

FIG. 1. MAP SHOWING RESORT DEVELOPMENT IN NAHANT. From the *Atlas of Essex County, Mass.*, Boston, 1884.

Resort Architecture at Nahant

1815 - 1850

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NAHANT has been a summer resort almost as long as it has been used as a permanent residence. No extensive building began until after 1815 and by that time it had a reputation as a summer resort. This paper will examine the early years of Nahant as a resort, principally covering from 1820 to 1850, after that the popularity of Nahant began to wane (Figure 1).

In the early 18th century, the peninsula served as a place to keep cattle, as a source for wood, sea weed, or "beach manure," and a place from which to fish. William Woods of Lynn in the *New England Prospects* of 1634 describes the peninsula and the beach out to it:

The sandy beach is 2 miles long, at the end, whereon is a neck of land called Nahant. It is 6 miles in circumference, well wooded with oaks, pine, and cedars. It is besides well-watered, having besides the fresh springs, a great pond in the middle, before which is a spacious marsh. In this neck is a store of good ground, fit for the plow; but for the present it is only used to put cattle in, to weather goats, and swine, to secure them from the wolves; a few posts and rails, from the low water marks to the shore keep out the wolves.¹

The first peculiar interest Nahant has for the town of Lynn is a lengthy law suit in 1657 contesting the ownership of the peninsula with a Thomas Dexter. Dexter contended that an Indian named Black Will or Duke William sold the peninsula to Dexter for a suit of English clothes.² Lynn won the suit, but the protection of

Nahant as part of the town common land was not yet assured. Edward Randolph, secretary to Governor Edmund Andros, petitioned Andros that Randolph gain ownership of Nahant in 1688. The town of Lynn protested the petition, noting that the land had been used as pasturage, built upon, fenced and planted for the past sixty years.³ Nahant remained in the hands of the town of Lynn.

If Nahant was built upon, it must mean only shepherds' cottages or one shepherd's cottage, for it was held as common land, no one having rights to live there. However, Walter Channing, writing in 1820, notes that Quakers settled in Nahant despite its being held in common, because few Lynn residents went out there and food was so plentiful that few trips into town were necessary.⁴

Alonzo Lewis notes the first permanent inhabitant moving to Nahant in 1690.⁵ Lewis further adds that this house became the home of a Doctor Burchsted in 1717, who later that year sold it to a Quaker, Samuel Breed, and his brother, Jabez. Jabez built a house and barn opposite Samuel's house; several years later Jabez exchanged his house with Richard Hood for a house in Lynn.⁶

William Bentley, who stayed with the Breed's when at Nahant, recounts that Samuel Breed and his brother bought the house of Dr. Burchsted in 1720. Dr. Burchsted, a noted German physician, received the land in the divisions of the town commons in 1706. Bentley makes

no reference to an earlier inhabitant, but he does add that the brother, Jabez, sold his house and lands to Wood (Hood) three years later.⁷

The land division by which Burchsted received his property was made in 1706 when all the town common land was parcelled, save for the practice field of the militia. Nahant was divided into ranges 40 rods wide, with each resident of Lynn receiving a portion. The whole of Nahant was cleared to make a sheep pasture. Friend Breed noted to William Bentley that the lands of Nahant had been long neglected by the town residents, that the parcelling of land had been in small units,⁸ which passed by inheritance. Lewis, by profession a surveyor, added in 1848, that some of the parcels now measured only a few feet in width⁹ because each inheritance meant a small division of the original grant.

The eighteenth century brought records of picnickers and pleasure seekers. Being a peninsula far out in the ocean, its temperature stayed well below that of the coastal cities. It almost always had a breeze; the salt air was considered very beneficial to one's health. Salt baths also were frequently recommended for invalids. The sea provided a rich supply of fish; after a storm, the sea bass lay so thick on the shore that they could be hauled away by the cartload. Nahant has steep rock shores, offering many places to picnic and explore; the Spouting Horn, Natural Bridge, Swallow's Cave, Egg Rock, and other rock formations have always been featured as major attractions of the Nahant landscape. The two mile long beach from Lynn to the Nahant was almost completely covered by the tides, but at low tide, the wet sand was hard, smooth and almost like a mirror. It was a favorite spot to which to drive carriages or ride.

Because no one stayed for long, the early records of who went and the lengths of stay are not very specific. William Bentley notes in 1809 that he had been going to Nahant for about 25 years. He adds that "it was from remote times the resort of fishermen, invalids, and, in the proper season, of parties of pleasure seekers from the neighborhood."¹⁰ Bentley later notes that in the earlier days the visitors stayed for at least a week, but since the improved bridges and roads, day trips had become more frequent. When he accompanied the former trips, he stayed at Nehemiah Breed's. The last time he did this was in 1787 with the Fanueil family from Cambridge.¹¹

William Wheildon, editor of the Charlestown *Aurora*, writing in *Letters from Nahant*, in 1848, noted that the three to four families living at Nahant disliked intruders and would "run affright when they saw them coming, and it was with great difficulty that anything in the nature of cooking utensils or food could be obtained from them. They shut their doors in the faces of strangers and escaped to the back rooms and chambers for safety."¹² However, only Wheildon gives such bad accounts.

Dr. Bentley notes that he used to stay at Breed's for free, and only with increasing traffic had he begun to pay.¹³ Alonzo Lewis mentioned that certain Bostonians would pass the entire summer in the cramped quarters of the village houses.¹⁴ Eliza Cabot, daughter of Thomas H. Perkins of Boston, recounts a tale about Harry Cabot and several friends arriving at "Uncle Billy Breed's" late one night around Harvard graduation time (mid-July): when the young graduates arrived in Nahant drunk, William Breed, being a Quaker and non-drinker, offered them nothing.¹⁵

In 1795 Dr. Bentley went to Nahant

twice; the first time he met a group from Weston. The next trip he discussed construction of a house of pleasure with Friend Wood (Hood), who rejected the idea because visitors came for only two months of the year. Dr. Bentley maintained that the apartments for invalids would always be filled if they were provided with conveniences.¹⁶ At this time Nahant had only three houses: that of Nehemiah Breed, Abner Hood, and Caleb Johnson. All of these men took boarders. The invalids came from as far away as Washington, D. C.¹⁷ The pleasure seekers probably came from nearer by, those local towns where the summer heat became oppressive. A Johnson from Lynn followed the ideas of Dr. Bentley in constructing a house of entertainment on the western head. In 1802, Bentley says that Johnson's house was doing poorly. In its second year the house was closed.¹⁸ The next year in late August, the hotel burned.¹⁹ The following summer, the hotel had been rebuilt, and this time it seemed more popular, for Bentley was almost tempted to settle there rather than at Breed's.²⁰ In the Boston *Transcript* the new proprietor advertised the rebuilt hotel where "no exertion or expense was spared to render this hotel commodious and agreeable."²¹

The advertisement particularly notes Nahant for its importance to the invalid and convalescent, the philosopher and naturalist and to the man of leisure and fancier of scenery, the poet, the lover, and the sportsman.

At the time of Nehemiah Breed's death in 1809, William Bentley noted that the number of houses had increased from three to six.²² Most of these would be boarding houses. Alonzo Lewis remarks that a Mr. Rouillard of Boston opened a public house in the village, as the traffic increased to the peninsula.²³ Rouillard

was better known for a steak and soup establishment in the Julien House at Milk and Congress streets.

At this time, Lewis added, life was simple with no artificiality imposed by society. Ladies brought their sewing and books, men went shooting or fishing, all enjoyed punch and fish chowders. Many came by sailboats, others by the roads and across the sand beach from Lynn. In 1817, the steamboat "Massachusetts" came from Boston, stopping in Nahant. In the following year the steamboat "Eagle" traveled between Boston and Nahant, leaving Boston at 9 A.M. and 3 P.M. and leaving Nahant at noon and 6:30 P.M.²⁴ By 1819, William Bentley noted that the "Eagle" left Nahant for Boston with sixty passengers.²⁵

At the same time, Bentley noted that he had had repeated requests to preach at Nahant on Sundays. The audience would be "probably of Boston hearers mostly" who also promised to publish whatever he would write on the history of Nahant.²⁶ This request again emphasized that the travelers to Nahant spent a long time on the peninsula. Many must have been summer renters, or long-term boarders at the boarding houses. There are no signs of people building summer houses until about this time. The only new construction by the Boston group is a school house, used also as a church, with a library.

In the same year, Bentley recorded other changes in Nahant. He had not been there for several years and in that time the peninsula had changed greatly. The number of houses had doubled (to twelve or fourteen). The three original houses had greatly changed. The Wood (Hood) house had had several porches added; the Johnson's had been greatly enlarged. He noted four new houses, all owned by local people. Also a school had

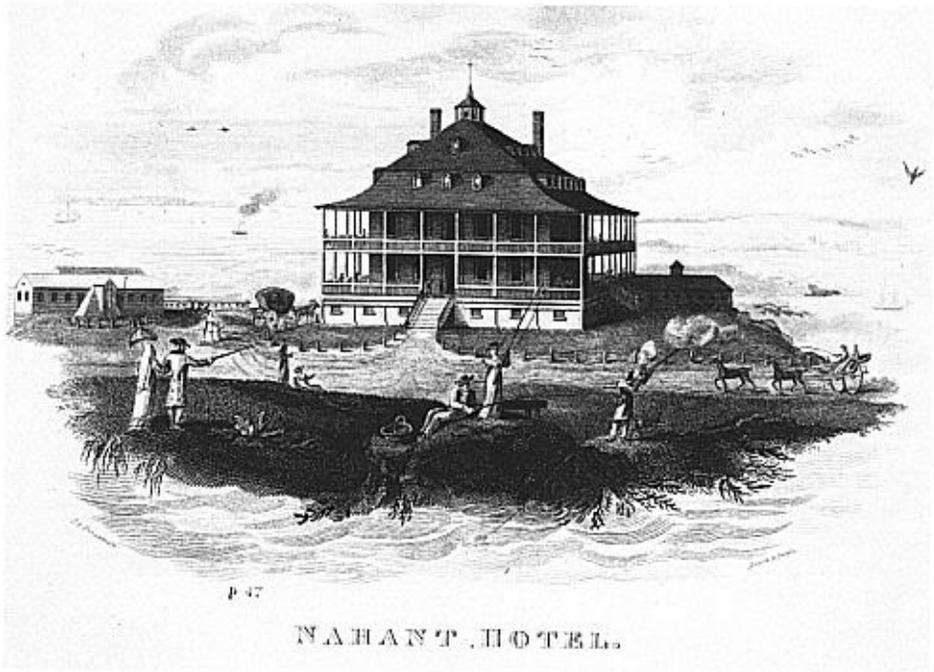


FIG. 2. NAHANT HOTEL BUILT IN 1822. Illustrated in Caleb Snow's *A History of Boston*, Boston, 1825.

been built, mostly by the Boston people. It served both as a school and as a chapel and library. It was of stone with two Ionic columns brought from Europe fixed on the east wall. The library had been endowed with several hundred volumes by Bostonians, who also had requested Dr. Bentley to preach in the chapel. They further persuaded him to write a history of Nahant, which was to be published.²⁷ However, Bentley seems not to have fulfilled that contract. At this time the peninsula was quite unadorned, but for a few seats under the willows near the marsh and a bowling green near by.²⁸

Bentley's account of new construction in Nahant raises some questions. He says that the house of his old friend Breed was

torn down and a new one built.²⁹ But the local historian of Nahant of the early 1900's, Fredrick Wilson, notes that Jesse Rice bought the old Breed house, enlarged it and ran the first real hotel on the peninsula.³⁰ The building that was Rice's and later Whitney's still stands; it looks very much like an early 18th-century house. It stands opposite the site of the Hood "mansion house" noted in the 1818 will of Abner Hood. According to both Alonzo Lewis and Bentley, the Breed and the Hood houses stood opposite each other. But Bentley describes the old house as made of two houses of one and a half stories, the new being square and wooden.³¹

As Nahant was experiencing great

changes caused by her own inhabitants, the Bostonians and others traveling to the peninsula for pleasure trips or for their health really began to change the landscape, too. Colonel Thomas H. Perkins had long been a visitor to Nahant. He, his family, and associates often spent several nights in the village. Others often took day trips to avoid Boston's excessive heat. Perkins usually stayed at Abner Hood's, but it was his daughter, Eliza Cabot, who prompted him to build at Nahant. Her father, on visiting Nahant, insisted that not another summer would pass without his having a house at Nahant.³²

Alonzo Lewis says that the cottage was built in 1817. William Channing, in 1820, noted that all the land on Nahant had been owned by local individuals until a "man of this Town" (Boston) purchased a fine site and built a "plantation and house" two years earlier.³³ The tract, in which Mr. Channing wrote, principally promoted the sale of shares for the Nahant Hotel, a venture for which Th. H. Perkins was principal supporter. The "man of this town" is probably Perkins. The will of Abner Hood marks the boundary of the Potters Field at the Perkins' property line.³⁴

Eliza Perkins Cabot described the construction of the house in her *Reminiscences*:

Father said if we would build a house there, so that he could come when he liked, he would pay for it. So my husband made a plan and advertised for proposals. It was taken by a man from the south shore, who brought everything in a vessel. His bid was a great deal lower than any other and he did the work so well that he lost money on it. Father gave him \$500 above his bargain. The contractor beached his vessel on Short Beach, and they lived on board.³⁵

The Perkins account books noted the total expense at \$4,400.³⁶ The cottage was of stone, two stories high. A drawing by

Miss Derby, the future Mrs. Ephriam Peabody, made in the 1820's, shows a squat house with large porch. The roof sloped down from the peak. It looks somewhat like a Mansard roof, but it is probable that the second story roof stopped to allow small windows under the eaves, and that the porch had one story. This design is similar to that of the later Nahant Hotel, except there are only two stories. There is no description of how extensive the porches were.

Mrs. Cabot described her Grandmother Perkins' house on Purchase Street as

one that had been built by Crowel Hatch, a West Indian, in the West Indian fashion with a piazza all around and a great door in front leading to the cellar with the front steps over it. It was one story, with a hall running through the middle and the kitchen on the same floor.³⁷

A later description of the Perkins cottage describes a hall that ran through the middle.³⁸ Perkins' house in Brookline had two stories of porches, which also ran around the house. Since Nahant had no trees at all, the need for porches surely existed, and any inventiveness would naturally run to already existing examples and expressed tastes by Perkins and his family.

No other Bostonians, or other summer people, built at Nahant for several years. The next exciting event in the life of Nahant also came through interests of Colonel Perkins. In 1821 he began plans for a large hotel. This hotel was one of the first buildings in the Boston area designed as a hotel of so large a size. It was an early example of an ocean resort hotel, though it had been preceded as a resort hotel by the inland spas, most notably Ballston's San Souci.

The event was heralded by Walter Channing's tract of 1820, *A Topographic*

Sketch of Nahant, which gave a brief sketch of the history of Nahant and its paucity of good accommodations. Its real intent was to clarify [for the invalid and convalescent] the healthful benefits of a summer visit to Nahant. It noted its even temperatures, salt air, 360° view, and opportunities for seabathing and drives on the beach. He particularly recommended it for the following classes of afflictions:

Weaning children
suffering from diseases of dentation,
especially during hot weather
dyspeptic complaint
debilitated and emaciated
cutaneous diseases
chronic enlargement of the glands³⁹

He added meteorological information from "an excellent source," provided by Samuel Cabot, Thomas Perkins' son-in-law. Finally, Channing said a large parcel of land was available on the peninsula, the option for it expiring in March, 1821. The hotel, which could be built on this site, would be well-ordered and properly managed, being "healthy in its dissipation and amusements." It could have private sea bathing and a better wharf for the convenience of the invalids.⁴⁰

In 1821 Colonel Perkins and William Payne bought the east end of the peninsula, called East Point and the Ram Pasture, from Nehemiah and Daniel Breed for \$1,800.⁴¹ It took over a year to gain all the subscriptions necessary to begin construction with shares selling at \$100 each. In July, 1822, the proprietors requested and received a recommendation from Doctors James Jackson and John C. Warren which stated that a week at Nahant was worth a month in the country.⁴² In the following month, the principal proprietors again made a request for funds, the initial \$19,000 having already been spent. Their request was for \$12,000 - \$15,000 for installation of hot,

cold, and salt baths, a wharf, bowling alleys, and furniture.⁴³

The hotel opened in 1823; it was an instant success. It was larger than the newly rebuilt Exchange Coffeehouse, which boasted fifty rooms. A picture of the Nahant Hotel appeared in the 1825 edition of Snow's *History of Boston* (Figure 2). Gideon M. Davison, in *The Fashionable Tour, etc.* of 1830 gives a near-complete description of the hotel:

A spacious and elegant stone edifice has been erected as a Hotel, near the extremity of the peninsula, in a very commanding and pleasant situation. This building contains 70 chambers, constructed on a plan of peculiar convenience both for families and for single persons. The dining hall is sufficiently spacious to accommodate 150 persons at the table, besides which there are drawingrooms and private parlors. Large and commodious stables are appended to the Hotel; and a bath house for warm and cold baths, and floating baths for those who may prefer the bracing action of sea water, make a part of the establishment. The hotel is surrounded by piazzas which afford a most delightful prospect in every direction, and receive the cool and refreshing breezes every part of the day.⁴⁴

The hotel had four floors, two floors with piazzas and two floors above the piazzas, under the eaves. The cupola commanded a fine view of the surrounding lands and the sea. The grounds were laid out and ornamented "with as much taste as the exposure of the situation would permit."⁴⁵ The favorite building was the stone billiard room. It was set off from the hotel and had a white wooden portico in the Grecian style. Both the billiard hall and the hotel were reported to be made of local stone.

The hotel attracted much attention because of its unusual looks. All visitors commented on the double piazzas. The first floor piazza was for the men, the

second was limited to women. No trees and constant exposure to the sun and wind meant that the hotel visitors socialized on the piazzas. The custom of promenades had already been initiated at the spas and was retained at Nahant.

Margaret Quincy, one of Josiah Quincy's daughters, described the normal day's events as they had already become custom by 1824. She and her friends spent the morning at one of the local natural sites; then, after dressing for dinner, she went to the piazza. At 3 P.M. the second bell rang, and they all went down for dinner. During the dinner, the band played on the piazza. After dinner she went to the billiard hall, had a nap, and dressed for the ball before tea. At the second bell, tea was served. After tea the ball began, lasting until 11 p.m. She noted that there was no serenading after the ball, so it was very quiet.⁴⁶

This pattern of eating at a designated hour, examining the local natural sites, collecting stones and sea shells, dressing up, and dancing cotillions persisted throughout the life of the hotel. Its most frequent visitors were Bostonians and those from near Boston who could take the one hour steamboat to and from Nahant. Visitors came from far away, foreign visitors and dignitaries being some of the better chroniclers. Margaret Quincy said that Captain Jackson told her group that Boston was absolutely empty while every house at Nahant was crammed.⁴⁷

The hotel, however, was not a great financial success. The original directors re-organized in 1825, with Perkins and Edward H. Robbins, Jr., the principal owners. Still the popularity of Nahant in the summer encouraged several Bostonians to consider further development of the peninsula. Nathaniel Amory of Wattertown and Cornelius Coolidge of Boston

began in 1823 to look toward development of a group of summer cottages for those not wishing either to board in the village or stay at the hotel.

Nathaniel Amory, a merchant engaged in business in the South, bought the part of the Ram Pasture not owned by the hotel⁴⁸ This included Pea Island and a strip running southeast from the road to the hotel to Swallow's Cave. There he laid out a road and eighteen lots, according to a plan by Ezra Collins of Lynn, registered August 10, 1824.⁴⁹ The only evidence of Coolidge's interest in Nahant at this time is a notebook called the *Range Book*, now in the Nahant Public Library. In it Coolidge recorded the original owners from the 1706 land division by Lynn and the present owners of the land. These records are only for the more western ranges, not those near the hotel. In this book, land is recorded as belonging to Nehemiah and Daniel Breed. Nehemiah died in 1823,⁵⁰ making the date of the book between the death of their father, William, in 1819,⁵¹ and the death of Nehemiah in 1823. When Coolidge joined in partnership with Amory in 1825, all their development energy was directed at the land owned by Amory. Coolidge never again showed interest in the west end of the peninsula.

The land bought by Amory from the Breeds for \$2,425⁵² had a "Pavilion lot" where Amory's road met the road to the Hotel. This parcel had two lots, No. 1 and No. 2. The sixteen remaining lots were on the straight road running out to the end of the point at Swallow's Cave. The average lot frontage was about 250 feet. Each deed carried a clause for maintenance of the road, the wells, a uniform setback from the road, and a guarantee that only cottages and dependent buildings would be built on the land.

In 1825 Amory sold half share in the

land to Coolidge, retaining the southern end lots and Pea Island.⁵³ In this transaction, half the rights of a wharf are mentioned. Coolidge constructed this wharf, completing it in 1829 (Figure 3).⁵⁴

In 1826 Amory sold to Coolidge the other half of lots No. 9 and No. 11, and part of No. 13 and No. 7, together with the buildings on it.⁵⁵ In a later sale, Coolidge refers to this house as "the second house in which I lived."⁵⁶ The exact identity of the first cottage at Nahant in which Coolidge lived is not known, but it is likely that it was the cottage belonging to Amory on lots 15 and 17 which Amory sold to Smith and Coffin in 1827⁵⁷ as the first sale by Amory or Coolidge in the Nahant land development. Coolidge later referred to his cottage as a prototype for later constructions. Both the Coolidge and the Amory cottages are described as being stone. It seems likely that both of these stone cottages were designed by Coolidge and financed by Amory.

Fredrick Tudor remarked in his diary on June 13, 1825, that

the lightening struck the south cottage now erected by Mr. Coolidge on Mr. Amory's land. It perforated the house in several places and split several of the rafters.⁵⁸

At least the cottage on lots No. 15 and No. 17 was designed by Coolidge.

The design of stone cottages, as seen through the later descriptions for a construction contract, shows buildings with a stone first floor, surrounded by a piazza of one story. The piazza has large red cedar posts. Above the piazza the cottage is clapboarded. There are steps up to the piazza, and the piazza has a railing. The entire house has a fence with one large and one small gate. Each house has a privy and wood house.⁵⁹

In 1827 the first land sales by Coolidge

and Amory were made. In August, Coolidge sold to David Sears of Boston a cottage and lands on lots No. 3, No. 5, and part of No. 7.⁶⁰ He indicated that a future road will run next to the Sears lot, paralleling the main road to the hotel. In November Amory sold a stone cottage to Mrs. Anne Smith and Miss Margaret Coffin.⁶¹ This was on lots Nos. 15 and 17.

In 1828, Coolidge expanded his operations in Nahant, buying all the land adjacent to the Amory-Coolidge property along the sea up to and including the Nipper Stage Field. That summer he contracted for the construction of five houses, laid out a road parallel to the road from the village to the hotel, and another road parallel to Amory's road, now Cliff Street. Here he laid out lots Nos. 19-62.

At this time, in Boston, Cornelius Coolidge was building houses on Beacon Hill. In the city directory for 1823 he listed himself as an architect, the following years as a building contractor. Generally, Coolidge built for Henry Hubbard, though some of the houses were of his own financing. In the years he created the new subdivision at Nahant, Coolidge built houses on Beacon Street, Chestnut Street, Mr. Vernon Street, Acorn Street, and Joy Street on Beacon Hill.⁶²

The contracts for the buildings at Nahant were for houses to be built by Ezekiel H. Parker of Lynn. One had been commissioned by Samuel Hammond, the others were for Coolidge's speculation. The Hammond House was more carefully detailed, noting the kinds and thickness of doors, windows, moldings, and finishes. Coolidge emphasized the plainness of the moldings and details in his description. The downstairs windows have French green blinds, the exterior woodwork and interior upright woodwork was to be painted. A special notation indicates that the southwest wall was to

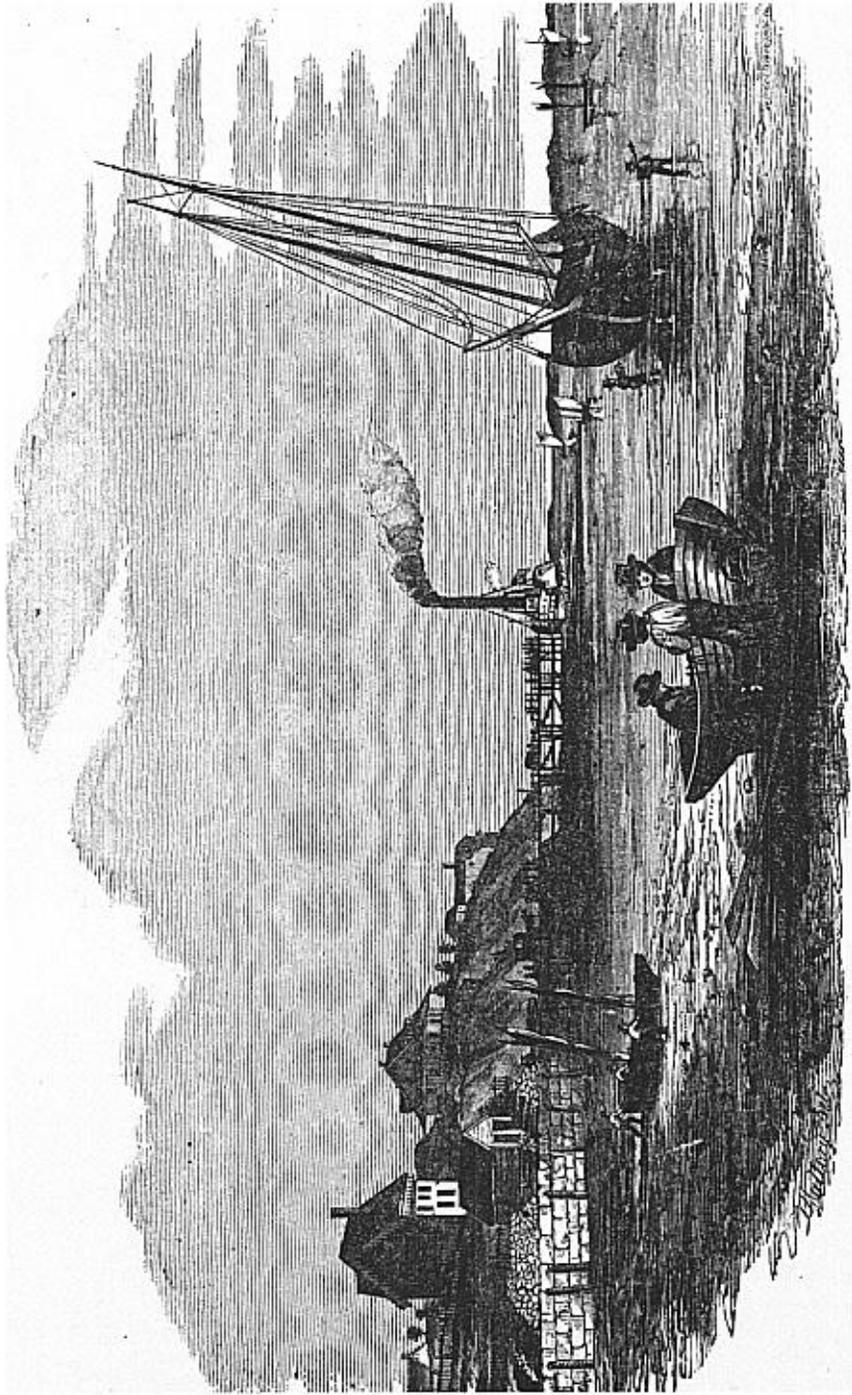


FIG. 3. STEAMBOAT WHARF BUILT BY COOLIDGE IN 1829. The cottage with the porch was also constructed by Coolidge. From *Gleason's Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, I, 30 August 1851.

be of brick to the roof. The other exterior walls were stone on the first floor and wood clapboarding above. The entire cost was \$1,550.⁶³ For the four other houses built that summer by Parker, and to be completed in May, 1829, Coolidge specified his own cottage as the prototype. Two of these cottages were to be of stone, costing \$1,675 each, the smaller cottages all of wood, costing \$1,380 each.⁶⁴

The cottage and 1 3/4 acre lot sold to David Sears the previous year sold for \$3,500.⁶⁵ The cottage Amory sold to Mrs. Smith and Miss Coffin, with one acre of land, cost \$2,808.⁶⁶

In 1828, John Hubbard of Boston bought lots 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, and 14 from Coolidge and Amory. John Hubbard, in Boston, was building houses on Chestnut Street and elsewhere with the help of Coolidge as architect.⁶⁷ Nathaniel Amory no longer lived in Watertown, but had moved to Pensacola, Florida.⁶⁸ Whether Hubbard was only absorbing Amory's investments as Amory had moved out of the Boston area, or whether Hubbard wished also to speculate in the Nahant summer house market is not known. In July of 1828 Hubbard bought Coolidge's cottage at Nahant, and assumed a \$1,000 debt to Daniel Breed by Coolidge. The price paid for the cottage, lot, garden lot, and Breed's debt was \$4,350.⁶⁹

In George Ticknor's biography of W. H. Prescott, Ticknor quoted Prescott as saying that the Prescott lot at Nahant was purchased in 1828 and the cottage occupied the following summer.⁷⁰ As Amory's deed to Prescott is dated November, 1828, the construction of the cottage could have already been underway by the date of purchase. Coolidge probably designed this cottage also, and built the cottage at the same time he was constructing the five other cottages that summer. Prescott described the cottage as

being built without the slightest architectural pretensions. he said that the cottage was at the coolest spot on the peninsula, standing on a cliff, overlooking the ocean, "so near that in a storm the spray is thrown over the piazza."⁷¹

Also in 1828 Coolidge made his first sale in the new area of lots Nos. 19-62. To Richard Cobb of Boston he sold two lots, Nos. 19 and 20 on the road "from the Pavilion to the wharf," for \$1,000.⁷²

The mention of the Pavilion in the direction of the road points out that Coolidge had in mind a grand plan for the cottages. He set aside lot No. 62, on the corner of the main road to the hotel and Cliff Street and the lot nearest to Rice's Hotel, as the Pavilion Lot. Lots Nos. 1 and 2, at the entrance to Swallow's Cave Road were similarly set off in the 1824 plans. Throughout the development and sale of land in Nahant, Coolidge guaranteed certain lots would remain forever open land, that all lots would have setback requirements, that no buildings other than cottages and their dependent buildings would be built.

One of the stone cottages Coolidge built in 1828-29 was intended to be a hotel, the Nahant House (Figure 4). It was on lot No. 33, on Joseph's Beach and near the wharf. Though the hotel almost immediately was mortgaged after its completion, J. L. Homer noted that it was christened in a handsome manner by Coolidge and its proprietor.⁷³ It was later owned by Joseph and George Peabody of Salem. It appears on Alonzo Lewis' map of Lynn which was published in 1829, so, though Coolidge was insolvent, the hotel must have continued in operation.

But in 1829 many Boston merchants had severe financial troubles; Cornelius Coolidge, with at least six houses at Nahant under construction and forty lots unsold, failed in mid-summer. Fredric

Tudor, in one of his frequent trips to his Nahant cottage, noted in his diary on August 7:

Failures continue among the active men in all branches of business. Yesterday we had the failure of Dr. Robbins, owner of the Nahant Hotel and some days before C. Coolidge, who has this year been buying large quantities of land and building seven cottages at Nahant.⁷⁴

The only lots sold in the year of 1829 by Coolidge were to George M. Dexter who bought lots in two different sites.⁷⁵ Coolidge managed to mortgage his lands to John Hubbard, Nathaniel Amory, Charles Thatcher, Wm. P. Green of Norwich, Conn., Robert G. Shaw, Charles Loring, and Peter C. Brooks.

Little happened in Nahant for several years in the area of Coolidge's Great Plan for Nahant. In 1831 Coolidge gave the land for the Nahant Church, but this had to be released through Coolidge's assignee, Charles Loring.⁷⁶

The first sign of life in the further development of the Great Plan was Robert Shaw's sale of his lot at Bass Rock which included a stone cottage.⁷⁷ In 1829, when Coolidge sold the land to Shaw, there had been no cottage; in 1832 there was a cottage. It followed the Coolidge designs of a piazza all around according to later descriptions. A contract dated March 6, 1829 between Cornelius Coolidge and Ezekiel H. Parker, his contractor from Lynn, referred to the Bass Rock cottage. This means the Bass Rock cottage pre-dated Coolidge's financial failure and makes the number of cottages constructed by Coolidge between 1828 and 1829 total seven. This is the number that Fredric Tudor noted when he described Coolidge's failure in early August of 1829. Coolidge did not begin building at Nahant again until after 1832, with the construction of John

Lowell's cottage.

Coolidge sold to Andrew Breed, lots Nos. 35, 36, 37, where John Lowell built a house after 1833,⁷⁸ and lots Nos. 42, 43, 44, and part of 41, where Josiah Blake built a house after 1832.⁷⁹ Both these houses are similar to the Coolidge design, the last house being the only remaining Coolidge house at Nahant which looks the way it must have in the first half of the 19th century. In 1837, Coolidge mortgaged to John Welles a cottage on Lot No. 27, which was termed "new."⁸⁰

While Coolidge had originally hoped to build close to sixty cottages in Nahant, he finally built closer to thirteen. The original lots Nos. 19-62 were small, only 100 ft. frontage. Most purchasers bought more than one lot. But Cornelius Coolidge did not leave Nahant without one last grand idea. He built himself a house, called the Villa. It is brick, two stories high, with two stories of piazzas surrounding the house. The project was too costly for Coolidge, for in 1836 he had to register an agreement that he would pay his contractor for work on the house.⁸¹ The following spring, 1837, Coolidge mortgaged the house to John Welles. He seems to have occupied the house in that summer, for a deed to the adjacent lot noted that Coolidge had recently occupied the Villa and further noted a fifteen foot setback from Coolidge's land if a barn were built adjacent to the Coolidge property.⁸² And, in a deed to Samuel Hammond for the property across the street, the restrictions allowed "nothing termed a nuisance such as manufacturing, bowling alleys, stores, school houses, or anything that might prejudice or injure the estates thereabouts for private dwellings."⁸³

After several warnings, Welles took possession of the land and the Villa.⁸⁴ Finally, in 1842, Coolidge could file for

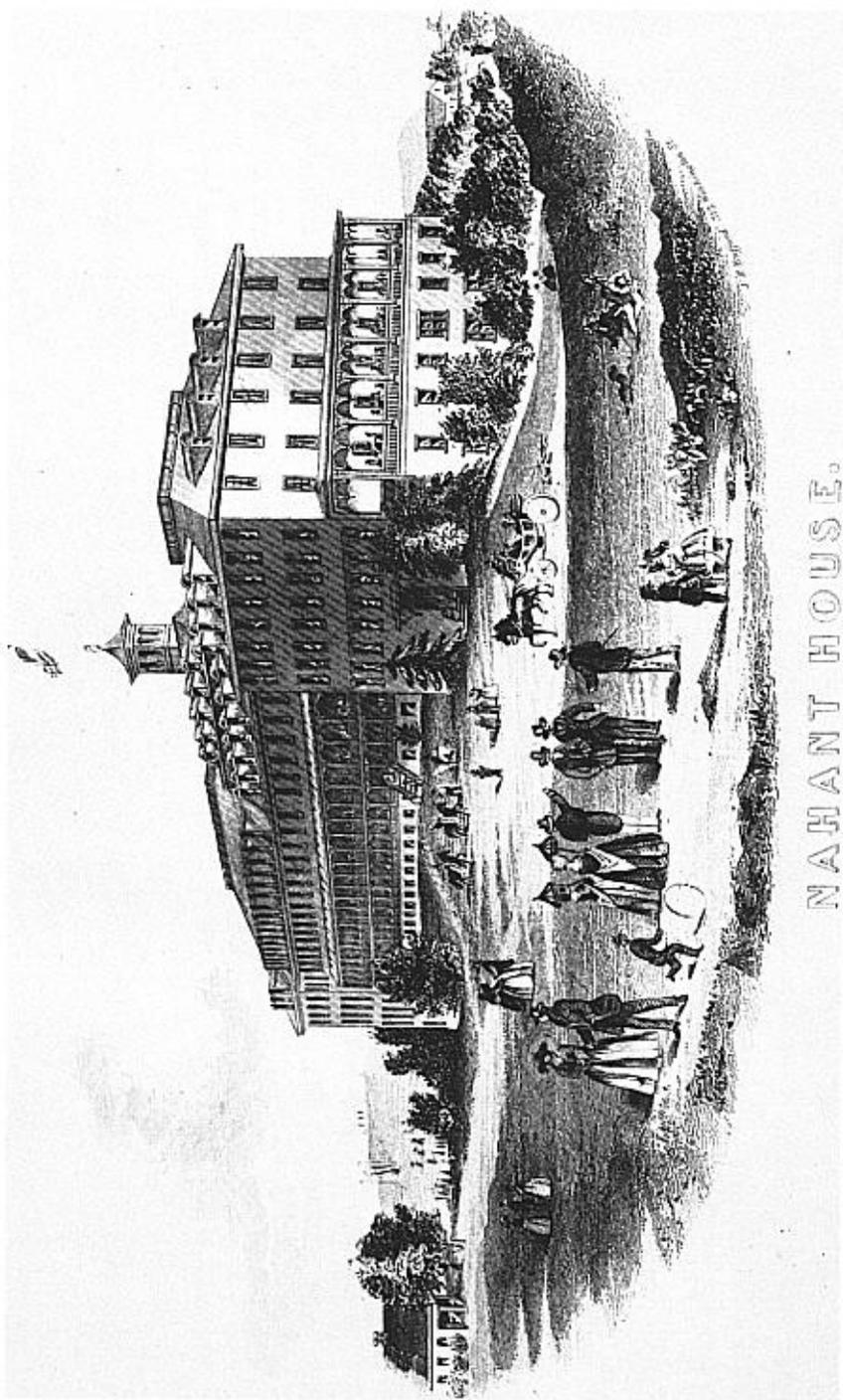


FIG. 4. NAHANT HOUSE BUILT BY COOLIDGE IN 1828-1829. Engraving taken from lithograph executed by Bufford, ca. 1855.

bankruptcy by a special Act of Congress enacted that year. Filing on February 2, he reported debts of \$141,845.47. In Nahant he had the Villa lot and house, eleven lots at Nahant held by R. G. Shaw and Wm. F. Otis, and interest in the church and the land on which it stood, with the right to redeem two more lots.⁸⁵

Coolidge died the following year in Boston.

The area of Coolidge's great plan was the center of the summer community. In the years just before 1850, several more houses were built in this area. Little is known about the design of these houses, except for the Chadwick cottage which is supposed to have been designed by George Dexter.⁸⁶

Meanwhile, at the opposite end of the peninsula, the third of Nahant's important residents and an important mentor, Fredric Tudor, weathered the financial crisis of 1829 with the note that not too much money came into his accounts either.⁸⁷

Tudor's most remembered contribution to Nahant was the trees he re-introduced to the treeless landscape. He had a stone cottage, large gardens, orchards, and extensive land holdings covering much of the northwestern end of the peninsula.

Tudor came to Nahant in the early 1820's, visiting at the cottage his mother was building. At the beginning of Tudor's known diaries, in 1825, he notes, on July 18, that his mother "is established in the cottage, which will not be finished until the end of the month and then only once painted and without any papering."⁸⁸ Yet that spring he had already planted and harvested asparagus in his mother's garden, planted peas, taken many notes on the effect of the salt winds on the vegetables in the garden, both those protected by the fence and those in the

open.

By September of that year the carpenters had finished the work, while Tudor had begun planting Balm of Gilead trees to see if they could stand the wind and salt. The trees came from Rice's yard.⁸⁹ The Balm of Gilead trees were successful, and Tudor expanded his planting, later using these trees to protect other kinds of trees until those trees took root.

Tudor stayed late in the year each year, thinking the best weather at Nahant was in September. He noted that the Cabots stayed long into October in the Perkins cottage, but that everyone else left soon after the first of September, especially from the hotel, making Nahant a lonely place. Yet he stayed until November 18 in 1825.

In May of 1826 Tudor commented on the growth of the public's enthusiasm for Nahant:

The time is approaching when the place will be filled with idle and empty visitors—an evil from which an escape may be made by taking to my boat, gun, and saltworks. It would be pleasant to have a few friends about one but the general acquaintances are at best sort of necessary evil to rule off the rust which will encrust those who retire absolutely from them.⁹⁰

In 1828 Wm. A. Eliot offered to purchase the Tudor cottage at Nahant. Tudor told Eliot that the house and furnishings had cost him \$10,000, an enormous sum.⁹¹ Apparently Eliot made no further offer. The cottage received some note, not just as the site of the famous gardens, but as a residence. In an 1848 pattern book, published in Cincinnati and New York, a plate of the Tudor cottage exists with the caption noting that the general design was taken from Tudor's cottage some years ago.⁹² It notes that the house is of stone with the roofs covered in bark strips. This cottage, too, seems always to have had porches.

Tudor followed the course of the 1829 depression in the offers for his house. In May, 1829, he offered his house to Wm. Cushing for \$10,000.⁹³ In 1831 he notes that he was offered \$6,000. Three weeks prior to that he was offered \$5,000, and three weeks before that he was offered \$4,000.⁹⁴ Also during the depression, the cost for the steamboat to Nahant Hotel fell from 50c to 25c each way.

Tudor continued to develop gardens at Nahant, making an orchard and still later, an amusement park. An employee of his, a Dr. Piper, made drawings by means of a prism lens, and then transferred the drawings to etchings. This way he could record Tudor's agricultural accomplishments at Nahant.⁹⁵

For the visitors to Nahant, the most popular house was Samuel A. Eliot's Greek temple. This house sits on a promontory overlooking the Canoe Beach, facing east toward the hotel. This house and the billiard hall of the hotel, which also had a portico, became favorite subjects for drawings of Nahant. The Eliot cottage is the only early cottage showing distinctive decorative effects in its being a temple design. Its owner was the architect. He also designed the church which occupied two lots in Coolidge's subdivision.⁹⁶ This design, also a Greek temple, was much less successful. The building is squat and too huddled. The church was constructed in 1832, the Eliot cottage was built before 1830.

There were several other cottages in Nahant at this early time. Alonzo Lewis designed a log house for Joseph Green Joy.⁹⁷ It followed the rustic tradition set by Fredric Tudor, and the simplicity of the Coolidge cottages. It was constructed around 1840, being a "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" log cabin. Apparently many log houses were built around the time of

William Henry Harrison's Presidential campaign.

Stephen Codman also had a cottage at Nahant, near Rice's on the west side of the main road. Nothing is known of its design, but it was built fairly early, Alonzo Lewis noting in 1829 that Stephen Codman's barn had burned.⁹⁸

The cottages of Nahant are noted by the visitors as great additions to the landscape. Tyrone Power, in his travel book, refers to the cottages around the hotel as built "in the style of the southern cottage, having low projecting eaves covering a broad gallery which usually encircles the building."⁹⁹

Another book describes Nahant as

that bold promontory rising from the fair bosom of the ocean, with its picturesque gray rocks, dotted with beautiful villas, or pretty cottages, presenting a scene to delight the eyes of the painter or poet.¹⁰⁰

But in 1852, George Curtis describes Nahant: "Nahant is a shower of little brown cottages, fallen upon the rocky promontory that terminates Lynn Beach."¹⁰¹

In 1831-32 the Nahant Hotel expanded its facilities by building a large addition (Figure 5). This addition, a three-story building resembling a mill building with monitor lights on the fourth floor, greatly offended many of the guests. William Wheildon, the editor of the Charlestown *Aurora* and biographer of Simon Willard, the architect of the Bunker Hill monument, noted that the addition had 100 rooms and a large dining room,¹⁰² but

shocking to relate to any person of the least taste in architecture it presents one of the grossest violations of propriety, which the eye of man ever beheld.¹⁰³

In the 1842 edition of the same booklet, Wheildon notes that all of the buildings of the hotel complex are in good taste especially the Greek temple or

billiard hall; but "these are all put to blush by the 'convenient addition.'" ¹⁰³ George W. Curtis, in one of his series of travel books, *Lotus Eating*, describes the addition as "the naked ugliness of a cotton factory added" to the hotel. ¹⁰⁴

Yet the ugly addition did not discourage most visitors; in fact, they seldom seemed to notice it, taking more time to describe the billiard hall, the fashionable people, or the excellent air and sites. Alonzo Lewis' guide book seems to have been the principal guide, with its lengthy descriptions of the sea serpent, the cave, rocks, and cliffs, the tricks the water can play on the eyes, and Nahant in a storm. The favorite word to describe Nahant was "sublime."

Tea was the popular time of day, with a ball often following, where the restrictions of Boston society did not permit many waltzes but encouraged "cotillions" or quadrilles. For most, dancing was restricted to only those who had been previously introduced. ¹⁰⁵ This attitude did not sit well with those people who traveled to the more unrestricted spas of New York State.

Meals tended to be very noisy, with a band playing, the waiters yelling, and the diners chattering madly. Foreign visitors generally noted that Americans ate very fast, with a great clattering of their knives and forks, often not speaking during meals, and finishing quickly. ¹⁰⁶

One traveler was amazed to see a woman at the billiard hall:

one solitary female, surrounded by the rougher sex, and exhibiting a degree of adroitness in knocking the balls about almost as remarkable as her self-possession and ease. This exhibition of independence among young women is one of the most striking features to be observed in the manners and customs at places of public resort in the U.S. ¹⁰⁷

As time passed, the boldness of the

American women appeared more evident, and Nahant became a frequent stop for the belles of the resort circuit who spent their days flirting and playing in the big hotels of America. They never seemed to have dominated the Nahant life, or even the social life of the hotel; however, the newspaper reports from Nahant of the mid-forties and early fifties turn more and more to describing the swains, dandies, and belles. Others contrast Nahant and its population of "fat old merchants in white hats and fussy old maids or dowager ladies" ¹⁰⁸ to the gayer resorts.

Apparently, the hotel never did very well. It changed owners and managers fairly regularly, who modernized it and added rooms in 1831-32, and in the early 1850's, until the original stone building became lost in the additions of later years.

In 1851, George W. Curtis, the most popular writer of summer travel books and a frequenter of Nahant, wrote that the hotel was "a fashionable resort a score of years since but the beaux and belles have long since retreated into the pretty cottages." ¹⁰⁹

He goes on to relate the feelings such resorts evoke:

They concentrate, during a brief time, so many and such various persons, and unite them so closely in the constant worship and pursuit of a common pleasure, that the personal associations with the spot become profound, even painful. It is not surprising, therefore, that many who loved and frequented Nahant years ago, now recoil from it, and only visit with the same fascinated reluctance with which they regard the faded love tokens of years so removed that they seem to have detached themselves from life. ¹¹⁰

Others suggested that the buildings at Nahant were not grand enough, or were too close together; and some said it was too convenient to Boston, too near to

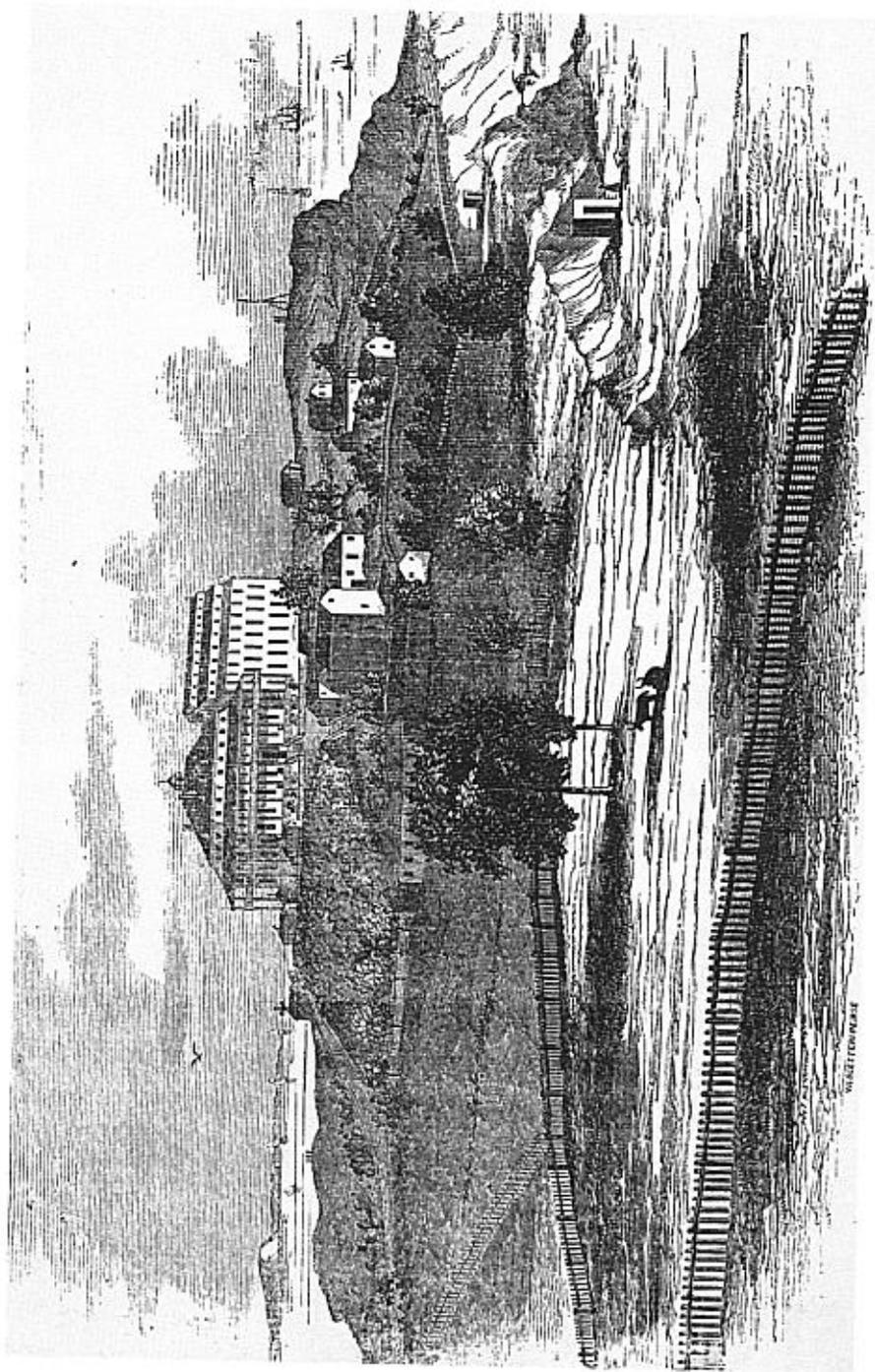


FIG. 5. NAHANT HOTEL SHOWN WITH GEORGE CURTIS' "COTTON MILL" ADDITION, CONSTRUCTED IN 1831-1832. From Gleason's *Pictorial Drawing Room Companion*, 1, 30 August 1851.

hold a fascination for the summer adventurer.¹¹

Even so, for many prominent Bostonians Nahant continued to be their summer home, not because it was a fashionable resort, but because it was convenient to Boston and had been so long frequented by Bostonians.

Today not much remains of the Nahant of the first half of the 19th century. Tudor's cottage still stands and is little changed but for several additions in

the back. Perkins' cottage has burned down. Joy's cottage no longer stands. Most of the early boarding houses have disappeared, except for Rice's. The hotel burned and the land has been torn up to build coastal defense bunkers. All of Coolidge's cottages but one are very changed or destroyed. The church has been torn down. However, Coolidge's villa still stands well preserved. The Eliot cottage remains, much changed inside.

NOTES

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² *Ibid.*, p. 119.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 290.

⁴ Walter Channing, M. D., *Topographic Sketch of Nahant*, 1820, p. 1.

⁵ Lewis, p. 291.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 311-12.

⁷ William Bentley, *The Diary of William Bentley, D.D.*, Salem, Mass: The Essex Institute, 1905, August 21, 1802.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Lewis, p. 308.

¹⁰ Bentley, April 3, 1809.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, May 12, 1819.

¹² William Wheildon, *Letters from Nahant; Historical, Descriptive and Miscellaneous*, Charlestown, Mass., 1842, p. 31.

¹³ Bentley, April 3, 1809.

¹⁴ Lewis, pp. 62-3, p. 31.

¹⁵ Mrs. Eliza Cabot, *Reminiscences*, mss in the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass., pp. 15-16.

¹⁶ Bentley, July 29, 1795.

¹⁷ *National Intelligencer*, Vol. XX, Washington, Thursday, July 25, 1818.

¹⁸ Bentley, August 21, 1802.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, August 29, 1803.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, June 5, 1804.

²¹ Advertisement in the *Boston Transcript*, dated Nahant, July 2, 1804, from the Nahant Public Library collection.

²² Bentley, April 3, 1809.

²³ Lewis, pp. 62-3.

²⁴ The Maolis Club, *History of Nahant*, Mass., 1914, p. 26.

²⁵ Bentley, August 6, 1819.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, July 8, 1819.

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ Fredrick A. Wilson, *Some Annals of Nahant*, Mass., 1928.

³¹ Bentley, July 8, 1819.

³² Cabot, p. 57.

³³ Channing, p. 5.

³⁴ Will of Abner Hood, Essex County Probate Court records, No. 13769, April 7, 1818.

³⁵ Cabot, p. 54.

³⁶ Carl Seaburg and Stanley Patterson, *Merchant Prince of Boston; Thomas H. Perkins, 1764-1854*, Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1972, p. 291.

³⁷ Cabot, p. 3.

³⁸ Dorothy Haywood, Lynn Historical Society, from newspaper clipping file, 1956.

³⁹ Channing, p. 6.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

⁴¹ Wilson, p. 53.

- ⁴² Letter by James Jackson and John C. Warren, from a Boston newspaper, 1822, Nahant Public Library files.
- ⁴³ Letter by Thomas H. Perkins, Israel Thordike, William Payne, John Hubbard, and William Sullivan, from a Boston newspaper, 1822, in the Nahant Public Library files.
- ⁴⁴ Gideon Minor Davison, *The Fashionable Tour, A Guide to Travellers Visiting the Northern and Middle States*, Saratoga Springs, N.Y.: G. M. Davison, 1830, p. 372.
- ⁴⁵ Theodore Dwight, *The Northern Traveller: Containing the Routes to Niagara, Quebec, and the Springs, with the Tour of New England and the Route to the Coal Mines of Pennsylvania*, NYC: Harper, 1826, p. 90.
- ⁴⁶ Margaret Marlon Quincy in M. A. DeWolfe Howe, *The Articulate Sisters*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1946, pp. 58-61.
- ⁴⁷ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁸ Deed of Ebenezer Hood to Nathaniel Amory, October 25, 1823, bk 233, folio 287; Deed of Benjamin Hood to Nathaniel Amory, May 14, 1823, bk. 233, folio 117; Deed of Abner Hood to Nathaniel Amory, October 21, 1823, bk. 234, folio 88. All these deeds and all other deeds cited are from the Essex County Registry of Deeds, Salem, Mass.
- ⁴⁹ Map included in the deed of Cornelius Coolidge to David Sears, August 23, 1827, bk. 247, fl. 66.
- ⁵⁰ Will of Nahemiah Breed, Essex County Probate Court records, No. 3243, July 1, 1823.
- ⁵¹ Bentley, May 12, 1819.
- ⁵² Deeds of Ebenezer Hood to Nathaniel Amory, Benjamin Hood to Nathaniel Amory, and Abner Hood to Nathaniel Amory, cited above.
- ⁵³ Deed of Nathaniel Amory to Cornelius Coolidge, January 5, 1825, bk. 288, fl. 283.
- ⁵⁴ Cornelius Coolidge to John Hubbard, July 15, 1829, bk. 53, fl. 225.
- ⁵⁵ Deed of Nathaniel Amory to Cornelius Coolidge, June 20, 1826, bk. 240, fl. 304.
- ⁵⁶ *Ibid.*
- ⁵⁷ Deed of Nathaniel Amory to Anne Smith and Margaret Coffin, November 13, 1827, bk. 247, fl. 211.
- ⁵⁸ Fredric Tudor, *Diaries*, in the mss collection, Baker Library, Harvard Business School, Cambridge, Mass., August 23, 1827.
- ⁵⁹ Two contracts between Cornelius Coolidge and Ezekiel H. Parker, recorded in the Essex County Registry of Deeds, September 1, 1828, bk. 250, fl. 146; and October 6, 1828, bk. 252, fl. 191.
- ⁶⁰ Deed of Cornelius Coolidge to David Sears, cited above.
- ⁶¹ Deed of Nathaniel Amory to Anne Smith and Margaret Coffin, cited above.
- ⁶² Allen Chamberlain, *Beacon Hill, Its Ancient Pastures and Early Mansions*, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1925, pp. 131-3, 149-52, 166, 184, 185, 281-284.
- ⁶³ Contract between Cornelius Coolidge and Ezekiel H. Parker, September 1, 1828, bk. 250, fl. 146.
- ⁶⁴ Contract between Cornelius Coolidge and Ezekiel H. Parker, October 6, 1828, bk. 252, fl. 191.
- ⁶⁵ Deed of Cornelius Coolidge to David Sears, cited above.
- ⁶⁶ Deed of Nathaniel Amory to Anne Smith and Margaret Coffin, cited above.
- ⁶⁷ Chamberlain, *Op. Cit.*
- ⁶⁸ Deed of Nathaniel Amory to William Prescott, November 26, 1828, bk. 251, fl. 145.
- ⁶⁹ Deed of Cornelius Coolidge to John Hubbard, July 13, 1828, bk. 249, fl. 264; and deed of Cornelius Coolidge to John Hubbard, September 25, 1828, bk. 251, fl. 44.
- ⁷⁰ George Ticknor from *William H. Prescott in Nahant, a Collection From Sundry Sources*, Lynn, Mass.: John Macfarlane & Co., 1899.
- ⁷¹ *Ibid.*
- ⁷² Deed of Cornelius Coolidge to Richard Cobb, November 20, 1828, bk. 251, fl. 136.
- ⁷³ The Shade of Alden (pseud) for J. L. Homer, *Nahant and Other Places on the North Shore*, Boston, 1848, p. 16.
- ⁷⁴ Tudor, August 7, 1829.
- ⁷⁵ Deed of Cornelius Coolidge to George M. Dexter, February 14, 1829, bk. 251, fl. 271.
- ⁷⁶ Deed of Cornelius Coolidge to the Nahant Church, October 3, 1831, bk. 262, fl. 131; and the deed of Charles Loring to Cornelius Coolidge, October 31, 1831, bk. 262, fl. 134.
- ⁷⁷ Deed of Robert G. Shaw to Benjamin C. Clarke, July 24, 1832, bk. 268, fl. 19.
- ⁷⁸ Deed of Andrew Breed to John A. Lowell, August 7, 1833, bk. 270, fl. 190, and deed of John A. Lowell to Thomas Curtis, May 6, 1844, bk. 344, fl. 185.

- ⁷⁹ Deed of Joshua Blake to Elizabeth Greene, Susannah Hammond, and Sarah Greene, May 13, 1836, bk. 289, fl. 123, and deed of Stephen White to Joshua Blake, August 15, 1832, bk. 266, fl. 112.
- ⁸⁰ Mortgage of Cornelius Coolidge to John Welles, April 1, 1837, bk. 298, fl. 231.
- ⁸¹ Contract between Cornelius Coolidge and N. A. Stevenson, etc., November 17, 1836, bk. 299, fl. 111.
- ⁸² Deed of Cornelius Coolidge to William Foster Otis, September 13, 1837, bk. 301, fl. 130.
- ⁸³ Deed of Cornelius Coolidge to Samuel Hammond, December 13, 1837, bk. 303, fl. 243.
- ⁸⁴ Mortgage of Cornelius Coolidge to John Welles, August 22, 1840, bk. 320, fl. 156.
- ⁸⁵ Bankruptcy papers for Cornelius Coolidge filed February 2, 1842, under a new Bankruptcy Law, the National Archives, Washington, D. C.
- ⁸⁶ I was told that the plans for Chadwick cottage at Nahant was part of the Dexter collection at the Boston Atheneum, but I was not permitted to examine those drawings or any part of the collection.
- ⁸⁷ Tudor, August 7, 1828.
- ⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, October 19, 1825.
- ⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, May 23, 1826.
- ⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, June 26, 1828.
- ⁹¹ C. W. Elliot, *Cottage and Cottage Life, Containing Plans for Country Houses, etc.*, Cincinnati: H. W. Derby & Co., NYC: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1848, p. 133.
- ⁹² *Ibid.*
- ⁹³ Tudor, June 21, 1829.
- ⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, October 2, 1831.
- ⁹⁵ Letter from Charles A. Hammond to Fredrick A. Wilson, September 30, 1928, from the mss collection, Nahant Public Library.
- ⁹⁶ Mrs. Samuel Hammond, *The Nahant Church: 1832-1932* compiled from the church records.
- ⁹⁷ From the photograph file of the Nahant Public Library.
- ⁹⁸ Lewis, under note of 1829.
- ⁹⁹ Tyrone Power, Esq., *Impressions of America During 1833-35*, vol. 2, Philadelphia: Carey, Lea and Blanchard, 1836, p. 3.
- ¹⁰⁰ *A Visit to Nahant, a Sequel to the Wonders of the Deep*, by a lady, N. Y.: The General Protestant Episcopal Sunday School Union, 1839, p. 17.
- ¹⁰¹ George Washington Curtis, *Lotus Eating: A Summer Book*, N. Y.: Harper and Bros., 1852, p. 145.
- ¹⁰² Wheildon, 1838 edition, p. 27.
- ¹⁰³ *Ibid.*
- ¹⁰⁴ Wheildon, 1842 edition, p. 25.
- ¹⁰⁵ Curtis, p. 145.
- ¹⁰⁶ C. D. Arfwedson, *The U.S. and Canada*, vol. 1, London: Richard Bentley, 1834, p. 219; or Thomas Colley Grattan, *Civilized America*, vol. 1, London: Bradbury & Evans, 1859. These are two of the travel books noting this.
- ¹⁰⁷ Edward Stratt Abdy, *Journal of a Residence and Tour in the U.S.*, 1833-34, London: John Murray, 1835, vol. 2, p. 173.
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- ¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 147.
- ¹¹¹ John B. Batchelder, *Popular Resorts and How to Reach Them*, Boston: John B. Batchelder, 1875, p. 67.