

The Province House and the Preservation Movement

Grander and more elaborate than any other building known in the American colonies, Boston's seventeenth-century Province House was demolished in 1922 to make way for a theater. As they documented the building amid wreckers' rubble, early preservationists wondering about its original appearance puzzled over how far conjecture may go beyond fact, a tension present in historic preservation to this day.

Boston's enthusiasm for change has repeatedly built and unbuilt beloved street-scapes and famous structures. Of the city's ill-fated buildings, the Province House, residence of seven royal governors, was the most prestigious. Architectural historian Abbott Lowell Cummings called it "one of the most ambitious houses erected in seventeenth-century New England," and historian Walter Muir Whitehill invoked it as a measure of Boston's seventeenth-century vitality. "Such a building, coming only half

a century after the first settlement of Boston, indicates the prosperity of trade," Whitehill remarked.¹

For two and a half centuries, the Province House stood at the crossroads of traffic and of governments—untouched by the great downtown fires, the city's waves of rebuilding, and even the street battles of the Revolution. Then in 1922, its physical location and its historical importance placed it at a new crossroads—the intersection of urban development and the young discipline of historic preservation.

Obscured by a coat of stucco applied

in 1851 and by the intrusion of late nineteenth-century buildings on every side, the Province House had generally been forgotten by the time that newspapers were chronicling its last days in late May 1922. By the first of June, people passing along Washington Street were witnessing its actual destruction as the wreckers' ball proceeded to clear the half-acre of prime real estate on which it sat.² In order to make way for a concrete office building and movie theatre, all structures—including the one-time residence of royal governors—had to be removed.

PETER SERGEANT'S HOUSE

Built in 1679 by affluent citizen and former London merchant Peter Sergeant, the dwelling that later became known as the Province House was embellished with the latest stylistic refinements of houses of the English gentry. Influencing its character was the ready supply of English artisans who were at that time arriving at the Boston docks.³ In 1716, the provincial government, needing a residence for the royal governor, paid twenty-three hundred pounds and took possession of Sergeant's house. Such an imposing Jacobean residence, with its fifty-one-foot-long facade, was a rarity in the colonies. And of the nearly eight hundred dwellings in the port of Boston at the time, it was the choicest. Situated on Marlborough (now Washington) Street at its intersection with Milk Street, it was conveniently close to the harbor and the markets of Dock Square. It had a seventy-five-foot-square lawn at its front door, and behind the house tiered gardens and orchards reached westward to

Tremont Street. The purchase meant that the king's successive representatives would no longer have to officiate from the barn-like Towne House.⁴ Neither would they need to continue renting residences for their terms of office.

Following the colony's purchase of the Province House in 1716, the building was improved in minor ways intended to enhance the ambience of royal ceremonies and the aristocracy's receptions and balls. Ornate iron fence railings were installed at the front entrance and tapestries hung in the drawing room. A mason was hired to set ninety-eight Dutch tiles around the second-floor reception room fireplace. And in 1727, extensive changes were ordered by the House of Representatives—"viz, That the Great lower Room in the Front be wainscotted; after the best and newest Fashion, that the Ceiling in that Room be lowred, and the doors altered, That the windows be altered and sash Lights made throughout the House, the Windows to be Cased several of them with Seats . . . That the Lanthorn or Cupola on the Top of the House . . . be well and sufficiently repaired and made strong."⁵

After the Revolution, however, when the house ceased to be British property, the Massachusetts legislature saw fit to fund only the most necessary maintenance. With the 1798 completion of the new (Bulfinch) State House, the way was open for the state to divest itself of the Province House, and in 1811, after Caleb Strong's administration, it was deeded to the Massachusetts General Hospital as endowment. Thereafter, the property continued to be leased with no constraints for its protection and

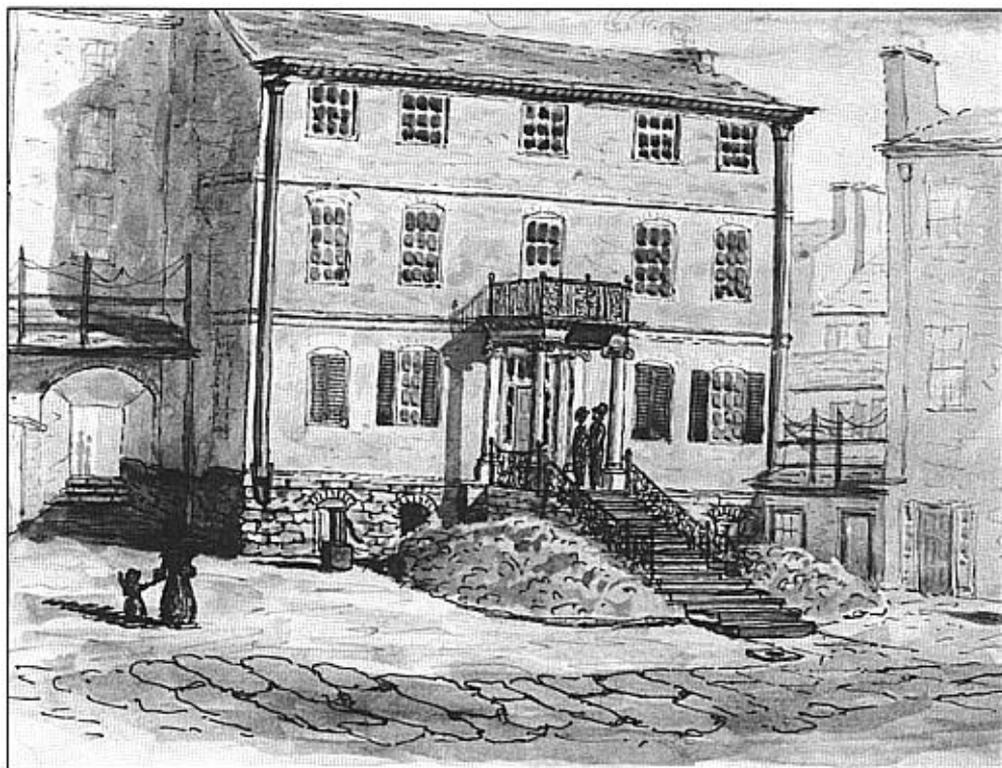


Fig. 1. Ink and watercolor view of the Province House drawn by Peter Orlando Hutchinson, 1837. Hutchinson's drawing, the earliest known detailed view of the building, shows the full three-story front—what Thomas Tileston Waterman called “the eighteenth century aspect”—and the house's end chimneys, clearly a seventeenth-century feature. The structure's grand chimney stack had been chopped off more than a century earlier. Photograph courtesy Devon County Council Libraries, Exeter, England.

with profit as the priority. It housed taverns run by Benjamin Crombie and Thomas Wait (circa 1835–50; fig. 1), Ordway's Opera House (1850s), an amusement hall (circa 1860), and a lodging house and tradesmen's shops (1860s to 1920s). In effect, the structure had come to be regarded simply as unused floor space, a situation similar to the scenario at Carpenter's Hall in Philadelphia, used in 1848 as an auction house. In April 1916, at the termination of its ninety-nine-year lease to David Greenough, Massachusetts General Hospital sold the property to

Olympia Theatres, Inc. Six years later the theater company planned a new building to replace the Province House.⁶

Midway in the mansion's decline, Nathaniel Hawthorne had written his “Legends of the Province House” (1838–39), later published as *Twice-told Tales*. Each of these stories—“Howe's Masquerade,” “Edward Randolph's Portrait,” “Lady Eleanor's Mantle,” and “Old Esther Dudley”—depends upon legends told to the narrator by a fictitious elderly gentleman lounging in the inn's tap room. Together, the stories convey a sense of

the cruel times endured under what Hawthorne called “the scourge of disease and the stately and gorgeous prejudices of the tottering past.” Because of the continuing scarcity of solid information about the house, the “Legends of the Province House” have an importance far beyond their merit as stories, and historians continue to try to separate threads of truth from Hawthorne’s fiction.

“Howe’s Masquerade” begins as the narrator explores a narrow passage in the row of Washington Street shops lined up where a lawn shaded by two giant elms had once extended from the steps of the Province House to the twin guardhouses at the curb. Readers learn that at the far end of the passage and behind a contorted iron balustrade stands the three-story Province House. Within the house, the one-time ballroom is darkened by the shadow of surrounding buildings, its paneled wainscoting defaced by a coat of dingy paint. At the top of the great staircase—“a feature of grandeur and magnificence”—the spacious chambers of former times have been “cut up by partitions and subdivided into little nooks” to make lodgers’ rooms. In the garret the narrator discovers the “ponderous white oak framework so much more massive than the frames of modern [1830s] houses.” This makes particularly sad the narrator’s news that “although the timbers are said to be as sound as ever . . . it is contemplated to gut the whole.”⁷

The remark fairly accurately prophesied the fate of the house. In 1864 a fire in the house nearly accomplished the gutting, and the years that followed were a period of neglect and defacement. In fact, by 1900,

the one-time domicile of earls and governors had become “a rabbit burrow . . . divided into tiers of small offices and workshops.”⁸

APPLETON AND THE PROVINCE HOUSE CAMPAIGN

In 1900, the Province House was so incorporated in a block of decadent Victorian tenements that it was visible only to the most discerning eye. But to antiquarian William Sumner Appleton, viewing it in that year from the south window of Lloyd’s optical shop down the alley, it was “one of the most remarkable houses of which there is record in America.” In typically conservative terms he declared, “Except in size, [the house] must have been as satisfactory in its own way to a visiting Englishman of quality as a home in England.”⁹ Appleton unabashedly put it in a category superior to the diminutive but similarly styled “Bacon’s Castle” in Surry County, Virginia, a revered English-rooted American landmark (fig. 2).¹⁰

This was as professional a statement as anyone could have made at the time because, before the 1926 start of the Williamsburg restoration, preservation was entirely in the hands of amateurs. There were no official preservation programs on the national, state, or local levels, and the few preservation efforts to that date, including Pamela Cunningham’s at Mount Vernon, each had invented its own procedure. The number of requests Appleton received to serve as a consultant on the treatment of old houses indicated the growing need for the professionalism that took shape in the following decade. Ironically,

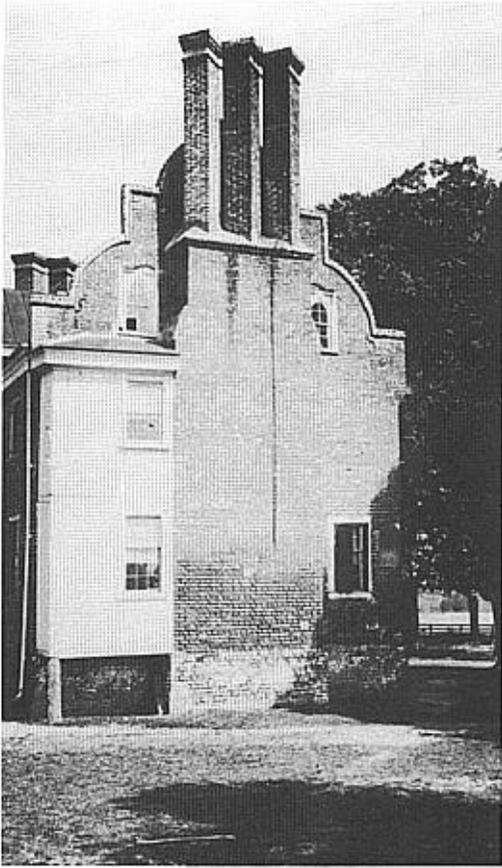


Fig. 2. Bacon's Castle, Surry County, Virginia; photograph by John Barrows courtesy Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, Virginia.

the professional presence that characterized the preservation movement in the 1930s depended heavily on the knowledge, the wisdom, and the organizational skill of declared amateurs. According to preservation historian Charles Hosmer, Appleton, though his private income made him technically an amateur, “came the closest to professional status” of anyone.¹¹

Appleton's scholarly view of history and of buildings as an unparalleled means of understanding the past were perspectives that, in effect, made him a catalyst in the

preservation movement in America. His focus on the architectural significance of buildings came to replace earlier romantic and patriotic incentives. And although the Association for the Preservation of Virginia Antiquities had been founded in 1888, Appleton was the first antiquarian to define preservation goals in regional terms. Dedicated and energetic, Appleton simultaneously supported local projects such as the Paul Revere House restoration, gave advice to historical societies, consulted (always free of charge) with owners of old houses, increased his knowledge by visiting such history-oriented enterprises as George Sheldon's period rooms at Old Deerfield, kept in touch with the preservation movement in Europe, and corresponded with people who were forming preservation policy at the national level. His founding of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities in 1910, midway in the battle to save the Province House, allowed Appleton to speak not simply as an individual but as the representative of a group. There was certain clout in the fact that SPNEA could boast—in slightly more than a decade—a membership of nearly three thousand persons, fourteen properties, and a vital quarterly magazine.¹²

Between 1900, when he first noticed the Province House, and 1922, when it was demolished, Appleton's concern for the fate of the structure expressed itself in a non-stop barrage of inquiry, suggestion, education, persuasion, and diplomacy that was to become the hallmark of his distinguished career as a pioneer preservationist.¹³ Appleton's efforts at the Province

House—first through preservation, then through salvage, and finally through documentation—filled the pages of more than one hundred letters, including several to Governor Channing Cox. When not writing letters and reports, Appleton was photographically “embalming” every accessible fragment of the edifice and soliciting still more photographs from the city’s newspaper reporters.¹⁴

Appleton’s activism at the Province House may have begun during his college years when he noticed that Boston newspapers published occasional feature articles on the house as the locus of British operations at the time of the Revolution. By the autumn of 1904, with his Harvard bachelor’s degree and one postgraduate course in American architecture as his only preparation for an as yet unidentified career, Appleton had approached restoration architect Joseph Everett Chandler about examining and measuring portions of the Province House—some hidden under tin sheathing and some covered with clapboarding. It had been many decades since the house had stood free of other buildings. What remained of the original structure convinced Appleton and Chandler that “the splendor of the house in every detail was unsurmised.”¹⁵ Nevertheless, in the climate of public complacency before the inception of historical commissions and the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the opinions of the erudite Appleton and Chandler went unheeded.

Two decades later, when the final remains of the house had been removed, Appleton attempted to express the enormity of the loss. “As the work of demoli-

tion progressed and more and more of the old building was uncovered, it became absolutely certain that Boston was losing one of the finest memorials in the country. . . . Some people who are competent to judge have stated that they consider it would have been [a historic monument] superior even to Mt. Vernon. No house of this period built of brick in the grand style exists anywhere in an American city.”¹⁶ Appleton explained that among the features making the house unique in New England was the third-floor fireplace—“an added touch of luxury,” he noted, “proving Sergeant to be a man of great wealth and position whose house might well differ from all others [in the colonies] in ostentation and comfort.” Appleton’s use of the house as evidence of Boston’s stature in colonial times was as telling as his evaluation of the building itself. He called the house “another indication of the relative importance of Boston, a town of such culture as to rank second only to London as a publishing center in the British Dominions at the time.”¹⁷

One of the most strategic letters in Appleton’s Province House preservation campaign went to Charles Foster, treasurer of the Massachusetts General Hospital, into whose hands the property was to return in 1916. The letter was written in December 1914, four years after SPNEA was formed and eight years before the Province House was demolished. Setting out to gain the hospital trustees’ attention, Appleton first sought to capture Foster’s civic conscience by educating him about the structure’s architectural context. He listed the Tufts and Wade houses in Medford, the Spencer-

Pierce House in Newbury, and the Peaslee House in Haverhill as the only brick contemporaries to the Province House in the Northeast. He pointed out the fact that they were the brickwork of the generation immediately following the original settlers. He knew of only two other New England examples of stepped chimneys—Newbury's Spencer-Pierce House and the (stone) Whitman House in Guilford, Connecticut.¹⁸ "In view of the fact that [the Province House] and lot were presented by the state," he wrote, "it would seem a graceful compliment to do as much as possible . . . to preserve for the public the most important building connected with so long and distinguished a line of royal governors." Foster was easily convinced and cooperated in every way possible, apprising hospital directors of the serious consequences of demolition at the hands of any buyer they might find and doing what he could personally to assist the preservationists. His efforts in the end proved fruitless on both scores.¹⁹

At the same time that Appleton was soliciting Foster's support, he was proposing to financiers, historians, architects, and planners one idea after another for saving components of the building. But prohibitive cost stood in the way of each plan. Appleton's proposal that the great north chimney be reconstructed at the south end of the new building was never fulfilled. Governor Cox's proposal to finance the preservation of Province House relics was quashed in the legislature after the structure's new proprietors falsely promised that two and possibly three of the fireplaces would be preserved in the new

building. And although some associates tried to invent ways to help Appleton salvage parts of the house through an "adopt a memento" strategy, even the plan to replicate the major fireplace at the State House faltered and died. The only ostensible result of all of these ambitious plans was the offer of Appleton's friends to store parts—bricks and nails at the Milton home of architect Philip Spaulding and clapboards at landscape architect Warren Manning's house in North Billerica.²⁰

A few efforts before Appleton's time had resulted in some hit-or-miss salvaging. In 1867, the museum of the Essex Institute in Salem had accessioned a Province House "balluster." In 1876 the carved arms of England and the incongruous gilded Indian weathervane that once surmounted the cupola had been deposited at the Massachusetts Historical Society's quarters. Still earlier, following extensive 1851 alterations to the Province House, the porch had been sold to writer and collector Ben: Perley Poore for use at his West Newbury estate, Indian Hill. Also at Indian Hill, Poore had had installed the entire room of paneling assumed to be from the council chamber (fig. 3). Interest in period rooms being in its infancy, installations such as Poore's had not previously been subjected to criticism. But in 1920 two of Appleton's friends questioned the integrity of the Indian Hill installation: Chandler and art historian Fiske Kimball argued that the woodwork's aesthetic effect was destroyed by the room's inappropriate dimensions. Appleton and George Francis Dow, who created interiors at the Essex Institute's museum in Salem before he joined the SPNEA staff,



Fig. 3. *The Province House* woodwork as installed at Indian Hill, Ben: Perley Poore's estate in West Newbury, Massachusetts. Courtesy SPNEA Library and Archives.

shared Kimball's and Chandler's conviction that architectural features were an essential aspect of the display of living quarters.²¹

Uncertainty about the authenticity of the arrangement of *Province House* paneling at Indian Hill was particularly frustrating to Kimball, who was inspired to draw a representation of the paneling as he thought it would originally have appeared in the council chamber. Working from a photograph of the Indian Hill installation (later destroyed by fire), Kimball remarked at one point that if the council chamber fireplace mantel at Indian Hill was the original it "didn't leave room for the tile Hawthorne mentions." Regarding windows, he assumed that "the entab-

lature cleared the window heads," while Appleton expressed a suspicion that the paneling might have been "cut down to fit." Indeed the Indian Hill room was little help to those attempting to determine the appearance of the council chamber at the *Province House*.²²

The discourse that it inspired, however, like other aspects of the battle to save the *Province House*, was indirectly to inform a generation of preservationists. Yet in 1922 Appleton was the sole person to have the concern, the persistence, the free time, and the optimism to concentrate on saving the house. He conceived of practically every initiative and was undismayed when he received only faint support from such strongholds as the League of Massachusetts Historical Societies,

which merely drew up a resolve expressing “sympathy with the efforts to preserve a unique archaeological monument.” Appleton knew, however, that he had the loyal support of a circle of sympathetic associates whom he referred to as “our friends at the Historical Society” or “the Bostonian Society people.” And he could depend on a core of informed SPNEA members. Volunteering countless hours of time on Province House research in the nemesis year of 1922 were men not directly involved in on-site work but who Appleton called “our architects”—Chandler, Dow, Kimball, the Mowll and Rand architectural firm, SPNEA’s museum curator Philip Spaulding, SPNEA member Henry Phillips, architect Frank Chouteau Brown, landscape architect Warren Manning, attorney Richard Hale, historian Walter Kendall Watkins, and architect William Cordingley.²³

In June 1922, Appleton’s two decades of efforts on behalf of the Province House may have seemed to have accomplished nothing. At the time, no one including Appleton could see the eventual effect on the preservation movement and on some of the individuals who were to fill its ranks. Appleton could only state that “it has been just like burying an old friend.”²⁴ More philosophically, he opined that “it is only through the process of losing some good things that it is possible to arouse enough interest to bring about the preservation of others.”²⁵ He believed, for instance, that a lesson should have been learned at the time of the senseless 1863 loss of the John Hancock House on Beacon Hill. “The generation which let the Hancock House go,” he pointedly remarked, “had the whole house in perfect condition and could see

what they were losing.”²⁶ He could credit that generation with nothing but the excellent drawings of the house done by John H. Sturgis just before demolition.²⁷ In contrast, Appleton’s multifaceted approach went so far as to invent a new tradition for the city: he proposed an annual ritual in which the governor, escorted by his staff and council, would enter the new “Province Building” and light a ceremonial fire on the grand hearth in the (rebuilt) fireplace.²⁸

Juxtaposed with Appleton’s unflagging commitment was his recognition (after 1916) of the fact that “the building was doomed from the moment the contract for the new building was signed.”²⁹ Yet even as demolition got under way, Appleton was down in the pit in conversation with Jack Craddock of the wrecking crew. To Appleton’s dismay, Craddock reported to him that, on the previous night when the remains of the south wall had crumbled, his men had noticed some large brick quarter circles—brickwork unlike anything the crew had seen in their thirty years of work on historic buildings. At that eleventh hour, Appleton saw the razing of the Province House as an archaeological epiphany and looked for someone suited to the task of recording, in measured drawings and a written report, whatever might become evident in the ruins.

WATERMAN AND THE PROVINCE HOUSE RECORD

At the suggestion of William Cordingley, Appleton contacted twenty-two-year-old Thomas Tileston Waterman, apprentice in the nearby office of church architect Ralph

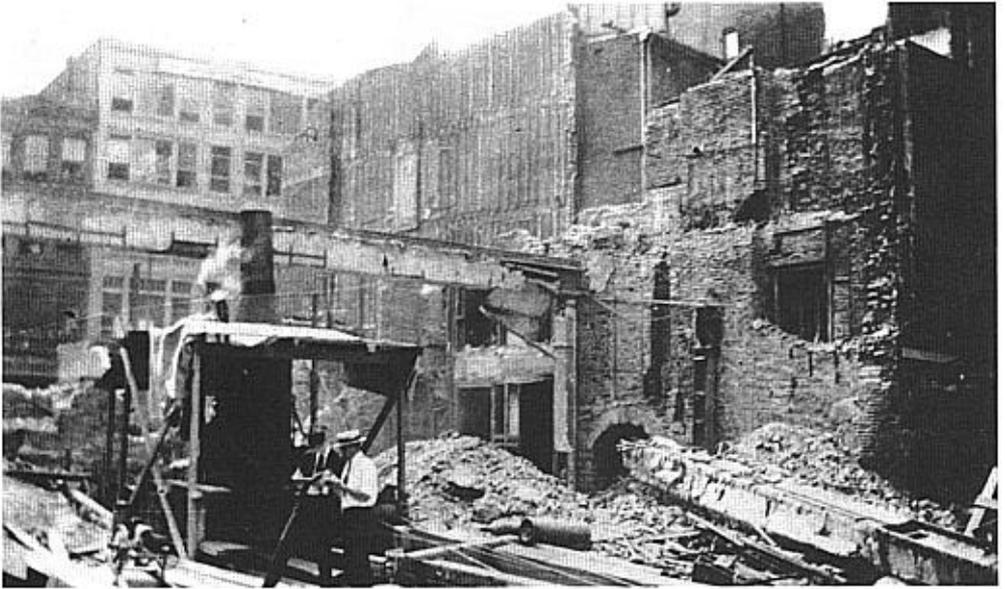


Fig. 4. *William Sumner Appleton (left) and Thomas Tileston Waterman conferring at the Province House demolition site, 1922. Courtesy the Bostonian Society, Boston, Massachusetts.*

Adams Cram. Waterman, whom Appleton described soon thereafter as “a capable boy,” had been spending his lunch hours prowling the old sections of Boston.³⁰ Enamoured of old-world craftsmanship and of all things English, Waterman gladly made himself available (fig. 4). In turn, the demolition foreman agreed to allow the Province House walls to remain standing after all surrounding material was removed so that they could be inspected and recorded. As part of the agreement, the foreman was to notify Waterman whenever any previously hidden part of the structure was uncovered. This promise, in light of the wreckers’ twenty-four-hour work schedule, meant occasional halting of work at two or three o’clock in the morning to allow the foreman to telephone Waterman at his Louisburg Square lodgings. Workmen in the pit would wait for the breath-

less draftsman to arrive and would then stand around while he photographed and sketched newly exposed brickwork in what remained of the actual Province House—the truncated north end wall and sections of the east front. When the midnight draftsman put his sketch pad and camera under his arm and bolted up the embankment, the impatient engines were already snarling at his heels.

The resulting record—inventory, measured drawings, photographs, and written description of the seventeenth-century components—achieved the type of documentation fostered by the Boston Society of Architects’ survey of buildings, the *White Pine Series of Architectural Monographs*, and the later *Historic American Buildings Survey*.³¹ For Waterman, involvement in composing that record started him on his well-known career in architectural his-

tory.³² The Province House provided him with his first close look at what he described as “red, water-struck brick laid in English bond [and] . . . hard burned brick of even dark colors . . . with decorative string courses of molded, polished, and glazed brick laid in Flemish bond.” It was an opportunity for Waterman to make use of knowledge acquired in boyhood reading, and of a vocabulary that could accurately describe the north-wall chimney as “pierced at the base by a forty four-inch deep opening . . . the arched head extend[ing] the full depth of the reveal, forming a segmental barrel vault which sprang from a projecting impost course.”³³

Waterman identified six stepped flues in the chimney wall. They were enclosed in a massive stack that had been chopped off in the 1727 flattening of the roof and hidden, in more recent times, by excrescences (fig. 5). At its base, the stack measured fourteen and a half feet by forty-five inches. As clapboards were removed, it became evident that the great stack had once stood free of the gable wall above the second floor, in Waterman’s words, “to allow for the geometric pattern of the coping . . . [while] ascending independently for the remainder of its height . . . [where] it was apparently capped by six tall lozenge-plan [diagonal-shaped] stacks.” Mention of Province House brickwork, which never ceased to impress Waterman, found its way



Fig. 5. *The six fireplaces exposed during demolition of the Province House north wall. Courtesy SPNEA Library and Archives.*

into three of his four published works, into several references in his last (unpublished) text, into the design for the fireplace in the master bedroom in the Governor’s Palace at Williamsburg, Virginia, and into recommendations he made in his consulting work at Henry Du Pont’s Winterthur Museum.³⁴

As demolition progressed, the interior of the shell was found to be as provocative as the exterior. The scale and elaborateness were beyond anything known in America. In spite of deterioration and many layers of alterations, elements of original framing were intact, including eighteen-inch-square horizontal supporting timbers which possibly indicated the original arrangement of the east

(front) windows. Working from this evidence, Waterman asserted nearly three decades later that the facade had once had a medieval asymmetry “with the door off center and the right-hand windows more widely spaced than those at the left . . . significant of the transitional character of the building, more Tudor than Stuart.” He speculated further, “Here was, perhaps for the first time in this country, a plan with a double depth of rooms.” Judging from what remained of the building, he hypothesized that “across the front, the great-room plan familiar to England and the Southern colonies, existed with two rooms and [with] a stair hall in the rear.”³⁵

Within the altered rooms and hidden behind twentieth-century partitions, five of the original fireplaces—some with plastered jambs and some with herringbone-pattern backs—were perfectly preserved. Bits of original plaster and painted ornamentation actually remained attached to the fireplace surround in the first floor’s front room. Scraps of tile indicating that expensive, imported blue-on-white tiles had once decorated fireplace jambs in the second-floor (east) chamber hinted at the former grandeur of the room. One afternoon, Appleton found a note on his desk with some fragments of elegantly carved bolection moulding³⁶ from the chamber’s fireplace surround. In the note Waterman alluded to “the fine room [that such moulding] must have enriched,” words that probably expressed everyone’s increasing sense of awe as the house revealed its past.

While the last remnants of grandeur were being documented, trucks were taking the structure’s 250-year-old bricks to

the city dump. The effort to preserve the Province House, however, has kept the house alive in the minds of scholars intrigued by the fact that there is no seventeenth-century depiction of the house. Three of the earliest views—the Burgis-Price view of Boston, which appeared in 1725 and 1743 in England; portraitist John Smibert’s 1738 “View of Boston,” perhaps the first noncartographic American landscape; and a 1770 Paul Revere Boston scene including Marlborough Street—show the area in which the house was situated but at too great a distance to provide detail. Depicting the Province House itself, Peter Orlando Hutchinson made an ink-and-watercolor view in 1837 (see fig. 1). Benson Lossing’s engraving of the house was made from a sketch drawn about 1840. *Leslie’s Illustrated Magazine* printed an 1864 view of the house in flames. And Samuel Adams Drake’s 1900 book on old Boston landmarks included an illustration that combined features of the Price and Lossing views.³⁷

Other types of images became possible after measurements of the building were taken in May and June 1922. First were Waterman’s measured drawings of the north and east walls (fig. 6). Then, although first urging Appleton that it might be better to “push the description of the building into its last state of revelation,” Waterman proceeded to draft some conjectural views indicating his idea of the original appearance of the house. Putting aside his feelings about “the impossibility of making an elevation of the north wall of any value or interest,” he drew a conjectured north wall (fig. 7). A major impetus for envisioning

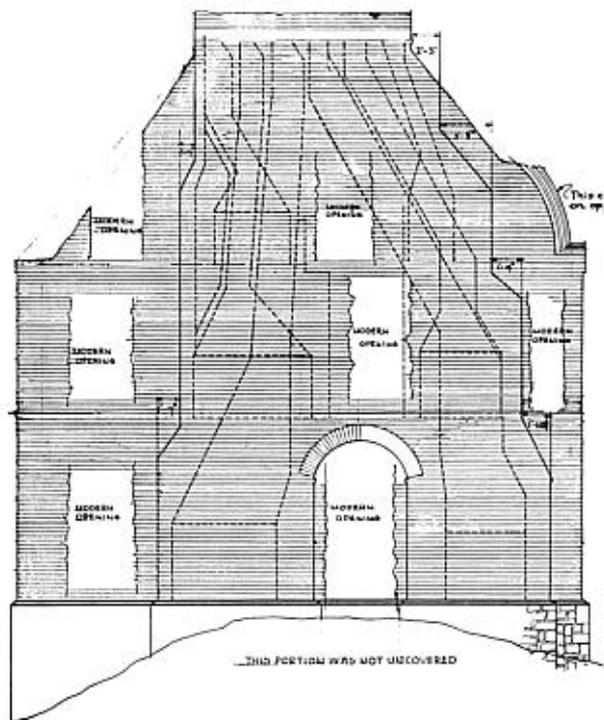


Fig. 6. Waterman's measured drawing of the Province House north wall, 1922. Courtesy SPNEA Library and Archives.

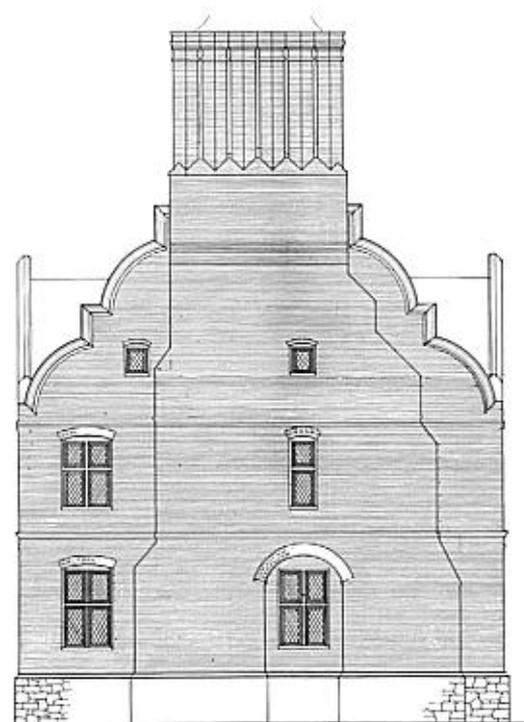


Fig. 7. Waterman's conjectural drawing of the north (chimney) wall, 1922. Courtesy SPNEA Library and Archives.

this wall was a photograph of the west corner of the south wall (which, everyone agreed, would have matched the north wall) showing that the original gable coping was curved (fig. 8). Taken by Philip Spaulding at the start of demolition minutes before the wall fell, it was the only photographic record of a curved brick gable in Boston. In the SPNEA 1923 annual report, Appleton elaborated on this feature:

As the work of demolition got under way, a wholly unprecedented quantity of molded brick of various shapes and sizes was disclosed. As this brickwork was out of place, the nature and use were a matter of conjecture until the destruction of the gable wall in the southwest corner. . . . Here was enclosed a curved brick coping which masked the straight line of the gable and the edge of this coping was formed of three varieties of molded brick.

The other primary feature in Waterman's drawing—the clustering of chimney stacks—was archaeologically determined by the placement of flues in the walls. This evidence, when integrated with proof of the curvilinear end gables, reduced the amount

of guesswork necessary in drawing a representation of the north wall.³⁸

Waterman next portrayed the east (front) facade in a conjectural view. Although the checkered history of alterations to the front required a greater use of imagination, Waterman's first attempt was executed only a few weeks after the demolition. Indicating the degree of public interest aroused by the demolition, the Massachusetts Society, Sons of the Revolution commissioned sculptor John Francis Paramino to cast Waterman's drawing in bronze, and the plaque was ceremoniously mounted (with Appleton's cooperation) nine months later on the building that replaced the Province House (fig. 9). The view combines a full three-story front—what Waterman called “the eighteenth century aspect”—with chimneys rising at the ends as in the seventeenth century. Interestingly, the same elements are combined in Peter Orlando Hutchinson's 1837 watercolor (see fig. 1). Waterman's plaque survives as the only formal memento of the Province House in downtown Boston.³⁹

A second conjectural view of the mansion's front by Waterman's pen



Fig. 8. *The curved coping of the Province House south wall, exposed during demolition. Courtesy SPNEA Library and Archives.*



Fig. 9. Bronze tablet designed by Waterman, cast by John Francis Paramino, and commissioned by the Massachusetts Society, Sons of the Revolution for the building that replaced the Province House. Courtesy SPNEA Library and Archives.

appeared in 1927 after he had made two visits to England (fig. 10). The inked rendering shows a two-story house with massive chimneys at both ends standing free of the end gables. The apertures on the first two floors, including the doorway, are off center in accordance with Waterman's opinion of the interior plan. And there are three centered dormers, a feature which, as Appleton explained in his notes, "would have given ample headroom in the third

floor something comparable to the finest of country houses." There was further support for Waterman's inclusion of front gables in Appleton's June 3, 1922, "Notes on the Province House Chimney" which reported "the unmistakable marks" of front gables which he and Waterman had seen when the wreckers exposed the plate. This report refers to "a pair of gables," whereas Waterman's study of medieval English buildings persuaded him that the span of the roof would aesthetically have demanded three. Appleton caused considerable confusion for later generations in stating in his April 1923 annual report that "the former presence of two or three gables on the front of the house was definitely established and very likely these two [too?] were masked with brickwork with curved copings like those on the main or end gables." More evidence regarding the front gables is mentioned in Waterman's 1922 report, which states that "above the second floor windows were found fragments of the plate badly decayed, but showing evidences of what were probably mortises for the front gable wall rafters." And a letter from Appleton tells of "some interesting spiked ironwork at one corner seen when the front plate of the house was exposed, and in another place, a suggestion of a mortise hole."⁴⁰

In most respects, Waterman's east front view matches Appleton's written report—"The main house was two stories in height; the third story coming in under the slanting roof. . . . The steep pitch of the

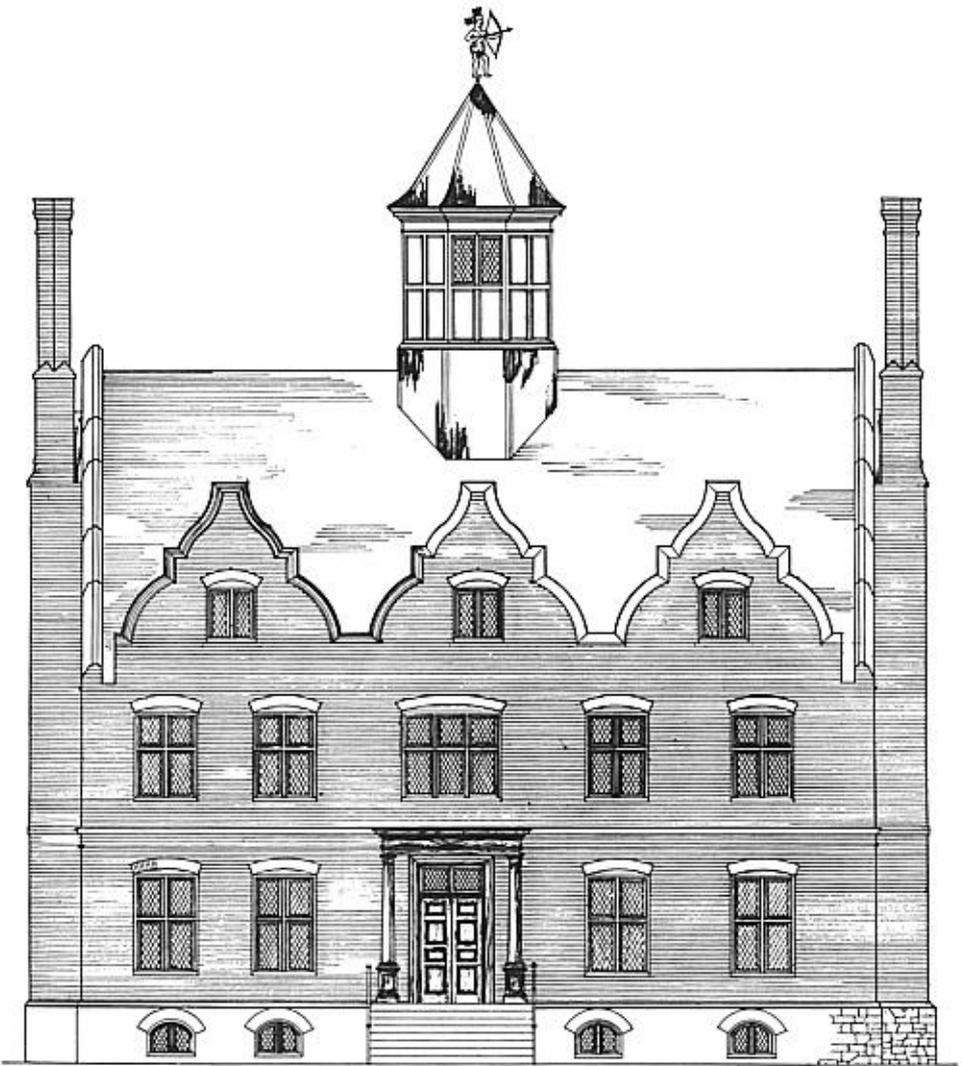


Fig. 10. *Waterman's conjectural drawing, never before published, of the east (front) wall of the Province House. Courtesy SPNEA Library and Archives.*

roof . . . in its two stories of height, about equalled the height of the main two stories of the house below.” The drawing goes beyond this description only in its addition of classical columns at the entrance, the asymmetrical placement of doors and windows, and the elaborate design of the dormer gables. This last feature, deduced from the decorative features (“three varieties of molded brick”) of the end gables, would

seem to have been endorsed by William Cordingley, who drew up a similar interpretation. Appleton, suspicious of anything that relied on surmise, withheld judgment on both drawings. Cordingley’s and Waterman’s attempts to portray the seventeenth-century front of the house remained in the SPNEA files without either comment or publication.⁴¹

DOCUMENTATION AND CONJECTURE

With enough exposure, the Province House might become what Appleton proclaimed it to be—a subject of interest for “all the wondering eyes of modern American architects and antiquarians.”⁴² But in 1922, those at the center of the architectural study of the house numbered only three besides himself. There was Boston native William Cordingley, whose career had begun at the architectural firm of Cram and Ferguson. In his free time, he had served as architectural consultant at the circa 1746 Shirley-Eustis House. Possessed of what Appleton called “the most effective imagination in architectural matters that I ever came across,” Cordingley was called upon by Appleton to critique everything from Waterman’s measured drawings to theories about the original form of the building.⁴³ Then there was Fiske Kimball, an imposing and ubiquitous presence in the field of art history, director of the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and one of the first historians to publish a scholarly text on the evolution of American architecture. Having examined the Province House a few years earlier, Kimball had sufficiently familiarized himself with its history to qualify as a judge of subsequent opinions.⁴⁴ The other figure was the young Tom Waterman, draftsman apprentice with nothing to his credit but a feel for early buildings, a passion for sleuthing, and a strong commitment to Appleton and his projects.⁴⁵

Of these three, Cordingley might be expected to have left the greatest legacy of wisdom bearing on the effort to deduce the original design of Peter Sergeant’s house. He had recommended Waterman, had vis-

ited the site during the demolition, had conferred with Appleton, and had made a conjectural drawing.⁴⁶ His opinions with regard to the original form of the house, however, are best represented in a draft of an essay he wrote more than a decade later. In it, he hypothesized that the house was built forty years before Sergeant owned it. But there are no 1920s references to such a theory having been discussed.⁴⁷

Fiske Kimball, more deeply involved although not apparently present during the razing, was the most vocal spokesman. His May 14, 1923, letter, written in response to Appleton’s report, lectured on the sequence of structural alterations. Kimball reasoned, on the basis of expenditures approved by the House of Representatives, that the province made no large-scale alterations between the 1716 purchase of the house and the major outlay of funds in 1727. He linked the 1727 changes to “the form familiar to us in the earliest surviving 19th century views.” Kimball asserted that the House of Representatives’ order “that the Lanthorn or cupola on the Top of the House . . . be well and sufficiently repaired and made strong” indicated the date at which the front and rear walls were raised to create the third floor and the roof flattened. Although not specified in accounts, supposedly the year 1727 would also have been the time for carpenters to have added the entrance columns “so difficult to imagine in 1679.” Kimball reiterated these reminders in a formal report.⁴⁸

The contribution of Waterman, the third figure involved with the study of the Province House, was expected to be the archaeological report. But he assumed a

second role as a draftsman who had studied medieval buildings and who was inclined to take what was known a step farther by intuiting the missing information. The first product of this inclination was the bronze tablet version of the Province House showing seventeenth-century end chimneys and the eighteenth-century three-story front. These two features could have existed simultaneously for only the nine years between the adding of the third full story (1728) and the clapboarding of the ends (1737), and there is no extant view of the house from that period.⁴⁹

There is an equal lack of evidence to support Waterman's second drawing of the front in its supposed seventeenth-century form with three elaborate dormer gables. But Waterman's was to be a career that accepted the risks in hypothesizing. Speaking to this dilemma a decade later, he said a word about his conjectural drawing of the Page family's monumental residence, Rosewell, in Gloucester County, Virginia.⁵⁰ In his 1932 book on tidewater Virginia, Waterman explained, "Of Rosewell, as it stood before the fire, little resembled the original structure. In the restoration [conjectural drawing] here given, an attempt has been made to complete the missing parts of the fabric in order to give the main house its proper context."⁵¹ During Waterman's lifetime, his colleagues generally accepted his decisions about how far conjecture should go beyond fact. The history of the Historic American Buildings Survey, written three decades after his death, remarks on "[Waterman's] understanding of buildings and their graphic analysis." And in a 1972 article on the Province

House, Nancy Halvorsen Schless showed herself to be one of those who accepted Waterman's ability to conceptualize. "A conjectural restoration [by Waterman] of the north wall," she wrote, "reveals that it was articulated by a massive end chimney in combination with an exuberant gable composed of a series of convex curves represented by steps."⁵²

UNRAVELING THE HOUSE'S DESIGN HISTORY

Nearly three decades after the Province House demolition, Waterman made note of Dutch and Flemish influences on early American dwelling design, but these influences were not definitively tied to the Province House until the 1972 publication of studies done by Schless. The search had begun as early as 1885, when Dutch scholar A. W. Weissman had pulled together various strands of architectural influence by connecting Northern Renaissance models in Germany and what was called "Pont Street Dutch, an alien aspect of the 'Queen Anne' in contemporary England." In 1961, H. V. van Gelder carried Netherlandish gable treatment across the English Channel when he wrote, "No scholar . . . disputes the fact that Northern Renaissance design was transmitted both by books of ornament, prepared and published in Antwerp from the mid-sixteenth century on, and by Netherlandish craftsmen recurrently employed after that in various parts of northern Europe." And in 1978, Henry-Russell Hitchcock offered the "Dutch" house of 1631 at Kew Gardens as an example of an early Stuart building with a central cross-gable (that is, a range of

gabled dormers) that indicated the beginning of Netherlandish influence in and around London.⁵³

It remained for Schless to identify the Sacristan's 1588 house in the Dutch town of Deventer, Overijssel, as the prototype brought by Dutch emigrant artisans to East Anglia in the last half of the sixteenth century and then to link the style to the Province House. Likewise, the south gable at Fen Ditton (1633) in Cambridgeshire, she asserted, circumscribed "an outline almost identical to that at the north gable at the Province House."⁵⁴ Supporting Schless's theory, Abbott Lowell Cummings has pointed to English renderings of Dutch motifs that arrived in Boston through the late seventeenth-century immigration of artisans familiar with urban English buildings. He has cited the unexcelled brickwork of Province House contemporaries in Boston's North End—the Moses Pierce Hitchborne House and the Ebenezer Clough house on Unity Street—as exemplifying this craftsmanship. The result, for Boston, was a breaking with American building tradition.⁵⁵

Absent from the Dutch examples, however, is the grouping of flues in an impressive vertical climax reminiscent of a giant pitch pipe, as was built at the Province House. Schless ascribed this motif to English builders alone and postulated that London's massed chimney flues were first united with the Dutch curvilinear gable in the American colonies. This conclusion assigns to the Province House (and the smaller Bacon's Castle) the distinction of being at once medieval and innovative.

Many of these ideas had not been put

forth in 1922. But Appleton encouraged all possible input—verbal, written, and graphic—from those working with him and from all the others who were looking over their shoulders, and he received it in a manner that was a monument in itself. Always claiming to be a layman in architectural matters, he listened to, and learned from, the people he assembled around him. In instances when his team could not give him definitive answers, he declined to advance a premise of his own. Governing his actions was a restraint based on his conception of his role. He seemed determined not to stray from his main purpose—the protection of early American buildings and their transformations.

But he did have certain convictions. He admonished, for example, against purist or "static" (single-period) restorations. His 1935 statement to Waterman—"My own experience is that the less alteration I make [to buildings being acquired by SPNEA], the better I like it in the long run"—was a perspective, though not popular at the time, that influenced the trendsetting National Park Service restorations at Morristown, New Jersey, then being executed under Waterman's direction. Waterman, besides informally applying Appleton's convictions, officially represented Appleton in 1947 on the National Council of Historic Sites and Buildings (precursor to the National Trust for Historic Preservation.) The ripple effect of Appleton's views was most discernible in Waterman, because Waterman was so young when he and Appleton first met. But Fiske Kimball, fifteen years Appleton's junior, was another who carried Appleton's ideas into advisory board decisions at

Colonial Williamsburg, the Octagon, Monticello, and Stratford.⁵⁶ And over time, Waterman and Kimball, like others who worked with Appleton, influenced the staffers under them.

The world, however, remained in ignorance about the 1922 Province House project. Plans to publish the reports—archaeological, historical, and graphic—went unfulfilled in Appleton’s lifetime. He was always waiting for newly acquired knowledge of the original structure that would either exonerate or disprove Waterman’s conjectural drawings. Cummings has suggested that this reluctance to publish arose from an actual difference of opinion among the specialists as to whether the east wall, as it stood in 1922, was the wall of the original seventeenth-century house or an eighteenth-century reconstruction.⁵⁷ Yet, with the exception of the dating of columns at the main entrance, the records reveal no sign of disagreement. Kimball did not criticize Waterman’s graphically expressed premises such as the medieval asymmetry and the front gables. Conversely, none of the features that Waterman ascribed to the house in drawings or reports contradicted any of Kimball’s information. And Cordingley’s few recorded comments are restricted to minor technical suggestions about Waterman’s measured drawings. His 1934 essay on the Province House, which presented his speculation that the house could have been forty years older than commonly thought, suggests the rationale for changes that he believed Peter Sergeant might have made in 1679. Cordingley’s premises, however, showed no divergence from Waterman’s drawings

other than the statement that “five [*sic*] dormers were built on the roof.” It therefore appears that what prevented publication of the conjectural drawings in Appleton’s Province House file was, rather than the presence of differing opinion, simply the absence of conclusive data.

Fifty years later, with Appleton’s questions still unanswered, *Old-Time New England* published the Province House documentation. Only one thing had changed: the preservation movement, having “come of age,” was in a position to judge the work of its pioneers. Publication of the 1922 SPNEA files was as much a tribute to William Sumner Appleton as to Peter Sergeant’s magnificent (and still mysterious) house. 

Fay Campbell Kaynor’s historical and biographical articles have appeared in regional magazines, and her biography of Thomas Tileston Waterman was published in Winterthur Portfolio. She is a graduate of Randolph-Macon Women’s College in Virginia and a native of Massachusetts.

NOTES

1. Abbott Lowell Cummings, “Editorial Preface,” *Old-Time New England* 62, 4 (Spring 1972): 86; Walter Muir Whitehill, *Topographical History of Boston* (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1959), 59.
2. The *Boston Evening Transcript* was prominent among Boston newspapers in covering the Province House story. Examples are “Province House Doomed

- to Make Room for Movies,” Oct. 11, 1920, part 4, 1, and “Clear Historic Ground,” Mar. 27, 1922, 1. Newspaper files at SPNEA, the Bostonian Society, and the Massachusetts Historical Society contain many related news and feature items.
3. Abbott Lowell Cummings, “The Beginnings of Provincial Renaissance Architecture in Boston (1690–1725)—Current Observations and Suggestions for Further Study,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 43, 1 (March 1983): 43–53. Cummings headed the SPNEA and was editor of *Old-Time New England* from 1955 to 1983.
 4. The Towne House was located at the intersection of King and Cornhill (Washington) streets.
 5. For documentation of improvements, see vols. 1 and 8, *Journal of the House of Representatives* (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1919). The 1716 items are in 1:16, 105, 167; the 1727 items are in 8:100, 359, 387. Also see Walter Kendall Watkins’s 1927 report, “The Province House and Its Occupants,” in the Province House files, SPNEA Archives (hereafter cited as Province House files). Watkins’s report was shortened and printed without notes in *Old-Time New England* 62, 4 (Spring 1972): 95–104. See also Fiske Kimball (hereafter cited as FK) to William Sumner Appleton (hereafter cited as WSA), July 3, 1924, for discussion of the room used for council meetings. All correspondence mentioned in this essay, unless otherwise noted, is in the Province House files.
 6. For changes in use, see Watkins, “The Province House and Its Occupants.” Another chronology of the Province House is included in Bruner/Cott and Associates Inc., “Study Report on the Province House Steps” (Bruner/Cott and Associates, Cambridge, Mass., June 1989). Other names for the house included Government House, Province House Tavern, Wait’s Tavern, Crombie’s Tavern, Ordway Hall, the Morris Brothers, and Pell and Trowbridge Opera House.
 7. Nathaniel Hawthorne, “Howe’s Masquerade,” *Twice-told Tales* (Boston: Houghton, 1890), 627. The tales were first published in 1842.
 8. R. A. Douglas-Lithgow, “The Province House, Boston,” *The Massachusetts Magazine* 3, 3 (July 1910): 199–203.
 9. William Sumner Appleton, corresponding secretary of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1923 annual report, SPNEA Archives.
 10. SPNEA attempted to buy the Bacon Castle drawings from architectural historian and draftsman the Reverend Donald Millar; see WSA to FK, May 19, 1922, and WSA to Donald Millar, May 5, 1922. Two seventeenth-century brick houses, Greenspring and Fairfield (destroyed in 1806 and 1897, respectively) were larger than the Province House due in part to their rural (Virginia) settings. Appleton’s quoted statement appears in WSA to Charles H. Taylor, *Boston Globe*, June 13, 1922.
 11. Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Preservation Comes of Age* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1981), vol. 2, chap. 11. It is ironic that professionalism came into being in the preservation field in part through government agencies formed under the depres-

- sion programs of Franklin Delano Roosevelt; Appleton always put his faith in private control of landmarks.
12. Sheldon's first period room (1879) at the Pocumtuck Valley Memorial Association museum was one of the earliest such exhibits in America. On Appleton's keeping abreast of this field, see the Memorial Hall Visitor's Register, Deerfield, Mass., May 1912. See also *Proceedings of the Fifty Sixth Convention, AIA* (1923): 103-4 for Appleton's agreement with the AIA pertaining to the methodology of recording old buildings. For the start of Appleton's interest in public policy, see his proposed legislation prohibiting the removal of old buildings and the protection of "what there is of our heritage" in WSA to Robert P. Bellows, Williamsburg Advisory Board, Dec. 4, 1935. For the status of the SPNEA, see Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 1:134, and SPNEA annual reports.
 13. Appleton (1874–1947) received the B.A. at Harvard in 1896 and lived his entire life in the Boston area. On Appleton's life, see Charles B. Hosmer, Jr., *Presence of the Past* (New York: Putnam, 1965), 237–59. See also Bertram K. Little, "William Sumner Appleton," in *Keepers of the Past*, ed. Clifford Lord (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 215–22. See also Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, including the quote on professional status (2:866). For differing views about the values that motivated the preservation movement, see Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*, 300, and James M. Lindgren, "A Constant Incentive to Patriotic Citizenship: Historic Preservation in Progressive-Era Massa- chusetts," *New England Quarterly* 64, 4 (December 1991): 594–608.
 14. See, for example, WSA to Edwin Grozier, *Boston Post*, May 4, 1922.
 15. Joseph Everett Chandler to WSA, Nov. 17, 1904, William Sumner Appleton Scrapbook, 1904–5, Appleton Family Papers, vol. 81, Massachusetts Historical Society; WSA, SPNEA annual report, 1923. WSA to Foster, Dec. 31, 1914, refers to the Chandler drawings. Appleton may have initially contacted Chandler in his capacity as a member of the "Committee on Old Province House" of the Massachusetts Society, Sons of the Revolution, to which he had been appointed in April 1904. See Frank H. Carruthers to WSA, Apr. 14, 1904, William Sumner Appleton Scrapbook, 1903–4. Appleton and Chandler began to work together on restoration of the Paul Revere House in 1905. Biographical information on Chandler can be found in Hosmer, *Presence of the Past*.
 16. WSA to Charles H. Taylor, *Boston Globe*, June 13, 1922.
 17. WSA, SPNEA annual report, 1923.
 18. WSA to C. H. W. Foster, Dec. 31, 1914.
 19. For Foster's interest in Appleton's efforts, see Chas. Foster to WSA, Jan. 4, 1915, offering his file of the relevant city plats as an aid to research on the history of the house.
 20. For manifestation of public interest, see Amory Eliot to WSA, Dec. 3, 1907; Henry A. Phillips to WSA, Mar. 4, 1911; Charles Burrage to WSA, Mar. 15, 1911; Phillips to Mr. Bolton, Mar. 6, 1911; W. R. Comer to WSA, Dec. 21, 1911; Richard Hale to WSA, Dec. 28, 1914; Allan Forbes to WSA, Apr. 29, 1915; Warren Manning to Max

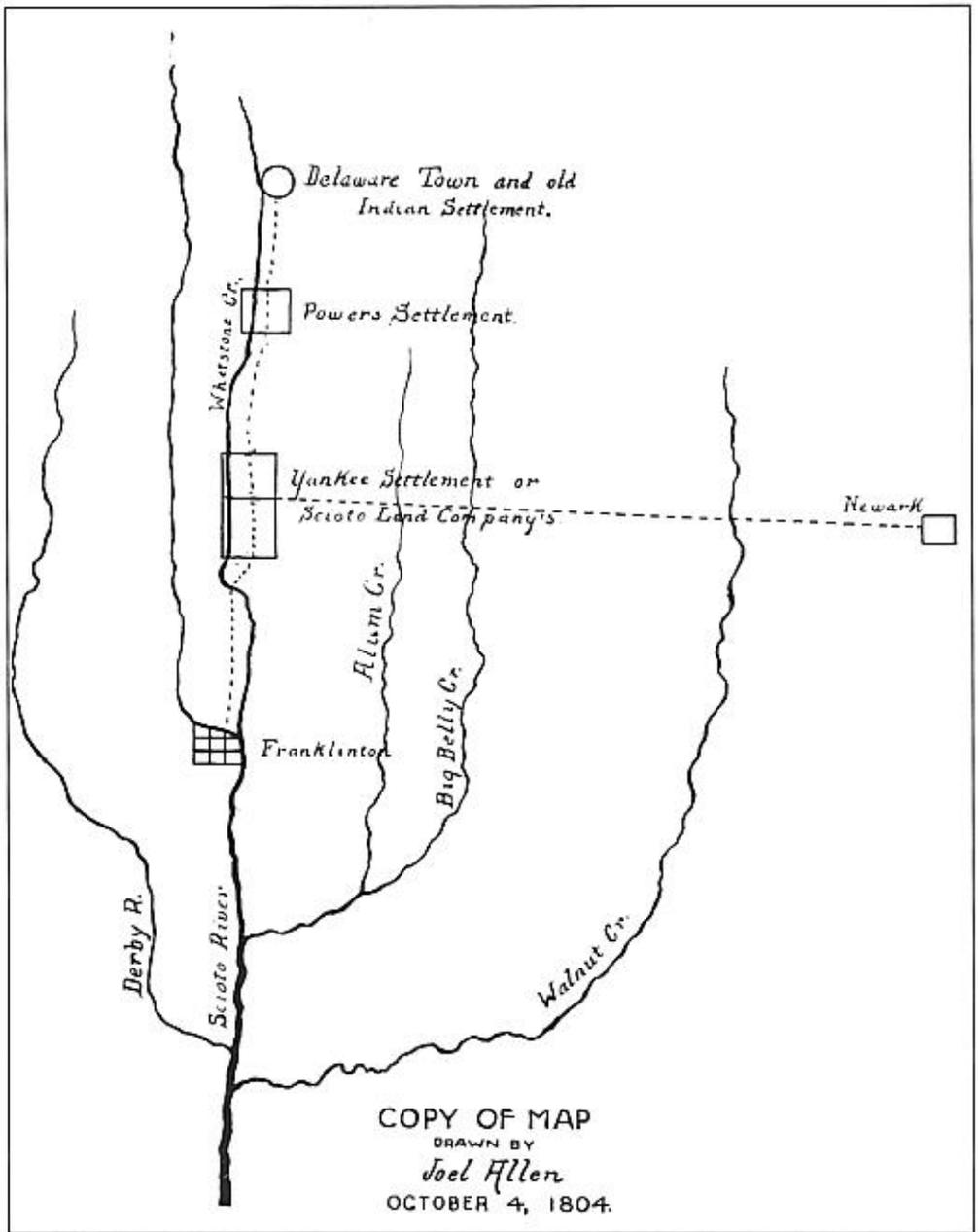
- Shoolman, Mar. 5, 1920; Warren Manning to George U. Crocker, May 5, 1920; H. A. Phillips to WSA, Dec. 19, 1920; WSA to Wm. Cordingley, Mar. 10, 1921; William L. Mowll to WSA, Mar. 21, 1921; Warren Manning to Mark Angel, Apr. 6, 1922; Walter Gilman Page to WSA, Sept. 28, 1923; and R. G. Hubby to WSA, Dec. 5, 1929, which refers to “the forthcoming number of your society’s pamphlet [which, I understand] will contain an article on the Province House.” In fact none of the information about the Province House amassed in this period was published until SPNEA published a special issue of its journal about the building; see *Old-Time New England* 62, 4 (Spring 1972).
21. For biographical information on George Francis Dow (1868–1935), see “George Francis Dow,” in Lord, ed., *Keepers of the Past*, 215–22, and Hosmer, *Presence of the Past and Preservation Comes of Age*.
 22. For correspondence about Indian Hill, see WSA to John Foster, Dec. 31, 1914; Herbert Browne to WSA, June 27, 1922; and FK to WSA, July 3, 1924. See also Josephine P. Driver, “Ben. Perley Poore of Indian Hill,” *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 89 (January 1953): 10–12; Elizabeth Stillinger, “Ben. Perley Poore, Antiques as Old-time Atmosphere,” *The Antiquers* (New York: Knopf, 1980), 27–34; and the special SPNEA issue of *Antiques*, March 1986, 622–25. For archaeological standards applied in paneling installation at Winterthur Museum, see Thomas Tileston Waterman (hereafter cited as TTW) to Henry F. duPont, Dec. 8, 1938, and duPont to TTW, May 23, 1939, Henry Francis duPont Winterthur Museum Archives, Winterthur, Del. For the influence of George Francis Dow on period rooms at Old Deerfield, see David Proper, “The Fireplace at Memorial Hall, Deerfield, Massachusetts: ‘Picturesque Arrangements; Tender Associations,’” *Foodways in the Northeast*, vol. 7 of Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife (1982): 114–29. For references to Province House interiors, see George Francis Dow, *Everyday Life in the Massachusetts Bay Colony* (Boston: SPNEA, 1935), 24, 46. For information on the life of Fiske Kimball (1889–1955), see Joseph Dye Lahendro, “American Renaissance Historian” (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, 1982) and Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*.
 23. For an example of support, see Alan Forbes, “The Last Ball in the Province House with Some Interesting Information in Regard to the House,” in *Some Interesting Boston Events*, ed. Alan Forbes, (Boston: The State Street Trust Company Monograph Series, 1916), 41–43. For the Bostonian Society’s involvement in the plan to save the brick “archway” (not then recognized as part of the chimney) by incorporating it in the new building, see “Keep Archway of Province House,” *Boston Herald*, May 6, 1922.
 24. The quotation is in WSA to H. A. Phillips, May 22, 1922; see also WSA to H. A. Phillips, June 7, 1922, explaining the failure, and WSA to Robert Bellows, Dec. 4, 1935, on protective legislation.
 25. WSA to Warren Manning, Apr. 8, 1922, also addresses the saving of artifacts.
 26. See WSA to Phillips, June 7, 1922, for the quote about Hancock House.
 27. For Sturgis’s drawings, see *Architecture* 54,

- 5 (November 1926): 333–36.
28. Appleton's report on the north chimney, June 3, 1922, 6, 12, presents the idea of the annual ceremony.
 29. See WSA to Phillips, June 7, 1922, on the fate of the house.
 30. On Cordingley's importance to Appleton, see WSA to William Cordingley, Mar. 10, 1921, and May 18, 1922. The quotation appears in WSA to Cordingley, May 19, 1922. Appleton had apparently forgotten that he had corresponded with Waterman (WSA to Waterman, May 5, 1920) when Waterman wrote to him about a threatened Myrtle Street house. See Manning to Mark Angel, Apr. 6, 1922, on the cooperation of the wreckers with SPNEA.
 31. Russell F. Whitehead and Frank Chouteau Brown, eds., *The White Pine Series of Architectural Monographs*, vols. 1–13 (St. Paul, Minn.: The White Pine Bureau, 1917–27). Volume 14 of this series was titled *White Pine Monograph Series on Early American Architecture* (New York: Russell F. Whitehead, 1928); volume 15 was *Monograph Series Recording the Architecture of the American Colonies and the Early Republic* (New York: Russell F. Whitehead, 1929). For the history of HABS, see "Introduction," *Historic America: Buildings, Structures, and Sites* (Washington D.C.: Library of Congress, 1983). The Province House was recorded in the HABS files in 1934 soon after the creation of HABS and Waterman's appointment as architectural director.
 32. Appleton's recommendation of Waterman for a Guggenheim fellowship in 1932 recounted Waterman's participation at the time of the Province House demolition, for which he was paid \$48 out of Appleton's pocket. WSA to TTW, Apr. 6, 1923, and May 24, 1927; TTW to WSA, May 23, 1927; and TTW to WSA, Mar. 20, 1944, demonstrate Waterman's continued involvement.
 33. Thomas Tileston Waterman, "The Province House Demolition," *Old-Time New England* 62, 4 (1972): 107–13. Like Waterman's drawings, this report, written in 1922, was not published until this special number was issued. Although informal histories have stated that the brick in the walls was imported from Holland, there is no sign of in-house discussion about the source of the bricks. Waterman's 1922 sketch of sample bricks (eight by four inches) identifies them more closely with English statute bricks (eight and a half by four inches) than with Dutch bricks (typically seven by three inches).
 34. Waterman, *Domestic Colonial Architecture of Tidewater Virginia* (New York: Scribner, 1932), 22, 33; *Mansions of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1945), 55 (on the Governor's Palace fireplace) and 102; *Dwellings of Colonial America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), 261. On the Province House fireplace and chimney, see also TTW to Henry Francis duPont, Apr. 27, 1938, and Mar. 6, 1947, Winterthur Archives. For biographical information on Waterman (1900–51), see Fay Campbell Kaynor, "Thomas Tileston Waterman, Student of American Colonial Architecture," *Winterthur Portfolio* 20, 2/3 (Summer/Autumn 1985): 103–47, and Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*.
 35. Waterman, *Dwellings*, 256. Regarding possible placement of the entrance to the

- great room, see WSA to Henry Phillips, June 7, 1922: "Mr. Cordingley has advanced the theory—and he is the first person to do so, as far as I know—that Peter Sergeant's front door may have been at the South end of his front wall where there is an opening distinctly narrower than the others. This would be in line with the precedent we found at the [North End] Tremere House," built in the seventeenth century. Conjectural drawings (in the SPNEA archives) by Waterman and Cordingley are based on this theory. Kimball's blueprint floor plans (also in the SPNEA archives) made shortly thereafter show this arrangement.
36. "Bolection" refers generally to decorative moulding, usually projecting or raised from the surface, above or around a panel. For the quote, see TTW to WSA, undated note, Province House file.
37. A copy of the Hutchinson view, owned by the West County Library in Devon, England, was displayed in the 1995 "From Colony to Commonwealth" exhibit at the Old State House. Samuel Adams Drake claimed that the illustration in his *Old Landmarks and Historical Personages of Boston* was Lossing's view with Price's roof and cupola added and with front lawn and trees included "by guess work." See also "Story of the Province House Fire Oct. 25, 1864," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, Nov. 26, 1864, 157. Newspaper articles were illustrated with various caricatures based on the early views and signed by Kilborn, Halliday, Manning, and others. Of unknown date is a model of the nineteenth-century form of the house shown in an SPNEA photograph and ascribed to Nathaniel Shurtleff. The next renderings were four small, informal sketches of the conjectured earliest form of the house made by William W. Cordingley in the 1930s. The only known recent attempt to portray the Province House is Frederick Detwiller's rendition in Detwiller, "The Evolution of the Shirley-Eustis House," *Old-Time New England* 70, 257 (1980): 17–30.
38. TTW to WSA, May 19, 1922, advises concentrating on the latest form. See also SPNEA annual report, 1923. For the quote, see Appleton, "The Province House, 1922," *Old-Time New England* 62, 4 (Spring 1972): 88. On the importance of the photograph to future scholars, see WSA to Phillip L. Spaulding, Feb. 25, 1924.
39. The plaque (twenty-nine by twenty-one inches) is now mounted on MacDonald's Restaurant, Washington Street, opposite the square between Woolworth's and the Old South Meeting House. See Massachusetts Society Sons of the Revolution to WSA, Apr. 15, 1923. See also "Bronze Tablet Marks Site of the Old Province House," *Boston Globe*, June 4, 1923. See TTW to WSA, Sept. 22, 1922, on "the eighteenth century aspect."
40. Evidence of front gables is discussed in Appleton, "Notes on the Province House Chimney, June 6, 1922," 6, Province House files. Also see WSA to Wm. Cordingley, May 18, 1922, which mentions "spiked ironwork," and WSA to R. G. Hubby, Dec. 18, 1929, which states, "I am satisfied from the evidence uncovered in the original plate part of which was still in place that there were

- front gables." Both letters also include a discussion of the front gables. WSA to Phillips, June 7, 1922, discusses Cordingley's asymmetry theory.
41. Appleton, "Notes on the Province House Chimney, June 6, 1922," 6, Province House files. See also Waterman, *Dwellings*, 261, for his opinion (nearly three decades later) about the presence of columns at the front doorway. Presumably it was because they were not included among later expenditures that Waterman concluded, "An entrance porch with Ionic columns apparently was original and must have been one of the first examples of the use of the classic orders in this country."
 42. Appleton, "The Province House," *Old-Time New England* 62, 4 (Spring 1972): 88.
 43. Cordingley (1886–1965) was born in Brookline and graduated from Harvard (1907) and Harvard Architectural School (1910). In Boston, he was connected with the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum as well as with Cram and Ferguson. His interest in SPNEA led to his acting as architectural consultant for the Shirley-Eustis House Association. After a brief tenure with the city of London, he opened an architectural office (1914) in Mendham, N.J., where he was responsible for some church architecture and was active in historical organizations and town government. His correspondence with Appleton extended into the 1930s. On Cordingley's talent, see WSA to Phillip Spaulding, June 7, 1922. On differences of opinion between Appleton and Cordingley, see WSA to Cordingley, July 26, 1930, and Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 999.
 44. On Kimball, see Lahendro, "American Renaissance Historian," and Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*. For the text of Kimball's 1920 lectures at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, see Kimball, *Domestic Architecture of the American Colonies and of the Early Republic* (New York: Scribner, 1922). Kimball's blueprints of the floor plan, dated June 27, 1924, and Kimball's elevations of the council chamber walls are in the SPNEA Archives.
 45. In addition to his Province House drawings, Waterman's drawings (1922–27) of other houses or components of interest to Appleton were the first items in SPNEA's graphics collections.
 46. "Billy Cordingley's ideas on the Province House," Aug. 3, 1923, SPNEA Archives. The sketch indicates that Cordingley differed from Appleton in believing, as Waterman did, that the earliest form of the Province House could be deduced from what was known.
 47. See Cordingley Papers deposited at SPNEA Archives in August 1996.
 48. Kimball, "The First Remodeling of the Province House, 1728," *Old-Time New England* 62, 4 (1972): 93–94. See also FK to WSA, May 14, 1923.
 49. A carpenter's 1737 bill for raising scaffolding "att the North (and south) end of the house, nailing spars to the brick wall to clapboard on" is cited in Watkins's report, "The Province House and its Occupants."
 50. On Rosewell, see Waterman, "English Antecedents of Virginia Architecture," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 80, 1 (1939): 61.
 51. Waterman, *Domestic Colonial Architecture of*

- Tidewater Virginia*, 88.
52. Nancy Halvorsen Schless, "The Province House: English and Netherlandish Forms in Gables and Chimneys," *Old-Time New England* 62, 4 (April–June 1972): 115. See also Charles E. Peterson, "The Historic American Buildings Survey: Its Beginnings," in *Historic America—Buildings, Structures and Sites*, 7, 8, and Charles Peterson to author, Dec. 23, 1994, which states, "In his field, I'd trust Tom Waterman's conjectures before anybody else's." Waterman's conjectural drawings, beginning in Boston with the Dock Square House and the Province House, finally numbered thirteen in addition to the "restored elevations" shown throughout his book, *The Domestic Colonial Architecture of Tidewater Virginia*.
53. A. W. Weissman, *Het Amsterdamsche Woonhuis van 1500-1800* (Amsterdam, 1885); H. V. Van Gelder, *Guide to Dutch Architecture* (The Hague, 1961); Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Netherlandish Scrolled Gables of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (New York, 1978), chap. 11. On Dutch and Flemish gables on this side of the Atlantic, see Waterman, *Dwellings*, 205–11. See also Waterman, "French Influence on Early American Architecture," *Gazette Des Beaux-Arts*, ser. 6, 28 (1946): 87–112, for descriptions of curvilinear gables built by Huguenots from the Low Countries. See also Waterman, "Some Early Buildings of Barbados," *The Art Bulletin* 27, 2 (June 1945): 146, which discusses similarities between English Jacobean houses and two curvilinear-gabled Barbados dwellings, probably dating to the mid-seventeenth century. "The only closer counterpart to English building is Bacon's Castle in Virginia. . . . The only known mansion of the eastern seaboard that could compare with them was the Province House in Boston."
54. Schless, "The Province House," 117.
55. Cummings, "The Beginning of Provincial Renaissance Architecture in Boston." Two earlier related studies of Dutch influence are Cummings, "The Foster-Hutchinson House," *Old-Time New England* 54, 3 (January–March 1964): 59–76, and Schless, "Dutch Influence on the Governor's Palace, Williamsburg," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 28, 4 (December 1969): 254–70.
56. See Hosmer, *Preservation Comes of Age*, 2:998–1000 for information on in-house SPNEA debates on restoration, 954 on "the anti-reconstruction approach, first espoused by the SPNEA," and 1006–18 for an National Park Service restoration policy. See also WSA to TTW, Feb. 13, 1935, for an example of Appleton's influence on Waterman and NPS policy.
57. See Cummings, "Editorial Preface," 85, for mention of Appleton's desire for more evidence and his consequent delay in publishing an article on the Province House. WSA to TTW, Mar. 3, 1927, refers to the need for comparing Waterman's "article" with Watkins's report "in order to make sure everything hangs together correctly." WSA to Mrs. Robert S. Gardner, Jan. 21, 1927, states the hope of having "a truly good article on the house before long." Waterman's question, "Are you ever going to publish The Province House?" was reiterated twenty-two years later in TTW to WSA, Mar. 20, 1944.



This map, drawn by Joel Allen on October 4, 1804, shows the location of the Scioto Company's "Yankee settlement," a sixteen-thousand-acre tract on the Whetstone River. The families of Abner Pinney and Levi Buttle both emigrated to the Ohio tract from Connecticut that year; Pinney died in late November. Map courtesy Ohio Historical Society.