

**The Colonial Society's House  
87 Mount Vernon Street, Boston**

by Elton W. Hall

IMAGINE that it is the year 1806. You are standing on the front steps of the house recently completed by Charles Bulfinch for Stephen Higginson, Jr., at Mount Vernon, or more precisely just west of the site on which the knoll known as Mount Vernon had lately stood. Aside from the other half of the double house at which you stand and the house built in 1801 for Harrison Gray Otis next door, you see few buildings as you look out over an expanse of open land to the south and west sloping down to the Back Bay where the waters lap at the foot of the hill only a few hundred feet away at the edge of newly constructed Charles Street.

As late as the 1790s the western and southern slopes of Beacon Hill were largely pasture lands. With the construction of the Charles River Bridge in 1786 and three others in subsequent years, the situation changed dramatically as the district became a thoroughfare. The north slope, facing navigable water, had been developed much earlier and was occupied by wharves, maritime tradesmen, rope walks, and sailors' boarding houses where such boisterous and ribald entertainment took place as to earn that district the unflattering name of "Mount Whoredom."<sup>1</sup>

About that time the state government had outgrown the old Town House, and a plan was approved to purchase a tract of pasture land from John Hancock's heirs on the slope of Beacon Hill for the construction of a new State House to plans drawn by Charles Bulfinch. The cornerstone was laid on 4 July 1795 and the building occupied 11 January 1798.<sup>2</sup>

Harrison Gray Otis, a member of the town committee that had purchased the Hancock pasture, realized that the presence of the government would change the character of the area dramatically, offering the possibility of a highly respectable residential neighborhood. Much of the upland pasture on the south and west slopes of the hill was owned by John Singleton Copley who had been residing in England for the previous twenty years. Forming with Jonathan Mason, Dr. Benjamin Joy, and Hepsibah Swan, a group known as the Mount Vernon Proprietors, Otis arranged with Copley's agent to purchase the entire tract at the rate of \$1,000 per acre. Unhappy with the agreement, Copley sent his son, later Lord Lyndhurst, the Lord Chancellor of England, to try to break the commitment. Copley, however, found that Mr. Otis had taken care of all the technicalities and was compelled to sell the property for \$18,450.<sup>3</sup>

The proprietors also acquired pastures from Charles Allen and the heirs of Enoch Brown making in all a tract bounded westerly by the Charles River, southerly by Beacon Street as far as the east side of Walnut Street, easterly by the east side of Walnut to the corner of Walnut and Mount Vernon Streets, southerly again by the south side of Mount Vernon Street to the corner of Mount Vernon and Joy Streets, easterly again by Joy Street, and northerly by a line about seventy feet north of Pinckney Street back down to

the Charles River.<sup>4</sup> This was such an extensive tract of land that thirty years were to pass before the land west of 89 Mount Vernon Street was laid out.

Mount Vernon, the western promontory of the Trimountain, ran between Pinckney and Mount Vernon Streets with its brow on the site of the Otis House, now 85 Mount Vernon Street. In 1799 the Mount Vernon Proprietors carved off fifty to sixty feet, dumping the gravel into the Charles River to make more land for themselves.<sup>5</sup>

By an indenture dated 3 August 1799, the Mount Vernon Proprietors partitioned a portion of their holdings among themselves. Included in the division were four lots on the north side of Mount Vernon Street---then known as Olive Street---acquired by Joy, Swan, Otis, and Mason, the latter being the westernmost.

In 1801 Harrison Gray Otis engaged Charles Bulfinch to build a mansion on his lot on the north side of Olive Street. Jonathan Mason also engaged Bulfinch to build a mansion for him on a lot that he owned further up the hill.<sup>6</sup> That same year they entered into an agreement not to build closer to the street than thirty feet,<sup>7</sup> thus establishing the setback from No. 57 through No. 89 Mount Vernon Street which makes it so attractive today. On 28 October 1805, Jonathan Mason in consideration of \$8,000 granted to Charles Bulfinch,

"a certain lot or piece of land situate in said Boston on Mount Vernon westward of the Estate of H. G. Otis, Esquire, bounded in Front on Olive Street, there measuring one hundred & ten feet, & of the same width to Pinkney [sic] street so called being one hundred & ten feet on said Pinkney [sic] Street, be the bounds on the east & west side more or less, on the East by the fence of said Otis & on the West by the land of said Mason & others or however otherwise bounded together with all the privileges buildings, & appurtenances thereto belonging provided & upon condition that no building shall ever be erected upon said premises nearer to Olive Street than said Otis's house now stands."<sup>8</sup>

Unquestionably Bulfinch had a plan for the property long before he bought it, for on 2 November 1804, almost a year earlier, he received a payment of \$4,500 from David Humphreys to start the house that Humphreys's expenditures for construction show to have been well along by the time Bulfinch acquired the land.<sup>9</sup>

A scant four months after receiving title to it, Bulfinch subdivided the property into three parcels, two fronting on Olive Street and a third on Pinckney Street. The westerly part was sold to David Humphreys<sup>10</sup> and the easterly to Stephen Higginson, Jr., on 10 February 1806 for the consideration of \$4,000 each.<sup>11</sup> These lots extended only 150 feet back from Olive Street, the balance of the land between them and Pinckney Street being retained by Bulfinch. By good fortune, the recorded deeds are accompanied by plans showing the lots and the situation of the buildings on them (Fig. 1). The boundary between the two lots is designated as the "line running through the Centre of the Brick wall which divides the house standing on the land herein described from the house

standing on the land conveyed to said Humphreys." Also included in the deed from Bulfinch to Higginson was, "the free and uninterrupted use of a privilege in certain circular passage way leading to Olive Street over the land conveyed by said Bulfinch to said Humphreys which passageway appears in the plan of said two parcels of land recorded with this deed and entered on the back thereof reserving to said David Humphreys his heirs and assigns forever, the free use of and privilege in the circular passageway . . . ."

The Assessors' records for 1806 give some indication of the condition of the houses by that year. David Humphreys was assessed \$16,000 for a new house, while Stephen Higginson, Jr., was assessed \$14,000 for an unfinished house.<sup>12</sup> While the construction was going on, Higginson had been living further up the hill at 43 Mount Vernon Street in a house that he had built on speculation, sold to his brother-in-law, and then rented back. It is hard to know just when he moved to his new mansion, but certainly it was before the end of 1806.

The house as it stands today together with a few surviving records gives us a reasonably good apprehension of its condition when first inhabited. The plan of the two houses recorded with the deeds to Humphreys and Higginson shows a symmetrical arrangement, so it is reasonable to assume that one house was a mirror image of the other (Fig. 2). The façade of the survivor is forty-two feet wide, indicating an eighty-four foot façade for the twins. The plan also shows flights of steps leading to the front doors, but whether or not the porch is original remains problematic. Decorated only by the four inset arches on the ground floor, the cornices, carved tresses and iron balconies around the second floor windows and the delicate, dentiled cornice at the eaves, it is a handsome and restrained façade.

The original part of the house is forty-six feet deep. The east elevation is asymmetrical because the chimney for the fireplaces on all four floors occupies the front portion, allowing windows only in the back rooms on that side (Fig. 3). The rear elevation of each house had a five foot ell approximately half its width with the section towards the neighbor recessed about five feet. It was in the half near the neighbor that the window with the arched top in the stairway between the second and third floors was located (Fig. 4). Presumably the Humphreys house had a similar window, and the rear elevations of the two houses were symmetrical.

By a curious quirk of fate, while the Humphreys house does not survive, a detailed financial record of its construction does. David Humphreys traveled abroad a good deal. To take care of his affairs while he was away, Oliver Wolcott served as his agent in New York, while in Boston Oliver Sherman provided that service. Alarmed by the amount at which the estimated costs were being exceeded as construction neared completion, Humphreys engaged the architect Peter Banner to examine the accounts to make certain that they were in order. Stephen Higginson, Jr., was asked to make the arrangements in a letter from Humphreys dated 14 August 1806. Some very informative correspondence of Humphreys, Higginson, Wolcott and Sherman, together with Banner's record of the

accounts, has survived in the Oliver Wolcott papers at the Connecticut Historical Society.<sup>13</sup>

In a letter to Wolcott on 30 January 1807, in which he tactfully suggested that it was time for Humphreys's account to be settled, Higginson states that his bills amounted to exactly the same as Humphreys's. Considering that the two houses were essentially the same job, it is reasonable to suppose that the Humphreys accounts apply as well to the Higginson House. The total price, including the land, was \$22,681.44.

The itemized accounts identify many of the tradesmen who worked on the houses and provided specific elements. It is pleasing to learn that the carved "tresses" on each side of the second floor windows were carved by Simeon Skillin, who charged \$40 for the work. William Whall provided the iron balconies for \$155.50. Above the front door, in the space presently filled by a plain sheet of glass, was undoubtedly a delicate Federal fan light provided by John Martin and included in his bill for fan lights at \$65.91. The bill is in the plural and probably includes that in the stairwell. Perhaps the stone window sills and lintels were included in William Homer's bill for stone and marble at \$304.92. Marble is in the fireplace hearths and facings of which those on the first, third, and fourth floors appear to be original. Jeremiah Gardner was the principal housewright. His bill for \$6,309.17 for "materials and work on the outside & frame of House Stable woodhouse; and complete inside finishing," was second only to Osgood & Whitney's account of \$7,419.78 for masonry work and materials. Prior to the construction of the ells, each house had a reasonably spacious backyard. Gardner's account indicates that there were at least two out buildings, a stable and a woodshed. With eleven fireplaces, a kitchen stove, and undoubtedly plenty of servants to stoke them, the houses must have consumed many a cord during the course of a winter.

Other accounts which indicate the exterior appearance of the house included Joseph Tilden's for chimneys from Italy at \$143.01, possibly the ceramic pots which still adorn the tops of the chimneys today. Fullick & Bailey built a cistern for which John Barnard tarred for almost as much. Frederick W. Major provided the pump at \$17. Major was a blockmaker at Barrett's Wharf. In the maritime trades, pump and blockmaking generally went together. Since there is no evidence of a cistern in the cellar of the original part of the house, the one mentioned was probably in the backyard. Most of the houses on the hill at the beginning of the nineteenth century had or shared wells, and many supplemented that source with rain cisterns. No. 55 Mount Vernon Street had a well as late as 1839. In 1848 water from Cochituate was piped in, providing homes with a substantial supply at no great effort to their servants.<sup>14</sup> Without an unlimited supply of water, a house does not produce a vast volume of effluent. Most houses on Mount Vernon Street were equipped with vaults to hold sewage. As late as 1861, the owners of 87 Mount Vernon were billed for the removal of night soil.

Banner's report to Wolcott also includes stone for the west wall, which would not have applied to the Higginson lot, for the even higher retaining wall on its east side to keep Harrison Gray Otis's house where it belonged must have already been in place. Caleb

Loring supplied "edge stone in the street" for which half the bill was \$27.18. Similarly, one Wait provided paving bricks for which half the bill was \$31.

Apparently English usage was employed in identifying the floors in the house, that which we think of as the first or ground floor being known as the basement. This occasioned Walter Whitehill to search the cellar some years ago for evidence of a dressing room used by Stephen Higginson, Jr., and located, according to family tradition, in the basement. Walter suggested to the descendant who had inquired that what was probably meant is the room on the left as one enters the front door.<sup>15</sup>

Only minor changes have been made on the ground floor over the years. The windows in the dining room retain their interior folding shutters as does that in the waiting room across from it. The fireplaces, with the exception of the installation of the elaborate grate in the dining room appear to be original. The kitchen has had several changes over the years, but perhaps not until just before the end of the century. The principal document as to the condition of the house in about 1890 is a set of four plans drawn by Ogden Codman before he tore into it in the 1890s (Figs. 5-8).<sup>16</sup>

Unfortunately, the "Rumfords roasters &c." provided by Joseph How for \$128.28 and installed by one Lancaster for \$50, have not survived. The full Rumford kitchen included a fireplace, bake oven, roasters, boilers, and a system of flues and ash pits. The total cost of \$178.28 suggests a complete installation for which there was room in the kitchen, but since nothing remains and the account provides no additional details, one may only guess. Rumford kitchens became popular among wealthy New Englanders about 1800. A complete installation survives at the Rundlet-May House in Portsmouth, New Hampshire.<sup>17</sup>

In the northwest corner of the ground floor were two closets, one since provided with plumbing, and a back staircase extending all the way from the cellar to the attic. There was a window overlooking the backyard and two back doors, one from the kitchen and one from the hall (Figs. 4 and 5).

The arrangement of the second floor was very much as it is today with the exception of the back stairs occupying what is now the passageway into the addition (Fig. 6).

On the third floor were three bedrooms, the principal one being in the southeast corner (Fig. 7). It was the largest and handsomely designed with an arch flanked by a pair of smaller arches on the wall opposite the fireplace. Codman's plan indicates that at some time prior to his work an anteroom and a dressing room were partitioned off, which eliminated the arch at the inside corner and upset the balance of the room. The other small arch was filled in to make a closet. Other than that, this floor is much as it was originally.

The fourth floor contained originally three bedrooms, four closets, and a room over the skylight above the circular stairs (Fig. 8). Finally, there is an attic beneath the hipped roof that provides considerable storage space. Thus, when Stephen Higginson, Jr., moved in,

he had a substantial mansion with about seventeen rooms, numerous closets, two staircases, a full cellar, an attic, a woodshed, carriage house, and driveway. It was truly an appropriate setting for a leading merchant, who had proven himself a responsible and valuable citizen.

Stephen Higginson, Jr., was a descendant of the Rev. Francis Higginson, who arrived in Salem in 1629.<sup>18</sup> His father was born in Salem and went to sea in 1764 as supercargo, navigator, and part owner of vessels trading with Europe. During the Revolution, he engaged in privateering through which he was reputed to have accumulated \$70,000. Moving to Boston in 1778, he formed a partnership with Jonathan Jackson, became a member of the legislature in 1782, and was elected to the Continental Congress. By the last decade of the eighteenth century, Higginson was regarded as a leading Boston merchant thought to be worth a half million dollars. He was a prominent Federalist, particularly active in naval affairs. Of his ten children, Stephen, Jr., was the fourth.<sup>19</sup>

With this background, Stephen, Jr., was well positioned to enter into a mercantile career. He married first Martha Salisbury, who bore him five children before her death in 1803. In 1806, he married Louisa Storrow who produced another ten children, the last of whom, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, became the best known for his writing and anti-slavery work.<sup>20</sup>

A letter written by John Lowell about 1826 described something of Higginson's career:

Stephen Higginson, Jr. 3rd Son of the preceeding was bred a merchant, & by indefatigable industry & almost unexampled enterprise acquired at a very early age an independent fortune, which he employed in acts of public spirit, in the promotion of every good design, which promised to advance the public welfare or ornament. But the chief objects to which his early success & rapid acquisition of property was devoted, were the solace and support of the indigent [sic], the promotion of young men of merit who appeared to need assistance---in seeking out unprotected individuals who having seen better & happier days, were pining in that cheerless, and hopeless state which none can feel, who have not experienced it.

The same sanguine temperament which made him lose sight of his own interests in the welfare of others, combined with times, & political changes, & disasters over which he could have no control finally involved him in misfortunes which were not attributable either to a defect of industry or skill.<sup>21</sup>

Higginson's philanthropy was discussed by Dr. Palfrey in the sermon he preached at Higginson's funeral: "There has been no one, I suppose, in our day, who has given with a more princely generosity . . . . Until the embargo of 1808, Stephen Higginson, Jr., was an enterprising and successful merchant in Boston, London, and New York and noted for his profuse generosity."<sup>22</sup> As examples, in 1798 he contributed \$1,500 towards the construction of a frigate under construction at Hartt's yard in Boston.<sup>23</sup> In 1805-1806, he gave an English bell to the Brookline Meeting House to which he had already contributed the pulpit and "Caps."<sup>24</sup> In 1805, he was elected a trustee for perpetuating

the Charity of Edward Hopkins, Esq.<sup>25</sup> He also subscribed \$100 for for Father Cheverus' first Roman Catholic Church in Boston.<sup>26</sup>

Of life in the Higginson house during Stephen, Jr.'s, time of prosperity, Thomas Higginson recalled,

My father lived in the then fashionable region of Mount Vernon Street, in all the habits of affluence; his hospitality was inconveniently unbounded, and the young wife found herself presiding at large dinner parties and at the sumptuous evening entertainments, then more in vogue than now. It was the recorded verdict of the Hon. George Cabot, the social monarch of that day in Boston that "no one received company better than Mrs. Higginson," and those who knew the unfailing grace and sweetness of her later manner can well believe it.<sup>27</sup>

Unfortunately, the Higginson family was not to enjoy their new house very long. The 1808 embargo was devastating to mercantile interests, and there were other reverses as well. Of his father's financial downfall, Thomas wrote that several visits to England had made Stephen, Sr., more cautious in commercial matters than his son who kept up his risky enterprises until he failed altogether and had to retire from business, all his vessels being captured or valueless.<sup>28</sup>

For 87 Mount Vernon Street the first indication of trouble is a deed of 20 March 1811, by which Stephen Higginson, Jr., conveys the property to Stephen Higginson, Samuel G. Perkins (Stephen, Sr.'s, brother-in-law), and George Higginson in consideration of the sum of \$36,000.<sup>29</sup> The younger Stephen evidently needed to raise some cash. It is not clear whether or not the change in ownership affected the occupancy of the house for the next four years. While the 1813 City Directory gives Stephen, Jr., a Beacon Street address, there is evidence that he remained at Mt. Vernon. The actual departure of the Higginsons from the house is most reliably reported by Louisa Storrow Higginson in her diary: "On Saturday the 8th of April 1815, we left our home, endeared to us by a long and happy residence and by the society of dear and kind friends, to make trial of new scenes, new cares, and new duties."<sup>30</sup>

On 5 May 1815, an auction was held to dispose of furniture and furnishings for the account of Stephen Higginson, Jr. Included were forty-three chairs, four bureaus, two bookcases, eleven tables, three bedsteads, five looking glasses, six carpets, and twenty-three yards of stair carpet. There were busts of Washington and Hamilton, which may have filled the two niches in the stairway. Also sold was a quantity of china, glassware, fireplace equipment, and kitchen utensils. The sale netted Higginson \$581.68 of which \$100 was paid on account to a Mr. Brown and the balance to credit D. Waldo. A later note was added at the bottom of the list by Thomas Wentworth Higginson: "after my father's failure--- i.e. S. H., Jr."<sup>31</sup> It is highly probable that this sale consisted of much of the contents of 87 Mount Vernon Street. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to tie the sale directly to the house. To the proceeds of the sale were charged "To Advertising and crying 2.25," but none of the notices of auctions of household furnishings that appeared in Boston papers that week indicate either the name or address of Stephen Higginson, Jr.,

nor does the name of the auctioneer appear on the account. But there was at least one auction advertised that week of property of a gentleman moving to the country.

Meanwhile the title work was going ahead. Stephen, Jr.'s, brother, James, whose acquisition of "one full and undivided third part" appears to have been unrecorded, conveyed that interest to Samuel G. Perkins on 15 April 1815 for \$5,000.<sup>32</sup> James and George Higginson were both merchants and brothers of Stephen, Jr. Since George was not a party to the next conveyance, it is probable that his interest had passed to James. Finally, on 30 September 1816, Stephen Higginson and sale price of the property in just five years is remarkable, but the \$36,000 price of 1811 may represent Samuel G. Perkins conveyed the property to William Sawyer for the sum of \$13,000.<sup>33</sup> The reduction in an effort of a careful father to transfer some cash to a distressed son.

William Sawyer, the new owner, was born in Newburyport in 1771, the son of Dr. Micajah and Sybil (Farnham) Sawyer. He was a member of the Harvard Class of 1788 and subsequently studied medicine with his father. After a few years practice he decided that the profession was not to his liking and so moved to Boston where he became a merchant in partnership with Thomas Wigglesworth. About 1805, he dissolved the partnership and, after continuing alone for a few years, went abroad. Upon his return in 1816, he resumed his business with great success and took up residence at 87 Mount Vernon Street.<sup>34</sup>

It is not clear that much happened to the property under the ownership of William Sawyer. In 1828 he mortgaged the property to William Minot for \$16,000, then immediately redeemed it as Trustee of his father's estate.<sup>35</sup> Whether he needed some quick cash or wanted to get the property into the trust is unclear.

The wall projecting along the back side of the property from the carriage house may well have been part of the initial construction, but the first known reference to it came in 1842 when Isaac Totman, Jr., owner of property on Pinckney Street signed an agreement with William Sawyer acknowledging that he had erected a building against the stable and other walls belonging to Sawyer. Totman admitted that "the timbers of the building standing on my land aforesaid have without right been set against the building belonging to said Sawyer and that the walls of the building standing on my land have been placed against the walls of said Sawyer's building and premises." Totman agreed that neither he nor his heirs or assigns would claim any right to the prejudice of Sawyer on account of the encroachment and would remove all timbers and material on demand. In return, Sawyer consented to the building remaining until he wished it to be removed.<sup>36</sup> Whether or not Sawyer or his heirs ever demanded the building be removed is unknown. However, the structure in question is no longer there.

Although William Sawyer never married, he did not live alone at 87 Mount Vernon Street, nor was the house empty of children. His younger sister, Hannah Farnham Sawyer, had married George Gardner Lee in 1807, who died in 1816 leaving her with three young daughters. They all moved in with William, possibly as soon as he bought the house. After raising her daughters, Hannah enjoyed a certain success as a literary

figure beginning with an appreciation of Hannah Adams in 1832. Her greatest success was *Three Experiments of Living* published in 1837, which went through thirty American and ten English editions. During her years at 87 Mount Vernon Street, she published about a dozen books.<sup>37</sup>

Someone unfamiliar with Boston might get the impression from tracing William Sawyer through the Boston City Directories that he was something of a rolling stone. While he remained in one place, the name and number of the street on which he lived changed frequently. When he bought the house from the Higginsons, it was located on Olive Street, which it remained until 1825 when the name was changed to Sumner Street. In 1830 it was given the number 49 which was amended to 51 in 1832. The next year it became 51 Mount Vernon Street but was raised to 63 in 1835 and 83 in 1837. Finally, in 1839 it became 87 which it has, mercifully, remained ever since.

The introduction of various utilities brought interior changes to houses on Beacon Hill. The most noticeable would have been fresh water, which became available in 1848, piped in from Lake Cochituate in Natick. While the bottom of the Beacon Hill Reservoir was 108' above the level of the tide marsh, the doorsill of 87 Mount Vernon Street was 79'.<sup>38</sup> Thus there would have been water pressure to the fourth floor, and it is possible that Sawyer took advantage of the opportunity to have water brought in on a limited basis. There are the remains of some lead pipes that appear to antedate the major installation that came later. No other evidence of change during the Sawyer years has been discovered.

While William Sawyer was living at 87 Mount Vernon Street, the property at 89 changed hands five times until the unlucky day of 5 June 1858, when it was conveyed to Peter C. Brooks who demolished it the following year.<sup>39</sup> Demolition of half of a double house carries with it some responsibility to the neighbor. By a deed of 11 May 1866, Peter C. Brooks conveyed to William Minot, trustee under the will of Hannah F. Lee, "a strip of land six inches wide and about 150 feet long off the easterly side of my estate in Mt. Vernon Street, Boston, with the half of the old party wall thereon . . ." The easterly line is described as, "passing through the centre of the brick party wall between the house of said Lee and the old house which lately stood on the land of the grantor." The westerly line is described as, "passing through the easterly face of the east wall of the new house lately built by the grantor on his land."<sup>40</sup> The language in this deed certainly eliminates any doubt as to whether any of the Bulfinch house survives at 89. In making that grant, for which \$750 was charged, the right of way through the driveway was neglected. Some years later the omission was corrected.<sup>41</sup>

The second house at 89 Mount Vernon Street was a five-story gray sandstone structure. The illustration of 87 in Charles A. Place's monograph on Charles Bulfinch shows enough of the southeast corner of the new house to reveal the magnitude of Brooks's villainy.<sup>42</sup>

Following the death of Peter Brooks's widow in 1884, Lawson Valentine took up residence at 89 and on 1 March 1885 contracted with Charles Francis Adams, Jr., trustee

under the will of Peter Brooks, to purchase 89 Mount Vernon Street for the sum of \$50,000. The contract provided for a title free of encumbrances but acknowledged the setback restriction. A month later Valentine notified Adams that he declined to accept conveyance because of a defect in the title consisting of a condition imposed by Jonathan Mason's deed of 1805: the setback. Adams then brought a suit against Valentine to compel the performance of the contract. Finding in that suit was for the defendant, yet Valentine's wife, Lucy, bought the property at the reduced price of \$35,000 on 14 January 1889,<sup>43</sup> although she was living in New York with her husband at the time.

Lucy Valentine's next move on 8 February 1890 was to petition the Supreme Judicial Court for the rescinding of the set-back restriction that had protected the north side of Mount Vernon Street for almost a century. A brief filed in connection with the petition contained this statement:

All of said houses 55 to 89 Mount Vernon street inclusive, and 1 and 3 Louisburg square are of great value as places of residence of the highest character. They were built and have always been occupied for that purpose. The Otis house, now No. 85, was purchased by the respondent Sarah P. Sears for \$75,000, and the sum of \$20,000 has since been expended by said respondent in improvements upon said home. The house and lot No. 1 Louisburg square, now of the respondent Marian Russell, has a value of \$26,000. The value of each of said houses has been and now is greatly increased by the maintenance of the present position of the other houses which are set back from Mount Vernon street. The desirability as a place of residence of all said houses (other than the petitioner's) would be greatly diminished by the building forward to the street of the petitioner's house. The houses of the respondents, Sarah P. Sears, Marian Russell and of Bangs, trustee, and Wm. Minot, Jr., trustee, would be specially injured by such building forward which would greatly obstruct the light, air, and prospect of said respondents' houses. The petitioner, or her conveyancer and attorney acting for her when she purchased her lot, had full knowledge of the provision contained in the deed from Mason to Bulfinch, and of all recorded instruments which are above set forth or referred to, and the petitioner paid for her said lot a greatly reduced price on account of the then state of the title.<sup>44</sup>

The use a property owner has in mind for a house determines which factors are considered positive and which negative. The brief goes on to mention most of the respondents who bought their properties from No.55 Mount Vernon Street to Louisburg Square as having full knowledge of the setback provision and paying an additional sum in consideration for it. For Lucy Valentine, it was a drawback because she wanted to turn the patrician mansion into a boarding house and needed more room.<sup>45</sup> Fortunately, the farsightedness of the Mount Vernon Proprietors was vindicated by the Supreme Judicial Court on 16 January 1893, which in its final decree held:

That said provision constitutes and is a perpetual restriction now in force and enforceable in equity and forever restraining the erection upon the land of said deed of Mason to Bulfinch including the land of the petitioner or upon any part thereof of any building any portion of which shall be nearer the said Olive Street (now Mount Vernon Street) than the house of the said Otis.

Had she succeeded, the detrimental effect on 87 Mount Vernon Street would have been immense. The semicircular drive would have become a quadrant with half the wall and garden removed. The view down the hill would have been replaced with a view into boarding house windows, and the afternoon sunlight and circulation of air greatly reduced. The restrained Federal façade of No. 87 would be overpowered by the imposing structure, probably of five stories, rising from the sidewalk. Nor could one hold high expectations for the architectural taste of one who would have embarked on such a scheme in the first place. The house remained in Lucy Valentine's possession, although she remained in New York, until her death. On 27 February 1920, it was conveyed by Nathan Pulsifer, her executor to Henry Hornblower,<sup>46</sup> who spent several years making extensive renovation including the replacement of the sandstone façade with a handsome neo-Federal brick front before making it his home.

Upon William Sawyer's death on 18 April 1859,<sup>47</sup> the property, along with a good deal of money, passed to his sister Hannah Farnham Lee. Although she was then seventy-nine years old, she was in control at last. She had ideas for the house and the means to carry them out. Fortunately, she appointed William Minot, Jr., her attorney, charging him with the duty of paying her bills. Consequently, a detailed record of her expenditures on the fabric and furnishing of the house, her personal expenses for food and clothing, books, jewelry, charitable contributions, and many other things are preserved in the Minot Papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society.<sup>48</sup>

Exterior changes included "Painting and Striping front End of House & Front of Stable, Painting blinds &c." by Haven & Dexter. Two large trees were cut down, while two American elms, arbor vitae, a purple birch, an English linden, and a rock maple were planted. The sidewalk was repaved, the yard flagged, and 520 feet of sod were installed.

On the inside there were many projects. She had a furnace and coal bin installed, necessitating the cutting out and re-heading of a cellar window for the chute. A cooking range was installed toward the cost of which was credited 300 lbs. of old iron, probably the old Rumford equipment. While a bill to William Sawyer indicates that he already had gas piped in, Hannah added to the system. If city water had not yet been brought in, she did, for there are several bills for sinks and water closets and the repair thereof. Her bills for carpeting seem to total more than enough to cover all four floors. Many rolls of wallpaper were installed after the old had been scraped off. Some woodwork was grained and the kitchen floor varnished. A substantial quantity of black walnut and black walnut moulding may have been for the library bookcase. Perhaps the most surprising item was a bill from Otis Tufts for the erection of one patent house elevator, of which nothing remains today.

Most of this work was carried out during the first three years of her seven years as mistress of 87 Mount Vernon Street. She became increasingly infirm and deaf during her last years and died 27 December 1865, leaving her assets to trustees for the benefit of her granddaughter, Julia Bryant.

Julia Bryant was only eighteen years old when she inherited the house from her grandmother. Her paternal grandfather, John Bryant, had been a partner in the East India shipping firm of Bryant & Sturgis, which from the War of 1812 to 1840 directed more than half the trade with the Pacific and China from the United States.<sup>49</sup> In the 1830s he became interested in railroads, and by 1846 he was reputed to be one of the twelve millionaires in Boston.<sup>50</sup> His son, John Bryant, Jr., was more interested in the arts than in business, although he was a partner in the family firm with enough income to live like a gentleman until he came into his inheritance. In 1835, he married Georgina Gardner Lee, the younger daughter of Hannah Farnham Lee in a ceremony conducted at 87 Mount Vernon Street by William Ellery Channing. That marriage, which produced no children, was ended by the death of Georgina in 1842. Two years later, John married Georgina's elder sister, Mary Anna. Their first daughter, Georgina, lived only nineteen months, but was followed by a second daughter, Julia. John Bryant, junior, died in October, 1847, just four months after Julia's birth. By 1865 with the death of her mother and two grandparents, Julia had become the senior member of the family and heiress to a great fortune, which included 87 Mount Vernon Street.

Meanwhile, the handsome, successful, Brevet Major General Charles Jackson Paine was completing his service in the Army. He was a great-grandson of Robert Treat Paine, one of the Massachusetts signers of the Declaration of Independence. His grandfather, Charles Paine, had met with early success as a lawyer and in 1803 undertook to build houses Nos. 6 and 8 Chestnut Street designed by Bulfinch. Charles Cushing Paine, his father, graduated from Harvard in the Class of 1827, where he was a member of Phi Beta Kappa and the Porcellian Club. Himself a member of the Harvard Class of 1853, Charles Jackson Paine studied law with Rufus Choate, and was admitted to the bar in 1856. In October, 1861, he was mustered into the Army as Captain of Co. I, 22nd Massachusetts Volunteers. For the next five years, he served with notable success, culminating in the expedition against Fort Fisher. For the last year or so of the war, Charles Jackson Paine was much preoccupied with what he would do afterwards. Marriage was very much on his mind, and he encouraged his sister, Mamie, to go to parties and meet as many pretty girls as she could in order to be able to invite them around for tea when he came home. In a letter of 31 December 1864, he suggested she write "wants a wife" on the back of his photographs and "send them round to all the rich and pretty girls you know."<sup>51</sup>

Whether or not it was through the courtesy of Mamie that Charles J. Paine met Julia Bryant is unknown. Nevertheless, three months after he was discharged from the Army they became engaged and were married on 26 March 1867 at 16 Louisburg Square. After their wedding trip, they moved to 87 Mount Vernon Street, which remained their winter home for the rest of their lives (Fig. 9).

Julia Paine must have been well aware of the fact that her line came close to extinction. The Massachusetts Historical Society has long held that the best way to ensure survival is to multiply the copies. Julia may have entered marriage with the intention of doing exactly that, for they immediately built a large ell on the rear of the house and made a number of renovations to the existing building, for which George R. Clarke was engaged as architect.

The lot upon which the house is situated is a parallelogram. Bulfinch had sited the houses parallel to the street, which produced a three-part boundary between 87 and 89, the parts dividing the front and back yards paralleling the side boundaries while the party wall of the two houses was perpendicular to the street (Fig. 1). The Paines added a three-story ell forty-two feet long and twenty feet wide, canted at an angle of six degrees to the original structure so as to follow the property line. Inspection of the crawl space under the ell revealed uniform materials and construction methods indicating that the addition was done all at one time. Of interest is a lath and plaster wind and dust shield laid above the joists and under the boards of the ground floor. If the use of the space at the time Codman made his plans is a reliable guide, the first floor contained a new back entry, a stair hall, a storage closet, a servants' hall, a laundry, a dry room, and a choreman's room (Fig. 5). The second floor, which extended only thirty-six feet back, contained three servant's rooms, two closets, and a stair hall (Fig. 6). There was no connection to the main house at this level. The third floor was principally occupied with a billiard room, which included the features of a handsome parquet floor, a fireplace (Fig. 7), and a high, tray ceiling with a skylight measuring about six by eleven feet. There was decorative plaster molding leading up from the walls to the corners of the skylight with similar molding around the skylight opening. A shaft led from the ceiling light up to the roof, which bore a second light. These features are presently known only by surviving structural evidence recently discovered under the roof.

The second and third floors of the addition were not built at the same levels as those of the main house. A compelling reason for this peculiarity has not been discovered, but possibly the intent was to provide a little more air for those who toiled within the confined spaces at the lower levels of the rear of the house. Only the third floor was for family use.

Between the back wall of the addition and the boundary wall a shed roof was installed with purlins let into each wall. That roof remained in position beneath a later addition until its removal at the direction of the Colonial Society House Committee in 1990.

Fortunately, much of the cost of the renovations was paid for out of the assets of the Hannah Lee Trust, with the result that the first annual account of the Trustee to the judge of Probate includes a summary of the costs of the addition and renovations with the names of the tradesmen. Funds provided by the trust totaled \$11,350 including furniture and furnishings. The central heating was expanded. Gas was increased at a cost of \$288 for piping and \$270 for fixtures supplied by Bliss & Perkins and Shreve, Stanwood & Co. The plumbing system, which existed on a modest scale, was extended. One of the larger bills was for paper hangings provided by Josiah F. Bumstead & Co. for \$760. Amasa W. Bailey manufactured the billiard table for \$600.<sup>52</sup>

The report of Hannah Lee's Trustee does not cover all of the costs, for Julia spent some of her own money, perhaps as much as \$2,000 on the house, which was reported by her guardian for the year 1867. Payments are recorded for carpets, plumbing, cornices, tubs & sinks, window guards, plastering, oil cloths, and furniture. Because she was also

maintaining 16 Louisburg Square, her childhood home, and the cottage at Nahant, it is not certain that all of these expenses were for 87 Mount Vernon Street, but some of them are designated as such.<sup>53</sup> It is also possible that Charles J. Paine contributed something to the renovations, but no record has been found.

The household must have been one of great activity. The Paines had seven children between 1868 and 1890. Charles J. Paine was active in several railroads, serving as a Director of the Chicago, Burlington, and Quincy, the Atcheson, Topeka, and Santa Fe, and the Mexican Central. Three times he successfully defended the America's Cup, first as a member of the Puritan syndicate, and then on his own with *Mayflower* and *Volunteer*. Shortly after their marriage, he bought the first parcel of land in Weston which was to become an enormous estate where they lived in the spring and fall, raised horses, and maintained two race tracks of a mile and a half-mile. During the summer the family went to another house in Nahant, "The Wigwam," on Swallow Cave Road.

Julia Paine was interested in the arts. She studied anatomy and drawing under William Rimmer at the Museum School. From both her families she inherited substantial libraries which she catalogued. She inherited a share in the Boston Athenaeum from Hannah Lee, and shortly after their marriage, her husband acquired one of his own. She was devoted to the Unitarian Church and was a major and longstanding benefactress of the First Parish Church in Weston. From the first year of their marriage, the Paines made frequent trips abroad, traveling widely throughout Europe. Julia's skills as a manager must have been considerable to enable her to maintain three households, raise her children, travel abroad, and participate enthusiastically in the social life of Boston.

With the level of entertainment carried on, the kitchen may well have had some attention, but no documentation about it has yet been found. There is a copper hot water tank made by Job Lockwood at 10 Province Street. According to the City Directories, he was at that address from 1869 to 1876. The cast iron range was made by Cyrus Carpenter & Co. in Boston and bears a foundry date of 1875. Of course these two items could have been installed any time after those dates, and it may well be that nothing was done until the next major renovation in 1890-1891.

In 1890 Ogden Codman, Jr., started a book of field notes with measurements of a number of buildings including 87 Mount Vernon Street.<sup>54</sup> That is the first in a series of documents that record the house as he found it (Figs. 3-8) and his major renovation of 1890 and 1891 (Figs. 10-12). While his plans and elevations record the original arrangement of the rooms, they do not indicate any interior decorative details: moldings, ornamental plaster work, fireplace mantels, turnings, or paneling. He has indicated walls in the original house that have been added later, probably in the 1867 renovations, as well as the ell, but no information is provided on the utilities.

There is no evidence that Codman did anything to the façade of the house. Codman's reconstruction drawing of the façade (Fig. 2) does not show the portico (Fig. 13), suggesting that he did not consider it original. It was certainly there by 1861 when Hannah Lee had it repaired and painted.

The front hall appears to remain in its original condition (Fig. 14). There is no evidence of any alterations to the dining room. The later addition of the coal grate survived Codman and remains there to the present time. However, there were several changes to other parts of the ground floor. The back stairs in the northwest corner were removed from the cellar to the third floor, leaving a closet in their place. If it had not previously been done, the kitchen was renovated with the removal of the old Rumford roasters and installation of the iron range (Fig. 15). A partition separating the closets between the kitchen and dining room was removed making a long pantry at the end of which a new window was installed with a sink beneath it. In the ell, the back stairs were re-directed so as not to extend across the full width of the addition. This was necessitated by changes in the upper floors, and required the installation of a new, small window on each of the three floors. This stairway originally continued to the fourth floor, but was subsequently cut back to the third and the head walled off. A storeroom with access beneath the stairs made up for the loss of the closet adjacent to the servant's hail, and a stairway to the cellar replaced the one in the original part of the house that was removed. The laundry remained as it had been (Fig. 16). At the rear of the ell the choreman was provided with a water closet, and stairs to the second floor were added, for the rear of that floor would no longer be accessible from the front.

The twin drawing rooms on the second floor had their fireplaces rebuilt, for which Codman produced appropriate Federal designs.<sup>55</sup> The fact that it was necessary to restore them suggests that the originals were no longer in place. It is likely that they had been rebuilt for coal around mid-century or remodeled in 1867. Codman, careful architect that he was, would have been interested in restoring them to a correct period style (Figs. 17 and 18). The library (Fig. 19) was left alone as was the main staircase (Fig. 20).

As on the first floor, the northwest corner was changed substantially. The old pantry off the drawing room was torn out as were the back stairs to make room for a passageway into the ell where the billiard room was to displace the servants' quarters. To preserve the symmetry of the part of that passage in the original house (called a gallery in the plan), a shallow, triangular closet was built around the circumference of the main stairway. Because the ell was not built with the same floor levels as the main house, three steps up were now required to pass into the ell. A pair of mahogany doors which fold into the wall can close off the passage, which was an enlargement of a window opening in the original house. Before entering the billiard room one passes through a small, trapezoidal vestibule which absorbs the cant of the ell and is chiefly interesting for the concealed doorway which allows servants and children access to the back stairs without going through the billiard room or disrupting the symmetry.

The billiard room is all Codman. On the east wall he added a window and moved another to achieve the spacing he wanted. The south wall, facing the original house, is balanced by two paneled mahogany doors with fan lights over them, one leading to the front rooms and the other to the back stairs. Against the party wall he centered a fireplace flanked by a pair of arched niches about eighteen inches deep. On the empty wall spaces on all four sides he fashioned flat panels of reeded molding decorated with a Dufour

wallpaper in warm gray tones depicting scenes from the life of Psyche. This was an early nineteenth century production that remained available throughout the century.

Another example of Codman's efforts to provide correct detail was his attention to hardware. He later wrote that Enoch Robinson of Cornhill made excellent reproductions of English locks as well as "nice cut glass and brass knobs set like diamonds," which he used in the Charles J. Paine house when he restored it.<sup>56</sup>

If the playing of billiards became more convenient for family and friends, the servants gave up the space. The second floor was extended back over the buggy shed to the property line, and the bathroom, displaced by the change in the stairway, was moved to the north end of the ell. But the four new servant's rooms occupied considerably less space than had three before the renovation.

An interesting and practical feature of the windows in the ell is that within the thickness of the walls are shutters and storm windows that may be slid closed along tracks on the sill. These windows are of late nineteenth-century design which indicates that Codman replaced the existing windows in the ell when he added more.

There is little evidence of change to the third floor of the Bulfinch house in Codman's drawings, except that the original back stairs no longer descend from that level. Back in the ell, however, a bathroom was added in place of a closet and passageway, and the old billiard room was partitioned off into two bedrooms. As part of that change, the skylight was removed and joists added to flatten the ceiling. Most of the shaft to the roof was removed, and the roof light was filled in and slated over. The floor was extended back under a flat roof to the line of the original addition adding a third bedroom. A small window was cut into the wall of a closet in the middle bedroom.

As 1891 neared conclusion, so did Codman's project. On 10 December 1891 he wrote to his friend Arthur Little that Mrs. Paine was to move the following Saturday.<sup>57</sup> On 28 December he reported:

I went to Mrs. Paines. She had got a new side board while I was ill was it not funny it should be that one we saw at Little Maccartys last year it looked like a square Piano & he got it in Medford it was so dirty when we saw it. Well it is very nicely done up now and all the veneer in fine order & the three sliding doors work very well. Then we went to real Maccartys & bought a lovely settee for her lower hall & five very nice mahogany chairs & a side table. She is going to have it very nice. I think it certainly is pretty. In one Parlor we have new green stamped plush curtains which have not come & in the other old red Brocatell. Dark blue corduroy in the Dining room.<sup>58</sup>

By 18 January, Julia Paine was ready to entertain, and Codman went by to inspect:

Mrs. Paines house looked very nice. I went there yesterday afternoon for a few moments to see how it was. She has done it all my way: a screen across the entry and every one sent up two flights of back stairs. Then they take off their clothes and come down the

front stairs. The music is out on the balcony which is closed in and a raised floor. We took out the sashes so as to hear better. There were garlands of smilax all about the rooms. Then the supper in the dining room and lots of seats, sofas and little tables in the lower hall and the little yellow room for the girls. I should think it would be a very pretty party. She said she should not have champagne as the fellows were so young and had behaved so badly at one of her friends.<sup>59</sup>

Codman's success in restoring and enhancing the house is suggested by an article that appeared in the Boston *Evening Record* on 11 July 1893 occasioned by the speculation that Charles J. Paine might run for Governor. It included the following description of the house:

The city home of the Paines is at 87 Mount Vernon Street. A more delightful house it would be hard to find. The mansion, built of brick, four stories in height and painted rich red with appropriate trimmings, is built with that old-fashioned grace that has been lost to the present generation, like many another thing of value.

It sets back from the street, an ample lawn stretching down to the gray stone wail that guards it from passers-by. A circular gravel driveway leads to and by the front door, so that carriages can pass in one continuous stream by the door. Inside the black walnut portal is a small hall and then inside of that is the main hail of the house, which is a reception room.

The modern decorator, with his list of uncomfortable fads has been kept outside, and the quaint low-studded ceiling still remains, with the ample twisting stairs of dark wood. In the hail are three pictures, all of the famous yachts that he has owned, the Puritan, Mayflower, and Volunteer. They are in full sail, and the artist has caught the spirit of the race. They are not oil paintings, simply photogravures, such as hundreds of other people possess, a fact that is a key to the general's simple mode of life. The house is beautifully furnished.

The remark in the 1893 *Evening Record* that the house was painted a rich red prompted a close examination of the bricks for remains of the paint. That examination led to the conclusion that the entire front of the house has been re-bricked, based on a vertical seam on the east wall about a foot in from the front together with the difference between the front and side bricks. This discovery seems alarming at first, but perhaps it is no more significant to the original authenticity of the house than a replacement of shingles or clapboards would be to a frame house, as long as the design was preserved.

Architectural changes to the house since Codman's work have been very minor. In 1902 it was considered that sleeping outside would be beneficial to the youngest daughter's health. For that purpose a covered porch was constructed off the end of the third floor over the servant's room that Codman had added.<sup>60</sup> The passageway between

the two front rooms on the third floor was closed on the west side to form a closet for the southeast bedroom (Figs. 21 and 22), and the closet in the back bedroom on that floor was enlarged. This was essentially the form in which the house was given to the Colonial Society.

The decade of the 1890s must have been the hey-day of the social life of the house. Georgina Paine Fisher Howland wrote a volume of memoirs, entitled *Afterthoughts*, in which she provides glimpses of life at 87 Mount Vernon Street at the end of the nineteenth century. (The "afterthoughts" were the two youngest children, Georgina, called Nina, and Frank.) From Thanksgiving to May, they resided on Beacon Hill. In the spring, they moved out to the farm in Weston where they remained until the boating season called them to Nahant. They returned to Weston in the fall and then back to Boston for the social season. The moves were made *multa cum impedimenta* with the choreman hauling endless quantities of boxes and trunks down from the attic to be packed with sheets, blankets, silver, clothing, and all the things that would be needed at the next stop. Removable sections of the stair railing suggest that the center of the stairway provided a shaft down which the trunks and boxes could be lowered when full. Preparations for the return to Boston were increased by the need to plan for teas, dinners, dances, and invitations thereto, for "the easy-going country life was over for the next five months." Clearly, life on Beacon Hill was more formal than that in the country or by the shore.

Certainly, the setting was more formal. While the houses in Weston and Nahant were illuminated with candles and kerosene lamps, 87 was equipped with gaslight, which delighted Frank and Nina:

With a sort of awe we used to watch the grown-ups turn little faucets on the wall fixtures and then touch matches to the gas that whooshed out and burst into yellow flame; and impatiently we looked forward to the day when we should be old enough to perform the rite ourselves. The gas pipes always leaked a little, and here and there around the house you encountered faint skunky smells that got into your dreams and sometimes gave you nightmares; but neither this nor the ever-present possibility of asphyxiation---if some "greenhorn" maid were to blow out the flame and leave the gas escaping---ever detracted from the charm we felt on arrival at finding the lights softly burning in the hall and reflecting themselves on the curved mahogany rail.<sup>61</sup>

Social life at 87 was active, with the doorbell ringing frequently. In those days it was a real bell activated mechanically, which often enabled the inhabitants to recognize the visitor by the quality of the ring. There was a bronze bowl in the front hall for the reception of calling cards. On the occasion of major social events, it was copiously supplied by visitors. When the Paines hosted a dinner party, cards were arranged on the front hall table for each gentleman to inform him which lady he was to escort down to dinner from the parlors. When General Paine took the arm of a lady and headed for the stairs, that was the signal for the other gentlemen to follow.

Frank and Nina, with their nurse, Mimi, lived in the nursery on the fourth floor, to which nursemaids had to carry all their meals until they were seven or eight years old. They were in the front rooms, which commanded a fine prospect of the spires and lights of Boston.

The adults slept on the third floor in the large bedrooms, "with big, heavy furniture and on the walls queer old family portraits," of which the children's favorite was that of Sybil Farnham Sawyer with her son, Joseph (Fig. 22).

Of the double parlors she recalled:

On the floor below the big-bedrooms were the two parlors, still one flight up from the front door and dining-room. They were large, lofty, square rooms separated by mahogany folding doors that were kept closed except when parties were given, at which times they were thrown open and the two rooms became a single, very big one. On these occasions strange transformations sometimes occurred; as I discovered when Johnny came up to my nursery at twelve o'clock one night when I was three and a half years old, and carried me downstairs in my long flannel nightgown to the parlor. There, to my great bewilderment, I saw people whirling round and round on what looked like hard-packed snow. Music was playing, and it was Molly's coming-out party. Next morning when I came down to look at the snow, it had all disappeared; and I learned that it had really been white canvas tacked down over the carpet, for people to dance upon! This was the regular procedure until long afterwards, when hardwood floors were laid in those rooms-and there are still people alive who remember those parties and say that nothing is so delightful to dance on as canvas over carpet.<sup>62</sup>

Mrs. Howland recalled that the formal part of the house was rather terrifying to her as a young girl because of the high ceilings.

But chiefly, I think, because of the gods and goddesses in the billiardroom---Cupid and Psyche, whose whole story was told in almost life-sized gray-and-white pictures set in panels around the wall. You could not find the billiard-room by yourself, and even when you were taken there by a grown-up you didn't quite like the dark mysterious ante-room opening out of the parlor, that had to be traversed; nor the steps and passageway beyond, where you knew there was a secret door in the wall, leading to unknown regions.<sup>63</sup>

With the passage of a few years the gods and goddesses lost their terrors, and Nina spent almost every evening in the billiard room playing with her father.

Presiding over the west parlor was Gilbert Stuart's portrait of Hannah Farnham Lee at age twenty-five, whom Nina regarded as the true deity of the house. For Nina it was hard to imagine any living person with more charm or a more compelling presence. Under her "provoking smile of inward amusement," Nina and her brother, Charlie, used to pass the winter's afternoons playing cribbage or backgammon while sipping hot chocolate. She thus describes the parlor as it appeared at the end of the nineteenth century:

In spite of her charm and many virtues, Mrs. Lee had committed one unforgivable sin. She had sold all her beautiful mahogany furniture of the early 1800's and filled the house with hideous black walnut instead. Much later, Mamma in turn replaced a great deal of this with mahogany again; but the parlor was always kept as Mrs. Lee had furnished it, in the heavy style of "Queen Victoria's Glorious Days."

Ugly though they were, however, the big clumsy armchairs and sofas were more comfortable than the original furniture could possibly have been. Certainly, I can't imagine my enormous brother Charlie feeling much at home in a small spindle-legged Sheraton chair, or myself able to curl up on an early-Empire sofa; whereas we made ourselves quite comfortable on the well-upholstered black walnut that Mrs. Lee had bequeathed to Mamma.

Those were pleasant afternoons in the big, quiet parlor, with the sound of cannel coal snapping and crackling softly to us in the fireplace; firelight glowing from polished copper coalhods on the hearth; and beautiful greatgrandmother Lee taking it all in and smiling benevolently down upon us with her look of secret amusement.

When the scarlet shawl and mysterious little smile were beginning to fade away in the dusk, the parlormaid would appear bearing a long, wandlike apparatus with which to light the chandelier that hung suspended from the ceiling entirely beyond feminine reach. The end of this wand was forked; one of the tips held a lighted wax taper, while the other was shaped like a pair of tiny praying hands just big enough to fit over the individual gas jets and turn them on or off. Beside us on the centre table stood a reading lamp with a fragile incandescent thing around its jet, called a "Mazda Mantle." This too was lit, and when the maid had filled the room with all the illumination that gas could supply---often very little indeed, for in cold weather it grew dimmer and dimmer till sometimes it froze and had to be thawed out by a plumber---she would draw the heavy gray-green curtains over both tall windows, and depart, leaving Charlie and me to go on with our game.<sup>64</sup>

Julia Bryant Paine died in 1901. As the children grew up and moved away, the social life at 87 undoubtedly tapered off. Charles Jackson Paine died in 1916. The old Swedish nurse, Maria Von Gerber, stayed on as housekeeper while the General lived and then served as caretaker when the house was empty during the summer. The youngest child, Frank C. Paine, was the principal resident after 1916, but after 1947 the City Directories show him as occupying 87 but living in Wayland until his death in 1952.

In 1947, a proposal was made to transfer the house to the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities by a Mrs. James B. Ayer of Milton, who would acquire the property, give it to the Society, and remain as custodian for life.<sup>65</sup> That transaction did not take place, and the house probably remained empty, receiving minimal care for another seven years.

In 1954, Georgina Paine Fisher Howland (Fig. 23), who had married first Richard Fisher and following his death Llewellyn Howland, decided that some action must be taken to ensure the future of the old mansion. It had been empty for several years and had received little or no maintenance. Since the death of Hannah Farnham Lee in 1865, the property had been held in trust. The family fecundity had produced a great many beneficiaries of the trust, many of whom held undivided interests in the property as an

asset of various trusts in such exotic fractions as 1/30, 36/210, and 6/1260.<sup>66</sup> Mrs. Howland decided to buy the house herself from the other owners and donate it to a tax-deductible organization. She further determined to provide over the course of five years an additional cash gift of \$100,000.<sup>67</sup>

Llewellyn Howland and Walter Muir Whitehill had been friends for many years, no doubt brought together by their mutual love for history, the sea, good food, and good stories. In 1953 Whitehill wrote a foreword to Howland's book, *Tryptich*. With Walter's knowledge of Boston organizations and interests in architecture and historic preservation, it would have been natural for Mrs. Howland to seek his advice. His first proposal that it be offered to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences was characteristic of his views on the amenities of the scholarly world:

Considered as a supplement to 28 Newbury Street, 87 Mount Vernon Street might be quite important in bringing Fellows together on an informal basis, in a pleasant and mutually profitable way. To me, the beer and cheese hour after a meeting is one of the most valuable features of membership in the Academy, for it is there that I escape from my normal circle of historians, bibliographers, and the like, and find physicians, astronomers, zoologists, physicists, and congenial men in general that I would not otherwise meet in the course of an average week.

Such informal gatherings can, I believe---and especially on the basis of my experience as Clerk of the Club of Odd Volumes---help purposes that are much wider in scope than face value might indicate. Surely the maintenance of the Odd Volumes' house at 77 Mount Vernon Street gives evidence of this, and it seems to me that the Academy's acquisition of 87 would further a happy convergence of able men working in different fields.<sup>68</sup>

Whitehill goes on to describe the various rooms in the house with suggestions as to their potential uses. He had obtained estimates from a contractor, David J. Hilliard, for the complete renovation of the interior of the house at \$4,500. He had people in mind who would be willing to live in the house rent-free in return for managing it and was confident that he could furnish most of the house through gifts of large and handsome pieces of furniture without cost in less than a year. All the necessary work could be accomplished for no more than \$10,000, leaving \$90,000 to be invested as an endowment fund. As a final salvo, he mentioned the elegant eighteenth-century building occupied by the Academy's elder sister in Philadelphia, Philosophical Hall, which lends great distinction to the meetings of the American Philosophical Society.

An ad hoc committee was appointed to consider Mrs. Howland's offer with Thomas K. Sherwood of the Department of Chemical Engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology as chairman. He prepared a memorandum stating his view. "Entirely apart from the financial problems," he wrote, "it would seem that the Academy would actually have very little use for such a house for these purposes . . . , and there seems to be little evidence that members desire to get together informally for more than the social gatherings which follow meetings."<sup>69</sup>

Mr. Sherwood's evaluation of the house itself was much less optimistic than Whitehill's:

If meals were to be served, the kitchen would have to be modernized by the installation of a refrigerator, dishwasher, stove, sink, and so forth at a cost of perhaps \$4,000. The roof leaks, and the unknown repairs needed might be quite expensive. The floors sag in places and a central support pier in the basement may need replacement. The plumbing and heating equipment are obsolete, and would doubtless require partial replacement at an early date, if not at the outset. The outside and driveways are in disrepair, and the ancient carriage house is a liability.

The condition of the house, the financial ramifications of taking it on, and the perceived lack of interest in using it combined to bring about the decision by the Council of the Academy at their 15 September meeting to decline Mrs. Howland's offer with thanks.

Turning defeat to advantage, Whitehill suggested to Mrs. Howland that the Colonial Society of Massachusetts would be an equally appropriate recipient of the house. By a letter of 27 September 1954, she formally made the offer. Ten days later, at a special meeting, the Council felt that, although authority to accept and receive all gifts and bequests rested firmly with them, it would be advisable to know the opinion of the membership. In response to a letter to all 120 Resident Members from the Editor, 100 were in favor of accepting, two were opposed, two were opposed pending further information (upon receipt of which they approved), and one abstained. Thus encouraged, the Council proceeded to set in motion the steps necessary to effect the conveyance. Our member, R. Ammi Cutter, whose legal opinions commanded particular respect, represented the Society.

With the acceptance of her offer by the Society, Mrs. Howland proceeded to acquire one hundred per cent ownership of the property. This was a complex process requiring the trustees of the various Paine family trusts to make distributions of the several fractional interests in the property to the beneficiaries. Then Mrs. Howland bought out the several interests and on 9 December 1954, conveyed the land and buildings thereon to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts.<sup>70</sup>

Mrs. Howland selected the Society as donee "because of their interest in preserving things of historical value for future generations to see and enjoy." She was, "happy to know that the Society could use the building for its editorial work, meetings, library, and collections in a manner consistent with preserving the building for its historical and architectural importance and to know that the building would be in the hands of a group which would appreciate the importance of preserving it in the public interest." In the initial discussions there was some talk of restrictive covenants, but in a characteristic letter to Charles Ganson, Mrs. Howland's nephew and trustee who represented her, Whitehill wrote:

It would seem to me wise, both for the protection of the Society and Mrs. Howland, to make any agreement as simple and flexible as possible, relying on the obvious good will, generous behavior, and common interests of both parties, rather than attempting to draw up documents with elaborate legal provisions.<sup>72</sup>

Realizing that unforeseen circumstances could make it impossible or unreasonable for the Society to maintain the house, Mrs. Howland made the gift "free and clear without limitation." Thus the perennially lamented lack of a permanent abiding place, repeated in volume after volume of the Society's transactions, was at last filled in its sixty-second year.

As soon as the Paines had cleared away the family possessions accumulated over the century and a half they occupied the house, Walter Whitehill wasted no time in putting it in order. Carpenters, plasterers, painters, plumbers, electricians, and gas fitters went right to work, so that by the February 1955 meeting the Society was able to occupy the double parlors and dining room for the first meeting in the house, while work proceeded on other floors. A new water pipe was led in, necessitating the digging and relaying of the cobble stones in the driveway. The old direct current electrical service was replaced, and all of the gas piping was cut off save that to the kitchen and hot water heater, and the gas pipes, fixtures, and gas logs were removed from the second, third, and fourth floors. The coal burning furnaces remained in place for awhile longer, stoked by Joseph Green, the caretaker's husband, who was paid \$35 to shovel 35,500 lbs. of coal in January 1955. By spring the house was in such presentable condition that a reception was held to which members and sundry dignitaries from far and wide were invited to inspect the new premises on 25 May 1955. At the Annual Meeting in November, Editor Whitehill was able to report that the repairs to the house had been completed through the expenditure of accumulated income so that Mrs. Howland's cash gift could be devoted entirely to endowment.<sup>73</sup>

Many members came forward with gifts and loans of household furniture and furnishings to fill the house. Among these, three were particularly outstanding because of their magnitude and historical importance. Mrs. John Forbes Perkins, Mrs. Alexander S. Nielson, and Mrs. Daniel Sargent, grandchildren of Francis Parkman, were closing his house at 50 Chestnut Street, which had remained virtually undisturbed since his death. Of particular interest was his attic study, which contained his furniture, pictures, and souvenirs of his western travels. Originally intended for the Massachusetts Historical Society, the contents of the study had not been removed for lack of space at 1154 Boylston Street. At the suggestion of Stewart Mitchell, the collection was given to the Colonial Society of which Parkman had been a Resident Member. The room at the northeast corner of the fourth floor was partitioned off to the dimensions of the room at 50 Chestnut Street and the collection installed as nearly resembling its original appearance as possible.<sup>74</sup> A substantial quantity of other furniture was also given to the Society by the Parkman grandchildren, notably the large bookcase in the meeting room, the breakfront, serving table, and sideboard in the dining room, and the Empire furniture in the third floor bedroom in the southeast corner.

The second major gift to the furnishing of the house came from or through Mr. and Mrs. Henry M. Channing. Mrs. Channing, a descendant of judge George Richards Minot (1758-1802), gave the handsome Federal secretary desk and bookcase in the library that had belonged to the judge. Other members of the Minot family were stimulated to provide funds and furnishings for that room including the copy of the Gullager portrait which hangs over the fireplace. Simultaneously, Henry Channing established the Channing Room on the third floor, which he began to furnish with objects that belonged to William Ellery Channing, his ancestors, and descendants. He brought in much of his own holdings of Channing memorabilia, then went after his relatives with such vigor and success that soon the Channing collection overflowed into other rooms in the house. Among the Channing ancestors was William Ellery, signer of the Declaration of Independence for Rhode Island, who is represented by a handsome Queen Anne wing chair. Furniture labeled by John Townsend and attributed to Christopher Townsend are also in the collection.

Establishing the Charming Memorial at 87 Mount Vernon Street was appropriate for several reasons. Mrs. George Gibbs, a wealthy Newport widow, had moved to Boston and purchased the house at 85 Mount Vernon Street in about 1810. One of her daughters, Ruth, married William Ellery Channing, and they built 83 Mount Vernon Street. Moreover, there were intermarriages between the Channings and the Higginsons, albeit they were after Stephen Higginson, Jr., sold 87 Mount Vernon Street. In addition, William Ellery Channing and Hannah Farnham Lee were close friends.

Obviously, Whitehill and Channing had large ideas. The William Ellery Channing Memorial was incorporated on 8 January 1959 as a public charitable corporation, with Henry M. Channing as President. Walter Muir Whitehill, as Vice-President, could readily transact business with the Editor of the Colonial Society. With Whitehill's approval Channing wrote to Miss Evelyn Sears asking if she would consider donating her house at 85 Mount Vernon Street to be the headquarters of the William Ellery Channing Memorial, Inc. Miss Sears replied that she would discuss it with her family. The second exchange of letters brought the response that she would not.<sup>75</sup> Nevertheless, Henry Channing formally deeded his own collection of Channing memorabilia to the Memorial on 13 July 1964. Some of the most important items in the collection, including the Feke portrait of Mary Chaloner Channing and the Townsend furniture, were part of his gift. In addition, Channing was able to attract a bequest of \$30,000 to the Memorial from Nannie Alexander. Unfortunately, Henry Channing was not able to enjoy the fruits of his effort for very long, since he died on 1 October 1964.

With the realization that the driving force behind the Channing Memorial was gone and that a successor with equal energy and enthusiasm was unlikely to be forthcoming, the William Ellery Channing Memorial, Inc., decided to dissolve and turn its assets over to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. In response to a petition from the Memorial, the Supreme Judicial Court entered an interlocutory decree that the William Ellery Channing Memorial, Inc., transfer and deliver its net assets to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts subject to the terms under which they were received by the Memorial. Included was the tangible property brought to 87 Mount Vernon Street over the years,

together with the Alexander Fund and other liquid assets of the Memorial totalling over \$33,000, which was to serve as an endowment fund on which the first charge was to be, "the expenses of maintaining the Channing Room and its contents in good order and condition as a memorial to William Ellery Channing."<sup>76</sup>

The third major gift of furnishings came from the family of William Crowninshield Endicott. In 1958 the house at 163 Marlborough Street was being broken up. From Mmes. Louise Thoron MacVeigh, Ellen Warder Thoron MacVeigh, Faith Thoron Knapp, and Messrs. Gray and Benjamin Warder Thoron came many paintings, chairs, lighting fixtures, as well as pieces of chinoiserie, statuary, and porcelain---more than one hundred items in all. Some of these had been in the family house on Essex Street, Salem. The following year another large gift came from "Glen Magna," Mrs. Endicott's farm in Danvers, through the kindness of G. Peabody Gardner.

In addition to these three major gifts, there were, of course, many gifts of individual items, most of which were acknowledged in the Annual Reports of the Council during the years 1955-1961.<sup>77</sup> Since the intention in soliciting gifts of furniture and furnishings was never to form a museum collection but simply to outfit the house, the influx of objects tapered off after 1960, for the house was pretty well filled. Occasionally, there have been opportunities to upgrade the furnishings or add material with pleasing associations. A notable example is the dining room table and set of chairs given to the Society by the children of our former President, Samuel Eliot Morison.

With the house in reasonably sound condition and handsomely equipped, the attention of the Council became focused on publications and a series of conferences that have taken place during the last twenty years. During the mid-1980s, however, it became increasingly noticeable that neither the material condition of the house nor the costs of maintaining it were standing still. Accordingly, President William H. Bond appointed a House Committee to look after the building and consider its future.

The fact that the property had been underused was obvious to the Committee. The first two floors of the back ell and some other spaces were fully occupied by the Archives of American Art, and the third floor of the ell provided accommodations for the resident caretaker. The second floor of the original building was retained for the exclusive use of the Society, an appropriate policy not only for ourselves but in keeping with the precatory conditions of Mrs. Howland's gift. That left the upper floors, the cellar, and the carriage house for consideration. It seemed to the Committee that if a way could be found to turn part of our real estate to the production of income, eventually a stream of cash would be forthcoming that would provide for the long-term maintenance of the house. Any use of the main house would involve complicated planning to resolve the conflicting issues of satisfying the building code, preserving the interior, and providing security for the rest of the building. The carriage house was, however, a discrete unit, and it was on that that the Committee decided to work.

The carriage house had probably not been used for its original purpose since the death of Charles J. Paine in 1916, The Colonial Society had little use for it over the years,

but since nature abhors a vacuum, it always seemed to be full. On the other hand, it was a perennial problem. In 1871 a Mr. Bennett rebuilt it at the cost of \$500. In 1943 the building inspector served notice on Frank C. Paine, Trustee, that he was in violation of the building code since the carriage house was in dangerous and deteriorating condition. In response the floor and the roof were shorn up and the chimney removed above the roof. In August of that year, proper repairs were made including the rebuilding of the exterior walls and the provision of two columnar supports on the concrete floorings to carry the floor joists. At that time, the use of the building was given as the storage of household furniture.<sup>79</sup> Again in 1959, Walter Whitehill was served a notice of violation stating that the rear wall was deteriorating and that bricks were falling into the neighbor's yard. He was ordered to secure a permit and repair the wall. In 1968 a permit was obtained to remove rotting roof boards and install roll roofing in the rear. Finally, in 1972 the doors were replaced. When the House Committee inspected the carriage house, there were signs of continuing deterioration that could not be long ignored without subjecting the Society to substantial expense simply to stabilize the unused building, which, since it is visible from a public way, is subject to historic district regulations.

In 1988, the Council approved the recommendation of the House Committee to engage architect James Block to produce plans for the renovation of the carriage house into a single unit dwelling. While acknowledging that this would involve complete removal of the insides of the building, every effort was to be made to retain as much of the exterior as possible and make any necessary changes consistent with the style of the existing structures. The Council did not wish to be extravagant, but the intention was to produce a fine rental property that would appeal to a first-rate tenant and command top rent. Considerable attention was given to details to the point where committee member Donald Wing cut the correct period-style moldings to trim the doors and windows inside. The roof timbering, which is similar to that of the main house, was of such interest that the Committee decided to leave it exposed over the second floor front room. As a souvenir of the original function of the building, two of the columns that supported the horse stalls were installed in the entry hall. Work was completed in the fall of 1990, and the first tenants moved in the following February.

The presence of various tradesmen in conjunction with the carriage house project enabled certain essential repairs to be made to the main house quite economically. When slaters came to repair the carriage house roof, they also went over that of the house. All gutters and downspouts were repaired and the exterior trim painted on both buildings. The fire escapes from the fourth floor of the main building and the rear were both repaired and painted. The kitchen in the main house, which had become so worn out as to be virtually uncleanable, was completely renewed, and a clean, secure room was constructed in the cellar for the storage of the Society's inventory of publications.

The completion of these projects has considerably brightened the future of the house as the Society's headquarters. We have made a major stride in carrying out our obligations to Mrs. Howland, whose gift carried with it the hope that we would preserve it in the public interest for future generations to see and enjoy. The improved material condition

of the property should now enable us to find ways of enhancing its service to the scholarly world of Boston and the nation.

ELTON W. HALL

1992

Notes

1. Walter Muir Whitehill, *Boston, A Topographical History* (Cambridge, 1968), p. 7-8.
2. Whitehill, p. 59.
3. Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis, Federalist* (Boston, 1913), p. 42-43.
4. Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, *Lucy Valentine vs. W. P. Mason et als.*, 1890. Petitions 4331 and 4229. A printed brief gives a thorough history of ownership of the properties. Hereafter, *Valentine vs. Mason*.
5. Whitehill, p. 59.
6. A lithograph of the Mason Mansion is illustrated in Harold Kirker, *The Architecture of Charles Bulfinch* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 157.
7. *Mason and Joy Indenture*, Suffolk County Deeds, Vol. 269, Leaf 304.
8. Suffolk County Deeds, Vol. 215, leaf 147.
9. Elmer D. Keith and William L. Warren, "Peter Banner, Architect, Moves from New Haven to Boston," in *Old Time New England*, Winter, 1967, p. 75.
10. Suffolk County Deeds, Vol. 216, leaf 147.
11. Suffolk County Deeds, Vol. 216, leaf 70.
12. Boston Assessors Records, Ward 7 Taking Book, 1806.
13. The correspondence is published in Keith and Warren, pp. 66 and 73-6.
14. Allen Chamberlain, *Beacon Hill, Its Ancient Pastures and Early Mansions* (Boston and New York, 1925), pp. 35, 98, 208.
15. Walter Muir Whitehill to Mrs. Augustus V. Tack, copy in Colonial Society files.

16. Codman Family Collection, courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, hereafter S. P. N. E. A.

17. James L. Garvin, Architectural Historian for the New Hampshire Commission on Historical Resources, has done extensive work on Rumford's kitchen equipment and has kindly provided the information herein.

18. Thomas W. Higginson, *Descendants of the Rev. Francis Higginson* (Boston, 1910), pp. 2, 28.

19. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1932).

20. Higginson, p. 29 and *D. A. B.*

21. Higginson Family Papers, box a, folder for 1810-1875, courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

22. Higginson Family Papers, box 1 folder 1 contains a transcribed excerpt of the sermon, courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

23. Samuel Adams Drake, *Old Landmarks and Historical Personages of Boston* (Boston, 1873), p. 196.

24. Keith and Warren, p. 59

25. Higginson Family Papers, box 2, folder for 1800-1809, courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

26. Thomas W. Higginson, *The Life and Times of Stephen Higginson* (Boston, 1907), p.234.

27. Thomas W. Higginson, *Cheerful Yesterdays* (Boston, 1898), P. 9.

28. Higginson, *Life and Times*, pp. 234, 236 and *Cheerful Yesterdays*, p. 10.

29. Suffolk County Deeds, Vol. 239, leaf 37.

30. Quoted in Higginson, *Cheerful Yesterdays*, p.10.

31. Higginson Family Papers, box 2, folder for 1820-1875, courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

32. Suffolk County Deeds, Vol. 246, leaf 272.

33. Suffolk County Deeds, Vol. 252, leaf 262.

34. Joseph Palmer, *Necrology of Alumni of Harvard College: 1851-1852 to 1862-63* (Boston, 1864), pp. 212-214.
35. Suffolk Deeds, Vol. 329, pp. 268-270.
36. Suffolk Deeds, Vol. 531, p. 176.
37. *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: 1928).
38. *History of the Introduction of Fresh Water into Boston* (Boston: 1868), pp. 280, 283
39. Supreme Judicial Court, petitions No. 4229 and 4335, Valentine vs. Mason, brief, p. 13. A copy of the brief is in the Colonial Society files.
40. Suffolk County Deeds, Vol. 880, p. 193.
41. Suffolk County Deeds, Vol. 1857, p. 253.
42. Charles A. Place, *Charles Bulfinch, Architect and Citizen* (Boston: 1925), p. 177.
43. Suffolk County Deeds, Vol. 1858, p.481.
44. Valentine vs. Mason, brief, pp. 13-14.
45. Ogden Codman stated in a letter to Frank L. Humphries, on May 1891, that 89 became a boardinghouse after Mrs. Brooks's death. Codman Papers, courtesy of the Boston Athenaeum.
46. Suffolk County Deeds, Vol. 4202, p. 69.
47. Suffolk Probate Docket No. 42236.
48. Minot Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
49. Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1863-4, p.33.
50. Thomas M. Paine, *Growing Pains* (Wellesley, 1992), p. 293.
51. Quoted in Paine, p. 104.
52. Suffolk Probate Docket 46760. Reports of trustee.
53. Suffolk Probate Docket 35376.

54. S. P. N. E. A.
55. S. P. N. E. A.
56. Codman Papers, courtesy of the Boston Athenaeum.
57. S. P. N. E. A.
58. Ogden Codman to Arthur Little, S. P. N. E. A.
59. Ogden Codman to Arthur Little, 19 January 1892, S. P. N. E. A.
60. Howland, p. 166.
61. Howland, p. 49.
62. Howland, p. 6.
63. Howland, p. 8.
64. Howland, p. 188.
65. William Sumner Appleton to Joseph A. Locke, 14 July 1947, Appleton Papers, S. P. N. E. A.
66. The title examination by Newton & Weir, 7 April 1954, showed seven individuals and four trusts as having interest in 87 Mount Vernon Street.
67. Georgina Howland to Walter Whitehill, 10 May 1954.
68. Walter Whitehill memorandum, 3 June 1954.
69. Thomas K. Sherwood to President John E. Burchard, 9 July 1954.
70. Suffolk County Deeds, Vol. 7017, p. 346. The deed references various other deeds and probate dockets through which Mrs. Howland obtained title.
71. The text of the letter of understanding is published in Vol. 42 of the Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, pp. 241-2.
72. Walter Whitehill to Charles Ganson, 9 November 1954.
73. CSM Publications, Vol. 42, p. 416.

74. In 1985 the Council, believing that the Society was unable to provide the care which the Parkman Study needed, transferred it to the Massachusetts Historical Society, where, it is hoped, the study will eventually be installed.

75. Correspondence between Henry Channing and Evelyn Sears in the CSM files.

76. Supreme Judicial Court, No. 69235, 1965.

77. CSM Publications, Vols. 42 and 43.

78. Paine, p. 148.

79. Boston Building Department records, file for 87 Mount Vernon Street, Ward 5.