Views of Harvard to 1860: An iconographic study - Part 2

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Accessibility
Views of Harvard to 1860
An Iconographic Study

PART II

2. Burgis View 1726
(Plate VI)

Inscriptions:
(in lower margin)

(1) A Prospect of the Colleges in Cambridge in New England
(2) N 1 Harvard 2. Stoughton 3. Massachusetts
(refering to numbers on the respective buildings)\textsuperscript{1}

Colored rectangular copper-plate line engraving, size (without the legend and
including a heavy border) 24.10 x 19 inches.

Drawn by William Burgis; engraver unknown.

Issued in 1726, depicting the College very shortly prior thereto.

This earliest authentic drawing of the College, made from a point
directly in front of the present Johnston Gate, shows the second Har-
vard College at the left, the first Stoughton College or Hall in the
centre, and Massachusetts Hall on the right, surrounding on three sides
a courtyard with a single large tree. In front of the buildings and evi-
dently entirley around them is a plain fence, with a foot
passage opposite the middle of Stoughton. In the foreground, in the
road outside the fence, are seen a four-horse coach (perhaps bearing
the governor, in view of the salutes being accorded by two gentlemen
on horseback), as well as equestrians, other pedestrians, and, of course,
a dog. Within the yard are numerous figures evidently garbed in aca-
demic gowns. There is a large clock on the western end of Massachu-
setts and a sun-dial on the corner of Harvard. The weather vane on

\textsuperscript{1} The inscription in the lower left-hand corner referring to Harvard Hall, ob-
scured through fading and staining, has been interpreted as ‘1 N Harvard,’ meaning
presumably ‘New Harvard.’ However, an infra-red photograph clearly shows ‘N 1
Harvard.’ No periods are visible even in this photograph, though they may origi-
nally have been present.
top of Harvard bears the symbol 'H. C. 1639.' On the front of Stoughton appear Governor Stoughton's adopted arms, underneath which is an inscription, indistinct in the print but reading as follows:

Guilelmus Stoughton Armiger Provinciae
Massachusetts. Nov-anglorum Vice-Gubernator
Collegii Harvarndi Olim Alumnus
Semper Patronus Fecit
Anno Domini 1699

In the lower centre, breaking the margin, is a cartouche containing the following dedication:

To the Honourable
William Dummer Esq'
Lieutenant Governor of ye Province
of the Massachusetts Bay in New England
this View is most humbly Dedicated
By Your Honours
Most obedient most humble Servt.
W: Burgis

This cartouche is surmounted by the Dummer arms.

The following advertisement appeared in the issue of the Boston News-Letter for 14 July 1726:

This Day is Published a Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge in New-England, curiously Engraven in Copper; and are to be sold at Mr. Price's Print seller, over against the Town House, Mr. Randal Jappener in Ann Street, by Mr. Stedman in Cambridge, and the Booksellers of Boston.

On July 21 and 28 the same advertisement was repeated with 'Lately Published' substituted for 'This Day is Published.' It seems probable that the publisher had attempted to have the print out in time for Commencement, held in 1726 on July 6.

The only known copy of this print is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society; and, although it is colored, the coloring was probably added by a later hand. The interesting story of its acquisition was first told by Dr. Fitch E. Oliver at the monthly meeting of the Society held 10 February 1881. At the quarterly meeting of the Society held on 27 October 1795 'a View of the ancient Halls of Harvard, Stoughton, and Massachusetts' was received from Colonel William Scollay. This view was a restrike from the altered plate of this Burgis View described as View No. 3 following. It had been mounted on a
Plate VI
Burch's view, 1726
Plate VII
BURGIS-PRICE VIEW, 1743
wooden panel, which in time became much warped and cracked; the print itself became so discolored that portions of it were almost indistinguishable. When the print was lifted from the panel for its repair there was found underneath it this Burgis View in its first state — previously unknown and still unique.

The Massachusetts Historical Society lent the print for the Harvard Tercentenary Exhibition of furniture, silver, paintings, prints, etc. The view is reproduced as the frontispiece of the catalogue of the exhibition and is listed as Item No. 391.

Reproductions of the Burgis View are numerous. By far the most outstanding is the re-engraving executed by Sidney L. Smith in 1906 and colored by hand. The following inscriptions were added: (in a circle in the left lower margin) ‘N — / of an edition / of seventy-five / only / and the plate / destroyed.’; (below the other inscriptions in the centre of the lower margin) ‘re-engraved by Sidney L. Smith, from a copy in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, / Published by Charles E. Goodspeed, Boston, 1906.’ It was not copyrighted. There exists at least one impression of an engraver’s proof of Smith’s re-engraving before limitation and publication inscriptions, hand-colored — a beautiful example of his artistry. Smith also made a minute engraving of the view for a bookplate for Winward Prescott of the Class of 1909. Curtis and Cameron issued a reproduction of the re-engraving as one of their Copley Prints. There is also a small halftone reproduction in J. H. Gardiner’s Harvard (New York, 1914).

The Harvard College Library possesses a copy of the Burgis View executed in very gaudy colors on glass measuring about 8.8 by 14 inches.

The best of the mechanical reproductions is the hand-colored colotype issued in full size by the Department of Printing and Graphic Arts in the Harvard College Library.¹ Others appear in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for February, 1881 — a heliotype 9.14 x 8.2 inches — to accompany the account of the discovery of the original print; in Dr Samuel Abbott Green’s Ten Fac-simile Reproductions Relating to Old Boston and Neighborhood (Boston, 1901) — a heliotype approximately 16 x 13 inches; in Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Vols. XIV and

¹This and other reproductions hereinafter mentioned which have been issued by the Department are attractive and desirable. Their prices make them possible even for Harvard men.
XV— a photogravure approximately 9 x 7.4 inches; and in the edition issued by the Harvard Memorial Society in 1914 with the following inscription: ‘One Hundred and Fifty copies printed for The Harvard Memorial Society on the One Hundred and Fiftieth anniversary of the burning of Harvard Hall, January 24, 1764. No. —. By courtesy of Dr. Samuel Abbott Green (Harv. 1851) for whom the plate was made from the unique copy of the original in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society,’ — a photo-lithograph measuring about 14.8 x 12.8 inches on a leaf about 18 x 15 inches.

There are small reproductions, mainly half-tone, in New England and New France, by James Douglas (New York, 1913); Commonwealth History of Massachusetts, edited by Albert Bushnell Hart (New York, 1927-30), Vol. I, The Arts & Crafts in New England 1704-1775, by George Francis Dow (Topsfield, Mass., 1927); Harvard the First American University, by George G. Bush (Boston, 1886); Antique Views of ye Town of Boston, by James H. Stark (Boston, 1862); Harvard Graduates’ Magazine, V (March, 1897); Official Guide to Harvard University (3rd to 7th editions inclusive, 1903-1926); The Harvard Book, edited by F. O. Vaille and H. A. Clark (Cambridge, 1875); Old-Time New England, XXIV (October, 1933); Harvard Senior Class Albums from 1911 to 1925, inclusive, and also 1937; The Bells of Harvard College, by A. H. Nichols (Boston, 1911); Pathways of the Puritans, compiled by Mrs N. S. Bell for the Massachusetts Bay Colony Tercentenary (Framingham, Mass., 1930); and undoubtedly in many other publications.

Some few years ago there was being offered to various museums a silver box on the cover of which was engraved a view of Harvard similar to the Burgis View. A careful examination by experts indicated that it was not done contemporaneously with that view, however, since it was worked on sheet silver with a burin not in use until a much later day. It was probably not made until late in the eighteenth or early in the nineteenth century.

In 1897 William Loring Andrews wrote of Burgis as follows: ‘That he may be called the father of the art of engraving in this country, appears to be beyond question.’ ¹ Ten years later David McNeely Stauffer wrote that it was his contention that all the prints associated with the name of Burgis (except that of Boston Light) were simply published by him. Both of these statements are probably wrong —

¹ *A Prospect of the Colledges*, p. 16.
certainly that of Andrews, and he certainly draws upon his imagination when he says, ‘and it was not until the year 1726 that William Burgis, the earliest, as far as we know, of American Engravers, wandered down among the Cambridge elms with a sheet of copper beneath his arm, and carved upon its surface what we believe to be the first engraving of “Fair Harvard” ever executed.’

William Burgis is first heard of in this country about 1716–18 in New York, probably coming from England. Within those years he drew the most important early view of that city which exists: ‘A South Prospect of ye Flourishing City of New York in the Province of New York in America.’ It was engraved in London by John Harris about 1718–21. It is dedicated by Burgis to His Excellency Robert Hunter, Esq., governor of the Province, and bears the legend, ‘W. Burgis del’ et Excud! Subscriptione Incolarum.’

He is next found in Boston some time prior to 8 October 1722, at which time an advertisement appeared in the New-England Courant soliciting subscriptions for an engraving of a ‘North East View of Boston,’ the original drawing for which was then on exhibition at William Price’s. This failed to materialize, it being ‘not so much to Advantage’ as a ‘South East Prospect’ offered in the Boston Gazette and the New-England Courant 23 December 1723. The undertakers felt safe in having the latter engraved, and on 17 July 1725 was first offered for sale ‘A South East View of ye Great Town of Boston in New England in America,’ with the legend ‘W. Burgis Delin — J. Harris Sculp,’ dedicated to the Honorable Samuel Shute, Esq., by Thomas Selby and William Price — the first and most important view of Boston. There was a restrike of this view in 1736 with additions and changes pasted on; and another in 1742/43 issued by William Price and dedicated by him to Peter Faneuil, who died 3 March 1742/43 (see View No. 4 following).

During this period Burgis was living at the Crown Coffee House at the head of Long Wharf, now 148 State Street, whose proprietor was the Thomas Selby associated with him in the Boston view. Selby was also Senior Warden of King’s Chapel. In fact, it was at this house that the vestry of King’s Chapel met on 3 August 1727 and authorized the wardens to sign a memorial to the General Court praying that


ministers of the Church of England be allowed to sit as Overseers of Harvard — thus precipitating the first of the College’s many difficulties on this point. Selby died only a month or so later, leaving considerable property, which William Burgis promptly annexed by marrying his widow, Mehitable (Bill) Selby, on 1 October 1728.

In the meantime the ‘Prospect of the Colledges’ had appeared. Neither artist nor engraver was given, but it was dedicated to Lieutenant-Governor Dummer by Burgis. We can only assume from prior events that it was drawn by Burgis and very probably engraved in England — perhaps by the John Harris who was born in 1680 and died in 1740 and who had done Burgis’s previous plates. Mr John H. Edmonds suggests that there were perhaps two engravers of this name, maybe father and son, flourishing during these years. It is certainly questionable that the ‘Prospect’ was engraved in America. The next year, on 5 June 1727, appeared ‘A Draught of the Meeting House of the Old Church in Boston with the New Spire & Gallery,’ which has been assumed to be a Burgis production from its association, although Mr Edmonds could locate no copy. Then in 1729 were issued ‘Plan of Boston in New England’ dedicated to His Excellency William Burnet by Burgis and ‘engraven by Tho Johnson Boston N. E.;’ and the view of Boston Light — ‘To the Merchants of Boston this View of the Light House is most humbly presented by their Humble Serv Wm Burgis’ — issued 11 April 1729 with the legend ‘W. Burgis del. & fecit.’ This print is a coarsely executed mezzotint — perhaps the second so executed in New England — and is probably the only one of the prints associated with Burgis actually engraved by him. These prints have been mentioned in some detail because of their great historical importance.

The Suffolk County records show that Burgis was one of the Court’s most active guests. He and his wife were constantly in litigation in connection with Selby’s estate and were accused of wasting it, but they eventually made a satisfactory settlement with the other heirs. ‘During his short stay in Boston he was continually suing and being sued. In these cases he is variously referred to as ‘Gentleman,’ ‘painter,’ ‘draughtsman,’ ‘innholder,’ ‘tavernor,’ etc. Finally, on 17 September 1730, we find an execution issued on a verdict against Burgis returned with the endorsement, ‘I have found neither person or estate and return it in no part satisfied by reason it came to late into my hands.’ Person and estate had flown. And so under date of 26 July 1736 it is
not surprising to find in the Council records a petition of Mehitable Burgis 'setting forth that her Husband William Burgess having got what he could of her estate into his hands about five years since left her, and has never returned into the Province again . . . and therefore praying for a Divorce or that the marriage be declared void.' It was 'Read & Dismiss'd' and in doing so perhaps the learned Council gave considerable weight to certain convictions that poor Mehitable had suffered at the hands of the Court for selling 'Strong Liquors in small Quantities' without a license and in keeping 'a disorderly house . . . by entertaining therein people at unseasonable times in the Night at divers times . . . to the great Terrou and disturbance of his Majesty's subjects that live in the Neighborhood, And by further Entertaining idle and disorderly servants and Negroes, so that the said House is and has been for the time past a great Nuisance and disturbance. . . .'

And so perhaps Burgis had some excuse for wending his way back to New York — even with the estate and without the wife. For there it is we have our final record of him in his 'View of the New Dutch Church . . . founded A. D. 1727 and finished A. D. 1731,' dedicated to Rip Van Dam by William Burgis, issued in 1731/32.

William Price, who was the publisher or at least the chief distributor of the Burgis view, was an eminently respectable and successful Boston merchant whose shop for at least fifty years was over against the Town House. He was the pioneer church organist in British America, playing in turn at King's Chapel and Christ Church; in fact, it is possible that he came over to this country specifically to install the Brattle organ for King's Chapel. He was successively vestryman, junior warden, and senior warden of Christ Church, and married the niece of the rector, Reverend Samuel Myles. He died on 17 May 1771 at the ripe old age of eighty-seven. He furnished the plans for Christ Church spire in 1740; he owned one-quarter of Trinity Church from 1735 to 1739, at its organization and while subscriptions were coming in; and he was the founder of the Price Fund whose holdings in 1914 were $515,000 (see the following view).

'Mr Steedman in Cambridge,' also one of the distributors of the Burgis view, was John Steedman, innholder and shopkeeper. 'Mr Randal Jappane' was associated with Burgis in his early Boston ventures; evidently not entirely amicably, however, for on 15 May 1728 we find Burgis suiting him as the 'Agent, Factor or Attorney' of John
Greenwood of London for £100, the complaint stating that Greenwood, after deducting what Burgis owed him, was at all times to give and render to the said Burgis a just and true account of the net proceeds of Certain Prints a Certain Note & some Copper Plates. But Burgis failed to appear at the trial.

This Burgis ‘Prospect of the Colledges’ is the earliest view of Harvard now known with the exception of the previously mentioned Franquelin perspective, while antedating it as a detailed view of an American college there is only the crude colored view of the College of William and Mary made by Frantz Ludwig Michel and included in the manuscript account of his trip to America in 1702-04, now in the archives of the Stadtbibliothek of Berne, Switzerland. The ‘Prospect’ also provides the only certain representation which exists of the second Harvard College, or New College, or Old College, or Old Harvard Hall (as it was called at various periods).

When it was realized that Harvard’s first building — ‘that faire and comely edifice,’ ‘the building called the old Colledge’ — was after only thirty years completely doomed and that no further repairs could possibly save it, the Council of the Bay Colony on 12 September 1671 issued an order ‘to promote a generall contribution for building a new Colledge at Cambridge, of brick or stone.’ The response was generous, and subscriptions, entirely voluntary, came from forty-four towns throughout the Colony, from students and from Sir George Downing, the first graduate, as well, totaling some £2,280, or even £3,028 according to another list. Of course, then as now, actual collection of subscriptions was another matter entirely; and naturally in that day payment was made in almost every form except money. One of the substantial items in the cost of the building was hoarding and ‘warehouse roume’ for corn and other goods; and among other goods received were ‘sape, shooses, hats, and other English goods.’

On 20 June 1672 the Overseers chose John Cooper and William Manning ‘to be Agents & Stewards to mannage that work’ and also appointed Deputy Governor Leverett with five others of their own number ‘to be a Comittee for the Overseers, unto whom the Stewards for the buildings, may have recourse and receive ord’s and directions from them or any four of them.’ The master builder was Samuel

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Andrew of Cambridge, 'well skilled in the mathematics.' The architect is unknown — probably one or all of the Overseers' committee worked in conjunction with the builder. The frame of the building — the largest erected in this country up to that time — was raised on 7 August 1674, but King Philip's War almost immediately put a stop to further work (not to mention further receipts). In February, 1675/76, the Council instructed the Stewards to finish the Library at least, so that the books could be moved into it, and in July and August, 1676, the building was occupied to that extent. Even a year later, however, the building was far from finished and, although the 1677 Commencement was held in the new hall, it is doubtful whether any students moved in until the following spring.

The General Court was engaged in a constant endeavor for a period of some ten years to get subscriptions paid up. It was not until 1682 that the Stewards were able to present their accounts to the General Court and even then there were still outstanding items. The building cost about £2,000, as shown in William Manning's accounts. Some of the largest and most interesting items follow:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>£</th>
<th>s</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to lighters to carry them to Cambridge</td>
<td>009</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the brickmakers for making bricks and pavements</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to sundry persons for wood to burn the brickes and lyme</td>
<td>085</td>
<td>07</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to the masons for building the house and labourers</td>
<td>493</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>01</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>that wrought with them in the cellar and foundation whilst they wrought by the day</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to lead for the gutters, nayles, locks and hinges and some other expenses</td>
<td>137</td>
<td>03</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to Expenses at Cambridge ordinary for Accommodation of several Committees</td>
<td>012</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to payd the worpl. John Richards Esqr for Intrest of 100l borrowed of him</td>
<td>040</td>
<td>00</td>
<td>00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The building was 99 by 42 feet. In the centre of the lower floor was the hall, which served for chapel, meals, lectures, and other large meetings. On the eastern end were the kitchen and buttery, with two chambers on the western end. Immediately above the hall was the

1 Selected from Massachusetts Archives, LVIII, 119-120, as quoted in Morison, Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century, II, 650.
library, with two chambers on each side of it. The third and fourth floors were devoted entirely to chambers. The various gables, dormers, and gambrels early gave trouble from leakage, and in 1712 an Overseers’ committee proposed that the best way to remedy the difficulty was 'to take off the roof & to raise a third Story upright in stead of the two Storys wth arc now under ye roof, with a flat roof well shingled.' This was never done. Previously, however, in 1691, the Corporation had voted that 'the top of ye Colledge be guarded with Ballisters with all Convenient speed,' and the present view shows the building with this addition.1

The main features of this second Harvard, freely influenced by Stoughton, are shown in a unique view appearing on a piece of embroidery 10 inches wide by 9 high owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society, possibly the work of Mary (Leverett) Rogers about 1750. She was the daughter of President Leverett and the granddaughter of President Rogers. Her second husband was the Reverend Nathaniel Rogers, a grandson of this same President Rogers. Her confusion in combining the details of the two buildings can probably be explained by the fact that her recollections of the scene, formed when a young girl living in the Leverett-Wiggesworth house, had become rather dim with age. Instead of the cupola which was a part of Harvard, there is a beehive with mammoth bees buzzing around, with two angels bearing a ribbon scroll on which is the motto 'euco. A Praesepibus Recut.' The self-satisfaction of all Harvard men will not be deflated to know that this is probably an abbreviation for 'Ignavum fuco pecus praesepibus arcent' — no lazy drones admitted here. A photograph of this piece of embroidery was reproduced in: Old-Time New England for October, 1933, with an interesting discussion by Professor Morison.

The building suffered several small fires during its life from which it fortunately escaped; but finally, on the night of 24 January 1764, it was completely destroyed by flames with practically all of its contents. On January 18th the Massachusetts General Court had adjourned to Old Harvard Hall because of fear of the small-pox then prevailing in Boston, the College itself then being in the midst of a vacation. The fire probably started in a beam under the hearth in the Library. Because of the vacation it had gained so much headway before it was noticed that there was no possibility of stopping it in Harvard; and

Old Stoughton, Hollis, Holden, and Massachusetts, each of which
cought fire, were saved only with difficulty. At this day it is impossible
to realize the loss sustained—not alone the building but the entire
library, all the scientific apparatus, and whatever art treasures the Col-
lege possessed. It is not to be wondered at that a feeling of desolation
spread through the whole Province.

Such was the tragic end of this 'fair and stately edifice of brick,'
'this fair pile of brick building,' which for about twenty years, until
the Wren building at the College of William and Mary was erected,
was the most imposing edifice in the English Colonies, which until
the construction of Stoughton College was the only building the Col-
lege owned, except the Indian College; and which throughout its life
was the centre of all College life, as the Harvard Hall which succeeded
it likewise was until University Hall was built in 1814.

The central building in the Burgess View is Stoughton College. With
the College very much in need of additional space as the seventeenth
century closed, Lieutenant-Governor William Stoughton of the Class
of 1650 came forward to offer a new building. He may have ap-
proached the College prior to 1695 in this connection because then
it was that the Corporation was given permission to use the bricks of
the decaying Indian College for a new edifice. On 3 March 1697/98
the Corporation appointed a committee 'to treat with The Honourable
Liev[en]t. Gover[n] of additional building to ye Colledge, of wht his
Honor has made some Proposals to ye Corporation.' Work evidently
started almost immediately under the charge of Thomas Willis as the
master builder. On 7 April 1698 the bricks of the old Indian College
were sold to him for £20 for his use in that work. 'Mr. Stoughton's
eight hundred pound new colledge goes on livelyly,' wrote John
Danforth on 22 June 1698. It was probably finished by Commence-
ment 1699 if not earlier, and thus became one of the few early Harvard
buildings to be completed promptly without great financial difficulties.

According to a rough floor plan of the building in College Book III, it
was 97 feet by 22 feet 10 inches, or almost as long as Old Harvard
Hall, but much narrower. There were four chambers on each floor,
each running through the building, with two or three studies for each

Seventeenth Century, II, 519.
chamber. 'The painted chamber' was reserved for near relations of the Governor. In the cellar, which was built at the expense of the College in accordance with the Corporation vote of 12 May 1698, were compartments which students could rent for the storage of wine at six shillings per annum. In consideration of the permission received from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (at whose charge the Indian College had been built) to use the bricks of that dilapidated edifice for Stoughton, rooms were to be provided in this building free of charge for any Indians who came to seek an education. The privilege went begging.

William Stoughton was born on 30 September 1631, probably in England, the son of Israel Stoughton, one of the founders of Dorchester, Massachusetts, who on his death in 1645 had become one of the largest landowners in the whole colony and who by his will left the College 300 acres in Dorchester. After being graduated from Harvard in 1650 the son continued his studies at New College, Oxford, where he received an M. A. and became a Fellow. He was a curate in Sussex for a short time. Ejected from his Fellowship at the Restoration, he returned to Massachusetts in 1662. He preached for several years in his home town but repeatedly declined to become settled there. He delivered the election sermon of 1668 before the General Court — the sermon which contains that famous phrase 'God sifted a whole Nation that he might send Choice Grain over into this Wilderness.' He served several years as a Selectmen in Dorchester; he was elected a magistrate from 1671 to 1686; for many years during this period he was a Commissioner of the United Colonies and a judge of various courts; he represented Massachusetts before the King in connection with the Mason land title claims; and he served as Deputy President under Joseph Dudley, his staunch friend, in the temporary government after the revocation of the charter in 1686. He was a member of the Council under Andros without siding too closely with him, but he had little popular following and held no office until the province charter of William and Mary in 1692, when he was named Lieutenant-Governor under Sir William Phips, evidently solely because of the Mather influence. Stoughton was active head of the government from 1694 until his death on 7 July 1701, except for one year when Bellomont was in Boston. Stoughton is also unfortunately

to be remembered as the chief justice of the court which tried the Salem witchcraft cases in 1692, where his conduct, 'if conscientious, was heartless, unjust, and atrocious,' although not greatly damaging in the eyes of his contemporaries. Speaking of his administration as acting governor, Hutchinson says the government 'seems to have been administered by him to good acceptance in England, and to the general satisfaction of the people of the province.' Stoughton evidently had the interests of his Alma Mater at heart at all times and was one of its most bountiful benefactors.

Morison calls Stoughton 'one of the most prominent, wealthy, and unpopular of Harvard alumni'; and a realistic contemporary describes him as 'pudding faced, sanctimonious and unfeeling.' However, let it be said that he was the first of that group — so small that it can almost be counted on the fingers of one hand — of alumni who have provided the College with buildings.

The College possesses an oil portrait of Stoughton painted by an unknown artist, in the background of which is seen a view of his new College. It was the gift of John Cooper, a grandson of Stoughton's niece and executor.

Stoughton was once charged with 'having more of the willow than the oak in his constitution.' Evidently a similar defect existed in his College. The building was 'an unsubstantial piece of masonry': there was need for repairs as early as 1710, when the slate roof was found defective, and from then on almost constantly.

On 4 April 1721 the Corporation appointed a committee to see that 'a Cross Wall or Walls (as by the Skillfull shal be found necessary) be built for the strengthening of Stoughton-College and that the 8th College be Clap-boarded on the East Side, and, if it be found needful, on the Northerly End also.' The next month an 'able mason' advised that the building was so far bowed that it could not be repaired and that it was necessary to take it down. A memorial was accordingly presented to the General Court that summer explaining the dire situa-

* The History of the Province of Massachusetts-Bay (Boston and London, 1764-1828), II, 81.
* Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century, II, 519.
* This and following votes as quoted from the College Records and President Leveret's diary by Matthews, Pub. Col. Soc. Mass., XV, xxi-c.
tion and entreating that body 'to do as Almighty God shall direct in an affair of so great Import' as even the Lives as well as the Necessary accommodations of Sundry persons of Expectation and hopes are.' The Court did nothing except read the memorial a second time. Again, in a message to the Court on 16 December 1730, Governor Belcher urged that a committee be appointed to view the decayed building to see what was proper to be done for the better accommodation of the students, but to no avail. The strange story is related that the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, instead of shaking the walls completely down, actually 'restored them to their perpendicular direction.' Through all these vicissitudes, however, the condemned building continued to be used as a dormitory until the Revolution; it served in 1775–76 as barracks for the American army as well as a shop for printing the New England Chronicle, continuation of the Essex Gazette. In 1779 the interior boards and timbers that could be removed with safety were taken out and stored in Holden Chapel, the College carpenters being instructed to draw all the nails and reserve them for the benefit of the College, 43,000 to the value of £430 being so saved. On 29 September 1781 it was voted that the chimneys be taken down as being dangerous to the lives of passing persons, since a great part of the back wall had lately fallen down. On 2 October 1781 the Corporation again voted, 'That the immediate Government of the College be desired to dispose of Stoughton Hall as it now stands, to some person who will engage to remove it from the ground'; but when, by vote of the Faculty, it was put up at auction on the 18th, the College itself had to buy it in, no satisfactory buyers appearing. Finally, on 13 November 1781 the Corporation voted, 'That Deacon Aaron Hill have the liberty to take down the walls of Stoughton Hall, and clean the Bricks, preserving for the use of the College one half of the Bricks, which he is carefully to pile up, leaving the corner stones, the stones in the cellar with Governor Stoughton's Arms, and the Inscription under it, & remove the Rubbish; & for his time & trouble to have the other half of the Bricks.' Such was the sad end of another early College building.

The third building in the Burgis View — at that time only six years old — fared better than its neighbors and, as every Harvard man knows, Massachusetts Hall is still proudly standing, the oldest of the College buildings, and with one exception the oldest college building.

2 According to a near relative of John Pickering, as related by Peirce, History of Harvard University, p. 71, n. 1.
in the country. The exception is the 'Great Building of the College' at the College of William and Mary, the foundations of which were laid in 1693, designed by Sir Christopher Wren; this building, although thrice gutted by fire, in 1705, in 1859, and in the Civil War, still has outside walls which are largely original.

Stoughton College had been built less than twenty years when the influx of students again made additional space necessary. On November 1737 a memorial for presentation to the General Court was approved by the Overseers. The 6th of the next February a joint committee of the General Court reported that it was 'necessary that some further Building be erected for the making Provision of Forty or Fifty Studies more that all the Students may be entertain'd within the College.' The next day the committee reported that it was their opinion that as it's the most frugal method of Building, so it will best answer the present Occasions, to Erect a double House, somewhat conformable to the Draught herewith exhibited, to be plac'd pretty near the Southwest Corner of Stoughton College, and thence to extend it's length Westward in a parallel Line to Harvard College. The Charge thereof by what we gather from Skilful Workmen, may probably amount to Three Thousand Pounds, or thereabouts.' The length proposed was about 160 feet. The price evidently alarmed the House and the matter was laid over until May, at which time the new House was ushered in by the election sermon of the Reverend Benjamin Colman, of the Class of 1692 and a member of the Corporation. He took advantage of the occasion to say: 'And whatever Decays the Province languishes under in other respects the College seems to renew its Youth, and has been sending out of late a vigorous Issue, who in brightness of Parts, and also in Vertue promise to excel. And now we have the Joy to come before You, our civil Fathers, as the Sons of the Prophets once did to Elisha, saying, Behold now the Place is too strait for the increas'd number of your Sons! will you please to enlarge the House for them to dwell in? We trust you will kindly answer so reasonable, so welcome a desire; and most readily build on a Foundation which our Fathers laid and which our God has signally blessed.'

After a further committee report, the House on June 20, 1737 and the


2. The Religious Regards We Owe to Our Country, pp. 38-39.
Council on 24 June 1718 'Ordered that an Additional Building of Brick be made to Harvard College to begin about six Feet to the South West of Stoughton House & to extend in Length Westward Forty seven & half Feet or thereabouts not exceeding Fifty, of the same breadth of Harvard College & of a suitable Height, not exceeding ye Height of Harvard College, with three upright Stories & a convenient Roof of a suitable Pitch.' And on 4 July, £1,500 were appropriated for the purpose, Jonathan Remington, Charles Chambers, and Andrew Bordman (the College Steward) being appointed a committee 'to take care for the carrying out and effecting the said Building.'

The building in the reduced size was duly begun, but in November, 1718, at an acrimonious meeting of the Overseers, it was voted to present a further memorial to the General Court that the building be completed to the length first proposed; the Court ignored the plea, however. Finally, on 29 May 1719, the building committee itself recommended that the building be carried out to its full length: 'First, Because it will save considerable Charge if the Building be carried on entire; Secondly, Because the Building will be much stronger as well as much more beautiful; Thirdly, Because the proposed Building of fifty feet long will not be sufficient to accommodate the Students.' And on the same day the House acquiesced and voted £2,000 additional for the extension, the Council concurring the next day.

On 24 May 1720 the building was so far finished that the Corporation desired the President to obtain the advice of the Overseers in regard to thanking the General Court. A month later, on 28 June, the Corporation voted, 'That the New College be kept securely shut up, and no Use made of it, either of Chambers or Cellars, for the next Commencement to prevent the Damage that will otherwise necessarily be, while the house is new & Green.' The Corporation subsequently relented, however, and the western end was opened for the graduating seniors subject to their guarantee against damage.

With reference to the first vote, the Overseers suggested that thanks be extended the General Court in the name of the Corporation, the latter thereupon appointing Benjamin Colman, Joseph Stevens, and John White a committee to prepare the proper address. On 18 November 1720 President Leverett, with Benjamin Wadsworth and Benjamin Colman, appeared before the House, and the former read the address so prepared — probably written by Colman — which was printed in full in the Journal of the House in special typography.
honor of the two-hundredth anniversary of its presentation, it was reprinted in broadside form by the Harvard University Press for the Harvard Memorial Society after a design by Bruce Rogers.

In the meantime the House had appointed a committee to view the edifice and audit the accounts of the building committee. They reported that all was well, and the House went so far as to present to the building committee for its good service the balance of £116 os. 1d. still in its hands. The committee further reported that they had received the keys of said building, which with the President, they named Massachusetts-Hall, and delivered said keys to the President, as to the President and Fellows of Harvard College. 1

According to President Holyoke, the building was actually 109 by 42 feet. In the University Archives are two rough plans of the building. 2 One, apparently made by Benjamin Wadsworth, may be the one presented to the House. The other, evidently in the hand of President Leverett, may well be the one on which the final building was based.

Massachusetts was opened to students in the fall of 1720 and was thereafter used solely as a dormitory until President Kirkland's time, having thirty-two chambers each with two studies. In 1725 a clock was seen in the view and a bell were placed in the building. During the Revolution it was used as barracks for the American soldiers, who, when they left, carried most of the brass door-knobs and door-locks with them — as indeed they did from all the other buildings they occupied. Under President Kirkland a portion of the lower floor was devoted to uses of College societies and recitation rooms. In 1870 the building was completely remodeled, all the party walls being removed and the interior divided into two stories, making two halls used for examinations, lectures, and the annual Phi Beta Kappa dinner. After a fire in 1924 the building was restored to its original use as a dormitory, but continued in this state only until 1939, when it was again remodeled, this time to serve as the offices of the President.

The Dean of the Faculty of Design, in a recent article, stresses the basic interrelation in good architecture between outward form and inward pattern, and goes on to praise Massachusetts Hall for its satisfactory expression of this relationship, an expression now nullified by the latest remodeling (as indeed also by some of those suffered earlier


by the building). 'We should be acutely distressed by these new offices if we happened to remember them—or if, remembering them, we were not atrophied to the important values of architecture. I once owned an antique book-cover which had been refitted as a practical cigar box; its outward appearance was unchanged; and there were those who said that its beauty was unimpaired.'

But for a last word we may still return to Charles Eliot Norton, writing in 1875: 'May the old building continue to stand, sacred from its age and its memories, connecting by its visible sign the latest generations of the sons of Harvard with those of the early small days of the College. May it suggest liberality to the Commonwealth that has always owed more than it has given to the University. It is our oldest monument. It is "the good old Angel Inn" of our College yard.'

Plate VI, representing the first Burgis View, is reproduced directly from the only known copy of the original, through the courtesy of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

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The Harvard Magazine, X (1863-64), 90-93 (article entitled ‘The First School at Newtown’).


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Henry Ware, ‘Stoughton Hall,’ The Harvard Register, III (1881), 72-74.
3. Burgis-Price View 1743

(Plate VII)

Inscriptions:

(in lower margin)

1. A Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge in New England
2. Printed for & sold by Wm Price at the Kings Head & Looking Glass in Cornhill Near ye Town House Boston N-England, a large new South east Prospect of the Great Town of Boston neatly Done & a New Plan of the same divided into 12 Wards with all the New Streets &c. At the same Place are Sold Maps and Prints of all sorts in
3. Frames or without, Pictures painted in Oyl in carv’d or gilt Frames, all sorts & sizes of ye newest fashioned Looking Glasses, Prospect & burning Glasses, Spectacles, fine China Ware English & Dutch Toys for Children, with large allowance to Shop keepers & Country Chapman that buy to Sell again, who may he as well
4. Furnisht by sending their Letters as coming themselves at reasonable rates

Rectangular copper-plate line engraving; size (without the legend and including a heavy border) 14.4 x 18.14 inches.

Drawn by William Burgis; engraver unknown.

Issued in 1743 depicting the College about 1725-16.

This print is variously called the Price View, the Price reissue of the Burgis View, and the second state of the Burgis View, the reduced size being undoubtedly caused by the use of more moist paper. There are several changes in the original plate to be noticed. The one from which the view takes its name is in the dedication in the cartouche on the lower border. It now reads as follows:

To the Honourable
Spencer Phipps Esq
Lieutenant Governor of ye Province
of the Massachusetts Bay in New England
this View is most humbly Dedicated
By Your Honours
Most obedient & most humble Servt
W. Price

The arms of Dummer above the cartouche have been replaced by those of Phips. The fence now has posts on both sides of the passageway.
opening into the Yard. The names of the buildings have been removed from the margin and now appear at the bottom of the buildings themselves, with the word 'Hall' added to each name. The heavy cloud in the upper right-hand corner has been removed and in its place has been substituted a hanging drapery or apron which bears the following inscription:

Harvard College at Cambridge in N. England so called by order of the Genl Court of ye Colony of the Mass Bay in honour to ye name of the Revd Mr John Harvard a generous Benefactor to it, its a Corporation consists of a President, five fellows, & a Treasurer, with whom is entrusted all ye Government of it, the care of Educating the Students there, the Exercise of Discipline the Admission & Expulsion of ye Members of it &c, But a General Inspection of it is committed to a body of Men Called Overseers who are ye Governour, Deputy, and all the Magistrates for the time being, together with ye teaching Elders of Cambridge, Charlestown, Watertown, Boston, Dorchester, Roxbury, and the President of the College. It was founded by a Charter of ye above'd nature Anno 1639, which continued till ye Reign of James the Second, when it was vacated with the Charter of the Province, since which it hath successively subsisted on two other Charters, afterwards vacated, and at length after the year 1708, the first Charter was returned, This College was at first raised by Publick denations, & private Gratuities amongst which none exceeds ye of the late Honble Wm Stoughton Esq' about ye year 1659. Since that the Province hath been at ye Expence of Additional Buildings to the College, and of a Presidents House, hath from the Beginning given the President his Salary, and may continue & augment their Benefactions to it by whatever Taxes ye General Court pleases The number of Graduates from the first Commencemen't Anno 1642. to ye Anno 1739. is 1386.

No. 1 built 1675. No. 2 built 1699. No. 3 built 1720.2

This restrike was issued in 1743. The following advertisement appeared in the Boston Evening-Post of September 12:

To Be Sold, By William Price, at the Looking-Glass and Picture-Shop in Cornhill, near the Town-House, a New Prospect of Boston, neatly done, with

*Microscopic examination shows that the inscription is the same, in all details, in the Library of Congress, New York Public Library, Harvard, and Massachusetts Historical Society copies. Frequent differences, some important, from the above appearing in the transcript of the inscription printed in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XVII (1880-81), 318-319, had led to the conclusion that the Society's copy must represent a variant state of the 1743 View. A careful examination of the copy shows, however, that the differences rest in the
the Addition of the new Buildings, Churches, &c. to this present Year; and also a Plan of the Town, and Prospect of the Colleges in Cambridge, New-England; and the greatest Variety of Maps and Prints of all Sorts and Sizes, in frames and Glass, or without: Pictures painted in Oyl, in gilt Frames. And also sells and Frames all Sizes of the best and newest Fashion Looking Glasses, Spectacles, Prospect Glasses, Brass and Glass Arms, Hard Mallet Teapots, China Ware, Tea-Tables, and Tea-Chests, Flutes, Hautboys, Violins, and Strings, Musical Books and Songs, English and Dutch Toys for Children, &c. N. B. He has all the above Goods from London, at the very best Hand ...  

It would seem very probable that Price's three reissues—Burgis's 'Prospect of the Colleges' and 'South East View of ye Great Town of Boston' and Bonner's 'New Plan of ye Great Town of Boston'—were all published simultaneously at the time of the first of these advertisements. The advertisement mentions all three; as already noted, the imprint of the 'Prospect' also mentions the 'South East View' and the 'New Plan'; and the imprint of the latter in turn mentions the 'Prospect' and the 'South East View': 'Printed for & Sold by Wm. Price at ye Kings Head, & Looking Glass, in Cornhill, near the Town House in Boston, Where is Sold a Large New South East Prospect of Boston Neatly done, & A Prospect of the Colledg's in Cambridge New England And Great Variety of Mapps & Prints of all Sorts in Frames & Glass or without. ...' Furthermore the South East View contains as one of its new additions a miniature 'Prospect of the Colleges' (see View No. 4 following).

The South East View was dedicated to Peter Faneuil in honor of his presentation of Faneuil Hall to the city (the first use of which, sad to say, was for the delivery of a funeral oration for the donor, by John Lovell, on 14 March 1742/43). This dedication must have been written and the various additions to the plate drawn well before Faneuil's death on March 3rd. Although Mr Edmonds states that the corrections and additions to the reworked plate of the South East View were undoubtedly made in America and probably by an amateur, it would seem more probable that the delay until September in publishing the plate is evidence of the fact that all three plates were sent to England for the re-engraving.

transcript only, occasioned at least in part by the condition of the copy. The inscriptions in the lower part of the print also agree in every detail in all four copies, as far as the condition of the copies admits comparison.

1 Repeated in the issue of September 11, and in the Boston News-Letter of September 22, October 6, and November 3.

Views of Harvard to 1860 — Part II

The Prospect evidently did not sell any too rapidly for we find in the Boston News-Letter for 15 August 1746 the following advertisement:

A newly engraved draft of the River Canada; also a new map of the British Empire in North-America; also a new plan and prospect of the Town of Boston, and a Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge, with a great variety of maps and prints of all sorts in Frames or without, to be had of William Price, at the Picture-Shop in Cornhill, Boston.¹

Several copies of the Burgis-Price print are known; perhaps the best is the uncolored one in the L. N. Phelps Stokes Collection at the New York Public Library, in extraordinarily fine condition except that the lower margin has been replaced and the inscription (without the Price advertisement) added in pen and ink facsimile. There are copies at the Harvard College Library, Massachusetts Historical Society, Library of Congress, and British Museum, the first two in bad condition. The Stokes copy was acquired from William Loring Andrews who, in turn, discovered it between the leaves of a stout old russia-bound folio which contained a number of extra illustrations for the Memoirs of Thomas Hollis printed in 1780 — all of which he most entertainingly recounted in A Prospect of the Colledges in Cambridge in New England... Engraved by Wm. Burgis in 1726.

There have been comparatively few reproductions of the Burgis-Price print. Much the best is that issued as the frontispiece of the afore-mentioned book of William Loring Andrews (approximately 10.8 x 8.2 inches). There are small reproductions in Social Life in Old New England, by Mary C. Crawford (Boston, 1914); American Historical Prints, by L. N. Phelps Stokes (New York, 1932); Official Guide to Harvard University (1st and 2nd editions, 1898 and 1899); and perhaps elsewhere.

A small copper-plate engraving based on this Burgis-Price print, without the road and any of the figures, and without the historical description, appeared in the issue of the Columbian Magazine for December, 1788. This latter engraving served in turn as the base for a colored aquatint in the quarto edition (Milan, 1826) and a colored line engraving in the octavo edition (Florence, 1827) of Ferrario's

¹It might be noted that the issues of Bonner's 'New Plan of ye Great Town of Boston' of 1743, 1760, and 1769 each bore the long engraved imprint, previously indicated, in which the Prospect was advertised, but this naturally does not represent evidence that the latter was still available in 1760 or 1769.
Il costume antico e moderno, and for a lithograph in Peirce’s History of Harvard University (Cambridge, 1833). 1

A few words concerning William Price have already appeared in connection with the previously described Burgis View. As there noted, he seems to have been an eminent and respectable citizen, and when William Loring Andrews calls both him and Bakewell (the reissuer of Burgis’s South Prospect of New York) ‘neither more nor less than a couple of conscienceless picture pirates,’ 2 he is evidently, as so often, merely drawing on his imagination without basis in fact. There is nothing to indicate that Price was not the actual owner of the plate when the print was first issued in 1726. Even if not the owner then, there is nothing to indicate he was not the owner in 1743. And it should be noted that the original plate in no place bore any name either of delineator or engraver. Burgis’s name appeared only in the dedication, and it would seem entirely ethical for a new publisher to use his own name in such a spot.

The Burgis-Price View is shown in Plate VII, reproduced from the copy of the print preserved in the Library of Congress. It will be noted that in this copy the advertisement at the bottom of the print is very largely intact.

For references to this Burgis-Price View see those already given under the Burgis View.

4. Burgis-Price View of Boston 1743

(Plate VIII)

Inscription:

Cambridge Town & Colleges.

It has already been noted in connection with the original Burgis ‘Prospect of the Colledges’ that on 17 July 1725 Thomas Selby and William Price first offered for sale ‘A South East View of ye Great Town of Boston in New England in America,’ drawn by William Burgis, then residing in Boston, and engraved by John Harris of London. Subscriptions had first been solicited on 23 December 1723 after some two years had already been unsuccessfully spent in obtain-

1 Detailed accounts of these derived views will appear in proper chronological order later in this study.

2 A Prospect of the Colledges, p. 16.
Views of Harvard to 1860 – Part II

The South East View was dedicated by the publishers to Samuel Shute, Governor of Massachusetts at the time. It measures 50.15 x 21 inches. In the lower margin are fifty numbered references to various buildings and other features. The only known copy of this first state of the earliest and most important view of Boston is in the Stokes Collection at the New York Public Library.

A restrike of this early view was issued about 1736 with additions pasted on to bring it up to that date. The only known copy of this second state seems to be in the British Museum.

In neither of these two states is there any indication of Harvard College.

A third state of the view was issued by William Price in 1743, probably in September (see View No. 3 preceding). On this third state – which now has sixty references in the lower margin – appears near the upper right-hand corner a small view of the College buildings, with the Meetinghouse of the First Church and surrounding houses, bearing the caption, ‘Cambridge Town & Colleges.’ The buildings are cut on the original plate and are not in the form of separate engravings pasted on the original view. Copies of this third state are in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, Boston Public Library, Massachusetts Historical Society, Metropolitan Museum of Art (H. F. du Pont Collection), and Mr Henry L. Shattuck. A reproduction by lithography was made for E. Whitfield by A. Tompkins, 38 Cornhill, Boston, in 1848, from the copy now in the Boston Public Library. This lithograph in turn provided the basis for an Albertype reproduction made by the Forbes Company in 1886. A very much reduced heliotype, from the Antiquarian Society’s copy, appeared in Winsor’s Memorial History of Boston (Boston, 1881). Reproductions of this state also are to be found in the two books on Boston Common by Mary Farwell Ayer (Boston, 1903 and 1910).

The view of the College needs no special comment because it is merely a miniature of the original Burgis view, which was itself being re-issued by Price at this time, probably simultaneously with this South East View. This fact probably gave him the idea of putting the College into the large Boston view.

3 The presence of the College buildings on this third state was drawn to my attention by Mr Charles D. Childs.
The Meetinghouse — large enough to be seen in considerable detail — was the third occupied by the First Church, replacing in 1706 the one purportedly shown in the Franquelin view, and replaced in turn in 1756 by the more familiar one torn down in 1833. This is the only representation that exists of the 1706 building, which like its predecessors and successors bore such an important part in the life of the College. Facing the south, it stood on Watch House Hill just to the south of its successor and southwest of the present Lehman Hall.

The earlier house erected in 1650 had become so dilapidated that the inhabitants voted on 12 July 1703 to proceed to the erection of a new one and appointed Captain Andrew Belcher, Thomas-Brattle, John Leverett, Colonel Francis Foxcroft, Deacon Walter Hastings, Captain Thomas Oliver, and William Russell 'a committee to advise and consider the model and charge of building said meeting-house.'

On 6 December 1705 it was 'voted that the sum of two hundred and eighty pounds be levied on said inhabitants' for the purpose. On 28 September 1706 the Corporation voted that 'the Suit of Sixty pounds be Allowed out of the College Treasury towards the building a New Meeting house in Cambridge.' Again, on 6 August 1706, it was 'Voted that Mr. Leverett with the treasurer take care for the building of a Pew for the Presidents Family in the meeting House now a building, & about the Students Seats in Said meeting House. the Charge of the Pew to be Defrayed out of the College Treasury.' The house was duly raised and opened for worship on 13 October 1706.

In 1717 an upper gallery was installed, giving the building as seen in the view; the Corporation on 6 September 1717 voting that 'the College will be ready to allow out of the Treasury one Seventh part of the Charge of raising the Meeting house, and erecting an upper Tier of Galleries; Provided, The Frontier Gallery that Now is, with the two Wings, shall, as of right it ought to be, and as their necessity calls for it, be Surrendered to the Use of the Scholars, and So much room in the Side Gallery contiguous to the Front-Gallery aforesaid, as Shalbe equal to a Seventh part of the New Galleries with shalbe Erected, be declared and Entred in the Town Book of Records as the Right and pportionable part of the Meeting-house belonging to the College and

1For these votes see Paige, History of Cambridge, p. 286.
deliver'd to the Use of the 3d College, as there shall be Occasion therefor.

The 3d p't of the 3d Side-Gallery to be taken & Set off square from front to Rear. 7

The College again contributed one seventh of the cost of extensive repairs made to the Meetinghouse in 1746. Finally the house was torn down in 1756, to be replaced by the fourth Meetinghouse, which was raised on 17 November 1756 and to which the College also contributed a portion of the cost. This is described in the account of the Warren View (No. 7) following.

The third state of the Burgis-Price View of Boston as shown here-with in Plate VIII is reproduced from the Shattuck copy, through the courtesy of the owner.

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(in addition to those for View No. 2)

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(To be continued)
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