



FRONTISPIECE. PULPIT OF THE CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON, 1772-73.
(SPNEA collection; photograph by J. David Bohl.)

OLD-TIME NEW ENGLAND

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Thomas Dawes's Church in Brattle Square

FREDERIC C. DETWILLER

The significance of Boston's now-destroyed church of 1772 in Brattle Square, at the corner of Brattle Street (now Government Center Plaza), designed by Thomas Dawes, has long been overlooked. The church building's innovative entrance pavilion form was widely imitated and its interior especially made it one of the crowning architectural achievements of eighteenth-century Boston. It was an important "missing link" which combined elements of the traditional square New England meetinghouse with the longitudinal Anglican church of the eighteenth century. The resulting hybrid, with Palladian elements added, became the basis for well-known later designs including that of the First Baptist Meetinghouse of 1774 in Providence, Rhode Island, and at least two other churches in Massachusetts designed by Charles Bulfinch about 1790. Asher Benjamin's "Design for a Church," published in his 1797 *Country Builder's Assistant*, evolved from the earlier examples. Benjamin's "Design" became the source for many famous early nineteenth-century meetinghouse-churches built throughout New England.

Congregation

Dr. Samuel Cooper, among the fund-raisers for the rebuilding of Harvard Hall in 1764-66 by Thomas Dawes, was pastor of the old "Manifesto Church" when a new building became necessary in 1772.¹ The congregation consisted of many of the aspiring aristocrats of the provincial capital. An early (ca. 1774) plan gives the pew locations of many of the town's leading citizens and reads like a veritable *Who's Who* in Boston at the time of the Revolution (fig. 1).

On the building committee were two governors. John Hancock, a major subscriber to the building, gave the pulpit, bible, and bell. James Bowdoin, who offered a new site which was turned down, also offered materials; his son of the same name later gave the gallery clock.²

Many other Boston notables worshipped at the church, including John and Samuel

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FIG. 2. CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON. Perspective of the original building of ca. 1773. (Conjectural restoration drawings by the author.)

New England. Little else is known of his architectural work.⁵

Dawes, a "real friend" of John Hancock, was later deacon of the Old South Society for whom he had recently completed a design in 1770 for a block of stores having a pedimented Palladian pavilion on its front facade (see Appendix A). These stores, considerably enlarged from the original scheme, were erected as "South Row" on Washington Street in 1800, with Dawes acting as agent. In 1782, Dawes "drew the plan," as we are told in his eulogy by Rev. Joseph Eckley, for the renovation of Old South after it was gutted by the British during the occupation. In 1784-85, he redesigned the interior of the Old First Church on Cornhill, later Washington, Street, and added a two-story portico. Both changes at the First Church, according to its records, were made "agreeable to Colonel Dawes's plan."⁶

Copley's design for Brattle Square, of which little is known except that it was "admired for its elegance and grandeur"



FIG. 3. POSSIBLE PARTIAL DESIGN SOURCE FOR THE CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON. Design for a church in Leeds, Yorkshire, by William Halfpenny. From *The Art of Sound Building* (London, 1725).

and the apparent favorite of James Bowdoin, was not accepted by the building committee. This was, as related in the building committee's letter to Copley, because the cost of its construction would "much exceed the funds the Society depended upon for the purpose." Thus, Thomas Dawes's design was adopted.⁷ While perhaps more restrained than Copley's, nevertheless it was to inspire others with its innovative characteristics.

Dawes's design for the Brattle Square Church incorporated elements of Old South, a traditional meetinghouse with its main entrance on the long side, and King's Chapel (ca. 1750), the Gibbs-inspired Anglican Church which had its pulpit opposite the gable-end tower entrance. Other features were derived from Peter Harrison's Christ Church in Cambridge, Ma. (ca. 1761). While Dawes retained an Ionic columned side entrance portico at the Brattle Square Church, he provided its outside corners with quoins, and ornamented the tower facade with a pedimented pavilion having a Doric frontispiece and a Palladian window at the front, a combination unprecedented in New England (fig. 2).⁸ Dawes may have seen a church design shown in William Halfpenny's *Art of Sound Building* (1725) which has some of these feature (fig. 3); however he also derived many of its details from designs for Marybone Chapel and St. Martin-in-the-Fields in his own copy of James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture* (1739). The sanctuary's beautifully carved pulpit and massive Corinthian columns of colossal scale led to a description as late as 1843 that "in its interior aspect it is one of the most solemn and imposing churches in the city."⁹

Influence

The original Brattle Square Church design had far-reaching influence. Although a spire was never completed at Boston, the now-famous First Baptist Meetinghouse of 1775 in Providence (fig. 4), still extant, was completed on a similar design. Its entrance pavilion and meetinghouse-church hybrid plan, unprecedented in any pattern book, were derived at least in part from the Brattle Square Church design. Two facts connect the later Providence church with the Church in Brattle Square. Not only was the building committee of the Providence church sent to Boston in February of 1774 to look at churches but James Sumner of



SW. View of the BAPTIST MEETING HOUSE, Providence, R.I.

FIG. 4. MEETINGHOUSE OF THE FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH, PROVIDENCE, CA. 1774-75. Perspective view, from *Massachusetts Magazine* (August 1789) 1:469.

Boston, who had done part of the carpentry work at Brattle Square, was hired to superintend the First Baptist's construction, along with Joseph Brown of Providence. The building committee from Providence, instructed "to view the different churches and meetinghouses" in Boston and "to make a memorandum of their several dimensions and forms of architecture," undoubtedly saw not only the Brattle Square Church under construction, but also probably viewed Dawes's "plans" for it.¹⁰

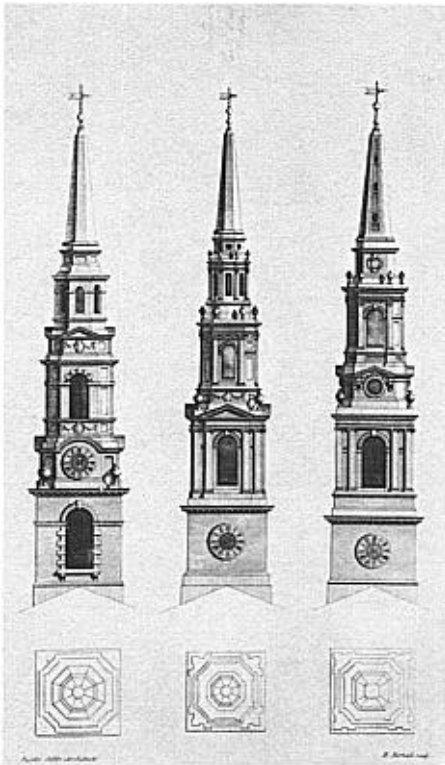


FIG. 5. ALTERNATIVE DESIGNS FOR SPIRE, ST. MARTIN-IN-THE-FIELDS, LONDON. Plate 30, annotated "Providence," in Thomas Dawes's copy of James Gibbs, *A Book of Architecture* (London, 1739).

Above the design for the First Baptist's spire in Dawes's own copy of Gibb's *Book of Architecture* (still preserved at the Boston Athenaeum) is written in pencil "Providence," and a different Gibbs spire may have been intended for Brattle Square (fig. 5). Certainly, the attribution of the Providence church's design solely to Joseph Brown may have to be re-evaluated in light of a comparison of the two buildings as they were originally built. The First Baptist Church, although executed in wood, was apparently painted to resemble stone, as

was not uncommon in the eighteenth century. Its design is markedly similar to that of Dawes's Brattle Square Church, having its innovative pedimented pavilion with front Palladian "Venetian" window over the frontispiece, quoins at the corners, and hybrid meetinghouse-church interior plan. Some modifications were undoubtedly derived from observations made at Peter Harrison's King's Chapel, also based on Gibbs's *Book of Architecture*, as well as Joseph Brown's own copy of Gibbs.¹¹ While Brown's church was perhaps more faithful to the Gibbs prototypes, Dawes's design appears to have been a more original composition.

Charles Bulfinch seems to have had his first architectural awakening (which took the form of a crude drawing of a Corinthian column) at the time of construction of his uncle Samuel Cooper's church in Brattle Square, where the family kept a pew (fig. 6). While the massive Corinthian columns of the interior of the church may have provided the inspiration (such was the view from the Bulfinch pew, Number 10), it is also known that Bulfinch was associated with Dawes on several later projects, among which were the Old State House Colonnade and Triumphal Arch (1789), New State House (1787-98), Stoughton Hall at Harvard (1804), and Faneuil Hall (1805).¹²

Bulfinch later designed one church of his own which had a Palladian pavilion apparently derived from Dawes's Brattle Square design; a second Bulfinch church evolved from it with a modified pavilion concept. The first was his Congregational Church at Pittsfield, Massachusetts (1790-93), which had a strikingly similar Palladian entrance pavilion; at the second church at Taunton, Massachusetts (1790-92), the pavilion was widened to include three bays and made shallower. The major elements remained intact: Doric frontispiece, Palladian window, and pediment.¹³

The Bulfinch designs were in turn synthesized by Asher Benjamin in his "Design

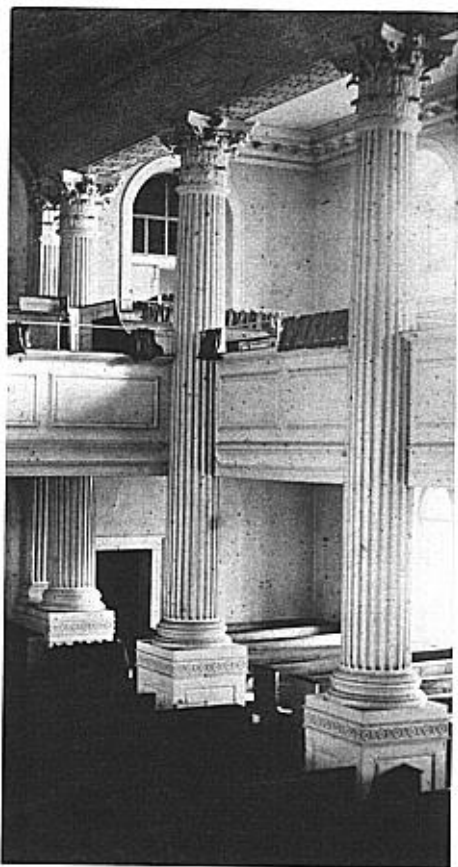


FIG. 6. UNIDENTIFIED CORINTHIAN COLUMN. Charles Bulfinch's first architectural drawing (left), done ca. 1773, at age ten. From Harold Kirker, *The Architecture of Charles Bulfinch* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969; reproduced courtesy of the author). CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON, 1772-73. Interior, showing the Bulfinch pew, Number 10, behind the column at the right. (Photograph, ca. 1866-72, SPNEA collection.)

for a Church," published in his book, *The Country Builder's Assistant*, of 1797. Benjamin's design completed the meeting-house-to-church evolution (fig. 7). Benjamin, who had worked on the construction of Bulfinch's Connecticut State Capitol in Hartford in 1795, also worked near Bulfinch's Pittsfield church and thus was probably familiar with his work.¹⁴ The Benjamin design was the source of many of our well-known New England meetinghouse-churches which evolved into a multiplicity of interpretations of Dawes's original Palladian pavilion concept. Thus the words

used by Rev. Joseph Eckley of Old South in his eulogy of Dawes in 1809 seem appropriate:

From the calling he pursued, and in which he acted as a principal, he greatly amended the style of architecture; and there is now a considerable number of private as well as some public edifices in this town and in the vicinity, indebted for their beauty and conveniency to his skill¹⁵

Building

An advertisement was placed in the *Boston News-Letter* on February 20, 1772, re-

questing suppliers of building materials to submit sealed bids to the building committee (see Appendix B). The architect, Dawes, who laid the cornerstone of the Church in Brattle Square in Boston on June 23, 1773, according to Palfrey, also did half the masonry work; William Homer, Benjamin Richardson, and David Bell did the other half. Benjamin Eustis and one "Mr. Crafts" did half the carpenter's work; Benjamin Sumner, Jr. and James Sumner, a quarter; the other quarter was done by John Stetson and Nathaniel Call, with William Flagg, James Robbins, Benjamin Sumner, Joseph Eustis and Mr. Appleton assisting. Captain John Gore and Mr. Daniel Roe were the painters.¹⁶ The church was erected on Brattle Square (fig. 8), and although it was ready for occupancy in only thirteen months, "the design of the architect, which included a spire, was postponed on account of the approaching troubles of the Revolution, [and] never completed".¹⁷

The church was described in the "Geographical Gazetteer of Massachusetts" which appeared in the *Boston Magazine* of 1784-85:

The inside is richly finished agreeably to the Corinthian order. The diameter of the columns is 2 feet 2 inches at the base. From the entablature springs the arch over the centre. The pulpit of mahogany is the most elegantly finished work in the Town. The corners of the building outside, and of the tower, are of free stone rusticated. On the S. side is a portico of the Ionick order, of 8 pillars and pilasters. On the W. side of the tower is a large and elegant frontispiece of the Dorick order, over which is a Venetian window of the Ionick order. The tower, on which the steeple is to stand, is 90 feet in height.¹⁸

The church's mahogany pulpit (see frontispiece) and furniture were, according to Rev. William Palfrey, completed by Mr. Crafts under John Hancock's personal direction. A later nineteenth-century writer credits William Crafts, who did other work for John Hancock, with the Brattle Square

Church work, although his father Thomas was also a housewright, and his brother, Thomas, Jr. a joiner and painter. The bell, made in London and hung October 28, 1774, was said to be the "largest on the continent," weighing 3,220 pounds.¹⁹

During the Revolution, the church was considered for use by the Seventeenth Regiment of British dragoons. However, because its interior columns were structurally required, it was spared the fate of Old South, whose columns and galleries were removed to allow for its use as a cavalry riding school. Still, despite the protests of the congregation, the Brattle Square church was used by the troops of the Twenty-Ninth Regiment as a British barracks. General Gage made his headquarters opposite, and reportedly stated he had no fear for his troops quartered "within such walls."²⁰

The interior fittings were preserved, nevertheless, by church deacons Gore and Newell who, according to Palfrey, dismantled and stored the body pews and cased the columns and pulpit. Relatively minor damage to the church consisted of sword slashes in the woodwork, defacement of the stone quoin bearing Hancock's name, and an American cannonball scar next to the Palladian window in the front pavilion, besides its being "grossly polluted" by its use as a barracks.²¹

After the departure of the British in 1776, the church was refitted and a quoin in the tower again inscribed with Hancock's name. As part of these repairs, the society voted "that screens be put in to secure the belfry against the weather," and stoves were introduced in the winter of 1782-83. As a result of a movement, begun as early as 1773, to reduce the encroachment of the column bases in certain pews, the dado cornices of the columns were finally removed in 1792. This was at the time of the installation of the organ when two columns similar to the others supporting the upper gallery at the tower end of the church were removed, the gallery reduced, and smaller

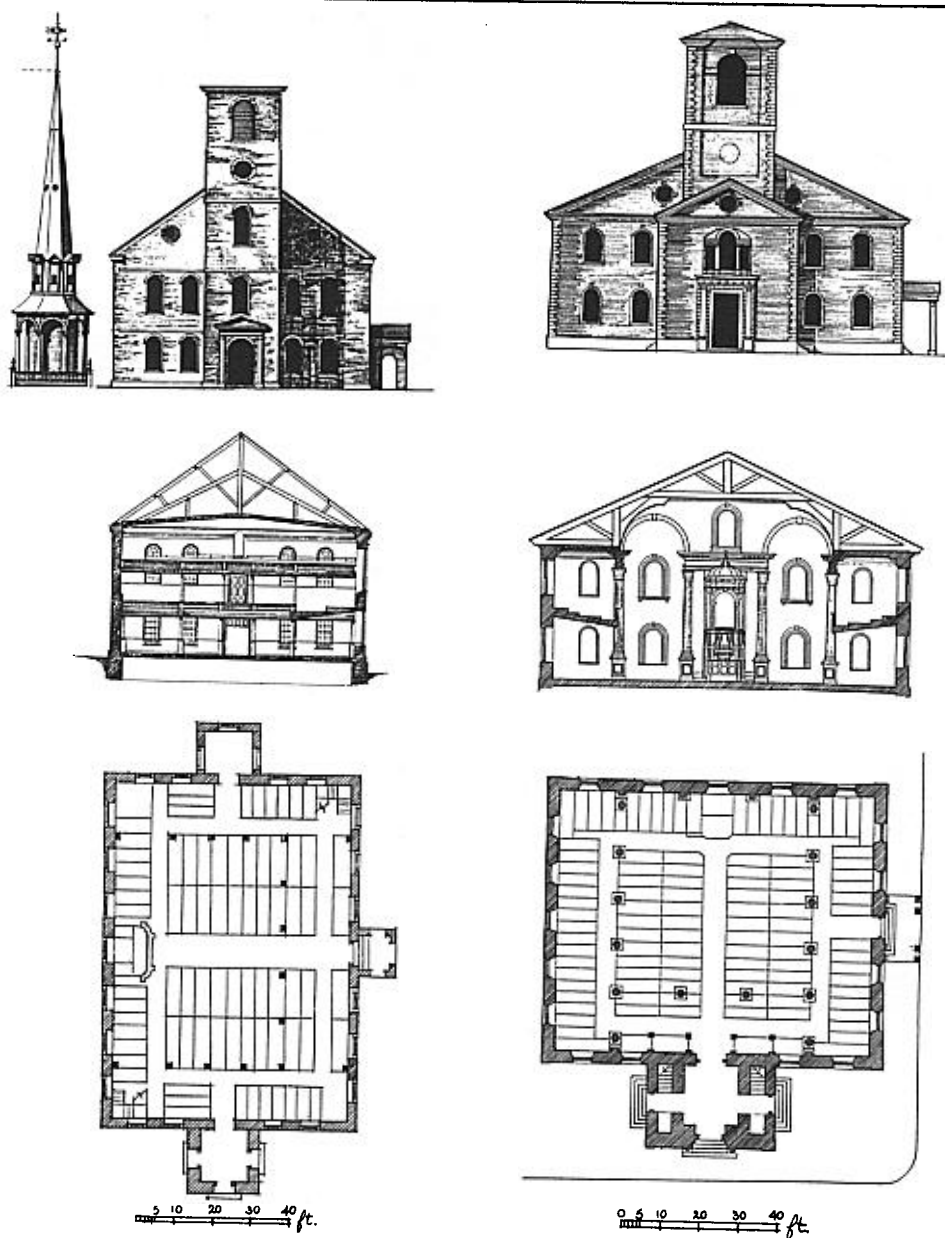
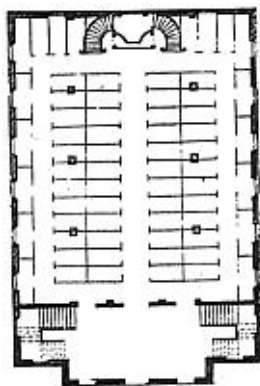
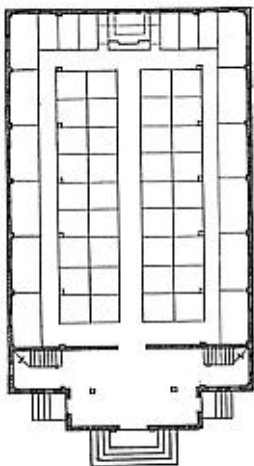
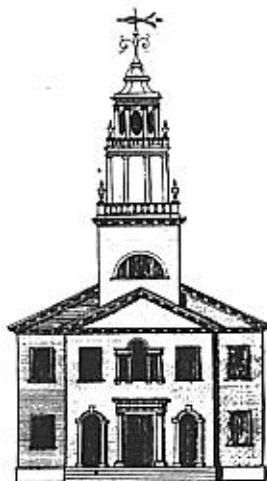


FIG. 7. MEETINGHOUSE TO CHURCH. Evolution of elevation, plans, and sections, compiled by the author: (left to right) Old South Meetinghouse, Boston, 1729-30, Joshua Blanchard, builder; Church in Brattle Square, Boston, 1772-73, Thomas Dawes, architect-builder; Congregational Church,



5 10 20 30 40 ft.

5 10 20 30 40 ft.

Pittsfield, Mass., 1790-93, Charles Bulfinch, architect; Design for a Church, ca. 1797, from Asher Benjamin, *The Country Builder's Assistant* (Boston, 1798).

BRATTLE STREET (AND)
BRATTLE SQUARE.



FIG. 8. THE CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON. Site plan as shown in Plate 243, John G. Hales, *Maps of the Street-Lines of Boston, Made for the Selectmen in 1819 and 1820*. A facsimile copy (Boston, 1894) is in the collection of the SPNEA. [Note: church perimeter is incomplete on original.]

columns installed to accommodate it. John Hancock was again involved personally, this time having the organ built and shipped to Boston from London (see Appendix C.)²²

In 1807 the south entrance portico was removed and replaced by a two-story porch containing stairs to the gallery. This porch was in turn removed in 1824 by order of the city to allow the widening of Brattle Street, and at that time alterations were also made to the tower front of the building. On this Brattle Square facade, two anteroom extensions with interior stairs were made flanking the tower pavilion, and the quoins moved to the corners. The cannonball was inserted in the masonry where it had struck in 1776. The church was newly painted and carpeted. Window blinds and fabric of pew

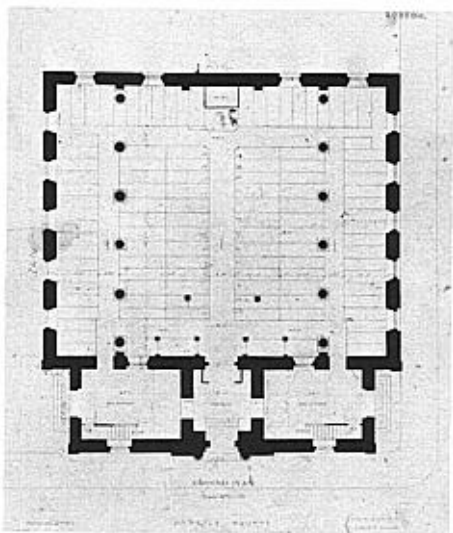


FIG. 9. CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON. Ground floor plan. Drawing by Gridley J.F. Bryant, 1866. (SPNEA collection.)

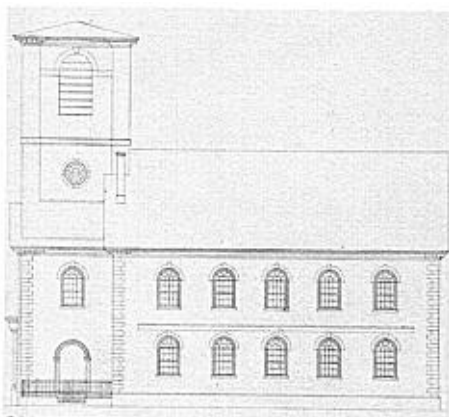


FIG. 10. CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON. Side elevation. Drawing of unidentified authorship, ca. 1866-72. (SPNEA collection.)

cushions (one of which survives in the SPNEA collection) were green. These were the final improvements of importance made before the ultimate destruction of the

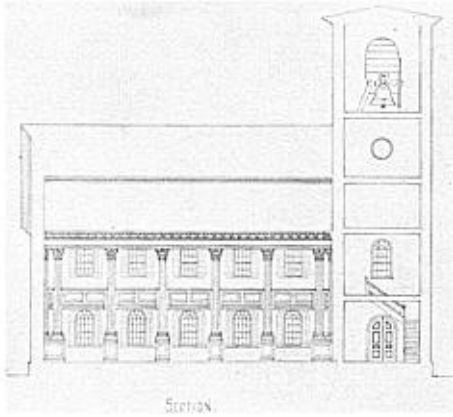


FIG. 11. CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON. Section looking south. Drawing of unidentified authorship, ca. 1866-72. (SPNEA collection.)

church in 1872-74.²³ Its former site is now part of Government Center Plaza near the new Boston City Hall.

Significance

The Brattle Street church has been unappreciated by architectural historians, not only because it was "greatly altered" in the nineteenth century, but also as a result of its eventual loss by demolition. In light of the importance of this well-documented but destroyed building, one must reconsider the effect such vanished buildings may have had on their contemporaries. In some cases one can learn more about a well-documented building which has disappeared than from a surviving one which has come down to us with extensive alteration and no documentation.

Fortunately, not only is the Brattle Square Church well-documented but it is also one of the earliest examples, after the Hancock House in 1863, of thorough architectural recording of an endangered building. In addition to a complete set of measured drawings made ca. 1866-71 (figs. 9-12), a comprehensive set of exterior and interior photos was taken prior to its de-

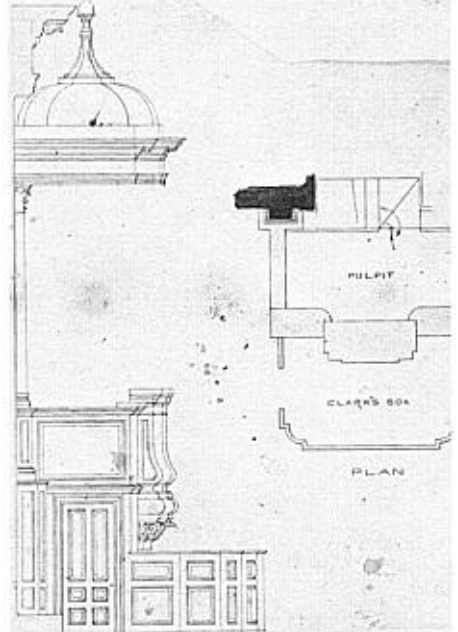


FIG. 12. CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON. Pulpit plan and side elevation. Drawing of unidentified authorship, ca. 1866-72. (SPNEA collection.)

struction (figs. 13-16). The drawings were made, at least in part, by architect Gridley J.F. Bryant who, with Arthur Gilman in 1861, had designed one of the last great mid-nineteenth century Gibbs-inspired buildings, the Arlington Street Church. In addition to other church-related material, a beautifully executed large scale model of the Brattle Square Church approximately as it was at the time of its demolition is in the collection of the Bostonian Society.

Portions of the interior woodwork of the Brattle Square Church were even salvaged. Remains of John Hancock's mahogany pulpit, including the carved base and desk as well as other woodwork fragments, are in the collection of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. The mahogany deacon's bench, among other items, is in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society. The stone



FIG. 13. CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON. View from southwest showing Faneuil Hall. (Photograph ca. 1866-72; SPNEA collection.)



FIG. 14. CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON. View of frontispiece and Palladian "Venetian" window. (Photograph ca. 1866-72, SPNEA collection.)

quoins of the exterior were incorporated into the congregation's new church, now the First Baptist Church on Commonwealth Avenue at Clarendon Street.²⁴

A short time after its removal to the Back Bay, the Brattle Square Society dissolved; its surviving records are preserved at the Boston Public Library. Thus, the congregation met the fate of the old church building itself. We must agree, as was stated at the time of its demolition, that

... it is a matter of regret, not simply to the worshippers in this church, but to the great body of our citizens generally, that this noble and glorious old edifice, this splendid landmark of the past, should pass away.²⁵

We are fortunate, however, in that the architectural ideas which it engendered continue to live.

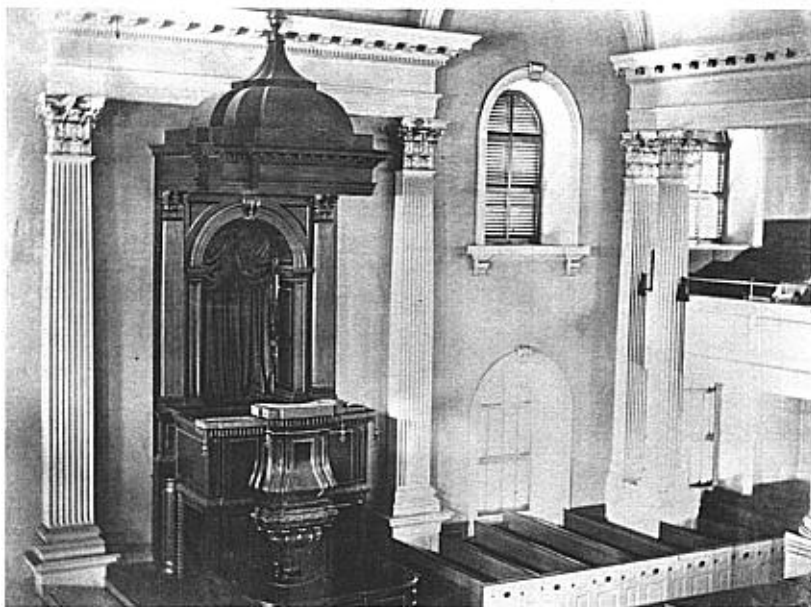


Fig. 15. CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON. View of east end, interior, showing pulpit. (Photograph ca. 1866-72; SPNEA collection.)

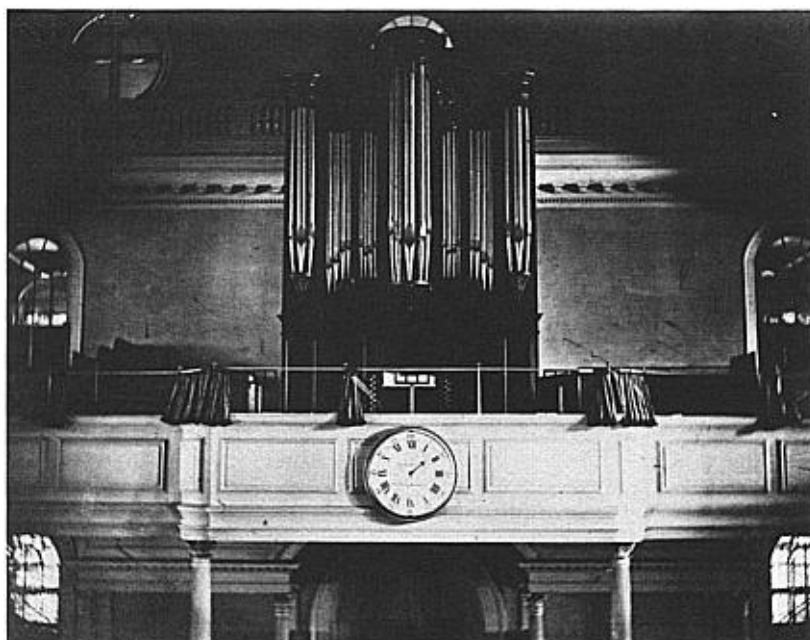
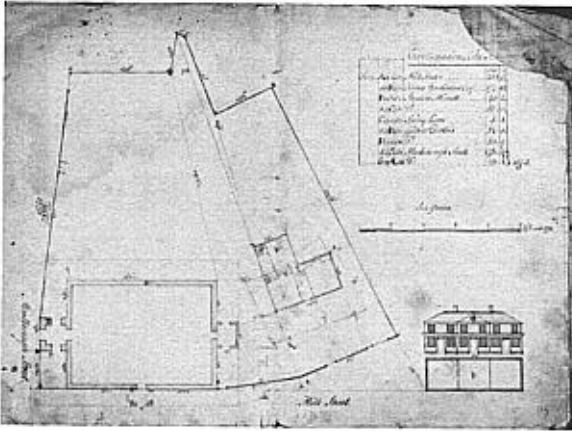


FIG. 16. CHURCH IN BRATTLE SQUARE, BOSTON. View of west end, interior, showing organ. (Photograph ca. 1866-72; SPNEA collection.)

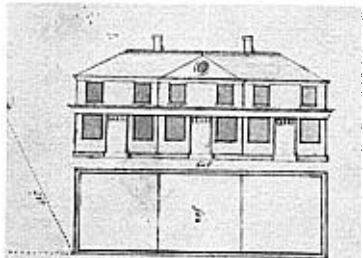
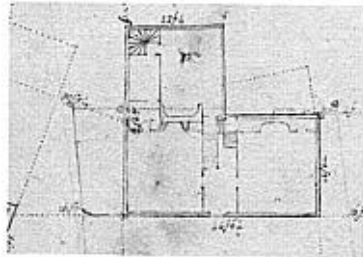
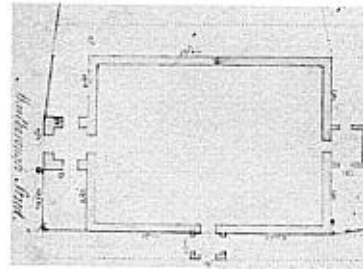
APPENDIX A

"PLAN OF THE OLD SOUTH LAND, MEETING HOUSE & PARSONAGE HOUSE," (inscription on verso), by Thomas Dawes, 1770, Boston.



Dawes's Old South Society property plan is important for several reasons. First, it is a scale drawing which shows the basic outline plan and gives the dimensions of the meetinghouse as it stood before the Revolution. Second, it shows the plan, including the interior, of the old parsonage of 1710 which disappeared by 1809. Finally, it shows a design for a commercial block with a hip roof and pediment which, with its Palladian form, was unprecedented in New England.

Among further reasons for the drawing's importance are that it is the earliest and only known architectural drawing of the period which incorporates three elements: a site plan, measured drawings of existing buildings, and a design elevation for a proposed structure. The quality of its execution is surprising considering its small scale of one inch to twenty feet (overall size 13" by 17¾"). The precision of its draftsmanship, tinted and shaded, was unsurpassed in the field of architecture in New England, so far as is known, until the arrival of Charles Bulfinch, with whom Thomas Dawes worked after the Revolution. The rarity of the drawing becomes clear when one considers that not a single architectural drawing by Peter Harrison, architect of King's Chapel, is known to have survived, whereas, with the Old South Plan, we have a three-in-one sampler of Dawes's work.



APPENDIX B

A list of building materials for the Church in Brattle Square (1772). From George F. Dow, *The Arts and Crafts in New England* (Topsfield, Ma.: 1927), pp. 219-21.

BUILDING MATERIALS.—WANTED, For building a New Meeting-House in Brattle-Street, Boston, the materials following:

Good Stones for the Foundation and Cellar, Stones for two or three Courses above Ground, to be hammered to a good Face, each one Foot in height, and not less to go into the Wall.

Free Stone, or other kind of Stone of a light Colour, that will answer for Rustic Quoins, &c.

800 Thousand Bricks eight Inches long four wide and two thick, to be made of tough well-tempered Clay, and well burnt, one quarter Part of them to be struck in Sand for the outward Face of the Building.

Four Thousand Sand Bricks for outside Arches, nine Inches long four & half wide and two & half thick.

One Thousand Water-table Bricks made in Proportion to the Others.

One & half Thousand O G Bricks for Facias, 8, 4 & 2.

Three hundred & thirty Hogsheads of the best Stone Lime.

Five Hundred Cart Loads of Sand of a good Grit and free from all Loom.

Oak Timber for the lower Floor of the proper Scantlings.

Pine Timber for the Roof, Galleries, &c. of proper Scantlings.

A Quantity of seasoned clear Boards.

A Quantity of seasoned Merchantable Boards.

A Quantity of Plank.

A Quantity of Joist.

Slate for the Roof.

Such Persons as incline to contract to supply the Materials abovementioned (all which must be such as shall be approved by the Committee and warranted good in their kind) are desired to write and seal up their Proposals (in which they are requested to describe the Quantity and Quality of the Articles they would supply them, also the lowest Price for the Money) and deliver their Proposals at the Shop of Mr. *Timothy Newell* in Dock Square, Boston, by the Eleventh Day of *March* next at farthest: After which Time,

as soon as may be, there will be a Meeting of the said Committee to open and consider of the Proposals; and the Preference will be given to such as shall appear best calculated to answer the Purpose and Interest of the Society. It is intended that the Building should be undertaken as soon as Materials can be had.—*Boston News-Letter*, Feb. 20, 1772.

APPENDIX C

The following letter regarding the construction of the organ for the Church in Brattle Square, Boston is in the collection of the Boston Public Library, Department of Rare Books and Manuscripts:

William Turner's letter respecting the Organ July 26—1791 [to] His Excellency John Hancock, Esq. Governor & Commander in Chief of the State Massachusetts at Boston

Hon. S [?] by Capt. Scott

London 26 July 1791

Sir—

Capt. Scott shew me an Order sent to Capt. Barnard by a Committee of the Church in Brattle Street, to have an Organ built which Order Capt. Barnard requested Capt. Scott to see complied with, in the address to Capt. Barnard Mr. G. & Lewis Dublois are requested to attend to the Building of the Organ but Mr. G. Dublois being in the Country for the recovery of his Health renders his assistance Impossible, & Mr. James Cutter who is likewise desired to see that Justice is done to the Committee being at prest. in France, Cannot give his opinion relative to what stops will be necessary for said Organ, Therefore out of respect for your Excellency & the Committee, I have waited on Mssrs. Longman & Brodrip, who are the gentlemen that will do great Justice to their Commands & have suggested to the Principal workman the Inclosed stops No. 1—[enclosures missing] & desired his Estimate for a Choir Organ & Swell, which the Committee will see by Examining No. 2—the price allowed by the Church is but 250 Pds. Sterling which money will not Compleat them an Organ Equal to their Expectations. No. 1 is the 250 Guinea Organ which will be done before the return of Capt. Scott, if requested by letter addressed to me, to be left at the New England Coffee House—It is my Opinion the Choir Organ and Swell will be a very great addition—the Hautboy

is a fine stop—Mr. Fraizier or Frazier will give something handsome towards the addition, by what I can learn. Capt. Scott attended with me relative to the Organ Business—

I am Dear Governor Your Obligated friend & Most Ob^t. Humble Servt.

William Turner

PS. Please to excuse my abridgements, being very unwell today—If the Committee don't Understand the Choir Organ & Swell, Mr. Selby Can make it plain to them—Yrs. as Subscribed before

NOTES

1. "The Character of Dr. Cooper," with a portrait by J. Norman, "Rev'd. Samuel Cooper, D.D.," *Boston Magazine* (March 1784): 191.

2. John G. Palfrey, *A Sermon Preached to the Church in Brattle Square; in two parts, July 18, 1824* (Boston: Oliver C. Greenleaf, 1825), pp. 63-64; 79. Bowdoin also offered to donate "bricks and stones" if the site he offered on Tremont Street were "generally agreed to," according to Samuel K. Lothrop, *History of the Church in Brattle Street* (Boston: Wm. Crosby and H.P. Nichols, 1851), p. 95.

3. *The Manifesto Church, Records of the Church in Brattle Square; with Lists of Communicants, Baptisms, Marriages, and Funerals, 1699-1872* (Boston: Benevolent Fraternity of Churches, 1902); see pulpit drawing, p. 34.

4. Henry W. Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel, 2 vols.* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1896), 2: 368, note 5.

5. Frederic C. Detwiller, "Thomas Dawes: Boston's Patriot Architect," *Old-Time New England*, Ser. 249-50 (Summer-Fall 1977); *A Sermon*, p. 64; James Bowdoin and Building Committee of Brattle Square Church to John Singleton Copley, August 1772, in *Letters and Papers of John Singleton Copley and Henry Pelham; 1739-1776* (New York: Kennedy Graphics, Inc., DaCapo Press, 1970), pp. 184-87; 136-38.

6. A book with its flyleaf inscribed "For Colonel Dawes, From his Real Friend, John Hancock, 1779" exists in a private collection. Thomas Dawes's work at Old South is discussed in Hamilton A. Hill, *History of Old South Church (Third Church), Boston, 1669-1884* (Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1890). See also, "Records of the Church and Congregation of the South Church Society, 1735-1819," Manuscript

in the collection of the Congregational Library, Boston, Mass.; "The Records of the First Church in Boston 1630-1868," in *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, vols. 39-41, ed. Richard D. Pierce (Boston: The Society, 1961), 39: 270-77; 40: 573-74.

7. Bowdoin and Building Committee in *Letters and Papers*, pp. 184-87; Palfrey, *A Sermon*, p. 64.

8. "Geographical Gazetteer of the Towns in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts," quoted in Foote, *Annals*, pp. 340-41; annotated copy, gift of publisher James Freeman, at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

9. S.H. Dickinson, *Boston Almanac* (Boston: Thomas Groom and Co., 1843), p. 73.

10. "Baptist Meetinghouse, Providence, R.I.," *Massachusetts Magazine*, Vol. 1, No. 8 (August 1789): 469; see also frontispiece view; church records quoted in Norman M. Isham, *The Meetinghouse of the First Baptist Church in Providence* (Providence: The Charitable Baptist Society, 1925), p. 2.

11. Isham, *Meetinghouse*.

12. Detwiller, "Thomas Dawes;" Harold Kirker, *The Architecture of Charles Bulfinch* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), pp. 2-3.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 25-32.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 58.

15. Rev. Joseph Eckley, *Obituary; Sketch of the Character of the Late Hon. Thomas Dawes, Esq. . . .* (Boston: Old South Church, 1809).

16. Palfrey, *A Sermon*, pp. 64-65; S.A. Drake, *The History and Antiquities of Boston* (Boston: Luther Stevens, 1856), p. 520.

17. Dickinson, *Boston Almanac*, p. 73.

18. "Geographical Gazetteer of . . . Massachusetts," quoted in Foote, *Annals*, p. 341.

19. Samuel A. Drake, *Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Co., 1875), p. 520; research file on William Crafts, Thomas Crafts, and Thomas Crafts, Jr., compiled by Clinton Savage, SPNEA; Thomas Newell, "Diary," *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society* (October 1877) 15: 335-63.

20. Palfrey, *A Sermon*, p. 65.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 65-8. Palfrey also quotes from building committee member Timothy Newell's manuscript journal found in the Jeremy Belknap papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Newell confirms some of the facts relating to his attempts to prevent damage to the church by the

British. Pieces of woodwork damages or inscribed by the troops, as well as the cannonball, are in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 73-74. William Turner to Gov. John Hancock, 26 July 1791, Rare Books and Manuscripts Collection of the Boston Public Library.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 79-80.

24. Drake, *Old Landmarks*, p. 124.

25. Samuel K. Lothrop, *A Discourse Preached in the Church in Brattle Square; on the Last Sunday of its Use for Public Worship, July 30, 1871* (Boston: John Wilson & Son, 1871), p. 24.