

MONUMENT SQUARE, CHARLESTOWN:
SEEKING TIMELESSNESS IN A TEMPORAL WORLD

by

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B.S.A.D. Massachusetts Institute of Technology
1978

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment
of the requirements for the
Degree of
Master of Architecture
at the
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
June 1983

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The Bunker Hill Monument, a 220-foot high granite obelisk built from 1825-1842, stands on a grassy mound known as Monument Square. Today the situation of the monument incites curiosity, standing as it does amidst brick and wooden rowhouses in a residential area of Charlestown, Mass.

The Bunker Hill Mounument Association (BHMA), builder of the obelisk, was also responsible for the planning and development of 15 acres surrounding it. These memorial builders - lawyers, doctors, and businessmen - became investors in America's first commercial railroad, part of the network moving the granite blocks. They also became real estate developers - to help pay for the expensive monument, the BHMA sold part of the "sacred" battlefield as houselots. Many factors, some familiar today and others quite remote, shaped the monument and its surround: technological innovation and capitalism, land-use economics, and at least one special-interest group - the freemasons. Through historical research and visual analysis, this thesis studies these factors as part of the process through which the product, Monument Square, emerged.

The construction time period of the monument coincided with a fundamental change in Charlestown housing: the transition from semi-rural detached homes to the rowhouse. The houses of Monument Square, built on the land sold by the BHMA, afford the opportunity to study communal agreement as to the form of this newly emerging urbanity. This agreement is sometimes explicit, as in the innovative deed restrictions, but also implicit in aspects of house design not covered by the restrictions.

The durable monument and its open square have helped to maintain the robustness of the area, which escaped the widespread clearance which occurred in other parts of Charlestown during the 1960's.

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David Friedman
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I would like to thank my thesis advisor, David Friedman, who interrupted his sabbatical to supervise this work, and reader Stan Anderson for his suggestions. Any merit this thesis may possess must reflect on the ability and helpfulness of several people: Ellie Riechlin, SPNEA; Sally Pierce, Boston Atheneum; Eugene Zepp, BPL Print Dept.; and the staff of the Bostonian Society.

I am also thankful for the support, buoyant humor and typing skills of my husband, Jay Werb.

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AERO SCENIC AIRVIEWS
BOSTON MASS

frontispiece. Aerial view of Monument Square, 1929. Courtesy BPL Print Dept.

Driving north on I-93, approaching the Tobin Bridge, motorists have an especially good view of one of Boston's more remarkable landmarks. The Bunker Hill Monument¹, sprouting two hundred and twenty feet from a bed of indistinct structures, is hardly diminished by being viewed at 55 miles-per-hour. Monument Square, the grassy mound at the monument's base, and the fine townhouses framing it, aren't visible from the freeway, of course, and may seem only incidental to the thousands of tourists who puff up the 294 steps to the top of the Monument for the view through the deep openings in the obelisk's apex. Tourists visit the site of the most famous Revolutionary War battle, fought June 17, 1775. The redcoats won the battle, but heavy casualties inflicted by the rebels defending the hastily erected redoubt dismayed the British while giving hope and inspiration to the Americans.

Everyone knows the monument was erected to commemorate this battle, yet few people are aware that the Bunker Hill Monument Association (BHMA) was also responsible for the urban design of a 15-acre portion of the battlefield. A sizable chunk of Charlestown, this area is bounded by the dotted line on Figure 1-1. The BHMA, a private corporation of lawyers, doctors, and wealthy businessmen, sanguinely plunged into this ambitious project in 1823. In the tortuous seventeen-year construction of the monument the Association contended with design compromises, budget overruns, rather single-minded architects, and commercial interests.



Figure 1-1. Modern Charlestown. Study area inside dotted line.

The battlefield itself emerged a casualty of the siege of real estate development -- in 1839 the association auctioned it off as houselots, a step far removed from the 1823 stated objective of maintaining the open land. The resulting combination of monumental obelisk and residential area is unusual and a study of the process by which the combination emerged is key to understanding and appreciating Monument Square.

Significantly this area remains intact today, and, if one imagines away modern materials such as aluminum siding and asphalt shingling, looks much as it did in the nineteenth century. Large sections of Charlestown were razed in the 1960's for the two housing projects. Thus the urban planning of the BHMA has at least proved durable. Certainly, as its builders intended, the Monument is now an immovable national icon. Its immovability and the intrinsic qualities of the urban plan itself helped insure the robustness of the area.

Background

Charlestown, made remote by its penninsular isolation despite its proximity to the greater urban center of Boston, was connected to the Shawmut penninsula only by ferry until 1786 when the Charles River Bridge Corporation built its toll bridge. Better connections to Boston in the nineteenth century made Bunker Hill one of few American battlefields located in an urban area.

Charlestown was settled before Boston, in 1630, but the lack of fresh

water and a psychologically and physically damaging first winter encouraged many settlers to relocate and try anew in Boston, reputedly at William Blaxton's invitation. Contrary to popular belief Charlestown was not deserted. Fourteen stalwarts remained and by 1775 their descendants inhabited a village boasting some 400 buildings, a major port, after Salem and Boston, and overland connections west and north. The British burned the town in 1775, but then rebuilding the original street plan was largely maintained, much to the chagrin of later visitors who thought the Charlestownians had missed a great opportunity. In 1800 shrewd lobbying and the fact that one of the two U.S. Senators from Massachusetts was at the time a Charlestown native son combined to secure Charlestown as the site of the nation's new Navy Yard. This brought jobs and national attention to Charlestown.

The town's growth is directly related to "internal improvements" in transportation. The Middlesex Canal linked Charlestown to western Massachusetts in 1803, bringing stone from the newly-opened quarries at Chelmsford to be hammered by the 300 or so convicts at the new State Prison in Charlestown. Designed by Charles Bulfinch, the prison had a centralized pavilion with radiating wings, similar in massing and oppressiveness to the still-occupied Charles Street Jail.

By 1818, the year Peter Tufts made his map of Charlestown (Figure 1-2), the town numbered about 7,000 people. Town Hill and the waterfront were well built up; Main St. was still semi-rural and much of the rest of



Figure 1-2. Peter Tufts map, 1818. Boston Athenaeum.

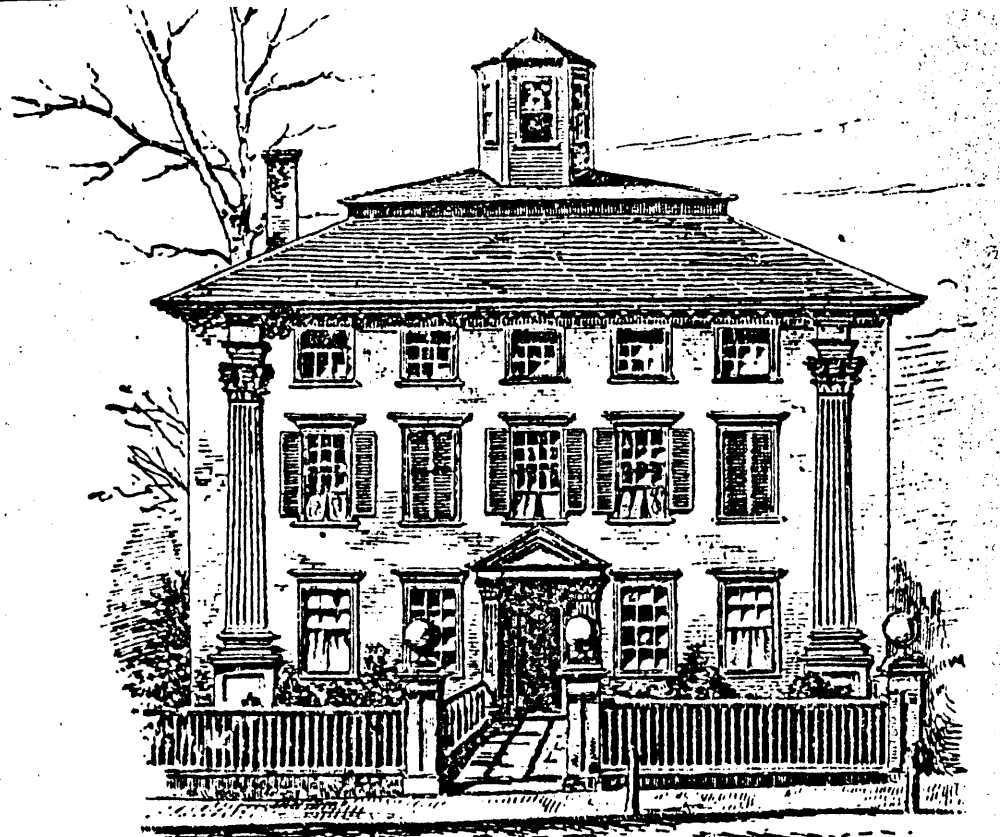


Figure 1-3. James Russell house, Hunnewell, p. 88.

Charlestown was open land. Well-to-do men and their families lived in large, detached wooden or brick houses on as much as an acre of land and might own pasture elsewhere on the peninsula. Their houses aspired to the standard set by the James Russell house, "the handsomest that ever stood in the town"² (Figure 1-3)

It was the three stories high, the upper one of them low, as usual, and the first was covered with small boarding pierced by fourteen handsomely framed windows, and a door in the centre covered by a porch. At each corner there was a Corinthian pilaster reaching to the cornice, and on top was a cupola. All the moldings, capitals, and details were of classic character. Before the house was a good size yard, bounded by walls at the sides, and a high open fence in front, and crossed at the middle by a paved walk. In the rear, extending to the river, was a garden with three paths running in that direction, while a paved driveway, entered from a narrow street westward, passed between it and the house. In the house there were four rooms on a floor and a hall through the middle.

These fine houses sometimes had greenhouses, but always gardens -- their owners cultivated plums, pears, and other fruit trees, and crammed their yards with roses, tulips, peonies, iris, lilacs, and pinks; Charlestownians won annual prizes from the new Massachusetts Horticultural Society, formed in 1825.

Widespread construction of rowhouses interrupted this semi-rural pattern of mansion and garden relatively late, and seems to be a daring real estate maneuver even in 1835, judging from Hunnewell's tone:

When the Old Parsonage lands <Town Hill area>... were sold, the Parish Land Co. was formed, and on the tract was built (1835-1836) a block of brick houses, three stories with granite basements, brown-stone doorway frames, and pitched roofs. They were not detached, like the older houses built when land was in less demand, but they formed a block, the largest of the kind that had yet been raised in the town.⁵

Thus between 1818 and 1836 the ideal of the detached pastoral home gives way to the attached brick rowhouse, even while the monument was under construction from 1825 to 1842. As we shall see, this chronological overlap profoundly affected the 15 acres purchased by the BHMA in 1823. As the BHMA was so confidently altering the landscape, the landscape was changing around them; as Charlestown marched inexorably to urbanity, population increases and rising land values determined the shape of Monument Square as much as any committee, architect, or engineer.

1. The hill where the battle took place was originally called Breed's Hill. The mix-up occurred when the rebels decided to fortify Breed's Hill, not Bunker's Hill as first ordered. The name Bunker Hill stuck to the site after the battle.
2. Hunnewell, pp. 89-90.
3. *ibid*, pp. 97-98. These townhouses are still standing at #7-23 Harvard St.

The urge to erect a Monument on "Bunker Hill" was not original with the BHMA. Another form of association, the King Solomon Masonic Lodge, dedicated a memorial, with impressive ceremony, to its Most Worshipful Grand Master and battle casualty Joseph Warren. His death was also immortalized by the painter John Trumbull. This monument (Figure 2-1) was erected in 1794, joining the skyline four years after Bulfinch's Beacon Hill column. Standing on donated land, the stuccoed-wood column was described as a "costly monument in the form of a Tuscan pillar, 18' high, placed upon a platform eight feet high and eight feet square, and surmounted by a gilt urn..."¹. This urn displayed the masonic open compass and square emblems. Though a martial tribute, the Warren column had no military references, rather its ornament celebrated Warren as a freemason, and the role freemasonry, according to its adherents, had played in the revolution. Freemasonic literature to this day proudly reminds the reader that Benjamin Franklin, George Washington and General Lafayette were all freemasons. The Warren column supposedly stood on the very spot where Warren was slain, and was one of the first memorials erected on an American battlefield. The first well-documented memorial is a small obelisk erected in Lexington in 1799 on the battlefield where eight minutemen were slain; the stone doubles as a grave marker, for seven of the eight are buried behind it.

The mere existence of this minor Warren monument planted the suggestion for a more imposing memorial. The first large-scale Revolutionary War monument, the Washington Monument in Baltimore was begun in 1814. Well-known throughout the country, this monument did not mark any actual battle site. The BHMA felt keenly the specialness of their site.

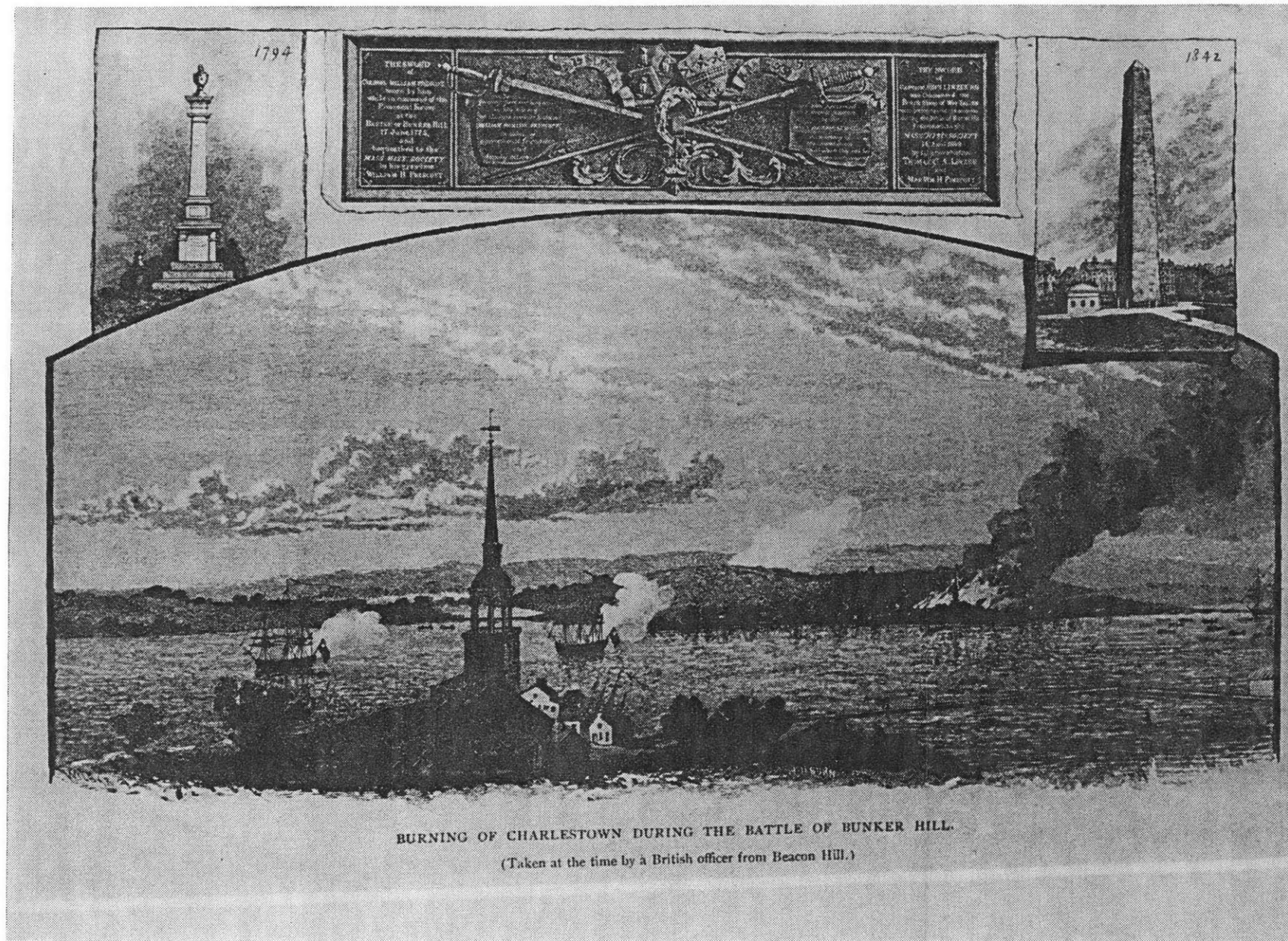


Figure 2-1. frontispiece from Winsor, A Memorial History. Upper left corner, Warren monument.

For years before, no stranger visiting Boston would willingly leave without visiting Bunker Hill and now the people living in its vicinity woke up of a sudden² to realize to the full extent the immortal fame of the locality.

Many factors contribute to the eventual canonization of a site. The inevitable death of participants in the event means all subsequent accounts must be historical, and therefore subject to historical controversy. In 1818, Major General Henry Dearborn published an account of the Battle of Bunker Hill which assassinated the character of the by-then deceased General Israel Putnam. As the battle was clearly passing from current event into recorded history, the process of codification was begun. By 1823, when the BHMA was formed, all but the youngest veterans of the battle were in their seventies or older - as Longfellow rhymed "hardly a man is now alive"³. Word-of-mouth was breaking down as the authentic raconteurs died. The oral tradition figured largely in tourism; no sythetic walking tour, no guide books could replace the personal touch.

As strangers came to Charlestown to visit the battlefield, they often inquired after some of the old residents, who, as witnesses of the event, might relate to them the details of the battle, every year becoming more famous ...<Isaac Warren> would send invariably for his friend and neighbor, Deacon Miller, and they would often repair in company, as guides of the interested traveller to the consecrated ground"⁴

Charlestown suffered something of a civic inferiority complex - although older than Boston, it had almost no pre-revolutionary remains, while Boston had John Hancock's house, Old North Church, Paul Revere's house and other historic places still intact. This is revealed by the following quotation from 1847:

Time has dealt severely with Charlestown. The monuments of its grave-yard, its records, and its silent highway are its only antiquities. The conflagration of 1775 spared not a dwelling place..⁵

All of these instigators of monument building - codification, tourism and veneration, and the civic pride in having such an important site right in their own Charlestown - combined with the physical suggestion of the existing Warren monument - underlay the founding of the BHMA in 1823. In this year, two years before the chronological milestone of the battle's semicentennial, part of the battlefield came on the market⁶. John C. Warren, nephew of the hero Warren, purchased the land and held it while the BHMA was incorporated. William Tudor, founder of the leading intellectual journal the "North American Review", is credited with the idea

of securing, not only this parcel that was offered for sale, but all the adjoining land, that the whole battlefield might be preserved if possible, to posterity, and that a monument should be erected thereon, which should be equal if not superior to any work of the kind in the world .

BHMA co-founders included Tudor; Daniel Webster, lawyer and Whig statesman; and Edward Everett, 28-year old Harvard professor of Greek. This "literary and professional triumvirate" sought out merchant prince Thomas Handasyd Perkins⁸ and John C. Warren. The BHMA was incorporated 17 June 1823, the 48-th anniversary of the battle. Its roster of directors included leading citizens of Boston and Charlestown, many of whom cut their philanthropic teeth with this effort⁹.

Nathalia Wright's comment "...radical differences in taste and

experimental systems of fund-raising complicated projects which were simple in empires and kingdoms"¹⁰ suggests that the organization of the BHMA had a great impact on the final outcome of the product. Monument Square might have emerged radically different if the project had been an imperial order, such as the Arc de Triomphe du Carrousel, which Napoleon ordered the Municipal Council of Paris to build in 1806.

The "association" was a widespread ante-bellum phenomenon. De Toqueville wrote: "In the United States associations are established to promote the public safety, commerce, industry, morality, and religion. There is no end which the human will despairs of attaining through the combined power of individuals united into a society"¹¹. The BHMA, in its salad days, certainly projected confidence in its ability to fund the very expensive monument. Associations and secret societies such as free-masonry brought unrelated parties for mutual benefit and took the place of trade unions, adult education centers, and philanthropic foundations. Many of the associations, lyceums, literary unions and societies of ante-bellum New England had building programs, even if limited to providing shelter for their own activities.

The BHMA was chartered as a corporation and followed a corporate organization, with officers, directors and reporting committees overseeing every phase of operations. To raise the vast sum of money, which Everett first estimated at \$61,000 - \$37,000 for the monument and \$24,000 for the land - the BHMA employed the expensive but usually high-yielding device we now called direct mail. Prominent people were asked to donate and to

circulate subscription lists. The Baltimore Monument was also paid for by public subscription. For a contribution of \$5 to the BHMA, one received a certificate engraved with a scene of the battle at Bunker Hill and with the signatures of the directors.

Not everyone who was asked to did subscribe; the monument was perceived by many as a Boston notion. Unsuccessful canvassers in New York State reported that "most of those called upon seemed to think the object too local and too distant to claim their participation"¹². Warren prints some of the negative responses in his history. D. A. White of Salem thought it a waste of money "I could not feel the same freedom in soliciting pecuniary aid for it for some other less splendid, but more immediately useful and necessary public objects"¹³. Nehemiah Hubbard agreed - he "wanted to use my influence and pecuniary means to objects, in my opinion, more useful to mankind"¹⁴. A Revolutionary war veteran denounced the monument because of unfair treatment of war veterans - "And now, sir, in room of giving them the bread that was solemnly promised, the debt is to be paid by a stone!!"¹⁵. In the end, the project was supported mostly by local effort, as 75% of all the money raised came from the Boston area¹⁶. Efforts to establish the project on a national level were never wholly successful; in fund-raising and in design the outcome was a regional product.

1. Warren, p. 9.
2. *ibid*, p. 22.
3. Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, "Paul Revere's Ride".
4. Warren, p. 22.
5. Frothingham, p. 94.
6. This was James Russell's pasture, except for the part he had already donated to the King Solomon's Lodge for their Warren monument.
7. Warren, p. 36.

8. T. H. Perkins was offered the position of first Secretary of the Navy but declined, saying that since his fleet was larger than the government's he could better serve his country managing his mercantile affairs.
9. For example, Everett and George Ticknor, BHMA director, later endowed the Boston Public Library. H. A. S. Dearborn, also a BHMA director, was a founder of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society in 1825.
10. Wright, p. 166.
11. de Tocqueville, p. 191-192.
12. Warren, p. 69.
13. *ibid*, pp. 60-61.
14. *ibid*, p. 75.
15. *ibid*, p. 65.
16. *ibid*, p. 233.

Nineteenth century monument builders had a wealth of historical models available for review. The Napoleonic wars, in particular, prompted a spurt of monument building: classically-derived columns, triumphal arches, equestrian statues; a really endless selection. Monumental obelisks, though not unknown, were relatively rare in Europe, yet this form emerged as the preferred form over the colossal column in the design of the Bunker Hill Monument. Bunker Hill is the first large-scale obelisk in America and it certainly struck a chord with subsequent nineteenth-century monument builders. Carrott's Appendix I lists 16 monumental obelisk projects designed after the Bunker Hill Monument. And, as Zukowsky shows, the obelisk form continued to influence structures built in materials other than stone, such as the Iron Observation Tower at the Philadelphia Centennial¹.

The original objective of the BHMA was to build a "monumental structure". In the minds of some of the Directors "monumental structure" could only mean a column. Edward Everett wrote, asking for donations in 1824:

Everything separate from the idea of substantial strength and severe taste has been discarded, as foreign from the grave and serious character both of the men and events to be commemorated...It has been ascertained that a monumental column, of classical model, with an elevation to make it the most lofty in the world, may be erected of our fine Chelmsford granite for about thirty-seven thousand dollars².

In another era the ruling autocrat with a mania to build would have called upon his favorite professional to furnish a suitable monument.

Acquiring a worthy design was not so direct in the age of democracy. On 4 November 1824 Solomon Willard was asked to draw up a plan of a column 220 feet high, but in January 1825, apparently after seeing Willard's design, the BHMA advertized in "leading newspapers" of Boston and other cities. They called for plans, preferably, but not exclusively, of columns. Willard, somewhat miffed, chose not to enter the competition.

The BHMA, clearly believed in the delegation and division of labor, for on 5 April 1825 it exchanged the "Standing Committee for a Design" with the "Board of Artists", selected to review all the entries: Daniel Webster, Whig politician; Loammi Baldwin, civil engineer; George Ticknor, man of letters; and two artists - Gilbert Stuart (1755-1848) and Washington Allston (1779-1843).

Over fifty entries were received that spring, and in spite of the BHMA's stated preference for a column, at least three obelisks were submitted, including one from Robert Mills, the designer of the Washington Monument in Baltimore³ (Figure 3-1). The Baltimore Monument was known to the BHMA, of course, but Mills' reputation in serious artistic circles was low. "Rembrandt Peale recalled in later years that the winning design <of the Baltimore Monument> 'was ridiculed by all the artists of Philadelphia'". Latrobe thought Mills a "wretched designer"⁴.

Other competitions entries included mausoleums, gothic churches, and uncategorizable amalgamations. There was no lack of inventive combinations in the early nineteenth-century. Nathalia Wright, Horatio Greenough's

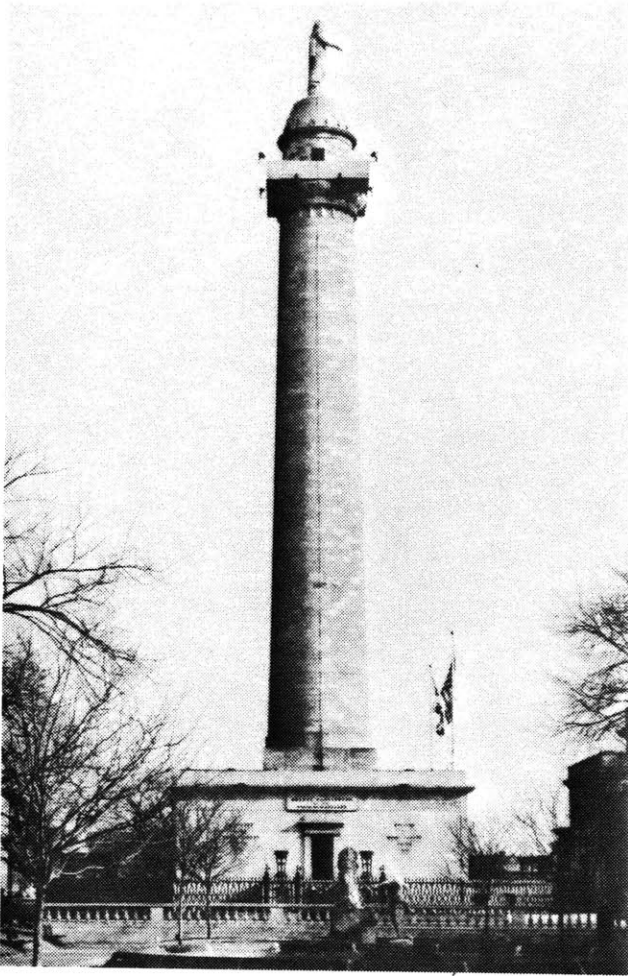


Figure 3-1. Washington Monument.

biographer, describes an entry from S. W. Southington, of Connecticut "...a unique efflorescence of the national imagination which called for a triangular pillar with three equal plane sides, a circular base and capital, and a round cupola at the top"⁵. There was a self-conscious feeling that the monument tradition in general was not a democratic one - again Everett acts as spokesman for a commonly held sentiment:

The beautiful and noble acts of design and architecture have hitherto been engaged in arbitrary and despotic service. The pyramids and obelisks of Egypt, the monumental columns of Trajan and Aurelius have paid no tribute the rights or feelings or man. Majestic or graceful as they are, they bear no record but that of sovereignty, sometimes cruel and tyrannical and sometimes mild; but never that of a great enlightened and generous people.⁶

This was particular apt for the Revolutionary War, in which the common citizen-soldier had served voluntarily, in contrast to the impressed and conscripted troops of so many European campaigns. Everett's stance against ornament, inimical to New England granite anyway, seemed a common denominator in choosing a design, and the efflorescences were not seriously considered. The anti-ornament position, apart from the difficulty and expense of decorating granite, was also a reaction to the despotic propaganda aspect of many antique and modern monuments mentioned above. Ornament on the historic prototypes such as Trajan's column, for example, consisted chiefly of glorification of the despot or monarch - the aggrandizement of an individual. The cult of Washington adapts this glorification tradition - Mills's original Baltimore Monument design was to feature bas-reliefs of scenes from Washington's life - but a silent monument was more democratic. In Greenough's words all the unadorned obelisk would say was "Here"⁷. The monument's design must also be seen in the regional context of Boston's Granite Style⁸, a branch of Greek Revival which produced the simple massing and trabeated granite facades of Parris's Quincy Market (1824-1826) and the monolithic Doric granite columns of Willard's U.S. Bank (1824). Such severity did not travel beyond the market of the New England granite quarries and subsequent obelisks, with the exception of the Washington Monument in the Capitol, are more ornamented.

From the inception of the BHMA the monument - whatever its final form - was to feature a public lookout.

An elevated monument on this spot would be the first landmark of the mariner in his approach to our harbor; while the whole neighboring country, comprising the towns of Roxbury, Brookline, Cambridge, Medford and Chelsea, with their rich fields, villages

and spires, the buildings of the University, the bridges, the numerous ornamental county seats and improved plantations, the whole bounded by a distant line of hills, and forming a landscape which cannot be surpassed in variety and beauty, would be spread out as in a picture to the eye of the spectator on the summit of the proposed structure.

The Washington Monument in Baltimore had an interior spiral stair reaching a viewing balcony, and this is a hallmark of American monuments. The observation tower role had been linked to the Monroe Doctrine and manifest destiny - viewing the frontier without having to go there - and with Pharos imagery¹⁰. The link to manifest destiny may not be so compelling for a New England monument, years before Greeley declaimed "Go West", but the Pharos image makes sense. Lighthouses were among the tallest structures built in the colonies and the new republic¹¹. Everyone understood these special structures had to be built durably. Sandy Hook lighthouse, an 85' stone tower has stone walls 7 feet thick at its base. Other pre-1825 lighthouses include the New London Harbor beacon built by act of Congress in 1801 and 111' tall, and the Nantucket (Great Point) Lighthouse, an 1818 stone tower 70' high. These lighthouses, well-known to Bostonians who travelled by sea as much as by overland routes had conspicuous qualities of immovability and solidity. The maritime reference in the above quote indicates the BHMA emulated lighthouse qualities for their observation tower.

"Observation tower" is the phrase Zukowsky uses, but this is too pedestrian to describe the giddy image a view from such heights must have inspired in the age when even ballooning was rare. The Bunker Hill Monument afforded a view the like of which only steeplejacks and men in

crow-nests enjoyed before, and people paid for the privilege (Figure 3-2). Even while the monument was unfinished, tourists paid \$.0125 for admittance and the BHMA installed a telescope. At one point it was even suggested to substitute an open viewing platform for the pyramidal top. Perhaps the breath-taking view depreciated the value of the open land at the base of the structure, though - with miles of sea, town and open land who remembered the little battlefield below?

Going up inside a structure, whether between the double shells of the Duomo in Florence, up the steps of Bunker Hill or to the Statue of Liberty's torch, gives a special feeling of intimacy with the structure, and gaining the god-like view has had its appeal since the Tower of Babel. The human technical achievement impresses the mind, and is part of the continuing popularity of tall structures in World's Fairs, sky gondola rides, and bars at the top of skyscrapers.

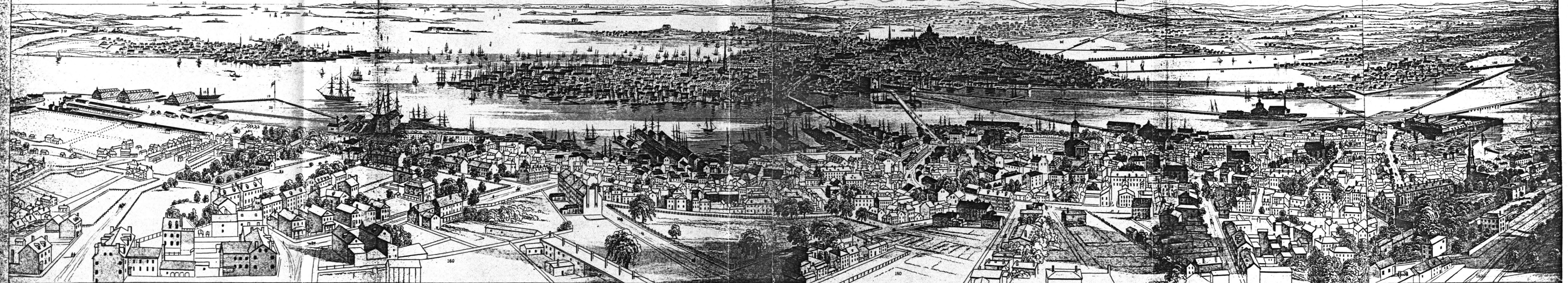
So the BHMA knew it wanted a tall granite observation tower. The question was how it should look. Like the national political system, the design selection resolved itself into two parties: one backing the classical column, and the other supporting the antique obelisk. By the 1820's, as Carrott shows, Egyptian forms would have been quite familiar¹². In 1823 The Massachusetts General Hospital owned and exhibited a mummy. Napoleon's campaign resulted in several publications of monuments and ruins in Egypt. One such edition "Description de l'Égypte, ou, Réceuil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée français, publié par les ordres de la Majesté

PANORAMIC VIEW FROM BUNKER HILL

14 Chelsea Creek Bridge 41 Ghdon Iron Works 151 E Boston Iron & Gas Co

EAST

SOUTH



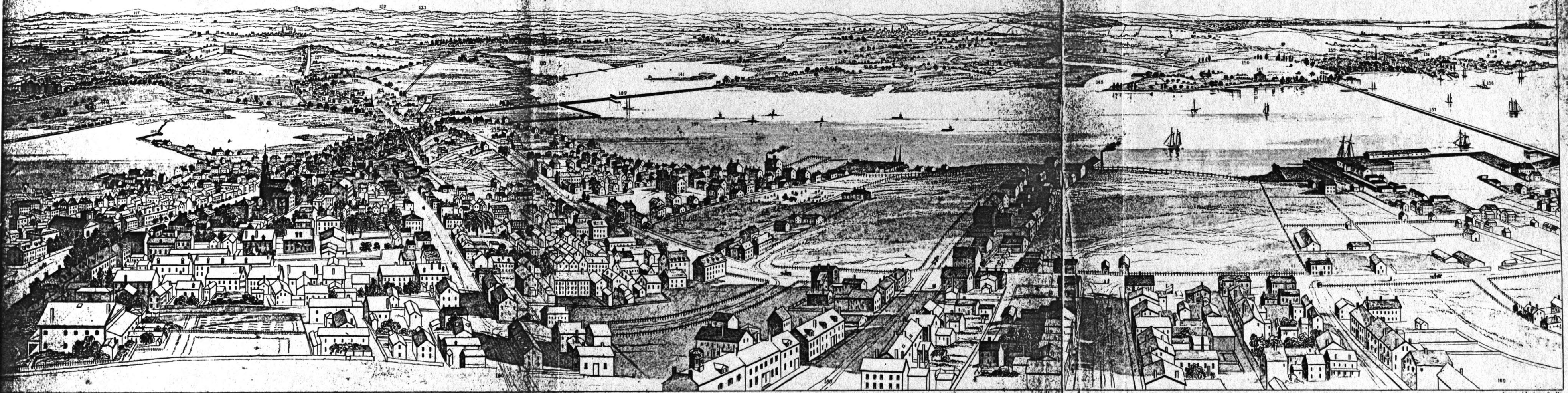
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|----------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
| 1 Eastern R Road | 6 Rope Walk 1350 ft Long | 12 Pulling Point | 16 Franklin 74 | 21 Naval Store Houses | 25 Jamestown St. & War | 29 Outer Brewster | 35 Gallop I | 40 Chelsea Ferry Boat | 45 Petucks I | 51 Weymouth | 57 North Boston | 61 Quincy Bay | 64 Old Forts on Dorchester | 68 Fanuel Hall | 73 Old Colony R Road | 78 Warren Bridge | 83 Boston and Sea House | 88 Lowell R Road | 93 Providence R Road | 97 Brookline | 102 Brighton | 106 Charles River | 110 Spring Hill |
| 2 Builders Iron Foundry | 7 Graves L 8 Green I | 13 East Boston (Noddle's I) | 17 Ship Houses | 22 Steam Engine House and | 26 Bomb Ketch in Dry Dock | 30 Boston Light | 36 Long I & Long I Light | 41 Cohasset | 46 Spectacle I | 52 Sheep I | 54 South Boston | 61 Squantum | 64 new S Boston Heights | 69 Merchants Exchange | 74 Dorchester | 79 Mason House Hotel | 84 Depot Maine R R | 89 Crags Bridge | 94 Back Bay | 98 Rail Road Car House | 104 Cambridgeport | 107 Cambridge | 111 Prospect Hill |
| 3 Navy Yard | 9 Point Shirley | 14 East Boston Steam Flour | 18 Machine Shop | 23 Work-shop | 27 Officers Houses | 31 Point Alderton | 37 Gove's I (Ft Winthrop) | 42 Hull Nantasket | 47 Castle I (Ft Independence) | 53 Quincy | 53 City Building | 60 Perkins Institution for the | 65 Senn Hill | 70 Copp's Hill Grave Yard | 75 South Bay | 80 Charlestown Market | 85 Depot Lowell R R | 90 Cambridge Bridge | 95 Tremont Road | 99 Cambridgeport | 104 East Cambridge | 107 Lowell R Road | 112 Mount Auburn |
| 4 Officers Houses | 10 Deer I | 19 Quay Wall with battery | 23 Commodore's House | 24 Ohio 74 | 28 Gr Calif & Gr & Middle | 33 Georges I (Ft Warren) | 38 Cunard Steamers Landing | 43 Hingham | 48 Pumpkin I | 54 Natl 55 Moon I | 54 Hospital House | 60 Blind on W Washington | 66 Boston Custom House | 71 Gas works | 76 Depot Fitchburg R | 81 Mt Pleasant Roxbury | 86 Fitchburg R Road | 91 Mill Dam | 96 Charney (202 ft high at | 100 East Cambridge | 104 State Prison | 109 Fitchburg R Road | |
| 5 Timber Sheds 450 ft Long | 11 Apple I | 15 Sugar House E Boston | 20 Timber Dock | | | 33 Lovell's I | 34 Nickers Mate | 39 E Boston Ferry Boat | 44 Rainsford I | 49 Slate I | 50 Grape I | 56 Thompson's (Farm School) | 67 Quincy Market | 72 Charlestown Common | 77 Charlestown Bridge | 82 Roxbury | 87 Maine R Road | 92 Worcester R Road | 96 Charney (202 ft high at | 100 East Cambridge | 104 State Prison | 109 Fitchburg R Road | |

Figure 3-2. "Panoramic View From Bunker Hill Monument", 1848. SPNEA.

HILL MONUMENT TO MARY

WEST

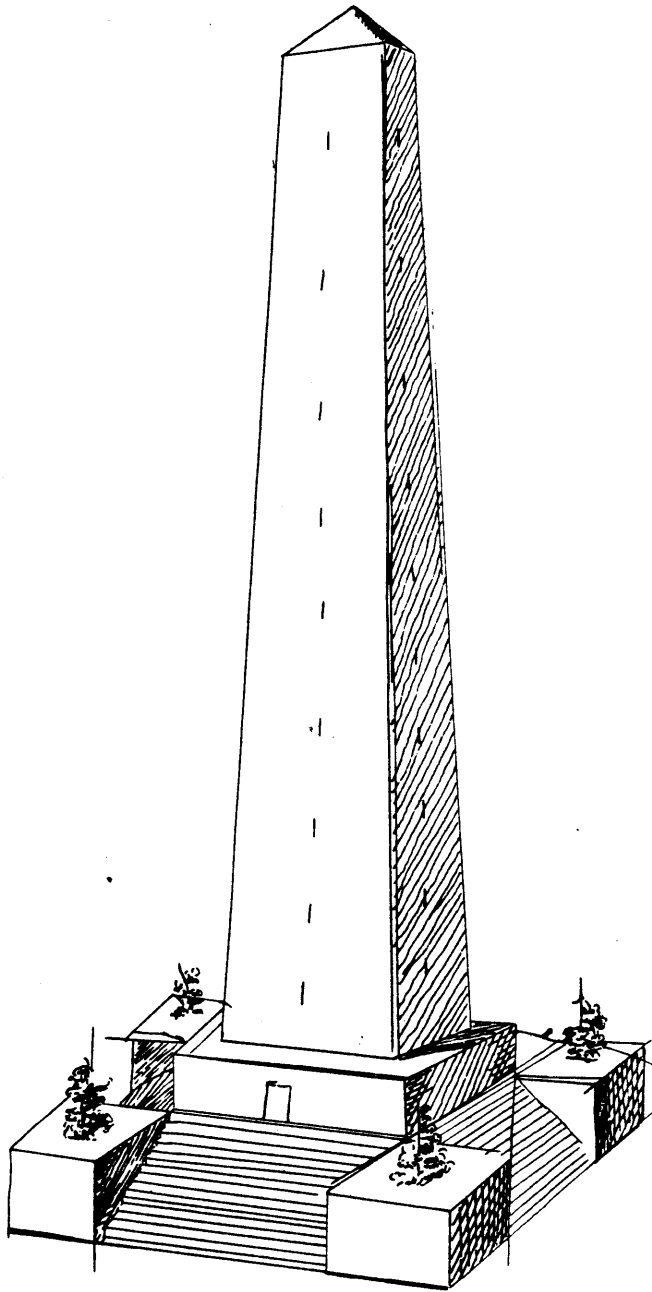
NORTH



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| 115 Harvard College (Cambridge) | 116 Harvard's Monument | 119 Somerville | 122 Road to Cambridge | 125 Monadnock Mt. | 128 Ruins of Utopia | 129 Mount Benedict | 130 Road to Medford | 131 Canal | 132 Kearsarge Mt. | 133 White Mountains of N.P. | 134 Medford | 135 Bunker Hill | 136 Stoneham | 137 Mystic River | 138 Maine R. Road | 139 Malden Bridge | 140 Malden River | 141 Swan's Island | 142 Chelsea | 143 Chelsea | 144 Chelsea | 145 Island End River | 146 Lynn | 147 U.S. Naval Hospital | 148 Cape Ann | 149 Marblehead | 150 Government Hill | 151 Lynn Branch | 152 Chelsea | 153 U.S. Marine Hospital | 154 Mount Bellegham | 155 Powder Burn Hill | 156 Chelsea | 157 Chelsea Bridge | 158 Chelsea | 159 Little Boston |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|---------------------|-----------|-------------------|-----------------------------|-------------|-----------------|--------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|-------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|----------------------|----------|-------------------------|--------------|----------------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------|--------------------------|---------------------|----------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------|-------------------|

Engraved by James Smith

l'empereur Napoleon le Grand" was presented to Harvard College in 1822 by W. Eliot¹³. These volumes of precise plates were, presumably, available to Horatio Greenough (1805-1852), a Harvard senior when he submitted his obelisk design to the monument competition in 1825 (Figure 3-3).



MODEL BY HORATIO GREENOUGH.
FROM A ROUGH SKETCH BY HIM.

The artist members of the Board of Artists may have shared their Philadelphia colleagues's opinion of Mills, but they did favor the obelisk. The Board of Artists recommended that the \$100 prize be awarded to Greenough but hedged on recommending the verbatim adoption of his design, perhaps in polite deference to the still-strong column camp.

Figure 3-3. Obelisk by Greenough. Warren, p. 163.

While the competition circular had specified drawings, Greenough submitted a model of his obelisk. The shaft is reached by great flight of steps and massive plinths, suitable bases for sculpture, mark each corner. Most striking is the compacted apex, quite unlike the elegant taper of the obelisk at Thebes which Greenough claimed inspired the proportions of his designs. Greenough's monument closely resembles the Wellington Monument in Phoenix Park, designed in 1817 by Robert Smirke, which does not have a central stair or viewing room (Figure 3-4). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to trace the possible connections between the Wellington Monument and Bunker Hill, but the similarity is undeniable.



Figure 3-4.

Wellington Monument,
Phoenix Park, Dublin.

Architectural Review
(London), Vol. 37, 1915.

Greenough submitted a model, everyone else drawings. Bryan notes that "the psychological impact of the scale model has not been clearly defined, but we may observe from experience that our view - offered by the model - of a building or a building complex as a whole tends to emphasize the larger forms and the major formal relationships at the expense of the detailing"¹⁴. Given the predilection of the BHMA against ornament, a model of an obelisk was easily more impressive than a drawing of a column. In the essay accompanying his model, Greenough advocates the obelisk as the monumental form, whereas the column is ever associated with a structural function. Allston seemed to agree, as he is quoted by Swett as saying "a monumental column would remind him of a peripatetic candlestick"¹⁵.

Stuart, seventy years old in 1825, was the reigning old master of American art, and had painted the revered Washington, as well as Jefferson, and Major General Dearborn. His opinion would have carried much weight with the Directors as he scribbled "Approved" on Greenough's model¹⁶. Boston's own Washington Allston had achieved success in London, the stamp of approval to Bostonians who remained "generally east-facing"¹⁷ with regard to the fine arts. Boston businessmen were proud of the accomplishments of the home-grown product, which they patronized to a degree hard to imagine now. In 1820, when Allston returned to Boston from London, ten gentlemen of Boston subscribed a thousand dollars each, ostensibly to buy Allston's unfinished "Belshazzar's feast", but really to maintain Allston, who had mismanaged his inheritance. At least two of the gentlemen - George Ticknor and Thomas Handasyd Perkins - were connected with the BHMA. The same circle would later advance money to Horatio

Greenough. Wright suggests that Boston art patrons were very supportive of what their own relatives, friends and fellow Harvard classmates produced¹⁸ (Allston met Greenough at Harvard). Once Stuart pronounced in favor of the obelisk, the form had a decided edge. Allston was no fan of Greek architecture - "Even the Greek architecture I have never admired, for what is it? You have the pediment everlastingly and for the sides of a building a mere parallelogram."¹⁹ He appeared ready to try Egyptian forms in monumental building.

The columnites continued to defend the column on iconographic grounds and their conservative position was economic too. Presciently, column promoter John C. Warren was worried that money would run out before the ambitious obelisk was completed.

The final type of the Bunker Hill Monument was determined, democratically, by a majority vote of the Directors. On 2 June, 1825, they voted eleven to five in favor of an obelisk or "pyramidal structure"²⁰. The Report they actually voted on presented plans and cost estimates of both an antique obelisk and a column. The obelisk was not Greenough's, but the obelisk in the "Square of St. Giovanni". In the opinion of the Committee the relocation and reuse of the obelisk in a European capital made it a more suitable model than the obelisks in Egypt. The selection of this particular obelisk demonstrates that although the Committee had considered only two "standard" types - no "efflorescences" - this did not imply a stultifying quest for archaeological purity. There are obvious differences between the genuine article and the new American monument

besides size - the new one had to be made of dressed blocks rather a monolithic stone, and had, from its inception an interior stairway to a public room at the top. The sketch of Greenough's model even shows little slit windows. Since its visual characteristics had to change, the obelisk was obviously valued also for its associations.

Egyptian forms were of greater age than Greek or Roman, and more mysterious, as hieroglyphics were untranslated. Column models, on the other hand, were replete in Boston. Bulfinch's stuccoed brick beacon was torn down after only twenty years of existence and the stuccoed-wood Warren column on Bunker Hill was being replaced. The enduring obelisks of Egypt must have seemed considerably more substantial. The builders of the Bunker Hill monument wanted to do more than simply build ever taller and more elaborate columns. Adopting the Egyptian form allowed exploration of an exciting new prototype while maintaining enough resemblance to an antique model to generate all the associations connected with the antique. It was an ingenious compromise.

Finally, a local tradition asserts the monument is an obelisk because it really honors Washington, a freemason. The spheres of the BHMA and freemasonry are often conjoined beginning with the first memorial erected on Bunker Hill, celebrating fallen freemason Joseph Warren. Ostensibly, the corner-stone laying ceremony of the obelisk was conducted in masonic fashion in deference to this first patriotic tribute of King's Solomon's Lodge. It appears that the Anti-Masonic party considered the BHMA to be manipulated by freemasons, for at the 1831 annual meeting the anti-masons

appeared in force and elected party members to BHMA offices, only to be voted out again in 1832.

Prominent supporters of the BHMA have ties to freemasonry. G. Washington Warren, elected president in 1847 and BHMA chronicler, was also an officer of the King Solomon's Lodge. William Wheildon, one-time Secretary of the BHMA and monument booster since the start of his paper in 1827, merged his newspaper with the Boston Masonic Mirror in 1834. How any freemasonic support which existed at the time of the monument's design may have influenced that design is problematic, especially as the Warren monument was itself a column. However, as Vidler establishes, even before the Napoleonic expeditions European freemasons had seized upon Egyptian architecture, particularly its processional qualities, as a formal manifestation of their rites and rituals²¹. In an international organization like freemasonry, it is fair to assume European ideas eventually crossed the Atlantic.

Subsequent additions to Monument Square were undeniably influenced by freemasonry. When first finished, standing in isolation, the obelisk was not part of any processional ensemble, but the BHMA considered the monument still incomplete. "The construction of a Granite Lodge as a component part of the Monument has been under consideration since 1843"²². The initial plan of this lodge - the word freemasons use to designate an assembly - was a triumphal arch at the entrance to the square. But lodge and obelisk would have formed only a fragment of a formal processional composition. "The importance of having wide avenues leading to the obelisk has occupied the

attention of the Association for the past thirty years"²³. In 1847, a BHMA committee proposed to the city a street from High St. to Main St., later named Monument Avenue. This street is skew with reference to Monument Square and although its position was probably made by "the city with reference to the convenience of landholders"²⁴ the imaginative can see in this skewed axial street a recollection of the deflected axis at Luxor.

The granite lodge, with Etruscan-like antefixes and Egyptoid battered windows, was finally built in 1902²⁵. Later additions include the 1881 statue of Colonel William Prescott ("Don't fire until you see the whites of their eyes") and deposits in the lodge and obelisk - a replica of the Warren column, portraits, flags, and so on. Freemasons, in contrast to other idealistic societies, did not built their own communities apart from worldly society but rather their rituals sought to create such places apart from the temporal world. They did build structures to house their own activities, however - Boston's first masonic temple was begun in 1830. While short of suggesting Bunker Hill as a sort of freemasonic temple complex, given the overlap of BHMA and freemasonic membership, and their shared affinity for Egyptian forms it seems likely that freemasonic ideas of form influenced the structures on Bunker Hill.

1. Zukowsky, p. 580.
2. Warren, p. 111.
3. When Nathalia Wright wrote here article "The Monument that Jonathan built" in 1953 thirteen of the competition entries were in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The BHMA removed its papers, including the entries, from the Mass. Historical Society in 1977. Richard Creaser, of Charlestown, informs me that eight of the entries, including Mills's, are on display in the Bunker Hill Museum, on High St. It is hoped the Museum will reopen to the public in the near future. The other documents are in private hands.

4. Miller, p. 24.
5. Wright, p.167.
6. Warren, p. 110.
7. Wright quotes Greenough, p.174.
8. Defined by Bryan as a period beginning in 1803 with Cotting's Cornhill Row and ending with Young's Custom House in 1843.
9. Written by Everett in 1824, Warren, p. 111.
10. Zukowsky, p. 579.
11. Stilgoe, p. 109-111.
12. Carrott, pp. 47-51.
13. *ibid*, p. 88.
14. Bryan, p. 64.
15. Swett, p. 9.
16. Warren, p. 162, relates this anecdote: "After the decision of the Board, he <Stuart> said to Warren Dutton, Esq., 'An artist never has a pencil in his pocket: lend me yours'. Mr. Dutton gave him one, and saw him write the word".
17. Wright, Nathalia. "Horatio Greenough, Boston Sculptor", Old-Time New England, Vol. XLV, No. 3. Jan-Mar 1955, p. 59.
18. *ibid*, pp. 57-9.
19. Richardson, p.82.
20. Warren, p. 167.
21. Vidler, especially pp. 85-89.
22. Warren, p. 386.
23. *ibid*, p.389.
24. *ibid*, p.390.
25. This granite building replaced an 1857 wooden structure of similar design erected to shelter a marble statue of Warren.

The design discussion took a back seat to the preparations for the cornerstone laying ceremony, held June 17, 1825, the semi-centennial of the battle. In proper Masonic fashion John Abbott, Most Worshipful Grand Master of the King Solomon Lodge, slathered on mortar while General Lafayette, in his masonic apron, looked on. Daniel Webster gave an oration, followed by sit-down dinner for 4,000 under a tent on the battlefield. The Masonic ceremony, food, parade and other festivities cost several thousand dollars, which later led to accusations of extravagance from the Anti-Masons in 1831. As the design was quite incomplete, the cornerstone laid in 1825 was purely ceremonial, but was as indispensable as the sulcus primigenius, or ritual plowing of the first furrow, in Romano-Etruscan city-founding.

Meanwhile, a committee chaired by civil engineer "Colonel" Loammi Baldwin¹ (1780-1838) was preparing a report on the design of the obelisk or pyramidal structure. Few, if any, BHMA decisions are ever credited to an individual. This committee include artist Allston; Dr. Jacob Bigelow, later designer of the lodges and gates at Mt. Auburn Cemetery; Samuel Swett, historiain; and Ticknor. The first three had been in Baldwin's class at Harvard.

At this time the proportions of the "obelisk or pyramidal structure" colaesced. Baldwin did this in a particularly democratic manner, according to Warren:

The whole Committee spent much time in determining the proportions of the Monument. Colonel Baldwin took them to the Boston and Roxbury Mill dam, whence, across the then vacant space, the surface of Bunker Hill could be seen; and he fastened against the railing of the sidewalk, in turn, miniature models he had prepared of different proportions, and then, going to a sufficient distance in the opposite direction, so that the model would appear to the eye to be transferred to the hill, as if standing thereon in full size, he would study with them its effect as seen at a distance. Thus, by comparison, they were enabled to decide upon the proper size of base, and the proper scale of design which would seem to be most striking. In this way, they fixed upon the size and proportion which they reported. They departed from the model of Greenough, which showed the form of an obelisk upon an extended platform twenty feet high, with a shaft one hundred feet high, reached by a flight of steps on each of the four sides of the base, with buttresses at the corners, for the reception of appropriate ornaments; perhaps for the reason that his plan would be too expensive, but more probably because a lower platform and a loftier shaft would be more effective. They reported a platform twenty feet wide, and only two feet high, which yet remains to be constructed.²

As we have seen the Greenough model had a compressed apex. Some members of the committee wanted an even more squatty obelisk; almost a pyramidal-obelisk hybrid - "to enlarge the base to 40 or 50 feet <instead of thirty> and give the top a proportionally smaller area, so as to present in outline more distinctly pyramidal"³. The Committee Report, largely the work of Baldwin and hence called the Baldwin Report, was submitted in July 1, 1825. It included a detailed description, cost estimate, and plans and sections of an obelisk of the same form as that executed.

Baldwin resigned from the building committee because of a stipulation, afterwards removed, that committee members were personally responsible for cost overruns. He later supervised the construction of the drydocks at Charlestown and Norfolk. Estimation was an imperfect science during a

period of so much innovation⁴. Baldwin could probably estimate the amounts of material accurately, but the expense of special scaffolding and hoisting apparatus unique to this project and transportation costs were more difficult to gauge. The total estimate in the Baldwin report is an even \$100,000, a sizable sum of money considering a contemporary bricklayer's hourly wage of \$.018.

After Baldwin resigned, Solomon Willard (1783-1865), largely on the strength of his recently constructed U.S. Bank branch, was appointed architect and superintendent in October, 1825. Superintendent meant that he was responsible for book-keeping, contracts and the like as well as the supervision of the work. He at first received a modest salary of \$500/year, but later insisted that the BHMA reimburse his expenses as incurred, since he felt observers might misinterpret his \$500/year honorarium as the real worth of his work. Self-taught, Willard rose from carpenter/stone-mason upon his arrival in Boston in 1821 to "architect" in the 1830 city directory; he received several other commissions during his tenure at Bunker Hill.

Willard was not one to take the easy way out. Baldwin planned the courses of the Monument to be 18 inches high, but Willard increased the dimension to a cyclopean 32 inches. Bryan points out that Willard consistently uses a very large scale in his work⁵. Willard in his own book says that Baldwin's estimate was based on "cheap construction"; he continues: "In works intended for monumental purposes, it must be obvious that stability is an important consideration. And stability depends, in a

great measure, on good construction and this, again, on the size of the materials used <emphasis added>; on the bond, or lap of stone upon another; and also on the clamps and fastenings, cement, and mechanical execution"⁶ Willard never mentions visual criteria in his book, which was largely written to "correct any misapprehension that may have existed in relation to the expenses attending it <the monument">⁷.

Willard may have felt that monolithism contributed to the "stability" of the ancient models, for he emulated, to the extent possible that monolithism. His columns for the U.S. Bank are one piece 14' Doric shafts, and were hauled through the even-then congested streets of Boston by oxen (Figure 4-1). The retaining stones in the Old Burying Ground in Boston,

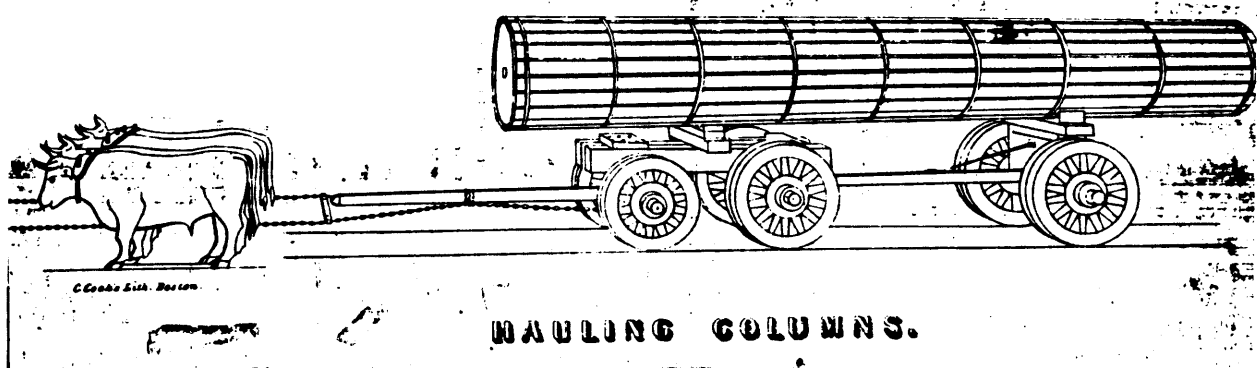


Figure 4-1. Transporting columns of U. S. Bank. Willard, Plans and Sections...

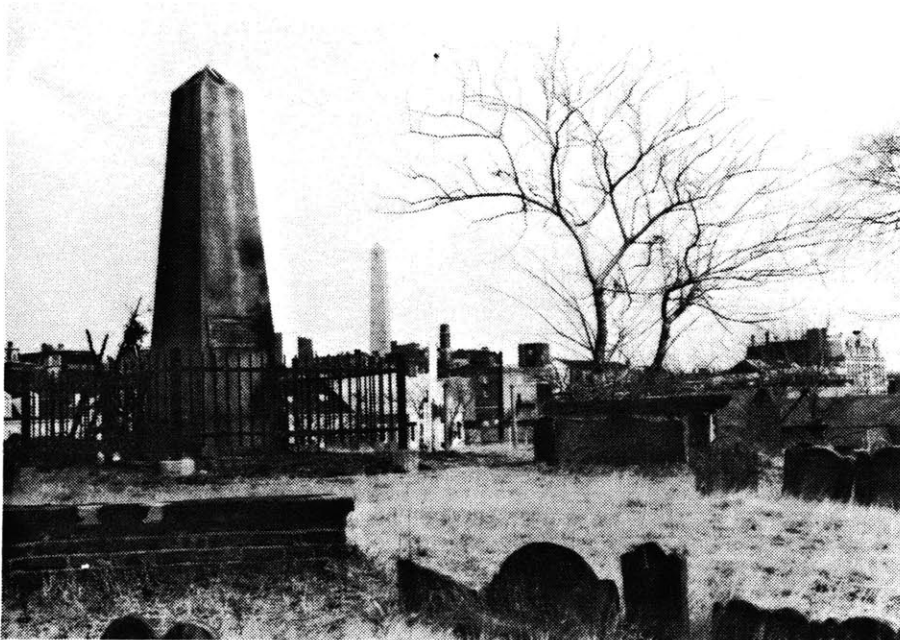


Figure 4-2. Harvard monument, Phipps St. burying ground.
Bunker Hill Monument in background.

which he and Isaiah Roger refurbished in 1831 are immense. Willard's Harvard monument in the Phipps St. Burial Ground in Charlestown is a 15' hunk of granite (Figure 4-2), so squat in its proportions as to be the hybrid between obelisk and pyramid that the Baldwin committee considered.

The cyclopean coursing of the Bunker Hill obelisk and the complete lack of any reference to human scale give the obelisk an odd scalelessness - visually the Brobdingnagian blocks seem to deny, rather than reinforce, the size of the monument, as if we Lilliputians have stumbled onto a giant's bollard.

Larger blocks cost more. Warren referred to Willard when he wrote "The idea of what the Monument ought to be, and should be, expanded in his mind without regard to the existing means of the Association."⁸ At the

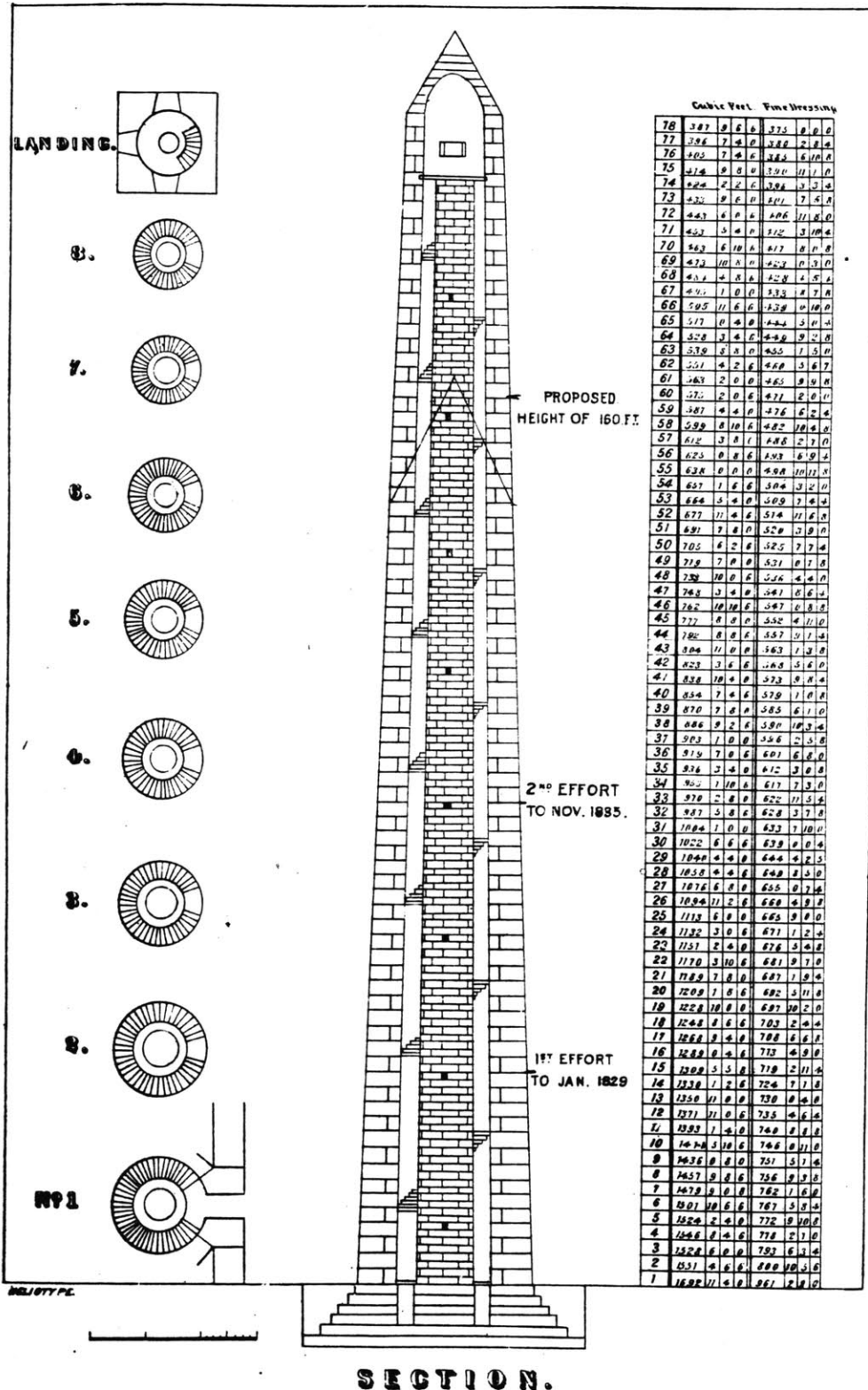


Figure 4-3. Plans and sections of Bunker Hill Monument. Willard, Plans and Sections...

time, the BHMA seemed rather unconcerned about cost - it accepted the Baldwin estimate, with under \$34,000 in the treasury. In part to to compensate for the increased cost which must inevitably come from his increased coursing dimension, Willard decided that the BHMA should open its own quarry, rather than buy granite from the already established Chelmsford quarries. The Quincy quarry rights were purchased from Gridley Bryant, hardly an arm's length transaction, since Bryant had worked as master mason on Willard's U.S. Bank. Willard was ambitious - instead of contracting out the stone work, therefore making cutting and transportation to the site the responsibility and headache of the contractor, he suddenly expanded the BHMA into a major supplier of granite.

From Sept, 1825, when the building committee released funds to begin construction, until Oct. 7, 1826 Willard was occupied drawing the final plans and sections for the obelisk (Figure 4-3)⁹. He opened the ledge, aptly named the Bunker Hill ledge, and built worker's housing at the isolated site. Water transport was much preferred to turnpikes and roads in the early nineteenth century. At first, the stones from the ledge were transported by water from Milton to the wharves at Charlestown. They went from the ledge to the Milton dock by one of the earliest railroads in America, the product of the continuing inventiveness of Bryant, who had previously designed a portable derrick for the U. S. Bank project. Vestiges of the railroad are visible today (Figures 4-4 and 4-5). Bryant used stone sleepers and even stone rails, as the imported English rolled rails, not produced in America yet, were very expensive. Wheeled carts were pulled by horses - locomotives appeared in 1829 - beginning on Oct., 7, 1826.



Figure 4-4. Granite railroad, Quincy.



Figure 4-5. Stone ties reused as fence posts, Quincy.

The railroad was a separate corporation, chartered March 4, 1826, with Thomas Handasyd Perkins as president. The Granite Railroad Co. purchased a quarry near the Bunker Hill Ledge, and closer to the Milton dock, and

suggested the BHMA abandon the Bunker Hill Ledge and use this Pine Hill ledge. The BHMA gave the transportation contract to the Granite Railroad Co., but convinced the company to extend its line out to the Bunker Hill Ledge. Conflict of interest - most of the Granite Railroad directors were also members of the BHMA - seems not to have been an issue. Though it proved of no benefit to the BHMA, the railroad provided valuable, paid, experience to its directors, many of whom were to make enormous amounts of money investing in railroads. Willard seems never to have been a great fan of the railroad; its construction caused delay and loss of stones.

By Oct. 18, 1827, about a year after the railroad commenced operations, two courses appeared above ground, with 15 in the foundation. These two above-grade courses were relaid, supposedly having "too much mortar between the stones"¹⁰. The Bunker Hill Aurora in August 1827, mentions James S. Savage as the "architect", because Willard's chief mason had on-site supervision while Willard himself was at the quarry. Cameron's article gives a good detailed description of the construction apparatus and its place in the history of American Construction. Willard had made dimensional drawings of each different stone and the blocks were dressed at the quarry at Quincy. Riggers with shipboard experience hoisted the stones using the Holmes Hoisting Apparatus, supervised by the inventor Almorán Holmes until his death in 1834. Wire cable did not yet exist so all conveyance was done with ropes and chains. The work season was variable, generally starting in April and ending as early as the beginning of October or as late as the end of November.

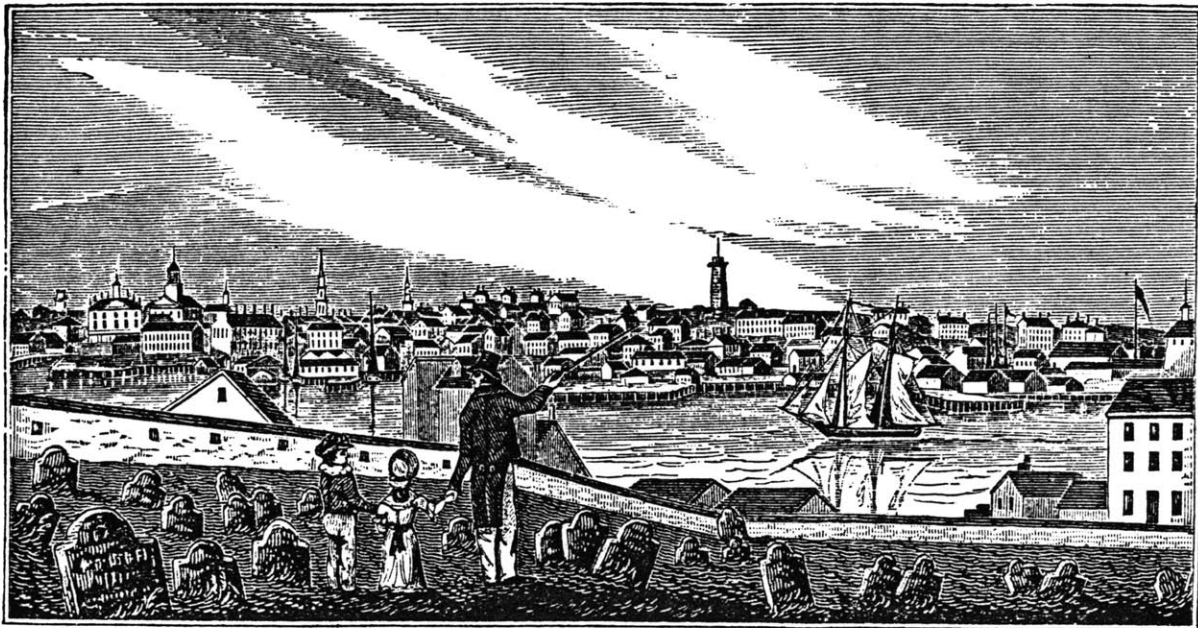


Figure 4-6. View of unfinished monument, 1840, from Copp's Hill. SPNEA.

In February, 1829 work halted due to lack of funds, even after the BHMA had mortgaged the land around the monument. At the end of this first phase fourteen courses were completed. Work at the quarry was well ahead of site positioning; in April, 1828, while erecting the fourth course, the Bunker Hill Aurora reports some stones marked for the 30th course already at the site. In 1828 a mason fell to his death when part of the hoisting apparatus gave way; this was the sole construction death¹¹. The work season ended early that year, by the end of September.

When work was suspended \$56,525.19 had been spent, significantly more, pro rata, than Baldwin's estimate and some were calling into question the managerial ability of the BHMA. The half-finished monument sat (Figure 4-6 and 4-7), defaced by vandals, an embarrassment during the Anti-Masonic controversies, until June 17, 1834. This year the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic's Association (MCMA) agreed to assist the BHMA in fund-raising and

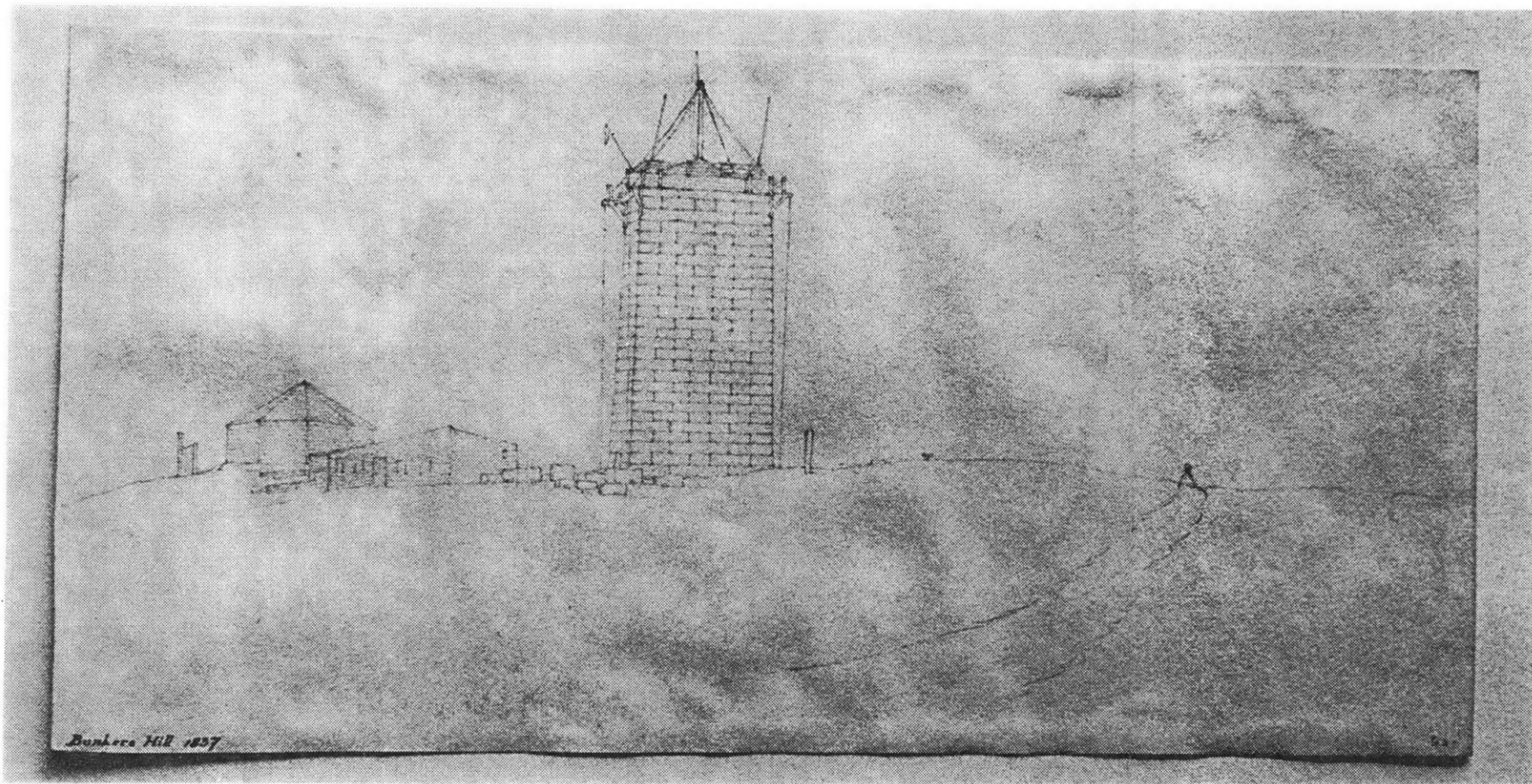


Figure 4-7. Sketch of unfinished monument, 1837. Boston Atheneum.

management tasks. This second phase of construction lasted until November, 1835, when the Monument was about 85' high. At this time its projected total height was decreased to 159' 6". Desperate measures were suggested for raising money, from lotteries to bridge tolls to a special appeal to women and little children, but construction had not resumed when the panic of 1837 made future fund-seeking impossible. Building recommenced in 1841, with James S. Savage now superintendent and Willard architect¹². This third period of construction was funded by the land sale and by a spectacular ladies fair held in 1840, where \$30,000 of baked goods and hand-knitted stockings were sold in a burst of election year enthusiasm. Steam power appeared for the first time to operate the hoist. Savage continued to make money from the monument even after its completion - in exchange for laying out fences and walks (Figure 4-8) he was allowed to keep tourist receipts for 3 years.

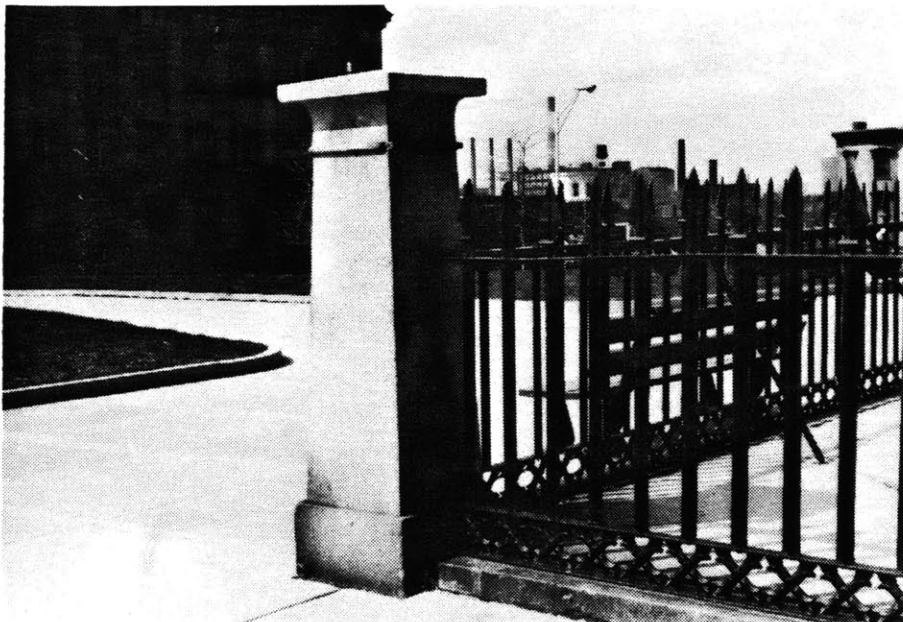


Figure 4-8. Granite post and iron 'spear' fence around Bunker Hill Monument.

With suitable pomp and probably considerable relief the capstone was placed on July 6, 1842. Of course, the dedication ceremony had to be held on June 17, and so occurred the following year, when Daniel Webster, pointing at the obelisk, thundered "This column stands on union!¹³". Willard's book also appeared in 1843, and describes in detail the apparatus for quarrying, transporting, lifting and manuvering the stones. His calculations show the thrift of the monument's construction by comparing the cost to other Boston buildings and to the Washington Monument in Baltimore. Although made of stuccoed brick, Willard claims this column cost \$220,000, more than twice as much as the official cost of \$101,688 of Bunker Hill. The tone of Willard's book and the subsequent commercial success of the Quincy quarries, and railroads, suggests that the Bunker Hill monument was considered a paid research opportunity as much as patriotic tribute.

1. Civil engineering as a profession was just emerging in this country, the earliest rigorous course of training began at West Point in 1816. Military engineers were well-respected and it is not accident that Baldwin is always referred to as Colonel Baldwin in Warren's history, even though he never served in the military.
2. Warren makes an error here which has been perpetuated in discussions of the Bunker Hill Monument. The Boston and Roxbury Mill dam is today's Beacon St., from which it is and was impossible to see Bunker Hill. Swett, who was a committee member, says Baldwin placed the models on the railing of Craigie's bridge (Swett, p.10). Craigie's bridge went from Barton's Point, in today's West End, to Lechmere's Point and would have afforded an excellent view of Bunker Hill.
3. Warren reprints the text and cost estimate, pp. 182-189.
4. Some degree of standardization in the New England granite industry arrives with the Rules for Measuring Hammered Granite Stone, Adopted April, 1829. Boston: Jonathan Howe, 1835. See Bryan for a discussion of standardization.

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5. Bryan, p. 63.
 6. Willard, p. 6.
 7. *ibid*, p. 1.
 8. Warren, p. 207.
 9. According to their catalog, the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester has a collection of his drawings.
 10. Bunker Hill Aurora, Oct. 18, 1827.
 11. *ibid*, Sept. 6, 1828.
 12. At this time, the MCMA insisted on the use of competitively bid contracts; previously Willard had simply submitted his bills to the BHMA. Willard did not submit a bid; Savage won the contract, on which he made money.
 13. Warren, p. 313.

Bunker Hill is today covered with brick and wood homes, except for the square around the obelisk. Imagine away the houses and visualize instead trees freckling the gentle slope down to Bunker Hill St.: Monument Square as it might been. The BHMA owned all this land and its stated original objective was to maintain the open battlefield. But the monument took a long time to complete in a a rapidly-changing environment. The BHMA eventually made the unanticipated decision to carve up most of the land into houselots. A historical interpretation of this decision shows that artifice took precedence over nature, as the Directors took whatever steps necessary to insure that they would live to see the obelisk completed.

Although the BHMA was authorized by the state legislature in 1825 to use eminent domain in the acquisition of up to five acres of land, the Association bought considerably more - fifteen acres in all. The average price per acre was about \$1550, rather high for pasture in Charlestown, and it appears that some of the sellers demanded, and received, unreasonable sums.

The acquisition of the land required for the objects of the Association, on the hill where the battle was fought, next engaged the attention of the Standing Committee, as an object of primary interest. In the prosecution of the object, considerable delay and some difficulties were encountered. A portion of the land was procured on fair terms; for another portion it became necessary to pay an exorbitant price, while for a small quantity, it was requisite to receive legislative aid.

The high price of the land indicates that the original vision of the BHMA was a battlefield open and free from buildings for all time.

They <the BHMA> obtained an act of incorporation to enable them to purchase and to hold the land on which the battle was fought, with a provision to cede it₂ to the State when it shall have been adorned with a monument...

This idea of the open battlefield itself as part of the memorial, augmenting the "monumental structure", was a novel idea. Today the high grassy mound boxed in by the townhouses is little used except on special occasions; visitors climb to the top of the monument and leave. Had the battlefield been preserved in its entirety the resulting spacious and planted park would have been a much different public amenity.

Cleopatra's needle in Central Park, the Washington Monument on the Mall, the Wellington Monument obelisk in Phoenix Park, or even Willard's miniature obelisk in the Phipp's Street burying ground (Figure 5-1) more



Figure 5-1.
Phipps St. burying
ground May 30, 1899.
Harvard monument obelisk
in background.
(Bostonian Society)

closely achieve the ideal combination of monument in a park. "Park" today implies land set aside for beauty and recreation alone. It was not a widely promoted idea in the 1820's. Compelling reasons were required to preserve suitable land from development.

Mount Auburn Cemetery was set aside while that part of Cambridge was practically uninhabited. Cholera epidemics in New York, thought to be exacerbated by crowded urban graveyards, prompted Bostonians, several also connected with the BHMA, to establish an ex urbus cemetery. With the unlikely partner in the newly-established Massachusetts Horticultural Society, Mount Auburn Cemetery was begun in 1830 as a place for sanitary burial as well as the study of living horticultural collections.

Open space in urban Boston faced more opposition -- as late as 1850 the Boston City Council was still trying to sell the Public Garden as house lots. When the BHMA purchased the battlefield Charlestown was still semi-rural. Reserving the open land did not conflict with the ideas of profiting from the land and increasing the town's tax base, although this was soon to change.

The main argument for preserving the open land was its historical value as the battle site. In deciding how to mark the famous site and event the BHMA confronted a problem still confronting memorial planners today: determining the amount and character of physical definition to generate the desired effect. In the case of the Battle of Bunker Hill, the eighteen foot stuccoed wood column dedicated to the memory of Warren was

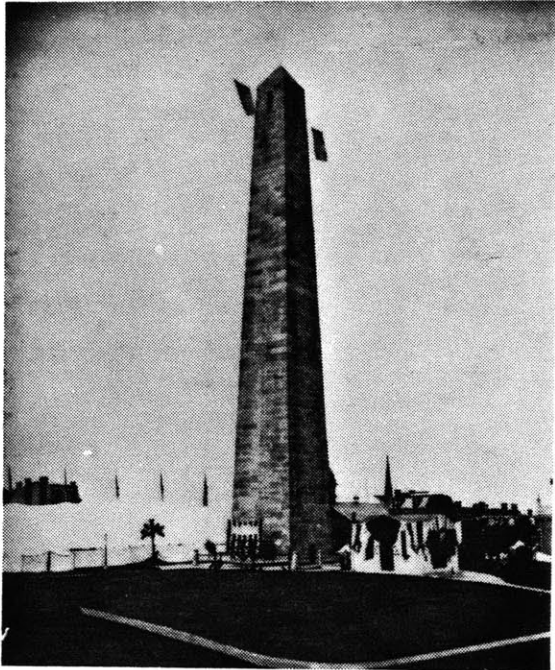


Figure 5-2. Bunker Hill during 1875 Centennial celebration. (SPNEA)

considered insufficient. The BHMA wanted to erect an extremely expensive monument of enduring granite and reserve the original battlefield, an ambitious program. Not only would the monument eternally mark the location of the battle - "Here", in Greenough's words - but the actual battlefield itself would remain intact, the better to reenact, in the mind's eye, the martial events.³

Pageantry also played a part in the preservation of the battlefield, site for yearly celebrations of Bunker Hill Day, first celebrated in 1786, and for special parades on certain anniversaries - 25th, 50th, and so on. If built upon there would be no place for the orator's platform, the tents, picnic area, fireworks display, marching bands and other regalia; no ground for communal celebration (Figure 5-2). Boston's July 4th celebration went unrivalled, but Bunker Hill Day was Charlestown's own.

Arguments supporting maintenance of the open battlefield surface in the period 1830-2, when the sale of the land becomes extremely likely. Possible sale of the land is mentioned, as inevitable although undesirable, as early as February, 1829; construction did not resume that spring due to lack of funds - "Unless fifty thousand dollars can be raised, a considerable part of it <the land > must be sold, and the opportunity lost for ever of reserving it from being covered with buildings which would disfigure it."⁴ Not all observers were so opposed to the land sale. Charlestownians wanted their town to partake in the prosperity and development which had brought a burst of building activity to Beacon Hill between the War of 1812 and the Panic of 1829. William W. Wheildon, Charlestown booster and an ardent supporter of the monument, editorialized "The citizens of Charlestown ought never consent to give up such a valuable part of their territory, to revert to the state and forever remain unimproved..."⁵

As the monument rose and began to attract notice the idea occurred of using the monument to spur development of the area. As early as 1828, a real estate advertisement acknowledges the "added value" of proximity to the monument - "For Sale, one undivided half of a House lot, situated on Salem Hill, so called, with a good prospect of Boston Harbour, and the Monument". <emphasis added>⁶ In 1827 and 1828 the BHMA secured loans from the Suffolk Bank totalling about \$25,000. Five members of the BHMA - William Sullivan, Dr. John C. Warren, Thomas Handasyd Perkins, H.A.S. Dearborn and Amos Lawrence - gave personal notes to secure the loan, but ultimately the land itself was the security for the money. The only part

reserved was a square 600 x 400 feet, size and shape determined by Willard. This step, whether part of a deliberate speculation scheme or not, proved to be the point of no return and led to the division of land into house lots. Success of the monument itself may have made the open land impossible to reserve. And, despite the high price paid for some of the land, the acquisition of ten acres in excess of the legislative mandate was later seen by cynical contemporaries as a clear indication that real estate speculation had been the BHMA's covert objective all along.⁷

Events led inexorably toward the sale of land during 1829 and 1830. After dutifully printing the December, 1829, report of the Building Committee of the BHMA, the Bunker Hill Aurora records that a plan for the land has been laid out by Solomon Willard. Warren describes this plan, which mentions the square for the first time. "He <Willard> also made a plan of the land of the Association, and laid it out in streets and building lots, upon and near the reserved square."⁸ In drawing up this plan Willard would have had to provide a suitable setting a monument originally conceived as free-standing. Fund-raising bogged down; a scheme to raise money by lottery was rejected by the State legislature in the spring of 1830.⁹

The anti-masons used the land issue in their attempted takeover in 1830; they found the original purchase of fifteen acres, instead of five, objectionable, but the reasons for their objections is not recorded by any of the official accounts.

The resolutions of the BHMA, August 13, 1830 reveal in their defensive stance, that the suggestion of land sale for house lots was clearly promoted by some factions:¹⁰

"...3. Resolved, That, inasmuch as it is certain that a fair price cannot be obtained for the Bunker Hill field, it would be inexpedient to attempt a sale of any part of it at this time

4. Resolved, That we consider the field of Bunker Hill as a sacred legacy of our forefathers, defended by their arms and watered by their blood, and that it ought to be kept open to the view of remote posterity; and that it would be a permanent disgrace to the present generation of Americans to employ the same for house-lots or other ordinary uses

5. Resolved, That means should be adopted to represent to the Government of the Commonwealth the importance of securing this land in the hands of the public."

Somehow, the language of #3 is much more convincing than the argument presented in #4.

The vacillating position, whether for economic or ideological reasons, on the land sale is reflected in the popular press. In February, 1830, the state legislature threw out the petition for a lottery and the Bunker Hill Aurora advocates selling the land "except four acres; pay the debts, and expend the balance, if there be any, on the work"¹¹. But by July 23, 1831, editor Wheildon is discouraged and considered it unlikely that enough people would be willing to spend money on fancy houses "to form an ornamental square". The phrase "ornamental square" suggests Wheildon has seen and admired Bulfinch's Tontine Crescent or was familiar with Louisburg Square, which was laid out in 1826 and built up in the 1830's. His comment implies a certain awareness, early on, of one implication of any land sale - that any subsequent construction must be monitored to maintain the

dignity of the monument. Wheildon echoes sentiments registered in a BHMA address of 1831, which he probably read before writing his editorial:

No one of course would think of selling the land, except on conditions that the house-lots, into which it should be divided, should be built upon in a manner to correspond with the magnificence of the monument. Common brick buildings, two or three stories in height, such as are usually erected at an expense of from five to ten thousand dollars, would form a painful contrast, in the eye of taste, with the grand and imposing style, and materials of the monument. But could it be possible to dispose of the lots on condition that houses should be erected on them of stone, or even of brick, on a uniform plan, and in a style suitable to form an ornamental square around such an obelisk? <emphasis added>¹²

William W. Wheildon, born in 1805, founded Charlestown's major nineteenth-century newspaper, the Bunker Hill Aurora, published from 1827-1875. As its editor, his opinion on the monument and the land sale issue would have been widely publicized and, if his publishing longevity is any indication, probably widely held. An active supporter of the monument, he was elected Secretary of the BHMA in 1847. Wheildon's scope included architectural criticism; he is interested in building and other "mechanical arts", indeed the original complete title of his paper is the Bunker Hill Aurora and Farmer's and Mechanic's Journal. He cannot be described as a visionary, but then is perhaps a more accurate mirror of his times¹³.

Wheildon kept a scrapbook exclusively of monuments, crammed with clippings and his notes in ink and, apparently much later, pencil.¹⁴ Unfortunately, most of the material in the bulging book is undated, so it is impossible to tell if Wheildon began collecting during the Bunker Hill Monument's design and construction. Wheildon was impressed by height, by age, and by grandeur; he took pride in the achievements, technological and aesthetic,

of his time. There was no way that he could have known that "remote posterity" might have more need of open land.

At this time house lots of all descriptions seem to be plentiful in Charlestown, fashionable plots were still available on Beacon Hill and bridge tolls inhibited Bostonians from relocating to Charlestown anyway. Commercial expansion had not yet even pushed out the Summer Street residential area in Boston, where Thomas Handasyd Perkins and Daniel Webster lived.

With approximately eleven of the original fifteen acres now essentially pawned, arguments continued in favor of maintaining the open battlefield, invoking Boston Common as an example Charlestown should emulate. Circulars asking for money explained the perilous situation of the battlefield:

<when the free bridge is approved> no obstacle will exist to the selection of Charlestown as a convenient and beautiful place of residence, for a part of the population of this great commercial vicinity. As there are large tracts of ground within the neck of Charlestown, equal in every respect to the choicest sites in Boston, there is no doubt, that as it was in former days the chosen abode of the Russels, the Dexters, and others, to whom expense was no object, in selecting a place of residence, so it will again be a favorite retreat of the same kind, from the dust and bustle of the business part of the city. The open summit and sides of Bunker Hill, will then be, to this part of the population, what Boston Common now is to the community generally, and in particular to the immediate neighborhood of that delightful spot. In natural advantages of all kinds, Bunker Hill is equal to the Common - in command of prospect, superior. Nothing but a few trees are wanting to make it as attractive a spot, merely as a promenade, as any in the world. Suppose these

trees to be planted, and the noble monument to be completed, - is there an individual in the community, who on the mere score of beauty, convenience of exercise, healthful recreation, and enjoyment of prospect, would endure the thought of cutting up such a spot in the heart of a crowded population into lots, and covering it with houses, and the buildings connected with them? Is there a citizen of Boston, who would tolerate the idea of thus destroying the Common, supposing it could be legally done?¹⁵

With the increasing real estate speculation in Charlestown and Boston, booming prosperity during the mid-1830's, and the desirability of living near the monument, "planting with trees" proved insufficient defense against eventual development.

A key event occurred in March, 1828, which determined as much as any other single factor that the land would eventually be sold. The state legislature passed an act authorizing the Warren "Free bridge", a bridge from Boston to Charlestown maintained not by tolls collected by a private corporation but by the taxpayers of Boston and Charlestown. The "free bridge" was fiercely opposed by the Charlestown Bridge Corporation, owners of the older Boston-Charlestown bridge, opened in 1786. Court battles dragged on until 1836, when the free bridge was finally opened; observers expected the real estate market to be more active.

The period between the passage of the free bridge bill in 1828, and its implementation in 1836, coincides with a hiatus of prosperity between the financial panics of 1829 and 1837. Under the protective tariff wealthy Bostonians and Charlestownians, their money seeded in manufacturing or allied industries such as transportation, did well. By the end of decade commercial expansion edged out the Summer Street residential area - Th. H.

Perkins moved from his Pearl St. house in 1837, giving it to the Perkins Institute for the Blind. Thus in 1832, increasing population and prosperity, the very real prospect of a free bridge, and the desirability of living near the monument all seemed like good practical reasons to promote the settlement of the battlefield. At one point the Bunker Hill Aurora, our inexhaustible source, prints that the cost of building in Washington D.C. were met by the sale of house lots. The precedent is too pertinent to be coincidence and was not overlooked by Whieldon. Those who continued to oppose division into house lots do so to maintain the historical site intact for posterity. Lack of modern precedents, other than the oft-cited Boston Common, impedes the effectiveness of pro-park arguments as they draw comparisons between Bunker Hill and the rather-far removed plain of Marathon.

The pro-development side gained even more of an advantage when in 1834 the Suffolk Bank called the loans made in 1827 and 1828. To repay the sum and relieve the five securers of their obligation, a corporation was formed to sell fifty shares, at \$500 per share. Title to the land, except the approximately 4 acres reserved around the monument, was conveyed to Trustees Thomas Wales, Nathaniel Bowditch, and William Stone on October 30, 1834¹⁶. The shares sold quickly. In spite of eleventh hour efforts to preserve the open land, once so many people became involved as investors the land was lost.

Perhaps if the battlefield had also been a cemetery or had a more rural location, like Gettysburg, Bunker Hill would have become the open

preserve first envisioned. By the time shares were sold in 1834 the proposed height of the monument was lowered to 159' 6". Whether overly sanguine projections or deliberate calculation was responsible for the reduced open space, finishing the monument took precedence over maintaining the land. Subscriptions raised during the second period of construction, under the direction of the MCMA, were directed towards finishing the monument. Like Robert Moses's expressways of the 20th century, once begun the monument had to be completed.

It is about this time <1834> that the place is first referred to as Monument Square, rather than "the square" or simply "the land". In May, 1834 the Bunker Hill Aurora wrote "... a committee of the BHMA are preparing a plan for the disposition of the land not needed for the Monument Square".¹⁷ And finally, in the June 17, 1834 BHMA report, "The Board of Directors have reluctantly come to the conclusion that the ground must be sold, reserving a square of 400 feet with streets 50' wide on the sides thereof..."¹⁸

The shares sold in 1834 were subject to redemption by the BHMA for three years, but could be redeemed only for the purpose of preserving the battlefield open¹⁹. The only entity with enough money to redeem all the shares would be the state government, despite Wheildon's assurance that "the gentlemen who took the land did it more as security for the money advanced by them, than for any purpose of speculation and there can be no doubt that they will readily yield their claim to the interest of this great public work"²⁰.

In April, 1836, a bill was indeed brought before the state legislature to purchase the battlefield and the partially finished monument for a sum not to exceed thirty-thousand dollars. The timing of the bill -- during an election year combined with the enormous amount of the expenditure -- may have contributed to its defeat.²¹

The policies of the BHMA -- mortgaging the land to hurry the construction of the monument -- practically assured the eventual sale of the lots, but no move could be made until the right of exemption expired in 1837. Meanwhile, even before the "streetcar suburbs", areas outside the Shawmut peninsula proper sought to attract commuters. An advertisement in the Bunker Hill Aurora lists East Boston lots offered for sale at auction, 2 June 1836. Commuting convenience is emphasized - only 1800' from wharf to wharf, the ferry trip lasts only 3.5 minutes and the ferry runs to midnight. Boston had as yet no central water supply²² and all dwellings still were supplied by wells, so the East Boston ad underscores the purity of the fresh water available. Developments in other parts of Boston are keenly and wistfully observed by Charlestonians, from the taking down of Pemberton Hill²³, to the development of South Boston²⁴, reinforcing the feeling that Charlestown wasn't sharing in the general real estate boom. A letter-writer to the Bunker Hill Aurora complained as early as 1831 "why beautiful hills - Breed's and Bunker's were not covered with cottages - rich men settle in Roxbury, Dorchester, Brookline, Brighton"²⁵. The writer, evidently dissatisfied with the city government, blamed high assessment and city debt, but the toll bridge must have been an impediment as well.

The redemption expired June 17, 1837, the year of a major financial panic. Open land backers present desperate fund-raising schemes such as applying an additional bridge toll. If it is somehow completed, they suggest, tourist revenues might redeem the land. To no avail. Warren writes, blandly, that the trustees of the land waited one year after the expiration of the redemption option because of the depression, but in 1838 had Samuel M. Felton and George A. Parker, surveyors and civil engineers trained under Loammi Baldwin, start to prepare the land for house lots. One last stay of execution postponed the grading and other site work until October, 1838, when "the effort to save so large a part of the battlefield was abandoned for ever. The ground east and west of the square was cut down from eight to twelve feet."²⁶

1. Warren, p.119-120. Warren lists each seller, proceeds, but not acreage, on p.101-102.
2. Warren, p. 85. Letter to Selectman of Massachusetts, Oct. 1, 1824.
3. Greenough quoted in Wright, p. 174.
4. Warren, p.237.
5. Bunker Hill Aurora, May 16, 1829.
6. ibid, June 21, 1828; at that time the monument was about thirty-two feet high.
7. The Bunker Hill Aurora, Oct. 16, 1830, rebuts the charges of speculation made by the editor of the Williamstown Advocate.
8. Warren, p.216.
9. ibid, p.239.
10. ibid, p. 239.
11. Bunker Hill Aurora, Feb. 20, 1830.
12. "Address on the Concerns of the Bunker Hill Monument Association to the Citizens of Massachusetts", printed in Swett, unpaginated.
13. Wheildon ran for representative on the Whig ticket in 1836 (unsuccessfully), on the same ticket with presidential candidate Webster (also unsuccessful), and gubernatorial nominee Everett (successful). A personal friend of Solomon Willard, Wheildon wrote a biography of him, and also a book on the development of Beacon Hill. At Ammi B. Young's request, Wheildon wrote a response to an article in an 1844 issue of North American Review; Wheildon supported Young's Custom House against its unfavorable review in N.A.R. The N.A.R article is credited to Arthur Gilman, the designer who supposedly laid out the Back Bay.

14. Fine Arts Dept., Boston Public Library. The archives of the Bunker Hill Aurora are in the Rare Book Department of the Boston Public Library.
15. "Address on the Concerns of the Bunker Hill Monument Association to the Citizens of Massachusetts", printed in Swett, unpaginated.
16. Middlesex County Registry of Deeds, L. 336 f.588.
17. Bunker Hill Aurora, May 18, 1834.
18. Warren, p.277.
19. Bunker Hill Aurora, April 2, 1838.
20. *ibid*, April 2, 1836.
21. Edward Everett, first secretary of the BHMA, was seeking gubernatorial reelection in 1836, and probably did not want to enter into what could have been perceived as a conflict of interest.
22. There is a plan at one point to put a reservoir on Bunker Hill. A central water supply arrived with Cochituate water in 1847.
23. Dutifully reported by Wheildon, Bunker Hill Aurora, May 16, 1835.
24. *ibid*, July 1, 1835.
25. *ibid*, April 30, 1831.
26. Warren, p.281.

Since the BHMA had purchased such a large tract of land they controlled not only the monument itself but a sizable area forming its surround. Once having made the decision to sell the land, the BHMA exercised its control in design and land use regulations to provide a proper environment for their obelisk. The land distribution was to be conducted with the goal of preserving the dignity of the monument and the sanctity of the battlefield.

The houselots were sold at auction in 1839; the auction catalog, fortunately preserved, includes a plan of the original street pattern and lot arrangement (Figure 6-1). This final scheme was drawn up by Samuel Felton and George Parker and is obviously based on the earlier site plan Willard delineated in 1834, when the land was conveyed to the Trustees (Figure 6-2).

Distributing houselots around such a large and prepossessing novelty as the "pyramidal obelisk" must have been more of a challenge than is indicated in Warren's history. Certainly none of the original Egyptian references provided any clues as to how to combine an obelisk with residential design. There are no townhouses in Thebes or Karnak. Willard, responsible for the 1834 plan, had little or no experience in urban design, but had visited many major eastern seaboard cities, including Richmond, Washington D.C., Baltimore and New York. Felton and Parker, who drew the auction catalog plan and supervised the site work, are described as "surveyors" and "civil engineers". The most qualified person for such a complex task as integrating obelisk and house lots, Bulfinch, seems not to

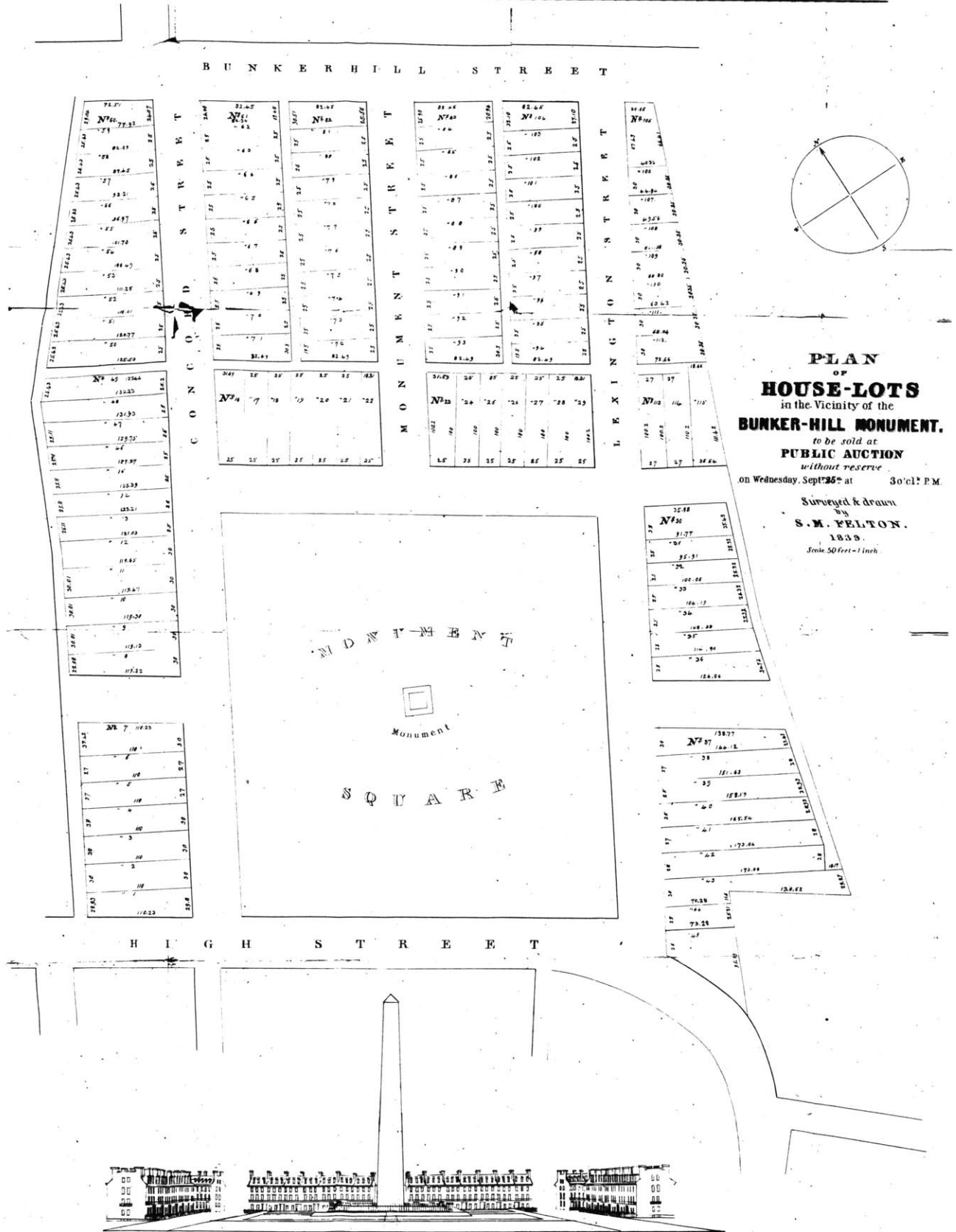


Figure 6-1. Plan from 1839 auction catalog.

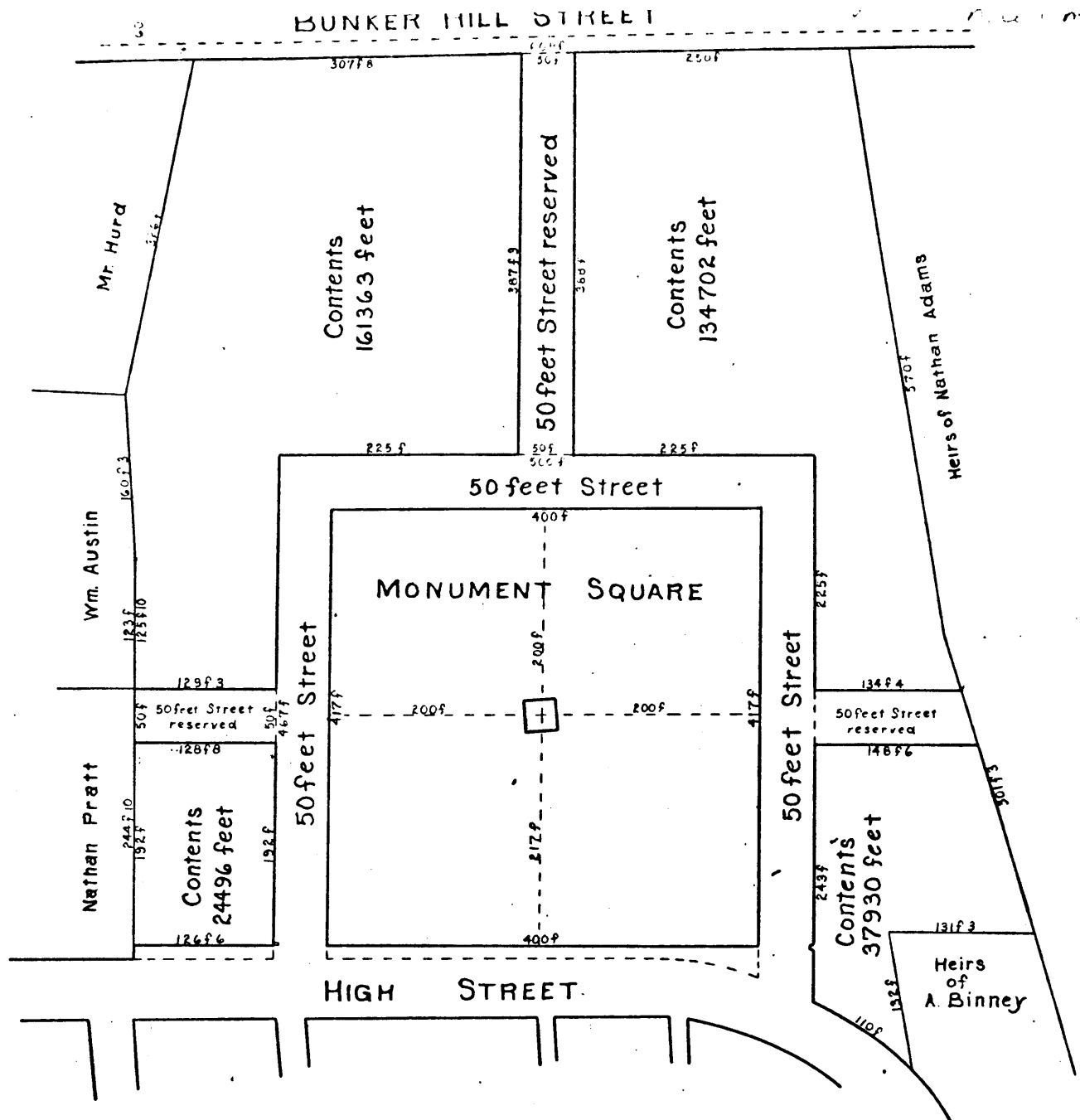


Figure 6-2. Monument Square, 1834. Plan no. 7 of 1834, Middlesex County Registry of Deeds, Cambridge.

have been consulted¹. His Louisburg Square on Beacon Hill featured no monument (the two statues were added in 1850) but Rulfinch did place a large urn, dedicated to Benjamin Franklin, as a focal point on the green swath in front of his Tontine Crescent². No urban residential square anywhere in America and indeed few in Europe featured anything so large as the granite stalk now a-building in Charlestown.

The auction catalog of 1839 is a straightforward subdivision of the land into lots. The streets were very wide - 50' - with Monument Street on axis with the monument, and Lexington and Concord Streets appropriately named after two other famous Massachusetts Revolutionary War battle sites. In 1869 the BHMA would propose a southwestern continuation of Monument Street, called Monument Avenue, running from Warren Avenue to High Street. High Street itself, running along the crest of the drumlin, topographically similar to Edinburgh's High Street, marked the edge of the BHMA land holdings.

The design as drawn in the elevation at the bottom of the auction plan (Figure 6-1) shows the obelisk rising from a flat square, enclosed by houses behind a self-effacing, uniform facade, strikingly different from the Square seen today. As realized the monument seems planted on a burial mound or earthen mastaba. Contemporary representations usually smooth and idealize this mound (Figure 6-3), making it appear lower and more symmetrical and man-made, as if to give the obelisk the platform Greenough originally intended.

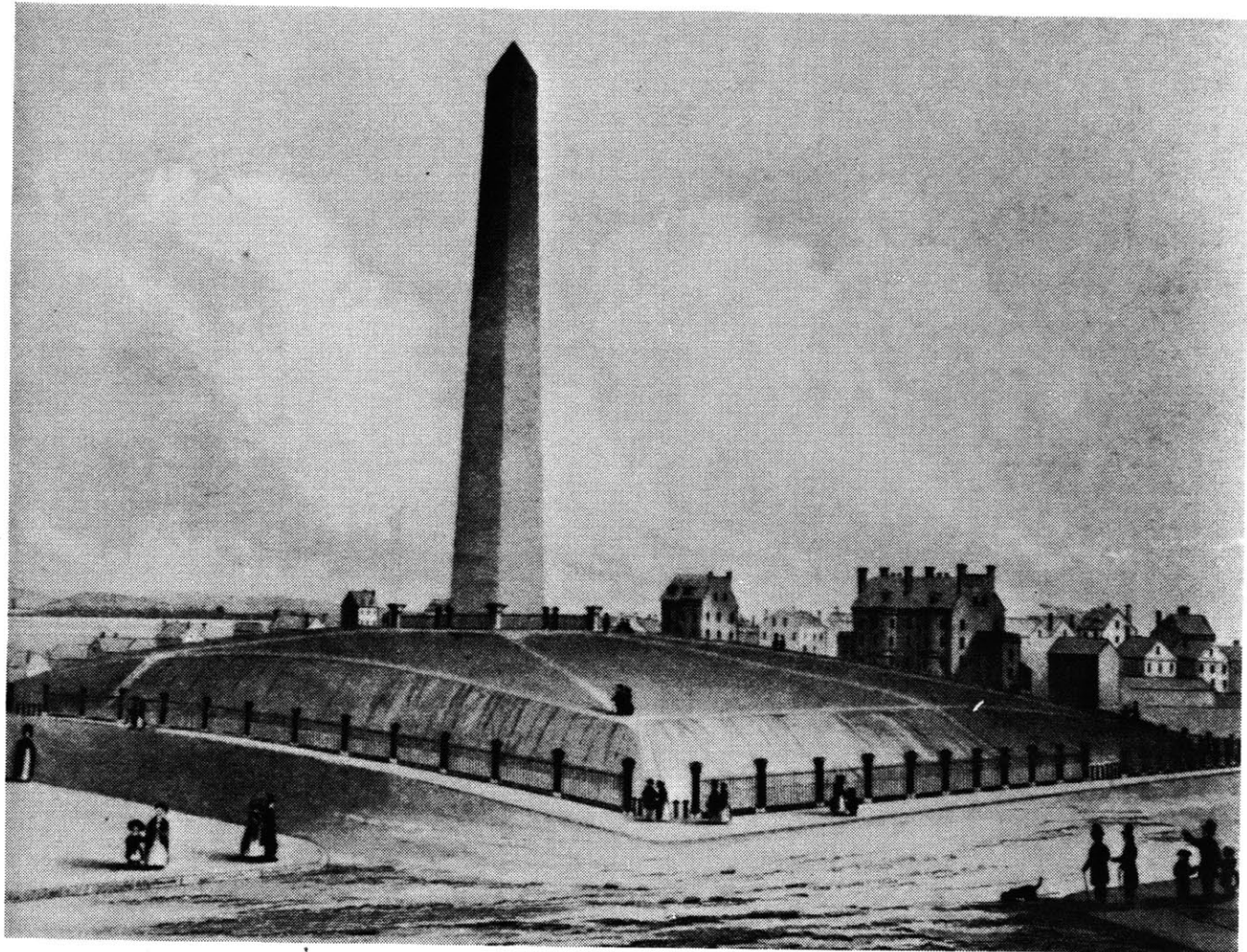


Figure 6-3. Bunker Hill in 1847. (SPNEA)

The scale of the square and the axial street arrangement recall Bulfinch's original Louisburg Square proposal of 1796³. Bulfinch planned a rectangular plaza 460 feet by 190 feet, covering an area about three times as large as the realized Louisburg Square, with axial streets entering on three sides.

The layout is carefully worked out, and instead of just describing it in detail, I suggest a hypothetical reconstruction of the site planning process, to show just how deliberate and methodical the plan really is.

Given fifteen acres and one monumental obelisk, Willard first determined the shape and size of the square in 1834. Any houses fronting on pre-existing High St. would have had their backs to the monument - unacceptable. The High St. edge is left open and is squared off. Two hundred and seventeen feet separate the monument from High St., and this dimension, rounded off, becomes the two hundred feet between the obelisk and the other street edges. Moving out concentrically, generous 50-foot wide streets ring the monument, still leaving ample strips of land between street and the abutters to the east and west, easily deep enough for house lots and common passages behind.

Working with Willard's square, Felton and Parker completed the land division in 1839. Two "spur" streets - unnamed on the 1839 map, but labeled Laurel (sic) and Chestnut by 1868 (Figure 6-4), are aligned axially with the monument. Laurel and Chesnut are equal in width to Lexington and Concord and appear as important but in fact go nowhere. Chesnut was later

extended to Winthrop Square, but the great expectations indicated in Laurel St.'s breadth failed to materialize and it terminates at Cedar Street. Once these east-west axial "spurs" are laid out, an approximately equal number of house lots would have been desired for symmetry on either side. Indeed, there are seven lots between High St. and today's Laurel St. and seven lots between today's Chestnut St. and what is now Tremont St.; these house lots vary from the standardized 25 foot width⁴ to take up any slack. It may seem that Bulfinch's axial scheme, or something close to it, was copied rather slavishly. Subsequent alterations, as will be seen, also suggest there were implications in such a plan type which the designers did not anticipate. The precise design sequence may not have been as I reconstruct it, but clearly the guiding principles were symmetry and axially.

There was at least one other proposed lot division between 1834 and the final auction catalog. Swett published an undated engraving showing an alternative street pattern for the lots away from the square (Figure 6-5). This scheme placed lots along an unnamed 45' wide street running parallel to Bunker Hill St. This meant that today's Monument Street would have been defined, not by houses facades, but by unit end walls, negating the importance and formality implied by the street's axial alignment to the obelisk. This architectural oxymoron was corrected by the 1839 plan which introduced blocks with back alleys meeting in "T" intersections on both sides of Monument St.

The auction catalog describes quite explicitly the attractions of

Bunker Hill. The promoters sought to attract men who worked in Boston, as well as in Charlestown, by emphasizing proximity to the financial center at State Street. Living near the famous battlefield added prestige, and the land was a good investment, with Beacon Hill cited as an example of the ever-increasing value of land close to the city.

The plot layout, derived from placing a symmetrical axial plan on an irregular piece of land, resulted in lots of all shapes and sizes, with some particularly odd-shaped pieces along Lexington St. This was no drawback, as the catalog sought to entice a "mixed-income" audience: "They <house lots> are of every variety of size, from 1200 to about 5000 square feet, so that every one may consult his taste and his means, in his

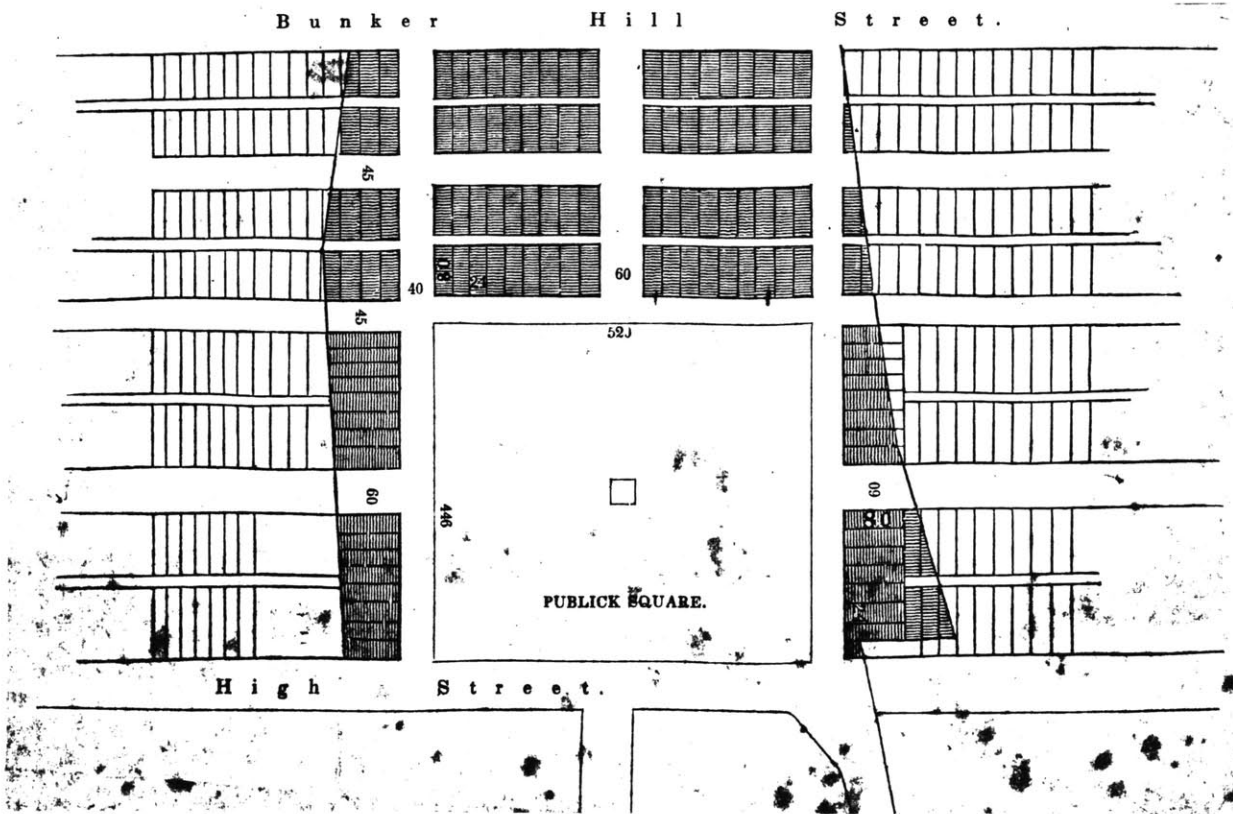


Figure 6-5. Proposed house lot division. Swett.



Figure 6-6. East side of Concord St.

selection"⁵. Today one sees the houses built by and for middle-class artisans and workers lining Lexington, Monument, and Concord Streets (Figure 6-6); the frank hierarchy of land price and building type is refreshing after the upper-class homogeneity of Beacon Hill's South Slope or the Back Bay. Once having surrounded the monument with a discreet space, the plan insured two widely disparate classes of houses - those facing the square, and their poorer, but perfectly respectable, relations on Concord, Monument, and Lexington Streets.

The lots fronting the Monument are deeper than those with no monument frontage. The BHMA, even though selling the land now for what it had condemned earlier as "ordinary uses", was determined to insure a level of dignity and quality around its obelisk. Lots number 1 through 45 on the 1839 plan were subject to deed restrictions, described in the catalog

"...all buildings at any time hereafter to be erected thereon, shall be dwelling houses not less than three nor more than four stories high - or buildings for religious or literary purposes - that they shall all be of brick or stone and shall be set back 10 feet from the front line"⁶.

A common explanation of the use of deed restriction is that wealthy men with excess cash available to speculate sought to protect themselves from one another, before zoning codes and building ordinances assumed the role. As domestic architecture in Boston evolved from the detached wooden mansion to the masonry rowhouse this transition necessitated a more communal attitude towards building. For a project like Bulfinch's Tontine Crescent, which introduced the elegant rowhouse to Boston, built all at once with each individual unit subsumed behind the common facade, deed restrictions were unnecessary. But this type, ultimately derived from Georgian Bath and London, did not allow for sequential construction and the recognition of individual tastes. A compromise was needed to ensure the degree of conformity deemed necessary for the new urbanity to succeed, and the deed restriction provided this degree of conformity. Deed restrictions were enforced by peer pressure and the threat of lawsuit. Perhaps the first communal agreement of this sort was the gentleman's agreement between the Mt. Vernon Proprietors, reached in 1801, which set a thirty-foot setback for the brick mansions on Mt. Vernon St. This agreement was codified in 1820⁷. Esthetic values triumphed over sovereign property rights.

The large lot size, height, and construction material restrictions

ensured that any house built around the square would be expensive and of quality construction. The exemption for churches is not surprising, as church membership was almost universal and church buildings highly desirable⁸. Buildings for literary purposes meant at that time such institutions as lyceums - the Charlestown Lyceum was founded January 15, 1830. Shelters for learning and religion were eminently companionable to the patriotism symbolized in the obelisk.

Just as the restrictions ensured a quality of setting for the obelisk, the reciprocity between perpetually open square and land values was not lost on the nineteenth land developer/investor. Godefroy's battle monument in Baltimore was originally proposed by neighboring home owners who wished to prevent development on an open square⁹. To suggest that the obelisk was originally planned just as such an externality is a bit far-fetched, given its cost and size, but once it was begun such a function quickly became evident.

Quite striking is the contrast between the idealized elevation pictured at the bottom of the auction plan, and better developed in a lithograph by Felton (Figure 6-7), and the square as built. The idealized versions represent an almost level square, rather than the present mound, surrounded by masonry dwellings of extremely uniform facade, self-effacing in favor of the monument and the sacred field. The houses have no bay or bow windows, which many Boston rowhouse did feature by the 1830's, and lack stoops. The ridge roofs portrayed were still in favor and are found in Back Bay houses built fifteen years later. Iron balconies skirt the second

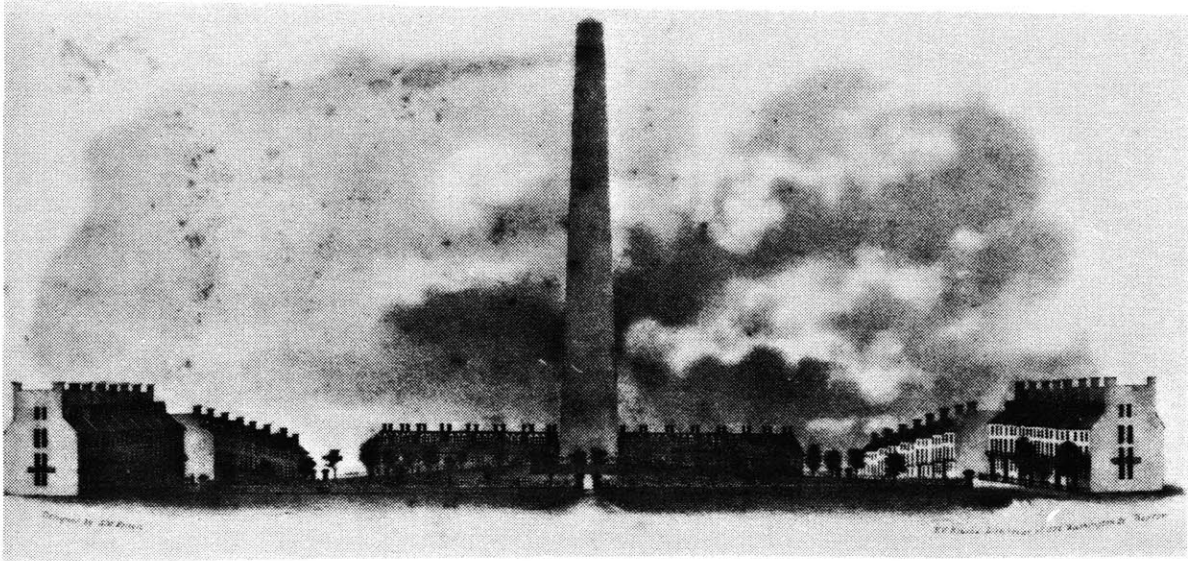


Figure 6-7. "View of the Bunker Hill Monument, with the restricted style of Buildings around the Square". 1839, drawn by Felton. Boston Atheneum.

stories. Landscaping is minaturized to avoid obscuring the buildings. The monument is also shown at its reduced height, about 160 feet. Stylistically, the projected houses, which may only represent "generic" dwellings, follow the Beacon Hill models of the 1820's and early 1830's¹⁰. The swell or bow fronts which were coming into fashion on Beacon Hill may have been slightly too new for appeal in a sales brochure; the deed restrictions in the catalog don't mention projections, however, all the 19th century homes except one have at least an oriel window¹¹. Specific restrictions for projections do appear in Back Bay deed by 1863.



Figure 6-8. Charlestown City Seal of 1850. Cutler Glass Slide Collections. Courtesy BPL Print Dept.

The idealized square is also shown in other representations, the Charlestown City Seal of 1850 (Figure 6-8) and other views. Surely uniform facades were graphically convenient; but also might have been a highly desirable image.

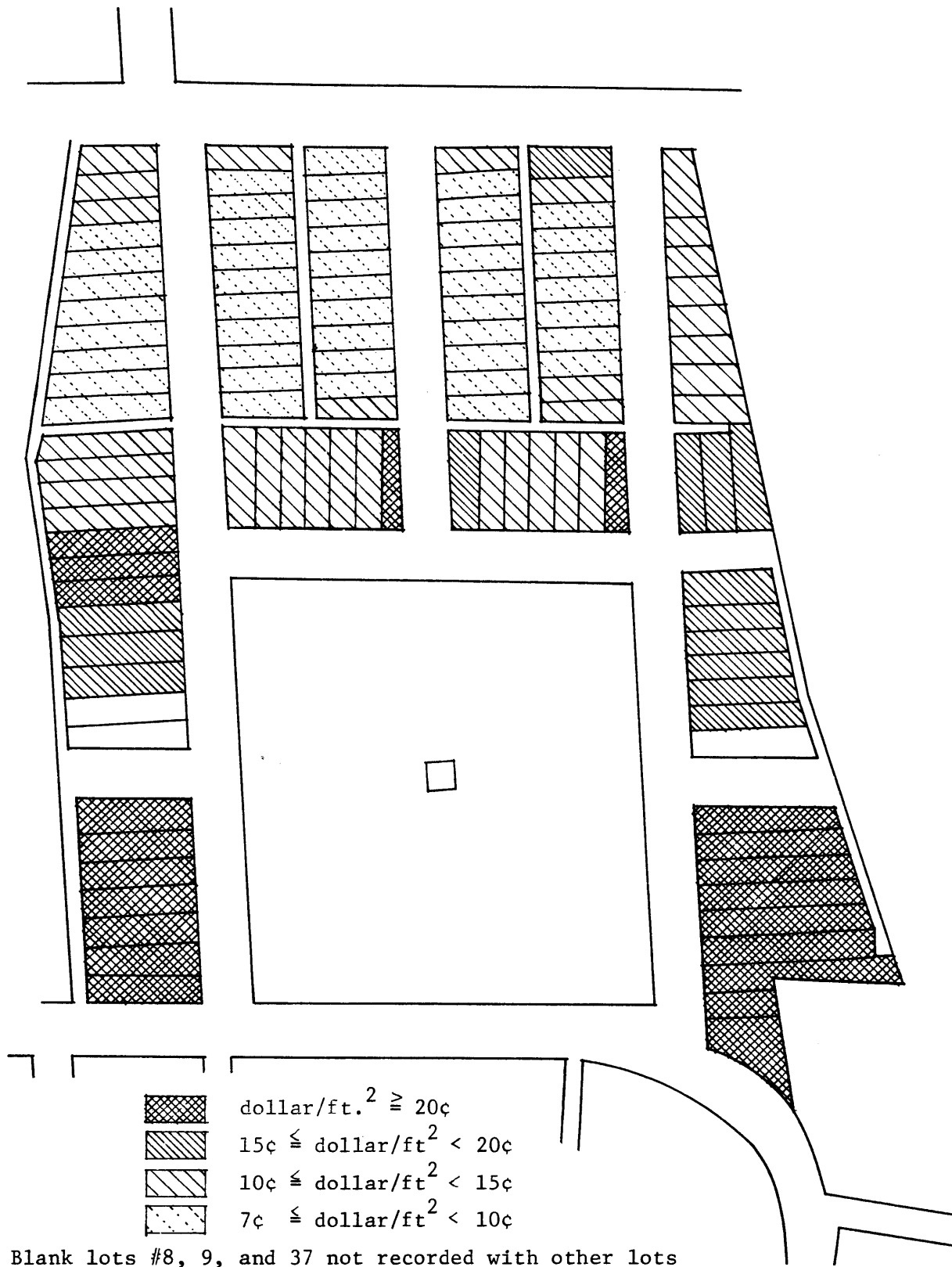
Now a mound, the square was originally envisioned flat. Although Warren indicates grading had begun in 1838¹², before the auction elevation appeared in 1839, the language of the catalog suggests that the square was indeed to be graded according to the elevation. The topography, according to Warren, dropped off sharply to the north, which may have necessitated a cut-and-fill operation to level out the declivity, and perhaps the easiest source of fill was obtained by cutting down the other sides. After the lots were sold building was long delayed, the first house not being built until 1847. That year newly-elected Mayor G. Washington Warren and Peter Hubbell build their paired houses at 6-7 Monument Sq. Hunnewell describes the interim between auction and house construction: "Until 1843, a sloping road, with flat stone tracks for wheels, led from the southeast corner to the monument. Soon afterwards, all this was changed and the present square was substantially completed."¹³

1. Bulfinch is not mentioned in connection with urban design in the official accounts. However, Willard worked for Bulfinch, building a scale model of the Capitol and doing wood carving for Bulfinch's Federal St. Church, so he probably knew Bulfinch well enough to seek his advice on Monument Square.
2. The only remnant of the Tontine Crescent, this urn can be seen in Mt. Auburn cemetery.
3. Chamberlain p.71.
4. Bunting quotes Summerson's Georgian London in noting that as early as 1661 English rowhouses were standardized at 24 feet. Jefferson popularized the decimal system, which may account for the slight American shift to 25 feet.
5. Catalog, unpaginated.
6. *ibid.*
7. Chamberlain p.89-90.
8. Institutions and churches usually elevated land values. Punting records that when developing the Back Bay, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts donated about 9 acres of land to attract such institutions as M.I.T. and the Museum of Natural History.
9. Miller p.19.
10. See Weinhardt, section "1819 - 1829", unpaginated.
11. 16 Monument Square, designed by N.J. Bradlee in 1854, early in his prolific career. Information from Boston Public Library, Fine Arts Dept., address files.
12. Warren p. 281.
13. Hunnewell p.80.



Figure 7-2. 6-7 Monument Square, 1847-8.

The 1839 houses lots auction results are tabulated in Appendix 2 and shown in Figure 7-1. Prices per square foot of land ranged from \$.41 for lots number 1 and 2, to about \$.075 for land not on the Square. Most of the purchasers were from Charlestown or in some way connected with the BHMA and several individuals bought more than one lot, for investment purposes. Most of the deeds were conveyed in 1840, but building was delayed and the first houses were not constructed until 1847-1848. These first dwellings at



Blank lots #8, 9, and 37 not recorded with other lots in Grantors Index 1836-46, A-B; Middlesex Co. Registry of Deeds.

Figure 7-1. Prices received for house lots at 1839 auction.

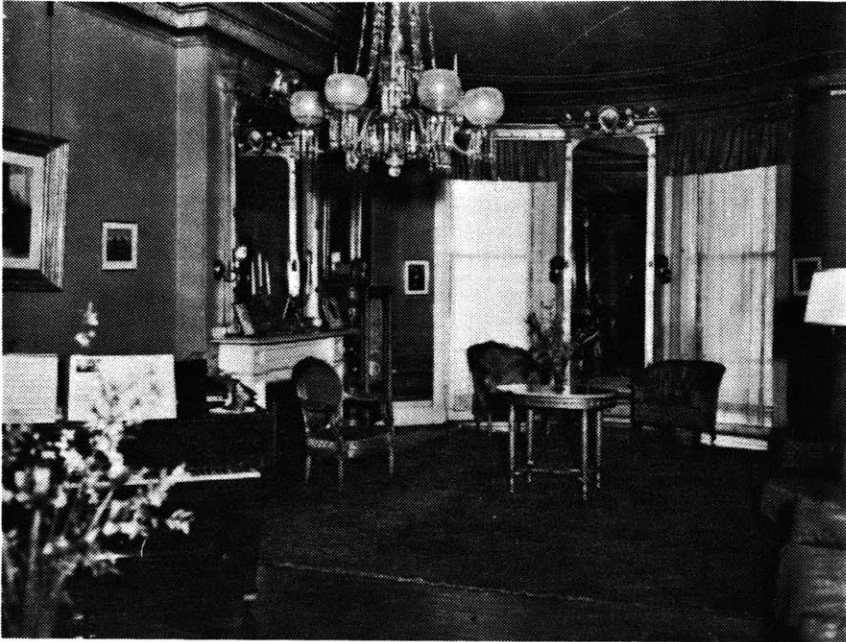


Figure 7-3. Interior, 7 Monument Square. Cutler Glass Slide Collection. Courtesy of BPL Print Dept.

6-7 Monument Square are a pair of brick mansions designed as a single unit (Figure 7-2). The swell of triple bow fronts is reinforced by the elaborate iron balconies. The type is characteristic of brick mansions in the Summer St. residential area, and was popular in Beacon Hill during the 1830's and 1840's¹. The crowning cupola, a detail commonly found on earlier wooden mansions in Charlestown, may be a later addition. Figure 7-3 shows the interior of this house, always maintained as a private home.

The east and north edges were mostly built up by the time of the 1868 Sanborn insurance atlas, when building in the New South End and in Back Bay was well under way. The west edge was developed more slowly; lots remained vacant as late as 1875. In 1847 the City of Charlestown purchased lots 11 and 12, for a sum which can only be described as a windfall for the sellers, and erected the first high school on this site, dedicated in 1848². Lots 13 and 14 became Bartlett St. by 1868, while the owner of lot 7 had taken advantage of "Lawrel" Street's exceptional breadth and maximized precious street frontage by building the houses at numbers 1 and 2 Laurel St, shown on the 1868 atlas plan (Figure 6-4). Laurel St. never became the through street its planners intended. Instead, Cedar St. emerged as blocks of brick rowhouses were placed along what was originally an unnamed 20' wide passageway on the western edge of the 1839 catalog plan (Figure 7-4). This measure, probably not anticipated by Felton, saved the Cedar St. developers from the expense of street layout.

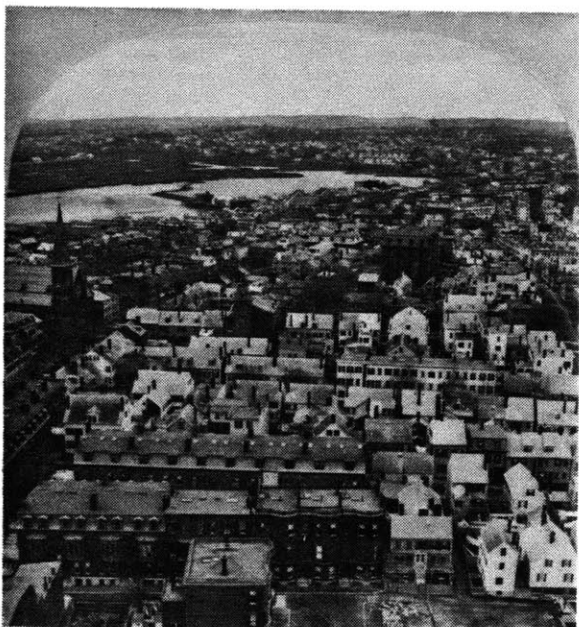


Figure 7-4. Western edge of Monument Square, after demolition of old high school but before construction of the 1907 high school. Brick rowhouses in foreground line Cedar St. (SPNEA)

As we have seen, the houses as built have much less conformity than envisioned in the 1839 Felton elevation. The framework of the deed restrictions permitted and even fostered a lot of variety in facade organization, one of the strengths of Monument Square as an urban place. In this respect, the square is closer kin to the Back Bay than the South End. When developers bought several lots, as opposed to individual owner-builders buying single plots, they could approach construction in a number of different ways. Often they simply repeated one standard unit facade as needed, resulting in a block of identical houses. When this repeated block was three or four houses large it provided relief from the ever-changing sequence of individual facades, but if repeated endlessly, at the size of a city block, ran the risk of becoming monotonous. The residential facade standardized as an individual unit may not look very good when repeated for an entire city block - for such long stretches a uniform facade designed for that larger scale is much more successful.

Two developer-built blocks of townhouses front Monument Square, both built by J. S. Small. Numbers 25,26,27, and formerly 28 (now the garden of 27) appear on the 1868 atlas and, for stylistic reasons discussed below, were probably built in the mid 1850's⁴ (Figure 7-5). Like 6-7 Monument Square, these houses are skirted with lacey ironwork (Number 26 has lost its ornament), but the ridge roofs have now become flat roofs, characteristic of the South End, as are the swell fronts. While the massing of Small's units is similar to that of the earlier pair at 6-7 Monument Square, detailing, such as window surrounds, has become much more plastic. Flat, rectilinear lintels give way to the eyebrow-like projections of



Figure 7-5. 25, 26, 27 Monument Square.



Figure 7-6. 10, 11, 12, 13 Monument Square, 1857-1858.

curving stone over the windows of 25-27 Monument Square. Unfortunately, the swell front was developed as an individual or double unit; repeated even as many as four times, as in this example, the insistent A-A-A-A repetition of bow fronts almost induces architectural seasickness. Other builders of paired or repeated houses used reflection or reversal to obtain less straightforward repetition.

Natural topography sometimes helped to break up the repeated block as in another block of houses J. S. Small built, Numbers 10, 11, 12, and 13 Monument Square (Figure 7-6). Number 11 was rebuilt in 1890. This eastern edge of Monument Square slopes down toward Bunker Hill Street, numbers 12 and 13 descending in an arm-linked promenade, yet the quoins framing the block of four indicate that the houses are meant to be read as a block, despite the topographical shift. The double reading - now two pair, now four of a kind - is much more sophisticated than the previous Small experiment.

This second block of four, according to Hunnewell⁵, was built in 1857-58. The use of quoins and bay windows suggests 10-13 Monument Square antedate Small's other block at 25-28 Monument Square. Some details, such as the projecting "eyebrow" lintels and paired cornice brackets are common to both blocks, while the bow front, now considered out of date, is thrown over for bay windows, very pavilion-like with their large amounts of glass and slender supports (Figure 7-7). The flat facade with bay windows functions better as a repeated motif than the swell front. Fenestration is now more fully articulated as well - not only do the windows decrease in



Figure 7-7. 12 Monument Square, facade detail.

height in the ascending stories, but the openings over the bay windows are given extra width too.

Not surprisingly, granite and limestone are used quite frequently in the houses around the great stone obelisk; both of Small's blocks have solid stone basements. Besides basements, stone appears in the massive fence posts guarding the austere 8 Monument Square, built in 1848 and therefore one of the earliest houses (Figures 7-8 and 7-9). The resemblance of these stout mini-pylons to the posts enclosing the monument is unmistakable; perhaps the severity of the facade defers to the gravity



Figure 7-8. 8 Monument Square, 1848.

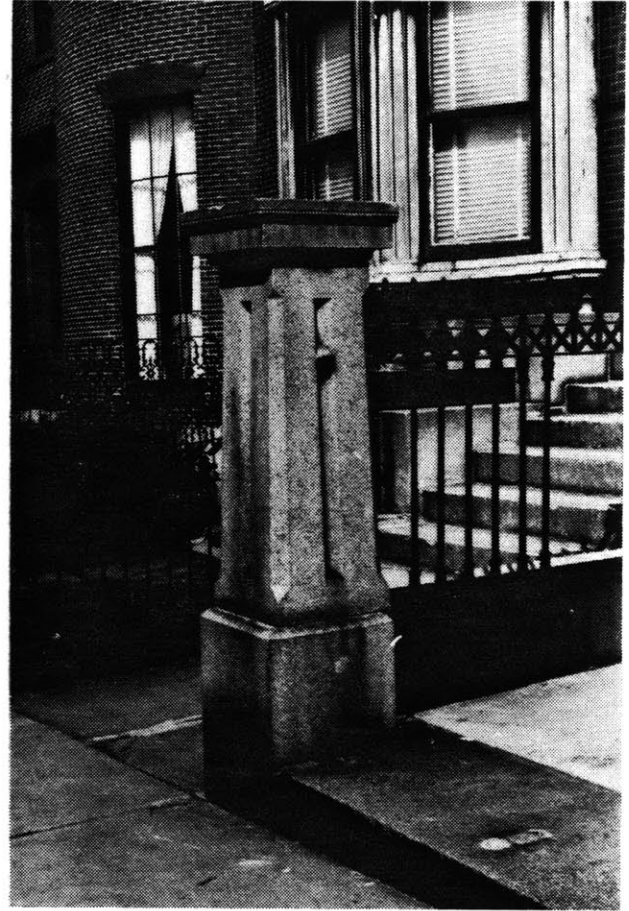


Figure 7-9. 8 Monument Square, fence detail.

of the obelisk. When this house was first built it had a ridged roof with dormers, so its original massing was similar to its neighbor 6-7 Monument Square, suggesting an attempt at the conformity depicted in the 1839 Felton lithograph.

Twenty-six years after the construction of 8 Monument Square, Number 22 has moved very far from severity (Figures 7-10 and 7-11). The curvaceous stringer, the domical capstone and floral motif on the newell, all enliven the high stoop, its height characteristic of the Back Bay, where the high water table encouraged elevated stoops to get a usable basement. Such stoops were unnecessary on Charlestown's glacial hardpan, but the style seems to have carried over.

Contrasting stone is used throughout - in the quoins, always particularly appealing in a corner building, and in the picturesque oriel

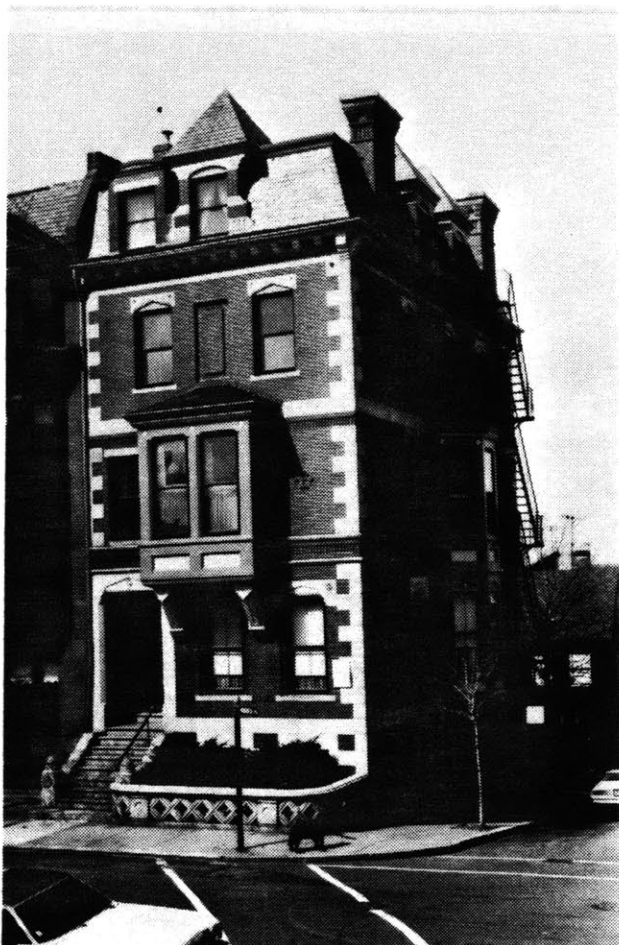


Figure 7-10. 22 Monument Square, 1874.

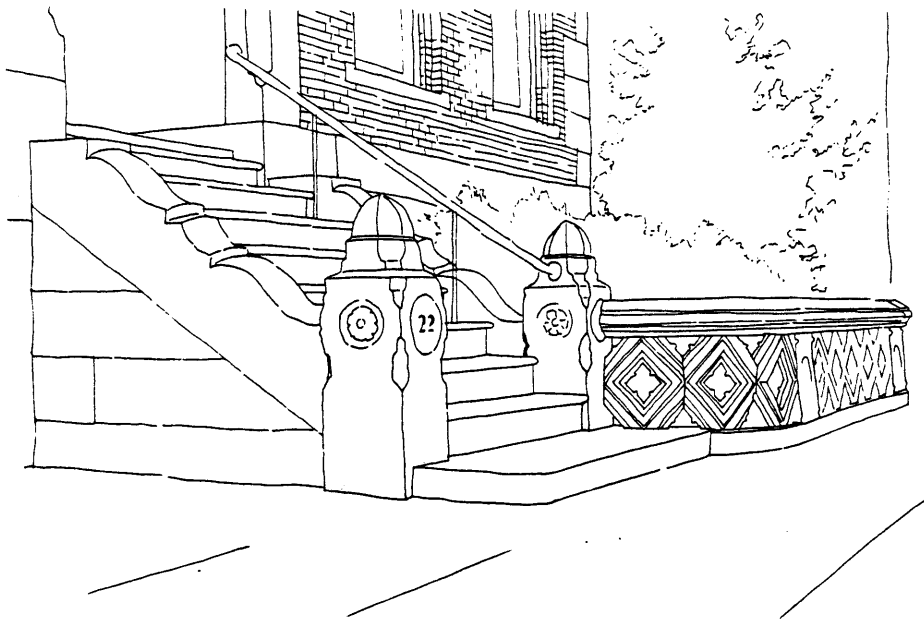


Figure 7-11. 22 Monument Square, stoop detail.

and dormer. The use of contrasting stone, floral motifs, elaborate chimneys, oriel windows and a free-wheeling attitude toward facade composition are typical of what is called the "Queen Anne style". While most Back Bay Queen Anne style homes get much of their decorative impact from pressed and cut brick, here the ornament is supplied primarily by the contrasting stone used throughout the facade. The exuberance which might be achieved in the Back Bay by the application of detail has here been reached by contrasting materials; the result is unusually dynamic. The date of this home, 1874, is early for Queen Anne, showing that Charlestown tastemakers did not lag behind their Bostonian counterparts.

Another striking composition is the pair of dwellings at Numbers 23 and 24, built in 1886 and designed by the talented team Cabot and Chandler

(Figure 7-12). This firm did quite a few houses in Back Bay, including some in a quite ornamental Queen Anne style. However, they, and a number of Boston architects in the 1880's, moved away from the reuse or interpretative rearrangement of imported or archaeological styles. Bunting summarizes succinctly:6

Sloughing off such architectonic ornamentation as window frames, pilasters and pediments which suggest a structural use but are not structurally requisite, and relieved of the need to follow the theoretical order of some historical style, the designer focussed his attention on the actual proportions of the facade and the materials with which he was working. As they had a structural purpose, window and door lintels were retained frequently they were accentuated by a contrast of materials or by the method in which the material was laid in place.

23 and 24 Monument Square clearly demonstrate Cabot and Chandler's interest in the contrast of material. The entrance to these two homes eschews the stoop, allowing a wider, better-lit entrance (Figure 7-13).



Figure 7-12. 23-24 Monument Square, 1886.

Massive but crisp stone voussoirs, lintels and string courses emphasize the inherent contrast in scale between stone and brick. Stretching through three stories, the oriel window becomes more than an elaborated opening: it is the major vertical element unifying the facade. Each floor level is given greater horizontal independence and definition. The ground floor fenestration is unlike that of the upper floors; weighty cornices both above and below delineate the uppermost storey, creating bottom, middle and top zones in a controlled, precise manner. In most of the other houses around the square, the facade is a rather uniform brick skin applied from basement to roof with elaborated openings - entrances and oriel window - being the sole category of differentiation. The Queen Anne style promotes a looser arrangement of openings, yet does not really create horizontal zones. 23 and 24 Monument Square do not scream for attention in a flamboyant way, but they are the most innovative houses on the Square. The change from thinking about masonry as a stretched out skin to a



Figure 7-13. 23-24 Monument Square, entrance.

comprehension of the architectonic possibilities inherent in an exploration of bottom-middle-top zoning would figure prominently in the development of Richardson's work and in the development of the American skyscraper.

Because of the generally high quality of the domestic architecture around the square, all of the houses merit more discussion than allowed by the scope of this work. Not only are they significant individually, but collectively they exhibit a public-spirited attitude towards building. Even though the deed restrictions specify only that houses must be three or four storeys high, the height of the buildings framing the square, regardless of style, is remarkably consistent. Generous use of stone, an expensive material, further acknowledges the very special place the houses adjoin. The deed restrictions are only one explicit part of a larger implicit agreement.

1. Lots 8, 9 and 37 are not listed with the other 113 lots in Vol. 1836-1846, A-B of the Grantors Index, Middlesex County Registry of Deeds.
2. Weinhardt, section on building during 1830 - 1840 (unpaginated). Specific examples include 1-5 Joy St., 1832; 69-84 Mt. Vernon, early 1830's; and many homes on Louisburg Square, developed during the 30's and 40's.
3. This high school exchanged its pitched roof for a mansard in 1870, when the building was considerably enlarged. A small apartment building adjoined the school for the time, but the entire block was removed for the present high school, erected in 1907. The Wolcott Cutler glass slide collection has pictures and information about the pre-1907 structure.
4. Sawyer, p. 457, says this block was "erected by a builder named Small". Because of the cornice brackets and lintels I assume Sawyer means J. S. Small.
5. Hunnewell, p. 98.
6. Bunting, p. 240.

The Bunker Hill Monument Association, still an active organization, ceded its curatorial function to the Metropolitan District Commission in 1919. During the bicentennial Bunker Hill became part of the National Park Service.

In 1961 the Boston National Historic Sites Commission, chaired by Walter M. Whitehill, gave the pronouncement of posterity upon the work of the BHMA:

Much of the housing on Monument Square need not have entered the picture at all had the Bunker Hill Monument Association, organized in 1823, clung to its initial plan of saving the whole battlefield of Bunker Hill instead of dropping it to engage exclusively in majestic and overpowering monumentation....

Sentiment had been strong in the association not only to raise the monument but to retain the battlefield and preserve it as open ground. The ambitious scheme to build the huge shaft of granite, however, made a greater appeal to the popular imagination of the time than a matter merely of preservation. In consequence, a move within the association to oppose the sale of the land was unsuccessful, but even after the monument was completed and dedicated, a clear-sighted resident of the town and inveterate student of the battle still ventured the opinion that "The open battlefield, undisturbed and unaltered through all time, would be for many far preferable to any monument"

A decision for all time was reached by the members of the Bunker Hill Monument Association in 1834, and it remains for posterity to abide by that decision now....

Just as Sir Walter Scott's historical novels, popular and admired in their time, fail to move the twentieth-century adult reader, so the Bunker Hill Monument fails to inspire the emotions it was meant to arouse. The Commission report, written when much of Charlestown was affected by urban decay, even suggests eminent domain and urban renewal clearance might be

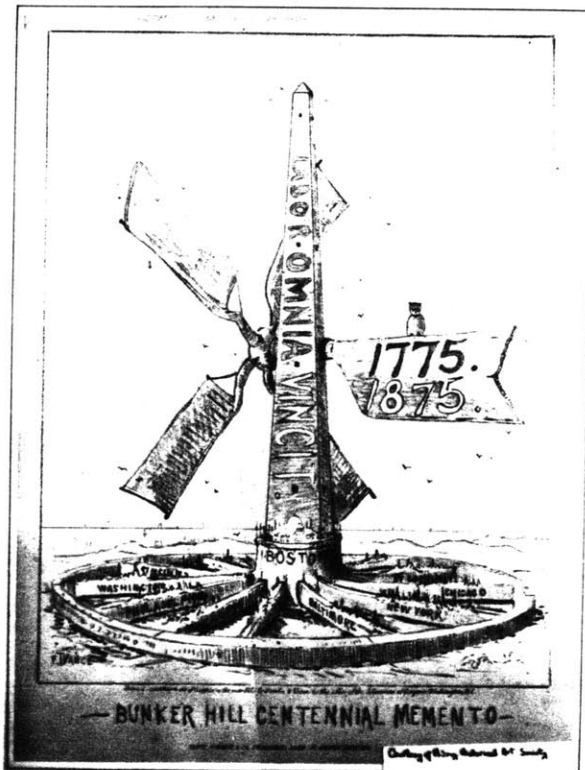


Figure 8-1. "Bunker Hill Centennial Memento".
Courtesy BPL Print Dept.

used to restore at least a part of the battlefield immediately to the north of Monument Square. Posterity here would clearly prefer an open battlefield to a grandiose monument.

Some of the first BHMA members shared this vision, too, but were not able to deflect other interests as the 15-acre purchase shrank to the small mound at the base of the obelisk. In summary, these interests included: the selection of the rather single-minded architect Willard; seizure of the opportunity for technological experiment adaptable for commercial benefit; and the overlap between the construction period with the urbanization of Charlestown. The need for visible achievement, for something to show for their money, contributed too. As an 1875 cartoon mockingly states "Labor Conquers All" (Figure 8-1).

By the time of the Civil War, the movement to preserve open land for beauty and enjoyment was well under way. However, the desire for man-made markers continued throughout the nineteenth-century and into present times, although perhaps never with so great a lost opportunity as at the battlefield of Bunker Hill.

1. Boston National Historic Sites Commission, p. 167.

<u>Lot #</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Grantee</u>	<u>Price</u>	<u>\$/ft²</u>
Note to Appendix 1: "Ref." column gives book number and then page number of folios in Middlesex County Registry of Deeds, Middlesex County Courthouse, Cambridge, Mass.						
1,2	25Sept39	388-93	BHMA	Jacob Foss of Charlestown distiller	\$2757.41	\$.21
	10June47	511-114	Jacob Foss	David Snow		
	30Oct50	561-157	David Snow of Charlestown merchant part of lots 1 and 2	Union M.E. Trustees of	350.00	
3	25Sept40	396-223	BHMA	Amos A. Lawrence of Boston merchant	1152.00	.32
4,5,6	28Oct40	396-443	BHMA	Samuel M. Felton of Charlestown civil engineer	2620.80	.26
6	5June46	487-257	Samuel Felton	H.L. Jaques of Charlestown gentleman	2025.00	
4	17June46	486-459	Samuel Felton	Henry A. Pierce of Charlestown merchant	2412.00	
	note: by 1855 Felton was living in Philadelphia (L.561-f.221)					
7	2Nov40	398-112	BHMA	Abijah Goodridge of Charlestown gentleman	1184.94	.29
	31Dec44	452-422	Abijah Goodridge	John Cheever of Charlestown physician	1184.94	
10	24Sept40	396-224	BHMA	William R. Lawrence of Brookline merchant	659.86	.17
11	26Sept40	396-250	BHMA	Henry Codman of Roxbury esquire	621.89	.16
	10Sept45	468-534	Henry Codman	Phineas Stone of Charlestown trader		
	21Aug47	511-124	Phineas Stone	City of Charlestown	6338.00	
	note: City of Charlestown bought lots 11 and 12					

<u>Lot #</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Grantee</u>	<u>Price</u>	<u>\$/ft²</u>
12	2Sept40	396-55	BHMA	Orson Swetland no location gentleman	\$604.82	\$.155
	22 May45	459-509	Orson Swetland	Phineas & Amos Stone		
	note: Amos conveyed his interest to Phineas, 4 Aug 46, L.459-f.509					
	21 Aug 47	511-124	Phineas Stone	City of Charlestown	6338.00	
	see note lot 11					
13	25Sept40	396-226	BHMA	William R. Lawrence	660.75	.20
	see lot 10					
14,15	28Oct40	396-445	BHMA	Samuel Felton	1489.62	.22
	see lot 4					
15	22Sept45	466-400	Samuel Felton	Phineas J. Stone	975.00	
	see lot					
14	22 Sept45	466-399	Samuel Felton	Amos Stone of Charlestown housewright	975.00	
16	6Oct40	397-68	BHMA	George W. Warren of Charlestown attorney at law	457.43	.145
17	24Sept40	395-541	BHMA	George W. Warren	281.88	.1025
	see lot 16					
18	14May45	464-123	BHMA	John C. Warren of Boston physician	275.00	.10
	note this deed was conveyed in Suffolk County 29 Sept 40					
	14May45	464-128	John C. Warren	George W. Warren	1.00	
19,20	14May45	464-122	BHMA	William Appleton of Boston esquire	550.00	.10
	note this deed was conveyed in Suffolk County 29 Sept 40					
	14May45	464-127	William Appleton	George W. Warren	1.00	
	note see also lots 39, 40					
21	18Sept40	395-516	BHNA	John H. Sweet of Boston jeweller	357.50	.13
22	25Sept40	396-228	BHMA	William R. Lawrence	545.60	.235
	see lot					

<u>Lot #</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Grantee</u>	<u>Price</u>	<u>\$/ft²</u>
23	19April42	415-160	BHMA	Albert Baker no location merchant	\$583.62	\$.185
24,25,26,27,28	24Sept40	396-245	BHMA	Alanson Tucker of Boston merchant	1650.00	.12
	25Sept40	396-247	Alanson Tucker	William W. Stone of Boston merchant (Trustee)	1.00	
26	19April42	415-164	BHMA	Albert Baker	872.85	.3175
29	60ct40	397-65	BHMA	George W. Warren see lot	562.86	.24
30	22Sept40	395-514	BHMA	John H. Sweet	658.38	.19
31,32,33,34,35	25Sept40	396-241	BHMA	Alanson Tucker	2671.47	.19
37	60ct40	397-66	BHMA	George W. Warren	1075.63	.285
38	19April42	415-162	BHMA	Albert Baker	875.88	.215
39	14May45	464-120	BHMA	William Appleton	827.40	.20
		note deed recorded in Suffolk Co. 29Sept40				
	14May45	464-127	William Appleton	George W. Warren	1.00	
		note see lots 19 and 20				
40,41	14May45	464-125	BHMA	John C. Warren	1832.39	.20
	14May45	464-128	John C. Warren	George W. Warren	1.00	
		note see lot 18				
42	25Sept40	396-230	BHMA	William R. Lawrence see lot	1337.54	.225
43	50ct40	397-38	BHMA	Philander S. Briggs of Charlestown gentleman	1074.02	.215
44	14May45	464-119	BHMA	William Appleton	610.13	.34
	14May45	464-127	William Appleton	George W. Warren	1.00	
		note see lots 19,20,34				
45	25June42	417-326	BHMA	Amos Binney of Boston gentleman	1352.43	.32

<u>Lot #</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Grantee</u>	<u>Price</u>	<u>\$/ft²</u>
<u>No deed restrictions:</u>						
40	26Sept41	400-114	BHMA	Joseph Curtis of Boston gentleman	\$485.41	\$.14
47	29?Sept40	396-239	BHMA	Joshua H. Walcott of Boston merchant	440.22	.125
48	24march40	391-291	BHMA	Jotham Bush of Boston trader	356.93	.100
49	24Sept40	395-543	BHMA	George W. Warren	547.99	.13
50,51,52	19?April42	415-166	BHMA	Albert Baker see lot	903.43	.0875
53	26Oct40	396-408	BHMA	Nathnaiel Crocker of Charlestown shipwright	238.10	.08
54	10Oct40	397-12	BHMA	John Cheever of Charlestown	228.58	.08
	10Oct40	397-9	John Cheever	Hiram P. Remick of Charlestown Moroco <sic> manufacturer	428.59	
55	10Oct40	397-10	BHMA	John Cheever see lot 54	232.75	.085
56	28Oct40	396-440	BHMA	Amos Stone of Charlestown housewright	222.64	.085
	28Oct40	396-442	Amos Stone	Abijah Goodridge	635.98	
	note : land was used as security for a loan					
57	60Oct40	397-70	BHMA	Amos Stone	237.52	.095
58,59,60	2Nov40	398-110	BHMA	Abijah Goodridge	760.49	.11
	5 April43	425-563	Abijah Goodridge	John Cheever	937.50	

<u>Lot #</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Grantee</u>	<u>Price</u>	<u>\$/ft²</u>
61	6Jan41	399-95	BHMA	Asahel C. Palmer Benjamin F. Whipple of Charlestown housewrights	\$228.22	\$.12
62	6Oct40	397-54	BHMA	Daniel J. Coburn of Charlestown deputy sheriff	196.51	.09
63	29Oct40	396-452	BHMA	Alanson Tucker	174.68	.08
	29Oct40	396-453	Alanson Tucker	William W. Stone	174.68	
			note see lots			
64,65	2Nov40	398-108	BHMA	Abijah Goodridge	349.36	.08
65	7Sept41	406-345	Abijah Goodridge	John Cheever of Charlestown gentleman	545.87	
66	25Sept39	388-140	BHMA	Joseph F. Boyd of Charlestown sailmaker	169.22	.0775
67	30Sept40	396-302	BHMA	John B. Caldwell of Charlestown no occupation	169.22	.0775
68	6Oct40	397-62	BHMA	Phineas J. Stone of Charlestown grocer	163.76	.075
69,70	7Sept40	396-105	BHMA	William Sawyer attorney at law Timothy T. Sawyer merchant both of Charlestown	343.90	.0787
71	6Oct40	397-63	BHMA	George W. Warren	195.06	.08
72	24SEpt40	395-545	BHAM	George W. Warren	192.89	.10
73	25Sept39	388-67	BHMA	John B. Wilson of Charlestown no occupation	163.76	.075
74,75,76	15July40	395-167	BHMA	James Hunnewell of Charlestown merchant	491.28	.075
77,78	17Aug41	408-216	BHMA	James Dana Charlestown no occupation	327.52	.075

<u>Lot #</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Grantee</u>	<u>Price</u>	<u>\$/ft²</u>
79,80,81,82	22July40	394-302	BHMA	James Hunnewell of Charlestown merchant	\$796.19	\$.0883
83	10Oct40	397-8	BHMA	John Cheever	233.77	.115
84	18Jan40	389-441	BHMA	Charles Blasdell of Charlestown boatbuilder	163.76	.075
85,86,87	29Sept41	406-560	BHMA	Jabez Hayward of Charlestown housewright	491.28	.075
	29Sept41	406-562	Jabez Hayward	John Hayward son of Jabez Hayward of LYnnfield shoemaker	1.00	
88	11Feb41	400-158	BHMA	Aaron Crowell no location no occupation	163.76	.075
89,90	60Oct40	397-58	BHMA	Elijah Bigelow	327.52	.075
91	17Sept40	395-534	BHMA	Wilder Beal of Boston grocer	169.22	.075
92	220ct40	396-338	BHMA	Samuel Cutter of Charlestwn no occupation	191.05	.0875
	220ct40	396-340	Samuel Cutter provision dealer	Richard Lavers	337.51	
	220ct40	396-340	Richard Lavers mechanic	Samuel Cutter	237.50	
			note seems to have settled a debt of \$118.75 owed to Cutter by Lavers			
93	60Oct40	397-56	BHMA	Charles D. Gibson of Charlestown merchant	219.43	.09
94	25Sept39	388-74	BHMA	James Armstrong of Charlestown gentleman	250.75	.13

<u>Lot #</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Ref.</u>	<u>Grantor</u>	<u>Grantee</u>	<u>Price</u>	<u>\$/ft²</u>
95	21Sept40	395-493	BHMA	John Southwick of Charlestown housewright	\$251.10	\$.115
96	7April42	412-294	BHMA	Abel Barker of Westford yeoman	196.51	.09
97,98,99,100,101,102	24Sept40	395-538	BHMA	Sampson Warren of Charlestown grocer	1146.33	.0112
103	17Jan40	389-443	BHMA	William Hunnewell of Charlestown wheelwright	229.27	.105
104	19April42	415-167	BHMA	Albert Baker	395.92	.1525
105,106,107,108,109	17July40	394-217	BHMA	Shadrach Varney of Charlestown no occupation	1004.84	.12
110,111	22May40	392-443	BHMA	Henry A. Rice of Charlestown housewright	428.08	.1125
112	23June40	394-163	BHMA	Charles Freeman of Charlestown blockmaker	303.14	.135
113	17Nov42	420-254	BHMA	David Snow of Boston merchant	539.68	.187
114,115	29Mar45	453-539	BHMA	William W. Wheildon of Charlestown editor	924.08	.1537
note this deed was registered in Suffolk Co. 29Sept40						
<u>other:</u>						
12Oct40		398-21	BHMA	Nathan Pratt of Charlestown merchant	449.82	
description":Northwesterly half of a 20' passage abutting Pratt's land						
Total from land sale in 1839:				<u>\$52,542.61</u>		
(\$ received for the most part in 1840)						
(Not including Pratt transaction)						
Original cost of land:				around <u>\$23,000</u>		

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