haverhill, presumably to bring Lovejoy up to speed: “8. Tuesday. Mr. Lovejoy and I set out in his chaise for Haverhill, on reference between Wingate and Mulliken; lodge and dine at B. Barlett’s; go in the evening to visit Judge Sargeant” (Figure 2).<sup>28</sup> The latter personage, Nathaniel Peaslee Sargeant (1731–91), became a justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court in 1782 and eventually its chief justice (1790–91).<sup>29</sup> He will also play a role in this “dispute about an apprentice.”

The trial finally took place on September 30, 1788. Pynchon merely mentions in passing his travel

northward on that day in the company of Bimsley Stevens (1734–97), who was then both the “Goal Keeper & Deputy Sheriff in Salem”:<sup>30</sup> “30. Tuesday. Rain. I set out with Stevens in his chaise for Newbury Ct.; dine at Ipswich . . . arrive at Newbury P. M., and meet with the Court at the Court House in season.”<sup>31</sup> The minutes of the trial reveal that Samuel Mulliken had engaged Theophilus Parsons to represent him. Parsons was a Newburyport-based lawyer who was the principle author of the *Essex Report* (1778), outlining many of the liberty-preserving principles such as the separation of powers and a bicameral legislature for a republican form of government, and he had a hand in drafting the Massachusetts state constitution.<sup>32</sup> He later served as chief justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court (1806–13). John and Abigail Adams thought so highly of Parsons’s legal acumen—in his day, he was dubbed a “Giant of the law”<sup>33</sup>—that they encouraged their son John Quincy Adams to clerk for him in Newburyport (Figure 3).<sup>34</sup> The future sixth president of the United States was studying law under Parsons at the



**Figure 3.** Engraving of Newburyport, MA, in 1774 by Benjamin Johnston (1742–1818). From Euphemia Vale Smith, *History of Newburyport, from the Earliest Settlement of the Country to the Present Time* (Newburyport, MA: n.p., 1854), 59.

time the *Mulliken v. Wingate* lawsuit unfolded and was even present at the trial, as his diary confirms: “Tuesday, September 30th. The weather was not very favourable; but, as the Court of Common Pleas was to sit this week in Newbury-Port, I concluded to return there.”<sup>35</sup> Adams goes on to dryly quip, “Nothing done at Court but preparatory business this day. I retired early to bed.”<sup>36</sup> He means, of course, that there was nothing of consequence for him to do personally, because the trial did conclude. There can also be little doubt that Adams was familiar with the particulars of the case since it was his wont to help his legal preceptor file the actions in the clerk’s office in Salem, as the law required, seven days before the Court of Common Pleas was to sit.<sup>37</sup>

At this court session, Theophilus Parsons maintained that his client was not guilty of wrongdoing and that he was willing to “put himself on the Country” (an archaic expression that simply meant to request a jury trial). Furthermore, Parsons argued that the case should be dismissed because Wingate and Mulliken had agreed in November of the previous year (1787) to private mediation. Three prominent Newburyport merchants—Edmund Bartlett (1723–1804),<sup>38</sup> Abel Greenleaf (1733–99),<sup>39</sup> and Moses Brown (1742–1827)<sup>40</sup>—had been “mutually chosen”<sup>41</sup> by Mulliken and Wingate to serve as arbitrators. Brown, in particular, was known as a man of great integrity and philanthropy. As one historian wrote, “He was modest and unassuming in manner, seeking neither public applause nor official honors.”<sup>42</sup> Nevertheless, the choice of mediators might have been weighted in Mulliken’s favor; perhaps unbeknownst to Wingate, Moses Brown and Abel Greenleaf had previous ties to the Mulliken family, having been business partners with Jonathan Mulliken,<sup>43</sup> not to mention the executors of his estate.<sup>44</sup> Brown had also been a previous customer of Samuel Mulliken’s, turning to him in late spring 1786 for various watch repairs.<sup>45</sup> In any event, the arbitrators came to their conclusion:

The said Edmund Abel & Moses then & there took upon themselves the trust of arbitrating upon the promises, and there afterward, to wit, on the same day fully heard the parties upon the matters submitted as aforesaid and then & there made their award in and upon the promises in manner following that is to say, that the said Mulliken should be discharged from his obligation of teaching said Paine above named in the *Plaintiff’s* declaration the trade of a Clock & watch maker and should pay back said Wingate forty two shillings of the money said Wingate had before paid him.<sup>46</sup>

Obviously insulted by the meager figure, Wingate had refused to receive it in compensation. At the hearing, he represented himself and tried to portray the arbitrators as illegitimate. Yet Mulliken now seemed to hold all the cards and “prayed judgment”<sup>47</sup> (i.e., for the matter to be

brought forward for a decision) in addition to court costs. The judges decided in his favor and granted him costs taxed at 13 pounds, 4 shillings and 10 pence, whereupon Wingate promptly appealed to the Massachusetts Supreme Court.

One of the most intriguing aspects of the case is that young David Wood, who was to become Newburyport’s most versatile and prolific clockmaker, was thrice called as a witness: in May 1786, he was subpoenaed along with two of the previous mediators, as well as a certain John Fitz (1763–1846);<sup>48</sup> in July 1786, he was summoned alone to testify; finally, in September 1787, he appeared along with all three of the original arbitrators, in addition to Fitz again. Heretofore, it has been a matter of open speculation as to whom David Wood had been apprenticed. Some have surmised that it might have been Daniel Balch Sr., and others have conjectured that it was one of the Mullikens. However, Wood’s familiarity with the particulars of the agreement between the two parties in this case indicates that he revolved in the Mulliken orbit. A plausible theory might now be advanced that he began his apprenticeship under Jonathan Mulliken circa 1780, or in about his fourteenth year, and that he continued under the tutelage of Samuel Mulliken after the former’s untimely demise in 1782. If Samuel Mulliken had been his master, it would explain why Wood, as a fledgling journeyman, twice sought him out—in Haverhill in November 1788 and in Salem in July 1789—for more seasoned know-how with respect to some watch repair.<sup>49</sup> Wood began advertising his Newburyport clock and watch shop in 1792 (Figure 4).<sup>50</sup>

Assuming David Wood was apprenticed to Samuel Mulliken, the latter’s role as an important trainer of other clockmakers must now be acknowledged. Paine Wingate obviously had his beginnings in Samuel Mulliken’s shop. It has been theorized that relative Joseph Mulliken (1765–1802), who later founded a shop in Concord in 1789, learned the trade from Samuel Mulliken.<sup>51</sup> Also, if two of Jonathan Mulliken’s own sons, Samuel (1769–1851) and Nathaniel (1776–1847), who were minors at the time of their father’s passing, were later to become clockmakers, it can only be because Samuel Mulliken completed their training.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, it is quite certain that Samuel Mulliken’s younger brother Joseph (1771–95), who began advertising his horological skills in Salem in 1793, had also been an apprentice.<sup>53</sup> Finally, there is every reason to believe that William Fitz, a clockmaker whose training is said to have been in the same mold as that of David Wood’s,<sup>54</sup> had been apprenticed to Samuel Mulliken, in whose circle of relations he can indeed now be placed. After all, William Fitz’s elder brother, John Fitz, was one of the witnesses in the *Mulliken v. Wingate* case and his father, Mark Fitz (1737–1812),<sup>55</sup> was appointed guardian of Jonathan Mulliken’s three surviving sons in 1784.<sup>56</sup> William Fitz began advertising

as a “clock & watch-maker” in Portsmouth, NH, as early as 1791,<sup>57</sup> when he would have reached his 21st year (Figure 5). If he had begun his apprenticeship in 1784, at the typical age of 14,<sup>58</sup> that would have been about the time Samuel Mulliken had returned from a brief sojourn in Salem to reestablish himself in Newburyport.

As for the dénouement of the *Mulliken v. Wingate* case, when the Massachusetts Supreme Court met on December 16, 1788, it appeared to the judges that the appellant had “discontinued his suit”—did he not show?—and they awarded the appellee 15 pounds, 2 shillings, and 4 pence in costs.<sup>59</sup> Nevertheless, William Wingate apparently



**Figure 4.** Early David Wood miniature shelf clock (24” tall at the feet and 9¾” wide and 6” deep, and brass dial 4½” across). PHOTO BY SEAN DELANEY. COURTESY OF DELANEY ANTIQUE CLOCKS.



**Figure 5.** William Fitz tall case clock, signed from Portsmouth, NH, ca. 1795. It recently sold for \$68,750. PHOTO COURTESY OF ELDRED’S AUCTION.



**Figure 6.** Paine Wingate tall case clock, signed from Haverhill, MA. PHOTO BY SEAN DELANEY. COURTESY OF DELANEY ANTIQUE CLOCKS.

had second thoughts, for he later petitioned to have the action continued. He presented himself then before the Supreme Court in Salem on February 15, 1790. Nathaniel Peaslee Sargent, the Haverhill native mentioned earlier with whom William Pynchon had conferred in May 1787, was now its chief justice. The court was prepared to order Mulliken to appear on March 9, 1790, if Wingate first paid the costs of the original action, which he refused to do. The petition was thus dismissed.<sup>60</sup>

By 1790, Samuel Mulliken had established himself in Salem, at a time when it was undergoing a renaissance in trade and shipping, and he thrived in the clockmaking and watch-repair business, while also doing brass and light-metal work on the side in partnership with local furniture merchants. He moved to Lynn, MA, in 1796, opened a tannery, and later became the town's third postmaster.<sup>61</sup>

William Wingate, on the other hand, toiled and moiled from one hardship to another. In 1791, his elder brother Paine wrote to George Washington seeking an appointment for him as a local inspector, which was not forthcoming.<sup>62</sup> In 1792, William Wingate fell seriously into debt and saw his property divided among his creditors.<sup>63</sup> He is described in deed records as a "tallow chandler." In one instance, he, his son Paine, and another son Moses<sup>64</sup> (1769–1870) were sued by a creditor because they refused to leave the homestead and had to be evicted.<sup>65</sup> William Wingate did, however, become a notary public<sup>66</sup> and postmaster in Haverhill, MA.<sup>67</sup> But in the summer of 1796, his life truly fell apart: he was jailed in June for passing counterfeit French crowns, whereupon he "procured bonds for his appearance at Court . . . then disappeared,"<sup>68</sup> while in July his wife, Mehitable, age 50, passed away, and news also came that his son William Jr. (1777–96) had died in April, at age 19, "on his passage to Ireland."<sup>69</sup> Unlike his high-placed family members, Paine Wingate Jr. and Timothy Pickering, who were noted arch-Federalists, William Wingate was a committed Republican. In later years, he became something of a vagabond and increasingly lost his grip on reality. He blamed his dire straits on the skullduggery of political opponents and wrote several rambling letters to Thomas Jefferson, who actually replied on three occasions.<sup>70</sup> William Wingate died in 1821 in Stratham, NH, presumably at the residence of his elder brother Paine, in whose ward he seems to have been.<sup>71</sup>

In spite of young apprentice Paine Wingate's dispute with Samuel Mulliken, he did go on to become a master clockmaker. It is not known where he completed his apprenticeship. However, in 1789, William sold his sons Paine and Moses some land in Haverhill, bordering the Merrimack River.<sup>72</sup> In the deed, Paine is described as a "clock maker" from "Roxbury."<sup>73</sup> This could very well mean that he had trained with the Willards. In the late 1780s, Roxbury Village was still a rural farming

community and was, through the isthmus known as "Roxbury Neck," the main gateway from the south and west into the then-peninsular city of Boston.<sup>74</sup> The Willards dominated the village and attracted a steady stream of apprentices, journeymen, and craftsmen. Paine Wingate would have attained his majority on December 10, 1788. In early 1789, according to the Boston Directory, he apparently struck out on his own and set up a shop on "Newbury-street."<sup>75</sup> There was no lack of competition at the time in Boston (for example, watchmakers Gawen Brown, Crafts Mackay, Moses Peck, Robert Pope, Samuel Prince, Isaac Townsend, and Samuel Turrell are also listed in the directory),<sup>76</sup> so Paine, perhaps hearing that his nemesis Samuel Mulliken had relocated to Salem, decided to move back to Haverhill. On July 8, 1789, he placed an ad in a Boston newspaper stating that he would henceforth "carr[y] on CLOCK and WATCH-MAKERS business in *Federal-Street, HAVERHILL*" (Figure 6).<sup>77</sup>

Paine Wingate most certainly trained his brother Frederick (1782–1864),<sup>78</sup> a very prolific maker of clocks based in Augusta, ME,<sup>79</sup> as well as his own son James (1793–1851),<sup>80</sup> a clockmaker and watchmaker who worked in Haverhill and Boston. Paine Wingate would spend most of his clockmaking career in Haverhill, with a brief foray into Newburyport. It does not appear, however, that he relocated to Maine from 1811–16, as certain publications have claimed,<sup>81</sup> for he can be shown to have remained in Haverhill for at least part of that period. There are indeed lacunae in his biography, due to the years he spent in prison after running afoul of the law. That chapter in Paine Wingate's life will have to be treated in a subsequent article.

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## Notes and References

1. D. R. McCain, "The Connecticut Apprentice," *NAWCC Bulletin* 33, no. 273 (August 1991): 411–14.
2. As W. J. Rorabaugh notes, "The agreement was written in duplicate on a single sheet of paper, each part was signed and witnessed. and then the sheet was torn into copies to be retained by each party to the agreement. The master got one copy, and the apprentice's parents or guardian got the other. If either party became dissatisfied, the issue could be settled by taking the indentures into court" (*The Craft Apprentice: From Franklin to the Machine Age in America* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1986], 7).

3. For a model example on the master-apprentice relationship, there is the case of Daniel Burnap in Thomas Harland's workshop. For an example of extreme ill treatment, there is the case of John Fitch in the Cheney brothers' workshop. See David Jaffee, *A New Nation of Goods: The Material Culture of Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), 62–68.
4. Moreover, as W. J. Rorabaugh writes, "In the decades following the Revolution, the authority of master craftsmen to manage their apprentices came under increasing challenge" (Jaffee, *A New Nation of Goods*, 32).
5. For up-to-date biographical information, see Damon Mi Mauro, "Samuel Mulliken's Account Book," *Watch & Clock Bulletin* 62, no. 445 (May/June 2020): 184–96.
6. For a family tree of the principal clockmakers in the family, see Richard Newman and Bruce Forman, "Nathaniel Mulliken & His Clockmaking Tools," *Watch & Clock Bulletin* 57, no. 416 (July/August 2015): 330. The most comprehensive resource remains Gideon Tibbetts Ridlon's *History of the Families Millingas and Millanges of Saxony and Normandy: Comprising Genealogies and Biographies of Their Posterity Surnamed Milliken, Millikin, Millikan, Millican, Milligan, Mulliken and Mullikin, A. D. 800–A. D. 1907* (Lewiston, ME: Published by Gideon Tibbetts Ridlon, 1907).
7. For examples of Mulliken's work, see Frank L. Hohmann III, *Timeless: Masterpiece American Brass Dial Clocks* (New York: Hohmann Holdings LLC, 2009), 154–55. For a more detailed treatment, see also Theodore R. Crom, "An American Beauty: The Samuel Mulliken II, Salem, Mass., Dwarf Clock," *NAWCC Bulletin* 37, no. 299 (December 1995): 756–61.
8. "Mr. Wingate's ministry was a long and eminently successful one. It continued nearly sixty years, and terminated only with his life on the 19th of February, 1786" (from Duane Hamilton Hurd, *History of Essex County, Massachusetts: With Biographical Sketches of Many of Its Pioneers and Prominent Men*, vol. 2 [Philadelphia: J. W. Lewis, 1888], 1,537). See also Charles E. L. Wingate, *History of the Wingate Family in England and America* (Exeter, NH: James D. P. Wingate, 1886), 52–56. The venerable divine seemed pleased that his first grandson would be his namesake, since his will stipulated: "Besides what I have already done for & given unto my son William, I order to him and his son Paine ten dollars and two sheep" (*The Final Will and Testament of Paine Wingate*, in the Merrimac, MA, Pilgrim Congregational Church records, 1726–1894, RG0123, The Congregational Library & Archives, Boston, MA).
9. Among other things, Paine Wingate II became renowned for his own longevity, as one of the oldest graduates of Harvard College (1759) and as one of the last remaining "Founding Fathers." For a complete biography, see Wingate, *History of the Wingate Family in England and America*, 63–90.
10. The official reason for the Rev. Paine Wingate Jr.'s leaving the ministry is that "the stirring events of the times called him to public duties" (Harrison Ellery and Charles P. Bowditch, *The Pickering Genealogy: Being an Account of the First Three Generations of the Pickering Family of Salem, Mass.* [Cambridge, MA: University Press, John Wilson and Son, 1897], 129). The more apocryphal version is that he was dismissed for levity: "It was the custom to bring a lunch to church for the noon intermission. A dog got into church, and put his head into a pitcher which contained food, and could not get it out again, and ran about the church with his head in it, at which Mr. Wingate laughed immoderately. He never went into the pulpit after that" (Ellery and Bowditch, *The Pickering Genealogy*, 130).
11. Paine Wingate Jr.'s wife, Eunice (1742–1843), was Pickering's sister.
12. See George Wingate Chase, *History of Haverhill* (Haverhill, MA: Published by George Wingate Chase, 1861), 384, 393.
13. Wingate initially settled in Bradford, MA, and later moved to Haverhill, MA (*Essex County [MA] Deeds*, 126:237–38; 130:91; 138:4–5; 141:248; 150:40; 152:150; 184:237–238).
14. William Wingate's father, the Rev. Paine Wingate Sr., had married Mary Balch (1707–88) in 1727. See Galusha Burchard Balch, *Genealogy of the Balch Families in America* (Salem, MA: E. Putnam, 1897), 35–36.
15. Balch, *Genealogy of the Balch Families in America*, 55.
16. "PAINE WINGATE INFORMS his Customers and the Public, That he carries on the Clock and Watch Maker's Business as usual, in Federal Street, Haverhill. Also employs the best of Workmen Goldsmiths and will for the future have for sale, silver and plated shoe and knee buckles, of the newest fashion, executed in the best manner, gold Necklaces, silver Spoons, &c. . . . Cash and the highest price given for old Gold, Silver, Copper and Brass" (*Guardian of Freedom* [Haverhill, MA], January 1, 1795, 3). As for the lawsuit, which was the result of an unfulfilled order, see "Andrews et al. vs Wingate," *Essex County [MA] Court of Common Pleas*, December 1816, 691.

17. *Mulliken v. Wingate* (133848): 1–3: “At the Court of Common Pleas begun & holden at Newbury Port within & for the County of Essex on the last Tuesday of September being the thirtieth day of said Month AD 1788.”
18. *Mulliken v. Wingate* (133848): 3.
19. No relation to the odious “Judge Pyncheon” in Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The House of Seven Gables*. Hawthorne later wrote a letter to apologize to the descendants of William Pynchon for the unfortunate coincidence. See Fitch Edward Oliver, ed., *The Diary of William Pynchon of Salem* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company, 1890), viii–ix.
20. *The Diary of William Pynchon of Salem*, 238–39. Pynchon also wrote to Samuel Phillips on August 8, 1786, in relation to the case (246).
21. He was later banished for heresy.
22. His father, Colonel Benjamin Pickman Sr. (1740–1819), was one of the most important merchants in Salem, though he was a royalist and fell into some disrepute during the Revolution. See *The Diary and Letters of Benjamin Pickman (1740–1819) of Salem, Massachusetts* (Newport, RI: [n.p.], 1928). His son, Benjamin Pickman Jr., was a recent Harvard graduate and, after studying with Pynchon, he would also study under Theophilus Parsons with John Quincy Adams; see J. Q. Adams, *Life in a New England Town, 1787, 1788: Diary of John Quincy Adams While a Student in the Office of Theophilus Parsons at Newburyport* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1903), 102.
23. Hurd, *History of Essex County, Massachusetts*, 248b.
24. I. Osgood, *A Genealogy of the Descendants of John, Christopher, and William Osgood* (Salem, MA: Salem Press, 1894), 87–89; Ellery and Bowditch, *The Pickering Genealogy*, 316–17.
25. L. Bartlett, *Genealogical and Biographical Sketches of the Bartlett Family in England and America* (Lawrence, MA: Geo. S. Merrill & Crocker, 1876), 22–24.
26. *The Diary of William Pynchon of Salem*, 273–74.
27. Lovejoy was a captain during the Revolution and advanced to the rank of brigadier general in the state militia in 1807. He was appointed a justice of the peace in 1783, and he was promoted to the Quorum, a county-level body of eminent justices in 1788. On the Lovejoy family, see Sarah Loring Bailey, *Historical Sketches of Andover* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1880), 99.
28. *The Diary of William Pynchon of Salem*, 318.
29. On this figure, see Chase, *History of Haverhill*, 648.
30. *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D., Pastor of the East Church, Salem, Massachusetts*, vol. 1 (Salem, MA: Essex Institute, 1905), 241.
31. *The Diary of William Pynchon of Salem*, 277.
32. For a local biography, see John James Currier, “Ould Newbury”: *Historical and Biographical Sketches* (Boston: Damrell and Upham, 1896), 330–38.
33. E. D. Baltzell, *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1982), 345.
34. P. L. Levin, *The Remarkable Education of John Quincy Adams* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2015), 166, 169–83.
35. Adams, *Life in a New England Town*, 167.
36. Adams, *Life in a New England Town*.
37. Adams, *Life in a New England Town*, 113.
38. See John James Currier, *History of Newburyport, Mass: 1764–1905*, vol. 2 (Newburyport, MA: Printed for John James Currier, 1909), 233.
39. Greenleaf was several times a Newburyport selectman; see Currier, *History of Newburyport, Mass: 1764–1905*, vol. 2, 598.
40. Brown was a merchant and one of the wealthiest Newburyporters of his time. See Benjamin W. Labaree, *Patriots and Partisans: The Merchants of Newburyport, 1764–1815* (New York: Norton, 1975), 208. He is also the namesake of the current Brown Square. For a panegyric tribute, see John James Currier, “Ould Newbury”: *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, 632–37.
41. *Mulliken v. Wingate* (133848): 5.
42. John James Currier, “Ould Newbury”: *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, 637.
43. Abel Greenleaf and Moses Brown were co-owners with Jonathan Mulliken of the brigs *Beaver* and *Lark*. See *Naval Records of the American Revolution 1775–1788* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1906), 233, 369.
44. On Jonathan Mulliken’s appointment of his “good friends Moses Brown & Abel Greenleaf executors of this [his] last Will & Testament,” see *Essex County [MA] Probate Records*, July 8, 1782, 19086: 15–16.
45. See Samuel Mulliken, *Account Book 1783–1792*, MSS 505 at the Phillips Library of the Peabody Essex Museum (Salem, MA), 9 verso.
46. *Mulliken v. Wingate* (133848): 5.
47. *Mulliken v. Wingate* (133848): 6.

48. John Fitz was active in town affairs and served several terms as town clerk. See John James Currier, *History of Newburyport, Mass: 1764–1905*, vol. 1 (Newburyport, MA: Printed for John James Currier, 1906), 124–25, 319, 686. John Fitz had also been a previous customer of Samuel Mulliken’s; see Mulliken, *Account Book 1783–1792*, MSS 505, 7 verso.
49. See Di Mauro, “Samuel Mulliken’s Account Book,” 186–87, 195.
50. *The Essex Journal* [Newburyport, MA], June 6, 1792, 3.
51. David Wood, ed., *The Concord Museum: Decorative Arts from a New England Collection* (Concord, MA: The Concord Museum, 1996), 93. See also David F. Wood, “Concord Massachusetts, Clockmakers, 1789–1817,” *The Magazine Antiques* 157.5 (May 2000): 760. If Joseph Mulliken did apprentice in Newburyport, he would have begun in 1779 under Jonathan Mulliken and, like David Wood, completed his training under Samuel Mulliken.
52. On Jonathan Mulliken’s three sons, see Ridlon’s *History of the Families Millingas and Millanges*, 204–5. Samuel (1769–1851), the eldest, briefly moved to Hallowell, ME, where he had a clockmaking shop, but he soon returned to Newburyport, MA, and became a bank cashier. The middle son, Michael (1771–98), died young. The final son, Nathaniel (1776–1847), was a clockmaker and resided in Hallowell, ME, for a number of years.
53. “*Joseph Mulliken* INFORMS the Public, that he has taken an apartment in STEARNS and WALDO’S Brick Store, in Court-Street, where he carries on the Clock and Watch-making Business, and REPAIRING, with punctuality and dispatch” (*Salem [MA] Gazette*, March 19, 1793, 3; April 2, 1793, 4). See also Henry Wyckoff Belknap, *Artists and Craftsman of Essex County, Massachusetts* (Salem, MA: The Essex Institute, 1927), 108.
54. On this figure, see especially Charles S. Parsons, “William Fitz—Clocks to Fish,” *Bulletin of the National Association of Watch and Clock Collectors, Inc.* 13, no. 132 (February 1968): 129–38. For specimens of his work, see William H. Distin and Robert Bishop, *The American Clock* (New York: Bonanza Books, 1983), 94–95.
55. Among other things, Mark Fitz was for many years the town clerk of Newburyport. See John James Currier, *History of Newburyport, Mass: 1764–1905*, vol. 1, 17, 312, 680. On father Mark and his two sons, John and William, see James Hill Fitts, *Genealogy of the Fitts or Fitz Family in America* (Clinton, MA: Printed by WM. J. Coulter, 1869), 34–35, 38. For what it may be worth, Mark Fitz had also been a previous client of Samuel Mulliken’s: see Mulliken, *Account Book 1783–1792*, MSS 505, 4 verso.
56. See *Essex County [MA] Probate Records*, September 27, 1784, 19094:1–15. The guardianship was mainly to provide oversight of the estate for the legatees after his widow had married Samuel Mulliken and she renounced her dower.
57. *New-Hampshire Gazette*, May 26, 1791, 3.
58. In a later advertisement, after moving back to Newburyport, Fitz is keen to emphasize that he had indeed served “an apprenticeship at the business,” *Political Calendar* [Newburyport, MA], November 26, 1804, 3.
59. *Mulliken v. Wingate*, Massachusetts Judicial Supreme Court Archives, December 16, 1788.
60. *Mulliken v. Wingate*, Massachusetts Judicial Supreme Court Archives, February 15, 1790.
61. For the complement of information, see Di Mauro, “Samuel Mulliken’s Account Book,” 184–96.
62. “To George Washington from Paine Wingate, 17 February 1791,” *The Papers of George Washington, Presidential Series, Vol. 7: 1 December 1790–21 March 1791*, edited by J. D. Warren Jr. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998), 381–82.
63. *Essex County [MA] Deeds*, 154:249–51.
64. Moses Wingate, who lived to be a centenarian, served in many Haverhill town offices, including 20 years as postmaster. He was also a member of the Massachusetts House of Representatives (1820–22, 1826–27) and Senate (1823–25), as well as a delegate to the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1820.
65. *Rogers v. Wingate et al.* (134552), Essex County Court of Common Pleas, March 28, 1793.
66. *Impartial Herald* [Newburyport, MA], June 4, 1796, 2.
67. Robert J. Stets, *Postmasters and Post Offices of the United States, 1782–1811* (n.p., 1994), 147.
68. *Courier of New Hampshire*, June 21, 1796, 3; *Rutland Herald* [Vermont], July 4, 1796, 4. Curiously, the news item about William Wingate was not mentioned in any local papers in Massachusetts. Was the family scandal being suppressed?
69. *Independent Chronicle* [Boston, MA], July 7, 1796, 3.
70. In particular, Wingate wrote several letters to fellow Republican Thomas Jefferson and the latter replied to three of them. See *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Vol. 39: 13 November 1802 to 3 March 1803* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), 476–77; *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson, Retirement*

*Series, Vol. 8: 1 October 1814 to 31 August 1815* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 391, 405–8, 423, 441–42, 665–67.

71. See *Newburyport [MA] Herald*, December 6, 1821, 3; *Essex Patriot* [Haverhill, MA], December 8, 1821, 3; *The Farmers' Cabinet* [Amherst, NH], December 8, 1821, 3.
72. The Wingate parcel of land was bounded by those of three local luminaries: Dr. Nathaniel Saltonstall (1746–1816), Judge Nathaniel Peaslee Sargeant, and the Reverend Hezekiah Smith (1737–1805). Saltonstall was the son of Judge Richard Saltonstall (1703–56) and the father of the well-known politician Leverett Saltonstall (1783–1845): see Chase, *History of Haverhill*, 646–47. As Katharine Mixer Abbott states, “In 1788, the ‘Old Doctor,’ as he was affectionately called in later years, built a substantial mansion on Merrimack Street. . . .” (*Old Paths and Legends of New England* [New York: The Knickerbocker Press, 1903], 204). Sargeant has already been discussed. Concerning Smith, he was a pioneering Baptist in New England and chaplain in the American Revolution who was present at the battles of Bunker Hill, Long Island, Stillwater, and Saratoga. He was also an early trustee of Rhode Island College (now Brown University). See Wingate, *History of the Wingate Family in England and America*, 340, 433, 464, 579, 584–87, and David Broome, *The Life, Ministry and Journals of Hezekiah Smith* (Springfield, MO: Particular Baptist Press, 2004).
73. *Essex County [MA] Deeds*, 152:150–151.
74. On the Roxbury of the Willards, see Paul J. Foley, *Willard's Patent Time Pieces* (Norwell, MA: Roxbury Village Publishing, 2002), 18–19.
75. *The Boston Directory, Being a Facsimile Reprint of the First Edition, Printed in 1789* (Boston: Sampson & Murdock Co., 1904), 45.
76. *The Boston Directory*, 7, 30, 34, 42.
77. *Independent Chronicle* [Boston, MA], July 30, 1789, 4. He placed a similar ad a few weeks later in *The Freeman's Oracle or New Hampshire Advertiser*, August 11, 1789, 4.
78. See also Wingate, *History of the Wingate Family in England and America*, 161.
79. “Mr. Wingate was very successful in his clock manufacturing business, furnishing the settlers up and down the Kennebec for many years with time-keepers” (from James W. North, *The History of Augusta from the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time* [Augusta, ME: Clapp and North, 1870], 965).
80. Wingate, *History of the Wingate Family in England and America*, 160. See also Foley, *Willard's Patent Time Pieces*, 336.
81. See Foley, *Willard's Patent Time Pieces*, 337.

### About the Author

Damon Di Mauro teaches in the Department of English, Languages, and Linguistics at Gordon College in Wenham, MA.