

The Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical Society, Volume 43, 1973-1975

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*Around the Top of the Hill: Houses and
Neighbors*

BY CHARLES W. ELIOT, 2ND

T**HIS past autumn the house in which my three brothers, three sisters and I grew up—and in which Mrs. Eliot and I are now living—became one hundred years old. That prompted some research for a kind of "biography" of the house at 25 Reservoir Street and was a good excuse for a family reunion to celebrate the hundredth anniversary. Our reunion produced reminiscences and anecdotes not only about the house, but also about our neighbors and the neighborhood.**

Over the years there have been numerous papers before this Society on other Cambridge neighborhoods—notably on Shady Hill and the Norton Estate (three papers), on Sparks Street (two papers), as well as on Quincy Street, Berkeley Street, Coolidge Hill, North Cambridge, and other areas.¹ Like those areas, the

Read February 4, 1973

1. "Francis Avenue and the Norton Estate," by Charles F. Whiting (vol. 41); "Shady Hill and Its Owners," by Charles W. Eliot (vol. 17); "Where the Old Professors Lived," by Esther Lanman Cushman (vol. 42); "The History of Coolidge Hill," by Rosamond Coolidge (vol. 32); "Quincy Street in the Fifties," by Lillian Horsford Farlow (vol. 18); "The Evolution of Cambridge Heights," by Laura Dudley Saunderson (vol. 38); "Gerry's Landing and Its Neighborhood," by Mary Isabella Gozzaldi (vol. 13); "The History of Garden Street," by Lois Lilley Howe (vol. 33); "A History of Berkeley Street," by Alice C. Allyn (vol. 21); "Old North Cambridge," by Thomas O'Malley (vol. 20); and "Sparks Street," by several authors (vol. 22), and "From Lover's Lane to Sparks Street," by Penelope Barker Noyes (vol. 41).

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neighborhood "around the top of the hill" has a story of houses and their occupants which may interest you.

THE FAYERWEATHER ESTATE

I started my research with a review of our Society's Proceedings, where I found the record of the early landholdings around the top of the hill in William Payson's "Notes on Some Tory Row Land Titles" (vol. 37, p. 12) with data on the Fayerweather Estate. It appears that in 1764 the Fayerweather Estate, around and north of the mansion at 175 Brattle Street, consisted of a 60-acre strip, varying in width from 600 to 900 feet and stretching from Brattle Street over the "top of the hill" some 2,500 feet to Vassall Lane. All but five acres of the estate immediately around the Fayerweather house were sold in 1847 to William G. Stearns, who proceeded to lay out Fayerweather and Reservoir Streets with lots along them.

THE CITY RESERVOIR

Just when Reservoir Street was actually opened or got its name is uncertain, for it was six or seven years after the Stearns subdivision before the reservoir was constructed. For that fact I am again beholden to the Society's Proceedings: Mr. John F. Davis's paper on "The Life Story of Cambridge Water" (vol. 41). There I learned that in 1855 the Cambridge Aqueduct Company constructed the original reservoir on one of the highest points in Cambridge with a 12-inch pipeline from Fresh Pond. Mr. Davis also records that "in 1865-1868 it was rebuilt and a second reservoir constructed alongside." Both reservoirs were surrounded by an embankment 9/2 feet high above the highest point on Reservoir Street. When the Cambridge Water Works was augmented by the Hobbs Brook Reservoir in

Waltham and Lincoln, and when the Payson Park Reservoir was constructed in Belmont in 1897-1898, that higher reservoir superseded the reservoir on Reservoir Street, which was then drained.

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That year my parents had rented the house at 51 Highland Street directly east of the reservoir, and my brother Sam remembers the reservoir and its round tower at the west end of the dividing walkway. He recalls that "the family was just moving into 51, when little Ros and I explored it—empty but deep. Racing back along the walkway, she behind me suddenly collapsed and tumbled rolling down into the dry pit. I dashed into the turmoiled house shouting 'Rosamond's fallen into the register!' " Sam goes on: "Reservoir was a new word for me, I'd misremembered. Eventually a stout nurse climbed down the steep slope and brought the baby up. I think she was not yet 3, I (Sam) was 5/2 but, of course, remember it vividly."

That same tower at the end of the walkway—or rather its demolition—is also my first memory. In 1902, when we heard that the tower was to be dynamited, arrangements were made for Sain to be let out of school early so he could watch it, and baby Charles was taken for a walk in his go-cart, so he wouldn't be frightened. But the timing was off in some way and it was I who saw the tower tumble. So that was the end of the reservoir, but you can still see the huge blocks of stone which held up the north end of the larger basin along Reservoir Street and behind the lots on Blakeslee Street.

FIRST FIVE HOUSES

Now let's get back to the houses which were built in the Stearns subdivision of the Fayerweather Estate. From what I have been able to learn, the first houses in this subdivision were one at what is now 11 Fayerweather (1850) on a lot extending to Brattle Street, and a second house, also on the west side of the street but at the "top of the hill," where Mr. B. G. Smith built a large house and barn before 1854 (shown on the city map of that date). I recall the Smith house as a yellow-brown, 2/2-story, rambling structure stretching back to the barn, with porches across the front and south sides. Sixty-five years ago it was occupied by "Miss Smith—the White Ghost," who was said to be the sole sur-

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vivor of an epidemic which had wiped out all the rest of her family. My sister Frances recalls the fascination for us, as children, in waiting for a peek at Miss Smith when she reached out of the side door to pick up the food which "Jimmy" (her "hired hand") prepared for her in his quarters in the barn. The only other times we saw her were at night when she flitted about in the pear orchard—always dressed in white, so that we called her the White Ghost. That pear orchard, by the way, was a great temptation until we were scared off by Jimmy firing a shot-gun from the barn window. The Smith house was torn down to make way for Lincoln Lane and the Wyzanski and Birkhoff houses in 1939-1940.

The third house around the top of the hill has, unfortunately, also disappeared. It was at the southeast corner of Reservoir and Highland (then High) Streets—in "Gothic revival"

style of unusual quality. The house was built in 1860 by Charles Franklin Dunbar, Professor of Political Economy (1871-1900) and Dean of Harvard College (1876-1895). He was the first of many "Harvard-connected" householders around the top of the hill. After his death in 1900, his son, William Harrison Dunbar, H '82, occupied the house, where he and Mrs. Dunbar raised their three children—Rose, Charles, and William—contemporaries and good friends of some of the Eliot children across the street.

Mrs. Dunbar was a sister of "Copey"—Professor Charles T. Copeland—and as much a special "character" as her brother. Mr. Dunbar was a lawyer and partner of Justice Brandeis in the firm of Brandeis, Dunbar & Nutter. He was president of the Buckingham School, in which his wife took an active interest. The Eliots, across the street, could set their watches by Mr. Dunbar's regular early-morning horseback ride. I suppose the barn where he stabled his horse was probably built about the same time as the original house. It was down the hill in the southwest corner of the lot, and was converted to a residence in 1945 to become #18 Reservoir Street. The Paul Means lived there until two years ago, and the house is now occupied by the Mason Fernalds. When Mrs. Eliot and I came back to Cambridge from California in 1954 the old

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Dunbar house was occupied by the Max Millikans. It was torn down in 1963 to make way for the Alan Steinerts' "modern" house (disrespectfully referred to as "the prison" because of its gray brick and few windows on the street side of the house, disregarding the real beauty of the interior and its openness to the south).

*The fourth house "around the top of the hill" was built in 1863 by Eben Snow at what is now 31 Fayerweather Street. According to Bob Rettig's *Ten Walking Tours*² it was "originally a fine center-gable mansard-roofed house." I have been so far unable to learn anything about Mr. Snow or who occupied the house in the nineteenth century. Seventy years ago, it was the home of Professor Robert Tracy Jackson (H '84) and his daughters Esther (Mrs. John Bastille), Dorothy, and Emily. Professor Jackson taught paleontology at Harvard (1892-1916) and was an enthusiastic botanist and gardener. He propagated peonies and named one for his daughter Esther (who was not flattered "because it was so colorless"). Later the Arthur L. Howards acquired the house, so that I associate it with my college roommate and fellow ambulance driver, Charles S. Howard, his sister Dorothy, and his younger brother Jack. When Mrs. Richard Bowditch bought the place she had the third story removed, added a garage, and made the former barn into a dwelling unit. The house was occupied until recently by Nathaniel W. Kingsbury.*

That same year, 1863, another large, wooden-frame house was built halfway down Highland Street for Frank A. Kennedy, who made a fortune out of "Kennedy Biscuits" at his cracker factory on Green Street in Cambridgeport. Sixty years ago the Henry Savages lived at 48 Highland and later the old house was occupied by the Sidney Snows. It was replaced in 1927 by the present "English" style building. I associate the Kennedy property with sledding—or coasting, as we called it—on the steep bank behind the original house and down the slope towards Appleton Street.

Speaking of coasting, of course there were lots of places from

the top of the hill for that sport: in the field north of the old reservoir wall to Huron Avenue, which was all covered with houses when Blakeslee Street was opened about 1920; between the Gays' and the Toppans' down to Kennedy Lane; or, the longest of all when there was a good icy surface, down Highland Street, right turn down Appleton, and out into Brattle Street. If conditions were just right you could continue coasting along Brattle and down into Hubbard Park. Of course, there was no snowplowing or salting in those days, and mighty few automobiles. Instead, there was ice-packed snow for the pungs and sleighs. If you were lucky you could hitch a ride on a pung back up the hill.

GURNEY AND HOOPER HOUSES, 1869-1872

It was six years after the Snow and Kennedy houses were built, before another house went up on the hill. With the story of its construction, this account draws on materials I gathered for the celebration of the 100th anniversary of the house at 25 Reservoir Street. Not that 25 Reservoir was the next house constructed on the hill—the next house was next door to 25, with an intertwined history.

Eighteen sixty-nine was the year when Ephraim Whitman Gurney acquired the property at the northeast corner of Reservoir and Fayerweather Streets, extending north to the water pipeline from Fresh Pond, and a second piece west of Fayerweather Street where Gurney Street is now located. On the corner lot (straddling the present Hiam-Edmonds boundary) he built a large house oriented with its long facade facing due south at an angle with the streets. The house was entered on the north side from a driveway off Fayerweather Street. A barn was constructed on the lot west of Fayerweather Street. Ephraim Whitman Gurney (H '52) had a Harvard academic career: tutor (1857-1865), assistant professor and professor of History (1868-1886), and Dean of the College during the early years of the Eliot administration (1870-1876). He was also a Fellow—that is, a member of the Harvard Corporation—from 1884 to his death in 1886. In 1868, Professor

Gurney married Ellen Hooper (1838-1886), a sister of Edward W. Hooper. That explains the relationship of the Gurney House to the house Mr. Hooper built in 1872 at what is now 25 Reservoir Street.

Edward William Hooper (1839-1901), like his brother-in-law Dean Gurney, had strong Harvard connections. He graduated from the College in 1859 and got an LL.B. in 1861. He was Treasurer of Harvard College from 1876 to 1898 and a member of the Board of Overseers from 1900 to his death in 1901. His father, Dr. Robert William Hooper (1810-1885), had graduated from Harvard in 1830. During the Civil War Edward held the rank of captain and worked with the "Freedmen" as an aide to General Rufus Saxton in South Carolina. While still in the service, he married Fanny Hudson Chapin of Brookline

(July 6, 1864). After the war, he practiced law in the office of his friend, John C. Gray, in Boston. He was much interested in paintings and served for many years on the board of directors of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Captain Hooper acquired the property east of the Gurney land, and at the curve in Reservoir Street, opposite Highland Street and the city reservoir, in 1871-1872. There he set about the construction of a house by commissioning the architects John H. Sturgis and Charles Brigham to draw up plans. We have the originals, and copies have been filed with the Cambridge Historical Commission. They are of special interest in the amount of detail they show, with not only the customary floor plans and elevations, but also "framing" plans for each floor and each elevation with all beams, joists, studs, and diagonal reinforcing pieces. The original plans indicate that the house was designed in two stages. They covered practically all of the present structure of 25 and 27 Reservoir Street—except the library and the rooms above it. (The real estate atlas dated 1873 shows the house without the library wing.) The front door was on the north side of the house with entrance through what is now the library.

Like the original Gurney house, the Hooper house was placed

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at an angle with the street and lot lines, so that the southern elevations faced due south instead of southwest. Since Reservoir Street had not been opened in 1872, although shown on the city map of 1873, the Hooper house was approached by an extension of the Gurneys' gravel driveway from Fayerweather Street with a turnaround at the front door. (Sixty years ago the grass was notably thin at that point, as observed by the boy cutting the grass, because of the gravel of the former driveway; or was it because of the heavy use by boys and girls playing a game of bouncing tennis balls off the old front steps?)

There was only one full bathroom in the original plan, on the second floor, and it was unusual that a lavatory was provided in the back hall of the first floor. A "servants W.C." was installed under that lavatory in the basement. However, when the library addition was built, two bathrooms were provided, one each for the second and third-floor bedrooms. When the Hoopers first occupied the house, what the Eliots later made into the new front door and front hall was an octagon room with three windows in the section projecting from the main south wall of the house, and with a fireplace in the northeast segment and a closet in the northwest corner which backed on a corner fireplace in the "hall." (Evidence of the latter is in the pattern of the floor today.)

A feature of the original drawings for the elevations of the house was the stick-style detailing which articulates a band between the first and second stories. A similar band between the second and third stories, which is shown on the drawings, was never constructed.

The grounds were planted with pines, apples, a white birch and a yellow-wood, and two horse-chestnut trees. Some of the plant varieties were decidedly unusual for the times. Mr. Hooper apparently had a special interest in horticulture and perhaps had some friends at the Arnold Arboretum. Several of the trees on the place have happy associations for many

Eliots. Some kind of barn or shed appears to have been constructed on the north line of the Hooper property at the same time as the

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house. The 1873 city atlas shows a long narrow structure, and that of 1886 a rectangular building just beyond the driveway. Some time before that 1886 map the Hoopers bought more land on Reservoir Street and built a house for Martin O'Hare, the coachman, at what is now 47 Reservoir Street (now Mrs. Sherman Hill's), and a large barn (later moved and remodelled to become 50 Fayerweather Street). Descendants of Mr. O'Hare still live in the house next door at 51 Reservoir Street.

The Hoopers had five daughters—"the Hooper Girls"—all born in the Cambridge house; the oldest, Ellen Sturgis (Mrs. John B. Potter), born in 1872; Louisa Chapin (Mrs. Ward Thoron); Mabel ("Polly"—Mrs. Bancel La Farge); Fanny (Susan), born 1877, the late Mrs. Greely Curtis; and Mary ("Molly"—Mrs. Roger Warner), who died at age 92 on October 12, 1972. Mrs. Edward Hooper died February 25, 1881, and the "girls" aunt—Mrs. Gurney—living next door, came to her brother's assistance in their care and early upbringing.

Upon the death of Dean Gurney and his wife in 1886, all of the Gurney land east of Fayerweather Street was acquired by his brother-in-law, and in 1889-1890 the Gurney house was moved to what is now 29 Reservoir Street and attached to the Hooper house. In its new location the former Gurney house was turned 90 degrees so that the former south front faced west, and the front door faced Reservoir Street. In this new location, the former Gurney house blocked the continuation of the driveway to Reservoir Street, which thereafter terminated in the turnaround at the north entrance to the Hooper house. A "passage" was constructed on the ground floor level from the Hooper library to the Gurney dining-room, with an underground connection also between the cellars of the two houses. (The late Mrs. Julian Coolidge recalled that "waltzing through the passage wasn't easy.") In addition, a bridge connected the second floors of the servants' wings of the two houses. For a year or two after Mr. Hooper's death in 1901, the combined houses were rented to Arthur Astor Carey (H '79). My brother Sam recalls coming to a birthday party for one of the

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Carey boys (Rex or Graham), and going through the passage for supper in the former Gurney dining-room.

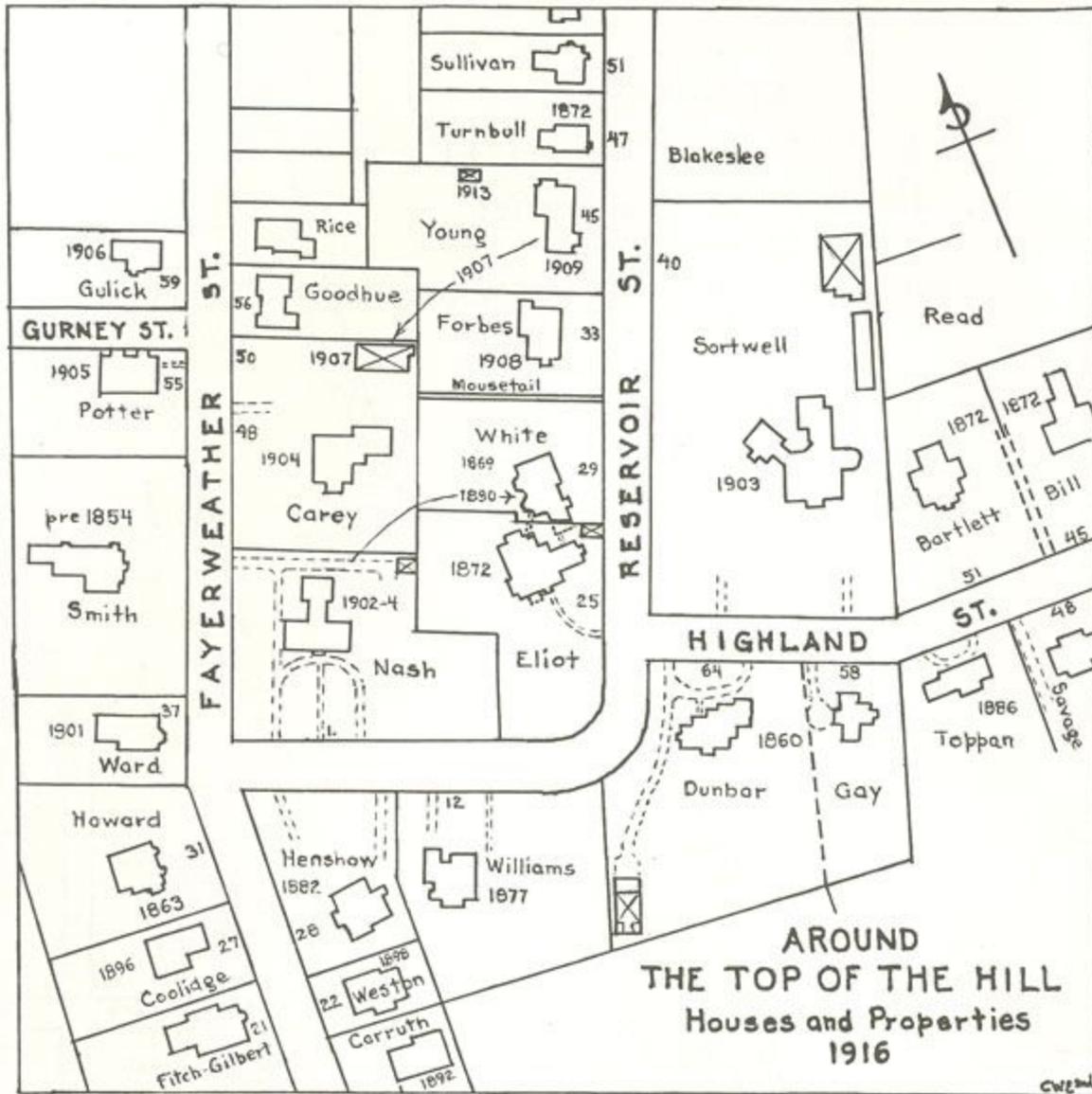
A "Plan of Estate" of Edward W. Hooper by Joseph H. Curtis, landscape engineer (dated February 1902), shows the relationship and connections between the two houses and porches around them. Mr. Curtis's plan shows a possible subdivision of the Hooper estate into sixteen lots with a new "Avenue" or street about on the line of the "Mousetail" (a five-foot walk from Reservoir Street to the rear of the lots facing Fayerweather Street). The property was for sale.

Before continuing the story of the houses at 25 and 29 Reservoir Street, and their acquisition by my father, Samuel A. Eliot, let us see what other houses were constructed around the top of the hill during and after 1872.

OTHER HOUSES, 1872-1901

Contemporaneously with the building of the Hooper house at the head of Highland Street, two houses were under construction in 1872 on the high grounds east of the reservoir at 51 and 45 Highland Street. A Mr. Gould built the turreted house at no. 51— the one rented to the Eliots from 1897 to 1902. I was born there. The Henry Bartletts and the Murrays (Harvard Professor John T. Murray, H ?99) occupied the house during the first half of this century, and it is now owned by the organist E. Power Biggs, who has made it into a two-family house. Next door, across the common roadway, Mr. John E. May erected a big house (now 45 Highland) recently occupied by the Russell Pecks but which I remember as owned by the Tiltons and the Bills. The Bills' daughter was one of our teen-age group which had dancing (classes) evenings in the living-room there.

The big brick house at 12 Reservoir Street was the next house at the top of the hill (1877), designed by the architects Ware and Van Brunt, who had earlier designed Memorial Hall. It was built for another distinguished Harvard professor, Adams Sherman Hill, who occupied the house until 1902. It was sold to Alfred Mitchell,



of whom I have no recollection; but I distinctly remember the tall Hiram Bingham and the older of the seven Bingham children who lived there somewhat later. Bingham was then Curator of South American History (1903-1915) at the Harvard Library (he got his Ph.D. in 1905 and engaged in his exploration of Machu Picchu in Peru). Doubtless my recollection of him is reinforced by later contacts with the Senator from Connecticut—the same Hiram Bingham—in Washington during the New Deal. Twelve Reservoir and the adjoining property at the corner of Fayerweather Street had the first granolithic sidewalks in our neighborhood. That made it an ideal place for us kids to play what we called "the train game" on our bicycles and tricycles with "stations" at the fence gates and driveway openings, and an efficient service of both commuter and express "trains."

In those days a familiar and beloved figure around the top of hill was the foot-police patrolman, Mr. Blynn, who was very, very fat and appropriately jovial. When Mr. Blynn appeared on his regular rounds, he would wait till a number of bicycle "trains" pulled into one or the other "terminal" of our sidewalk track, solemnly remark that "it is against the law to ride on the sidewalk," and then cross the street and never look back until he had rounded the corner out of sight. We all liked Patrolman Blynn.

The house at 12 Reservoir Street was successively owned and occupied by the Emile Williams (1909-1918), the Frederick Den-tons (1918-1924), the Willoughby Stewarts, and the Frank Lymans.

The property west of 12 Reservoir Street, at the corner of Fayerweather, is shown on the 1873 atlas as belonging to Josiah Dwight Whitney, who was Professor of Geology (1865-1896) and Dean of the Harvard School of Mining, but it was on that lot—28 Fayerweather Street—that Mr. Arthur Astor Carey built what "may well be the first fully developed Colonial Revival house in the country." ³ That was in 1882. From a brief account by Graham Carey about his father, I gather that Mr. Carey occupied the

3. Ibid., D 15.

house until his marriage in 1889, when the family moved to Boston. I associate that house with Mr. Samuel Henshaw who acquired the property in 1898. He was Curator and then Director of the Museum of Comparative Zoology for many years, beginning in 1904, and Director of the University Museum from 1918 to 1927. Every spring Mr. Henshaw treated all the neighborhood children to a ride in a horse-drawn bus for the trip to the circus in Boston—so all of those included in those wonderful occasions will, of course, always remember Mr. Henshaw. The house was sold to Gertrude Thurston in 1930 and to Benjamin Tilghman in 1963.

The next house around the top of the hill was built in 1886 between the Dunbar and Kennedy houses on the south side of Highland Street. On the earlier city atlases that lot is shown as owned by a Brooks in 1873 and then by a Longfellow. The Top-pans, who built the brick house at 54 Highland Street, had three children: Laura, Gushing (H '08), and Charles F., none of whom are now living; but the house is still occupied by a fellow member of this Society, the widow of Charles F. Toppan.

Following our chronology, we now go back to Fayerweather Street, where another house appeared in 1892 (Carruth). Across the street, the following year, William Warner built the big yellow house (no. 21) later occupied by the Fitch-Gilberts (1902) and in recent years by the Griscoms.

Next door, at no. 27, architect Timothy Walsh of Maginnis and Walsh built a house for his family in 1896, which was sold to the Julian Lowell Coolidges in 1905. There the eight children of the Coolidge family grew up, and Mrs. Coolidge occupied the house until her death last year. Now it is owned by my former colleague, Professor Francois Vigier of the Harvard Graduate School of Design. Professor Coolidge graduated from Harvard in 1895 and

was Professor of Mathematics and Master of Lowell House. Many of us remember him as a real "Cambridge Character." There are innumerable stories about him.

One Saturday morning, for instance, when my younger brother Tom was seven or eight years old, his contemporary Archie

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Coolidge—the Coolidges' third child—came over to play, and while he and Tom were in our front hall my father came down the stairs. Archie asked Tom, "Is that the way he comes downstairs?" And when Tom said something like "sure," Archie said "My father always slides down the bannister."

Then, there was a time when the neighborhood was aroused because on several evenings a man with a shotgun was seen in some of the neighbors' yards. These sightings were the subject of excited comment at some neighborhood gathering, when Professor Coolidge said, "Oh, no, that was I, lookin' at Owyan." The "rifle" was a long telescope, and the professor never could pronounce the letter R.

But the story I like best about Professor Coolidge relates to the long-standing rule in the college that if the teacher doesn't show up by seven minutes after the hour, the students are free to go. For one of Professor Coolidge's mathematics classes, the clock got to five minutes past and the students were beginning to stand up. Then six minutes after, and in through the window bounced Julian Coolidge saying, "Oh no, gentlemen, I am here, so the class will come to order." He had climbed up the drain pipe and the ivy vine to the second floor of Harvard Hall.

The house at 22 Fayerweather Street was erected in 1898 on a lot taken out of the Carey land at the corner of Reservoir. It was occupied by the Smith, Weston-Smith, Weston family. R. Dickson Smith married Anstice Walcott, who thought the name Smith undistinguished, so it was changed to Weston-Smith. Later it was changed again to Weston; hence the story of two Bostonians on State Street, one of whom stopped to speak to another gentleman. When asked who this other gentleman might be, he is said to have remarked, "There goes Robert Weston—all that is left of my old friend Dick Smith." Mr. Weston was a lawyer and a leading figure, with his friend Godfrey L. Cabot, in the Watch and Ward Society.

The Weston-Smiths had three sons and a daughter. On Hallowe'en, plugging their doorbell was particularly hazardous, for if a tricky prankster was caught by those three big fellows, he

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was condemned to spend the rest of the evening in the Weston-Smiths' living-room with nothing to do but watch the family reading and waiting for the next doorbell. Speaking of Hallowe'en pranks, plugging the doorbell of this house where we are meeting this afternoon

was also sure to produce excitement, because Mr. Lamb had a quick temper and reacted vigorously to interruption of his dinner and all those water pistols. And who can blame him?

Among those in our "gang" for Hallowe'en pranks and more suitable activities were Henry and Bobby Ward, who lived at 37 Fayerweather in a house erected in 1901. They and their two sisters, Anita (Mrs. Calvert Magruder) and Emma Lane (Mrs. Walter F. R. Haigh), are the children of Professor and Mrs. Robert DeCourcy Ward. Professor Ward (H '89 and A.M. '93) taught climatology at Harvard from 1895 to his death in 1932. The house is now occupied by Dr. Clement Smith. The senior Wards were members of a "Shop Club" with my parents and seven other couples including Professor and Mrs. Bliss Perry, Professor and Mrs. Theodore Richards, Professor and Mrs. James H. Ropes, Mr. and Mrs. William Roscoe Thayer, the Charles Peabodys, Professor and Mrs. Frederick N. Robinson, and Professor and Mrs. George P. Baker. The Shop Club was one of those unique organizations of Cambridge. There were meetings once a month during the academic year at one of the members' houses, where the members arrived in dress clothes at eight o'clock for an evening of shop talk by the host, followed by a late supper. The shop talk varied—from draft chapters of books in preparation, such as Garibaldi by Mr. Thayer; Bliss Perry discussing contacts with authors for the Atlantic Monthly; my father's trip to the southwest Indian Country; the 47 Workshop by Prof. Baker; to Prof. Richards' account of how the atom was first broken. In the later years the ladies also provided the shop talk—with my aunt, Christina Hopkinson Baker, on her activities as a member of the Cambridge School Committee and my mother, Frances Hopkinson Eliot, trying out one of her articles for the Atlantic on a sympathetic audience.

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MORE ON 25 RESERVOIR STREET

If you have been keeping track of the chronology I have been following you will realize that the order in which houses were constructed has now brought us down to 1902, the year when my parents bought the Hooper house at 25 Reservoir Street. Now I propose to go back to the history of that 100-year-old-house.

Following the pattern of discussion of other houses, this is where I should say something about my parents, Samuel Atkins Eliot (1862-1950) and Frances Hopkinson Eliot (1870-1954). Both parents were born and brought up in Cambridge; my mother was the daughter of John P. Hopkinson of "Hoppy's" School (antecedent of Noble & Greenough and Volkman's); and my father was the son of Harvard's President Eliot. He was a Unitarian minister in Seattle, Denver, and Brooklyn before returning to Cambridge and Boston in 1897 to be secretary and then president of the American Unitarian Association until 1927. Then he was minister of the Arlington Street Church in Boston until his retirement in 1936. His History of Cambridge was published in 1913. Some of you may remember him as president of this Society for several year before his death in 1950.

In February 1902, the Horatio Whites visited the Eliots at 51 Highland Street in preparation for their move from Cornell to Harvard. Plans were made to buy and split the two big Gurney-Hooper houses at 25 and 29 Reservoir Street for the occupancy of the two families,⁴ by removing the passage and the bridge, and slicing off the kitchen wing of the former Gurney house at an angle two feet north of a new property line drawn perpendicular to Reservoir Street. When thus separated, the two houses were given new numbers on

Reservoir Street. Eliot chose "25" because it corresponded with his office number at 25 Beacon Street in Boston.

The alterations in the house at "25" were designed by architect Lois Lilley Howe (a vice-president of this historical society) and

4. In view of the present high values of real property in Cambridge, it is interesting to note that in 1902 my father paid \$11,395 for the Hooper property, and that some \$6,000 went into alterations and moving during that summer.

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were primarily to create a new front entrance on the south side of the house and to open up the front hall by combining most of the former octagon room with the original hall. The fireplaces were removed and columns installed. A front vestibule was created out of the central portion of the projecting section of the octagon with a broken-scroll pediment door frame over the new front door. Two years later (March 1904) when Professor Albert Bushnell Hart was about to build on the lot in the curve of Reservoir Street and immediately in front of the Eliots' house, most of that lot was added to the "Eliot Estate."

When the Eliot family moved into 25 Reservoir Street in the autumn of 1902, there were five children. Two more were born in the house to make up the seven who grew up there.⁵ Besides the family of nine there were numerous helpers or domestics in the household—the latter always referred to in our family as the "Majesties." The usual "staff" consisted of a cook, a waitress or downstairs maid, an upstairs maid, and a nurse or "mother's helper." In addition there were part-time helpers including a laundress, a furnace man, and a yard man, as well as an occasional seamstress. The in-house "majesties" changed quite often—usually all Irish or all Swedish, with a change in the contents of the cookie jar for hungry kids. I suppose the changes reflected demands for rising wages which could not be met from a minister's salary. For example, there was a terrible crisis about 1909 when the cook demanded an increase in pay to ten dollars per week plus board and lodging. That time, I think she got it; but, when other similar crises occurred, I remember the girls "just off the boat" waiting in the front hall for interviews with my mother.

As you may suppose, our family reunion last autumn produced some recollections about the "majesties." After my mother had asked the Swedish seamstress if she had finished some work, Ida

5. Samuel A. Eliot, Jr. (H '13), Professor of English and Drama at Smith; Rosamond (Mrs. William G. Rice); Elisabeth (Mrs. A. C. McGiffert, Jr.); Charles William Eliot, 2nd (H '20), Professor of Planning; Frances (Mrs. Frank Fremont-Smith); Theodore Lyman Eliot (H '25), San Francisco Art Institute; and Thomas Hopkinson Eliot (H '28), Chancellor, Washington University.

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was heard to say, "Meesees Elyot, she are verra, verra queek, but I'm not so sure as she are turrrough"—or the second maid delivering the message: "Mrs. Lowell says she will come and live and die with you"

Over the fifty-odd years—1902-1954—that my parents occupied 25 Reservoir Street, there were, of course, many changes around and in the house. About 1908, a Hodgson prefabricated garage was installed, between the Whites' property line and the kitchen vestibule, to house the Pope Electric automobile given to my father by his friends. When the conservatory could not be heated during World War I, it deteriorated and had to be removed. Various changes in the garden beds and plantings were made, and inside the house two more bathrooms were installed.

But it was not until 1954 when the Charles Eliots took over the property, after the death of my mother, that much more radical changes were made in the old house at 25 Reservoir Street. As early as 1922 when I was a student at the School of Landscape Architecture I had drawn plans to make the kitchen ell into a separate dwelling unit. Those studies were turned over to architect Robert Woods Kennedy, who designed the many changes involved in remodelling the new unit and providing a substitute kitchen in the main part of the old house.

The new unit in the former ell was given the number 27 Reservoir Street and has been occupied by Miss Frances McFadden since it was created in 1954. Even without the ell, the house at 25 Reservoir Street is still a twelve-room house—which we occasionally fill to overflowing with children and grandchildren. I am in the very unusual and enviable position of living at age seventy-three in the same house in which I grew up.

29 RESERVOIR STREET

Having brought the history of 25 Reservoir Street pretty much down to date, I should now go back to the other part of the Gurney-Hooper house, which was cut off in 1902 to become 29 Reservoir Street and sold to Horatio Stevens White (1852-1919),

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who joined the Harvard faculty that year as Professor of German after twenty years as Professor and Dean at Cornell. My own recollections of him are chiefly of his "rolling gait" as he came up the hill from the trolley. The Whites had two children: Joseph Lowell White (1884-1972), who was a senior at Harvard when his parents moved to Cambridge, and who had a distinguished career in railroading; and his sister Dorothy, who married Tucker-man Day.

After the deaths of Professor and Mrs. White the house was rented to Charles H. Davis (H '96). For several years during the Depression Dr. and Mrs. De Forest lived at 29 Reservoir Street before moving to Appleton Street, and then for three years the house stood vacant, until it was sold in 1938 to the Francis Peabody Magouns. Frank Magoun (H '16) married Margaret Boyden of Chicago in 1926, and their four children grew up at 29 Reservoir Street: Francis P. Magoun, 3rd; William Cowper Boyden Magoun; Gretchen (Mrs. Guido Rothrauff); and Jean Bartholow (Mrs. Ward Farnsworth). Professor Magoun taught English at Harvard from 1919 until his retirement. Ever since the housing shortages of World War II, the top floor of 29 Reservoir Street has been occupied by lodgers or friends. The Magouns have

made few changes in the house:—externally, the most notable being the reduction in the piazza to a fraction of its original extent, aluminum siding of the whole house, and an additional window in the third story, central section of the west side. Internally, the removal of paint from the beautiful panels on the walls and ceiling of the main living-room has revealed a most unusual and distinctive feature of the old Gurney House.

Now, again returning to 1902 and 1903, we should note that work was under way to level the walls and embankments around the reservoir and to clear the debris from the dynamiting of the tower. The land was sold by the city to former Mayor Alvin F. Sortwell, who proceeded to build a sprawling big house in the middle of the property, with a loop driveway from Highland Street and a large stable (now 40 Reservoir Street) in the north-

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east corner of the lot. The six Sortwell children were older than the Eliots, so we had little in common as youngsters. There were three sons: Daniel Richard (H '09); Edwin Caldwell (H 11), who was killed in Salonika in World War I; and Alvin Foye Jr. (H 14), known as "Pete"; and three daughters: Clara (Mrs. Parker Marean), Frances, and Marion (Mrs. William S. Worland).

My recollections include standing with other children on the corner across the street and being deeply impressed by the black hearse, the black horses, and the steady stream of carriages arriving and leaving the Sortwell house for the mayor's funeral. Also, I shall never forget that many years later, when I was starting the - practice of my profession of landscape architecture, Mrs. Sortwell gave me one of my first commissions, to design the garden fence for the Sortwell mansion in Wiscasset (That house is now a National Historic Landmark.)

It must have been about that same time that the Dunbars built a second house on their property (#58 Highland Street), between the main house and the Toppans on the south side of Highland Street. That is where the Edwin F. Gays lived. Professor Gay taught Economics at Harvard from 1902 until he retired in 1936 and was the organizer and Dean of the Harvard Business School. His son Eddie was my contemporary—and the "other side" in a "famous battle" when we were about six years old. According to my sisters who watched that terrible fist fight the combatants flailed wildly at each other, but the aim of both was so clouded with tears of rage that neither got hit. Eddie (Edward Randolph Gay) was an assistant dean of the college after his graduation in 1919. He was married—until the middle of a western honeymoon trip—to Rose Dunbar from the house next door. His younger sister Peggy was a professor at Scripps College in Claremont, California. She married Godfrey Davies, who was an official of the Shakespeare Library in Washington and of the Huntington Library in San Marino. Until three years ago the house at 58 Highland Street was the home of the Mark DeWolfe Howes—the late Prof. Howe of the Harvard Law School.*

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The building permit for the big Nash house at the northeast corner of Fayerweather and Reservoir (where the Gurney house first stood) is dated 1902, but I can't believe it was constructed before 1904. Nathaniel Gushing Nash (1862-1915) was the son of a state

representative and abolitionist. He grew up in Arlington and got an A.B. from Harvard in 1884 and an A.M. in '92. His major interests were botany—he gave the Nash Botanical Lecture Room at the University Museum—and shooting and boating. He won the highest rifle awards and went hunting every year in Maine or New Brunswick. He was president of the Cambridge Trust Company.

Features of the Nash house (architect, George A. Moore) were huge Ionic columns which I remember arriving on horse-drawn drays up Brattle and Fayerweather Streets and being hoisted into place after the rest of the building had been constructed. They were hollow and purely decorative.

The Nashes bought the lot where the Redmonds now live in 1904 at the same time that my father acquired the Bushnell Hart land in the curve of Reservoir Street. That Nash property was a tempting shortcut towards Fayerweather Street, and Mr. Nash put up a "No Crossing" sign, which we sometimes observed. (The sign didn't deter the cattle being driven from the Fitchburg RR yards to the Brighton abattoir from crossing both the Eliot and Nash front lawns.) There were two Nash children—Nathaniel Gushing, Jr. (H '07 and LL.B. 10) who at one time served on the Cambridge Common Council, and whom I last encountered when I was working on a Town Plan for Hamilton, where he was a member of the Hamilton Conservation Commission. His sister Priscilla married Stanley Howe.

When we remodelled 25 Reservoir Street in 1954 we replaced an old claw-foot bathtub with a new fixture and the old tub was out on the sidewalk to be disposed of. Author John P. Marquand (H '15) spotted it and acquired it. He and his family were then living in the former Nash house where he set up the tub in the huge, tiled, sunken bathing basin off the master's bedroom.

Marquand's second wife and three children lived at 1 Reservoir Street after his divorce and until her death in 1963. The big house was torn down in 1964.

The Eliots bought the lot between their property and Reservoir Street, and when architect Kenneth Redmond turned up with a plan for a house which saved the big pines and kept out of our main front yard, we sold him the land where he built the house at 13 Reservoir Street in 1965. The main part of the former Nash-Marquand property was bought by Peter Hiam, who built the big house at 46 Fayerweather Street and regraded and planted the frontage on Reservoir Street.

THREE MORE HOUSES ON FAYERWEATHER STREET

Between 1904 and 1906 three more houses were erected around the top of the hill. The first was at 48 Fayerweather—next to the Nash house—by the same Arthur Astor Carey (1857-1923) whom we previously identified as having constructed the house at 28 Fayerweather (corner of Reservoir) in 1882, and as having rented the Hooper-Gurney house in 1900-1902. By 1904, Mr. Carey had married Agnes Whiteside of London, and they had four children—Henry Reginald ("Rex," H 13); Arthur Graham (H 14), architect; Alida; and my contemporary—Frances.

I remember Mr. Carey for his kindnesses, when I was seven or eight years old, in letting me ride on the front seat of his Stanley Steamer automobile when he drove over to Milton Academy to pick up Rex and Graham for a weekend at home. I had ridden many times in my father's Pope Electric, with the bar steering, but the Stanley Steamer was much more exciting. The car was kept in the former Hooper barn which was moved on rollers from about the site of the house now at 43 Reservoir Street some time between 1904 and 1908. That barn, later converted into a residence and given the number 50 Fayerweather Street, was until recently the home of Professor Henry M. Hart, Dane Professor of Law at the Harvard Law School, and Mrs. Hart, and is presently

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occupied by Mr. Steven Cohen. For several years before they built the house at 64 Highland in 1964, the Alan Steinerts lived in the Carey house. It is now the home of the George P. Edmonds.

The next house on upper Fayerweather Street, in 1905, was the home of the Alfred Claghorn Potters at the corner of Gurney Street. Mr. Potter (H '89) was assistant librarian of the Harvard Library and married to a Delano. Mrs. Potter was an artist, which accounts for the studio on the third floor, with its north light. The brick house, now 55 Fayerweather Street, was oriented with its long south front facing an open lawn, and backed up to the sidewalk on Gurney Street. The Potters had two children—Elizabeth (Betty) and Delano—who were playmates of the Eliots. It was in the studio of that house that my brother Sam "produced" the second of the five Shakespeare plays, acted by his contemporaries ages 12-16 (the Junior Cambridge Dramatic Club). In February 1907 it was Othello—with Betty Potter playing the part of Emilia. The previous year Delano Potter had played Lucius in Julius Caesar.

When Betty married Stedman Hoar, a house for their use was built on the rear of the Potter lot, with entrance from the curve in Gurney Street. I was consulted on the plantings in the first year of my professional practice. The Hoars moved to California before my family did, and Mrs. Eliot and I spent many happy weekends visiting and sailing with them at Newport Harbor in the '40's. The Potter house is now occupied by Prof. John H. Van Vleck (AM '21, Ph.D '22), Hollis Professor of Mathematics.

Across Gurney Street and still further down the hill, the white house at 59 Fayerweather Street was built in 1906 by Professor Charles B. Gulick (H '90). Professor Gulick taught Greek at Harvard. The Gulicks had three children: Millard (H 13 and Arch 17), who married Alida Carey from across the street; Ann, concert pianist with the Boston Symphony; and Charles B., Jr. (H '21). On the rear of the Gulick lot architect Kenneth Redmond (13 Reservoir St. above) has just completed a house for his parents.

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AND MORE ON RESERVOIR STREET

In 1908, I remember watching the construction of the house at 33 Reservoir Street and listening to the carpenters during their lunch-hour discuss the Fitzgerald-Storrow campaign

for mayor of Boston. The house was designed by Allen Jackson for Howard Magoun Forbes. Mr. and Mrs. Forbes had three sons: Mac, my friend, Glidden, and Harry—somewhat younger. Mr. Forbes invented a pitcher-batter, electric baseball game which we boys—and in the evenings, teams of older people—played in their basement. Mac and I strung wires along the fences to connect our two houses for a telegraph line. We tapped out our Morse code messages and then rushed to the telephone to inquire, "What were you telegraphing?" The Forbes house (as I still think of it) is now the residence of Professor John C. Allis of M.I.T.

Next down Reservoir Street at number 43, Stephen Emerson and Henrietta Young built another stucco house in 1909 and added a garage in 1913. Mr. Young was a Bowdoin graduate ('98) and Harvard Law 1902. The Youngs had three daughters: Lucy (d. 1925), Mary (m. Brewster), and Henrietta. That house is now the home of Martin Deutsch and his family.

THIRTY YEARS LATER

Around the top of the hill, during the next thirty years, there were no new houses—although many changes in ownership and much remodelling of older houses. In 1939, however, the old Smith property on Fayerweather Street (of "White Ghost" renown) was broken up with a new house at no. 39 built by Louis and Frances Cornish. Rev. Louis Craig Cornish (H '99) was secretary of the American Unitarian Association for many years before succeeding my father as president in 1927. The house at 39 Fayerweather is where Judge and Mrs. Charles E. Wyzanski now live. They have been and still are "movers and shakers" in national, state, and many community and Harvard activities. The

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judge (H '28) was chairman of the Harvard Board of Overseers and is Senior Fellow of the Society of Fellows.

Beyond Lincoln Lane—and the several houses on that cul-de-sac —the Garrett Birkhoffs built the brick house (designed by architect and professor Walter F. Bogner) at 45 Fayerweather Street in 1940. Professor Birkhoff taught mathematics at Harvard until his recent retirement, and his wife Ruth is an active member of the Cambridge Conservation Commission.

The breakup of the Sortwell property—the former city reservoir at the corner of Reservoir and Highland Streets—led to the construction of three more houses at the top of the hill. At 26 Reservoir, the corner lot, Professor Albert Sprague Coolidge (H '15) built the "modern" house designed by his architect son in 1955. That same year, Mrs. Frank Wigglesworth developed the adjoining lot with her house at 30 Reservoir; and a few years later the other adjoining lot at 61 Highland Street was the site for the one-story "modern" house of architect-professor William H. Wainwright.

I think I have referred to all of the houses around the top of the hill, and to most of their occupants. Two aspects of the story about the neighbors "around the top of the hill" seem worthy of a concluding note:

The first is the continuous concern and associations of so very many of the residents with Harvard University. The roster begins with Dean Dunbar and Dean Gurney, Treasurer Hooper and Boylston Professor Adams Sherman Hill; to go on with Professors White, Ward, and Julian Coolidge, Librarian Potter, Museum Director Henshaw, Hiram Bingham, Professor Gulick and Dean Gay; and to modern times with Professors Hart and Howe of the Law School; and so to Professors Sprague, Coolidge, Magoun, Wainwright, Birkhoff, Van Vleck and Eliot who are living there today. Almost all of the other residents were Harvard graduates.

The second point that I may or may not have gotten across to you is the extraordinary variety and strengths of the personalities of all of those who have lived around the top of the hill. Forty years ago my mother wrote a piece for the Atlantic which she

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called "Cambridge Characters," with anecdotes about Cantabrigians she had known. In this paper I have added more anecdotes from my own recollections. I think I should close, as she did in her article, with grateful recognition that there are still lots of odd "Cambridge Characters" around—including many of you and certainly me.

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Cambridge Historical Commission (S. T. Lo)

1. LEE-NICHOLS HOUSE, 159 BRATTLE ST. (CA. 1685, CA. 1760)



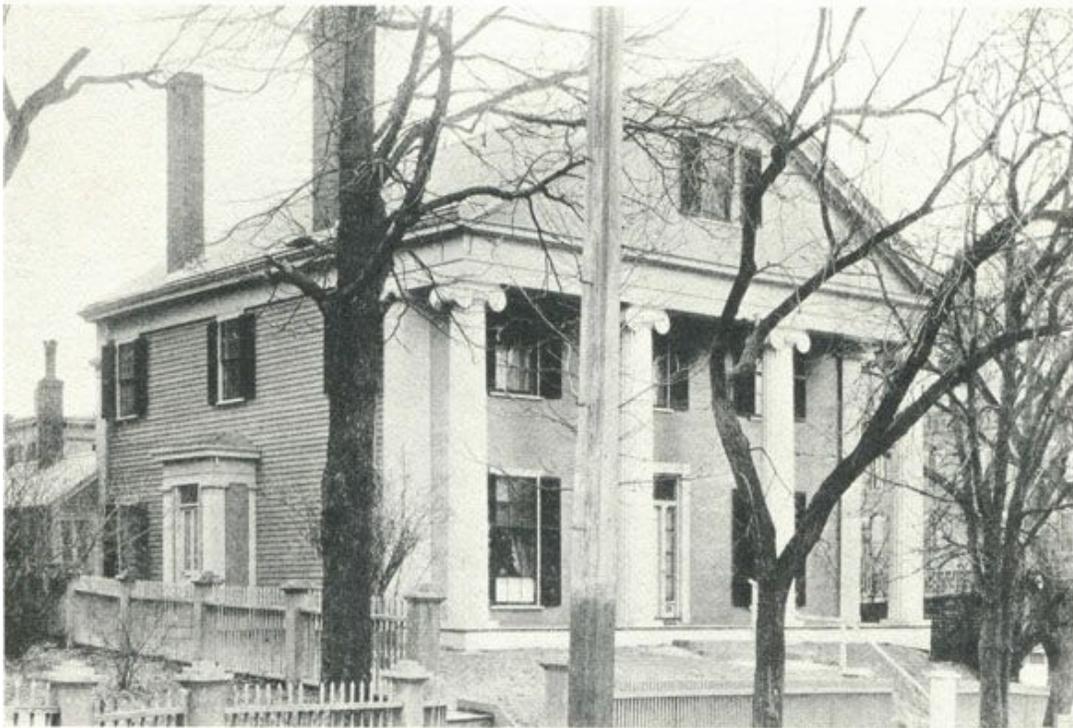
Historic American Buildings Survey

2. VASSALL-CRAIGIE-LONGFELLOW HOUSE, 105 BRATTLE ST. (1759)



Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (Thwing Collection)

3. THE LARCHES (1808), ON ITS ORIGINAL SITE CA. 1890-1895



Harvard University Archives

4. CHAPMAN HOUSE, FORMERLY AT 104 MT. AUBURN ST. (1838)



Volta Bureau

5. HUBBARD HOUSE, FORMERLY AT 146 BRATTLE ST. (1850)



Cambridge Historical Commission

6. GUYOT-HORSFORD HOUSE, 27 CRAIGIE ST. (1853)



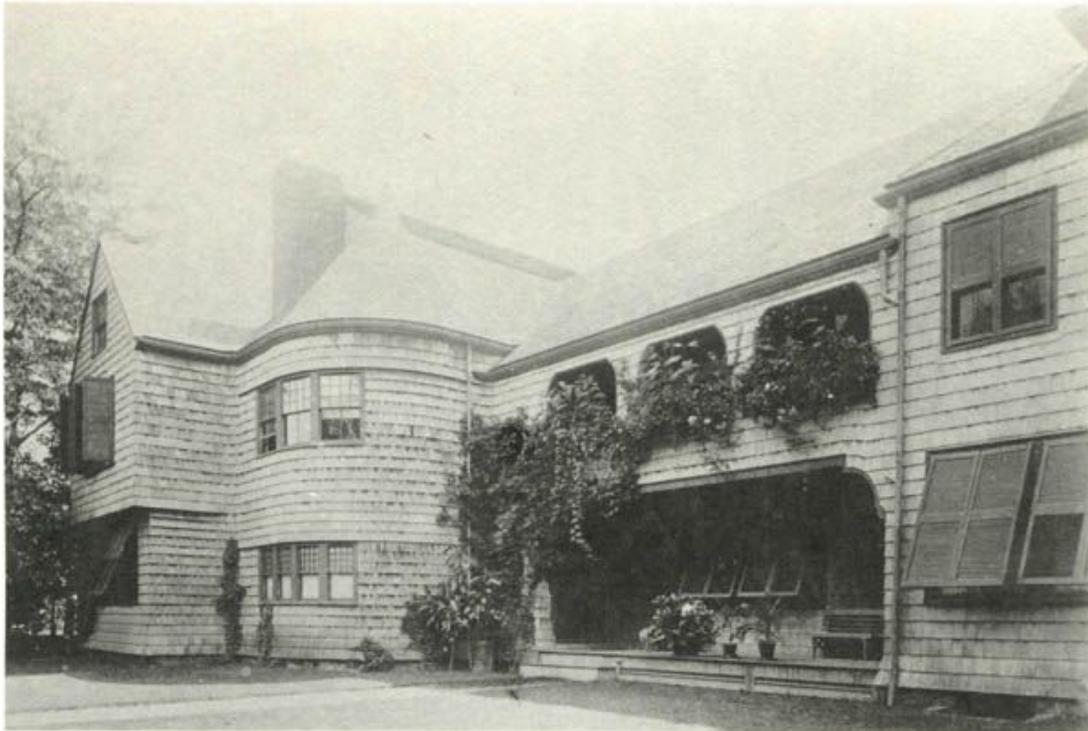
Cambridge Historical Commission (Richard Cheek)

7. ROSS HOUSE, 26 CRAIGIE ST. (1868)



Cambridge Historical Commission (B. Orr)

8. HOUSE IN THE SO-CALLED STICK STYLE, 164 BRATTLE ST. (1868)



Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities

9. STOUGHTON HOUSE, 90 BRATTLE ST. (1883)



Roger Gilman

10. VAN BRUNT HOUSE, 167 BRATTLE ST. (1883)



W. Knight Sturges Collection

11. JOSEPH THORP HOUSE, 168 BRATTLE ST. (1888)



Cambridge Historical Commission (Richard Cheek)

12. ANNIE LONGFELLOW THORP HOUSE, 115 BRATTLE ST. (1887)



Cambridge Historical Commission (Richard Cheek)

13. GEORGIAN REVIVAL HOUSE, 144 BRATTLE ST. (1915)



Cambridge Historical Commission (B. Orr)

14. GEORGIAN REVIVAL HOUSE, 146 BRATTLE ST. (1939)



Cambridge Historical Commission (B. Orr)

15. BREWSTER HOUSE, 145 BRATTLE ST. (1887)



Hill, Miller, Friedlaender, Hollander

16. HISTORY CONTINUES: 133 BRATTLE ST. (1971)

Brattle Street: A Resume of American Residential Architecture, 1673-1973

BY BAINBRIDGE BUNTING

As implied by the title, the idea underlying this talk is that history is an ongoing process. History is as recent as yesterday, with 1973 or 1873 as much a part of history as 1773—and as important. In terms of architectural history, good buildings of intermediate or recent date are as "historical" and as worthy of admiration and preservation as those erected two hundred years earlier. If specimens of later date are not preserved, through prejudice or neglect, important gaps are created in the long-term record to the detriment of later generations. This is the conviction that underlies the work done by the Cambridge Historical Commission during the decade since it was founded in 1964. And it is because Brattle Street in a remarkable way, perhaps to a degree unequaled anywhere in the United States, preserves specimens of almost every phase of American architectural taste that the Cambridge Historical Commission will propose that street as an historic district.

Before I turn to that area and its houses, however, I cannot resist the opportunity to scold Cambridge history buffs just a little about the arbitrary limits they have sometimes placed on "history." And where could I find a more august, attentive, and captive audience to scold than the one I am honored to address? I have been a Cam-

Read May 20, 1973

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bridge-watcher for the last thirty-five years, a process that began when I came here as a graduate student. Being a Cambridge-watcher, of course, does not qualify me as a Cantabrigian. Indeed, I am very much an outsider, having long ago lost my heart to the Great American Desert. Nevertheless, I have kept in touch with the Cambridge scene by almost yearly visits. It is just possible that this kind of association, detached yet enough in contact, may have provided a certain perspective on Cambridge ways and attitudes. If this is so, then I confess that I have often been amazed and not infrequently amused at the sense of history evinced by some Cambridge citizens. For them, if an event did not happen during or before the Revolution, it is not really historical; if George Washington didn't sleep in the house, it is not historic; if a building is not eighteenth-century, it is not genuinely old and probably not worth preserving. Oversimplified, perhaps, but not entirely without foundation. My awareness of this point of view has been heightened by its sharp contrast with prevailing attitudes in the Rio Grande valley which is now my home. The latter area is both much older and much younger than Cambridge. As for antiquity, men have been building permanent communities there for at least seven hundred years, and even the Spanish newcomers designated Santa Fe as capital of the Provincia de Nuevo Mexico a good twenty years before Newtowne—now called Cambridge—was chosen as the seat of

government for the Massachusetts Bay Colony—a fact I cannot resist dragging into a lecture before the Cambridge Historical Society! On the other hand, rates of change in the two areas have been vastly different. Despite an early start, few things changed in the Rio Grande area until the arrival of the railroad about 1880—an undertaking, incidentally, largely financed with Boston money—and drastic change has occurred there only since the Second World War. In addition, very little of the early construction survives because it was built of mud, with the result that what seems venerable in the way of buildings to New Mexicans might appear as merely Victorian to you in New England.

In Cambridge, on the other hand, one has to go awfully far back

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in time before he can arrive at a point before which some very familiar things that are taken for granted came into existence: before, for example, the construction of the first bridge across the Charles River (1662), which made it possible to get to Boston by land without having to detour through Watertown Square, or the construction in 1793 of the second bridge (where the Longfellow Bridge now stands), which shortened the distance to the big city to its present length. Similarly, one can hardly conceive of Cambridge without Christ Church or the early quadrangles of buildings that long constituted Harvard College. When such familiar landmarks are themselves so ancient, it makes "the olden days" seem very distant indeed. On the other hand, think of equally familiar and important facilities which are of relatively recent date. Water is one thing that comes to mind. Until well beyond the midpoint of the last century, citizens relied upon their own wells and Harvard students on the great hand pump that is still preserved in the Yard. Not until 1855 was there a citywide system supplied from the big reservoir—long since demolished—atop Reservoir Hill. Similarly, it was already 1856 before horsecars supplanted the horse-drawn omnibus as the means of mass transportation, and much later than that (1889) that the trolley replaced the horsecar. Only in 1912 did the long, time-consuming trip from Harvard Square to Boston become a short one with the completion of the subway. Cambridge was not yet accustomed to electricity in 1891 when Harvard installed it in the library, a year before lights were put in other college buildings; and as a graduate student in the late 1930s, I recall a large house on Irving Street that still used gas illumination. Practically everyone in this audience can remember when there were still large stretches of open land within the city limits, particularly in low-lying areas. And finally, all of you will recall that there was once a time when pedestrians could cross Harvard Square without the threat of sudden death. Viewed in this way, history becomes less remote, more a matter of day-to-day business, the stuff out of which everyday life is composed rather than of distant, epochal events.

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Before turning to Brattle Street, however, something should be said about what it takes to constitute a viable historic district. What are the requisites? Obviously historical associations are an asset; the more important they are the better. Let me observe, however, that I do not look upon them as the primary or even a necessary prerequisite. A handsome street of houses (or stores or factories) can constitute a visual record of historic importance even though no famous man or event was ever associated with it. What I am saying is that an unusually fine environment of itself constitutes an "historic district." To be

so designated, however, the area must have considerable architectural value, though this does not mean that every edifice has to be a masterpiece. By and large the general quality of the neighborhood must be superior, and it must constitute a visual entity. That means that the visitor must be able to know when he is there, to recognize it as a special place. Thus such a district is more easily perceived if it has distinct limits. Again, the clearer the boundaries, the better. A visual entity exists when enough good buildings cluster in a recognizable group; the group cannot be diluted or overpowered by too many out-of-scale structures or separated by empty, non-conforming areas (like parking lots) so large that they dissipate the force of the image. When either of these negative conditions pertains, the scattered buildings of importance read as isolated monuments rather than as parts of a larger environment. In other words, part of the importance of an historic district lies in its ability to project as an environment of special interest. Finally, and very important, to be successful an historic district must have the strong support of its residents.

Turning from generalizations to specifics, Brattle Street has, I am convinced, all the prerequisites of an historic district. Clearly defined limits the area surely has. It has a beginning and an end— Radcliffe Yard and Lowell Park—with lateral limits the river and Reservoir Hill. Within these boundaries the district has a pervasive sense of unity which derives more from the consistent scale and placement of houses than from architectural uniformity. There is a ceremonial quality to Brattle Street, a dignified sequence of houses

which complement but do not compete with each other. Because most houses are situated not too far back on their lots and reasonably close to each other, the street remains spatially dominant. But this street space is saved from being formal and monotonous by frequent shifts in the street axis. Variety is also furnished by a series of nodes or visual gathering points: Brattle Square, the Ash-Mason intersection, Longfellow Park, the Sparks-Craigie intersection, Elmwood Avenue, and finally Lowell Park.

The visual unity of Brattle Street is reinforced by the importance of the street to American architectural history, for nowhere in the country is the gamut of American domestic architecture so completely represented in one place. (Only one important movement, Frank Lloyd Wright's Prairie style, is totally absent; a seventeenth-century Colonial building is present though in a remodeled form, and one must detour a short block off the street to find fine examples of the 1930 International style.) There are other streets in America with finer, more pretentious residences, with houses of greater architectural significance, but nowhere do you find the whole spectrum so nearly represented in one place. Nor do you find a district built over a great time span that is as beautifully preserved as here, a district where the buildings of all periods have been consistently well cared for, where owners have shown such conservative good taste in keeping their old homes as they were designed rather than trying to remodel them into looking "modern" and thus destroying their architectural integrity. Specifically, I know of no comparable group of well-preserved, unmodified dwellings of the Victorian era anywhere in the country.

The matter of neighborhood support has already been mentioned. Although I assume that this audience will enthusiastically endorse such a proposal for Brattle Street on historic grounds, let me point out that this designation can also provide a substantial degree of protection against the encroachment of apartment builders, educational institutions, and

commerce. The street has once already been saved from emasculation, and it can be saved again if the inhabitants will act in concert. At one time, you will recall, Brattle

Street was the route followed by the horsecar line on its way to Mt. Auburn Cemetery and Watertown. Since the car never ran more often than at quarter-hour intervals, the traffic was tolerable, even neighborly, and the existence of the line greatly encouraged the building up of the area after 1856. In the late eighties, however, electric trolley began to supplant the horsecar, and the street railway company proposed in 1893 to electrify the line on Brattle Street. But the residents rose up as one and insisted that the streetcar tracks be laid on Mt. Auburn Street, which was then less built up. This concerted action was a crucial turning point, for had the line been located here, Brattle Street would soon have gone the way of other Cambridge streets that accepted the trolley as a symbol of progress: Massachusetts Avenue north, Massachusetts Avenue south, Cambridge Street, and Broadway. For these the trolley was the beginning of the end as far as desirable places of residence were concerned. First the trolley lines attracted apartment houses which in turn attracted commercial activity and resulted in the eventual loss of the mansions that once lined those thoroughfares. I think we are at a similar juncture today, and Brattle Street can only be preserved as a low-density, residential district by the acceptance and support of the historic district concept.

So much for introductory remarks. What I now propose to do is to run through a chronological development of the area using an almost arbitrary selection of buildings to show you what variety exists and what treasures you possess. In doing this, however, I shall lay special emphasis on specimens of later date. These, I am afraid, are generally not as much appreciated as they should be, especially in relation to the street's more famous Tory mansions. I shall therefore go out of my way to point out faults, where they exist, in the early examples so that their later neighbors may not be eclipsed entirely by their lustre. In this process I may seem irreverent, but that is the role of a devil's advocate, for in reality I venerate the early work as much as you do.

The Lee-Nichols house at 159 Brattle Street is the oldest building on Brattle Street and probably in Cambridge (Fig. 1). But just

because it was begun about 1685, it should not be taken as representative of the seventeenth century. Indeed the house is the result of several building campaigns, a fact that only goes to prove that a design need not be "pure" to be attractive. It also illustrates the process of an organic growth. Soon after the original house was completed, it seems to have been attacked by termites, for in 1716, as we know from documentation, it had to be drastically rebuilt. It was probably at this time that it assumed its present three-story form. From internal evidence it would seem that another remodeling confined to the interior occurred around 1740. In 1760 more changes were made, this time documented, when Judge Joseph Lee purchased the building. Outside shutters were not added until after the Revolution, while the crowning feature of the facade, the balustrade above the cornice, was put in place in 1860. Contemporary newspaper accounts tell us that this last feature,

constructed of imported mahogany, had earlier served as the altar rail at St. Paul's Church in Boston. Although the resultant building is the work of many artisans, it nevertheless retains a sense of unity. One reason for this is that the craft tradition was strong and vital throughout the period of changes. The tools and materials with which the craftsmen worked were really not so different, and each generation was content to follow his craft without the psychological need for one generation to discredit the taste and usages of its predecessors.

An interesting feature of the facade is the projecting entrance vestibule added most probably during the 1760 remodeling for Judge Lee. It may represent the first occurrence of this feature in Cambridge. By extending the vestibule beyond the front wall of the house, two advantages were gained. The space between the main door and the stairs, which had been restricted in the original house, was considerably enlarged; and secondly, windows added in side walls of the vestibule provided light for the hall, which had heretofore been quite dark. A similar practical improvement seems to have been added to the Cooper-Frost-Austin house, also of seventeenth-century origin, when it was remodeled about 1830.

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The original plans of several later Cambridge houses like 153 Brattle Street (1803) or William Saunders's house (now Christ Church rectory) built in 1820 incorporate the projecting vestibule from the beginning. On a more modest scale it was also employed in a fair number of houses erected in Cambridgeport in the early part of the nineteenth century of which 172 Harvard Street (1805) and 14 Worcester Street (1829) are typical. This somewhat unusual feature illustrates an interesting architectural phenomenon in which a feature introduced in an important building in a community will be copied again and again by later builders until it constitutes an identifiable local architectural characteristic.

While speaking of the Lee-Nichols entrance hall, mention might be made that its main stairway of three runs has been rebuilt. Inspection of floor supports indicates that the direction of the stair has been changed, the original stair winding in a clockwise direction. The early arrangement permitted a flight of stairs to descend to the cellar from the present dining room, which originally served also as kitchen. (This was before the lean-to kitchen was added.) An important lesson to be noted here is that the basic structural frame of an early building was quite independent of even so important an element as a stairway.

In discussing the second building I do not wish to be heretical, but I do want to point out that just because an edifice is famous and antedates the Revolution, it is not without flaw nor automatically superior to anything built since. The Vassall-Craigie-Longfellow house is undeniably handsome (Fig. 2). Furthermore it is probably the most famous building in Cambridge and an uncontested landmark of American architecture. We all love it, despite certain flaws of design. Although Peter Harrison is sometimes proposed as the architect of this house erected in 1759, I am inclined to regard it as the work of a carpenter builder. Although Harrison also shopped around for architectural features to include in a design, he was usually more skillful in synthesizing what he borrowed than was the designer of this building. Producing an architectural composition in colonial America was very much like

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shopping for ideas in a Better Homes and Gardens magazine or thumbing through the Sears Roebuck catalogue for an item. Only in those days one studied carpenters' handbooks illustrated with nice, sharp, flat, line drawings. You would pick out a door design from one page, a cornice from another, and so on. In this manner a design was compiled from a series of unrelated elements selected from one or more books. The thing that makes such buildings handsome despite the piecemeal ornamentation is the expert craftsmanship of the carpenter who built them. A master joiner, aided perhaps by assistants, put something of himself into each detail as he transformed the line drawing into three-dimensional woodwork, and he thus instinctively endowed it with a unity of scale and treatment. In this manner the whole achieves an aesthetic integrity that one might not have expected from such a haphazard approach.

Though the composition of the Longfellow house is pleasing at first glance, a little study shows it to be somewhat clumsy in detail. The main facade is broken by a projecting pavilion which contains the front door. The pavilion provides a center of interest and makes the entrance more imposing than it would have been otherwise. It is, however, a purely visual thing which has no reason for being as far as the plan is concerned. Its projection, of only eight inches, is not enough space to have any practical effect whatsoever on the interior arrangement. The only reason for it was to provide an external shape upon which to hang ornamental elements that are as extraneous to the building as a birthday inscription on a cake. The architectural ornament consists of pairs of pilasters which frame the whole facade as well as the pavilion, a pediment which caps the latter, a cornice, and a rather elaborate frame for the front door. In terms of architectural theory a pilaster is placed at the corner of a structure built of masonry to add strength. But if strengthening is needed on one side of a corner, it is required "around the corner" as well. On the Longfellow house, which is constructed of wood, the pilaster is nothing but decoration that has lost all structural connotation, Instead of being placed at the

corner where it could theoretically add strength, it was moved inwards a little. The reason for this undoubtedly was to avoid duplication of the pilaster and its capital around the corner, something that would have complicated the job of the wood carver and considerably increased the expense. No pilasters at all are provided on the side or rear elevations.

Theoretically also pilasters support something, properly an entablature. Here it is interesting to note that there was not sufficient height to include a complete entablature between the window tops and the line of the eaves. Although a complete entablature block is placed over the pilasters, the designer did not flinch at eliminating two-thirds of that member elsewhere on the facade. If the height of the second-story windows had here been reduced, a full entablature could have been used, but that would have deprived second-story bedrooms of too much light. Of course the carpenter who concocted this design did not realize he was duplicating in wood shapes that had in classical times evolved for stone construction, nor that a stone member as thin as his cornice would have been useless.

Although our topic is residential architecture on Brattle Street, let us make one brief detour to Harvard Yard to look at a dormitory, Hollis Hall, built in 1762, because it shows that the

architect of Longfellow house was not alone in his aberrations. The basic scheme, if not the proportions, of the two structures is similar: a central pavilion capped by a pediment breaks forward from the main body of a hip-roofed building. In neither case is there a functional reason for the pavilion with pediment. In the dormitory no rooms requiring additional headroom or fenestration were situated in the attic, while the projection of the pavilion was so slight—no more than one brick—that it had no effect on the arrangement or size of rooms. This is paper architecture: a design conceived as a two-dimensional drawing rather than as a three-dimensional mass. If this were not enough, look at the center doorway; it is beautiful but fake. A doorway here was purely a matter of appearance, of providing a visual accent on the central axis of the composition.

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Originally as now this door was divided into two small windows which lighted separate studies attached to unrelated suites of rooms. As first designed, the door frame also had an arched pediment, but this was removed sometime in the early 1800s to reduce maintenance costs. The frame of the center "door" was repeated in the wings. Though these openings are now blocked up and also filled with paired windows, they originally functioned as principal entries to the dormitory which faced west toward the Common. Entrances of simpler design were also provided on the rear (east side) of the building, the only ones today that are used. These rear doors gave access to the service area behind the dormitory where the water pump and privies were located. As John Coolidge has observed, this area was just a backyard that became The Yard!

The exodus of Tories from Cambridge on the eve of the Revolution deprived the town of its principal artistic patronage, since the old-line Puritan stock had little interest in so worldly a conceit as architectural style. Immediately the town settled into an architectural rut which led for many years to little more than a repetition of forms and details employed by early builders. That these could be handsome if not progressive is seen at 153 Brattle Street, the dwelling of Thomas Lee. Erected as late as 1803, this building looks like a structure of pre-Revolutionary date and contains no hint of the Federal manner that by then had been popular in Boston for two decades. Only the light scale of its interior trim acknowledges the new Federal fashion.

Eventually three large and important Federal houses were erected in Cambridge, but all were built by Boston families who used their Cambridge homes for summer residence. Unfortunately all have been destroyed or substantially changed: Shady Hill built in 1806 by Daniel Mason (and named in 1810 by the second owner, John Phillips, Boston's first mayor) was demolished by Harvard in 1955; Fay house at Radcliffe built in 1806 by a hardware merchant named Ireland has been drastically changed in the course of three remodelings; while The Larches (1808), the summer home of William Gray, was substantially modified in 1915

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when moved from its original site facing Brattle Street. One gets a better feeling for this building as a characteristic Federal mansion from a photograph taken before it was remodeled (Fig. 3). Moving on to the 1840s and '50s we discover that the architecture of

these decades is not as well represented on Brattle Street as one might expect. Notably absent is a Greek Revival temple house. The reason for this lack is that during the thirties and early forties there was relatively little real estate activity in the area. Although controlled by new owners, the old Tory estates remained pretty much intact. The only one that had been subdivided before this was that of Thomas Brattle, and the lots available here were too small for a mansion. Anyone desiring an impressive house fronting a major thoroughfare looked to Dana Hill, which was then being subdivided following the burning of the Dana mansion in 1830. Not until after the death of Madame Craigie was the old John Vassall estate divided in 1843, at least the portion of it along Brattle Street, and even here only three houses were erected during the next dozen years.

Although the Oliver Hastings house (1844) at 101 Brattle Street incorporates some Greek features, it is more reminiscent of English Regency work, a quality seen in its ornamental iron decoration and clean sense of geometry. The dwelling at 112 Brattle Street (1846) has many beautiful and characteristic Greek Revival features, but it is relatively modest in size and does not provide us with an archetypal house of Greek Revival design comparable to those that exist for every other period. For such an example one must turn to the old E. A. Chapman residence with its imposing two-story Ionic portico that once faced Eliot Square at the corner of Winthrop Street (Fig. 4). Long since destroyed, its site is now occupied by the Coolidge Bank.

The Italianate-Bracketed style which flourished in the early fifties is better represented. The largest example was the Gardiner Greene Hubbard mansion of 1850 which stood at 146 Brattle Street in an elaborately landscaped park of six acres (Fig. 5). This property was part of a large parcel acquired by Hubbard in 1849 from Samuel Foster who had inherited it from his aunt, Madame

Craigie. Gradually the land around the mansion was subdivided as Hubbard Park, and the dwelling was demolished in 1938 to make way for the present house at 146. Although the house was eccentric in detail and lacked the asymmetrical, towered silhouette that Italianate designers preferred, it was imposing/Here Hubbard lived while he collaborated with Alexander Graham Bell, his son-in-law, in patenting and financing the nation's first telephone company. He maintained the residence in Cambridge for many years after he and his family had moved to Washington, D.C.

A much more sophisticated Italianate design, the Guyot-Horsford house, was built in 1853 at 27 Craigie Street (Fig. 6). It is the best surviving work by the Cambridge amateur architect Henry Gree-nough, brother of Horatio Greenough. Besides a number of fine residences, he also designed the Cambridge Athenaeum in Central Square, a building that later served as the city hall until the present one was erected, as well as the first unit of the University (Agassiz) Museum. In the Guyot house we see for the first time in the Brattle Street area a designer breaking away from the almost tiresome center hall plan which had been standard in large houses for so many generations. Here one entered the house from the side because the main facade was given over to three formal rooms overlooking a handsome garden. The architect attained a new monumentality by dividing the mass of the building into three parts, a central portion of three stories with lower enframing side wings.

The detailing of the porch, cornice, and window frames follows Renaissance precedents rather than Greek Revival.

This new style of architecture which broke with Cambridge's conservative past brought the city again into the forefront of architectural taste. It is contemporary with such advanced developments in Boston as the Athenaeum erected in 1847, and it corresponds to the emergence of architecture as a profession. By emphasizing stylistic variety as well as the accuracy with which an historic style was reproduced, the new profession of architecture hoped to differentiate itself from the practice of engineering and from contracting.

It was, however, the French Academic style that provided the

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new profession with the idiom through which it announced its newfound importance. This manner, which is characterized by use of the mansard roof and relatively correct academic detailing, commanded prestige because of its association with France, which increasing numbers of Americans were discovering as an artistic and cultural Mecca. The best Cambridge example of the new fashion is the old Ross mansion at 26 Craigie Street with its formal garden overlooking Brattle Street (Fig. 7). Even though this house erected in 1868 did not pioneer the new French fashion, which had already been known in Boston for fifteen years, it is a worthy representative of it. The basic scheme is the familiar "a-b-a" composition also observed in the Guyot house. This solution can either take the form of a dominant central pavilion with flanking sides as seen on the north front, or of projecting wings enclosing a recessed central mass as observed on the south elevation. Everything accords to rule, all is balanced, predictable, and orderly; any architectural ornamentation is placed deliberately, used to emphasize a critical architectural zone such as a corner, an opening in the wall, the intersection of the wall and roof, or the foundation.

Once architects had mastered this controlled, purposeful, academic approach, which was so unlike the haphazard accumulation of ornamentation in the High Georgian or Bracketed manners, they began to tire of it; and gradually they commenced to modify the standard solutions. The house at 164 Brattle Street in 1868 contains a hint of a change that was beginning to take place (Fig. 8). Although the plan uses a center hall and is basically symmetrical, the massing is deliberately unsymmetrical with one corner pulled forward to form a pavilion that breaks the regular line of the mansard roof. Such treatment signals the beginning of a trend which in a fifteen-year period develops into the forced irregularity and picturesqueness of the Queen Anne style. The detailing of 164 Brattle also departs from academic control; here the wall surface is broken into panels by wooden framing members that suggest a structural origin though this is not the case. The

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ornamentation of the main cornice and front porch is composed of rather awkward sticklike members which earned this phase of building the name "Stick style."

Such innovation, however, was only a beginning, and for the next two decades architects set out to break every known academic rule. The hallmarks of American architecture

between 1875 and 1890 are variety, individualism, picturesqueness, vitality, and surprise. No one style could dominate, since each designer was bent on inventing one of his own. It is not surprising, therefore, that there is no single term to describe adequately the work of this era, though we lump it all together under the name of the "Queen Anne style." The term "Victorian" is almost meaningless since it covers so long a span of time and so many artistic crosscurrents. "Eastlake" is more properly reserved to characterize a type of interior design and furniture. From this inventive but confusing era we have houses as different as 90, 160, and 167 Brattle Street built within a two-year period.

It is safe to say that no book on the history of American architecture could omit mention of 90 Brattle Street, the house H. H. Richardson designed in 1882 for Mrs. Stoughton (Fig. 9). The controlling idea behind this design is the "skin" of shingles stretched taut over a frame of light wooden members. As opposed to the heavy rigid bam framing employed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the new system known as "balloon framing" used here permitted builders great freedom. Now there was no reason to stay within a tight rectangular shape; walls could curl into a tower or bays shoot off at any angle; the roof line was easily broken into an irregular silhouette, and walls of upper stories might recede or project from those below. Because Richardson was better able to control his newfound freedom than most of his contemporaries, the Stoughton house emerges as the classic example of the Shingle style in America.

Built in 1884, 160 Brattle Street is very different in appearance from the Stoughton house except that it shares a freedom of plan and massing. The unpredictable placement of windows, which are

located in accordance with interior need rather than exterior symmetry, is characteristic, as is the entrance half hidden under a porch in an attempt to avoid formality. The third house, dated 1883, is different in yet other ways. It was designed by Henry Van Brunt, architect also of Memorial Hall, as his own home at 167 Brattle Street (Fig. 10). Among the many things one could comment on here is the emphasis placed on surface texture. Although built of wood, note the many different textures and shapes in which the wood has been wrought: shingles, clapboards, half timbering, turned posts, spindle friezes, intricate jigsaw work, delicate moldings. One thing architects of this generation shared, however, was an acute sensitivity to material. Without the background they provided, Frank Lloyd Wright could never have achieved what he did. Indeed, he follows through on so many ideas advanced by this group that a good case can be made for Wright as the last of the great Queen Anne designers.

Then in 1888, only six years after the Stoughton house, we have the Joseph Thorp house at 168 Brattle Street (Fig. 11). It illustrates the Colonial Revival, the next rung on the ladder of stylistic change. Still Queen Anne in its forced picturesqueness, the details of this design now have a marked Classical cast. The house is iconoclastic in the way it ostentatiously turns its back to Brattle Street to face south across an extensive lawn that stretched in the direction of the Charles River. Perversely a two-story portico—a feature that had heretofore indicated the most formal of entrances—is placed on the service wing at the rear of the house, and there are so many balconies and projecting bays, to say nothing of windows of different sizes and shapes, that the visitor never knows what he will find around the next

corner. The ornamentation is equally unpredictable, and although most elements trace back to Georgian origins, they are handled with audacity. Take the door that leads onto a side porch: it clearly uses a broken pediment, but the forms are exaggeratedly light and elegant, even capricious. If one compares it with a genuine Georgian pediment, it would seem that the person who designed this had deliberately set out

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to "improve" upon the prototype. The designer, incidentally, was the talented but erratic Arthur Little who went on to become one of Boston's most fashionable architects.

There are two Thorp houses on Brattle Street. One built for the father, J. D. Thorp, has just been discussed; the son's house was erected a year earlier, in 1887. Young Thorp was the husband of Annie Longfellow, and their house at 115 Brattle was designed by Alexander W. Longfellow, cousin of Mrs. Thorp (Fig. 12). It also is Colonial Revival but much closer to Georgian precedent than the building just discussed. Though certainly not attempting to duplicate eighteenth-century forms, it is visibly influenced by them, a point that will be appreciated if one compares this house with the Longfellow house two doors away. The eighteenth century never grouped windows in threes as you see here, the roof of the Thorp residence is much heavier than one of Georgian date, and there was never anything in eighteenth-century practice as self-consciously clever as the pattern of the leaded side lights and fan of the entrance nor the recessed balcony on the second floor over the entrance. Except in extraordinary cases there were no eighteenth-century cornices as elaborate as the one seen on the entrance porch and for good reason: whereas a Georgian frieze had to be carved by hand, that constructed in 1887 was stamped in mastic and merely glued to a wooden background. Similarly mass produced in mastic were the cornice modillions and porch capitals, and since it cost no more to make such objects elaborate, ornamentation proliferated.

The later one moves into the 1890s, however, the more Georgian does design become. The house at 183 Brattle Street built in 1893 for Alfred Kidder by W. Y. Peters is almost Georgian Revival in style. One tiling[^] that marks it as still partly Colonial Revival is its enormous gambrel roof which is as heavy as that on Annie Thorp's house. Similarly, dormers employing paired windows identify the design as late nineteenth century. By the time we come to 1900, however, designs become almost literal replicas of Georgian prototypes. This era we refer to as the Georgian Revival to distinguish

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it from earlier Colonial Revival work which retained many Queen Anne elements. To select one from the many excellent examples built in Cambridge, let us look at 144 Brattle Street of 1915 (Fig. 13). It follows the familiar center door, five-bay facade composition, and the third story with short, square windows recalls such Tory mansions as Elmwood. In detailing the door frame, cornice, etc., the designer merely sought to copy accurately, not to improve upon eighteenth-century forms. Only rather subtle points such as the fact that the brick chimneys are exposed outside the clap-boarding rather than cased within it indicate the twentieth-century date. Brattle Street possesses no fewer than thirteen "authentic" revival houses comparable to this one. Indeed, I suspect that one reason some Cantabrigians as

well as many visitors have the impression that Brattle Street is filled with pre-Revolutionary houses— actually there are only seven—is that there are so many excellent replicas like this one.

Such copy work at which one has to look sharply to decide whether the date is 1760 or 1930 went on until the Second World War. The most convincing example stands at 146 Brattle Street designed as late as 1939 by William Duguid, one of the best Georgian Revival architects in the Boston area (Fig. 14). Only the presence of the service wing and garage on the main facade alerts one to the fact that this is a modern house, because the designer went to great expense to conduct flues of fireplaces located in various parts of the house to a central chimney (as in the Lee-Nichols mansion). Another element that lends a convincing air of antiquity is the pair of splendid copper beech trees in the front yard; their presence is explained by the fact that the house occupies the former site of the old Gardiner Hubbard house mentioned earlier.

Despite the admiration that Cambridge architects have evidenced since about 1890 for Georgian prototypes, the dwellings they built over the half-century down to 1940 are not difficult to tell apart. This point can be dramatically demonstrated by comparing three houses which draw inspiration from the brick-ended Georgian house, a type encountered frequently in New England.

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Erected between 1887 and 1930, these three structures illustrate a shrinking in scale and a simplification in mill work that took place as economic and social conditions changed.

First in the series is the John Brewster house of 1887 erected at 145 Brattle Street (Fig. 15) on the original site of the Lechmere mansion. In order to free the site for his new mansion, Brewster moved the earlier edifice to its present location at 149 Brattle Street. Despite its brick end walls, the new house has a top-heavy gambrel roof and a brick corner tower on the rear elevation, both elements held over from the Queen Anne period. Dating from 1903, we next have 114 Brattle Street, designed by John Ames, who did a number of good houses in the area. Here Queen Anne elements have been eliminated in favor of fidelity to traditional Georgian forms, but the overall dimensions of the house are reduced by about ten percent. From 1930 comes 140 Brattle Street, where the scale has been reduced about one-third in comparison with the Brewster house across the street.

The days of meticulously accurate Georgian imitations are now over, for much as some might like to continue it, this is no longer economically practical. We cannot now afford the painstaking, time-consuming wood joinery that is essential to convincing Georgian architecture. When one tries shortcuts using standard, factory-produced "Lumberyard Georgian" trim, the results are disappointing if not downright ugly. Fortunately no one on Brattle Street has been so foolhardy as to attempt this recently, though a couple of minor examples erected just prior to the war barely pass muster. The impossibility today of producing a convincing Georgian design is made painfully evident by examples found in the outer Boston suburbs.

Thus perforce we come to contemporary design. Just off Brattle Street our first example is a house at 4 Buckingham Street of 1937 date, designed by Carl Koch for his parents. Although a couple of quasi-modern houses had been erected in Cambridge a few years earlier, one

can safely say that this was one of the first competent examples of the International style erected in the United States.

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The architect had just completed a year of study in Sweden and was thus conversant with what had been going on abroad since the early 1920s. The house complemented the radical new philosophy of design that Walter Gropius had begun to teach at Harvard, and as an historical note I might add that through this house a whole generation of students was introduced to modern architecture as an aesthetic experience as well as a rational, functional theory.

In conclusion let us observe that architectural history is still being made on Brattle Street, that this is still a viable neighborhood, adapting to changes yet aware of its historic character and tradition. The Falxa house of 1971 at 133 Brattle Street is extremely successful in the way it adapts to an extraordinarily awkward site hedged in by mandatory set-back lines and historic restrictions (Fig. 16). Having to avail himself of every square inch within the permissible building area in order to provide the required floor space, the designer makes use of walls set at unusual angles and constant breaks in massing. The restraints which could have spelled defeat are here exploited to produce a composition of lively prismatic interest. It represents another of those too infrequent instances where difficult limitations have been used by a thoughtful and resourceful designer to produce a building of unusual quality. At the same time, the scale, use of wood, and the steep sloped roof integrate this boldly modern design with its traditional environment.

This sequence of dwellings erected over a period of almost three centuries will, I hope, illustrate in a visual way that history is a continuing process. It did not stop with 1776; it is as recent as yesterday.

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Louis Agassiz and the Founding of the Museum of Comparative Zoology

BY BRYAN PATTERSON

I*T is with deep regret that I stand before you in place of the late Professor Romer, who would have been so eminently suited to sketch for you this interesting piece of Cambridge history, the beginnings of the Museum of Comparative Zoology, or the MCZ as we call it. Alfred Sherwood Romer, by vocation a historian of life, had among his many avocations a great interest in history. He was long a member of this society. He was the official historian of the Historical Society of Pelham, Massachusetts. He was interested in the history of architecture. It was a delight to walk through Harvard Yard with him. If you asked the appropriate question he would give a learned and delightful discourse on the architectural history revealed by the buildings erected successively around the Yard. He could go on at*

length concerning the history of American railroads, and he always said that one of the great regrets of his life was the passing of the steam locomotive.

The story of Louis Agassiz and the beginnings of the Museum were, naturally, of great interest to him. During his directorship two centennials came around: the 100th anniversary of Agassiz's

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*appointment at Harvard in 1947 and the 100th anniversary of the founding of the Museum in 1959. For each of these he was called upon to write articles. During this period two authors became interested in Louis Agassiz's life, in his influence, and in his times. I am referring to Louise Hall Tharp, who gave us *Adventurous Alliance*, in the process giving the second Mrs. Agassiz, a remarkable person in her own right, her full due, and to Edward Lurie, who wrote *Agassiz, A Life in Science*. Professor Romer was of great assistance to both.*

And so to Louis Agassiz. I cannot start better than Professor Romer once did by reading from the Harvard records:

At a stated meeting of the President and Fellows of Harvard College in Boston, September 25th, 1847. Present, President Everett, Dr. Walker, Mr. Lowell, Mr. Curtis, Treasurer Eliot. Voted: That this board do now proceed to the election of a Professor of Zoology and Geology in the Lawrence Scientific School in the University at Cambridge. Whereupon, ballots being given in, it appeared that Professor Louis Agassiz, late of Neuchatel, Switzerland, was chosen. Voted: That the President be requested to lay this election before the Board of Overseers, that they may concur in the same if they see fit.¹

It is likely that had Treasurer Samuel Atkins Eliot known exactly what was in store for him, he might have had second thoughts. A routine announcement, but the things that were to come of it were by no means routine. In fact, Harvard was really never to be quite the same again. A great deal had led up to this announcement and, of course, a great deal more was to follow from it.

Let us first take up what had led to it. Louis Agassiz, born in 1807 in the village of Motier in the canton of Fribourg, showed an early inclination to natural history; like other boys of similar bent he filled the house with eagles and butterflies and turtles and other organisms to the despair of his parents, who wondered what could be made of a son with such tastes. (Having been such a boy myself, I can sympathize with them across the years.) He early

1. Alfred S. Romer, "Louis Agassiz: A Hundred Years after His Coming His Influence Is Still Felt," Harvard Alumni Bulletin 49 (1946-1947), 628.

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displayed qualities of such leadership, brilliance, and marked scholastic aptitude, that his family made every sacrifice for him, wistfully hoping that he might, after exposure to the university, go into a career in law or medicine, or perhaps even, as they fondly hoped, business. But those hopes were quite vain. He early established himself in the good graces and in the admiration of his professors. He was sent to study in Germany where he came under the influence of inspiring teachers and was fully confirmed in his vocation. While still a student he was entrusted with an important piece of investigation—the description of a collection of fishes from Brazil that J. B. von Spix and C. F. P. von Martius had obtained during their travels in that country. Agassiz's publication was of sufficient excellence to attract at once the attention of the learned men of Europe who had any interest at all in natural history.

*After receiving his doctorate, he undertook the study of fossil fishes, a topic almost completely neglected at that time. He received specimens from all over Europe and the British Isles for description, and made the acquaintance of—and charmed—Baron Cuvier, who was the most influential scientist of his time in France. He had, even earlier, attracted the attention of Baron von Humboldt, a very influential person, not only in science, but also because of his relations with the government of the kingdom of Prussia. Agassiz saw his monograph on the fossil fishes through five large volumes and laid the foundations for the study of that group of vertebrates, at least in their fossil state. Then, or concurrently with the progress of *Les poissons fossiles*, his attention became attracted to the investigations of two of his fellow countrymen, who had, they thought, obtained evidence that the glaciers in the Alps had once been much more extensive than they then were. At first sceptical of this, Agassiz went into the field with them and became convinced. Characteristically, his enthusiasm was kindled, he made more extended investigations, and concluded that there had been a major ice age in relatively recent times and that this had had a profound influence on the life of the time. His espousal of this theory was at first greeted with dismay by his*

friends and with general incredulity. But he persisted. Following upon publication of one work after another, he converted some people and inspired others to go out and search for comparable evidence themselves, the upshot being that within a relatively few years he had established the concept of extensive continental glaciation. By the time he was in his thirties, he was already a famous man with an outstanding European reputation.

He had been disappointed in obtaining a position in Paris, Cuvier's death having had an adverse effect on his prospects there. But the king of Prussia, perhaps under von Humboldt's stimulus, established a long-promised academy in Neuchatel. This academy was in effect a college, as we would term it, where instruction of students at the university level could be carried on, and Agassiz was appointed a professor.

He was a man of great personal charm and magnetism, of unbounded energy, bubbling enthusiasm, and utter determination. Theodore Lyman, a student and later an associate of his here, summed him up very well. Agassiz had, he said

the Gallic power of pleasing. No man was more set in his aims; no man more determined and courageous in their pursuit; but he had not the Saxon style of riding rough-shod over people who were in the path. He worked his way through the crowd of the world deftly; and, when he

arrived, as he always did, at the wished-for place, it was with a kindly smile on his face, and accompanied by the good-will even of his opponents.²

Candor compels one to say the goodwill of many of his opponents, but not quite all of them.

Within an astonishingly short space of time he transformed Neuchatel into a center of scientific investigation, with people coming in from everywhere to consult him, with a happy band of students, a number of whom lived in his house, with assistants and artists whom he supported on nothing a year, yet all seemed to survive. In short, Neuchatel was turned into a kind of factory for

2. Theodore Lyman, "Recollections of Agassiz," *Atlantic Monthly* 33 (February 1874), 227.

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the production of Agassiz manuscripts and the prosecution of Agassiz studies. He was also able to travel rather extensively through Europe and England to cement further his relationships with other learned men and in general enhance his already great stature.

Naturalists—we would nowadays say evolutionary biologists— always have the itch to travel. Agassiz, while studying fishes from Brazil, no doubt wanted to go to Brazil. He realized that ambition many years later, thanks to Nathaniel Thayer, but he couldn't have known that at the time. In particular he wanted to come to North America. This desire was already taking hold of him as early as the 1830's, and circumstances conspired to bring this hope to reality, with a most unusual cast of characters—an Italian prince, a Prussian king, an English knight, and an American philanthropist. The Italian prince was Charles Lucien Bonaparte, prince of Canino, an accomplished ornithologist and mammalogist, who published extensively and enjoyed a considerable reputation. He had been once to North America and he wrote to Agassiz suggesting that the two of them go on what would be, for him, a second journey. Agassiz, of course, pricked up his ears with interest, especially as the prince of Canino suggested that he would foot the bill. But, at the same time—and here is Agassiz moving deftly through the crowd—he wrote to von Humboldt and said, in effect, how about tapping the king of Prussia. Von Humboldt duly did, and the king advanced funds to keep Agassiz in North America for two years. You may be wondering why the king of Prussia was always supporting Agassiz and taking an interest in what went on at Neuchatel. The fact was that kings of Prussia then wore two hats; under one they were kings of Prussia, and under the other princes of Neuchatel. This arrangement had begun in 1707, was interrupted during the Napoleonic wars, then reinstated by Napoleon himself, and lasted until 1848. The king of Prussia was not an autocrat in Neuchatel. He had a rambunctious nobility and bourgeoisie to contend with and so, I suppose, supporting Agassiz and scholarly pursuits in Neuchatel was a good

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and relatively inexpensive way of keeping his name favorably before the Neuchatel public.

Another string to Agassiz's bow was Sir Charles Lyell, one of the great figures in the early history of geology. Lyell had made a North American journey in the early 1840's, which had

been most successful and thoroughly enjoyable. Agassiz wrote a letter to him saying in effect, "there is a possibility I may be able to go to North America, and can you suggest any way that I might obtain some lectureships there to help defray expenses?" Lyell undertook to write to John Amory Lowell of the Lowell Institute.³ Lowell in turn wrote to Agassiz, who at once accepted his invitation to lecture. Of course, Lowell knew nothing about the support already given by the king of Prussia, but it all came together very nicely. This opportunity arrived at a propitious moment in Agassiz's life because he had got himself into a financial hole in Neuchatel. He never had the slightest money sense. His ideas were grandiose and his purse was, most of the time, nonexistent, but this never stopped him for a moment. At one time he was running a printing house and a lithographic establishment with numerous people on a nominal payroll for which he had little or no money. Accordingly, the prospect of getting lecture fees and other emoluments that could be sent back to clear up some of his obligations was not the least of the attractions of North America. He delayed his departure for the New World until he could complete his scientific work in Neuchatel. This done, he took ship from Liverpool, after having made a leisurely round of the Continent and of England in order to fix Europe in his memory. Neuchatel had a premonition that they might never see him again. His European colleagues had pretty much the same idea too, and quite likely so did Agassiz himself. He had been in correspondence with various American colleagues, and he wrote to one of them, Benjamin Silliman of Yale, "There is something intoxicating in the prodigious activity of the Americans which makes me enthusiastic—I already feel

3. Address of A. Lawrence Lowell in "Celebration of the Agassiz Centenary," Cambridge Historical Society Publications 2 (1907), 88.

young through the anticipated contact with the men of your young and glorious republic." ⁴

He got here, was greeted by John Amory Lowell, and immediately set off with the funds from the king of Prussia, with whom he had contracted to send to the Prussian Academy a variety of natural history materials from North America, which I believe he indeed did, at a later time. Touring extensively, part of the time in the company of Asa Gray, who was then a friend and admirer, he went as far as Washington and then returned to Boston to give the first of his Lowell lectures.

He didn't speak English very well at the time; indeed, to the end of his days, he retained a rather charming French accent. This did not deter him. He had taken the lectures very seriously and had dress-rehearsed them in Neuchatel before he left—in the French language, of course, and he simply transposed them into English here. As Professor Romer frequently remarked, Agassiz and America were made for each other. He arrived here at just the right moment. The United States was undergoing a kind of cultural birth, or rebirth if you will. The men of affairs and the public in general were coming to an appreciation of the importance of science, and an insatiable appetite for public instruction was developing. Agassiz the charmer, Agassiz the speaker, fell right into line. His first lectures, to his amazement, drew audiences of thousands, something unprecedented in his experience. He had never seen more than about two hundred at a lecture in Europe, even when von Humboldt or Cuvier was speaking. The lectures went wonderfully. He set up house in East Boston and, of course, commenced collecting natural history materials. He was an

*insatiable collector, who could never get enough. "As regards material," Asa Gray once wrote of him, "he is carnivorous" and underlined the word.*⁵

As soon as he was established in the house in East Boston, and

4. Edward Lurie, *Louis Agassiz: A Life in Science* ([Chicago], University of Chicago Press, [1960]), p. 118. 5. *Ibid.*, p. 210.

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with money obtained from the Lowell Lectures, he started bringing over some of his faithful adherents from Switzerland. This merry crew at once began collecting marine life in Boston Harbor with the aid of a dory. I don't know what the residents thought when they saw these respectably dressed gentlemen going out and fishing up bits of seaweed, shells, and the like. Or, when they were not in the dory, walking and collecting on the beautiful beach at Chelsea (now Revere Beach).

A turning point that he profited from was the realization on the part of the Harvard authorities that science was not being adequately attended to at the College. Abbott Lawrence and others had only shortly before his arrival contributed monies for the support of what came to be known as the Lawrence Scientific School. Among the first items of business, of course, was who was to instruct there. Originally, it had been supposed simply that those professors already on the faculty who had some interest in science would constitute the faculty of the school. Agassiz, however, made such a splash with his lectures, had so thoroughly ingratiated himself, and developed such close contacts with the society of Boston and Cambridge that the question at once came to a number of persons' minds, Mr. Lawrence's among others, "Why don't we try to keep this man with us? Why let him go back to Europe? Why not appoint him a professor in the Lawrence Scientific School?" This, as you will recall from my opening remarks, came to pass in 1847. The Board of Overseers saw fit to concur, and the appointment was made. And with that the troubles of Treasurer Eliot may be said to have begun. Agassiz was an insatiable collector; he could never have enough specimens. He never had enough money to run his operation, but this did not deter him. Going into debt didn't worry him in the least. Some help was on the way, however. On his first appearance in church in Boston, in the company of Mr. Lowell, he caught the eye of a Mrs. Gary who had marriageable daughters on hand, and who said to herself, "Hmm, that man looks rather like Felton [Cornelius Conway Felton, the famous Harvard classicist, was already her

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son-in-law]. He might do for Lizzie." She actually brought this up at the lunch table after church. But Lizzie, better informed than her mother, said, "That's not going to occur, Mamma, because Mr. Agassiz has a wife and three children in Switzerland." ⁶ As you all know, this was no permanent bar because the first Mrs. Agassiz, mother of Alexander and of two daughters, died shortly after her husband came to America, and the way was thus tragically cleared for Lizzie to become the second Mrs. Agassiz.

Life with Agassiz, while stimulating, had its rough spots for a proper Bostonian young lady. For example, you never could really tell what might be in the house. During his European years, his establishment was always full of live specimens, the most dangerous of which was at one time a crocodile that at least once got loose and wandered around the house. And in America—fortunately for Mrs. Agassiz, before their marriage—he obtained a bear from Maine, which broke into some wine casks and proceeded to reel drunkenly about the house. After the marriage he embarked upon the series of volumes entitled Contributions to the Natural History of the United States, and among the subjects treated were the North American turtles. "They were everywhere, . . . the living ones in all directions. . . . Many little terrapins hid under the stairs; and softshell turtles inhabited tubs. The professor's little garden was, at times, quite swarming" with them.⁷ Mrs. Agassiz took all this in her stride, but she could not fail to have been dismayed by the haphazard state of the professor's finances, with nearly everything he made, be it his salary as Professor of Zoology and Geology in the Lawrence School or fees from lectures, going into building up collections. However, a cheerful and staunch helpmate, she decided to start a school for girls, which she did with success, the professor at times assisting. Of course, every penny went into specimens—everything she didn't lay aside for

6. The precise wordings of these musings and of this lunch-table conversation were naturally not recorded, but the sense of them has come down to us (see Louise Hall Tharp, *Adventurous Alliance* [Boston, Little, Brown and Co., (1961)], pp. 5-6).

7. Lyman, p. 225.

the upkeep of the house. But, because she had gained valuable experience from this enterprise, it was natural that later on—when Mr. Gilman and others started the Collegiate Society for the Instruction of Women—Mrs. Agassiz should have been called into the group. And it was further, I suppose, inevitable that when Mr. Gilman bowed out (he is said not to have been a very good administrator) Mrs. Agassiz was elected to run the show. So, you see, even Radcliffe owes something to Agassiz, his turtles, his bears, and his other creatures.

Here, then, was Agassiz giving public lectures, bringing to America an appreciation of science and charming it the while, helping in the establishment of the American Association for the Advancement of Science; here was this man, by now a luminary on the Harvard faculty, one of its most famous and widely known members, piling up these collections, and what was the University to do about them? It was largely up to Treasurer Eliot. The College took care of Agassiz, one step at a time. First they gave him an old bathhouse situated on the banks of the Charles, not far from the present Larz Anderson Bridge. It didn't take him very long to fill it. By 1853 the Corporation had been badgered or bullied or persuaded into purchasing his collections and into turning over to him what had previously been known as Engineer Hall. This building had been moved to Divinity Avenue, and the collections of Agassiz and of some of his assistants were moved into it. He did not, of course, give up the bathhouse, but just used Engineer Hall as a further depository, and before very long he was also infiltrating the basement of Harvard Hall. He had received \$12,000 for his collection from the Corporation. It is possible that Treasurer Eliot may have innocently thought this would do it. If so, he was at once disabused in the letter of thanks he got from Agassiz, who wrote, "I want it well understood I have made no bargain in parting with my collection, but

*only secured permanency for a Museum which it is my earnest desire to render more and more important."*⁸ So, naturally, he spent the \$12,000, largely

8. Lurie, p. 191.

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for the purchase of more specimens, receiving duplicates from Baird at the Smithsonian Institution, enlisting sea captains, naval captains, consuls, travelers, fishermen, Indians, in short anybody and everybody who could be induced to give or to send material to him. Specimens poured into Cambridge. Overcrowding became so bad that the staff hardly knew what they had or where to find it. But this did not deter Agassiz. In a way he had Harvard over a barrel, a circumstance which he, a deft man, was not slow in turning to advantage. Here were priceless collections, whose virtues he was extolling on every hand. The Corporation, even had they wanted to, could hardly have thrown them out; the outcry would have been too great. In addition, he would receive offers from European institutions to "come back to us once again, give us the light of your radiance," and other fulsome compliments, and, of course, quite as professors today, he would inform the Corporation that he had received an offer to become Director of the Paris Museum with a salary of such and such and a seat in the Senate of the Empire,⁹ but, since he loved America, had the interests of Harvard at heart, and was hoping to have his collections taken proper care of, he was turning this attractive offer down. It is possible that some of the men of affairs and of prudent investment entrusted with the financial management of the College felt like paraphrasing Henry II and saying, "Will nobody curb for us this turbulent savant?" But if they did, it has not been recorded.

In 1858 an opportunity came Agassiz's way that brought everything to a head. Among his numerous friends in Boston, an influential fellow member of the Saturday Club had been Francis Galley Gray, whose family had been prominent in shipping and who had himself served as a member of the Corporation. Mr. Gray, who at all times had Harvard's interests at heart, decided he would help to underwrite the professor's dream, and did so in his will to the very generous extent of \$50,000, a princely sum in those days. This was not a bequest designed for building, and it was not made

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-224.

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outright to Harvard. The wording was such that it could be taken elsewhere, which placed Harvard under some pressure. The administrator of the estate, William Gray, a nephew of the late Mr. Gray, was hand-in-glove with Agassiz, and the fact that Agassiz's brother-in-law, Cornelius Conway Felton, was shortly to become president of Harvard probably did not hurt matters. All were resolved that the bequest should stay within the College.

The \$50,000 would take care of running expenses for a while, but what to do about a building? Agassiz had had experience in extracting money from reigning monarchs and could see no reason why a state in a great republic should be any less generous.

Accordingly, he approached the legislature and to everybody's amazement got from it a grant of \$100,000, with conditions that depended on the sale of some lands. At the same time a public subscription was opened, which was almost at once oversubscribed. The goal was \$50,000, and \$71,000 was netted within a rather short space of time. The dream was on the way to realization. The papers were signed, construction began in 1859, and it is from this date that the founding of the Museum is reckoned.

The inauguration was held upon the completion of the building on the thirteenth of November, 1860. It was a beautiful late fall day. There was a grand procession. Governor Banks and President Felton spoke, and it is possible that once again the Corporation thought: "Now, it's done." Not a bit of it. Agassiz also spoke and made it very clear that this was a promising beginning, that this institution was destined, with further additions, which he had in mind, and with further staff to achieve a place in America comparable to that enjoyed by the Jardin des Plantes in Paris and the British Museum in London. I think we can take leave of him there, with the first step in his dream of a great museum for America on the way to fulfillment. It was not to be completed until years after his death, and then largely through the efforts of his son, Alexander. But he started something that has endured, that has become famous in its own right. Professor Mayr, Professor Romer's successor as director, has often said that when he was a student in

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Germany he knew about the Museum of Comparative Zoology long before he had ever heard of Harvard University. It has fulfilled Agassiz's dream of attracting scholars from all over, of attracting students from all over, of giving adequate training to those whose interests lie in the area of the Museum's work. Only last Friday I was attending a party in honor of the director of a great university museum in South America, himself a Harvard Ph.D. who had done his graduate work in the MCZ. On that occasion I had a chat with a first-year graduate student, who had come to us from elsewhere. He said, "I love this place; I've never felt so at home anywhere else in my life." Louis Agassiz would have been delighted to hear that.

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The Historical Development of Cambridge Common

BY PAUL J. LEWIS

I DEVELOPED an interest in the Common as a newcomer to Cambridge. What first attracted and, in fact, impressed me was its weekly Sunday activity, with huge crowds, rock music, and children playing. Although most people there were of my generation, many other ages were represented, adding to the intensity. In total, it was one of the most successful gathering-places I had ever experienced. However, its disrepair was all too obvious. Grass and trees were unhealthy. Play equipment and fencing sorely needed mending. The reason, of course, is the disparity between the great numbers of people wanting to use the Common and the inappropriateness of the layout for such intense use. My training as a landscape

architect has taught me that parks and open space should function to serve today's intense urban demands, or be restored for historical preservation. At face value, both seemed over-simplified solutions to an extremely complex problem. On the one hand the Common's rich historical value might be compromised; on the other, its true historical function might become only ceremonial. Obviously, resolution lay somewhere in between, but in order to ascertain this I have had to ask how the Cambridge Common developed—to examine not only local events and influences, but also outside factors such as the park

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movement, the monument period, and the land-use traditions of our forefathers. When the facts are seen at both these levels, we can gain a greater appreciation of the magnitude of the Common's importance, locally and nationally.

ENGLISH PRECEDENT

English settlement traditions brought here by our forefathers have played a significant role in shaping the urban settlements of New England. The way in which these new immigrants laid out their towns and villages was quite deliberate, and the idea of common land was central to their scheme. English precedent established the institution of common lands used for pasture and crop cultivation. All freemen were allotted their share. A similar system developed in New England, but one unique factor made the common lands absolutely essential—the threat of the hostile wilderness. Imagine if you will, for a moment, settling into a completely virgin landscape which is as mysterious to you as another planet. All you know is what you have heard from indirect sources, and most of it bad. Tales of hostile Indians, hungry wolves and harsh winters are but a few.

Because of these unique factors common land became a protective element as well as a source for food. Couple with this the need for every citizen to participate in military training and the Common is the most important element of the community. It is the very foundation on which the town is built and remains today as a symbol of the beginnings of Cambridge.

The physical manifestation of the New England common was quite distinctive, and the Cambridge Common is a prime example. Two separate zones developed: the Town Common and the Cow Common. Both were essential to the survival of the community in the early years. The Town Common functioned specifically as a gathering place for military training, town meetings, and social events. The Cow Common was a source of fuel as well as food for the community. But, as we shall see, as Cambridge grows the Common shrinks.

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NEWTOWNE

In the early years, the Cambridge Common was quite extensive. The area originally assigned as common lands extended from the settlement just south of Harvard Square to an enclosure at Lin-naean Street. Cattle grazed, gardens flourished and firewood was plentiful. Even before the settlement of Newtowne, what we now call the Common was split

by the Charlestown-Watertown path, and shortly after settlement the road to Menotomy (Massachusetts Avenue) created another division. It was also during this earliest period that land for the burying ground was set aside. And, as we shall see, land taking continued well into the modern age. The area known as the Cow Common was the largest single piece to go at any one time. But to understand how it was lost from the Common, we must understand the system, for during this early period the Common was not a public park as it is today.

The most common settlement method employed in New England was for legislatures to grant lands for mutual use by settlers. In the case of Cambridge in the early seventeenth century (or Newtowne as it was originally called) common lands came under the jurisdiction and ownership of the Proprietors of the Common Lands and Houses. New residents were allotted use privileges only by unanimous consent of the Proprietors. As the Proprietors became more organized and Newtowne began to grow, there was more demand for land. Because of these pressures, they began to allot acreage on the Cow Common to individuals—as they did, for example, on February 27,1664, and March 27,1665—rather than allow random use by all.¹ The heads of the "Proprietors" organization, had the right to repossess land which was improperly used and to re-allocate it. Over time it found its way, bit by bit, into private hands. Small portions went to public developments, such as burying grounds, or were given to the church, and some were lost in payment of debts. Finally, real estate pressures won out

1. The Register Book of the Lands and Houses in the "New Towne" and the Town of Cambridge . . . Generally Called "The Proprietors' Records" (Cambridge, 1896), pp. 144-145.

and between "1720 and 1724 the area above Waterhouse Street (the Cow Commons) was surveyed and divided and the Common's size was diminished considerably." ²

TOWN COMMON

The Town Common, which is basically the area as we know it today, has been the site of over three centuries of history. It has functioned as a meeting place throughout the period. In early Cambridge life, public debate played a major role. Meetings were held at the Town Meeting Oak, which was located on the Massachusetts Avenue side of the Common. A stone marker identifies the spot today. As was the tradition, people would gather under it to discuss and air their grievances. Politics always drew the largest crowds.

In the political year of 1637, Anne Hutchinson had been speaking out against the rigidities of the Puritan church. She was supported by Sir Henry Vane, governor of the Commonwealth. Ex-governor John Winthrop, who had originally led the settlers to Newtowne in 1630, opposed him. A heated debate took place there between the two supporting groups, and at the height of the argument the Rev. John Wilson, pastor of the Boston church, climbed into the oak and restored order. This resulted in the election of Winthrop and the overthrow of Vane and Anne Hutchinson and their followers.³

This was perhaps the landmark event in a long history of the Common as a forum for public gathering. For the next century and a third, the Common continued to function as the focal point of community life. As the air of major political change became stronger, however, the

Common readied itself for its most significant national historical contribution. On November 20, 1769, the Proprietors voted "that all the common lands belonging to the Proprietors fronting the College

2. Information provided by Ms. Amy E. Cohn, secretary, Cambridge Historical Commission, 1971.

3. An Historic Guide to Cambridge, compiled by Hannah Winthrop Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution (Cambridge, [1907]), p. 123.

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(commonly called the Town Commons) not heretofore granted or allotted to any particular person or persons, or for any special or particular use, be ... granted to the Town of Cambridge to be used as a training field to lie undivided, and remain for that use forever." 4 It is significant to note that it is this directive which ensured the continued existence of the Common. In the nineteenth-century debate whether or not the Common should become a public park, it was to become the central issue.

THE REVOLUTION

The military role which the Common had played prior to the Revolution was suddenly intensified in 1774. It was by location the most central meeting place both for the town and for Middlesex County, being the county seat. On September 1 and 2, 1774, the countryside was aroused by the raid ordered by General Gage for seizure of the province's munitions from Somerville. Consequently, a crowd of some 4,000 militia, gentry, and concerned citizens gathered on the Cambridge Common in protest. They marched to the court house in Harvard Square and persuaded Judges Danforth and Lee to resign as members of the Governor's Mandamus Council. General William Brattle was already in Boston, and Lieutenant Governor Thomas Oliver went there to plead with General Gage not to send troops to disperse the crowd. Successfully accomplishing his mission, he returned to Cambridge and reported to the crowd. He was then followed to his home at Elmwood and forced to resign from the council. Eight months later, on April 19, 1775, General Gage tried again to seize the province's supplies in Concord, but this time he was met by "the shot heard 'round the world." After the battles of Lexington and Concord the militia again gathered on the Cambridge Common. It was then that the first encampment occurred, with the old houses occupied by officers and the college buildings by the troops.

4. Register Book, p. 362.

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On June 16, 1775, Colonel Prescott with 1,000 men assembled on the Common for their march to Bunker Hill after a prayer by Harvard President Langdon. Both as an encampment site and as an area for troop training, the Common—with its tents and other similar structures which were erected in the westernmost corner—was the principal military center of the country from April 19, 1775, through the "Siege of Boston" to March 17, 1776.⁵ The single most important event, which allegedly occurred, however, was General Washington's taking command of the Continental Army on July 3, 1775. Just what really happened on that day is the subject of considerable debate.⁶ The scene was supposedly enacted under a

mature elm tree located at the intersection of what is now Garden Street and Mason Street. Although much care was taken to protect the Washington Elm—in later years, especially by Professor Charles S. Sargent of the Arnold Arboretum—it toppled in 1924. At that time it was about two hundred years old. Some forty years earlier, it had been the site and symbol for the Centennial Celebration of 1875.

Again in this century, World War I unexpectedly transformed the Common back to its original military uses. Before we entered World War I, the Common was the "training ground" for the Harvard Regiment and in 1918 became a federal navy radio school, almost entirely covered by buildings. It was returned to the city the next year with a check in the amount of \$13,123. With those funds the Common was upgraded and the ballfield enlarged to accommodate an ice-skating rink. Barracks were constructed again during World War II.

Although events which occurred on the Common itself have strengthened its importance, buildings fronting on it have an

5. Historic Guide, pp. 123-124.

6. One argument is that Washington simply collected additional troops on the Common as he passed through; another: that the event did not take place on the Common at all. For details, see Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, ser. 2, vol. 17 (1903), pp. 128-130; articles in Cambridge Tribune (March 29, 1924; July 11, 1925; February 27, 1926); Cambridge Hist. Soc. Publications 18 (1925): S. F. Batchelder, "The Washington Elm Tradition."

equally significant role. It was in the Waterhouse building that the first smallpox vaccination was given by Dr. Waterhouse in 1799. Fay House, Gannett House, and Harvard College buildings shared similar station, as did Christ Church. Because of the Revolutionary War events which have occurred there and the proximity of many historically significant buildings, the Common established itself as a very impressive and important place.

ENCLOSURE

The growth of the city of Cambridge was directly related to the enclosure of the Common in 1830. Urbanization and related economic pressures laid increasing demands on the property. On the one hand it was the location of a major transportation interchange; on the other, it was the site of much history and was situated in a prominent residential area. Out of this conflict resulted its enclosure and designation as a public park, but only after many years of debate in the courts. Cambridge had been a rural community until the turn of the eighteenth century, mainly because of its isolation from prospering Boston. Only two indirect routes to the Hub were in existence until 1793. One was via the Great Bridge, now Anderson Bridge, through Brookline and Roxbury to Boston Neck. The other was by ferry to Charlestown. By 1793, however, the West Boston Bridge was completed, with Broadway leading directly to the Cambridge Common. Thus the distance, as recorded on the old guide stone in the burying ground, was reduced from eight miles to only two. A second bridge on the site of the dam resulted in the development of light industry in East Cambridge, such as soap-making, furniture-manufacturing, carriage-building, and of freight routes to Boston.⁷

Thus, in the 1820's, as Lechmere Point was being developed, new immigrant labor was imported. The population of Cambridge grew from only 1,586 in 1776 to 6,072 in 1830.⁸
Potential develop-

7. Wendell D. Garrett, "The Topographical Development of Cambridge, 1793-1896," Cambridge Hist. Soc. Publications 39 (1964), 110-111.

8. Ibid., p. 112.

ment of all Cambridge became a reality, and the Common, as the major regional transportation interchange, became a political issue. The conflict arose between two basic factions, the residents adjacent to the Common, who wanted pleasant surroundings for themselves, and prominent businessmen from other parts of town who had economic interests.

Mr. Wendell Garrett's interpretation in the "Topographical Development of Cambridge" is cogent:

By 1830, Cambridge in reality was three towns within the same geographic boundaries, each separated by formidable stretches of partially submerged and wooded land; more and more they had diverse, and often conflicting, interests in local government, particularly on the policy of expenditure of public money. The rivalry of the three villages came to a noisy culmination in June, 1830, when Old Cambridge applied for and received from the General Court permission to enclose the common lands of the town and convert them into a park. . . . Old Cambridge forces met immediate resistance from East Cambridge and Craigie Bridge interests because their scheme would divert the Concord Turnpike from direct connection with Cambridge Street. In addition, cattle drivers were enraged at the suggestion of an enclosure since they had traditionally used the Common as a resting place for their stock.⁹

The Enclosure Act of June 5, 1830, stated that "Israel Porter, Stephen Higginson, Asahel Stearns, Joseph Homes, and Francis Dana, with their associates, be ... authorized and empowered, at their own expense, and under the direction of two commissioners" to enclose the Cambridge Common.¹⁰ They were also granted the right to locate roads and make alterations with approval of the commissioners. It was designated as a public park, and private use was outlawed. Fifty-dollar fines for anyone damaging the Common were used for improvement funds. However, the battle was yet to come.

Colonel Jednathan Wellington, leader of the opposition, was not

9. Ibid., pp. 112-113.

10. Special Laws Enacted by the Legislature of Massachusetts for the City of Cambridge, 1781-1890 (Boston, 1890), pp. 25-26.

satisfied. A fight flared up again at the town meeting on October 8, 1830, when he called for the repeal of the act which established enclosure. He argued that Porter and friends had closed public roads. Porter, however, had the better argument. He said:

several small roads (to Charlestown, Watertown and the Concord Turnpike) which cross (the Common) at different directions, most of which are but little travelled, and never having been established by any legal authority, and the travel on them not being confined to any definite limits, are not kept in repair by the town. In addition (it is shown) that considerable inconvenience is experienced by strangers and others on dark nights, and in winter when the travelled path is obliterated by snow from being no fences to serve as a guide to the traveller. (We will preserve it as a public park at our own expense).¹¹

In 1832, the Supreme Judicial Court upheld the ruling that the Common remain enclosed. The court stated that it did not feel it had jurisdiction in such a matter, but it did advise that, for the public welfare, the Common remain fenced and that roads not go through.¹² Porter and his friends had won, and the issue was settled. "The result was highly gratifying and advantageous to the inhabitants of Old Cambridge, who thus secured in perpetuity, for themselves and their successors, a pleasant park rich in historical recollections."¹³

A few decades later (in 1854, 1857, and 1859) attempts were made to enclose the nearby triangular area at the corner of North Avenue (Massachusetts Avenue) and Waterhouse Street, but they failed. Finally, on August 24, 1860, the City Council granted permission to enclose it. During the following year, the right to plant trees and to grade the area was granted.¹⁴ The area is presently known as the "Little Common." Sometime during the period between its designation as a public park in 1830 and the dedication

11. *Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Acts of 1830, ch. 6.*

12. *Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Opinion of the Supreme Judicial Court . . . in Relation to the Cambridge Common (Boston, 1835).*

13. *Lucius R. Paige, History of Cambridge, Massachusetts: 1630-1877 (Boston, 1877), p. 237.*

14. *City of Cambridge, City Records, MSS., vol. J, p. 534; ibid., vol. K, p. 102.*

of the Soldiers' Monument in 1869, the Common was enclosed by the granite and rail fence which still exists. Although I could find no record of its construction, the significant fact is that, once visibly enclosed, the permanence of the Common was psychologically strengthened. Small portions of it, however, were eaten away, piece by piece, for "public improvements," such as road-widening and subway-construction.

THE COMMON AS A MEMORIAL

During its next phase, from the 1870s until the mid-1930s, the Common began to collect monuments. This period in American history was the most intensive phase of monument-building that the country has seen. The Common, being the only sizable green space in a central location, was ideal for the siting of monuments not only because of its strategic location in the city, but also on account of the historical role it has played in both New England and the country. Although many monuments and markers found their way on to the Common, it would be too tedious to pursue each one in detail. My concern is to point

out that so many monuments have now been placed there that the Common itself has become a monument.

In the period immediately preceding the Civil War, there were immensely popular campaigns for monument-building nationwide. "The demand for patriotic monuments was almost as old as the Revolution, but few large scale ideas were executed in the United States before

1825." ¹⁵ Even though "natural monuments" existed on the Common, such as the Washington Elm and the Town Meeting Oak, there were not significant man-made memorials until 1869. The fifty-five-foot high Soldiers' Monument is the first and largest structure to be built on the Common. However, the proposal for the statue immediately sparked court debate over the intended use of the Common as a park. The issue was raised because the Proprietors had given the Common to the city in

*15. Neil Harris, *The Artist in American Society* (New York, Braziller, p. 188.*

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1769, to be used as a training field forever. As a result of the dispute, park use was found to be appropriate. The decision to allow the statue on the Common would make it possible to have other memorials erected. The sentiment expressed at the dedication ceremony of the Soldiers' Monument was that "there can be no doubt that this decision of Judge Morton will be regarded as a final settlement of the question as to what the city may, or may not, do with the Common." ¹⁶

Following the Civil War, there was a public competition for an appropriate design for the statue which was to commemorate the Civil War dead in Cambridge. In all, thirty-four plans by twenty-two different artists were submitted. Costs ranged from \$10,000 to \$60,000, considerable sums in those days. In the end, Cyrus and Darius Cobb were chosen for the design. Their description of the statue can be found in the reprint account of the dedication ceremony. Professor Eliot has recalled an interesting story regarding the statue:

The fact that the Cobb statue of the Civil War soldier at the top of the monument is bareheaded in snow or rain led later to a college prank by the infamous "Med-Fac." One dark night, students somehow—nobody knows how—got up there and crowned that bare head with a huge black top hat. The neighbors were awakened next morning by the guffaws of the milkmen, and it reportedly took days for the city to get the hat removed.

In days past the Common was the scene of much more official public use than today. For example, on July 3, 1875, the centennial of the Revolution was held. A huge tent was erected under which portions of the ceremony took place. Prominent speakers—among them Oliver Wendell Holmes, James Russell Lowell, and Charles W. Eliot—glorified the traditions of the Common. In talking about the Common and its history, Edward Everett stated that "the town of Cambridge and the county of Middlesex are filled with the vestiges of the Revolution. Whithersoever we turn our eyes,

*16. *The Soldiers' Monument in Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1870), p. 14.*

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we behold some accounts of its glorious scenes."¹⁷ It was on this occasion that three British cannon, brought from Ticonderoga by Col. Henry Knox in the winter of 1775-76, were installed around the Soldiers' Monument. At some later date they were moved to their present location on the western side of the Common.

On November 28, 1882, a statue of John Bridge, the "epitome of the Puritan," was erected at the northeast corner of the Common. It was a big event. And the era of patriotic improvements continued well into the twentieth century. At the 150th anniversary of the Revolution, in 1925, one speaker reinforced the Common's significance; the city "invites the people of the world to visit Cambridge, the Birthplace of Liberty, and participates in the celebration of the most momentous event in American history."¹⁸

As monuments were added, the present path system began to emerge. Of course, the major crosswalk along the ancient Charles-town-Watertown path is still there and many new walks are aligned with major vistas, the monuments acting as focal points. If one refers to an aerial view of the Common today, it will be noted that the Soldiers' Monument is aligned on an axis with Massachusetts Avenue. Other walks reflect the old principle applied in Harvard Yard—where people walk, there should be a path.

THE COMMON AS A PUBLIC PARK

Embellishment of the Common with monuments and the addition of recreational improvements began to attract crowds on a regular basis at the turn of the century. In 1892, with the founding of the Park Board, monies for the Common became available under annual public assessment. In its second annual report, the board described the Common as being in very poor condition, having compacted topsoil and suffering from conflicting human uses. This sounds all too familiar today.

In the teens and the twenties, concern arose over the condition

17. *Cambridge in the Centennial (Boston, 1875), p. 5.*

18. *T. Harrison Cummings, An Address of American Independence ([Cambridge, 1925]), no pagination.*

of the Washington Elm. The public wrote many letters of concern and, as a result, Professor Charles S. Sargent, noted horticulturist from the Arnold Arboretum, was consulted. He and his crew refurbished the tree in order to give it 50-100 more years of life. Unfortunately, it crashed to the ground in 1924 because of the complete absence of roots, as it had virtually been paved to its base with asphalt for years.¹⁹ Two seedlings still exist at the D.A.R. gateway. In addition, there are also some located in the Arnold Arboretum and possibly in Brookline.

There is a long history of status quo of the Common as evidenced by letters and statements in the annual reports of the Park Board. However, the increasing degradation of the Common, then as now, raised major concern on the part of local citizens and the board. One citizen wrote, "It must be admitted that the present treatment of the Cambridge Common is a decided failure, from any artistic point of view, but it is certain that no radical change in

the ground plan would be tolerated by the People." ²⁰ *The board argued that the Common should be treated like any good investment with the payoffs being low maintenance and better law enforcement. It was also concerned with maintaining a truly American design rather than "be dressed in the Italian or French, or any similar style of landscape gardening."* ²¹

The fact of conflicting uses already existed and was then, as now, a major issue. The baseball field naturally attracted rowdy crowds because of its convenient location. It served the high school as well as Browne and Nichols until about 1918. Many citizens wanted the field removed because of the dangers to passers-by, with bad language and alleged ugliness on the top of the list. Similar complaints were heard over the absence of public toilets. Today there is considerable displeasure over noisy rock concerts.

During the early part of this century, many minor additions were made but no major alterations were allowed on the Common

19. *Cambridge Park Board, Report for 1924, p. 11.*

20. *Ibid., 1928, 1932.*

21. *Ibid., 1894, p. 84.*

proper. New trees and many flowers were planted. The statue of Charles Sumner was erected by an anonymous donor in 1902; in 1906 the Hannah Winthrop Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution erected a memorial gateway; and for many consecutive years the Cambridge Plant Club donated large quantities of shrubs. Monument stones and markers found their way onto the site.

Two major sections of the original Common have been diverted to other uses by authority of special acts of the General Court. Around 1912, land was taken for the construction of the subway entrance, and soon thereafter more land was taken for nearby parking. It is in this precinct that the flagpole was erected in 1914. In 1932 a small triangular portion on the eastern side of the Common, known as Holmes Place, was swapped with Harvard for the firehouse site at Cambridge Street and Broadway. In addition, continued street widenings have taken their toll over the years.

RECENT TIMES

These last few years have seen no additions or positive physical alterations to the Common. In fact, it has been allowed to waste away. Although poor soil conditions and unhealthy trees have existed for at least eighty years, no comprehensive improvement has been proposed until recently. As evidence, the Soldiers' Monument, which used to be enclosed by a handsome iron fence, now has a chain link fence, and the monument is considerably defaced. The cannons are in equally bad condition. Outdated equipment in the playground is in bad repair, and its chain link fence is a significant eyesore. Areas outside the Common proper present problems also. The Charles Sumner memorial and the flagpole on the subway site are impossible for the pedestrian to visit because of the threat of hostile

Boston (not to mention Cambridge) drivers. One can enjoy the Sumner statue only while stopped at the traffic signal, if one can stand the fumes.

With the time of the Bicentennial rapidly nearing, the first comprehensive renovation of the Common will occur. The plan

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proposes upgrading of walks and expansion of pavements to accommodate the existing large Sunday crowd as well as Bicentennial tourists. Improved presentation of monuments, addition of markers, and general refurbishing of plants are included. A sprinkler system will be added to keep the turf in good condition.

The Common, born of English custom 344 years ago, has experienced steadily intensifying demands with the growth in local population. Similarly, it has amassed an impressive myriad of history in that same period. Most importantly, its function as a place of assembly for celebration, military use and protest has contributed to its significance. It is a focal point of history as well as a vantage point from which its surroundings can be put in perspective. To the city the Common symbolizes the birth of Cambridge, and to the country at large it represents a primary ingredient in the success of the nation's birth.

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Cambridge 1774-1779, Inspiration for 1974-1979

BY ALBERT B. WOLFE

[Maps following page 96.]

ONE of the earliest examples of the uses of history is recorded by Aesop in the story of the Fox and the Lion. The Fox, as most of us remember, was invited to dinner by the Lion—a signal honor. Upon arriving at the appointed hour, the Fox observed that the footprints in the dust before the den, made by previous visitors on similar occasions, all pointed inward. The Fox read the history and stood the Lion up.

"No man can know where he is likely to be tomorrow unless he knows where he was yesterday and the day before. Preserving some of the evidence of where we have been so that each new generation may re-examine the interpretation of the last: That is the chief purpose" both of the study of history and of historic conservation.¹

1774-1779:

THE ARROGANCE OF MONARCHS CURBED

In the ever-unfolding drama of efforts to improve the quality of human life on this planet, little Cambridge has more than once held center scene.

Read May 19, 1974

1. Something to Preserve: A Report on Historic Preservation by the Acquisition of Protective Agreements on Buildings in Ipswich, Massachusetts, by the Ipswich Historical Commission ([Ipswich], 1975), foreword.

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The revolution of human minds which culminated in the American War of Independence convinced most of the Judeo-Christian world that every man and woman by reason of birth on this planet has "natural rights" to "life, liberty and pursuit of happiness," unless unduly endangering like rights of others; and that these rights are superior to the "divine" rights of any monarch. From the time of the confrontation at Elmwood on September 2, 1774, when

the Loyalists were driven from Middlesex County, until March 17, 1776, when they left Boston, little Cambridge—main seat of learning of the Massachusetts Bay Colony—held center scene; and then again during the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention of 1779 in the Fourth Meeting House in what is now Harvard Square.

Here in Middlesex County the Puritans of the Great Rebellion that replaced Charles I with a Commonwealth had established the generating center of their Utopian New World dream—a place for their first printing press, their first library and their first institution of higher learning—a place, as the plaque on the main gate to Harvard Yard reads, "to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity."

From 1630 to 1774, what is now Cambridge came to have a population of some eight hundred residents, a minor number compared with many other Colonial communities such as Ipswich, which reached about that figure in 1646. But as a center for learning, dreaming, and generating ideas, it grew far out of proportion to its population. Set back from the seacoast and the marts of trade far enough not to be overwhelmed by their concerns, it was also enough closer to men and women who were here before to absorb more of their ways and thoughts than most historians have since perceived. Town meetings and the congregational form of worship grew out of those contacts—a melding of the humane pow-wow, leader-among-equals, and peace-pipe settlement of disputes way of life, with the more authoritarian way brought to our shores by men of letters.

While New England, with leadership from Cambridge, was developing town meetings and congregational worship, Louis XIV,

capitalizing on the printing tool, was welding one of the most dictatorial, arrogant, and profligate empires ever put together. Epitomized in "L'etat, c'est moi," it generated a counterphilosophy of natural human rights among the highly literate of his court and time.

George III, petty of mind compared with Louis le Grand but, like him, still convinced of the divine right of kings, dismissed the legislature of the Massachusetts Bay Colony on June 17, 1774— presaging Bunker Hill by just one year. Then, by writ of mandamus, King George ordered a score and more of leading citizens to exercise the legislative powers instead, under a military as well as a civilian governor. He so outraged the people that on September 2, 1774—the day after the military governor, General Gage, had commandeered the cannon of the Cambridge Militia and the gunpowder from the Powder House on Quarry Hill in Somerville (then Charlestown)—the citizens of Middlesex County gathered in front of their court house (in what is now Harvard Square) to demand, and receive, the resignations from the Council of two judges who had accepted the king's mandamus.

The citizens then marched to the house now known as Elmwood, built seven years earlier. It overlooked the site where Sir Richard Saltonstall had landed in 1629 to found Watertown, and also where, if the granite marker put there in the 1880s by Professor Eben Norton Horsford is to be believed, "in the year 1000 Leif Eric-son built his house in Vinland." There, Thomas Oliver, the builder of Elmwood, presiding officer of the Mandamus Council and lieutenant governor of the Colony, relayed assurances from the military governor that no Redcoats were on the way. Yet his house was "surrounded by three or four thousand people and one quarter part in arms." Pursuant to the commands of the body of the county thus

convened, he signed his resignation from the council board and a renunciation of its authority.

The Elmwood site had been part of Watertown until 1754. Eleven large estates then surrounded the original palisaded town described by a traveller in 1633 (three years after its founding) as

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"one of the neatest and best compacted towns in New England, having many fine structures, with many handsome contrived streets." By 1670 Old Cambridge had about seventy-five houses.² Most of the eleven "suburban" estates were occupied in Revolutionary times by West Indian nabobs supported by the unscrupulous trinket-slave-rum triangular trade that put probably as many of our fellow men and women into slavery as did any military conquest in history—a trade encouraged by the "divine" monarchs over the prior two centuries or so. Thomas Oliver and several other estate owners had extensive plantations in the Caribbean. His wife's brother, John Vassall, had built the "Longfellow House" in 1759. They were grandchildren of Leonard Vassall, who moved to Boston from Jamaica, after losing several children to tropical fevers, before the christening of his youngest at King's Chapel in 1723. Leonard's son William was then high sheriff of Middlesex County and a Mandamus councillor, and owned the house on the Common later occupied by Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse. All of the Vassalls, and most of the other owners of the eleven suburban estates, left Cambridge soon after September 2, 1774, never to return.

For the City of Cambridge, at least, if not for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, September 2, 1774, should be the starting date for Bicentennial commemoration of Revolutionary thought. It was the confrontation that day that marked the victory of mind, of pow-wow over monarch.

Edmund Burke was among the then too few with prescience enough to caution, in a speech on conciliation with the colonies, that "the assertion of right without power of enforcement is nugatory and idle." Had it not been for George's arrogance and the corrupting influence of the wealth and political power that supported him, and also for the stubbornness of the Puritan conscience

2. See, in addition to the maps by Susan Vogel reprinted here, Old Cambridge, report four of the Survey of Architectural History in Cambridge (Cambridge: Cambridge Historical Commission, [1973]), pp. 15-20, 31-32.

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nurtured here, the ensuing recourse to firearms between April 19, 1775, and March 16, 1776, might not have occurred.

The historical significance of the Bicentennial years for Cambridge, our Commonwealth and others, lies not so much in the successful armed conflict, but rather in the non-violent confrontation between the official leader of the planter aristocracy and the

independent-minded citizens of Middlesex County, and in the ensuing patriot official deliberations here during the transition from colonial to independent government. The crowning climax of that revolution in thought occurred in 1779 in the Fourth Meeting House (which stood between the present Lehman Hall and the subway kiosk, at a spot now marked by a Centennial tombstone at the subway stairs), when the first popularly elected Constitutional Convention in history, under the leadership of John Adams, drafted the constitution which is now the oldest single written frame of government so little changed to govern so many people. The United States Constitution followed many of its provisions, but not the opening sentence, beginning, "All men are born free and equal." This was construed by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court in 1781 to bar human slavery. These two constitutions, in turn, have also been the model, directly or indirectly, for probably more subsequent constitutions of the Judeo-Christian world than any others.

We must not worship too much the Puritan conscience that thus declared its independence on the lawn at Elmwood, threw out the Loyalists, drafted a new frame of government and helped to carry it through to adoption. We should approach this Bicentennial of revolution in thought with a sense of humility and an appreciation of one very real failure of that revolution, rarely mentioned. How much more significant that Revolution would have been if Thomas Oliver had not been influenced by the fact that "one quarter part" of the 3,000-4,000 were in arms. If the citizens of Middlesex County had then sought in patience instead of anger to convince their rich neighbors of the justice of their cause, and to persuade those influential nabobs to carry that word

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to their divine monarch in less incendiary manner, might that additional support to Burke's faction have carried the day without need for resort to violence? In an overall human scale do we overlook too much the personal tragedies which that confrontation at Elmwood inflicted on the Loyalists? Can we not make our Bicentennial commemorate what our revolution achieved in a brief five years with so little loss of life, and at the same time recognize that the ideal revolution should achieve its ends without any loss of life?

WHAT DO WE NOW DO?

Now—with inspiration from 1774-1779—what of a more active role for the Cambridge Historical Society?

The Cambridge Historical Commission—with financial support solely from the city government and real estate taxes, and none from any other governmental agency or from this society or any of the private educational institutions that thrive here, and, until recently, with more calculated indifference than help from the officialdom of the oldest and most prestigious of them—has now nearly completed photographing and evaluating Cambridge's more than ten thousand principal buildings, as well as most of its accessory structures. Professional architectural historians have documented those buildings deemed worthy of note. This survey of architectural history has also determined which streetscapes and which neighborhoods have most to gain by preserving the best of their respective heritages.

This society's publications have over the last seventy years provided a wealth of written materials about Cambridge history, probably unequalled in quantity or quality for any city

of its size. With that wealth to draw on, and also the work of the Boston National Historic Sites Commission in 1958-1960, the Cambridge Historic District Study Committee completed its extensive report in the spring of 1962. Many of its recommendations have already been accepted by the city council and by most citizens, individual and corporate. It required a two-thirds vote of the council for original enactment of the Historic Districts Ordinance establishing

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the commission and the present four historic districts. One councillor disqualified himself from voting because he disagreed with the Enabling Act provisions requiring the city manager to appoint three of the seven commission members from nominees of this society and of professional associations of architects and realtors.

Although the successive presidents of this society, and a few others of its members, have served continuously as members or alternates—first of the study committee, and then of the historical commission—and this society has rendered signal service to the cause of preservation in its care of the Lee-Nichols House, this society has otherwise yet to assume a role of leadership in the preservation of our other historic sites and buildings such as has been demonstrated by historical societies of some other communities—Providence and Ipswich, for instance. The society played no active role, for example, in saving the frame apartment house on Russell Street, North Cambridge (where the Cambridge Nursing Home now stands), that concealed within its additions a 1757 farmhouse of considerable charm which stood on the April 19th route of march.

Our Cambridge Heritage Trust was formed by concerned individuals, a top utility executive, a bank president, and a leading realtor, with the city and its historical commission the beneficiary. This society did not even contribute in the fund-raising efforts for finding and purchasing an appropriate site, and for dismantling that Watson farmhouse and reconstructing it at 30 Elmwood Avenue at the corner of Fresh Pond Parkway, opposite Elmwood, to match the Tory with the Patriot.

The Cambridge Heritage Trust now holds a remainder interest in the Watson house after two life estates, subject to a purchase option, and to permanent preservation restrictions enforceable by the commission. The trust has served the efforts that restored the gardens of the Longfellow House and helped induce the National Park Service to take over that most famous and popular of our historic buildings last December as a National Historic Site. The trust stands ready, in its limited fiduciary role, to meet emergen-

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cies and to cooperate with this society and the historical commission, but alone it cannot do the work that could and should be done if this society would but play a more active role. Conservation of historic buildings and sites depends in the long run primarily on broad-based and continuing citizen concern.

No organization in Cambridge is better suited than this society to spearhead that concern. Our historical commission's survey of architectural history identified, five years or so ago,

102 buildings and sites most worthy of preservation. The fifth and final report of that survey may give an updated list.

Why should not this society adopt the objective of seeking mutually satisfactory arrangements with the current owners of those listed buildings and sites which are not already sufficiently protected: some arrangement whereby the owners agree to respect the architectural integrity of their buildings and sites, and perhaps to refrain from substantially altering them without first affording an opportunity to the society, the trust, or the commission to buy or, where appropriate, to move the threatened buildings. In return, these organizations would provide such historical and technical research to assist in preservation as the owners may from time to time need.

Harvard has already agreed by informal letter not to make major exterior changes to buildings in its immediate campus area without consultation with the commission at its early planning stages, a commitment fully honored so far in several instances, most notably in the case of Hunt Hall and its replacement by Canaday now nearing completion. That was a tough decision to make, but the professional architectural historians of the commission's staff had previously determined that Hunt was the least important architecturally of all the buildings in Harvard Yard.³ On proper balance of environmental, economic, and social factors, the decision of the commission not to make an issue of this case seems amply justified. An incidental return from that decision was

3. Ibid., pp. 11, 165, 166.

this very heartening explanation from Harvard's president to the president of the National Trust for Historic Preservation:

There has long been a consensus among architects and architectural historians who have studied Harvard Yard that Hunt Hall, whatever one's view of its merits and status as an historic prototype, was an unfortunate, ill-placed and architecturally alien intrusion into the much more historic Yard. A report from Shepley, Bulfinch recommended demolition fifty years ago. The forthcoming volume of the Cambridge Historical Society on the Harvard Yard area criticizes the building in uncompromising terms. In addition, in 1965 the Graduate School of Design itself sponsored a proposal to substitute a new building on the site, and it has long been assumed in University planning that it would be not only appropriate, but actually an improvement to place a new structure in that area that could be sited, designed and built in a way that would better respect if not indeed enhance the appearance of the historic Yard and its characteristic buildings and spaces. It is our full intention to do so.

Given the location of Hunt Hall at the very center of freshman housing and college instruction needs, at a time when the college is being expanded to include more women, whatever loss there may be has to be balanced against this critical concern and the attached land use considerations.

In matters of this sort, I recognize that opinions will differ. Nevertheless, we think we have enough evidence to suggest that no conclusive case can be made against demolition and that substantial qualified opinion exists to the effect that the building is not of unique historical and architectural value.

That the writer erred in naming this society instead of the city and its commission as the conductor of the survey only points up the role expected of this society and the opportunity and challenge it faces. In order better to play the larger role suggested, the society might have to give up its cherished custom of holding its regular meetings at the Lee-Nichols House. Already there have been breaks with that tradition when we met at Gund Hall and at the Episcopal Theological Seminary. Fortunately, Cambridge affords many larger meeting rooms of real distinction, and preservation

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aims might best be met by meetings from time to time in more of them. With that constraint removed, the limitation on membership might be lifted and members invited from all areas of the City and all walks of life.

The example of Ipswich is worthy of emulation. With help from a Housing and Urban Development Demonstration Project matching grant, it has so far obtained and recorded preservation agreements by owners of 16 of its 22 houses most worthy of preservation, and by careful inventory determined another 148—all pre-1832— including 58 from the seventeenth century, probably more than in any community in the country with the possible exception of Santa Fe. Half the owners received no payment; half were paid \$1,000 each; most of those who received payments, although not legally required to do so, spent the money on needed restoration.

*Helping work out protection for places most worthy of conservation in light of their identification by the commission's survey of architectural history is not the only challenge facing the society. The survey was architecturally and aesthetically oriented. Making note of places associated with people and events of historical significance regardless of appearance of buildings now there, and even if none are now there, is also needed "to help each new generation . . . reexamine the interpretation of the last." This can often be done by means of appropriate markers, and often without as many financial, land-use planning and political problems as are involved in freezing or recycling buildings. Since 1958 the National Park Service has been conducting a survey to identify places eligible for National Historic Landmark status. Such landmarks now number some 1,400, mostly in private ownership. The survey is classified into themes and subthemes. Research and determinations are reviewed by an unusually able advisory committee. Many more places are researched than are declared eligible. Research results are published in a series of books, of which two already published are of early Cambridge interest: *Explorers and Settlers* (1968) and *Colonials and Patriots* (1964). When the series is more nearly complete, the society might en-*

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courage and support a reexamination of those Cambridge sites which best illustrate the various themes and sub themes.

Now—again with inspiration from 1774-1779—what of a Cambridge Environmental Planning Council?

Cambridge is one of the half-dozen or so most densely populated cities in our country and has more than its fair share of divisive and stress-creating social and economic problems: town and gown; industry and residence; "haves" and "have nots" of unusual extremes; and, perhaps as a result, extreme per capita rates of drink, drug, and crime. It has, however, many advantages over most other densely populated urban core areas:

a uniquely inspiring waterfront along approximately a third of its boundaries, within about a mile of every home; a river due to be swimmable again within five years or so; major parkway systems along the river and other boundaries (all maintained by a state commission, without direct cost to the city); and a municipal common, reservoir, golf course, and park system such as few cities so congested can match;

a Massachusetts Turnpike entrance but a river-bridge away; through-highways north and northwest to major thoroughways in every direction, yet none that bisect the city; three well-spaced subway stops that, despite the age and inadequacies of the system, give energy-saving service and, with a currently planned extension, can afford major relief for car and truck congestion;

a stock of structurally sound or recyclable buildings of variety and of architectural and historical significance; at least a dozen neighborhoods whose building stocks, distinctive streetscapes, and local institutions and pride give real potential for rehabilitation if enough of the anchor buildings can be saved;

availability of Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency funds which require mixed uses, allotting at least one-quarter to home owners of low or moderate income; unusual richness and depth of architecture, which provide a

comprehensive history of ideas and styles over three centuries: Harvard still maintains 15 of the 28 buildings it constructed before 1870; and about 160 of the approximately 530 buildings shown on Hale's 1830 survey of the city still stand, although about 50 are no longer on their original sites;

landowners—individual and corporate, large and small, exempt and tax-paying—who include some of the most knowledgeable and sophisticated in the country and the world;

a mix of ethnic and racial stocks which have learned to get along with one another, thereby giving Cambridge recognition as the least segregated city in the country, and giving areas such as East Cambridge with its mix of Polish, Portuguese, Italian and Irish remarkable stability in property turnovers; and intellectual resources probably unmatched by any city of its size.

This is not the place to spell out the potential that a cooperative harnessing of these physical and intellectual resources might realize. But it seems reasonably clear that some better means of interchange of knowledge of needs and desires of all landowners of the city is needed, in order to arrive at better accommodation between them. It seems equally clear that gathering and pre-analyzing data for environmental impact statements for potential

building or conversion properties which would draw desirable employers, might now be the most productive expenditure of environmental protection funds.

Such pre-analysis might well necessitate the development of a land-use plan with options and phases for a period of at least ten years. That in turn may require determining which neighborhoods or "design districts" are most appropriate for recycling as residential areas or for other purposes, and without the loss of housing units suitable for low and moderate-income families. Such a study might determine whether the Grand Junction Branch railroad tracks should be abandoned or put underground, in whole or in

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part, and where the local access service alternative to Memorial Drive ought to go.

A broader approach could cope—perhaps better than any single site study—with problems such as those raised concerning the Kennedy Library and Museum, and might successfully generate public and private financing as well as bonding powers, in order to achieve economic feasibility.

The analysis would necessarily have to be site by site. It must consider fairness to each owner as well as preservation of the tax base, and must also embody some means for the city to realize a share from changes which would produce unusual profits. The aim should be for solutions that best balance economic, social, and environmental concerns. If statutory or constitutional changes are needed for such an approach, they should be sought. To facilitate land-use planning, a computerized land-data bank might well be considered. Cambridge is better suited than most municipalities both to initiate such a bank and to profit from one, especially if data gathered by a planning council could be coordinated. Better availability of facts to owners and prospective investors as well as to administrators should ultimately facilitate needed changes.

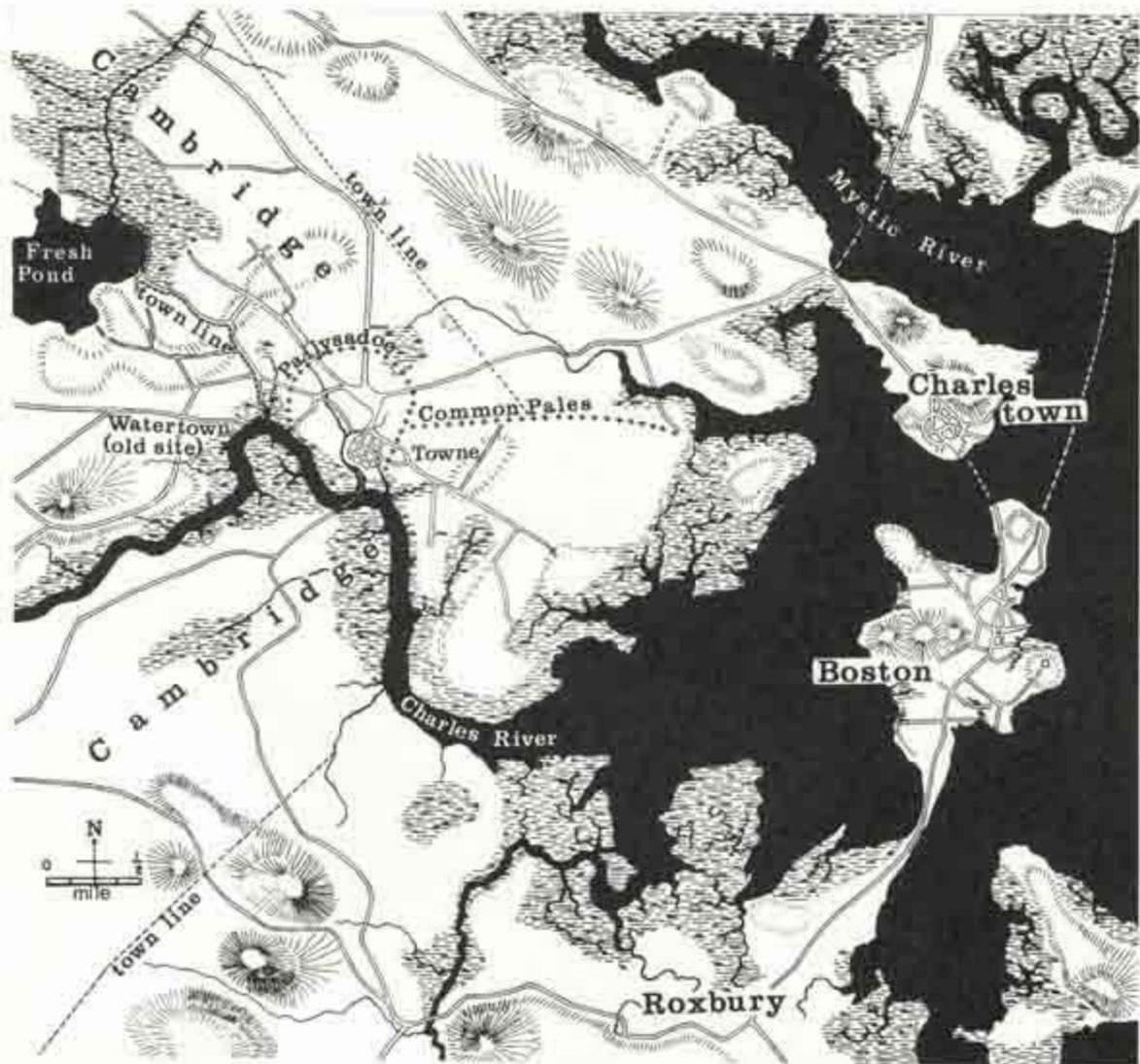
In a city which has as high a percentage of tax-exempt properties as does Cambridge, as many intra-city jealousies, and as much experience with the "Robin Hood syndrome" (take from "them that has" and give to "them that hain't"), it is perhaps not realistic to expect that a solely municipal effort could do the needed fact-gathering and long-term planning. It would require a special overall effort and the cooperation of many public and private agencies in addition to the City Planning Department, its Planning Board, and the Cambridge Historical Society.

To organize such an environmental planning council might take a year or more; to finish its work might require the balance of the five years of the Bicentennial of revolutionary thought. What better way to accentuate the positive, to transcend the petty limitations of inherited institutions and law, and to give Cambridge

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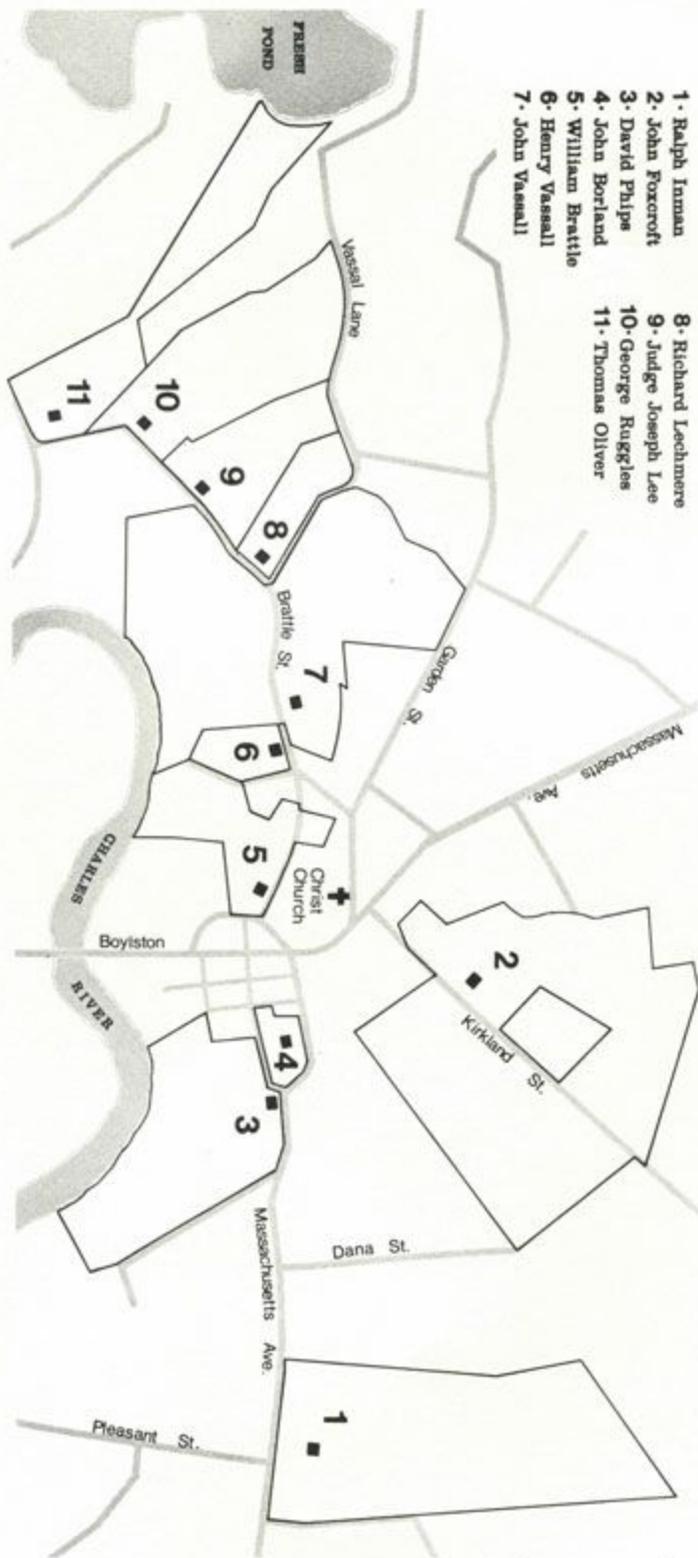
again a central role such as it played in 1774-1779, in the ever-unfolding drama of efforts to improve the quality of life?

The idea of a cooperative private-public planning council to help gather and pre-analyze data in the manner of environmental impact statements may be even more timely now, when the work could be aided by the city's current computer-storage tax-and-land data bank program, and by the county's HUD-assisted pilot land-title records improvement program.



Courtesy of Cambridge Historical Commission

OLD CAMBRIDGE AND ENVIRONS IN 1640.



- | | |
|--------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Ralph Inman | 8. Richard Lechmere |
| 2. John Foxcroft | 9. Judge Joseph Lee |
| 3. David Phips | 10. George Rugles |
| 4. John Borland | 11. Thomas Oliver |
| 5. William Brattle | |
| 6. Henry Vassall | |
| 7. John Vassall | |

Courtesy of Cambridge Historical Commission

OLD CAMBRIDGE ESTATES IN 1770.

The Story of the Window Shop

BY ALICE DEN. COPE

I AM honored and grateful to be here today—honored because I had always understood that only scholars were invited to speak to you; grateful because those of us who worked for the Window Shop are pleased to record a small part of its story with you. I cannot give you a complete history of the Window Shop, but I hope to give you highlights of its story and a sense of its spirit. I have been delighted and encouraged by the great interest and enthusiasm the writing of this paper has engendered. The story is one of people not of buildings, although, as you will see, a lovely old building in Cambridge had a profound effect on all the people who worked in it. The Torrey Hancock-Dexter Pratt house was the Window Shop's home from 1946 to 1972.

The story of the Window Shop is the evolution of an idea—an idea so simple and so generous that it had to work, yet it worked only in Cambridge. Why it worked is, of course, part of the story. The Window Shop was started in early spring 1939 by a group of Harvard faculty wives who, learning of the German and Austrian refugees arriving in rather large numbers in the Boston area, wanted to do something to help. They thought they could raise money through a small shop. Naive, inexperienced, undisciplined, they had imagination and they cared. In the beginning they bought merchandise to be sold at a slight mark-up. The first account book is full of small entries: "Dainty Dot stockings, \$3.31"; "Handkerchiefs, \$3.95"; "Jewelry, \$7.78"—almost one hundred

Read November 17, 1974

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pages from May 1939 to February 1940. Soon, various products of the skills of the refugees themselves were accepted on consignment. There were belts, gloves, sweaters, bags, and handkerchiefs. There were Viennese cookies and pastries. The account book tells how poor everyone was, for the amounts paid to the people who brought things to sell were pitifully small, and the amounts paid to the people who did various jobs for the shop were even smaller.

A lot happened in those first eight or nine months. Looking back, one can only wonder at the assorted circumstances which gathered to push the idea ahead. So much was against its succeeding.

The initial capital was sixty-five dollars, lent, not given, by the women who started the shop on Church Street in two rooms with a large window—hence the name—over what is now the Oxford Grill. These ladies, finding themselves short of cash while shopping, would dash to the Window Shop and take money from the cash box (after all, it was their money!), with no idea what chaos they produced in the bookkeeping. It soon became clear that a regular, paid person was needed to bring some order and continuity to the affairs of the shop. There was a young Austrian teacher, living with one of the faculty ladies who started the shop, who suggested that she might like to work there. So, Miss Mary Mohrer, only recently arrived in Boston from Vienna, knowing not a soul, educated as a teacher not a shopkeeper,

shy, scared, but willing, was hired as the first employee of the Window Shop. Her salary was twelve dollars a week if the twelve dollars were there. She soon began to feel the loving concern of the Cambridge community, which gave its support, both moral and financial, to the Window Shop throughout its thirty-three years.

Gradually, various individuals came to the shop with excellent skills: dressmaking, cooking, pastry-making, weaving, glove and belt-making, millinery. These were marketable skills which eventually were adapted to the needs and tastes of America. Miss Mohrer kept track of them all. It must be remembered that it was still Depression, and war loomed. Jobs of all kinds were scarce. Men

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were having a hard time resettling. Often, their training was not so easily adapted to the requirements of the United States. It was their wives who kept things going. Many of the latter had never worked. They came from comfortable, well-to-do homes, but they rolled up their sleeves and worked as cleaning-women, housekeepers, and governesses. No domestic task was too much for those who tried. There were some who couldn't try, and for them adjusting to a new life was rough and tough. Americans still believed in 1939 in the work ethic and that any work was possible. No work was demeaning, if taken with the right point of view. It could be boring and upsetting, but if necessary it could be managed.

For this reason, one of the problems faced early by the Window Shop was the American impatience with some of the newcomers. There was strong criticism of them and, under the surface, feelings of anti-foreigner, anti-semitism, anti-newcomer. It was even suggested at one point that the shop should be curtailed, even given up, because of the feelings aroused partly by the depression and partly by the war. The Window Shop recognized all this and determined to overcome such feelings by example. It is one of the great triumphs of the whole group that it succeeded.

It was during this early period that two organizations were enormously helpful to the little shop. One was the highly professional, well-financed Boston Jewish Committee for Refugees. The other was the amateur, mostly volunteer New England Christian Committee for Refugees in Cambridge. Both stood beside the Window Shop through many years of ups and downs, successes and failures. They gave money to the shop and to individuals in need, and they supported the idea. The New England Christian Committee and several generous volunteers kept the tea-room alive during its first months in 1939. If the Boston Jewish Committee for Refugees had not suggested that Miss Mohrer live with one of the ladies who started the Window Shop, she might never have started her new career. If the same committee had not introduced her to Mrs. Howard Mumford Jones, the next chapter of the Window Shop might never have been written.

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The summer of 1939 was hot and difficult. The Window Shop might not have survived but for the generous support of Mrs. Clement Smith, who later became its first president. Miss Mohrer went to the shop every day and one day agreed to find someone to make dirndls for a customer and her two daughters. Thus the dressmaking part of the shop was started. The

dirndls were such a success that a Christian Science Monitor reporter arrived with photographer to learn more about the shop. Her article and its accompanying picture was the first publicity the Window Shop had. It proved a godsend in more than one way. Customers came to inspect and to buy. More important, Mrs. Jones recognized Miss Mohrer in the picture and came calling. The result of her visit was that Mrs. Jones offered to help. She saw that it was necessary to set standards for merchandise and to work out the mechanics of buying and selling. Urged by Mrs. Smith, she gave her professional help to the gift and dress shop from 1939 until 1941. Then for a short time, a salaried American manager supposedly took her place. It didn't work. Mrs. Jones had not only put order into the organization of the gift and dress shop, so that it was making money; she had taught Miss Mohrer how to run it. It was logical, therefore, although the committee was slow to realize it, that Miss Mohrer should be the full-time manager.

Meanwhile, Mrs. Alice Perutz was asked by the New England Christian Committee to start a tea-room and pastry shop. At about the same time, the gift and dress shop moved from Church Street to 102 Mt. Auburn Street. There were two large rooms on the first floor and a cellar with some plumbing. The cellar flooded at times and was happily inhabited by rats. The gift-dress shop settled into one of the first floor rooms and the tea-room settled into the other. Cooking could be done in the cellar. Soon Mrs. Perutz was joined by several newcomers, who helped her bake and prepare food. One of the committee, Mrs. Robert Jandorf, became the volunteer, daily support, and adviser to this hard-working little band. They worked long hours, and when summer came Mrs. Perutz went to cooking school, investigated other restaurants,

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learned American ways, and thus started the restaurant of the Window Shop, which eventually developed into an enormously successful operation.

By now a whole new group of volunteers began to collect. The New England Christian Committee supported the Window Shop both morally and financially. There is a note that in early 1940 it gave three thousand dollars. It is clear that the committee was anxious to help the little restaurant. Word spread that furniture and equipment were needed, and soon chairs, tables, china and glass, equipment for the kitchen began to arrive at 102. Volunteers cleaned, washed dishes, and offered advice. In fact, they produced considerable turmoil. Everyone had her own ideas about how to run the whole Window Shop. Each had allegiance either to the growing dress and gift shop or to the struggling, soon to be successful, restaurant. Looking back on it now, the whole situation has its comic elements, but from 1939 till 1944 or '45 those involved saw little humor in the struggle to survive, nor did they realize what a marvelous enterprise they were creating. The day to day needs of the whole shop were tremendous. Perhaps more importantly, the shape of its contribution to the Cambridge and wider Boston scene was rapidly emerging. Nevertheless, for a while, it was a matter of keeping the little ship afloat.

Gradually, the Window Shop saw itself offering jobs and retraining within its own walls. It also became a referral center for jobs, housing, English lessons, help in readjusting to this strange new country, medical care, education, and a myriad of other problems which faced the newcomers. Its volunteers became experts in all the available sources of help. Perhaps the most important help was just being there to show concern, to answer questions, to

reassure. It is hard to tell from the early records how many people were helped or employed. Putting together various figures, it seems that in the first four years around 250 people were employed at different times within and without the Window Shop. Another 200-300 were guided to jobs, retraining, and housing.

In 1941, six of the volunteers, sure now of the strength and

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potential of the whole shop, incorporated as a non-profit enterprise. There were to be two parts: the restaurant-bakery and the gift-dress shop. Mrs. Clement Smith was the first president. It was a happy day.

Understanding, caring, new ideas, standards, new people made for continuing growth. The gift-dress shop grew and flourished. The restaurant-bakery began to prosper. Friends and customers began to see the Window Shop as one enterprise with one purpose and that the basic concept was to give as much employment as possible. Cambridge liked the Window Shop, and its fame began to spread. The little restaurant had lots of customers; it employed more people. It served lunch and tea and sold lots of cakes, cookies, and pastries. It had wonderful volunteer help. Over and over again the suggestion was made to close it. Fortunately, the suggestion was turned down every time. The committee and then the board of directors thought the solution was to hire a trained American manager. There was a parade of these lasting over a period of more than a year. None were able to understand the newcomers. Some didn't even know their business. All were nice women without a grain of that special ingredient the board was looking for. The uncertainties continued.

In 1942 the break came. Elsa Brandström Ulich, Swedish by birth, German by marriage, and herself a refugee, became president of the board of directors, and Mrs. Perutz, now Mrs. Broch, became the manager of the restaurant. They were a great team. Mrs. Ulich, with the determination and steadfastness for which she was famous, believed that anything was possible. She said the restaurant could be a success. Mrs. Broch thought so too and worked long hours, watched over her co-workers like a mother, accounted for every penny. They both saw the restaurant as a source of jobs within the shop. Mrs. Ulich saw the whole Window Shop overcoming some of*

**Elsa Brandström Ulich (1888-1948), daughter of the Swedish ambassador to Russia during the first World War, was known as "the angel of Siberia" for her work with German and Austrian prisoners of war.*

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the prejudices lurking in the background. It simply never occurred to her that failure of any part was possible. She rallied the board; she admonished the refugees and at the same time identified with them. After all, was she not also a refugee? Everyone listened and worked harder and began to pull together. She knew how to use the many talents of the directors, recognizing that seldom was an organization so blessed with such a variety of gifted people. One director was an architect who, throughout the life of the Window Shop, supervised day after day the many complicated physical changes at both Mt. Auburn Street and Brattle Street. Another spent hours caring for individual refugees, paying special

attention to the musicians among them. Still another donned an apron and worked in the restaurant. The businessmen and lawyers brought their expertise to the financial and legal affairs.

It was Mrs. Ulich's firm belief, concurred in by the board of directors, that the Window Shop should be run by refugees. The board of directors and the many volunteers were there to help, but management was to be by refugees. Her concept succeeded, and from 1944 the entire Window Shop grew and prospered despite war, politics, prejudice, and pessimism. It proved that new and old Americans, Jews and non-Jews, black and white could work together. The Window Shop was the first shop to employ blacks at all levels. It was the pride and joy of workers, customers, and volunteers. It had problems and worries, but gradually it became a vital and wonderful part of the Cambridge scene. It was a haven for those who could not find their way. It was a gathering place for new Americans and for the American-born. It stood for courage and love and renewal and was a place to turn to in times of woe. It gave a piece of itself to each person who had a job there or ate a meal there, or bought a dress there. What was given was intangible, but everyone felt it. It was an extraordinary combination of business and social services. It worked.

During the War, as rationing and price-fixing came into effect, a whole new bag of troubles fell on the small group. It was then that the spirit of the Window Shop and of its workers overcame

each problem. Workers would bring their own small ration of butter and sugar and coffee. The delivery men from the wholesalers brought a pound of something beyond the ration. Volunteers squeezed a little from their family ration. Miraculously, it sometimes seemed, the whole shop prospered.

It was time to pay attention to other aspects of the lives of the newcomers. While still at Mt. Auburn Street, the idea of a meeting-place was developed into "Friendship House" by one of the board members. Here lectures about the United States were given by Harvard professors. A library grew, and English lessons were offered. For the newcomers it meant contact with Americans; for Americans it meant a greater understanding of what newcomers had been through and how difficult their new life was. One elderly American lady, having sat over a cup of tea with a group of newcomers her own age, said on leaving: "They are a remarkable group. I would never be able to manage if the same thing happened to me."

In 1946, the Window Shop's lease was not renewed at 102 Mt. Auburn Street, and a search for new quarters began. One day one of the delivery men told Mrs. Broch that the Cock Horse Restaurant on Brattle Street was for sale. Why, he wanted to know, didn't they buy it? When Mrs. Ulich heard about it, she took Mrs. Broch by the hand and together they walked across to see it. The house was known as the "Blacksmith's House"—reference to Dexter Pratt, made famous along with the chestnut tree in Longfellow's poem. It had earlier belonged to Torrey Hancock and was probably built by him in 1808. It had had a varied history, even at one time housing a glue factory in its shed. Valspar varnish may have been invented there. In any event when the house came on the market, it was in dreadful repair. Unwanted creatures abounded. Mrs. Broch had enough of vermin at Mt. Auburn Street. (Once a rat named Charlie had appeared in the dining-room at lunch-time and Mrs. Broch's

mortification was extreme. The customers were amused.) Despite all the disadvantages, both Mrs. Ulich and Mrs. Broch saw great possibilities. Miss Mohrer was hurriedly sent for,

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along with various members of the board. An emergency meeting of the directors was called. Mrs. Ulich presented all the figures and said the Cambridge Trust Company was prepared to give a mortgage. Something in the neighborhood of \$40,000 would be needed to restore the old house and to equip the restaurant and gift-dress shop; but, she said, "that could easily be raised in Joans from our friends."

The board of directors voted to go ahead, and one member was heard to say: "I don't know why we had to have a meeting for all this. Mrs. Ulich would never have accepted anything but Yes." He was, of course, quite right. Once she saw the possibility, nothing stopped her, and the needed money was borrowed in less than a week at 4% interest, to be repaid in full in ten years. One husband when consulted told his wife: "Give the money, but don't lend. You'll never see it again." Imagine the satisfaction of all when the money was repaid before the ten years were up and that husband had to eat his words!

The move to Brattle Street was made. As the years went by, many additions and changes were made within the building, but the structure of the old house with its glorious wisteria vine over the front door was kept unchanged. Its inhabitants absorbed the friendliness of its interior and rejoiced in its charm. The staircase, though graceful and lovely, was a burden for many, but even this was overcome. The young went upstairs, the less young stayed down. The garden in summer was an oasis in a crowded city.

From here on, I am not going to talk about individuals except to name the eight presidents. They were: Mrs. Clement Smith, Mrs. Robert Ulich, Mrs. Oliver Cope, Mrs. Joseph C. Aub, Mrs. Norman Dahl, Mrs. Michael Bever, Mr. Richard Kahen, and currently Mrs. Dwight Harken. There were literally hundreds of volunteers, some directors, who gave hour after hour of manpower, brainpower, kindness, and money to the Window Shop. It is impossible to mention them all and it will be understood that, while the Window Shop was people and its success was due to people, no one individual could have done anything without all the rest.

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The spirit of the Window Shop grew stronger and stronger, and so did its success. The board of directors developed the policy of employing more people than necessary part-time and full-time, in order that as many people as possible could have jobs. Another policy was to fill some jobs with American-born workers so that they could work side by side with newcomers, each learning from the other. As things went better, wages and benefits increased. The Window Shop provided protected employment for many who could not be employed elsewhere. It provided part-time jobs for the mother who needed to be home when her children returned from school. It provided a haven with pay for those who had difficulty finding work in their own field, but who moved on when they did.

At the same time, the Window Shop bought from refugees who had started their own businesses. In many cases, the shop was the first buyer and helped these businesses to grow and flourish. Through the Window Shop a wide variety of merchandise—candy, special European cakes and cookies, dresses, linen, jewelry, and much more were introduced to the greater Boston area. It is common now to see European designs in almost everything. In the 1940s, they were a delightful surprise for all who bought them. Thus the Window Shop not only gave work within its walls, it sustained many refugee businesses in their early years.

A few figures show how much the whole shop grew. From December 1942 to December 1946, the cash surplus grew from around \$11,000 to almost \$44,000. In 1942 the salary figure was about \$8,400; in 1967 it was \$241,000. In the peak years, from 75 to 110 people were employed in the entire shop depending on the time of year, and close to 1,000 were guided in one way or another to a solution of their problems. Each department sustained the other. Depending on the weather and time of year, from 300 to 800 people came into the building each day.

Money was set aside for capital improvements, the pension fund, and for the Elsa Brandstrom Ulich Fund. Gradually, the board of directors felt able to provide Blue Cross/Blue Shield and accident

insurance for all workers. There was workmen's compensation by law and insurance against interruption of business due to disaster. Personnel practices were established. The pension fund was started which, eventually, was to provide every worker who joined, a modest pension which with Social Security was to make living possible at age 65. No one dreamt of the disaster of inflation.

The Assistance Fund was the brain child of Elsa Ulich. It was begun while she was president, suspended during the move to Brattle Street, and named for her after her death in 1948. The fund gave and still gives advice and supplementary financial aid in grants and loans to employees and their children and to others who applied from outside the shop. Young people were often seen through college and graduate school. One story may illustrate what the fund meant to over a thousand young people.

A young man was referred by one of Harvard's deans. He was a sophomore, who had been suddenly cut off from the financial support he had expected to have through college and graduate school. By raising special money, by helping him to apply to other funds, and by supplementing from the Ulich Fund, enough money was put together year by year to see him graduate from Harvard and eventually from medical school. He is now a well-known surgeon and professor in another part of the country.

This brief account does not tell all the heartbreak that had to be assuaged and all the worry that went into seeing this young man and many others to the end of their educational road. It does tell a typical story of how the Window Shop helped young people to finish their education. Many of them have repaid what they received so that another could benefit from the same kind of help.

Out of the needs of those applying to the Ulich Fund developed a wide range of social services. The newcomers seemed prone to more illness than the average person. It was supposed that this was due to the tremendous emotional and financial strains they had been through and also to lack of medical care during the early years in the United States. So developed a whole network of referrals to hospitals and their social service departments; to indi-

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vidual doctors and dentists; to social agencies, whose professional counseling skills were invaluable. The Window Shop's volunteers became expert in housing, educational opportunities, and job-finding.

These same volunteers met the boats which brought displaced persons to Boston after the War. They tried rather unsuccessfully to help resettle Hungarian and Cuban refugees and felt saddened that times had so changed that the Window Shop generated little interest on behalf of these most recent refugees.

Nevertheless, in one way or another the shop continued to employ people from other countries and to help with the education of young people. The board of directors changed its policy of many years from helping only those who planned to become American citizens, to assisting also those who planned to return to help their own countries.

The major contributions of the Window Shop were in the tangible activities of which I have spoken and in the intangible interaction of all the people of many nations, of many backgrounds, and of many skills who came and went during its thirty-three years.

The contributions to the United States of the new Americans, and the cultural changes which took place because of them, are extraordinary. If one adds up the influence of architects, psychiatrists, writers, philosophers, educators, physicists, and musicians among the newcomers, it is absolutely staggering what they gave to their new country. Many of them settled in Cambridge or nearby because of M.I.T. and Harvard. They came to the Window Shop with their students and colleagues and subtly but surely affected the atmosphere.

When Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt paid a visit to the shop in 1950, she quickly saw and felt this atmosphere, which was not created by these great and near-great men and women alone, but was part of what happened from the interchange of caring and warmth between them and all the people in the shop.

Mrs. Roosevelt herself added her bit to this atmosphere. She talked with everyone. She visited the kitchen and bought from the

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gift shop. Her grandchildren became Sacher cake addicts. She complimented the staff and board, wrote about it in her column, all the while recognizing its special character and

adding her stamp of approval. Perhaps most important of all, this great lady showed the best side of the United States to the newcomers. Her visit was another happy day.

Atmosphere, caring, even hard work could not prevent the Window Shop from being affected by changing times. Many people have asked why the shop was closed. It has been hard to explain, for on the surface everything seemed to be going along in the same old way. Our devoted friends and customers did not see the effect of the serious problems brought on by changes in Harvard Square. It must be remembered that the Window Shop was the first to provide European merchandise and European food. When it started, it had little competition. Gradually, this competition became strong indeed, and, while it was healthy and easily met by both departments of the shop, the competitors were not running a philanthropic enterprise. When times were bad, they could lay off workers, while the policy of the Window Shop was to keep every possible position filled at all times. As the years went on, however, and the primary staff began to retire, there was great difficulty in replacing them. Part of the difficulty was in finding people who understood the atmosphere and special mission and who cared enough to work to preserve them. The board of directors struggled with the whole problem and could find no solution to increasing costs and increasing losses.

In hindsight one can see that some of the same problems which beset the Window Shop at the beginning beset it at the end. The people who knew most about it were not consulted. American-trained restaurant managers were engaged. Ordinary business methods were instituted where only extraordinary methods had been successful before. They all failed because the special ingredients which had made the shop such a success were no longer understood.

At the end of 1972, the board of directors reluctantly decided to

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close the entire shop. The work which those imaginative women had set out to do in 1939 was completed. It was a different era, but young people still needed financial assistance for education. It was determined to use the assets to continue the Elsa Brandström Ulich Fund. The old house was sold to the Cambridge Adult Education Center, which has continued the bakery with some of the Window Shop employees. The Window Shop name is preserved, and the board of directors continues to give counsel and financial assistance primarily to foreign-born young people in school and college.

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The First Church in Cambridge, Congregational: Some Events in Its Life

BY JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN

T**HIS church was gathered by the Puritans over 340 years ago. The Puritans then were leaving England because of the tyranny of Charles the First; in March 1629 he suspended parliament and the liberties of Englishmen. The Puritans had already been declared blasphemous by William Laud, bishop of London, soon to become the influential archbishop of Canterbury. To remain Puritans they had to find a place outside England to live by the Bible and still make a living.**

A charter to settle the territory from the Delaware to the Saint Lawrence and from sea to sea had been held by the Council for New England, which was seeking settlers to make profit for itself. On 19 March 1628 some Puritans bought from the council a grant of land extending from three miles south of the Charles to three miles north of the Merrimac, and from sea to sea. By separate charter a year later King Charles confirmed the Puritans as a business enterprise called "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay in New England." In August 1629, the governor and company voted to transfer the charter and its administration from London to Massachusetts Bay. The company was to be

Read December 8, 1974

administered by a governor, a deputy governor and eighteen "assistants" elected by freemen. These eighteen and the freemen were to assemble as a "General Court," as the Massachusetts legislature is still called. Bringing the charter and governing board with them made the colony virtually independent of England; there was no royal governor, judge, army, nor agent of parliament. This freedom became that possession most dearly held and fiercely defended. It was fifty-five years (1685) before England revoked this ample largesse.

The Puritans came, a thousand of them, in fifteen ships during the first half of 1630. By 1634 ten thousand had settled in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. By 1637 the migration began to diminish as Puritans faced serious problems at home. Puritanism was a religious movement. Although in theocratic England the church was Episcopal, in the colony the church was Congregational. Within the colony local churches were soon gathered. Such a body of believers conducted most public business of the community except that retained by the General Court. For many years the church and town were nearly one, and the church was that one. Only church members could vote, and only church members could admit new members. In 1631 colonial law held "that no inhabitant have political rights unless a member of some orthodox church." By the end of 1633 there were eight churches in Massachusetts Bay, all of them Congregational. Each church, having civil functions as well as religious, met in a building called "meeting house" rather than "church." The churches' ideal was neither political nor profit-making. The doctrine was akin to Calvinism and eliminated forms, ceremonies, rituals, and intermediaries between man and his Maker. In accordance with these principles, a church was gathered on 11 October 1633 in Cambridge, then called "Newtowne."

Boston, the colonial seat, seemed hard to defend against pirates, Indians or English seeking to recover the charter. For that reason Governor Winthrop and Deputy Governor Dudley had

in 1630 chosen an area up the Charles River, a wedge between the Charles-town and Watertown grants, to be fortified and become the seat

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of colonial government. It was to be called Newtowne. To supply it with inhabitants the General Court decreed in 1632 that the Braintree Company move to Newtowne from Mount Wollaston.

The Braintree Company had called from Holland Thomas Hooker, the "Son of Thunder/' to be its pastor. In 1632 the town built a meeting house "with a bell on it/' which stood until 1650. On Dunster Street at Mount Auburn Street a plaque marks the site "where the wandering race of Jacobites gathered the eighth Church of Christ." In 1633 the Rev. Thomas Hooker was ordained minister here.

Plans for developing Newtowne into a capital were abandoned when the likelihood of English raids and piracy appeared remote, and when the local Indians professed friendship. The seat of colonial government and commerce remained in Boston, to the dismay of Newtownians. By 1636 the future of Newtowne looked to the Rev. Mr. Hooker to be limited. It was "in form like a list cut off from the broad cloath" of Charlestown and Watertown. Barely hinted at by some early writers was the feeling that Thomas Hooker was a "star of the first magnitude and could not well remain in the same orb" as John Cotton of the Boston church, who was not vehemently outraged by the Antinomians then vocal in the colony. After "solemn fasting and prayer" this cramped feeling prompted Pastor Hooker, Teacher Stone, and all but eleven church members to leave for Hartford by 1 June 1636. There Hooker became active in religious affairs throughout the colonies. He helped mold the "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut." Mr. Stone became chaplain of the militia, taking part in skirmishes with the Indians.

*Thus it happened that the hyphenated date 1633-1636 came into use. It has never been incontrovertibly clear whether Hooker took the original 1633 church with him to Hartford in 1636, or whether the remaining eleven members constituted a continuance of the original church.**

**In the discussion period, Professor C. Conrad Wright strongly urged that 1636, not 1633, was the true founding date of the First Church in Cambridge. The date 1636 had not been questioned until Hollis Russell Bailey in 1915 argued for a continuity between the Hooker and Shepard churches. (See "The Beginning of the First Church in Cambridge/' Camb. Hist. Soc. Publications 10 (1917), 86. Mr. Bailey, a lawyer, might have had some legal case based on subsequent developments in nineteenth-century law, but no historical case as the events were viewed by the seventeenth-century participants. Professor Wright later deposited with the Society a copy of his paper, "When was the First Church in Cambridge Founded?," read before the Historical Society of the First Parish in Cambridge in February 1943.-Ed.*

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On 1 February 1636, four months before Hooker left with his followers, those who were to remain installed the Rev. Thomas Shepard as pastor. Newtowne officially became Cambridge in 1638, a year after the college was ordered to be at Newtowne.

Shepard enjoyed a widespread reputation as an extraordinarily influential preacher. Looking ahead, the colonists needed a college to train ministers and teachers. The power of the English church closed Cambridge University to Puritan students and prevented Puritan ministers from moving to New England. Salem was the location first chosen for the college, but because of Shepard's talents as a spiritually oriented preacher, the General Court selected Cambridge so the students could hear the "soul-ravishing" Shepard. The college was named for the Rev. John Harvard of Charlestown, its first benefactor, also a Cambridge University man. Shepard was one of the founding overseers in 1636, and the first of many of this church's ministers to serve as overseers or other Harvard officers.

In the meeting house for three weeks beginning 20 August 1637 sat the first synod held in America. At it Anne Hutchinson was tried. The synod found eighty-two of her opinions erroneous and opposed to the dictated moral law. Shortly thereafter the church at Boston banished Mistress Anne to Rhode Island. She was later killed by Indians in New Netherlands. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts finally pardoned her, over three hundred years later.

The original covenant of 1633 is lost, but is probably the same as the "Boston Confession," containing the salient church beliefs. The General Court moved in 1648 that the churches prepare a statement of church discipline. That synod also sat in this meeting

house. It adopted the "Cambridge Platform," a new book of discipline, containing the first New World statement of doctrine. Along with the Westminster Confession of Faith, it was recommended by the synod to the General Court, which accepted it and in turn recommended it back to the churches—a significant tactic in the history of church-state relationships. This platform became the religious constitution of the New England colonies.

At the same time, the church congregation had civil parish business. As a town meeting the body met to dispose of parts of its jurisdiction. The original grant by the General Court to Newtowne appears to have been limited to about a thousand acres around Harvard Square. Other lands were granted from time to time, until by 1644 the church land extended from Dedham to north of the Merrimac River. Some of this land was given directly to the church, not to the town. In 1684 the parish voted to develop "Shawshine" (Billerica) so it "may be set at farming for the good of the church." At this meeting, incidentally, a rule was adopted to insure promptness: "If a selectman fail to be present one half hour after the ringing of the clock he shall lose his dinner and be fined a pint of sack." It is not recorded who got the sack.

The Rev. Mr. Shepard died of a quinsy on 25 August 1649 at the age of forty-three. A year later, the Rev. Jonathan Mitchell, A.B. Harvard 1647, succeeded him, not only at the pulpit, but also at home, for he married Shepard's third wife, the widow, In the short interim Harvard President Dunster graciously supplied the pulpit. In 1650 the second structure as meeting house was built at that corner of the Harvard Yard now occupied by Lehman Hall. It was forty feet square and had a shingle roof. Records name it "the Church of Christ at Cambridge in New England." The Rev. Mr. Mitchell found himself in active controversy with President Dunster, whose espousal of the tenet of baptism only for consenting adults

sparked his removal from office. Mitchell was sufficiently liberal to favor baptism for children of non-members.

As the community grew, other problems developed, some enduring. The first person licensed by the General Court, on 8 Septem-

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ber 1636, "to keep a house of entertainment at Newtowne" was Thomas Chisholme, a deacon of the church. It was next door to the church for the convenience of all-day worshippers. In 1652 the first Cambridge license to mention liquor—"to sell beere and bread"—was granted to Andrew Belcher. In 1656, Cambridge Village, now Newton, received permission to form its own church. Came 1668; the colony was thirty-eight years old. By this time the General Court found it necessary to promote a restoration of manners, and accordingly the church selected some respectable inhabitants to catechize the youth of the town. Some youth were not church members, so were presumed to need ecclesiastical notice. As throughout history, the older continued to deplore the behavior of the younger.

At a public meeting in 1669, after the death of the Rev. Mr. Mitchell, the church corporation (parish) and the church evangelical society (church), sitting to consider a new minister, incidentally agreed to sell the church's farm, Shawshine, for £230. The Rev. Urian Oakes, answering the call, became minister in 1671. He also became president of Harvard in 1675, the only man formally appointed to both positions. He died in 1681, aged fifty.

The next pastor was Nathaniel Gookin, an assistant in the church. Ordained in 1682, he served for only ten years, dying at the age of thirty-four. In 1682 five hundred acres of "remote colonial land between Woburn-Concord and our headline" was designated by the General Court for the use of the church. The word "American" was first used for settlers in 1684; only in the Revolution did "Yankee" become current. Under Gookin the doctrine was spelled out that "each person is a significant if sinful unit to whom God has given a particular place and duty; and he must help his fellowmen."

The cherished independence of the colony was beginning to be undermined, as the High Court of Chancery revoked its charter because it refused to accept royal officials for the enforcement of English law. Under the new charter of 1692, "every freeholder of 40 shillings is a voter, and every other inhabitant who has 40

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pounds sterling personal estate." This charter contained no requirement of church membership and nothing of an ecclesiastical institution; liberty of conscience, which was "not entered in the first charter was in the second expressly granted to all."

The church remained without a pastor until 1696, when William Brattle was ordained minister. Under his leadership, procedures were liberalized. Formal, public declaration of religious experience was declared unnecessary for church membership; examination of

candidates was limited to pastor and elders; silence, rather than a show of hands by the congregation, gave consent to admission.

In 1700 the proprietors of the land grant gave the high land on the south side of the Charles from the river to the Roxbury Road for the use of the church. The town voted in 1703 that it was "necessary to build a new meeting house," which was erected on the same site as the second, on 13 October 1706. Another bit of the church's jurisdiction ended in 1712/13, when Cambridge Farms became established as Lexington. After the death of Rev. William Brattle in 1717, the Rev. Nathaniel Appleton was selected by the church; the town concurred and also voted annual payments to the minister and funds for building the parsonage. His was a long ministry, ending in 1783, sixty-six years later.

In Lexington, the "North Cambridge Precinct," the Rev. Mr. Hancock gathered a church, the "Second Church in Cambridge," on 9 September 1739. The First Church in Cambridge paternally presented it with twenty-five pounds to "furnish their communion table in a decent manner."

In performance of its bounden duty, the First Church in 1736 chose a committee of "wise, prudent and blameless Christians to inspect and observe the manners of professing Christians." This practice lasted fifty years and doubtless produced a body of data incomparable as gossip if not as objective behavioral research.

The church's growth in influence and property now came to the attention of the General Court. Although there was no recorded infringement upon the customary harmony between the parish and the church, the court passed a statute in 1754 constituting the

deacons of the parish a corporation, and thereby trustees of the church property, because the whole body of church members was incapable of holding in succession.

Doctor Appleton received the degree of Doctor of Divinity in 1771, the second to be conferred by Harvard. Increase Mather, president of Harvard, had been awarded the degree in 1692 under a statute which was subsequently revoked. Minister during the Revolution while in his eighties, Appleton seemed wholly concerned with the duties of his office. On 20 May 1774 the church voted: "Such was ye dark and gloomy aspect with respect to our public and political Affairs, that it was ye general agreement of ye towns in ye Province, by ye recommendation of ye representatives, before ye dissolution, to have and keep a day of Humiliation and Prayer, and the 14th day of July was generally agreed upon for that purpose. Accordingly we had a church meeting on 14th July after ye afternoon Exercises." Several members joined the militia.

In the meantime, the meeting house, being fifty years old and inadequate, needed replacement. A fourth structure, containing the bell given in 1700 by Andrew Belcher, was built, and the first service was held on 24 July 1757. Located farther back into the Yard, it served the community for seventy-seven years. Apparently it was the first meeting house built without town money. Used not only for worship by the congregation, including the college, this meeting house was also the site of public occasions and "patriotic gatherings" as well as all Harvard commencement exercises. These "happy observances" were quite public then and were the only opportunities for carnival-like fun until Independence when

Fourth of July celebrations released pent-up steam. The first Provincial Congress met here in October and November 1774. The Massachusetts constitution was written here in 1779. Lafayette was welcomed here on his triumphal tour in 1824.

The first secession from Congregationalism was effected on 25 April 1759 by the pew-holders who signed for the establishment of Christ Church: Henry Vassall, Joseph Lee, John Vassall, Ralph Inman, Thomas Oliver, David Phips, Robert Temple, and James

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Apthorp. On 15 October 1761 the Rev. East Apthorp took charge of the Episcopal Church and Missionary in the pre-Revolutionary building which still graces lower Garden Street.

First Church members on the South Side (Brighton) petitioned to be set off on 23 February 1783. The church agreed, and on 4 November 1784 the new congregation called the Rev. John Foster.

When Dr. Appleton reached the venerable age of four score and ten he asked a committee of the church to choose a colleague. The church chose the Rev. Timothy Hilliard; the parish concurred, so he was installed in 1783. In the following year Dr. Appleton died at the age of ninety-one. Mr. Hilliard died in 1790 at the age of forty-four, having served as minister for seven years.

In 1792 the "Church and Society in Cambridge" called Abiel Holmes, masterfully overcoming the handicap of his Yale degree. In 1801 Abiel started his display of talents as historian; he published his History of Cambridge. On 2 January 1829, by now D.D., he published his Annals of America and served as Corresponding Secretary of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Oliver Wendell Holmes, M.D. and essayist, was his son; Justice Holmes his grandson.

The extremely trying event in the history of "the First Church of Christ in Cambridge" occurred during his pastorate. The church split on "the Controversy" and the two parts went their separate ways. Since the 1780s differences between the Unitarian and the Trinitarian credos had been disturbing some congregations. Nevertheless Unitarian and Trinitarian preachers were being exchanged freely among liberal and conservative Congregational pulpits. Cambridge was no exception. In the 1820s, however, a revival atmosphere was agitated by the Rev. Lyman Beecher of the Hanover St. Church in Boston, an arch foe of Unitarianism. Theological arguments were "in the air"; positions were firmly held, and the controversy reached the point of no return. Congregations had to become either Unitarian or Trinitarian. Into this environment of seething zeal stepped Dr. Holmes, having decided

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unilaterally that his duty lay in preserving his church in Trinitarian orthodoxy by refusing Unitarians the use of his pulpit.

A majority of the church members approved his stand, as did Deacons Billiard and Munroe, while a minority disagreed. Finally, after two years of sustained tug-of-war, notable for multisyllabic verbiage, intemperate but polite, on 12 June 1829 the parish notified Dr. Holmes that he couldn't use the pulpit, supplied it themselves, and terminated his contract with the parish.

Remaining loyal to the "faith once delivered to the saints," Dr. Holmes held services in the old court house in the Square for the two-thirds of the members who stayed with him. These sixty, being a majority, retained the name, "The First Church in Cambridge," for the church. To become a parish, deacons were chosen as the corporation under the name of "the Shepard Congregational Society." Needing a meeting house, the society planned one for 1831.

In August 1831, a deacon of that portion which remained with the First Parish filed suit to determine formally and officially the ownership of the church property—building, funds, communion silver, books, baptismal basin, records, files of papers, etc. A committee of the First Church in Cambridge and its deacons, the Shepard Congregational Society, appointed to consider this action found it best to deliver up the property; so done, on 28 December 1831. The crux of the committee's conclusion was the Supreme Judicial Court decision in the case brought in 1820 by the Dedham church: "where a majority of members of a church separate from a majority of the parish, the members (of the church) who remain (with the parish), although a minority, constitute the church in such parish and retain the rights and property belonging thereto." (Eliphalet Baker and Another versus Samuel Fales, 16 Mass 488).

After two years in the old court house, this congregation moved to a new meeting house—its fifth—situated at the corner of Mount Auburn and Holyoke streets and called "The Shepard Memorial Church." It housed the First Church until a sixth structure was finished in 1872, forty-one years later.

*In 1831, after Dr. Holmes' dismissal, began the church's shortest ministry, that of Nehemiah Adams, Jr. In 1835 Dr. John Albro became pastor. His ministry did not quiver or quake through the infelicities of the War between the States. As an author of *The Life of Thomas Shepard* he maintained the tradition that there be historians in the church; the quality of his published sermons furthered the growth of membership from 101 to 300 by the end of his pastorate in 1866. Harvard and Bowdoin honored him with the degree of Doctor of Divinity.*

In 1867 began the ministry of Dr. Alexander McKenzie, one of the most distinguished among the distinguished. During the forty-three years of his leadership the church grew in numbers and in influence in the community. An intensely spiritual preacher, he attracted congregations which filled the meeting house regularly. At Harvard he became preacher to the University and secretary of the board of overseers. Among his publications are books of sermons and a history of the church in a volume of his Lowell Institute Lectures. One considerable achievement was the erection of the present, the sixth, meeting house, at Garden and Mason streets, where the first services were held on 26 May 1872. The building cost \$135,000, only \$50,000 of which was subscribed; \$85,000 had to be obtained by loans or mortgages. The panic of 1873 endangered this financing, so at a heroic money-raising

jamboree on Sunday, 9 December 1877, \$75,000 was raised in cash or pledges, and the remainder before the week was out.

The following year the chapel was added, as well as a 170-foot spire. It was embellished with a gilded weathercock which Deacon Shem Drowne had made in 1721 for the "New Brick" (the Cockerel) Church in Boston. Weighing 172 pounds and measuring five feet five by five feet five, it had blown off its recent home, the Church of the Savior, Methodist, at Church Green, at Bedford and Summer streets in the gale of 8 September 1869. Bought for \$75, it was raised here on 28 June 1873 to an eminence it did not maintain, for structural inadequacy forced the removal of the spire, just in time to avoid whatever fate the 21 September 1938

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hurricane may have had in store. The new steeple may be lower, but the cockerel is still the height of dignity for all the misadventures of its 253 years. Dr. McKenzie was succeeded in 1912 by the Rev. Dr. Raymond Calkins, who served until 1940.

*An inspiring preacher, Dr. Calkins upheld adherence to the ancient beliefs and eternal verities. Proud of the history of the church, he was aggressive in seeking out significant data. His *Life and Times of Alexander McKenzie* was published in 1935. Under his stimulus the reorganization of the parish was accomplished in 1919, combining one proprietary body—the Shepard Memorial Society—and one evangelical body—the First Church—into a single entity, the First Church in Cambridge, Congregational. Through his enterprise the church interior was renovated in 1924 at substantial expense. A modern parish house replaced the old chapel in 1926, at a cost of \$260,000. By 1940, then, the church could boast of a property considered modern at the time and adequate to the ministry.*

During the Calkins tenure the modern ecumenical movement was gathering momentum. The Congregational Churches united with the Christian Churches to form the Congregational Christian Church in 1931. During this period of theological adjustment and biblical criticism, Dr. Calkins as preacher, lecturer, and author earned his reputation for profundity and solidity, expanding with the times into acceptance and use of textual analysis of the Scriptures. The Puritan belief that man was sinful and had to be maneuvered into virtue had been challenged by the belief that man was good, but had to be buttressed against sin.

Rev. John H. Leamon, D.D., became pastor in 1940 and served until his resignation in 1962, with Dr. Calkins as Pastor Emeritus during these years. Dr. Leamon's pastorate is marked by the shift in popular attention away from the economic upsets of the thirties, through the international annoyances of the forties, to the search for assurances in religion in the fifties. Involvement and participation of members increased, ecumenical goals were approached, the World Council of Churches was established in

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1948. Dr. Leamon led the heady and meaty discussions about joining the United Church of Christ, wherein membership marked itself by the depth of its wisdom and the intensity of its feelings. In 1948 the tercentenary celebration of the Cambridge Platform was held here.

The church managed to weather the excitement generated by the post-war wave of church membership, which reached a crest in 1960.

Wells B. Grogan began his pastorate here in 1962. Since then, a new organ, designed and built by Frobenius of Denmark, was installed, and the arrangements of the communion table and choir altered to fit. These changes are part of his broad program to reorder space, the better to serve child, youth, and adult groups, whether of the church or of the wider community. It seems likely that Mr. Grogan's ministry will be noted for its social concern, for the members' responsibilities for helping others by joining the spiritual and social endeavors of outside groups and by accepting the functions of an inner-city church. He endured the tumult sparked by the spread of ecumenism as well as by the emphasis on search for identity. While the church remains under no ecclesiastical authority it is not ingrown; it is actively related to the programs of the United Church of Christ and the Councils of Churches-city, state, nation, and world. Something, then, is left of the doctrine enunciated by this church's pastor Nathaniel Gookin in 1684: "each person is a significant if sinful unit to whom God has given a particular place and duty; and he must help his fellowmen".

This church has had its connection with every prominent national event in America's development. There is no reason to expect it to abandon its tradition for confronting whatever changes time may present. The ancient covenant endures, and thrives as the form of admission. It is a spoken promise "to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the Gospel... in mutual love and respect each to other, so near as God shall give us grace."

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Appendix

1. Ministers of the First Church in Cambridge, Congregational

Thomas Hooker 1633-1636

Abiel Holmes 1792-1831

Thomas Shepard 1636-1649

Nehemiah Adams, Jr. 1831-1834

Jonathan Mitchell 1650-1668

John Albro 1835-1866

Urian Oakes 1671-1681

Alexander McKenzie 1867-1912

Nathaniel Gookin 1682-1692

Raymond Calkins 1912-1940

William Brattle 1696-1717

John Leamon 1940-1962

Nathaniel Appleton 1717-1783

Wells Grogan 1962-

Timothy Hilliard 1783-1790

2. Meeting Houses [identified by present sites]

Dunster and Mt. Auburn 1633-1650

Old Court House 1829-1831

Lehman Hall [first] 1650-1706

Mt. Auburn and Holyoke 1831-1872

Lehman Hall [second] 1706-1757

Farther in to Harvard Yard 1757-1829

Garden and Mason 1872-

3. Foundation Dates of Early Churches of Massachusetts Bay

Salem 6 Aug. 1629

Roxbury July 1632

Dorchester June 1630

Lynn 1632

Boston 30 July 1630

Charlestown 2 Nov. 1632

Watertown 30 July 1630

Cambridge 11 Oct. 1633

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The Medical Botany of the New England Area: 1782-1842

BY G. EDMUND GIFFORD JR., M.D.

Dr. Gifford began by saying he wished

to dedicate this paper to Elizabeth

Hall, secretary of the Cambridge His-

torical Society, who died on October

28,1974.

THE sixty year period 1782-1842 begins the year that young Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse, with his new Leyden M.D., returned to America, and concludes with the appointment of Asa Gray, M.D., to the Fisher Chair of Natural History at Harvard University, when botany shifted from being a medically supported study to being an academically based pursuit.

Most people remember Benjamin Waterhouse (1754-1846) as the fiery old vaccinator who helped popularize vaccination, but he was one of the first medical botanists. Born in Newport, Rhode Island, Benjamin was the son of Timothy Waterhouse and Hannah Proud, niece of the illustrious London Quaker physician Dr. John Fothergill. As a boy, Waterhouse's interest in botany was nourished by reading in the Redwood Library. This library was founded in 1747 by Abraham Redwood, merchant and philanthropist, who had developed a private botanical garden with a hothouse at

Read April 13,1975

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nearby Portsmouth. At the age of sixteen Waterhouse was apprenticed to Dr. John Halliburton of Newport, and five years later (1775) he sailed to England where he spent three years as part of John Fothergill's family. At that time, Fothergill had a thirty-acre garden with greenhouses and thirty-four hundred species of plants from around the world; he hired artists to illustrate his plants. Fothergill corresponded with the great Carl Linnaeus and the Philadelphia botanist John Bartram. It was Fothergill who financed the famous expedition of William Bartram to Florida, 1773-1777, and the previous trip of both Bartrams in 1766.

Fothergill's assistant and ward, John Coakley Lettsom, was also interested in botany and had a botanical garden. A Fellow of the Royal Society (1733), Lettsom published the Naturalist's and Traveller's Companion, a book containing instructions for preserving plants and other objects of natural history. Lettsom was a liberal supporter of William Curtis, the apothecary and botanist, and helped him financially with his Flora Londinensis. Waterhouse mentioned "his departed friend Curtis, under whose tuition he herbalized in the environs of London two years in succession." ¹

Waterhouse attended Edinburgh University for a year (1775-1776) and then received the M.D. degree at the University of Leyden, where he stayed with the future president of the United States, John Adams, and his son. At Leyden, undoubtedly, he visited the outstanding botanic garden founded by Boerhaave.

In 1782 Waterhouse, aged twenty-eight, returned to America. He was, wrote Dr. Henry Viets, "perhaps the best educated physician in America at that time."² The following year he was invited to become the first Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic at Harvard University. Dr. John Fothergill had written to his old friend, Benjamin Franklin, on October 25, 1780:

1. Benjamin Waterhouse, *The Botanist. Being the Botanical Part of a Course of Lectures on Natural History, Delivered in the University at Cambridge, together with a Discourse on the Principle of Vitality* (Boston, 1811), p. 112.

2. Henry R. Viets, " 'A Journal, of a Young Man of Massachusetts, . . . Written by Himself,' Boston: 1816, and a Note on the Author [B. Waterhouse]," *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, 12 (1939-1940), 613.

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Accept my very cordial thanks for thy great kindness to Dr. Water-house—a little friend and relation of mine, who I hope will do his country no discredit. After he has had a little experience in the practice of physic, I think, should the State of Massachusetts ever establish a School of Medicine, and such there should be, that if he lives and has his health, he would fill a chair in it very properly. At present, he is too young, too inexperienced, but he has collected good material, though I am confident without any such intention for such a purpose.³

Then, as now, a little influence in high places didn't hurt.

In the early years Harvard paid no salary, and professors were dependent on student fees. For the first fifteen years of the Medical School, the average number of graduates was 254 per year. This financial situation probably presented no difficulty for Dr. John Warren, professor of surgery and anatomy, or Dr. Aaron Dexter, professor of chemistry and materia medica, both of whom were successfully established in practice in Boston. Waterhouse lived in Cambridge, a small village that already had two physicians. Having received no salary, he resigned in 1787. His resignation was not accepted, and two alternatives were offered to allay his financial difficulties. The Corporation noted that medical professors were to receive a "moiety of income" from the Hersey Fund and that Dr. Waterhouse was to deliver annually a course of lectures on natural history. This course would be an elective for seniors who presented written parental permission (apparently due to the fact that the Linnaean sexual system of plant classification was discussed) and paid a guinea fee to the lecturer.

This was not a new field for Dr. Waterhouse. In 1784, he had also been made Professor of Natural History at Rhode Island College (later Brown). His name remained on the faculty list there until 1791. His first set of lectures in Providence in 1786 was received, according to one newspaper, "with the greatest pleasure and satisfaction by large assemblies of the most respectable char-

3. *Chain of Friendships: Selected Letters of Dr. John Fothergill of London, 1735-1780*, introd. by Betsy C. Corner and Christopher C. Booth (Cambridge, The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1971), p. 499.

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acters, both ladies and gentlemen."⁴ He repeated the series in 1787. It has been claimed that these lectures were the first popular lectures in natural history in the United States. Waterhouse's course in natural history at Harvard was offered for twenty-two consecutive years. The lectures were popular, being lively, full of anecdotes and humor, and no doubt spiced with his vituperative wit. Not afflicted with undue modesty, Waterhouse

characterized himself as "animated with the ambitious sentiment of being considered hereafter the Founder of Natl. History in the first University in America." ⁵

Despite Fothergill's advice to regard natural history "only as an agreeable adjunct to the healing art," ⁶ Waterhouse did not like the practice of medicine and used his natural history lectures as a means of support. In a letter to Lettsom, dated November 25, 1794, he wrote:

Should I ever execute what I am constantly resolving in my mind, A View of Society and Manners, with The Natural History of New England, I should send it to England, and publish it there without a name. The fact is, I have no taste for the practice of physic as it is conducted in this country. It is not worth a man's attention. I feel such a mighty difference between transcribing from the great volume of Nature and practicing among the very vulgar, that is conforming to the whims and nonsense of old women and silly people, that I am sometimes almost determined to renounce it forever. I know how a London physician gets his bread, but with us it is widely different: a man like me of weakly frame, addicted to study, is liable to be called out five or six miles on horseback in a severe winter night; and to remain out all night, and to receive (in the course of a year) a guinea for it! We are obliged to be physician, surgeon, apothecary, tooth-drawer, all under one; and if we are not attentive to small things, and if we do not give consequences to trifles, we are dropped for someone who does. You are spoiled (say some of my friends) for practice in this

4. J. Walter Wilson, "The First Natural History Letters at Brown University, 1786, by Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse," *Annals of Medical History*, ser. 3, 4 (1942), 390-398.

5. Quoted in John B. Blake, "Benjamin Waterhouse, Harvard's First Professor of Physic," *Journal of Medical Education*, 33 (1958), 774.

6. Waterhouse, *Botanist*, p. xiv.

country, living so long with Dr. Fothergill, which is in great measure true.⁷

Perhaps the trouble was not all due to his London experience with Dr. Fothergill. Dr. Waterhouse was a pompous pedant. Oliver Wendell Holmes remarked of Waterhouse, "The good people of Cambridge listened to his learned talk when they were well, and sent for one of the other two doctors when they were sick."⁸

*Things were not going well for Waterhouse at the University either. In 1805, William Dandridge Peck was chosen for the Massachusetts Professorship of Natural History and Keeper of the Botanic Garden which Harvard had established. Partly, at least, because of the interest aroused by Waterhouse's lectures, a group of wealthy Bostonians had raised money to establish the professorship and the Botanic Garden. Of course, Waterhouse was loath to turn over the work and fees to anyone else, but in 1810 Peck began his Harvard lectures and Waterhouse moved his public lectures to Boston. A synopsis of the lecture series was published by Waterhouse as *Heads of a Course of Lectures on Natural History (1810)*. It listed twenty-six lecture topics. Lecture VII was*

BOTANY. Anatomical description of a full grown vegetable; of the seven essential parts of it, discoverable in the seed, root, stem, branch, leaf, bud, flower and fruit. A biographical sketch of LINNAEUS, the prince of naturalists. [Lecture] VIII. The Linnaean system of Botany briefly explained, a system encumbered with fewer difficulties than any hitherto published. ... Of the

*pernicious effects of sleeping in a small room crowded with flowers or fruit. . . . [Lecture] IX. On Agriculture. . . . [Lecture] X. Directions how to form a Hortus Siccus. . . . What is the ultimate end or use of Botany? AH the public Professors of Botany, in every period of its existence as a science, have been medical men.*⁹

Perhaps for this lecture he demonstrated his own hortus siccus or herbarium. This undated book of 103 pages, bound in calf,

7. Quoted in Thomas J. Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late John Codkley Lettsom*, 3 vols. (London, 1817), n, 464-465.

8. Oliver W. Holmes, "Medicine in Boston: Additional Memoranda," in Justin Winsor, ed., *Memorial History of Boston*, 4 vols. (Boston, 1880-1881), iv, 564.

9. Benjamin Waterhouse, *Heads of a Course of Lectures on Natural History* (Cambridge 1810), pp. 5-7: lectures VII-X.

*containing 220 well-mounted specimens arranged in the Linnaean system, and bearing the signature B. Waterhouse, is preserved in the Rare Books Collection, Countway Library, Harvard Medical School. Waterhouse's hortus siccus is among the oldest surviving collections assembled by American botanists. John Bartram's specimens dating from c. 1735 are in the British Museum of Natural History and the Sutro Library, San Francisco (Lord Petre's collection); B. S. Barton's collection—of undated origin, but before 1800—is in the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia as a deposit from the American Philosophical Society.*¹⁰

Some of the specimens from this hortus have medical notations:

Arum. The root is an excellent medicine, but must be used when fresh.

Datura stramonium. The extract from this herb has proved to be the most successful remedy in spasmodic disorders. The subscriber having seen it cure the most obstinate hysterical complaints that were as violent as those of epilepsy. Dose from 1/2 grain to 3 grains observing accurately when the pupil of the eye dilates.

Phytolacca. Doctor Colden's specific against cancer. The root may be given internally and has succeeded to use in gout and other obstinate disorders.

Blood root. The root of this plant is an excellent medicine that will be of great use in the practice. Given in the dose of 6 grains it acts as an emetic and if the quantity is lessened to the half part it is an excellent diaphoretic.

Wild horse-chestnut. The root of this tree is used in place of soap to wash clothes and cleanses them of wool better than anything that is known.

Persimmon Tree. From the berries is a delectable good beer made in Jersey.

*Of the 220 specimens in the hortus, seventeen have medical annotations. In 1811, Waterhouse published *The Botanist*, a collection of popular essays on botany, which had first appeared in the *Month**

10. I am indebted to Professor Joseph Ewan of Tulane University for information about the location of the John Bartram and B. S. Barton herbaria.

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Anthology (1804-1808). His motivation for the book is clear. His relations with his colleagues and the governing board at Harvard had become strained and The Botanist was to advertise his natural history lectures that were dependent on public subscription. In the preface of The Botanist, Waterhouse wrote, "He [Waterhouse] by no means considers himself a master in the science. Physic is his profession, and Natural History his amusement."¹¹ The Botanist needed this apology. It is an encyclopedic and philosophic work drawing from older writers, not within the materia medica tradition of the Cullen or the Edinburgh Dispensary nor the rising natural history descriptive tradition. It has a distinct eighteenth-century flavor, and certainly the botany never supersedes the medicine.

In 1812 Waterhouse was removed as Hersey Professor at Harvard. However, there is still another aspect to Waterhouse as a botanist. In 1825, he wrote several essays praising the work and efforts of Samuel Thomson (1769-1843), the founder of the botanic-medical sect, described as the "first American Medical Heresy."¹² The essays published in the Boston Patriot were signed "An Eclectic" and were reprinted in Thomsonian tracts. Waterhouse also corresponded with Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchill of New York, who had assisted Samuel Thomson in securing patents for his system in 1813, when Mitchill was a member of the House of Representatives from New York.¹³ It is interesting that Mitchill should have supported Thomson. Mitchill, an Edinburgh M.D., had taught courses in natural history, chemistry, and agriculture in the Medical School at Columbia College, with the backing of the State Agricultural Society; in 1793 he held the Professorship of Botany at Columbia, but in 1795 he turned it over to David

11. Waterhouse, *Botanist*, p. xiv.

12. Martin Kaufman, *Homeopathy in America: The Rise and Fall of a Medical Heresy* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, [1971]), p. 17.

13. Waterhouse to Mitchill, Cambridge, Dec. 19, 1825, in Lloyd Library of Botany, Pharmacy and Materia Medica, Bulletin no. 11 (Reproduction series no. 7, "Life and Medical Discoveries of Samuel Thomson and a History of the Thomsonian Materia Medica,") ([Cincinnati], 1909), p. 61.

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Hosack. From 1797 to 1824, Mitchill published the "first strictly scientific periodical in the United States," The Medical Repository (23 volumes), and in 1813 returned to teach natural history at Columbia, after Hosack became Professor of Practice and Theory of Medicine.

Mitchill's motives for endorsing Samuel Thomson are unclear, but Waterhouse's are obvious. It was simply a case of the two old warriors joining forces against the common enemy, the medical establishment. The Massachusetts General Hospital—as run by Waterhouse's hated adversaries, the Warrens, and his successor to the Hersey Chair, James Jackson—was a place of overtreatment and death. Both Thomson and Waterhouse could

agree on that. Thomson started to publish his Thomsonian Manual in 1825 and Waterhouse added the volumes to his library. In 1840 Thomson presented him with an inscribed copy of his work, and in 1841 the thirteenth edition—the Thomsonian Materia Medica, or Botanic Family Physician—was flatteringly dedicated to "Benjamin Water-house, M.D., Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine, Harvard University." ¹⁴

Thomsonianism was a factor in the regulation of both medicine and pharmacy, and once again botanic materia medica was separated from systematic botany.

*In historical perspective, Waterhouse is an early figure in the separation of botany and medicine. Primarily through his lectures, he helped to create the atmosphere which led to the establishment of the chair and the Botanic Garden at Harvard. Waterhouse's delight, he indicated to Lettson, was "transcribing from the great volume of Nature" but his major work, *The Botanist*, shows little evidence that he had. It was largely theoretical speculation and derivative systematizing written for the general public, as Water-*

14. List of books from the library of Benjamin Waterhouse, in Annual Report of New England Female Medical College (Boston, 1856), p. 14; Thomsonian Manual or Advocate of the Principles which Govern the Thomsonian System of Medical Practice (presentation copy, with autograph inscription to Waterhouse, in Harvard Medical School, Countway Library, Rare Books Department); 13th ed., Materia Medica, or Botanic Family Physician (Albany, 1841).

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house acknowledged apologetically to Lettson, "to create a taste for that pleasing study, and hence its popular dress and style." ¹⁵ At a time when many botanists—Jane Golden, Frederick Pursh, C. S. Rafinesque, John and William Bartram, Henry Muhlenberg, John Clayton, and Andre Michaux—were describing the American flora, Waterhouse added nothing to the fund of scientific botanical knowledge.

Waterhouse's successor to the public lectures in botany in Boston was Jacob Bigelow (1787-1879). As a Harvard undergraduate, Bigelow was introduced to anatomy through the lectures of Dr. John C. Warren and he discovered that "a physician might be fluent and accomplished and serve his generation in other ways than as a mere vehicle of pills and plasters." In 1809 he chose to go to the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia to study medicine with the famous doctors Rush, Wistar, Physick, and Barton. On returning to Boston in 1810 with his M.D. in hand he considered "laying siege to part of the practice of Cedar Swamp and Dungy Hole" by assisting an older physician in "learning to make bullets, polls and sleeve buttons," but in fact was associated with the new Professor of Theory and Practice of Physic at Harvard— Dr. James Jackson. His particular interest in botany at that time was doubtless stimulated by his Philadelphia teacher, Benjamin Smith Barton. A letter of 1812 gives a vivid picture of the young physician and botanist.¹⁶

Boston, June 13, 1812

Thomas M. Jones, Esq.

London

Dear Tom,

Understanding that you are in or about London where you may remain some time, a prisoner of war or otherwise, I take the liberty to interrupt your tranquility in the manner following to wit. As in your epistle from Moscow, Which by the way was duly answered in the proper time, you proposed some botanical queries respecting plants, etc.

15. Pettigrew, *Memoirs of Lettsom*, n, 264-265.

16. Hunt Institute Archives. Reproduced with permission.

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I have since had many and great qualms of conscience for not having answered those interrogations in a manner more suitable to the dignity of the subject. For some time past I have been labouring under no small mania for the study of botany and have greatly lamented the want of a fellow student equally keen with yourself. Recollecting that you are in Paris and London and the like where you visit fine gardens and can procure fine books; your present opportunities may be made exceedingly advantageous to a future prosecution of the study of plants. Any rare plants or seeds which you may bring home from England, scientifically marked after the Emperor of Morocco, will be worth their weight in gold. So will collections of dried plants not indigenous in our country with their names, which collections may be easily procured from the gardeners. But above all, the thing we sorely lack in this land of milk and molasses is good Botanical books and plates. I should jump out of my skin at the sight of Smith's Exotic Botany, Curtis' Flora Londinensis, Dr. Thornton's lottery book the illustrations of Linnaeus Wildenow's Species Plantarum and many others. I have omitted Curtis' magazine and Sowerby's botany because we have these in the Athenaeum. Upon the faith of a mussel man I think a man might signalize himself without difficulty among the New Englanders who are as ignorant of botany as a nation of jackasses.

Most of the exotic plants which are to be found here are from the east and west indies; you would astonish the natives with a nosegay from Africa or New Holland. Mem.—take care not to fetch American plants, i.e. Coals to Newcastle.*

Yours usque ad,

J. Bigelow

**and devilish few of these.*

Bigelow made a collection of plants within a ten-mile radius of Boston that he described in his first book, Florida Bostoniensis, described as "the first distinctive local flora published in America." In 1814, Bigelow also brought out an American edition of Smith's botany. 17 Only two physicians who had studied with Waterhouse

17. Jacob Bigelow, *Florida Bostoniensis. A Collection of Plants of Boston and Its Environs, and Their Generic and Specific Characters, Synonyms, Descriptions, Places of Growth, and Time of Flowering and Occasional Remarks* (Cambridge, 1814; the 3rd ed., enlarged [Boston, 1840], contains a glossary of botanical terms); Sir James Edward Smith, M.D., *An Introduction to Physiological and Systematical Botany*, 1st American, from the 2nd English, edition, ed. with notes by Jacob Bigelow (Boston, 1814).

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contributed to *Bigelow's Florula*. The specimens which Bigelow used in preparing for the second edition are now preserved in the University of Massachusetts Herbarium, Amherst. The collectors —Henry Little, B. D. Greene, and possibly Charles Jarvis—were part of the old "Massachusetts Cabinet." ¹⁸

Bigelow had made botanizing trips to the White Mountains to collect plants; Bigelow Lawn on Mt. Washington is named for him. The White Mountains had been a favorite collecting spot earlier for Rev. Manasseh Cutler. Now it became the focus of attention for Charles Pickering, M.D., William Oakes, Francis Boott, M.D., and Henry Little, M.D. (referred to in Bigelow's Florula, second edition, as "my pupil, H. Little"). All of these men were of the new collector and descriptive breed of botanist, not bound to the concept that botany was to serve materia medica. The enlarged second edition of the Florula Bostoniensis was useful for all New England and remained the standard manual until the appearance of Gray's Manual of 1848.

Botanical instruction in the medical schools of the United States up to 1814 had followed a pattern; an Edinburgh-trained M.D. taught botany within a materia medica framework. The Edinburgh botanical school had been carried on by Charles Alston who taught botany from 1739 to 1761. His successor, John Hope, became King's Botanist and University Professor of Botany (1761-1786). Dr. Robert Ramsey was the first Professor of Natural History in the Medical Department of the University of Edinburgh (1770). He was succeeded by Rev. John Walker, and he in turn by Robert Jameson in 1804. The following Americans had been to Edinburgh: John Morgan, Adam Kuhn, Benjamin Smith Barton, Samuel Latham Mitchill, Samuel Bard, Richard Kissam, David Hosack, and B. Waterhouse. There had been an exception, Johann Schopf. After the Revolutionary War, this German mercenary physician traveled throughout the country and in 1787 published a book about the indigenous Materia Medica Americana, Potissi-

18. R. E. Torrey and E. L. Davis, "The Old Massachusetts Herbarium," *Rhodora*, 55 (1953), 7-13.

mum Regni Vegetabilis. This work was based on the observations of the excellent American botanist G. H. E. Muhlenberg, and on the work of Bartram, Clayton, Golden, Kahn, and Catesby. It is important to note that not one of these was a physician within the materia medica tradition; all of these were the new collector type.

Bigelow, the pupil of Barton, was part of both the collector and the materia medica tradition. In 1815 he was appointed Lecturer in Materia Medica and Botany at Harvard. His three-volume American Medical Botany, Being a Collection of the Native Medicinal Plants of the United States (1817-1820), "containing their Botanical History and chemical analysis, and properties and uses in Medicine, Diet and the Arts, with coloured engravings," is a botanical classic.¹⁹ Bigelow not only wrote the text but did most of the drawings and invented his own form of aqua-tinting for this book. While producing this work, Bigelow held the Rumford Professorship of the Application of the Sciences to the Useful Arts in 1816 and advanced to Professor of Materia Medica and Botany in 1818.

In 1820, Bigelow was chairman of a committee of five who edited the first United States Pharmacopoeia. Lyman Spaulding, Eli Ives, Thomas T. Hewson, and Elisha DeButts were on the committee.²⁰ Bigelow later published his own *Treatise on Materia Medica, Intended as a Sequel to the Pharmacopoeia of the U.S.*

Bigelow, like Waterhouse before him, was strongly influenced by the botanical aspects of his career. Bigelow's great essay on *Self Limited Disease (1835)*, read before the Massachusetts Medical Society, spoke out against the heroic measures of bloodletting, opium, and mercury and forwarded the concept of modern experimentalism; it restated the old Hippocratic *vis medicatrix naturae*.

19. Gunther Buchheim, "Bigelow's 'American Medical Botany,'" *Journal of the Arnold Arboretum*, 55 (1974), 46-50.

20. *Pharmacopoeia of the United States of America, 1820*. "By the Authority of the Medical Societies and Colleges" (Boston, December 1820). See also Saul Jarcho, "The United States Pharmacopoeia of 1820," *Bulletin of Medicine*, 46 (1972), 402-404. Letters from Spaulding to Bigelow about the Pharmacopoeia of America, July 22 and October 17, 1820, are in the Countway Library.

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Disease, he asserted, has "a limit from its own nature," much like the distribution of the alpine plants that Bigelow had collected on Mt. Washington. This concept was further elaborated in *Nature and Disease (1854)*. It is interesting that Waterhouse endorsed the Thomsonian botanic movement and Bigelow wrote a rebuking article on heroic medicine.

After William Dandridge Peck's death in 1822, Thomas Nuttall was appointed curator of the Botanical Garden and was Professor of Natural History at Harvard (1822-1834). He did much to develop systematic botany. In 1833, Dr. Joshua Fisher of Beverly, Massachusetts, had left \$20,000 for a professorship in natural history.²¹ Fisher was especially interested in natural history. In 1762 he had accompanied the Belknap expedition to explore the White Mountains. The chair had been offered to Dr. Francis Boott, a physician-botanist.²² However, 1833 was the year that the Massachusetts College of Pharmacy²³ was established, and three years earlier, in 1830, the Boston Society of Natural History had been formed from the old Linnaean Society which Bigelow had founded.²⁴ Botany was being divided into systematic botany, practiced by increasing numbers of amateurs, and materia medica was now being taken over by pharmacy. Dr. Benjamin D. Greene,²⁵ one of the first presidents of the Boston Society, a physician-botanist and a fellow collector, was the son-in-law of the President of Harvard, Josiah Quincy. Greene was instrumental in the appointment of Asa Gray, M.D., to the Fisher Professorship.²⁶ Asa Gray, M.D., was the pupil of John Torrey, M.D., who had earned

21. "Joshua Fisher, M.D.....1748-1833," *Massachusetts Physician*, 32 (1973), 11.

22. George E. Gifford, Jr., "Sedges and a Spur [Francis Boott, M.D.]," *Harvard Medical Alumni Bulletin*, vol. 42, no. 3 (winter 1968), pp. 22-25.

23. Robert A. Walsh, "The Massachusetts College of Pharmacy, 1823-1973," *Bulletin of the Massachusetts College of Pharmacy*, 62 (1973), 5-59.

24. Thomas Tracy Bouvé, *Historical Sketch of the Boston Society of Natural History*, special ed. (Boston, 1880), pp. 3, 10, 11.

25. George E. Gifford, Jr., "Proper Bostonian Botanist [Benjamin D. Greene]," *Harvard Medical Alumni Bulletin*, vol. 46, no. 5 (May-June 1972).

26. A. Hunter Dupree, *Asa Gray, 1810-1888* (Cambridge, Belknap Press, 1959).

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his living as a teacher of chemistry but was a taxonomic botanist, who, in turn, had been a pupil of Dr. Samuel Latham Mitchell at Columbia (1814-1818). The final separation of botany from medicine came in 1842 with the appointment of Asa Gray to the Fisher Professorship of Natural History at Harvard. The old medical heritage is revealed by Asa Gray's and Joshua Fisher's M.D. degrees. Two weeks before the ether demonstration at Massachusetts General Hospital, old Dr. Waterhouse died. Medicine would concern itself with these developments, and botany, under Gray, would prepare for the Darwinian revolution.

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Fort Washington, 1775-1975, and Other Cambridge Fortifications

BY DOUGLAS PAYNE ADAMS AND CHARLES SULLIVAN, WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY CHARLES W. ELIOT, 2ND
[Summarized by the editor from notes of the authors and tapes recorded at the meeting.]

Mr. Eliot

OF the fortifications which were constructed in Cambridge two hundred years ago, a single battery—Fort Washington—still exists. Lieutenant-Governor Oliver had been forced to resign on September 2, 1774, and by the following spring—after the battles of Lexington and Concord—both the provincial and the continental armies were gathered in the encampment around Cambridge Common. General Artemas Ward had taken command of that "mixed multitude" of militia, minutemen, and volunteers, and set them to work on trenches, earthworks, and forts to protect the patriot encampment against possible attack by the British from Boston. The fortifications began at Fort # 1, located at Riverside on the Charles River between what is now River Street and Western Avenue; they were planned to control all access by river. They ran also from Fort #2 at Putnam Avenue and Kinnaird Street, up over "Butler's Hill" (Dana Hill) and between Dana Street and Hancock Street, to Fort #5 at Broadway and Maple.

Presented June 1, 1975

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The entrenchments over Dana Hill are labelled "Cambridge Lines" on the famous Pelham Map made at that time.

Mr. Robert Nylander, who undertook the research for the Cambridge Historical Commission's survey reports on the city's architectural history, worked through the contemporary documents— military papers, diaries, and histories—to build up a remarkable record of our Revolutionary fortifications. He found that the Dana Hill fortifications, described by Drake as "six redans" joined by curtains,¹ carried across the road (Massachusetts Avenue) and up the slope of Dana Hill, terminating at the north extremity in another redoubt situated on the crest, in an angle of Broadway and Maple Avenue on the Greenough estate. A hundred yards behind this line, another earth rampart rested on the main road (Massachusetts Avenue at Dana Street).

Other trenches and redoubts were constructed by direction of Artemas Ward before Washington took command in Cambridge. They may have included a revival of an early colonial fort which was originally located on Holyoke Place (where Lowell House now stands); almost certainly Fort #3; and the "citadel" on Prospect Hill in Somerville. as well as "Brooklin Fort" at the south end of what is now the B.U. Bridge on Sewall's farm, and other works in what is now Boston.

Washington improved and expanded these fortifications, first for the better protection of the Cambridge encampment, and then for 'the siege of Boston. These works included a battery near Franklin and Lansdowne Streets in Cambridge. On the strength of statements by both Frothingham and Paige, it seems probable that there was also a battery on Captain's Island. Mr. Eliot persuaded the MDC engineers who were working on a restoration of the Magazine Beach Park to reconstruct a redoubt or earthwork there—whether authentic or not, we can only guess. Washington himself described the main effort in a letter to the Continental Congress, written on November 28, 1775:

1. Samuel Adams Drake, Historic Mansions and Highways around Boston (Boston, 1899), p. 186.

I have caused two half moon batteries to be thrown up for occasional use, between Litchmore's Point & the mouth of Cambridge River and another work at the Cause[wa]y going to Litchmore's Point to command that pass, & rake the little rivulet that runs by it to Patterson's Fort—besides these I have been & marked out three places between Sewall's Point & our lines on Roxbury Neck for works to be thrown up, and occasionally mann'd in case of a sortie, when the bay gets froze.²

The Cambridge works referred to are Fort Putnam at the causeway to Lechmere Point in East Cambridge from which the bombardment of Boston began on March 5, 1776 and Fort Washington in Cambridgeport, the only surviving site of the American defenses in Cambridge.

Professor Adams

The Fort Washington battery had been the object of Professor Douglas Adams's efforts for preservation over a fifty-year period. When he first came upon it, the fort was in a state of "utter wretchedness": its earthworks, handsome cannon posts, and ornamental iron fence

had been allowed to fall into neglect. City officials showed no concern for it, and the area was surrounded by warehouses, ugly factories, and a trucking company. For many years the Cambridge (Hannah Winthrop) chapter of the DAR had maintained lovely flower beds at the site. Gradually Professor Adams succeeded in enlisting the interest and support of individuals and organizations—Paul Dudley White and the Boy Scouts, Bernard Rudolph and the Jewish War Veterans in Cambridgeport, students at the Rindge Technical School, President Howard Johnson of MIT—to protect the fort from further depredations and neglect. With Mr. Eliot's help, the site was placed on the National Register, so that it might be eligible for federal funds and would certainly be protected from obliteration by future highways. A crucial element in the campaign was the archaeological research which the Cambridge Historical Commission carried on at the site. Professor Adams, to his own satisfaction, had found the pre-

2. George Washington to Joseph Reed, Philadelphia, November 27, 1775, MS. in John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I.

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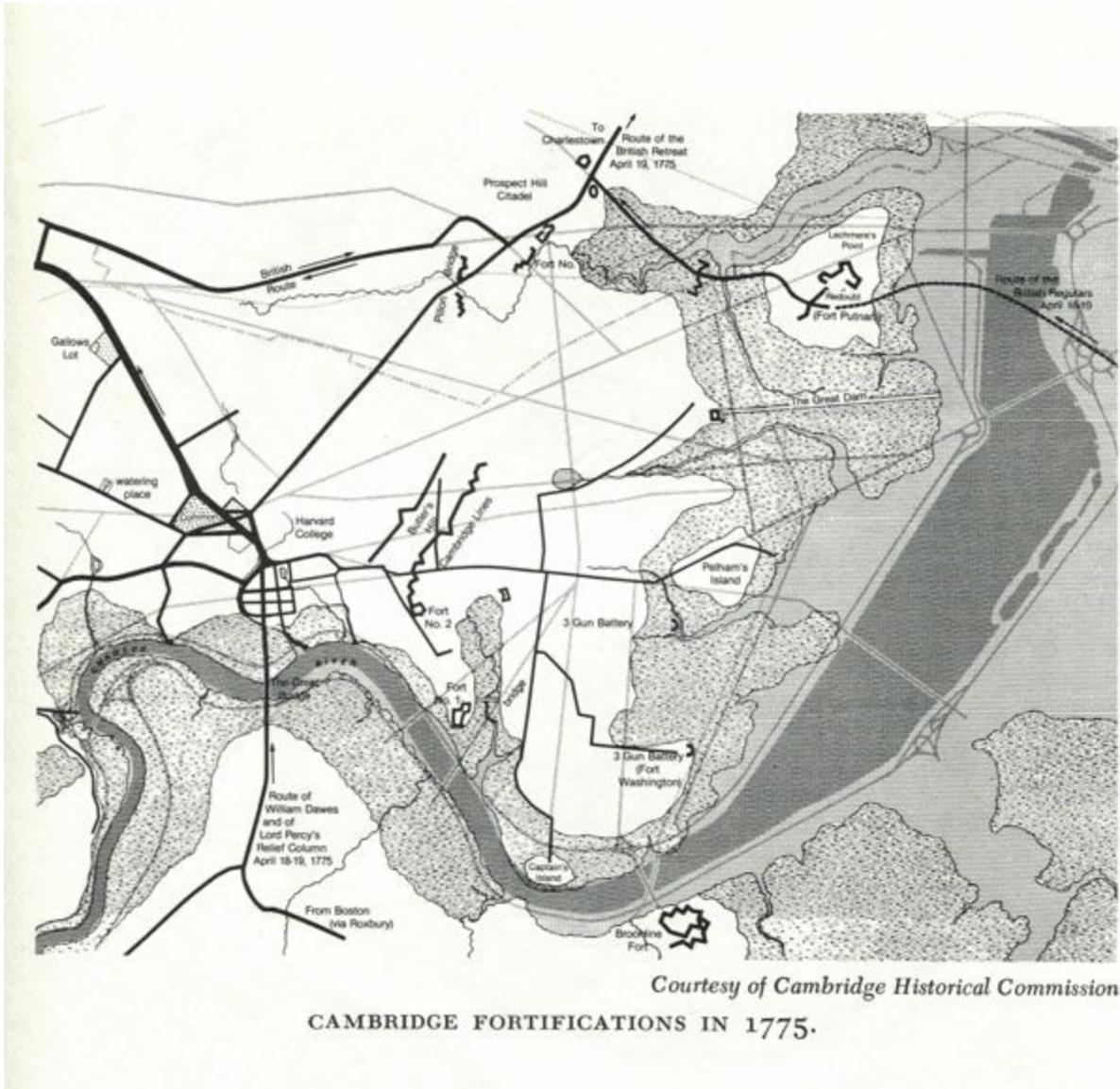
viously quoted letter from General Washington to Joseph Reed describing the fortifications which had been thrown up at the general's orders. At the close of his letter, Washington asked that "If any Waggon should be coming this way, I say order a supply of good writing paper to Head Quarters; & Sealing Wax." Clearly, Washington had found himself in the land of the barbarians.

Mr. Sullivan

Despite the current state of neglect of Fort Washington, concern for its preservation goes back to the period just after the Revolution. Immediately after the Siege of Boston, the fort passed to the estate of George Francis Dana, who was assembling property in Cambridgeport at that time. A charter had been granted for the West Boston Bridge, and interest in the development of Cambridgeport was high. The immediate area of Fort Washington, however, remained woods and fields, and the shore line was known for many years as "the oyster banks." Dana died in 1822, and the property passed to his heirs, who began to see possibilities for development of that part of Cambridgeport as a residential suburb of Boston. In 1838, they hired Alexander Wadsworth, who had been surveyor of Mount Auburn Cemetery and of many residential subdivisions, to develop a plan for a residential suburb to be known as Pine Grove. Unfortunately, this was not a success. Pine Grove was off the beaten track, on a dead-end road with nothing beyond but the Commonwealth's powder magazine; the Cottage Farm (Boston University) Bridge was not built until 1856. Following Wadsworth's plan Fort Washington was laid out as an ornamental square, along with another square called Pultney Square. Sidney Willard, who had been a professor at Harvard, became a partner in the real estate development and built a house, of which there is no view remaining, on Washington Square. The fort must have been landscaped at that time; the few plans we have show it as an oval residential square.

Within fifteen years of the original subdivision, the handwriting was clearly on the wall. The Union Railroad obtained a

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Courtesy of Cambridge Historical Commission

HENRY PELHAM'S MAP OF FORTIFICATIONS DURING
THE SIEGE OF BOSTON, 1776.

charter in 1848 to run from Brighton through Somerville to East Boston, and construction began in 1853. The track actually cut across Washington Square, and the proprietors of the subdivision saw that it was never going to be the elegant area of freestanding, single-family, expensive houses that they had planned. In an attempt to recoup, they laid out Brookline Street, had the Cottage Farm Bridge constructed, and reorganized Pultney Square into the present Hastings Square. The proprietors sued the railroad for indemnity

but agreed that any funds received should be appropriated for the beautification of the square. Two years later they conveyed Fort Washington to the city for one dollar, with conditions which have rarely been respected. The conveyance was made "upon the express conditions that the above released premises when suitably enclosed and adorned by the City, shall forever remain open for light, air, and ornament, for the convenience and accommodation of the owners of estates in said Pine Grove and of the public generally." ³

The City of Cambridge took over immediately and contacted the secretary of war, the secretary of the navy, and the Massachusetts legislature. The commonwealth voted \$2,000 if the city would match it for the ornamental fence and a flagstaff. The secretary of war gave three eighteen-pound guns from Fort Warren on Governors Island, and the secretary of the navy gave three gun carriages. The fence was designed by John R. Hall, an architect, and cast in Cambridge at a cost of \$3,600. In 1858 the improvements were nearly completed, and according to the Chronicle it was then "a favorite resort on Sunday afternoon at sundown, with a view of the Blue Hills, Corey's Hill, the white houses of Roxbury and the South Boston asylum, a fine western view of dome-crowned Boston . . . Bunker Hill, the heights of East Cambridge, and, at our feet, the River Charles." ⁴

After the Civil War, Cambridgeport became increasingly industrial, and the neighborhood of the fort became known as "Greasy

3. Deed conveying Washington Square to the City of Cambridge, May 25, 1857.

4. Cambridge Chronicle, September 11, 1858.

Village," after the rendering plant and soap factory across the street. In 1902 the Daughters of the American Revolution petitioned the city to restore the fence. It was restored again in 1928 and was thereafter neglected until Professor Adams arrived on the scene in the 1950's. The commission now proposes to restore the fort for perhaps the fourth time, but this time enough money will be spent to protect it from further damage.

The restoration began in the summer of 1974 with an archaeological reconnaissance to locate the remains of any structures and to see if the earthworks were authentic. Two archaeologists from Harvard's Peabody Museum found the earthworks to be in fact original, and discovered the remains of a wooden structure and a few traces of gunpowder. It seems that this may have been a powder magazine.

Since then the Historical Commission had convinced the city council to appropriate \$26,000, applied to the Massachusetts Bicentennial Commission for \$15,000 to match it, and asked the National Park Service for \$41,000 to match the total. The restoration plan envisioned construction of a new iron fence duplicating the old; closing the paved area at the rear of the park, which had become a public way; protecting the new fence by a barrier to prevent further damage from the St. Johnsbury Trucking Company operations; and landscaping. If MIT carries out its intentions of eventually opening up the vista to the river, the park may

gain a user population for the first time in perhaps a hundred years, and will once again have the kind of use that it was intended to have.

POSTSCRIPT. Work on the project envisioned in 1975 continued through 1978. Although a total of \$105,000 was expended, that amount was not sufficient for completing the restoration of the entire fence and park.

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Historic Books and Resource Materials on Cambridge History

BY JOSEPH W. CHAMBERLAIN AND CHARLES W. ELIOT 2ND

[Summarized by the editor from notes of the authors and tapes recorded at the meeting.]

THE "Slide-Show on Cambridge History" was developed by the Cambridge Historical Commission—written by Erica Beale Funkhouser, narrated by Robert Lurtsema, and presented by Charles Sullivan, director of the commission. Following the presentation, Mr. Eliot mentioned the three "formal" histories of the city: by Abiel Holmes, in 1801; by Lucius Paige, in 1877, with a supplement and index by Mrs. Mary Gozzaldi published in 1930; the third, written by his father Samuel A. Eliot in 1913. There are, of course, many books, pamphlets, guides, and also the proceedings of the Society, which contain interesting and valuable historical materials. But a full, up-to-date history seems long overdue.

The first historian, Abiel [A-buy-el] Holmes, wasn't even born in Cambridge. He was born in Woodstock, Connecticut, in 1763, and earned a degree from Yale in 1784. His first pastorate was in

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Midway, Georgia, where the congregation was composed almost entirely of people who had moved there from Dorchester. In 1792 Abiel became pastor of the First Church in Cambridge, where he remained until 1831. He was a leader in the community, as was essential for a pastor, and survived the break of 1828-29 because he was grimly loyal to the orthodox faith. His book is small—only sixty-one pages—and covers the history of Cambridge from the year 1630—geography, history, and, for nearly half of his text, biographies mostly of the pastors, whom he considered to be the leaders of their respective generations. The book is disorganized, has many footnotes, and cites numerous contemporary authors. Abiel's assessment of his community in 1801 was that "it is generally conceded that this town eminently combines the tranquility of philosophical solitude with the choicest pleasures, and advantages of refined society."

The other author who gained prominence for his work on early history—the only other one, in fact, after Dr. Samuel A. Eliot—was Lucius R. Paige, a native of Hardwick, Mass. He gained his Harvard A.M. in 1850; Tufts gave him an S.T.D. in 1861. His history of Cambridge from 1630 to 1877, with a genealogical register, was published in 1877 by Houghton & Co. (Riverside Press). Unfortunately, Paige has little to say about events of two hundred years ago in which his readers might be interested. He apologized that

the reader may be disappointed because he finds so little concerning Harvard College and the military occupation of Cambridge at the commencement of the Revolutionary War. But the facts are believed to justify the omission. The almost entire absence of legendary lore may be regretted, but it should be considered that while it may have been my misfortune, it was not my fault that I was not born in Cambridge.

He was in fact failing in health. As early as 1839 he had had to leave his post as minister of the First Universalist Church, where he had served since 1832. He tried to earn his living by writing, supplementing his work with employment as town clerk from 1839 to 1846, and—when Cambridge became a city—as city clerk until 1855. Paige's history is replete with quotations from local records

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—town, city, and county. He divided his 731-page chronicle along civil (246pp.), ecclesiastical (117pp.), and educational lines, and included also military history, government history, and a history of the Indians, as well as 130 pages of genealogy with its own index. The supplement and index of Mrs. Mary Isabella Gozzaldi— longer than the original volume—was published by this Society in 1930.

Dr. Eliot's history carried the story forward to the year 1913, when industry already played a significant part in Cambridge. More than most historical treatises, his volume puts considerable emphasis on individuals and what they did for the community, in accordance with his view that "all history is biography." Now, sixty-two years later, a major new work, bringing these three major histories down to date, would be a logical and timely project in conjunction with the observation of the Bicentennial.

Among the sources for Cambridge history are the following:

Bacon, Edwin M. Walks and Rides in the Country round about Boston. Boston, 1897.

Cambridge, pp. 231-261

Cambridge, City of. The First Three Centuries. Annual Report of the City, 1946.

Cambridge Chronicle. Vol. 1, no. 1: May 7, 1846. 125th Anniversary Issue: September 30, 1971. 69pp.

Cambridge Editorial Research, Inc. The Cambridge Book, 1966. Cambridge:

Cambridge Civic Association, [1966]. 122pp

Cambridge Historical Commission. Survey of Architectural History. Cambridge, 1965-1973: East

Cambridge, 1965; Mid Cambridge, 1967; Cambridgeport, 1971; Old Cambridge, 1973.

[The fifth, and final, volume, Northwest Cambridge, was published in 1977 with an index to all five volumes.—Ed.]

Cambridge Historical Society. Proceedings.

Cambridge in the Centennial. Proceedings, July 3, 1875. Cambridge: Printed by order of the City Council,

1875. 127pp. (Includes data on city government, 1846-1876.)

Dana, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. "The Longfellow House," in Bulletin of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiqui-

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ties 38 (1948), 81-96. (Descriptions and photographs of rooms and furnishings.)

Davis, Walter Gee, ed. Cambridge Fifty Years a City, 1846-1896. An Account of the Celebration . . . June 2-3, 1896. Cambridge, 1897. 192pp.

Drake, Samuel Adams. Old Landmarks of Boston. Boston, 1872. West Boston and Craigie bridges, pp. 24-25.

1858-1908. History of the Cambridge Public Library, etc. Cambridge, 1908. 96pp.

Eliot, Samuel A. A History of Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1630-1913. Cambridge: Cambridge Tribune, 1913. 308pp. History, pp. 1-153. Biographies, pp. 156-272. Educational & industrial, pp. 285-305.

----- A Sketch of the History of Harvard College. Boston, 1848. 190pp.

Gardiner, John Hays. Harvard. New York: Oxford University Press, 1914. 333pp.

Gilman, Arthur, ed. The Cambridge of Eighteen Hundred and Ninety-six. Cambridge, 1896. 432pp. (Contains diary of Dorothy Dudley.)

----- The Cambridge of 1776. Edited for the Ladies Centennial Committee. [Cambridge], 1876. 123pp.

Historic Guide to Cambridge. Prepared by the DAR, Hannah Winthrop Chapter. [Cambridge], 1907. 207pp.

Lowell, James Russell. Cambridge Thirty Years Ago, 1854. Boston and New York: Houghton

Mifflin, 1910. 67pp.

Morison, Samuel Eliot. *The Development of Harvard University . . . 1869-1929. Cambridge:*

Harvard University Press, 1930. 660pp.

-----*. The Founding of Harvard College. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935. 472pp.*

-----*. Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century. 2 vols. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936.*

-----*. Three Centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1936. 512pp.*

Paige, Lucius R. *History of Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1630-1877. Boston, 1877. Supplement and index by Mary Isabella Gozzaldi, Cambridge: Cambridge Historical Society, 1930.*

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Peirce, Benjamin, *A History of Harvard University from 1636 to the Revolution. Boston, 1833.*

316 + 159pp.

Rand, Christopher. *Cambridge, U.S.A.: Hub of a New World. New York: Oxford University Press, 1964.195pp.*

Services at the Celebration of the Two Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the Organization of the

First Church in Cambridge, February 7-14,1886. Cambridge, 1886.174pp.

Stillman, W. J. *Poetic Localities of Cambridge. Boston, 1876. 41pp. Heliotypes and poems.*

Swift, Lindsay. *Literary Landmarks of Boston. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1903. Cambridge, pp. 37-43.*

Tourtellot, Arthur B. *The Charles. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, [1941]. 356pp. Bridges, pp. 225-246; bibliography, pp. 343-348.*

Whitehill, Walter Muir. *Cambridge. Photographs by Katherine Knowles.*

[Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers], 1965.

Among numerous maps and guides are:

Cambridge, City of. An Hour's Walk in Cambridge. 1930.12pp.

Foote, H. W. The Sightseer in Cambridge. 1936. 41pp.

Hastings, Lewis M. *The Streets of Cambridge: An Account of Their Origin and History.* [Boston],

1921. (Includes a list of city maps and plans.)

See also, in this volume, the bibliographies appended to Paul J. Lewis, "The Historical Development of Cambridge Common," and to Joseph Chamberlain, "The First Church in Cambridge, Congregational."

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Lois Lilley Howe, F.A.I.A. 1864-1964

BY ELIZABETH W. REINHARDT

MISS LOIS LILLEY HOWE, one of the first women to graduate from Massachusetts Institute of Technology's architectural program, the organizer of the only all-woman architectural firm in Boston in the early twentieth century, and the first woman elevated to Fellow of the American Institute of Architects, was born in Cambridge in 1864. Her family had prospered during the 1850s and 1860s because of the real estate speculations of her father, Dr. Estes Howe.¹ The family home at 1 Kirkland Street in Cambridge was located on over an acre of land just across Kirkland Street from Harvard College's Delta, soon to be the site of Memorial Hall.

It is interesting to speculate on the possible interest in architecture which could have been aroused in the infant Miss Howe by watching the gradual emergence of Ware and Van Brunt's spectacular monument to Harvard's Civil War dead. Whatever speculations she may have entertained about her own future, her earliest years were prosperous and happy ones in a family in touch with the best cultural advantages offered by Cambridge at mid-century. Her father not only held positions of importance in the

Read December 7, 1975

1. Lois Lilley Howe, "Dr. Estes Howe, a Citizen of Cambridge," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical Society*, 25 (1936-1937), 129.

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Cambridge Gas Light Company and the Cambridge Water Works but was a member of the Saturday Club which brought him in touch with the local luminaries—Mr. Emerson of Concord, Mr. Longfellow and Mr. Lowell of the College. In fact, James Russell Lowell's first wife, Maria White, was sister to Lois Lilly White Howe, Miss Howe's mother.²

In her reminiscences about her father, Miss Howe describes Cambridge at this time as a pleasant "country-like suburb connected with the city of Boston by a long bridge."³ Unfortunately this pleasant life was troubled with increasing problems during the 1870s. Estes Howe's real estate speculations had been overextended in investments in Nova Scotia mines and were severely curtailed by the financial panic of the late 1870s.⁴ Nor were financial worries all that troubled the family. In 1879 the brilliant and promising elder son,

Samuel, a graduate of Harvard Medical School, who had been recalled from his European travels by the family's economic troubles, died suddenly and unexpectedly. Miss Howe's two sisters, in order to become less of a charge on the family, found jobs in the newly formed Harvard College Annex's library.⁵

Miss Howe entered the public high school in Cambridge where she earned an equivalency certificate which would have served to admit her to the Annex, later to become Radcliffe College. Unlike her classmates who chose the Annex, Miss Howe spent the next four years at the School of the Museum of Fine Arts where she specialized in design.⁶ Whether her brother's death influenced her to assume a role which might have been taken by the son of the family can only be surmised. All her life she was known as a woman of strong character, so it seems equally likely that her

2. Ibid., p. 138.

3. Ibid., p. 133.

4. Ibid., p. 139.

5. John Blackwell, interview, January 29, 1974.

6. "Lois Lilley Howe-M.I.T. '90, 1864-1964." Written by Miss Howe in 1940 for the M.I.T. Fiftieth Reunion of the Class of 1890. Two-page typescript in possession of the Cambridge Historical Society, untitled.

choice of a career was more influenced by her own will than by a desire to compensate for the loss of the heir to the family name.

Dr. Howe died in 1887 after a long illness, and the large house and lot on Kirkland Street were sold to the Reverend Francis G. Peabody. This sale gave Miss Howe her first opportunity for architectural experimentation. Mrs. Peabody found the long straight stairway in her new house inconvenient and asked her brother-in-law, Robert Swain Peabody, to draw up plans for its alteration. Mr. Peabody dismissed the project as impossible, but the young Miss Howe then came forward with a scheme of her own, which proved successful.⁷ This minor triumph led to Mr. Peabody's professional support in later years.

In the meantime, the architectural firm of Cabot and Chandler had designed a smaller house in Cambridge for the displaced Howe widow and her daughters. The opportunity to observe construction at the new house convinced Miss Howe that she ought to carry out a long-held ambition to be an architect. Ignoring the earlier dissuasion from her "pastors and masters" that she could not be an architect because she was a woman, she took her six-year-old certificate of admission to the Harvard Annex to General Francis Amasa Walker, then President of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. President Walker agreed to admit her to the Institute's architectural program. It should be pointed out that as a land-grant college, M.I.T. was committed to admitting qualified women to all its programs, and made a general confession of intent in its catalogues.⁸ Thus Miss Howe's entrance into an institution which even today is regarded as primarily a man's world was not as startling as it seems. The proportion of women in the total enrollment has never, until recently, risen above six percent, but M.I.T. has also never practiced the kind of discrimination

7. *Ibid.*

8. Dr. Louis C. Menand m, Assistant Provost, M.I.T., interview, January 23, 1974. Cf. *Twenty-seventh Annual Catalogue of M.I.T.* (Boston: Alfred Mudge and Son, 1892), p. 58: "Women are admitted to any of the courses of the school."

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*found at less generous institutions.⁹ In any event, Miss Howe knew she was creating a new definition of possibilities for women. When she entered at the age of twenty-four she became "the only girl in a class with sixty-five boys" and with Sophia G. Hayden "shared a drafting room with about ninety boys."*¹⁰

When Miss Howe entered M.I.T. in the fall of 1888 the study of architecture was offered in two programs. The first—a four-year program in which Miss Hayden was enrolled—led to the degree of B.S. in Architecture, and its graduates were considered to be alumni of the college. The second, a two-year program, called the Partial Course in Architecture, offered no degree, nor do graduates' names appear in the alumni records. Miss Howe, through some misunderstanding on her part, was enrolled in the partial program.¹¹

The four-year program began with a first year of subjects "common to all regular courses."¹² The architecturally ambitious student was expected to complete courses in chemistry, rhetoric and English composition, political history, and French or German in his or her first year before beginning professional studies in the second year. After that, for the next three years, the course of study continued to demand non-professional subjects such as history, literature, and political economy, allied subjects such as free-hand drawing, architectural history, pen and ink, watercolor, business law and contracts, and professional subjects such as specifications and working-drawing, strength of material, the study of the five orders and their applications, iron construction, and heating and ventilation.¹³ The greater emphasis on the non-professional and allied art courses suggests that the program was less concerned with practical matters than it might have been. Nonetheless, it

9. Registration Committee of the M.I.T. Women's Association, "Survey of Former Women Students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology" (submitted to M.I.T. Women's Association Board, 1955), table x: "Comparative Enrollment: Number and Percent of Women to Total Enrollments, 1887-1953."

10. "Lois Lilley Howe-M.I.T. '90."

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Twenty-seventh Annual Catalogue of M.I.T.*, p. 36.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

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was clearly a rigorous and demanding course covering a variety of those professional and business problems which the beginning architect might expect to encounter in his or her practice.

The two-year course, in order to achieve the concentration necessary in a more limited time-span, was a more "nuts and bolts" program. None of the unrelated liberal arts courses were expected of the student. Even the courses in calculus and physics were dropped, along with the study of a foreign language and European or constitutional history. The first-year student in the partial course was expected to learn how to draw, sketch, do water color, and to study architectural history, the five orders, and be able to produce original designs. He or she also studied materials, common constructions, and graphical statistics. The second year continued the study of watercolor and sketching, required the history of ornament, and expected students to produce original designs. More technical courses included specifications, working-drawings and framing, contracts, ventilation and heating, and problems in construction.¹⁴ The graduate of this program may not have been so well-rounded as the candidate for the B.S. degree, but he or she was reasonably well prepared to go forth and design buildings.

The emphasis on history—of ornament, of architecture, of fine arts, of the Renaissance (if one were in the four-year program)— suggests that these students were not being encouraged to pursue new directions in design. Furthermore, it is evident from an investigation of thesis projects preserved in M.I.T.'s special collections that the influence of French academicism and L'ficole des Beaux Arts was overwhelming. These projects are beautifully presented, carefully colored designs of utterly unworkable buildings, with strong emphasis on axial arrangement, symmetry, and proportion rather than on function. They are also heavily influenced by classical motifs, having left behind most of the enthusiastic eclecticism of the nineteenth century.

When Miss Howe completed her course of study at M.I.T. she

14. *Twenty-third Annual Catalogue of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1887-1888* (Boston: Thomas Todd, Printer, Congregational House, 1887), p. 28.

joined the firm of Allen and Kenney where she worked for the next two years doing drafting. While there she received a telegram from her friend Robert Swain Peabody, then on the architectural committee which was designing the Chicago Columbian Exhibition, who suggested that she enter the competition for the Woman's Building. She in turn told Sophia Hayden of the project and each entered the competition, which Miss Hayden won. Miss Howe's design took second place, for which she was awarded a \$500 prize. She spent the money on a trip to Europe, accompanied by her mother and sisters, who rented their new house in Cambridge in order to come along. After fifteen months of leisurely travel, the Howes returned to Cambridge, only to find the country in the throes of the Panic of 1893.¹⁵

Jobs were scarce for everyone that year but nonexistent for a female draftsman. However, a newly married friend commissioned Miss Howe to build a house, and a few remodelling jobs came her way. For the most part, however, she found her career temporarily diverted. She worked as a part-time librarian in the M.I.T. Architectural Department, and gradually accumulated clients.

*By 1900 she had managed to move into her own offices, originally at 73 Tremont Street in the Tremont Building in Boston. Her first partners, two anonymous men, abandoned her at the end of their first year of partnership, which, she said, was "one of the best things that ever happened" to her.¹⁶ From 1900 to 1913 she worked alone, developing her interest in colonial architecture and applying it in her designs. She evidently travelled around New England, going to those eighteenth-century houses which had been preserved, and making measured drawings of interiors and architectural details. This work was eventually collected in 1913 and published as *Details of Old New England Houses*. She also kept a series of scrapbooks filled with clippings and photographs of architectural details which had interested her. Among her scrap-*

15. "Lois Lilley Howe-M.I.T. '90."

16. *Ibid.*

books are volumes devoted to details of stairs, windows, stables and barns, hip roofs, gambrel roofs, ornaments, and fireplaces.

This scholarship emerges in the design of houses completed during these early years of her career. Never rigidly applied nor with too self-conscious an approach to "correctness," these details serve to enhance the large, comfortable town and suburban houses of this period. An occasional Palladian window lighting a stairwell, a dentil course around a cornice, a fondness for gambrel and hip roofs, and close attention to fanlight and sidelights around front entrances are among the most common devices. From the evidence now available it seems likely that her greatest reliance on these details and most deliberate attempts to recreate the semblance of colonial houses occur early in her career as in the Alfred C. Potter house at 1 Kennedy Road (1894), the G. B. Maynadier house (1900), 49 Hawthorn Street, both in Cambridge, or the Charles W. Kettell house at 10 Eliot Road in Lexington (1901). During this period she did many alterations and additions, including two additions (1895, 1898) and a stable (1895) at 33 Elmwood Avenue in Cambridge, the James Russell Lowell homestead. Besides these distinctly colonial revival houses, she experimented with a shingle house for the Henshaws at 15 Traill Street in Cambridge (1898). The most notable feature of this latter house is the enormously broad gable on the right side of the house. Unfortunately, as is true of many of Miss Howe's houses, the trees and shrubbery have so overgrown their lots that it is virtually impossible to photograph the facades.

It is difficult to document other work of this period, since the scrapbooks she kept of her buildings rarely include dates. However, it is evident that her practice extended throughout New England, though strongly based in the Boston-Cambridge area. Her scrapbooks show pictures of houses done in New Hampshire and Maine as well as along Cape Cod. These seem to be primarily vacation houses and so are of a much less formal quality than the stricter townhouses of the same period. Most notable among these handsome sprawling "cottages" are the house in North Sutton,

New Hampshire, designed for "the Misses Chapman," and that for Mr. W. A. Donald in South Yarmouth, Massachusetts. Both have shingled exteriors, long, sloping rooflines, great piazzas and huge interior spaces arranged in a relatively informal and relaxed plan. The Donald house has rough barked tree trunks for posts on the piazza. In spite of this rustic touch on the exterior, the living-room is finished and furnished with unrustic elegance. Whether this was the choice of the architect or her clients is unknown, but the effect is somewhat jarring. More in keeping with the nature of site and exterior, the cottage of the Misses Chapman has a first-floor plan which is almost entirely given over to the huge living-room, roughly finished, with exposed, unfinished beams.

The house most recognized by her professional contemporaries, however, was that done for Miss A. A. Burrage at 16 Beech Road, Brookline. Beech Road runs the length of a small suburban park, Longwood Mall, in Brookline, now deeply shaded by a planting of massive copper and weeping beech. The Burrage house is pleasantly situated on a small lot, placed at right angles to the road, thus achieving a maximum use of the available space. The neighboring houses on the Mall, apparently built at about the same time, vary from pretentiously to outrageously Georgian revival. They are commonly of stucco or brick, some are half-timbered, and many make extensive use of heavily plastic ornamentation over the vast pediments of the somber doorways.

*With the Burrage house, published in *American Architect and Building News*, July 15, 1905, Miss Howe had evidently begun experimenting with forms and materials which were new in her experience. Like the other houses in the neighborhood, the Burrage house is of stucco and, in contemporary turn-of-the-century terms, is among those "having the English suggestion."¹⁷ Unlike many of its neighbors, this house is almost entirely without ornament. Its steeply pitched roof and slight second-story overhang make it reminiscent in form of seventeenth-century colonial*

17. Frank C. Brown, "Boston Suburban Architecture," *Architectural Record*, 21 (April 1907), 228.



Miss Howe's notebook, copied by Elizabeth Reinhardt

1. ALFRED C. POTTER HOUSE, 1 KENNEDY RD. (1894)



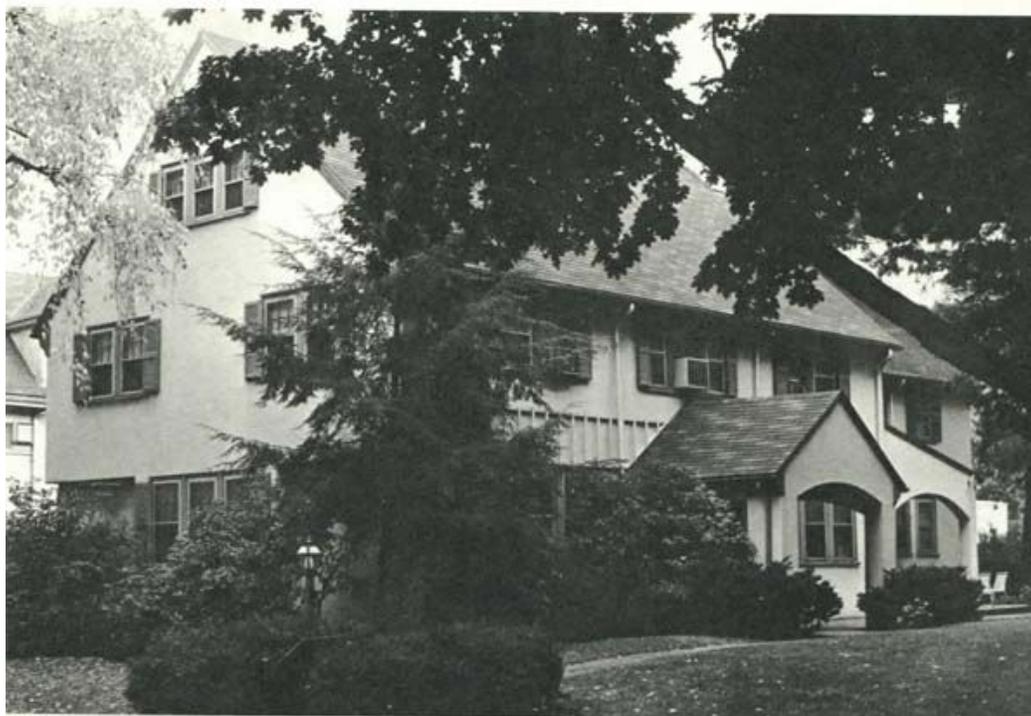
Alison C. Reinhardt, 1974

2. G. B. MAYNADIER HOUSE, 49 HAWTHORN ST. (1900)



Elizabeth W. Reinhardt, 1974

3. CHARLES W. KETTELL HOUSE, 10 ELIOT RD., LEXINGTON (1901)



Elizabeth W. Reinhardt, 1974

4. MISS A. A. BURRAGE HOUSE, 16 BEECH RD., BROOKLINE (1905)



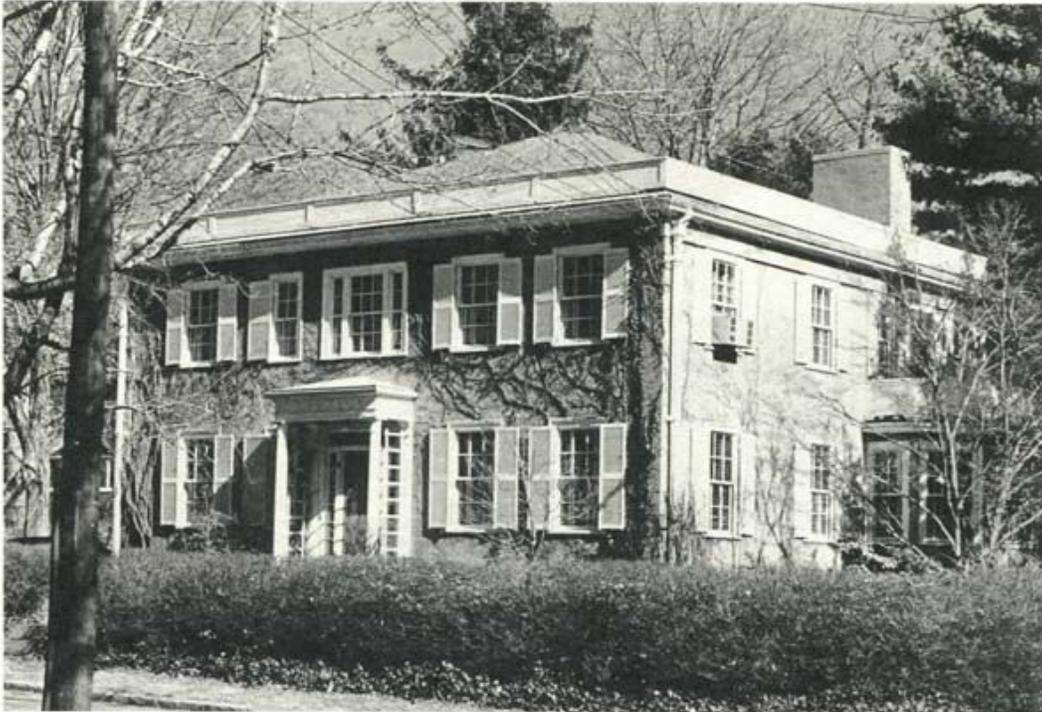
Alison C. Reinhardt, 1974

5. LOUIS C. CORNISH HOUSE, 15 FAYERWEATHER ST. (1916)



Alison C. Reinhardt, 1974

6. EUGENIA AND FRANCIS C. FROTHINGHAM HOUSE,
4 GRAY GARDENS WEST (1922)



Alison C. Reinhardt, 1974

7. ANNIE B. CHAPMAN HOUSE, 3 GRAY GARDENS EAST (1923)



Alison C. Reinhardt, 1974

8. CHARLES ALMY HOUSE, 111 COOLIDGE HILL RD. (1926)

houses, but its smooth surface, gently curved entrance arch, and generally austere lines seem to anticipate more modern simplicity. Its formal restraint, attractive facade, massing of exterior elements, and logical yet relaxed plan all contribute to a sense of comfort and elegance without ostentation, an impression which has improved with age.

In 1913 Miss Howe expanded her firm and took a partner, Miss Eleanor Manning, M.I.T. 1906, who had been working in her office. After this time, work done by the firm is identified simply as the work of Lois L. Howe and Manning, so that it is impossible to separate credit for designs beyond this date. This argues a close and fruitful collaboration, since the firm continued to expand and to produce houses throughout New England. One of the earliest and finest identifiable houses of the pre-World War I period is the Louis C. Cornish house at 15 Fayerweather Street in Cambridge (1916). The Cambridge Historical Commission identifies it as the first seventeenth-century-revival house in Cambridge. Clearly an outgrowth in form of the Burrage house, it uses dark shingle for the exterior and strongly emphasizes the massive gables and sharp slope of the roof on the end which faces the street. Like the Burrage house, the Cornish house is placed at right angles to the street, overlooking its neighbor's garden. It is difficult for the present-day observer to see more of the house than its end gable, since the plantings along the front facade have obviously been used as a screen. Miss Howe's scrapbook provides an illustration of the front facade shortly after construction, and from this it is evident that Miss Howe felt the essence of the style lay in wide gables and regular fenestration. Illustrations of the interior reveal open spaces in the living-room, but with unexpected rough-finished beams in a finely panelled room.

Also in the scrapbooks are illustrations of the remodelling done in 1916 of the old colonial house which became new headquarters for the Concord Art Association. One can question Miss Howe's scholarship in colonial houses when one contemplates the disappearance of an elaborately decorated ceiling beam just visible

in one of the "work in progress" snapshots. The finished rooms emphasize the space and light necessary for optimum display of artifacts and paintings, while maintaining the integrity of the shell.

Undoubtedly the interruption of World War I caused some dislocation in the firm's practice though, as Miss Howe says, they "stuck it out." They received the commission to build a cafeteria "for the boys" at Fort Devens. They also built the Canteen on the Boston Common and, when it was completed, volunteered to work in it.¹⁸

After the war, they resumed construction of single-family houses, somewhat smaller in scale than those done before the war, but retaining as much as possible the refinement and graciousness of their pre-war designs. In spite of the smaller scale of individual designs, the reputation of the firm continued to grow. Examples of work done in this period in Cambridge include the small shingle at 14 Gray Gardens West, done in 1924 for Mr. J. G. Hart; a handsome stucco at 3 Gray Gardens East, designed in 1923 for Miss Annie B. Chapman; and a larger brick house at 4 Gray Gardens West designed for Eugenia and Francis E. Frothingham in 1922. This latter house has been designated by the Cambridge

Historical Commission as having great importance for its site and is called the "best designed house in the square."

The reputation of "the Firm," as they were known in Boston, led in 1924 to their being among those architects chosen to contribute to the housing of Mariemont, Ohio, an early planned community designed to serve the needs of workers and commuters in the greater Cincinnati area. The overall plan for what was, in effect, one of the earliest "new towns" in America was the work of John Nolen, a notable Cambridge planner. The plan included a small business district, churches, schools, parks, recreational facilities, and residences arranged on curving streets radiating out from the business center. Overall design control was exercised by Mr. Nolen but several architects contributed to the various building assignments, so that uniformity of design would not be oppressive.

18. "Lois Lilley Howe-M.I.T. '90."

The group of seven single and two double houses contributed by Howe and Manning were of rustic limestone in Denny Place.¹⁹

The Denny Place houses were located somewhat apart from the main development of Mariemont. They are attractively arranged around an entrance road which serves all the houses. Since the original plan for Mariemont visualized it as a workers' community, the houses are much smaller and simpler than those Howe and Manning designed for their private clients in the East.²⁰ The emphasis here is on maximum comfort at minimum cost. Howe and Manning made use of the native limestone in their design, both to cut cost and to help the "naturalization" of the houses which appear stark and severe in the early photographs.²¹ In spite of the severity of design and the deliberate cost-cutting, Mariemont never became the workers' Utopia it was planned to be. Today it is a beautifully maintained, somewhat exclusive upper-middle-class suburb of Cincinnati, which still maintains strict design control in order to preserve the harmony of the neighborhood.

In 1926 Miss Mary Army (Radcliffe 1905, M.I.T. 1920), who had been doing drafting for the firm, was taken into partnership. Her role in the designs produced by the firm is unclear, though it seems evident from existing files that she handled much of then-correspondence and business matters. During the last ten years of the firm's operations their work continued to be related primarily to renovation and alteration of existing houses, and occasional designs of new houses. The most notable Cambridge house of this period is that designed in 1926 for Mr. Charles Almy Jr., at 111 Coolidge Hill Road. It is described by the Cambridge Historical Commission as being of great importance to its site. They comment particularly on its gable on hip roof treatment and the block modillion cornice. Like the main house, the ell is of brick with a cornice which continues the major treatment of the main block.

19. Warren W. Parks, *The Mariemont Story* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Creative Writers and Publishers, 1967), p. 75.

20. John Nolen, *New Towns for Old* (Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1927), pp. 122-123.

21. "Mariemont: A New Town," *Architecture*, 54, no. 3 (September 1926), 259.

The projecting vestibule, also of brick, has a handsome Doric entablature.

The post-war period included more than architectural work for Miss Howe. She became president of the Business Women's Club of Boston during the War and of the M.I.T. Women's Association shortly afterwards. She also served throughout her career as a member of the Council for the Museum School of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and was an annual "Visitor to the School." ²²

Professional association with the American Institute of Architects was accomplished in 1901 for Miss Howe under the gentle guardianship of Robert Swain Peabody, long her mentor and family friend. The Boston Society of Architects refused admission for several years, but finally capitulated in 1916. As a member of the A.I.A. Miss Howe attended many of the organization's conventions and in 1931 was made a Fellow. Her citation comments on her "strong personality, known to many of her associates, which has in many way indicated the capacity of her sex in the profession of architecture." ²³ The citation also comments that she excelled in domestic architectural design, held many positions of honor and responsibility showing high recognition of her attainment. Since Miss Howe was the first woman elevated to the rank of Fellow, the President of the A.I.A., upon making the award, "requested the Committee to escort Miss Howe to the platform. The audience arose and applauded." ²⁴

The firm of Howe, Manning, and Army was unable to survive the impact of the Depression on architecture and disbanded in 1937 when Miss Howe was seventy-three years old. For the remaining twenty-seven years of her life she continued to live and be active in Cambridge. She was a member of the Cambridge Plant Club, the oldest garden club in America, thus continuing a life-long interest in horticulture, of the Old Cambridge Shake-

22. "Lois Lilley Howe-M.I.T. '90."

23. *Boston Globe*, September 14, 1964: obituary notice.

24. *Proceedings of the 64th Annual Convention of the A.I.A.*, 1931, p. 106. Letter from Mr. George Pettingill, Hon. A.I.A. Librarian Emeritus, September 17, 1974.

spare Association, and of the Cambridge Historical Society. She wrote and delivered several small papers for the Historical Society, which demonstrate the range of her interests. They cover a variety of topics, from memories of Harvard Square in the seventies and eighties, an evocation of nineteenth-century Cambridge, and a history of Garden Street, to the memorial tributes to her father, Dr. Estes Howe, and to Samuel Atkins Eliot, as well as papers on the Cambridge Plant Club and Old Cambridge trees.

Those elderly residents of Cambridge who remember Miss Howe speak of her with great affection. They comment on her determination, her lack of "fiddle-faddle," and her eccentricities. Interestingly enough, her reputation as an architect is less widespread. Mrs. Griscom of Fayerweather Street, who had known Miss Howe in the Cambridge Garden Club,

had always thought of her as a landscape gardener and was surprised to learn that Miss Howe had designed the neighboring house, the Louis Cornish house. The full account of Miss Howe's accomplishments and the record of the achievement of Howe, Manning, and Almy must await disposition of the firm's papers, now in the estate of Eleanor Manning O'Connor. When these papers are made available, it seems likely that an unusually complete record of "the Firm's" operations will be revealed.

Pending disposition of the papers, it is still possible to assess the design capabilities of this firm using the four available scrapbooks of photographs of clients' work. These scrapbooks, arranged alphabetically, cover clients' names from C through R. The album which would cover A-B and thus provide views of the Burrage house is unfortunately missing as are the albums which would cover S-Z. Furthermore, it seems likely that the scrapbooks concentrate heavily on those jobs which were whole-house commissions rather than the numerous alteration and addition contracts undertaken by Miss Howe and her partners. Finally, the scrap-books never provide full addresses and only rarely a specific date. More detailed identification of the complete list of buildings designed or affected by Howe, Manning, and Almy must await

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sorting of the office files which include correspondence, billing, and some detailed sketches of individual jobs. Whether any working-drawings or blueprints have survived is as yet unknown.

It is evident from available material that the output of Howe, Manning, and Almy was almost entirely in the field of domestic architecture, with occasional barns, stables, and even an ice-house. The outstanding design characteristic is the reference to a colonial vocabulary, not only in decorative devices, but in the formal arrangement of rooms grouped around a center entrance hallway in the townhouses. Vacation cottages, usually shingled with wide piazzas and swooping rooflines, are clearly intended to be breezier and more informal than their city cousins. Both town and country houses share a common characteristic of decorative restraint, simplicity of conception, attention to natural light, and a generous use of space in the major rooms. One has the impression that much attention was given to such matters as closet space, pantries, bathrooms, kitchen storage, and adequate ventilation. Comfort is never sacrificed to design. The overwhelming impression is not of grandeur, nor of great originality in design, but of a continuing emphasis on ease of living, of good circulation, and of a humane concern for those who would live and work in these houses.

BUILDING LIST

Asterisks indicate accompanying photographs.

Sources: extant scrapbooks; Cambridge Historical Commission [referred to as CHC] files containing information gathered in the survey of all buildings in the city; American Architect and Building News for the Burrage house; Architecture (Sept. 1926) and Walter W. Parks, The Mariemont Story, for Mariemont. [Dates and addresses in square brackets have been supplied from Cambridge directories for the years cited but have not been verified from Miss Howe's papers.—Ed.]

**Charles Almy Jr., Ill Coolidge Hill Road, Cambridge, 1926-house (CHC)*

Mrs. Samuel Batchelder, Hilliard Street, Cambridge, 1910—addition (CHC only)

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Beech Lodge Tea Room, Wollaston, Mass.—remodeling

G. G. Bradford, 14 Craigie Street, Cambridge, 1912-house (CHC only)

Mrs. E. Burnett, 33 Elmwood Ave., Cambridge, 1895-addition; 1895-stable; 1898-addition (CHC only)

**Miss A. A. Burrage, 16 Beech Road, Brookline, c. 1905—house Arthur Astor Carey, [50 Fayerweather Street], Cambridge, [1907-1915]—alterations*

Charles Carruth, [16 Fayerweather Street], Cambridge, [post-1917]— attic studio

Edward Channing, Wareham, Mass.—remodelling The Misses Chapman, North Sutton, N.H.—cottage

**Miss Annie B. Chapman, 3 Gray Gardens East, Cambridge, 1923— house (CHC)*

Dr. David Cheever, Dedham, Mass.—porch addition

Miss Lucy Coburn, Ipswich, Mass., 1909—house Thomas H. Collins, Princeton, Mass., 1914—house

Concord Art Association, 1916—remodeling

**Louis C. Cornish, 15 Fayerweather Street, Cambridge, 1916—house (CHC)*

Hilda Cunningham and Aimee Alsop [no address given]—greenhouse

Andrew McFarland Davis, York Harbor, Maine—alterations and additions

Charles Henry Davis, South Yarmouth, Mass., c. 1910—studio

Miss Delano, New Bedford, Mass.—remodeling

Rev. E. J. Dennen, Sebago, Maine—ice-house

Mr. William A. Donald, South Yarmouth, Mass.—cottage

Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, 25 Reservoir Street, Cambridge, 1902—alterations

Mr. Howard Elliott, Marlborough Street, Boston—alterations and additions

Mrs. H. C. Ernst, Jamaica Plain, Mass.—additions, sleeping porch

Mrs. Fairchild, 153 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Mass., 1915—dormer window (CHC only)

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Mrs. W. G. Farlow, Shelter Island, N.Y.—farmhouse

Miss S. B. Fay, Woods Hole, Mass.—addition

Mr. Augustus H. Fiske, [10 Buckingham Place], Cambridge, [1910-1913]-addition

Miss Flint (no first name) (no address)—apartment

[Elizabeth Folsom, 55 Garden Street], Cambridge, [1911-1923]-alterations

Miss C. H. Foster, Charles River [Needham], Mass.—alterations

Mr. F. Apthorpe Foster, Waquoit, Mass.—cottage

**Mr. Francis E. and Miss Eugenia Frothingham, 4 Gray Gardens West, Cambridge, 1922-house (CHC)*

Mr. Francis E. Frothingham, South Yarmouth, Mass.—alterations and moving of house

William Lloyd Garrison, Wianno, Mass.—house

Mr. F. J. Garrison, Pelham Road, Lexington, Mass. 1900—house

E. P. Gibbens, 107 Irving Street, Cambridge, 1904-additions (CHC only)

[Charles Bemis] Gleason, Annisquam, Mass., [1913-1914]—cottage

Elliott H. Goodwin, 24 Highland Street, Cambridge, 1928-alterations (CHC only)

Graves [no first name], [no address]—alterations

Miss Louise P. Greene, North Scituate, Mass—alterations

Mrs. A. M. Griswold, 25 Craigie Street, Cambridge, 1901—alterations (CHC)

Richard W. Hale, Charles River, Mass.—additions and alterations

Richard W. Hall, 11 Hawthorn Street, Cambridge, 1926—move and foundation (CHC only)

Mrs. Edward A. Handy, Barnstable, Mass., [c. 1907]—alterations

Mr. John Goddard Hart, 14 Gray Gardens West, Cambridge, 1924— house (CHC only)

Mr. H. V. Hayes, [6 Channing Street], Cambridge—alterations

Miss Edith deC. Heath, Heath Hill, Brookline, Mass.—house

Miss Edith deC. Heath, Cohasset, Mass., 1910—sleeping porch

Mrs. J. A. Henshaw, Seal Harbor, Maine—cottage

Mrs. J. A. Henshaw, 15 Traill Street, Cambridge, 1898-house (CHC lists first owner as C. H. Henshaw; photographs in scrapbook are clearly house still on site at 15 Traill Street)

Hopkinton, Mass., Town Hall—alterations

Miss Katharine Horsford, 27 Craigie Street, Cambridge, 1910-veran-dah(CHC only)

Miss Emily Howard, Peterboro, N.H.—cottage

Mrs. James Murray Howe, Milton, Mass.—alterations and garage for "Bobbins Farm"

Mr. James Murray Howe, Milton, Mass.—house

Hunt [no first name], Squam Lake, N.H.—cottage

Miss Amelia Jones, Dublin, N.H.-1916

Miss Amelia Jones, New Bedford, Mass.—alterations

**Mr. Charles W. Kettell, 10 Eliot Road, Lexington, Mass., 1901-house*

Kimball (no first name), Bedford, Mass.—alterations

Capt. Frederick Knowlton, Pittsford, N.Y., (pre-1916)-"The Pines," house

[Margaret?] Lane, Boxford, Mass. 1907—house

Lincoln Memorial Library, Dennisville, Maine

Dr. Loring, Lincoln, Mass.—house

Lyman (picture in the scrapbook is clearly of the Lyman house in Waltham; however, there is no indication of the kind of work Miss Howe did)

Mrs. William H. Manning, Westport, N.Y.—alterations

Mariemont, Ohio—houses

Miss Eleanor G. May, Paris Hill, Maine—cottage Mayflower Club, Boston—alterations

**Mr. G. B. Maynadier, 49 Hawthorn Street, Cambridge, 1900-house (CHC; house is listed as belonging to G. B. Nayadier)*

Dr. Herbert McIntyre, [4 Garden Street], Cambridge—alterations

McLane [no first name], Manchester, N.H.—cottage

Mrs. Charles H. Merrill, Lynn, Mass.—house?

Mr. Henry F. Merrill, 15 Raymond Street, Cambridge, Mass.—house (address and date from newspaper clipping in scrapbook; CHC has not recorded this house)

Dr. Charles S. Millet, East Bridgewater, Mass.—alterations?
[Rev.] R. S. Morison, [17 Farrar Street], Cambridge, [post-1899]-doorway, alterations?
Mr. Robert M. Morse, Falmouth, Mass.—house
Martin Mower, [18 Ash Street], Cambridge, c. 1925—studio addition
Miss Emma Munroe, [17 Traill Street], Cambridge, [1906-1917]-house
Harold Murdock, Chestnut Hill, c. 1908—alterations
Harold Murdock, Danbury, N.H.—alterations to "Fairview," Murry Hill
Mr. J. J. Myers, Frewsburg, N.Y.—alterations
Samuel F. Needham, Rockford, 111.—house
Mrs. E. H. Newbegin, [55 Brewster Street], Cambridge, [post-1908]-house
Mr. E. B. Newman, 79 Moore Street, Cambridge, 1908—addition (CHC only)
Mr. H. Winthrop Pierce, E. Billerica—house
**Mr. Alfred C. Potter, 1 Kennedy Road, Cambridge, 1894-house (CHC)*
Mr. F. Alcott Pratt, Concord, Mass., c. 1905—alterations
Rev. Theodore P. Prudden, Camden, Maine—addition
Mrs. Theodore P. Prudden, Duxbury, Mass.—alterations
Mr. H. L. Rand, Southwest Harbor, Maine—cottage
Mary Reed, Burlington, Vermont—alterations
Roberts [no first name], Concord, Mass.—alterations
[Bernard?] Rothwell, [34] West Cedar Street, Boston, [c. 1921]-alterations?
Mr. John C. Runkle, 8 Willard Street, Cambridge, 1908-moved old house; 1912-addition (CHC)

Mrs. Robert S. Russell, Norfolk, Mass.—alterations
Mrs. Horace E. Scudder, 17 Buckingham Street, Cambridge, 1914—alterations (CHC only)
Henry Munson Spelman, 48 Brewster Street, Cambridge, 1910—alterations? (CHC only)
Henry C. Stetson, 128 Brattle Street, Cambridge, 1906—additions and alterations (CHC only)
J. H. Thayer, 8 Berkeley Street, Cambridge, 1913—additions and alterations (CHC only)

Horatio S. White, 29 Reservoir Street [originally at 1 Reservoir Street], Cambridge, 1903-alterations (CHC only)

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"House of Mrs. A. A. Burrage, Beech Road, Brookline, Mass." *American Architect and Building News*, 88 (1905), p. 24, plate 1542.

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Seamans, Warren (Director, Massachusetts Institute of Technology Historical Collections). Interviews, February 10 and 18, 1974.

Other unsorted material relevant to further study of Howe, Manning, and Almy. Cambridge Historical Society: slides of buildings

Correspondence between Minerva Parker and Lois Lilley Howe, now in possession of Adelaide Baker, daughter of Minerva Parker, in Westport, Conn. Massachusetts Institute of Technology Historical Collections: Miss Howe's scrapbooks; Howe, Manning, and Almy papers (being sorted and catalogued by Miss Gail Morse) Architectural League of New York: May 1977 show on women architects included work by Miss Howe

Articles by Miss Howe, unrelated to her architectural practice, in the Publications of the Cambridge Historical Society.

"The Cambridge Plant Club." Vol. 35, p. 17.

"Cambridge Trees." Vol. 33, p. 94.

"The Centenary of the Cambridge Book Club." Vol. 28, p. 105.

"Fifty-five Garden Street." Vol. 25, p. 95.

"Harvard Square in the 'Seventies and 'Eighties." Vol. 30, p. 11.

"How Cambridge People Used to Travel." Vol. 24, p. 27.

"Marie Denny Fay's Letters from England, 1851-1852." Vol. 32, p. 7.

"Memories of Nineteenth Century Cambridge." Vol. 34, p. 59.

"The Story of a Lost Brook." Vol. 31, p. 44.

"A Tribute to Samuel Atkins Eliot." Vol. 34, p. 125.

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Contents of the Proceedings

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VOLUME 1. 1905-1906 [1906]

Reminiscences of Old Cambridge. By CHARLES ELIOT NORTON

Changes between 1830 and 1905. Especially interesting on the Kirkland Street region.

Celebration of the Two Hundred and Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Founding of Cambridge. By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON AND OTHERS.

Report on Historic Sites

. . . a list of the most important Historic Sites in Cambridge, with the location of each. It contains also all the existing inscriptions."

Reminiscences of John Bartlett. By JOHN WILLARD, THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, AND WOODWARD EMERY.

Appreciative account of John Bartlett, proprietor of a famous bookstore, compiler of

Familiar Quotations, editor of Shakespearian Concordance. Volume 1 also contains full reports of the first year's meetings, very interesting for their account of the purposes of the Society, the distinguished membership, gifts, and other information.

VOLUME 2. 1906-1907 [1907]

Nehemiah Walters Elegy on Elijah Corlet. By WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE.

Brief account of Cambridge's first schoolmaster (d. 1687). The elegy reprinted here is by Corlet's assistant.

Cambridge Eighty Years Since. By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON.

Letters of Higginson's mother to his brother (1827-1828).

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Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth. By STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES.

Wyeth was an energetic Cambridge character, inventor of ice-cutting machinery and a pioneer in the Oregon Territory.

The Washington Home Guard. By FRANKLIN PERRIN

A volunteer company organized for local protection when other military companies left Cambridge in the Civil War.

Celebration of the Longfellow Centenary. By WILLIAM DEAN HOWELLS AND OTHERS.

Celebration of the Agassiz Centenary. By A. LAWRENCE LOWELL AND OTHERS.

Cornelius Conway Felton. By WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN.

VOLUME 3. 1908 [1908]

The Seal of the Society. By MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI.

Chiefly an account of Joseph Glover, whose press appears on the seal of the Society.

Some Cambridge Men I Have Known. By ALEXANDER MCKENZIE.

Among others: President Walker, Dr. Andrew Peabody, Professors Felton, Sophocles, Asa Gray, Charles William Eliot, Torrey, Child.

First Award of the Longfellow Centenary Medal Prize.

Includes remarks by Richard Henry Dana, William Roscoe Thayer, and Charles Eliot Norton and the prize essay by John Kirtland Wright.

Second Report on Historic Sites.

Correction of errors and omissions in the First Report. Includes map of Harvard Yard, showing original ownership of the lots now included in it.

Francis Dana. By RICHARD HENRY DANA.

The Writings of Thomas Shepard. By ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

The Tudor House at Fresh Pond. By ELLEN SUSAN BULFINCH.

Fascinating account of country life in house built before the Revolution and long owned by the Storer family.

Gleanings from the Records of the First Church in Cambridge. By HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY.

VOLUME 4. 1909 [1909]

Dr. Benjamin Waterhouse and Harvard University. By WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE.

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Journal of Benjamin Waterhouse. By WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Excellent articles about an original, testy, and thoroughly engaging character who stimulated the study of natural history at Harvard.

Celebration of the Oliver Wendell Holmes Centenary. By CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT, THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, DAVID WILLIAMS CHEEVER, EDWARD WALDO EMERSON, AND SAMUEL McCnORD CROTHERS.

The Lawrence Scientific School. By STEPHEN PASCHALL SHARPLES.

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The proper objectives of a local historical society.

Lieutenant James Dana at the Battle of Bunker Hill. By ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA.

The Ancient Fish Weir on the Menotomy River. By JOHN ALBERT HOLMES.

Report of Committee on Early Settlers' Descendants.

List of fourteen members who had filed their genealogy with the Society.

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The life of a master builder who threw in his lot with the British.

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The Arsenal stood on the site of the Hotel Continental in Arsenal Square.

The Aims of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. By CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON.

Summary of an illustrated address.

A Few Old Cambridge Houses. By MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI.

Particularly interesting for listing of old houses which once stood between Harvard Square and the river.

The Cambridge Humane Society. By EDWARD HENRY HALL.

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Why I Started the Index to Paige's History of Cambridge. By CHARLES JOHN McINTIRE.

"I commenced the index for my own personal use and comfort... as its proportions grew . . . more time was devoted to it, depriving me of necessary rest and exercise."

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Brief account of all the bridges from the beginning to the construction of the Harvard Bridge. Invaluable map.

The Building of Holworthy Hall. By WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE.

The construction of a dormitory north and east of the older buildings is hailed as looking

"far into the future."

A Petition of Dr. Daniel Stone. By WILLIAM E. STONE.

Stone was a "chirurgion" who lived at the corner of Dunster and Mount Auburn Streets until 1657. His genealogy.

John Taylor Gilman Nichols, M.D., 1859-1911. By OSCAR F. ALLEN.

Major-General Daniel Gookin. By WARNER FOOTE GOOKIN.

Gookin was the Indian Commissioner in Massachusetts in the 1660's and 1670's.

VOLUME 8. 1913 [1914]

Thomas Wellington "of Cambridge" His Ancestors and Some of His Descendants. By ALBERT HARRISON HALL.

Includes an interesting map of early landholdings in Watertown, once part of Cambridge.

Much genealogy.

Merchants of Old Cambridge in the Early Days. By MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI.

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Fascinating backgrounds of Harvard Square and the firms doing business there: Kent's

Bookstore, Frank P. Merrill Company, Worcester Brothers, and many others, and their predecessors from the earliest days.

VOLUME 9. 1914 [1915]

Letters to Mrs. William Jenks, 1806-1813. By MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI. Good picture of the first decade of the century.

A Letter from Thomas Hollis. By ARCHIBALD MURRAY HOWE.

Written to Edmund Quincy, Jr., of Boston by an English benefactor of Harvard, October 1, 1766.

The Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association.

An account of its activities as suggestive of aims of local historical societies.

The Longfellow Prize Essay, 1914. By ALICE GODFREY O'BRIEN.

The Female Humane Society. By MRS. RICHARD HENRY DANA.

The Society was ancestor of the Cambridge Associated Charities. Extracts from the records.

Cambridge Grants and Families in Billerica, 1641—1655. By A. WARREN STEARNS.

Detailed account of landholdings.

VOLUME 10. 1915 [1917]

Colonel Henry Vassall and His Wife Penelope Vassall. By SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER.

Very detailed and most interesting. The Copley portraits, now owned by the Society, had just been purchased from a descendant in Philadelphia. Numerous illustrations.

The Beginning of the First Church in Cambridge. By HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY.

Documentary paper on the Hooker-Shepard period.

Note on the Deacon's Books of the First Church. By HENRY HERBERT EDES.

The Longfellow Prize Essay, 1915. By MARGARET CHARLTON BLACK.

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Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of Richard Henry Dana. By BLISS PERRY, MOORFIELD STOREY, AND JOSEPH HODGES CHOATE.

VOLUME 11. 1916 [1920]

Letters of the Reverend Joseph Willard, President of Harvard, and of Some of His Children, 1794-1830. By SUSANNA WILLARD.

Travel, academic doings, and family life in the first quarter of the 1800's.

Diary of Timothy Fuller, Jr., an Undergraduate in Harvard College, 1798-1801. By EDITH DAVENPORT FULLER. "

Miss Orne, Sam's sister, is very pretty and well-bred," etc.

Early Cambridge Diaries. By HARRIETTS M. FORBES.

Valuable list of early diaries. Many are described as "Unpublished" or "Privately Owned."

Ownership in the latter case is not indicated, but a brief statement of the nature of the contents is given in all cases.

VOLUME 12. 1917 [1925]

Class Day, Commencement, and Phi Beta Kappa Day, 1829.

Programs and a newspaper extract.

Archibald Murray Howe. By SAMUEL McCHORD CROTHERS.

Personal Recollections of Dr. Morrill Wyman, Professor Dunbar, Professor Sophocles, and Professor Shaler. By CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT.

A paper not to be missed for its flavor of Cambridge in the mid-century.

Longfellow Prize Essay for 1917. By DOROTHY HENDERSON.

VOLUME 13. 1918 [1925]

No-License in Cambridge. By FRANK FOXCROFT.

By a prohibitionist.

Burgoyne and His Officers in Cambridge, 1777-1778. By SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER.

Includes splendid map of Cambridge in 1777.

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Gerry's Landing and Its Neighborhood. By MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI.

Principal families from the earliest times: Saltonstall, Vassall, Oliver, Coolidge, Thatcher,

Gerry, Stone, White, Forbes, Webster.

The Schools of Cambridge, 1800-1870. By GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT.

VOLUME 14. 1919 [1926]

Celebration of the One Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of James Russell Lowell. By CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT, PERCY MACKAYE (poem), AND BLISS PERRY.

The Streets of Cambridge, Their Origin and History. By LEWIS MOREY HASTINGS.

By the City Engineer, from old records. Begins with records of the laying out of main roads;

contains also a substantial list of dates of later streets and origins of their names. Section on "Early maps and map-makers." Reproduction of 1830 map.

English Homes of the Founders of Cambridge. By JOSEPH GARDNER BARTLETT.

The William Gray House in Cambridge. By ROLAND GRAY.

About Mrs. Henry D. Tudor's house. William Gray was Mrs. Tudor's great-grandfather.

Mrs. Alexander and Her Daughter Francesca. By EUNICE FARLEY FELTON.

Life in Florence of two interesting people, granddaughter and great-granddaughter of William Gray.

Elias Howe, Jr., Inventor of the Sewing Machine. By PERCY H. EPLER.

Thoroughly fascinating.

VOLUME 15. 1920-1921 [1931]

Printing in Cambridge since 1800. By NORMAN HILL WHITE, JR.

Roger Harlakenden. By MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI.

The original owner (d. 1638) of the property at the corner of Bond and Garden Streets occupied by Professor Munn's house.

Joseph Foster and Shays' Rebellion. By MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI.

Foster was an early owner of the Riedesel house.

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Gleanings from Early Cambridge Directories. By GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT.

Old firms, ancestors of later ones, and their locations. Harvard Branch Railroad.

Elmwood and Its Owners. By MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI.

Some Vital Errors in the Cambridge Vital Statistics. By IRMA ADELAIDE RICH.

Deaths recorded on Cambridge gravestones are not necessarily those of births and deaths occurring in Cambridge.

VOLUME 16. 1922 [1931]

Two Letters from John Adams to Rev. Joseph Willard. By WALTER B. BRIGGS.

Getting John Quincy Adams into college.

The Hooper-Lee-Mchols House. By MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI.

Brief account of the home of the Society.

The Old Hooper-Lee House. By THOMAS COPPIN AMORY.

The Society's home about 1860.

Two Hundred Years Ago. By SOPHIA SHUTTLEWORTH SIMPSON.

Complete reprinting of a children's Christmas and birthday book originally published in 1859. Essentially a short history of Cambridge. Notes by Thomas Francis O'Malley.

On a Certain Deplorable Tendency. By PRESCOTT EVARTS.

About Sabbath non-observance.

Some Cambridge Physicians. By HENRY PICKERING WALCOTT.

Includes an account of the founding of the Cambridge Hospital.

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Where the stones were quarried.

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Gallows Hill the Ancient Place of Execution. By THOMAS FRANCIS O'MALLEY.

Executions near Linnaean Street up to 1817.

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The families living there about 1860.

William Coolidge Lane. By WALTER B. BRIGGS.

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Brief notice by his daughter-in-law.

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The Craigies. By FREDERICK HAVEN PRATT.

By a descendant. Contains the cellar-stair letters" relating to Andrew Craigie's unacknowledged daughter.[In original volume 43 index, this article was omitted]

Craigie Exhibition. By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW DANA

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Thomas Fuller died 1698. His great-great-great-granddaughter was Margaret Fuller.

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A very carefully prepared biographical account of Dudley.

The Disloyalty of Dr. Benjamin Church, Jr. By MAUDE B. VOSBURGH.

Church was Surgeon General and in Cambridge when his disloyalty was discovered in 1775.

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Autobiography of Edward Sherman Dodge. Read by LOIS LILLEY HOWE.

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Reminiscences of Cambridge. By MRS. SAMUEL McCHORD CROTHERS.

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The Dana-Palmer House. By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW DANA.

Extended account of those who lived in the house which now stands in front of the Harvard Faculty Club on Quincy Street.

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Its descent from Elijah Corlett, first schoolmaster in the 1640's

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Delightful recollections of student days at Harvard.

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The Story of the Episcopal Theological School. By CHARLES L. TAYLOR.

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Courses for women offered under Harvard auspices before the founding of Radcliffe.

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The Cost of a Harvard Education in the Puritan Period. By MARGERY S. FOSTER.

Based on the College Stewards' records; gives many interesting sidelights on early student life.

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Antecedents, founding, and early years of the Cambridge Hospital, now the Mount Auburn Hospital.

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Hollis Guptill Gerrish

Catherine Ruggles (Mrs. H. G.) Gerrish

**** Henry Lathrop Gilbert***

Priscilla Brown (Mrs. H. L.) Gilbert

**** Charles Chauncey Gray***

**** Pauline De Friez (Mrs. C. C.) Gray***

Harding Updike Greene

Dorothea Dusser de Barenne (Mrs. J. D.) Greene

**** Helen McQuesten (Mrs.P.) Gring***

A Erwin Nathaniel Griswold

A Harriet Allena Ford (Mrs. E. N.) Griswold

***** Helen Holmes (Mrs. E. E.) Hale***

**** Rufus Frost Hale***

***** Tacie Bell Houston (Mrs. R. F.) Hale***

Amy de Gozzaldi (Mrs. R. W.) Hall

** Constance Huntington Hall*

Maxcy Reddick Hall

** Elizabeth Holsombach (Mrs. M. R.) Hall*

Mary Louise Perry (Mrs. R. W.) Harwood

Robert Hammond Haynes

*** Mary Taussig (Mrs. G.) Henderson*

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Robert Graham Henderson

Lucy Gregory (Mrs. R. G.) Henderson

Jane Meldrim (Mrs. E. H.) Hewitt

A Albert Frederick Hill

Harley Peirce Holden

James Cleveland Hopkins Jr.

Barbara Cassard Rowe (Mrs. J. C.) Hopkins

Elizabeth Hough

H Rosamond Coolidge (Mrs. G. W.) Howe

Marjorie Hurd

Helen O'Malley (Mrs. W. P.) Jackman

Charles Street Jeffrey

Anna Hollis (Mrs. C. S.) Jeffrey

George Wilbur Jones

Elizabeth Sachs (Mrs. Victor) Jones

Wilbur Kitchener Jordan

Frances Ruml (Mrs. W. K.) Jordan

*** Theodora Keith*

John Spaulding King

Judith Stanton (Mrs. J. S.) King
Margaret Thayer (Mrs. S.) Lancaster
William Leonard Langer
Rowena Morse (Mrs. W. L.) Langer
Andrew Leighton
Phebe Crampton (Mrs. A.) Leighton
Isabella Carr Thompson (Mrs. D.) Leighton
William LeMessurier
Dorothy Judd (Mrs. W.) LeMessurier
Margaret Child (Mrs. G. A.) Lewis
*** Marian R. (Mrs. M.) McClay*
*** Elizabeth Blair (Mrs. B.) MacDougall*
George Arthur Macomber
Ella Sewell Slingluff (Mrs. G. A.) Macomber
Thomas H. D. Mahoney
James Gavin Manson

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Mary Lyon (Mrs. J. G.) Manson
Polly Ann Matherly
** Ralph May Gladys Smyth (Mrs. R.) May*
*** Joseph Maybank III*
*** Mary Rose Ferguson (Mrs. J.) Maybank*
Keyes De Witt Metcalf
Elinor Gregory (Mrs. K. D.) Metcalf
Robert P. Moncreiff
Elisabeth Hohenauer (Mrs. R. P.) Moncreiff

A ** Hugh Montgomery

Anne Sims (Mrs. A.) Morison

A ** Elizabeth Beal (Mrs. H.) Montgomery

Ona Amelia Morse

Elizabeth Flint (Mrs. F. H.) Nesmith

Harriet Jackson (Mrs. H. W.) Newbegin

Edwin Broomell Newman

Mary Beaumont (Mrs. E. B.) Newman

Nina Nightingale

John W. Norris

Elizabeth Sparks (Mrs. J. W.) Norris

John Torry Norton

Rose Eleanor Demon (Mrs. J. T.) Norton

Penelope Barker Noyes

Walter George O'Neil

Foster McCrum Palmer

Doris Madelyn Brown (Mrs. F. M.) Palmer

Haven Parker

Barbara Neville (Mrs. H.) Parker

Bryan Patterson

Bernice Caine (Mrs. B.) Patterson

William Lincoln Payson

Frederica Watson (Mrs. W. L.) Payson

**** Howard Fletcher Peak**

A Eleanor H. Pearson

Russell H. Peck

Pennell Crosby (Mrs. R. H.) Peck

Norman Pettit

Beatrice Binger (Mrs. N.) Pettit

Helen Russell (Mrs. G. W.) Pierce

Marion Hilton Pike

H Susan Nichols Pulsifer (Mrs.)

Lucy Balch (Mrs. A. L.) Putnam

*** Edward Sears Read*

Christopher Reed

Jane Crampton (Mrs. C.) Reed

Edward Reynolds

Dorothea Jordan (Mrs. E.) Reynolds

George Irwin Rohrbough

Martha Fraser (Mrs. G.I.) Rohrbough

** Alfred Sherwood Romer*

Ruth Hibbard (Mrs. A. S.) Romer

Edward Joseph Samp, Jr.

Agnes Goldman (Mrs. C.) Sanborn

A Celia Vandermark (Mrs. M.) Scudder

L Edgar Viguers Seeler, Jr.

L Katherine Schiefer (Mrs. E. V.) Seeler

John Langdon Simonds

Mary Frances Trafton (Mrs. J. L.) Simonds

Carol Mary Smith

Clement Andrew Smith

Chauncey Depew Steele, Jr.

Marian Elizabeth (Mrs. C. D.) Steele

Theodore Lyman Storer

Katherine Ladd Storey (Mrs. T. L.) Storer

**** Carolyn Stubbs**

*** Arthur Eugene Sutherland**

Mary Elizabeth Genung (Mrs. A. E.) Sutherland

Ellamae McKee (Mrs. W. D.) Swan

Helen Ingersoll Tetlow

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Gordon Bruce Thayer

Lydia Coffin Prescott (Mrs. G. B.) Thayer

Persis Louisa Webster (Mrs. C. F.) Toppan

H Grace Williams Treadwell

*** Priscilla Gough (Mrs. R.) Treat**

Genevieve C. (Mrs. W. L.) Turin

Adam Bruno Ulam

Mary Hamilton Burgwin (Mrs. A. B.) Ulam Herbert F. Vetter, Jr.

Dorothy Hagquist (Mrs. H. F.) Vetter, Jr.

L Mary Wellington (Mrs. K. S.) Usher

Marjory Howland (Mrs. H.) Walter

Roger Sherrill Webb

Anne Van Vleck (Mrs. R. S.) Webb

William Burton Webster

Marguerite Bigelow (Mrs. W. B.) Webster

Daniel Bradford Wetherell

Esther Elizabeth Hughes (Mrs. D. B.) Wetherell

Harriet Eaton (Mrs. T. N.) Whitehead

Walter Muir Whitehill

Jane Revere Coolidge (Mrs. W. M.) Whitehill

Amos Niven Wilder

Catharine Kerlin (Mrs. A. N.) Wilder

Constance Bigelow Williston

David G. Wilson

Anne Sears (Mrs. D. G.) Wilson

A Mary Maynadier Mathews (Mrs. J. H.) Wing

Peter Winn

Sylvia Canfield (Mrs. P.) Winn

Henry Davenport Winslow

Katharine Nichols (Mrs. H. D.) Winslow

Henry Wise

Pearl Katz (Mrs. H.) Wise

Albert Blakeslee Wolfe

Beatrice Ewan (Mrs. A. B.) Wolfe

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Charles Conrad Wright

Elizabeth Hilgendorff (Mrs. C. C.) Wright

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REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1973
 COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF INCOME & EXPENSES
 FOR THE YEARS ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1972 AND 1973

	<u>Year Ended</u> <u>December 31, 1972</u>	<u>Year Ended</u> <u>December 31, 1973</u>	
<i>Income</i>			
Investment Income:			
Savings bank interest	\$1,112.00	\$ 642.46	\$
Bond interest	3,033.78	3,295.12	
Dividends	3,248.30	2,710.07	6,647.65
	<u>7,394.08</u>	<u>6,647.65</u>	
Operating Income:			
Membership dues	1,616.00	1,488.00	
Guest and admission fees	27.50	53.00	
Publications		14.00	
Donations	1,302.00	2,673.00	
Emerson Scholar payments	500.00	1,125.00	5,353.00
	<u>3,445.50</u>	<u>5,353.00</u>	
Total Income	<u><u>\$10,839.58</u></u>	<u><u>\$12,000.65</u></u>	
<i>Expenses</i>			
Operating Expenses:			
Meetings	412.50	498.46	
Clerical and postage	315.29	482.09	
Printing and stationery	156.00	139.64	
Custodian and legal	648.13	576.07	
Miscellaneous	785.68	869.89	2,566.15
	<u>2,317.60</u>	<u>2,566.15</u>	
Real Estate 159 Brattle Street:			
Insurance	1,684.00	1,372.00	
Hostesses	211.30	445.00	
Repairs and maintenance			
House	1,945.25	600.88	
Furniture	613.37	0.	
Grounds	123.30	887.12	3,305.00
	<u>4,577.21</u>	<u>3,305.00</u>	
Total Expenses	<u><u>\$ 6,894.81</u></u>	<u><u>\$ 5,871.15</u></u>	
Excess of Income over Expense	<u><u>\$ 3,944.77</u></u>	<u><u>\$ 6,129.50</u></u>	
Less: Additions for Reserves:			
For structural repairs	\$2,000.00	2,000.00	
For publishing proceedings	1,000.00	1,000.00	3,000.00
	<u>\$3,000.00</u>	<u>3,000.00</u>	
Addition to Unappropriated Surplus	<u><u>\$ 944.77</u></u>	<u><u>\$ 3,129.50</u></u>	

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUNDS
DECEMBER 31, 1972 AND 1973

	December 31, 1972	December 31, 1973
<i>Assets</i>		
Cash in checking account	\$ 1,731.92	\$ 7,575.38
Cash in savings account	21,323.11	223.11
Custodian cash accounts	(11,258.78)	241.29
Bonds at cost or face value	51,757.19	61,575.29
Market value \$45,280.00—1972		
Market value \$51,995.00—1973		
Common stocks at cost	81,845.14	81,864.12
Market value \$115,160.38—1972		
104,420.50—1973		
Other assets at nominal value:		
Land	1.00	1.00
Buildings	1.00	1.00
Furniture & Fixtures	1.00	1.00
Collections	1.00	1.00
TOTAL ASSETS	\$145,402.58	\$151,483.21
<i>Funds</i>		
Restricted Principal Funds:		
Cook Bequest	\$ 1,006.67	\$ 1,006.67
Emerson Bequest	20,000.00	20,000.00
Life Memberships	1,325.00	1,325.00
	\$ 22,331.67	\$ 22,331.67
Unrestricted Principal Funds:		
Bequests and Donations	\$ 26,819.89	\$ 26,819.89
Unexpended income	10,722.04	10,722.04
Unallocated principal gains (None in 1973)	23,132.36	23,083.49
	\$ 60,674.29	\$ 60,625.42
Reserve for Structural Repairs:		
Balance 1/1/72 and 1/1/73	\$ 13,714.73	\$ 10,542.73
Appropriated from income	2,000.00	2,000.00
Charges for structural repairs	(5,172.00)	0.00
Balance 12/31/72 and 12/31/73	\$ 10,542.73	\$ 12,542.73
Reserve for publishing proceedings:		
Balance 1/1/72 and 1/1/73	\$ 1,034.51	\$ 2,034.51
Publication of Volume #41		
Appropriated from net income	1,000.00	1,000.00
Balance 12/31/72 and 12/31/73	\$ 2,034.51	\$ 3,034.51
Reserve for Contingencies	\$ 40,000.00	\$ 40,000.00
Plants and Contents Funds	\$ 4.00	\$ 4.00

Unappropriated Surplus		
Balance 1/1/72 and 1/1/73	\$ 8,870.61	\$ 9,815.38
Transferred to reserve for contingencies		
Excess of income over expense and allocations		
to reserves for structural repairs and		
publishing <i>Proceedings</i>	944.77	3,129.50
Balance 12/31/72 and 12/31/73	<u>\$ 9,815.38</u>	<u>\$ 12,944.88</u>
	<u>\$145,402.58</u>	<u>\$151,483.21</u>

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February 9, 1974

Members of the Council

Cambridge Historical Society

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

I have examined the statement of assets and funds of the Cambridge Historical Society in Cambridge, Massachusetts as of December 31, 1973, the related statement of appraisal of investments and the statement of income and expenses for the year then ended. I did not examine the prior year's statement. Although the accounts are maintained on a cash basis the differences between such basis and the accrual basis are relatively immaterial.

In my opinion, the accompanying statement of assets and funds, the related statement of appraisal of investments and the statement of income and expenses present fairly the financial position of the Cambridge Historical Society at December 31, 1973 and the result of its operations for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

Very truly yours,

[signed]

Fred Alexander

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REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1975
 COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF REVENUES, EXPENDITURES
 AND CHANGES IN GENERAL FUND BALANCE ARISING
 FROM CASH TRANSACTIONS FOR THE YEARS ENDED

	December 31, 1975	1974	Increase (Decrease)
REVENUES			
Investment Income: (See Schedule)			
Interest—Bonds	\$ 2,182	\$ 3,583	\$(1,401)
Dividends	3,966	3,044	922
Interest—Savings Account	397	125	272
Total	<u>\$ 6,545</u>	<u>\$ 6,752</u>	<u>\$ (207)</u>
Operating Income:			
Membership Dues	\$ 1,610	\$ 1,596	\$ 14
Donations	610	1,358	(748)
Emerson Scholar Payments	1,500	1,500	
Guest and Admission Fees	36	50	(14)
Publications	70	9	61
Total	<u>\$ 3,826</u>	<u>\$ 4,513</u>	<u>\$ (687)</u>
Total Revenues	<u>\$10,371</u>	<u>\$11,265</u>	<u>\$ (894)</u>
EXPENDITURES			
Operating Expenses:			
Meetings	\$ 997	\$ 700	297
Clerical and Postage	1,368	1,093	275
Printing and Stationery	321	276	45
Federal Excise Tax	295	286	9
Custodian and Accounting Fees	836	837	(1)
Miscellaneous	604	406	198
Total	<u>\$ 4,421</u>	<u>\$ 3,598</u>	<u>\$ 823</u>
REAL ESTATE—159 BRATTLE STREET			
Insurance	\$1,629	\$ 1,372	\$ 257
Hostesses	440	525	(85)
Repairs and Maintenance:			
House	1,118	4,340	(3,222)
Furniture	169		169
Grounds	458	222	236
Total	<u>\$ 3,814</u>	<u>\$ 6,459</u>	<u>\$(2,645)</u>
Total Expenditures	<u>\$ 8,235</u>	<u>\$10,057</u>	<u>\$(1,822)</u>
EXCESS OF REVENUE OVER EXPENDITURES			
	<u>\$ 2,136</u>	<u>\$ 1,208</u>	<u>\$ 928</u>
GENERAL FUND BALANCE, BEGINNING OF YEAR			
	<u>14,153</u>	<u>12,945</u>	<u>1,208</u>
GENERAL FUND BALANCE, END OF YEAR			
	<u><u>\$16,289</u></u>	<u><u>\$14,153</u></u>	<u><u>\$ 2,136</u></u>

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ASSETS AND FUNDS
ARISING FROM CASH TRANSACTIONS

	December 31, 1975	1974	Increase (Decrease)
ASSETS			
Cash (Including \$4,700 in Savings in 1975 and \$6,700 in 1974)	\$ 6,177	\$ 9,041	\$(2,864)
Cash—Custodian Account	157	151	6
Bonds—At Cost (Market Value 1975—\$35,167; 1974—\$28,596) (See Schedule)	41,879	36,885	4,994
Common Stock—At Cost (Market Value 1975—\$106,511; 1974—\$92,137) (See Schedule)	101,045	101,045	
Other Assets at Nominal Value:			
Land	1	1	
Buildings	1	1	
Furniture and Fixtures	1	1	
Collections	1	1	
Total Assets	<u>\$149,262</u>	<u>\$147,126</u>	<u>\$ 2,136</u>
FUND BALANCES			
Restricted Principal Funds:			
Cash Bequest	\$ 1,007	\$ 1,007	
Emerson Bequest	20,000	20,000	
Life Memberships	1,325	1,325	
Total	<u>\$ 22,332</u>	<u>\$ 22,332</u>	
Unrestricted Principal Funds:			
Bequests and Donations	\$ 26,820	\$ 26,820	
Unexpended Income	10,722	10,722	
Unallocated Net Principal Gains (Losses) (Loss from 1974—\$5,565.65)	17,518	17,518	
Total	<u>\$ 55,060</u>	<u>\$ 55,060</u>	
Allowance for Structural Repairs	<u>\$ 12,543</u>	<u>\$ 12,543</u>	
Allowance for Publishing Proceedings	<u>\$ 3,034</u>	<u>\$ 3,034</u>	
Allowance for Contingencies	<u>\$ 40,000</u>	<u>\$ 40,000</u>	
Plant and Contents Funds	<u>\$ 4</u>	<u>\$ 4</u>	
General Fund:			
Balance Beginning of Year	\$ 14,153	\$ 12,945	\$ 1,208
Excess of Revenues over Expenditures	2,136	1,208	928
Balance End of Year	<u>\$ 16,289</u>	<u>\$ 14,153</u>	<u>\$ 2,136</u>
Total Fund Balances	<u>\$149,262</u>	<u>\$147,126</u>	<u>\$ 2,136</u>

December 31, 1975

Members of the Council

Cambridge Historical Society

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Gentlemen:

I have examined the comparative statement of financial position of the Cambridge Historical Society as of December 31, 1975 and December 31, 1974 and the comparative statement of revenues, expenditures and changes in General Fund Balance and related schedule of investments and income therefrom for the years then ended. My examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards and, accordingly, included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as I consider necessary in the circumstances.

In my opinion the aforementioned financial statements present fairly the financial position of the Cambridge Historical Society at December 31, 1975 and December 31, 1974 arising from cash transactions during the years then ended on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

Very truly yours,

Fred Alexander, C.P.A.