

The Early History and Federalization of the Codman House

R. CURTIS CHAPIN

Edited by Abbott Lowell Cummings

The story of Codman House begins with the Russell family of Charlestown, Massachusetts, whose destinies both directly and indirectly have helped define the form and character of the building as we know it today. The present study traces the history of its ownership and architectural evolution from the time of original construction by the Russells shortly before 1741 until the opening years of the nineteenth century. A period of some sixty-two years or more saw the immediate control of this important property move from the hands of the Russells to the hands of John Codman, a wealthy merchant of Boston, allied to the Russells by marriage. Codman commissioned the enlargement of the Russell Mansion during a two-year period which began in March 1797 and ended in the Spring of 1799, and by which a Georgian mansion was transformed into a Federal-style country seat.

The founder of the Russell family fortunes was Charles Chambers, a native of Lincolnshire, England, described variously as mariner and gentleman following his arrival in the New World in 1688. Chambers rose to prominence by becoming a member of the Council of the Province and a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas. Although a resident of Charlestown, he purchased large tracts of land in Dunstable, Weston, Sudbury, and in Concord, the latter purchases beginning in 1708.¹

Judge Chambers left a substantial estate at his death in 1743. The executors of his will were Daniel Russell, husband of his only child, Rebecca, and his grandson, Chambers Russell, their second son. Under the terms of the will, Chambers Russell, born 4 July 1713 in Charlestown,



FIG. 13. CHAMBERS RUSSELL (1713-1767), BY JOSEPH BLACKBURN (ca. 1760). (Courtesy of the Massachusetts Audubon Society, photograph by J. David Bohl.)

appears to have been the favored grandchild, and at thirty years of age became his grandfather's residual legatee. This residue included several hundred acres of land in that part of Concord which is now Lincoln.²

Chambers Russell (fig. 13) was presumably raised in Charlestown and was graduated from Harvard College in the class of 1731. He was probably resident in Concord by the late 1730s when, on 21 Feb-

The original text, entitled "The Federalization of the Codman House," was submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts from Goddard College in 1973 by Mr. Chapin, then resident overseer of the Codman House. Forthcoming publication of the entire thesis is anticipated.

ruary 1738, the inhabitants were asked "To see if the Town will grant to Mr. Chambers Russell Liberty to build a pew in the meeting house" ³ The first reference to what is now the Codman House occurs in the Concord Town Records on 2 March 1741. The inhabitants on that date were asked "To see if the town will Discontinue the way turning out of Sudbury Road a Little south of Billings Dam, so along by Mr. Chambers Russell home till it come against a heap of stones in a valley near the house that was Joseph Daney's" ⁴

Prior to the death of Charles Chambers, a town way had been laid out running through his Concord property. In 1740 the way was rerouted at Chambers Russell's request and in his presence. ⁵ In 1741 Concord voted to discontinue the earlier way. These references, taken in conjunction with mention in 1741 of Chambers Russell's "home" and the character of the architectural detail, would suggest that before, and probably shortly before 1741, Chambers Russell had built the core of the present house on his grandfather's Concord property which would soon be conveyed to him by will.

Chambers Russell followed in his grandfather's footsteps, becoming a Judge of Common Pleas and Vice Admiralty in 1747 and, in 1752, a commissioned Judge of the Superior Court of Judicature. In 1754 Judge Russell, together with a group of Concord residents, petitioned the General Court and succeeded in having the southern section of Concord and parts adjacent incorporated into a separate town called Lincoln, traditionally so named for Charles Chambers's native Lincolnshire, England. The house and lands of Chambers Russell were in the newly-created town.

The Judge's wife, Mary Wheelwright Russell, died childless in 1762. The widower remained in his Lincoln home, and on 30 August 1766, contracted a mortgage with John Hammock, a Boston merchant, for £1000 lawful money. As col-

lateral, Chambers Russell pledged the Lincoln land, house, and buildings described as "Chambers Russell's mansion House and all Edifices out houses Barns & Buildings thereto belonging and two other Dwelling Houses on said Land and the Barns and Buildings to them belonging" Chambers Russell's "large Farm," as it is called, contained six hundred eighty-one acres, one hundred and nine rods. ⁶

Russell then sailed for England. Shortly after his arrival he died on 24 November 1766, and was interred in Bunhill Fields, where dissenters were buried in the eighteenth century. His inventory, taken in 1767, lists

The Mansion house	£400
The Out dwelling house, Hog house, Wood house, dairy, &c	100
The Great Barn	40
The Granery	13:06:08
The Chaise house	13:06:08
The cyder mill & house	20
The hen house	1
The Farm House & Barn over next to Parkes	140
A small house by the rocks	40

Chambers Russell's real property in Lincoln was valued in excess of £3,850. There were in addition sixty-two head of cattle, land in Sudbury, a farm in Charlestown, a library of over one hundred books, and six slaves. ⁷

The John Hammock mortgage, as we shall see, was to be important legally and politically. Since Chambers Russell had no children he apparently bequeathed the estate to his nephew, Dr. Charles Russell, son of his brother James who was named as one of his executors. ⁸ The Doctor was born in Charlestown in 1738, graduated from Harvard College in 1757, and studied medicine abroad. He received his degree from the University of Aberdeen in 1765. Returning to Massachusetts, he settled on the Lincoln estate the year following his uncle's death, and on 2 November 1767, married Elizabeth Vassall of Cambridge. The births of

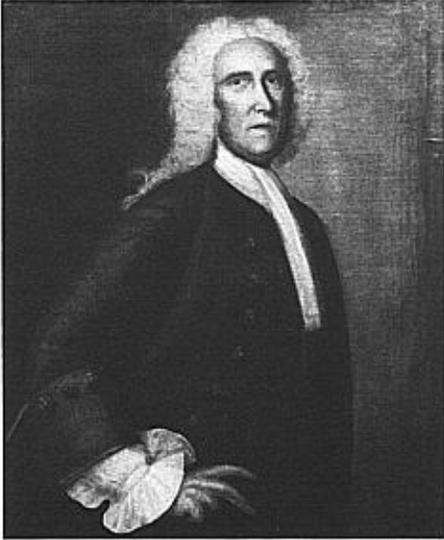


FIG. 14. JAMES RUSSELL (1715-1798), BY JOSEPH BADGER (ca. 1755). (Courtesy of the Colby College Museum of Art.)

three daughters are recorded in Lincoln: Penelope in 1769, Elizabeth in 1771, and Catherine in 1772.

The American Revolution destroyed the world of Dr. Charles Russell. His known Tory views probably made him unpopular in Lincoln. When the War broke out, he fled to British-occupied Boston with his wife and young daughters. There, according to tradition, he joined his wife's parents, the Vassalls, whose confiscated property in Cambridge was to become General George Washington's military headquarters, now the Longfellow House. On or before Evacuation Day, 17 March 1776, following the Battle of Dorchester Heights, Dr. Russell and his wife Elizabeth, together with their three children, joined the flight of the Vassalls to their plantation in Antigua, British West Indies.

Upon leaving Lincoln, Dr. Russell is said to have exchanged residences with the Boston merchant, Henderson Inches, and indeed, the baptism of a daughter of Mr. Inches in 1775 is on record in Lincoln. When the Inches returned to Boston, the

house apparently remained unoccupied until Chambers Russell's brother and executor, James Russell, father of the Tory Dr. Charles, moved into it.

Concurrently, on 10 December 1777, Captain Elnathan Jones was appointed agent of and required to produce an inventory for the Lincoln estate, vacated when Charles Russell "fled from said Town to the British Troops for Protection. . . ." Captain Jones, although not related to the Russells at the time of his court appointment, was to become allied to the family when his nephew, John Codman III, married Margaret, the sister of Dr. Russell. Further, the document designating Captain Jones as agent listed as co-bondsmen one Samuel Henley, married to Dr. Russell's sister Katherine, and Thomas Russell, who was his brother.

It is not clear whether James Russell (fig. 14), the father of Margaret, Katherine, and Thomas, was already living on the property when the required inventory of the estate was submitted to the Court in March 1778. His account books reveal that he paid "One Years rent of the Farm from May 1778 to May 1779 as ^{fr} agreement wth Cap^t Jones £100." An entry in yet another account book indicates that James Russell continued renting the farm until April 1783. The total rental paid for the five years was two hundred pounds,¹⁰ and throughout this period of the Revolution James Russell paid county, state, and local taxes on the property.

During what must have been a time of personal anguish, James Russell's affection for his son in Antigua nevertheless remained strong. On 26 January 1780, he wrote from Boston:

Dear Charles

it is some time since we heard from you by the Last acc^o we heard of your recovery w^{ch} gave us Great Pleasure and I Pray God to preserve you and your Family in Health and hope we shall have an opportunity of meeting together as I think the Prayers of every Good man must be to have Peace the uncertainty of Letters

Coming to Hand prevents my being Particular I have wrote you Several Letters w^{ch} hope you have rec . . . it allways gives me pleasure to Hear of your kindness to Prisoners Our Family in General are Pretty Well and all Join wth me in Love to you your Wife & Children wth Complements to Mrs. Vassal¹¹

Any possible reunion was prevented when Dr. Charles Russell fell mortally ill in May of 1780 and died in Antigua.

Dr. Russell had executed a will which was filed in New England and in which he directed simply that everything he owned be left to his wife, Elizabeth Vassall Russell.¹² The appraisal of the estate, following the Russells' flight into Boston, had been taken on 12 March 1778, and listed:

The Manton House with the front yard	£600.0.0
The Farm House	80.0.0
The Potheary Shop	30.0.0
The great Barn with the Shed adjoining	100.0.0
The Corn House or Granary	15.0.0
The Shay House & Stable	12.0.0
Likewise the Mill House	15.0.0 ¹³

The total extent of the real property was about 440 acres. Dr. Russell had apparently managed to take all the more valuable furniture, clothes, and silver, leaving behind less important furnishings, together with the livestock, farming equipment, kitchen utensils, and apothecary supplies.

To whatever degree the patriotic members of the Russell family conspired to keep the Lincoln property in their own hands, it is clear that they hit upon the perfect legal maneuver, which readily emerges from the records when we find the rents credited and the purchase of equipment for the farm together with repairs to the buildings charged to the "Estate of Chambers Russell Esq, deceased."¹⁴ With the seeming complicity of Captain Jones, executor James Russell effectively disavowed that his Loyalist son, Dr. Charles Russell, had owned the property from 1766 to 1776.

To bolster this claim, James Russell chose to interpret as a serious lien upon

Chambers Russell's estate the mortgage which had been contracted with John Hammock of Boston on 30 August 1766, and on which annual interest payments of £60 had scrupulously been made between 1767 and 1773 to Hammock and later an assignee named Joshua Richardson. In 1774, however, James Russell suddenly stopped making payments.¹⁵ It was an unnerving year in the Boston area. The Boston Tea Party had taken place. The port of Boston was closed. General Gage, with new quartering acts and troop reinforcements, was in control. Boston and the surrounding countryside were under martial law. Russell's motives in discontinuing the mortgage payments are not recorded. Certain it is that Dr. Charles Russell subsequently fled to Antigua; the Lincoln estate was eyed for confiscation in 1777; and James Russell became a tenant and began paying its taxes the following year. With the spectre of confiscation before him, Russell apparently came to view the mortgage as useful in proving that a loyal American, Joshua Richardson, had a large lien against the estate. This lien prevented sale of the property by the newly-formed government. If James Russell had paid the interest throughout the War, Tory Dr. Charles Russell would have had clear title.

On 3 September 1783, the final peace treaties between the former colonies and Great Britain were signed, and within the week Joshua Richardson received in one lump sum the principal of one thousand pounds, plus ten years and some odd days of annual interest at £60 a year.¹⁶ Payment in full was made by Chambers Russell II, son of James Russell and brother of Dr. Charles. James Russell thus succeeded in preserving the Lincoln property for his brother's namesake.

Chambers Russell II, merchant, was born in Charlestown in 1755, and appears in Lincoln as early as 1787. On April second of that year he received nine votes at town meeting for the post of Lincoln Town Councillor. He lost, but this proved to be a

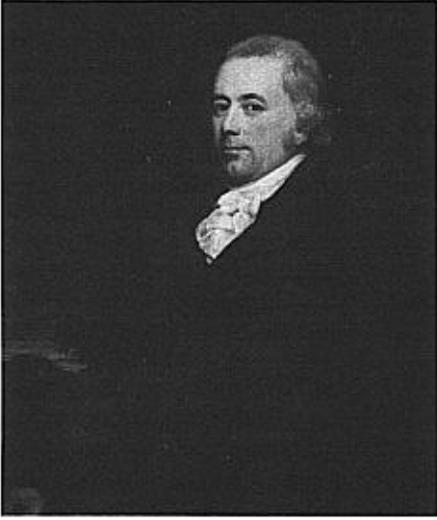


FIG. 15. JOHN CODMAN III (1755-1803), BY JOHN SINGLETON COPLEY (ca. 1800). (Private collection, photograph by J. David Bohl.)

momentary political setback. He was elected Moderator at the 14 May 1788 town meeting. On 1 April 1789, following in the footsteps of his uncle and namesake, Chambers Russell, he was elected to represent Lincoln at the General Court.¹⁷

Chambers Russell II died without wife or direct heirs in Charleston, South Carolina, in 1790, naming his brother-in-law, John Codman III (fig. 15) and Samuel Dexter, Jr., executors of his estate.¹⁸ Beginning with the death of Chambers Russell II in 1790 and through the period of transformation of the Russell Mansion in 1797-1798 until his own death in 1803, John Codman's formal relationship to the property was that of co-executor of the estate of his late brother-in-law. Codman's detailed accounts as executor and other family papers provide a picture of the nature and development of his intentions and plans for the Lincoln property at a time when the financial conditions of Chambers Russell II's estate clearly indicated that the Lincoln property ought to have been sold, as urged by Samuel Dexter, Jr., co-executor.

Chambers Russell II had charged Codman and Dexter with the responsibility of executing the terms of the will, including the payment of legacies and annuities to several heirs. Charles Russell Codman, son of executor John Codman, would become residuary legatee upon the death of his grandfather, James Russell. It was not intended that John Codman receive any benefits, but simply that he act as co-executor for his late brother-in-law. His obligations were to serve the interests of the intended beneficiaries—some of whom were his own children.

John Codman's administration of the estate of Chambers Russell II began in April of 1790. The first entry indicates that he purchased locks and glass for the Lincoln property, presumably for repairs and safety.¹⁹ In March 1791 William Bond began shipping building supplies to the farm to build a barn on the property, presumably with the consent of Samuel Dexter, Jr. Supplies were received from April through November of 1791. In February of 1792 Codman paid Bond £45 for construction of the barn, with an additional £18 allowed for extra work. William Bond was also paid £130.12.8 that month for "Sundry days work on the Mansion House and other buildings & for Sundry articles supplied f^{d} him."²⁰

No work was performed on the Lincoln property during 1793. This was the year in which the estate paid a large amount in legacies which created a serious deficit. It would seem that the logical thing for Codman to have done as executor would have been to sell the Lincoln farm with its improvements. The money obtained from its sale could have then provided funds to support the annuities required under the terms of Chambers Russell II's will and its codicils.

John Codman took no such course of action. In July of 1794, Isaac Goodenough was installed as farm manager. Goodenough's accounts indicate that thirty different people were hired at various times

between 24 July and 31 December of 1794. £116.10.10 were expended on the farm's operations during this five-month period, clearly a serious venture for John Codman.²¹ Isaac Goodenough maintained sheep and cattle in pastures in Lincoln and Princeton, Massachusetts, and in Temple, New Hampshire. Income was produced through the sale of apple cider, livestock, and timber. Financially, the venture only broke even in the next three years, and beginning in November 1795, John Codman began to meet extensive financial obligations dictated by Chambers Russell II's will out of his own personal resources.

John Codman's decision to enlarge the Russell Mansion was not that of an executor attempting to improve the sale value of the house and thereby improve the financial condition of the estate. The reason was seemingly personal ambition and family pride. Control over the Russell Mansion, however tenuous, provided an unequalled opportunity worthy of any risk involved. In addition to owning an elegant townhouse, John Codman would possess a country seat complete with a mansion house in the latest mode, and a working farm. Codman's efforts commenced in the spring of 1794, when he began operation of the farm. Extensive alterations occurred on the Mansion from 1797 to 1799. His ambition, fully realized, is reflected in Mrs. Christopher Gore's comment in 1800 that the Lincoln estate "is the handsomest place in America. . . ."²²

Nearly all legacies required by Chambers Russell II's will and its codicils had been paid by February 1798, although this caused a permanent deficit in the Russell estate accounts. From November 1795 until his administrative accounts end in 1801, John Codman personally paid all the annuities which Chambers Russell II had established. By August of 1798 he had also invested over \$15,000 of his own money in the Lincoln property.

However, John Codman was not the legal owner, and it was clear to Samuel

Dexter, Jr., that Chambers Russell II's estate was in serious financial trouble. Dexter had written to Codman from Charlestown in December 1797 suggesting the Lincoln property be sold. He had endorsed various property improvements, he wrote, as he felt that they were a security against the "loss to the [Russell] Estate from delay," and realized that the Russell family would not be happy at the thought of selling the property. However, he enclosed a copy of an advertisement for sale of the farm which he directed Codman to place immediately.²³

Codman's reply to Dexter's letter is the only direct statement found in which he recorded his thoughts about the Russell will and its codicils and the estate's sorry financial state. Codman emphasized that Chambers Russell II's sisters, Sarah and Mary, would be made very unhappy by the sale of the Lincoln property, and this fact had prevented him from selling it. He also stated that he would want to be reimbursed for all the improvements he had made personally should the estate be sold. He wrote further that in assuring the property for "one of my sons of the Russell connection" he would make proper disposition of his own estate "as will secure this object & . . . [thus] effectually discharge the executors of the will of Mr Chambers Russell."²⁴

The most enlightening aspect of John Codman's letter is that he wished the estate to remain in the family. This suggests that the motive behind the extensive architectural changes was not so much a hedge to secure the property against a loss due to delay in selling it as Dexter assumed had been the case for previous improvements, but to create a country seat for his family and heirs.

At his death in 1803 John Codman bequeathed the "large farm and estate in Lincoln" together with additional land he had purchased, the livestock and farming utensils and "the furniture Liquors books and moveables in said house in Lincoln" to his

son, Charles Russell Codman, the original residual legatee of Chambers Russell II, subject to the express condition "that he release my estate & and [sic] the Executors of his said Uncle from all claims & demands whatsoever touching his said Uncles will and Estate, that he also give bond with good security to pay and satisfy any legacies or annuities that are or may be due from his said Uncles estate, so that my estate be wholly discharged from all claims concerning said Uncles Will and Estate."²⁵

In order to understand John Codman's extensive changes to the Russell Mansion, it is necessary to define the dimensions of the house built by the first Chambers Russell shortly before 1741. The original structure was at least fifty-six years old when the work of transformation began in 1797. At that time, the estate consisted of 360 acres. The Russell Mansion itself, apparently L-shaped, comprised a ground floor with three large rooms, two parlors at the front and a kitchen wing to the right. The ceilings in both stories were twelve feet high—a scale which hardly conforms to the usual farmhouse of the period.

Elements of the Russell Mansion exist within the walls of the Codman House today, including, importantly, the paneled fireplace wall in the front right-hand parlor (fig. 16), and brick wall fill and original clapboards walled up between the front and rear left-hand chambers. This is definitive evidence that the north wall of the front left-hand chamber was once an exterior wall of the Russell Mansion, and that John Codman's "Hall" and chamber above are additions to the earlier structure. The clapboards have feathered ends and measure roughly six inches in width with four inches exposed to the weather. They appear to have been painted white at one time, although particles of yellow pigment can be identified through analysis.

The third story of the main section of the house was also an addition, as proven by the existence of rafter feet mortises in the second-story end girts of what had been the Russell mansion. Structural evidence indicates further that the original house had a pitched roof running east to west, removed when the third story was added to the enlarged, square house. John Codman's Federal-period additions included the landing in the front entry, bisected in an east and west direction by an arch. This arch coincides with the junction of the Georgian Russell Mansion and the Federal additions, and a projecting discrepancy in the plane of the west wall is caused by differing room sizes, varying wall thicknesses, and framing problems at this point where the new work was grafted onto the old. Elsewhere the incorporation of the older structure into a newer one was so skillfully accomplished that the exterior of the Codman House offers not the slightest clue that it was not built all at the same time.

Over one hundred bills in the Codman family papers relate to the alteration of the Russell Mansion. These bills reveal that there were at least thirty-five workmen on the job using over sixty categories of supplies during the major part of the building campaign, which began in March 1797 and extended through early August 1798. The final touches continued to be applied to the mansion, now called the "Codman House," through May 1799.

Housewrights, bricklayers, stone masons, painters, plasterers, glaziers, and local yeomen worked at the site, while in Boston, wood-carvers and turners and stonemasons made wooden trim, columns and column capitals, hearthstones and steps, which, when finished, were carted to Lincoln and installed by the other workmen.

Thirty of the thirty-five workmen at the construction site worked in crews and the other five worked independently. Charles Clement's carpentry crew was, by far, the

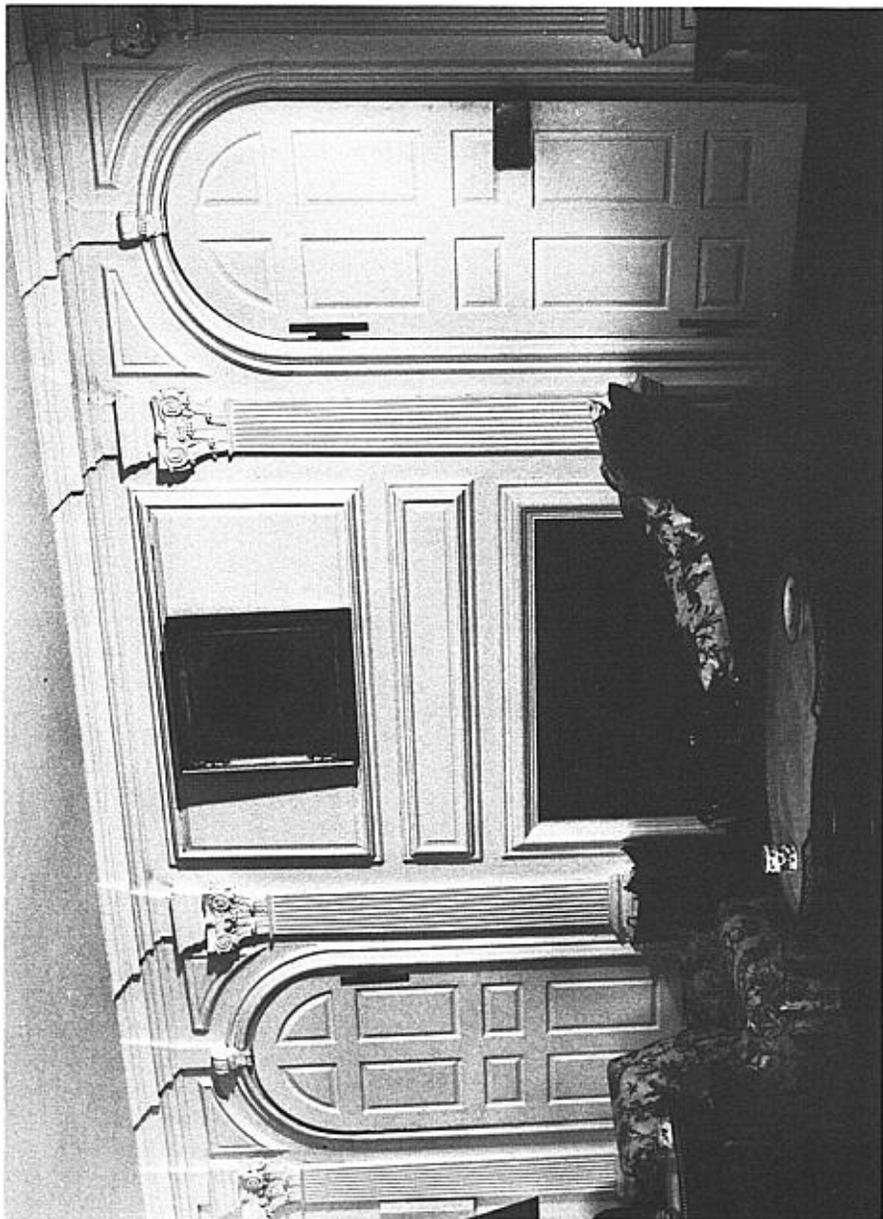


FIG. 16. FIREPLACE WALL, SOUTHEAST PARLOR, CODMAN HOUSE (ca. 1741). (Photograph by J.N. Pearlman.)

most complex. Its nineteen members represented five levels of skill. They were both Lincoln yeomen and professional Boston housewrights. Some men possessed highly technical knowledge and others performed simple manual labor.

Thomas Hunstable's stone masonry and bricklaying crew was probably comprised totally of men from the Lincoln area, and, in contrast to Clement's crew, did not work the full length of the major building period. They began their work in April 1797 and completed it five months later in September 1797.

Robert Cutting's paint crew was also locally obtained. Robert Cutting and his "boy," William Curtis, were from East Sudbury, the town adjacent to Lincoln on the south. There were three other crew members. As with Clement's carpentry crew, Cutting's crew worked throughout the major part of the building effort from June 1797 through July 1798.

Without exception, all five of the men who worked as independent workmen on the site were highly skilled. The painter, Daniel Rea, the bricklayer and plasterer, Benjamin Richardson, Jr., the housewright, Thomas Clement, and the glazier and plumber, Norton Brailsford, had all worked for John Codman prior to the enlargement of the Russell Mansion. The well-known ornamental plasterer, Daniel Raynerd, apparently performed his services for Codman for the first and only time.

Thomas Clement, the Boston housewright, had worked on so many of John Codman's projects prior to the Russell Mansion that he might almost be called Codman's "company carpenter." However, his contributions to the enlargement of the mansion, as they are documented by the bills, appear to have been limited to the construction of doors and windows, the purchase of wood for the "carpentry crew," and the construction of the coach house addition. There is little evidence to indicate that he was much in evidence at

the construction site to supervise the work. His eldest son, Charles Clement, emerges as the leader of the carpentry crew. All the members submitted their bills to him and he was among those most at the site.

Very little is known of Charles's professional life. He was thirty years old in 1797, and was listed in the Boston directories for the first time as a housewright on South Street in 1803. Presumably he received his training in the trade from his father. It is unlikely that he was capable of undertaking the plan for the enlargements, which leads us to ask whether another man, an architect, could have designed the Federal-style changes to the Russell Mansion. A master hand is apparent in its transformation. Greater skills than those of a carpenter or housewright could be argued. Speculation leads to the conclusion that it was perhaps Charles Bulfinch who designed Codman's additions.

In Boston of the 1790s it is virtually certain that John Codman was fully aware of Charles Bulfinch's capabilities. The Codman papers reveal that John Codman had various relationships with at least twenty-three Bostonians who had Bulfinch-designed houses, or had sponsored Bulfinch-designed projects, including Joseph Barrell, Joseph Coolidge, Sr., Elias Hasket Derby, John Joy, Henry Knox, Harrison Gray Otis, and James Swan. In addition, at least five skilled artisans had worked both for John Codman and Charles Bulfinch within a span of a few years. Among these artisans were John and Simon Skillin and Daniel Raynerd. The Skillins had carved columns, medallions, and molded decorations for Bulfinch's Boston Theater, as well as the Corinthian capitals for the Massachusetts State House. Their association with John Codman began as early as 1790 when they carved a "Dragon Knee" for one of his ships, and continued at least through 16 December 1797 when they billed him for "Ionick" capitals for columns and pilasters (presumably for the portico of the Russell Mansion).²⁶

Daniel Raynerd was Bulfinch's "principal ornamental plasterer."²⁷ It is clear from the documents that he performed some work on the house during the late 1790's, and well-identified fragments salvaged from the dining room by the family at the time its trim was altered by Sturgis in the mid-nineteenth century are certainly in the character and style of Raynerd, including lion's head motifs, a popular Raynerd device (fig. 17).

Importantly, the Codman papers reveal a documented exchange of credit between the merchant and the Boston architect. The entry appears on one of three account sheets headed "Notes Receivable" which show payments of loans made by Codman to others over the years 1791 to 1796. Charles Bulfinch was apparently repaying John Codman for a line of previously extended credit in the amount of \$300. In effect, John Codman apparently paid a debt for Bulfinch who then owed the money to Codman and no longer to the third party. This sum was returned to John Codman on 13 October 1795, by Charles Bulfinch.²⁸ If John Codman had decided to alter the Russell Mansion as early as 1795, it is possible that Charles Bulfinch was commissioned to draw a fashionable and elegant plan for its transformation and was paid three hundred dollars, not in cash, but by cancellation of a debt.

On the other hand, there is little evidence that Bulfinch was involved in any of John Codman's building ventures during the 1790s, and no evidence that he had a hand in the design of John Codman's new Boston town house, whose construction was under way at the time of Codman's death in May of 1803. If, however, the attribution of the present Codman House is correct, this structure, though altered later in the nineteenth century, then becomes the only remaining example of a Bulfinch-designed wooden house, and the only remaining example of a Bulfinch-designed country seat.

The alterations commenced in March 1797 when the first members of Charles Clement's carpentry crew began carting building supplies to the construction site. The period extending through August 1798 has been designated the "major campaign" inasmuch as most of the construction was done during those eighteen months. Finishing touches were still being applied in 1799—a lock on the wine cellar in January, and gravel, probably for the walks, carted to Lincoln in February. Codman's gardener arrived at the estate in May. The overall duration of the conversion of the Russell Mansion to the Codman House was twenty-six months.²⁹

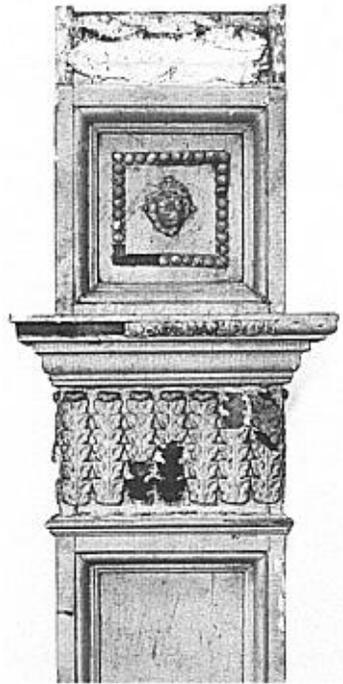


FIG. 17. PILASTER FROM DINING ROOM, CODMAN HOUSE (1797-1798). Detail of pilaster with plaster decoration, removed in 1862. (SPNEA, photograph by J. David Bohl.)

Digging the cellars for the additions to the Russell Mansion preceded other work on the site. Isaac Goodenough's charge of \$34 for "diging a seller," dated 15 June 1797, is assumed to have been for cellars underneath the future "Hall" and the kitchen ell. Concord bricklayer Thomas Hunstable began work with his assistant, Amoriah Shattuck, in May 1797. He hired two assistants as well for the first two months of his work in May and June 1797. Bricks began arriving at the Lincoln construction site in May 1797 and their arrival continued through August 1797 when more bricks were received than during any other month of construction. Hunstable's crew abruptly stopped work after the second week of September 1797.

Their work had peaked in coincidence with that of Charles Clement's crew. The one construction project in which both carpentry and bricklaying crews would have been jointly interested was the building and nogging of the exterior walls of the additions. As Clement's crew constructed these walls, Hunstable's masonry crew followed and nogged them. In order to keep up with Clement's crew, Hunstable had hired two additional laborers.

Initial work on the frame itself in the spring and summer of 1797 must have included taking off the roof of the two-story Russell House, taking out windows, and removing some walls and doors. The major framing of the Codman House additions would have occurred in the summer and fall of 1797, including the "Hall" and its chamber, the third floor and roof, two-story kitchen ell, and application of exterior sheathing so that clapboards and shingles could have been put up to protect the house through the winter. Bills for these two items were submitted late in June. Windows and outside doors would necessarily have been installed as well. After the major framing and sheathing of the house were completed, carpenters could continue work on the floors, interior partitions and doors, and the staircase.

Chimney and fireplace construction proceeded simultaneously. Five pairs of jambstones and mantelpieces were ready by 6 September 1797. Either Hunstable's crew installed them before they stopped work the following week, or else the bricklayer, Benjamin Richardson, Jr., put them in later in the fall. Another mantelpiece and three stone hearths were ready by 2 November 1797, and Richardson must have been responsible for their installation.

The exterior of the Codman House was completed, exclusive of decoration, by mid-December 1797. This is indicated by the pattern of workdays of Charles Clement's carpentry crew, of Thomas Hunstable's stone masonry and bricklaying crew, and of Benjamin Richardson, Jr., bricklayer and plasterer. Thomas Clement's doors and windows for the main house and kitchen ell, including outside doors, were all finished by August 1797. Norton Brailsford's bill for setting glass extends from 28 July 1797 to 7 February 1798, with heavy activity early in that period, and indeed, Daniel Rea had primed most of the windows by August 10.

Robert Cutting's paint crew did not begin work until the tag end of June 1797, and continued through the end of the year on an average of about fifteen days per month. Their heaviest use of raw oil was between June and September 1797. Other supplies used by the paint crew in 1797 were limited to putty, white lead, lamp black, and spanish brown. Blue pigment appeared in the final week of December 1797. Interior painting may have started then, or early in 1798 when the crew's workdays dramatically increased over the preceding three months, and at which time Rea billed for "Cleaning & Mending Paint" in the older, unaltered "Front Parlour." Construction of the north half of the front staircase from the first floor to the second-floor landing must have been completed by September 1797, when Daniel Rea billed Codman for painting the "Walls of Great Entry, green 80 y.^{ds}" and "two Flights of



FIG. 18. MANTELPIECE, "HALL" OR DRAWING ROOM, CODMAN HOUSE (1797-1798). (SPNEA, photograph by J. David Bohl.)

Stairs & two of Banisters," a somewhat confusing entry, for John Howe and Son did not bill for the stairposts or balusters until 18 December 1797. Nor were the stairposts for the backstairs in the kitchen ell ready until 19 January 1798.

After mid-December 1797 there were never more than five men in Charles Clement's carpentry crew working at one time. Supplies available to those men during the winter months, after the mansion was enclosed and at least partially heated, included lath, clearboard, and plank. These winter months would have been spent constructing floors, making door cases, installing interior doors, preparing walls and ceilings for plastering, and making moldings, paneling and wainscoting to be applied at once or later on. The beaded trim destined perhaps for the dado molding of the "Hall" was billed by John Howe and Son in

January 1798. The "2 Collums for Chimney," believed to be those of the "Hall" mantelpiece, were not ready until 12 June 1798 (fig. 18).

Benjamin Richardson, Jr., also continued working through the winter, although his workdays per month dropped off radically in December 1797 and did not rise substantially until April 1798 when there were large shipments of lime, hair, and bricks. It is assumed that during the intervening months he continued the plastering he had begun earlier in the fall, together with work on the chimneys and fireplaces. Daniel Raynerd's first visit to Lincoln occurred in July 1798, at which time the ornamental plasterwork in the dining room may have been executed. Or this work may have been delayed until the time of Raynerd's second visit in May 1799 when his labor and that of an assistant were billed



FIG. 19. PORTICO, CODMAN HOUSE (1797-1798). Detail of ionic capital carved by John and Simeon Skillin. (SPNEA, photograph by J. David Bohl.)

to Codman, together with supplies which included mineral green and Prussian blue pigments, indigo, "Paris Whiting," and glue.

The porticos at the north and south ends of the "Great Entry" were not added apparently until the spring of 1798 (fig. 19). While the "Ionick" capitals and pilaster caps carved by the Skillins for the front portico were completed by 16 December 1797, and the single column turned by John Howe and Son was ready in January 1798, the other two portico columns were not ready until 12 June 1798. The single column was destined for the north portico where the west wall of the kitchen ell would have eliminated the need for a pair.

The porticos and other exterior decorations, such as cornerboards and modillion cornice, were probably installed as final

touches in late June and early July 1798. Similarly, stone steps were not cut by John Homer and Son until June 1798. The existing stone plinths at the bases of the exterior pilasters decorating the faceted bay at the west end of the house were also not ready until June.

Cutting's paint crew put in three times as many workdays in June 1798 as during any other month, and their use of oil and lead more than doubled over any previous month. All of the spruce yellow was delivered the first week of June, and it is tempting to suggest that this was the original exterior color of the Codman House, as indeed the Codman family always believed (see Emmet, this issue). The large number of workdays in June reflects warm weather, making the exterior painting possible. Exterior window blinds had apparently been completed in advance, for Daniel Rea billed for the priming in August 1797 of twenty-eight pair of large "Shades" and sixteen pair "Smaller" for the "Main House."

The total cost to John Codman of the transformation of the Russell Mansion was a little over \$9,000.00. Labor represented 57 percent of the overall cost, and materials 43 percent. The greatest expense was for the personnel of Charles Clement's carpentry crew. The breakdown by categories shows that carpentry accounted for 60 percent of the total cost; stone masonry, bricklaying, and plastering followed at less than half that percentage, 23 percent, while painting represented another 13.5 percent, and glass-setting and plumbing the remaining 3.5 percent.

The Russell Mansion did not stand alone, but was the center of a number of farm buildings. It was the country squire's house presiding over an operating farm known in Lincoln as the "Russell Farm." As early as 1767, as we have seen, the property comprised the mansion house, an "Out dwelling house," hog house, wood house, dairy, "Great Barn," granary, chaise house, "cyder mill & house," hen house, "Farm House & Barn over next to Parkes," and a

"small house by the rocks."³⁰ Ten years later, Captain Elnathan Jones's inventory of the "Russell Farm" fails to mention some of the earlier outbuildings. The "Farm House," however, together with the granary, chaise house, and "Mill House" were intact, while the "Great Barn" had a shed adjoining, and there were in addition a stable and a "Pothecary Shop."³¹ John Codman added to the inventory of buildings on the "Russell Farm" in 1791-1792 when he commissioned William Bond to build a new barn. Codman may also have built a new stable at about the same time.

The wealthy Boston merchant's creation of a country seat in Lincoln, nearly twenty miles west of the port city, was not a matter of imposing civilized elegance on rampant rustic wilderness. John Codman's transformation of the Russell Mansion, and possibly also of associated outbuildings, was in the nature of improvement upon elegance already at least fifty-six years in existence. Samuel Dexter, Jr., co-executor with Codman of Chambers Russell II's will, wrote in his advertisement for this "*Valuable Country Seat*" that "the elegance of the situation is so well known that on that subject nothing need be said."³² Codman's work on the Russell Mansion involved additions to the earlier structure which more than doubled its size. These changes were accomplished in such a skillful manner that hardly any interior, and no exterior, evidence has been found which shows that the Codman House was not all built at one time, according to one plan.

There have been many later changes in the fabric of the house as subsequent articles in this issue will testify. In an effort to visualize the building as it emerged freshly from the hands of John Codman's laborers we have the existing work of 1797-1798 where it has survived in the present house, for example in the first floor, northwest room or "Hall," and in the simpler third-story rooms; elements removed by the family during later renovations and saved, including fragments of the Federal-period

dining room woodwork; and, of course, those earlier portions of the Russell Mansion which John Codman left untouched, including the first-floor southeast room with its superb Georgian paneling (fig. 16).

The front staircase was doubled in size towards the north, the southern half having been the front staircase for the Russell Mansion. The newer, Federal-period staircase meets the Russell staircase on the first landing, where a resultant wall and molding discrepancy is masked by an arch. The new stair addition proceeds up to the second floor, and then up to a second landing, midway between the second and third floors of the mansion. Finally, two flights ascend north and south from this mid-floor landing to the third floor. They repeat the pattern of the stair flights ascending from the first landing directly below them.

The appearance of the exterior in 1800 has been conjectured by the architect, Ogden Codman, Jr., in a series of elevations of the house, and these elevations are representative, with few exceptions, of what can be determined from the documents (figs. 20-23). The architect, for example, shows an arched fanlight over the kitchen ell side door, presumably the single "Arch Sash for the door" which Thomas Clement made and billed to John Codman in August 1797.³³ It seems more reasonable to suppose, however, that the arched fanlight was placed over the north or entry door into the central hallway, while the kitchen ell doorway was finished instead with a plain transom which had five lights measuring nine by twelve inches each. Further, Thomas Clement's bill for the front door case, dated only very generally to the year 1797, specified "sides window frames & Sashes, 6 lights each. . . ."³⁴ Ogden Codman, Jr.'s elevation shows only four panes of glass in each of the side lights. These had been altered, however, probably by John Hubbard Sturgis in the 1860s, and Codman was apparently unaware of Clement's bill.

No bills for quoins or cornerboards have been found among the building accounts.

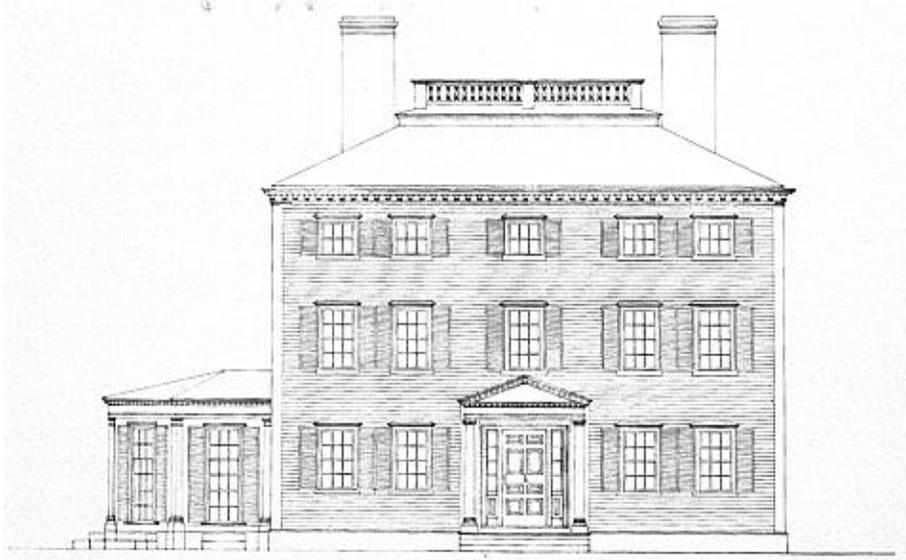


FIG. 20. SOUTH ELEVATION OF "THE GRANGE," CONJECTURAL DRAWING BY OGDEN CODMAN, JR. (ca. 1900). (SPNEA, Codman Collection of Architectural Drawings.)

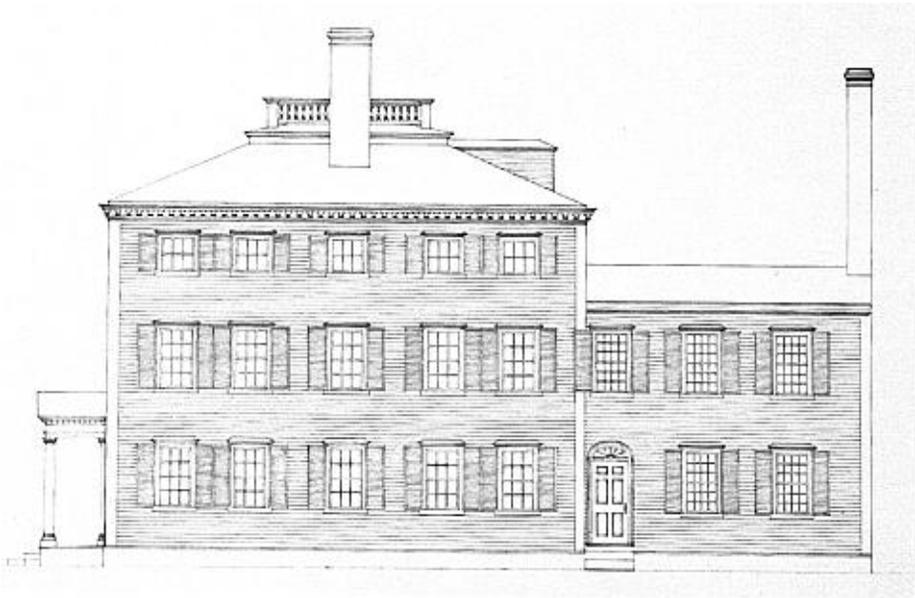


FIG. 21. EAST ELEVATION OF "THE GRANGE," CONJECTURAL DRAWING BY OGDEN CODMAN, JR. (ca. 1900). (SPNEA, Codman Collection of Architectural Drawings.)



FIG. 22. NORTH ELEVATION OF "THE GRANGE," CONJECTURAL DRAWING BY OGDEN CODMAN, JR. (ca. 1900). (SPNEA, Codman Collection of Architectural Drawings.)

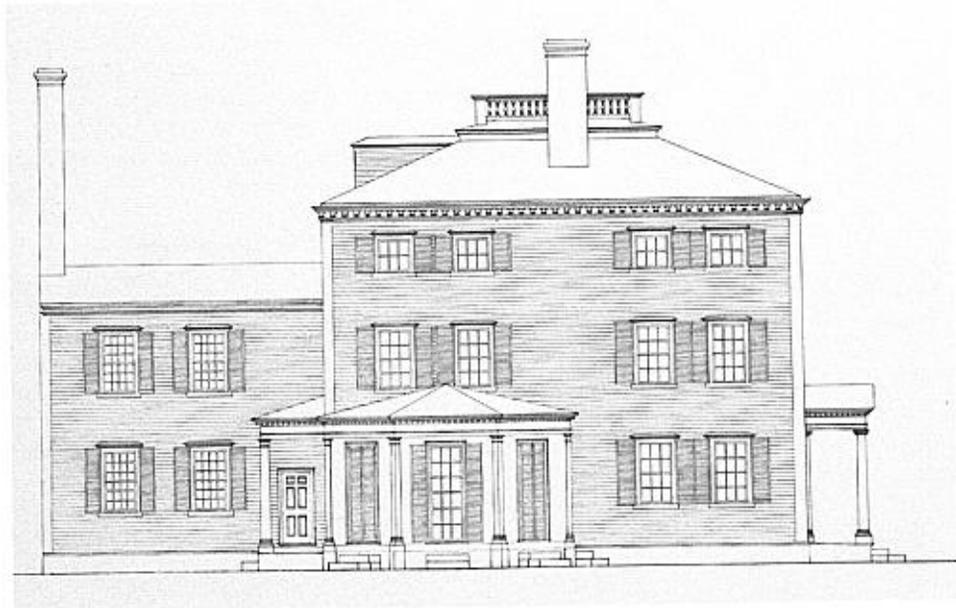


FIG. 23. WEST ELEVATION OF "THE GRANGE," CONJECTURAL DRAWING BY OGDEN CODMAN, JR. (ca. 1900). (SPNEA, Codman Collection of Architectural Drawings.)

Carpentry bills for some of John Codman's other buildings do include charges for these items, and Ogden Codman, Jr.'s inclusion of cornerboards on the mansion in his drawing is not an unreasonable supposition. The quoins were presumably the work of Sturgis. The modillion cornice surrounding the top of the house is original, although again, there is no bill specifically mentioning it.

The fenestration of the mansion in 1800 was similar to its fenestration today. Generally, it called for the placement of Thomas Clement's thirty-one window frames for twelve-light sash on the first two stories of the main house, his nineteen windows for six-light sash on the third story, his four windows of eighteen-light sash in the faceted west end of the north-west room or "Hall," and his nine windows with twenty-four light sash in the two stories of the kitchen ell. The two attic dormer windows were probably put in the north roof hip, where they are today.³⁵ Ogden Codman, Jr.'s elevations accurately depict this fenestration scheme.

The inventory of John Codman's estate in 1803 provides a detailed visual glimpse of the house as furnished following its transformation (see Appendix).³⁶ The most elaborately furnished rooms were the "Hall," the bed chamber above it, and the "Southeast Room" (figs. 24-25). The "Hall," now the drawing room, still contains numerous paintings, chairs, and flower vases as it did over a century and a half ago. Likewise, the floor is still covered with straw matting though the original matting has been replaced at least once during the interim. The Federal-period room possessed something missing from the present room—a pianoforte, perhaps the same instrument which the London firm of Longman and Broderip shipped to Codman on 1 March 1798.

a Grandpiano with extra Keys	68.5 -
Set Strings Tuning fork & hammer	15 -
...	
Packing Case	1.10 -
New Music	[no charge] ³⁷

The "[back] Parlour," or present dining room, featured not one, but three dining tables, a large one valued at eight dollars and two smaller ones valued together at seven dollars. There were eleven chairs. In contrast to the "Hall," the dining room's floor was covered with a carpet instead of straw matting, and only a looking glass hung on its walls. The closet in this room, appropriately enough, contained tableware—china, glass, and silver.

The "Southwest Room" was not lacking in taste, for it had three paintings decorating its walls. This front parlor functioned also apparently as a game room in John Codman's time as it was furnished in addition to one large dining table with a card table and a backgammon board. Its closet held a dozen wine glasses, ten decanters, and a tea set.

The "Southeast Room" with its paneling of the Russell period, was decorated quite elegantly. Four paintings hung upon its walls and a carpet covered the floor. There was a "sofa with covering" and eight chairs in this room, together with "2 french pieces of furniture with marble tops" and two "Spy Glasses."

On the second floor, the "Hall" chamber contained the best bed and furnishings, together with a carpet. Aside from the kitchen chamber the rest had straw carpets. All the second story chambers, including the kitchen chamber, had a complete bed with its furniture, a "Toilet table" or a bureau or a "Wash Stand" with "Wash bowl & Pitcher" and chairs. The chamber over the "back Parlour" had as many as "8 Cane chairs."

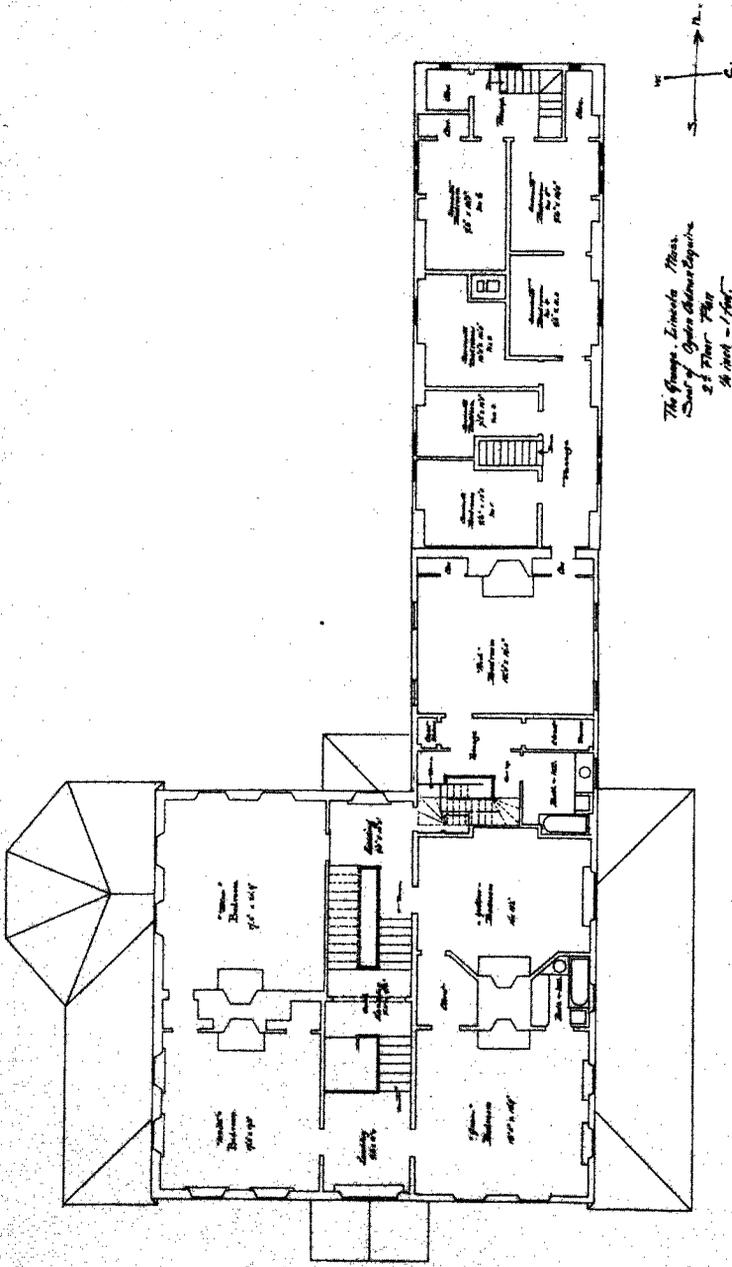


FIG. 25. SECOND-FLOOR PLAN OF "THE GRANGE," BY OGDEN CODMAN, JR. (ca. 1900). (SPNEA, Codman Collection of Architectural Drawings.)

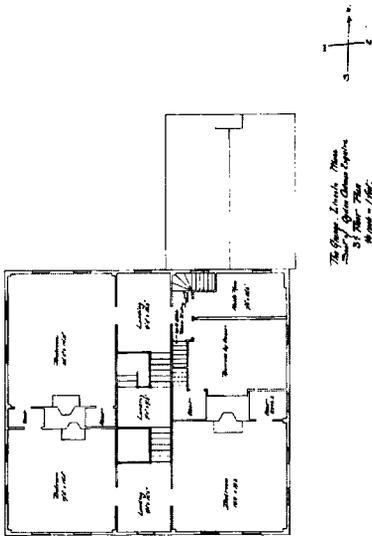


FIG. 26. THIRD-FLOOR PLAN OF "THE GRANGE," BY OGDEN CODMAN, JR. (ca. 1900). (SPNEA, Codman Collection of Architectural Drawings.)

While three of the four third-story bedrooms (fig. 26) had straw carpets, they were furnished on the whole much less expensively than were the bedrooms below. The bed sets were less costly and supplemented by fewer chairs, tables, and bureaus.

The only furnishings in the Codman House kitchen in 1803, aside from cooking utensils, were two chairs and a pine table.

Besides being a man of fashion, living in luxurious accommodations, and setting a fine table, John Codman rode in style. In March of 1798 he purchased a chariot costing £1500, and for the year 1 October 1798, to 30 September 1799, Codman paid forty-seven dollars in vehicle taxes on his two "Chariots," one "Phaeton," one "Coa[c]hee," one "Chaise wth top," and a "Chair."³⁸ This was a collection of carriages far beyond the aspirations of the average hard-working merchant who had little time for worldly or fashionable concerns.

John Codman must have felt that he had substantially improved upon the elegance of the "Russell Farm" by his Federalization of the mansion house. He took obvious pride in Mrs. Christopher Gore's comment in 1800 that she felt Lincoln was "the handsomest place in America," but his mind continued to dwell upon embellishments. He wrote his wife on 18 July 1800 from London, "Mrs. Gore and myself have planning improvements at Lincoln . . . I like her plan that the foreyard should be thrown down into a lawn that carriages may drive to the front door. The House should be hid from sight from the road by trees, and the Barn from the House."³⁹

If John Codman had any additional plans or grand designs for the Codman House, they went with him to the grave in May of 1803. Two generations of Russells had controlled the destiny of the Lincoln estate, and four generations of Codmans have seen its further growth and development. Both Russells and Codmans would have disagreed with Henry David Thoreau in his *Walden* essay:

Grow wild according to thy nature, like these sedges and brakes, which will never become English hay. Let the thunder rumble; what if it threaten to ruin farmers' crops? that is not its errand to thee. Take shelter under the cloud, while they flee to carts and sheds. Let not to get a living be thy trade, but thy sport. Enjoy the land, but own it not.⁴⁰

The Codmans, however, would have been delighted with Thoreau's reference to the property in 1854 as "the Codman Place,"⁴¹ at a moment in time when neither family owned or controlled its destiny inasmuch as it had passed from Codman hands in 1807.⁴² After fifty-five years it was to return to the hands of Ogden Codman, Sr., in the fall of 1862, and while its later architectural history which follows and its future as an SPNEA house museum are but part of a preservation continuum, it will remain first and last a monument to the Codman family.

APPENDIX

John Codman III's Probate Inventory of Personal Effects, 1803.

Inventory and Appraisement of the Real and Personal Estate of John Codman Esq. late of Boston in the County of Suffolk deceased, that he died seized and possessed in the Counties of Middlesex and Worcester. as exhibited to the Subscribers by Stephen Codman Esq. Executor of the last will and Testament of said Deceased. taken and appraised by us the 4th day of June AD. 1803. in the following manner to wit. . . .

Household Furniture to wit in the Hall.

1 Sofa and Covering \$15.	7 Flower Pots .30	[\$] 45.
8 Chairs 20.	13 Paintings 100	120.
1 Piano forte stool and cricket and Music book		150.
1 Straw carpet		20.

In the Parlour

11 Chairs 7.	Looking Glass .5	12.
1 large dining table 8.	2 Small do. 7	15.
1 pair of Handirons 6.	Shovel and tongs .3	9.
1 Carpet		4.

Furniture in the Southwest Room

5 Green chairs. 5.	two looking Glasses 30	35.
1 large dining table 8.	one Card do. 5	13.
1 pair of Brass Andirons 4.	three Paintings .20	24.
1 Back-Gammon board 1.	1 hearth brush .50	1.50

Closet in Southwest Room

1 tea set of China 7.	a blue pitcher .25	7.25
1 dozen of wine glasses. .50.	1 tea Urn. 2	2.50
6 large and four small decanters		5.
1 pair of Water bottles		1.50

Closet under the best Stair case.

1 Table set of Liverpool ware		15.
1 large tea Canister .1.	1 Sugar <i>knippers</i> . .50	1.50
4 Glass Salts		\$.75

Closet in the back Parlour

2½ doz of green edged large Plates		1.
15 small do. .50	three butter Tureans .50	1.
1 large Turean 1.	4 dishes .75	1.75
1 Soap dish .20	Eleven Tumblers 50	70
9 Bowls. .37	Six patty Pans .13.	2 tea Pots .33
		.83
1 Water Bottle .17.	One Pitcher 5.	Set of Casters .70
		.92
4 Salts .25	2 Cream Pots. 15	.40
9 tea cups and Saucers. 75.	2 breakfast bowls. 50	1.25
4 large and six small silver Spoons		10.
2 blancmange Moulds .50	6 Covers .50	1.

Furniture in the Southeast Room to wit

8 Chairs 20.	one sofa with covering 20	40
2 french peices of furniture with marble tops		20
4 Paints 70.	one Carpet. 15	85.
2 Spy Glasses		3.

Chamber over Hall 2 nd Story	
12 Bureaus \$8. 1 Table 50	\$8.50
1 Easy Chair 2. 2 Chairs 3.	5.
1 looking Glass	5.
1 pair shovel & Tongs .75 p ^r dogs 75	1.25
1 Carpet 2	2.
1 Bed with all its furniture	70
chamber over the back Parlour 2 nd Story	
1 Bed with all its furniture	\$60
1 Toilet table 2.50. Green and White D ^o 2	4.50
Wash bowl and Pitcher. 50. Looking Glass.20	20.50
8 Cane chairs.16. 1 paint 10. a night table \$4	30.
1 Straw Carpet 12	12.
Southwest Chamber 2 nd Story	
1 Bed and all its furniture	35
5 Chairs 8. 1 looking Glass. 5	13
1 Wash Stand 1.50. Wash bowl & Pitcher. 50	2.
1 Bureau 3. 1 paint 10. Straw Carpet. 10	23.
1 Suit of Bed Curtains	10.
South east Chamber 2 nd Story	
1 Bed with all its furniture	\$60.
5 Chairs 8. night Table 4. one toilet D ^o 2.50	14.50
1 Pine do 1.50. a large looking Glass.20	21.50
1 Dressing Glass. 2. Straw Carpet 10. Wash bowl & c 50	12.50
Chamber over kitchen 2 nd Story	
1 Bed and its furniture 16	16.
1 Bureau 3. two pine tables. 1. four chairs 6	10
1 Small looking Glass	1.
Chamber over the Hall 3 rd Story	
1 Small bed and Furniture	5.
2 Chairs 2. one Straw carpet 5	7.
3 rolls of straw carpeting	3.
Chamber over the back Parlour 3 rd Story	
1 Bed and furniture	6
1 looking glass.	1.
Southwest Chamber 3 rd Story	
1 Bed and all its furniture	25
3 Chairs 6. 1 looking Glass. 2	8.
1 Painted Table. 1.50. 1 Straw carpet 4.50	6.
2 Small Pieces of Straw carpeting	2.
South east Chamber 3 rd Story	
1 Bed with its furniture	16.
5 Chairs 6. 1 painted Table. 1.50	7.50
1 painted Bureau 2. 1 Straw carpet 5	7.
1 Small bed in the Garret	3.
Household Furniture in the Kitchen	
2 Chairs and 1 pine settle	4.
5 tin pans 3.50. 1 copper fish kettle 5	\$8.50
2 Pine tables .50. two iron Pots 2	2.50

2 Small iron kettles.1.33	Spider .50	1.83
4 Stew Pans.2.	three coffee Pots. 75	2.75
1 Pestle and Morter .50.	Spit 1. Warming pan. 1	2.50
1 pair of Bellows .50.	Shovel and tongs. 1	1.50
1 dripping pan .50.	Iron fender 33	.83
1 pair of flat irons. 1.	Toaster. 50	1.50
1 Smoke Jack.5.	tin dipper 25	5.25
1 tin grater and dredging box.24.	rolling Pin 12	.36
2 Skimmers .25	pair of brass Candlesticks. 1	1.25
3 tin do. .17		.17

*Suffolk County Probate Records, Boston, Mass., 101:498-504.

NOTES

- Middlesex County Deeds, East Cambridge, Mass. See 14:492, 16:405, 21:258, 25:183, 34:489, 36:20, 37:492, 38:317.
- Middlesex County Probate Records, East Cambridge, Mass., 28:277.
- Concord [Massachusetts] Town Records, vol. 3, part 1, p. 113a.
- Ibid., vol. 3, part 2, p. 220b.
- Ibid., vol. 1, part 3, p. 401b.
- Middlesex Co. Deeds, 66:237.
- Middlesex Co. Probate Records, docket number 19591.
- The will is unaccountably missing from the docket at Middlesex Co. Probate Court and the bound volume which should include a contemporary court copy of the will cannot be located at the Registry.
- Middlesex Co. Probate Records, docket number 19593 and 58:151.
- Codman Family Manuscripts Collection (hereafter referred to as CFMC), James Russell account book, p. 2, box 1, folder 6; James Russell account book, box 1, folder 9.
- CFMC, James Russell to Charles Russell, 26 January 1780, box 1, folder 1.
- Middlesex Co. Probate Records, docket number 19594.
- Ibid., 58:151.
- Ibid., 60:251; CFMC, James Russell account book, p. 1, box 1, folder 6.
- Middlesex Co. Probate Records, 60:251.
- Middlesex Co. Deeds, 86:553.
- Lincoln Town Records, Lincoln Public Library, Lincoln, Mass. (typescript), pp. 200, 215, 220.
- Middlesex Co. Probate Records, 73:314.
- CFMC, John Codman's accounts of Chambers Russell's estate, April 1790, box 19, folder 267.
- Ibid., 15 February 1792.
- CFMC, bills, Isaac Goodenough to John Codman, 24 July 1794 through 2 February 1795, box 9, folder 102.
- Ibid., John Codman to Catherine A. Codman (typescript), 18 July 1800, box 118.
- Ibid., Samuel Dexter, Jr. to John Codman (typescript), 8 December 1797, box 118.
- Ibid., John Codman to Samuel Dexter, Jr. (typescript), 29 December 1797, box 118.
- Suffolk County Probate Records, Boston, Mass., 101:334.
- CFMC, bill, John and Simeon Skillin to John Codman, 9 December 1790, box 10; folder 127; bill, John and Simeon Skillin to John Codman, 16 December 1797, box 12, folder 148.
- Harold Kirker, *The Architecture of Charles Bulfinch* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 220.
- CFMC, John Codman, "Notes Receivable," 7 July 1796, box 6, folder 75.
- All succeeding bills and accounts for the work of rebuilding will be found in CFMC, box 7, folders 81, 85, 86, 88; box 9, folder 103; box 11, folders 146, 147; box 12, folders 148, 150, 158, 159.
- Middlesex Co. Probate Records, docket number 19591.
- Ibid., 58:151.
- CFMC, Samuel Dexter, Jr. to John Codman (typescript), 8 December 1797, box 118.
- Ibid., bill, Thomas Clement to John Codman, August 1797, box 7, folder 85.
- Ibid.
- Ibid.
- Suffolk Co. Probate Records, 101:498.
- CFMC, bill, Longman & Broderip to John Codman, 1 March 1798, box 17, folder 224.
- Ibid., bill, Isaac Codman, Collector of the Revenue, to John Codman, 26 November 1798, box 12, folder 151.
- Ibid., John Codman to Catherine A. Codman (typescript), 18 July 1800, box 118.
- Brooks Atkinson, ed., *Walden and Other Writings of Henry David Thoreau* (New York: Random House, 1950), p. 187.
- Ibid., p. 233.
- Middlesex Co. Deeds, 175:65.