



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

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Views of Harvard to 1860

An Iconographic Study

PART I

IN this and succeeding numbers of the HARVARD LIBRARY BULLETIN will be found a description of all known views of Harvard which appeared before 1860. It is very probable, however, that there are in private hands originals or copies of paintings or drawings whose existence is still generally unknown. It is hoped that the present account may happily serve to bring some of these into general notice.

For the most part each view has been discussed separately, but certain ones will be found to have been grouped for clearer and easier treatment. Such is the case with the paintings of Jonathan Fisher and John Abbot; a group of small views used as letterheads; the vignettes appearing in Quincy's *History*; and a group of minor wood engravings. Others in a few instances are mentioned in connection with major views from which they have been copied or adapted. Students' mathematical theses preserved in the Harvard College Library which cover such subjects as Cambridge Common, Christ Church, and the First Parish Meetinghouse have in most instances been only mentioned. All these theses relating to actual college buildings have, however, been discussed in detail. Architectural plans and elevations have not been regarded as falling within the scope of the work, and consequently have not been accorded separate treatment, but most of these which have been seen are mentioned in connection with the appropriate views. Views derived from plans or elevations are, however, included on the same basis as other views. Photographic views of the University, any discussion of which would have to be handled in a fundamentally different manner from that used for prints and drawings, have likewise been omitted from consideration, although a number of these had appeared before 1860.

The use of 1860 as the terminal date for the work is not purely arbitrary. The last view to be included will be the Prang lithograph of 1858. With the exception of photographs and a very few wood

engravings it is not until the eighteen nineties that one again finds any new views of the college scene. Except for the few examples which appeared prior to the Civil War, 1860 also marks the practical beginning of photography as the medium for portraying the historical and factual aspect, just as it marks the end of the original drawing and print for this purpose. With the advent of photography the main *raison d'être* of the print ceased. Its place began more and more to be usurped by the photograph, until by the twentieth century it was being used exclusively for artistic and decorative purposes. The artist has been a frequent visitor to the Harvard Yard and its environs during recent decades but his work is for the art gallery and not for such a compilation as this.

The views of Harvard form the basis on which the work has been developed, but their technical description is only a part of the tale. As the architectural history of the University unfolds and as each of the buildings appears for the first time in one of the views the story of its construction and subsequent life will be very briefly related.

It should be noted that the measurements of all views have been given in inches and what would appear to be decimals. The figures to the right of the decimal point, however, represent sixteenths of an inch. Thus 9.7 inches is $9\frac{7}{16}$ inches.

Lists of references appended to the discussions of the views give bibliographical data for the major sources used. Immediately preceding these lists will be found information concerning the sources for the reproductions appearing in the plates. The reproductions have been made from originals, except in a few special cases.

It is expected that this work now to appear serially in the BULLETIN will be subsequently published in book form. At that time it will be a pleasure to give individual thanks to those who have helped in its preparation. For the present the compiler extends his appreciation to all who have made it possible.

The First Buildings

AFTER God had carried us safe to *New-England*, and wee had builded our houses, provided necessaries for our livelihood, rear'd convenient places for Gods worship, and settled the Civill Government: One of the next things we longed for, and looked after was to advance *Learning*, and perpetuate it to Posterity; dreading to leave an illiterate Ministry to the Churches, when our present Ministers shall lie in the Dust. And as wee were thinking and consulting how to effect this great Work; it pleased God to stir up the heart of one Mr. *Harvard* (a godly Gentleman and a lover of Learning, there living amongst us) to give the one halfe of his Estate (it being in all about 1700.l.) towards the erecting of a Colledge: and all his Library: after him another gave 300.l. others after them cast in more, and the publique hand of the State added the rest: the Colledge was, by common consent, appointed to be at *Cambridge*, (a place very pleasant and accomodate and is called (according to the name of the first founder) *Harvard Colledge*.)

‘The Edifice is very faire and comely within and without, having in it a spacious Hall; (where they daily meet at Commons, Lectures) Exercises, and a large Library with some Bookes to it, the gifts of diverse of our friends, their Chambers and studies also fitted for, and possessed by the Students, and all other roomes of Office necessary and convenient, with all needfull Offices thereto belonging: And by the side of the Colledge a faire *Grammar Schoole*, for the training up of young Schollars, and fitting of them for *Academicall Learning*, that still as they are judged ripe, they may be received into the Colledge of this Schoole.’¹

Here, in these impressive words from the opening paragraphs of the second part of *New Englands First Fruits*, is found the first description of the physical appearance of Harvard College with its single ‘faire and comely’ edifice. Many have been the additions to that lone building during the three centuries which have rolled by since that day. The following pages will attempt to describe those changes through the

¹ *New Englands First Fruits; in respect, First of the Conversion of some, Conviction of divers, Preparation of sundry of the Indians. 2. Of the progresse of Learning, in the Colledge at Cambridge in Massacusetts Bay . . .* (London, 1643), pp. 12–13.

medium of the views of the College and its buildings which have come down to us.

The next mention of the early College is by Captain Edward Johnson in *A History of New-England* or (as the page headings read) 'Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour, in New England':

'The scituation of this Colledg is very pleasant, at the end of a spacious plain, more like a bowling green, then a Wilderness, neer a fair navigable river, environed with many Neighbouring Towns of note, being so neer, that their houses joyn with her Suburbs, the building thought by some to be too gorgeous for a Wilderness, and yet too mean in others apprehensions for a Colledg, it is at present inlarging by purchase of the neighbour houses, it hath the conveniences of a fair Hall, comfortable Studies, and a good Library, given by the liberal hand of some Magistrates and Ministers, with others: The chief gift towards the founding of this Colledg, was by Mr. *John Harnes* [Harvard, ed.], a reverend Minister, the Country being very weak in their publike Treasury, expended about 500.l. towards it, and for the maintenance thereof, gave the yearly revenue of a Ferry passage between *Boston*, and *Charles Town*, the which amounts to about 40. or 50.l. *per annum*.'¹

It is quite possible that the college building which is seen in the minute perspective of Cambridge which appears on Franquelin's 'Carte de Baston' — the first of the following views — is a correct picture of this first Harvard College, but this is subject to some doubt; even if correct the picture is too small to give any satisfactory idea of the structure.

By carefully piecing together the various existing items concerning the building, Professor Samuel Eliot Morison, together with the late Harold R. Shurtleff of the Class of 1906 and other members of the architectural firm of Perry, Shaw and Hepburn, have produced a conjectural drawing of it which gives an idea of the type of building which was erected.²

It was situated at or near the present site of Grays Hall, facing south

¹ *A History of New-England. From the English planting in the Yeere 1628. untill the Yeere 1652 . . .* (London, 1654), pp. 164-165.

² Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College* (Cambridge, Mass., 1935), pp. 272-289; Albert Matthews, Introduction to 'Harvard College Records,' *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts*, XV (1925), lxxvii-lxxvi; Morison (*et al.*), 'A Conjectural Restoration of the "Old College" at Harvard,' *Old-Time New England*, XXIII (April 1933), 131-158.

toward the present Massachusetts Avenue. It must have been considerably smaller than the present Harvard Hall. It was a frame building of two stories and attic, probably with a gambrel roof and dormer windows, the roof covered with cedar shingles and the sides clapboarded. The back or north side was broken in the centre by a turret with a belfry carrying the College bell. The kitchen, buttery, pantry, corn room, and Senior Fellow's study were in the western end of the first floor. Covering the entire southeastern quarter of that floor was the 'spacious Hall' used for commons, recitations, and all general exercises, and in the northeastern corner were chambers and studies. The library, 'with some Bookes to it,' was located in the southeastern corner of the second floor, and west of it, along the southern front, was the Great Chamber, a large dormitory room accommodating some twelve or fifteen students. The rest of the floor was taken up with chambers and studies.

Construction on this first Harvard College was started late in the summer of 1638 under the direct charge of Nathaniel Eaton, appointed late in 1637 as first head of the new College. Eaton's short administration came to an untimely end in September 1639, when, 'being accused for cruell and barbaros beating of Mr Naza: Briscoe, and for other neglecting and misvseing of his schollers, it was ordered, that Mr Eaton should bee discharged from keeping of schoale with vs without licence; and Mr Eaton is fined to the countrey 66^l 13^s 4^d.' ¹ The building was then far from finished, and the College was without pupils for an entire year, but construction went forward under the supervision for two years of Samuel Shepard, the only member of the Overseers' building committee who was functioning. He employed John Friend of Ipswich as the master builder — probably because he had built the largest building hitherto erected in New England, the fort at Saybrook. Shepard having returned to England in the summer of 1641, the building was turned over to Henry Dunster, who had been elected President about a year earlier. The building committee 'also when they had finished the Hall (yet without skreen table form or bench) went for England leaving the work in the Carpenters and masons hands without Guide or further director, no floar besides in and aboue the hall layd, no inside separating wall made nor any one study erected throughout the house.

¹ *Records of the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, ed. N. B. Shurtleff (Boston, 1853-54), I, 275, as quoted by Morison, *Founding of Harvard College*, p. 235.

Thus fell the work upon mee, 3d October, 1641: which by the Lords assistance was so far furthered that the students dispersed in the town and miserably distracted in their times of concourse came into commons into one house September 1642.¹ So wrote Dunster in 1653. He might have added that the College's first commencement, on 23 September 1642, was held in the 'spacious Hall.' But it was not until 1644 or even later that the building was completely finished.

When it is realized that the lumber for the frame and other parts of the building was on the stump when the work started, it is not surprising that even as early as 1647 repairs were required which severely overtaxed the slender resources of the College treasury. From then on the fight to maintain the building was a losing one. In 1677 it became entirely uninhabitable, when part of it actually collapsed. The remainder followed, so that by 1679 it was probably in utter ruin. In 1695 Cotton Mather wrote that the Old College 'is now so mouldred away, that — *Jam Seges est ubi Troja fuit.*'²

Of another building used in the early decades of the College there is also no picture and practically no information. This was Goffe College. As stated in the afore-mentioned extract from Johnson's history written in 1651, the College 'is at present enlarging by purchase of the neighbour houses.' It was probably about that time that the homestead of Edward Goffe, adjoining the original College yard to the westward, became College property, a fortunate donation from Eleuthera in the Bahamas providing the necessary funds. Its location was discovered in 1909, when excavations were being made for the subway. It stood on the present Massachusetts Avenue somewhat south and west of Wadsworth House. It contained five chambers with eighteen studies, which were ready for occupancy in the summer of 1652. Although there is no reference to the building in the records subsequent to 1656, it is possible that it was in existence as late as 1671. It certainly was no longer in use by 1677.³

There is likewise no picture extant of the third College building, the

¹ Memorandum of December, 1653, in Dunster MSS, Harvard University Archives, printed in Morison, *Founding of Harvard College*, p. 448.

² *Magnalia Christi Americana* (London, 1702), Bk. IV ('An Account of the University'), p. 129.

³ Albert Matthews, *Pub. Col. Soc. Mass.*, XV, lxxvii-lxxxii; Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.), I, 43-45. For markers indicating the site of Goffe College see below, p. 20, n. 2.

Indian College.¹ The education of the native American had from the earliest days of exploration and colonization been something ardently desired by Englishmen of all classes. In 1649 'The President and Society for Propagation of the Gospel in New England' was incorporated to carry on this work. As a result of Dunster's suggestion that some of their bounty might be given to Harvard for the desired ends, the trustees of the Society in the fall of 1653 instructed the Commissioners in Massachusetts to 'order the building of one Intyre Rome att the Colledge for the Conveniencye of six hopfull Indians youthes to be trained vp there . . . which Rome may be two storyes high and built plaine but strong and durable.'² The commissioners duly authorized such a building at a cost not exceeding £120 and work was started. A year later, Dunster having proposed some changes, the Commissioners were authorized by the Trustees 'to giue order for the finishing of the building att the Colledge and to alter the forme agreed upon att the last meeting att Boston as is desired by the p^rscdent of the Colledge, provided it exceed not thirty foot in length and twenty in breadth.'³ The building is not mentioned in the College inventory of December, 1654, and probably was not finished until 1656. In 1665 it is described as 'a brick pile of two bayes, for the Indians, where the Comissioners saw but one. They said they had three or four more at schole.'⁴ Again in 1674 Daniel Gookin wrote as follows about it: 'It is a structure strong and substantial, though not very capacious. It cost between three or four hundred pounds. It is large enough to receive and accommodate about twenty scholars with convenient lodgings and studies; but not hitherto hath been much improved for the ends intended, by reason of the death and failing of Indian scholars. It hath hitherto been principally improved for to accommodate English scholars, and for placing and using a printing press belonging to the college.'⁵

Based on the meagre information available and a comparison with

¹ Matthews, *Pub. Col. Soc. Mass.*, XV, lxxxii-lxxxv; Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, I, 340-360.

² *Records of the Colony of New Plymouth in New England*, ed. N. B. Shurtleff and D. Pulsifer (Boston, 1853-61), X, 107, as quoted by Matthews, *Pub. Col. Soc. Mass.*, XV, lxxxii.

³ *Ibid.*, X, 128, as quoted by Matthews, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, I, 343, n. 3.

⁵ 'Historical Collections of the Indians in New England,' *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 1st series, I (1792), 176, as quoted by Matthews, *Pub. Col. Soc. Mass.*, XV, lxxxiii.

other New England brick buildings of the period, Mr Shurtleff made conjectural reconstructed plans and an elevation of the building for Professor Morison's *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*.¹

Although the exact site of the Indian College is unknown, it must have been on the Goffe lot north of Goffe College and west of the Old College, touching and at right angles to the present site of Matthews Hall.

As Gookin points out, the Indian College 'not hitherto hath been much improved for the ends intended.' In fact this noble experiment of the Society for Propagation of the Gospel seems to have resulted in the matriculation of only four Indian youths and the graduation of one — Caleb Cheeshahteumauk, made famous with much poetic license ever since. The building had hardly been finished when Chauncy was allowed to use it to accommodate English students in 1656.

In 1638 the Reverend Jose Glover, a very wealthy non-conformist clergyman, emigrated from England with his family, much personal property, and a printing press with the necessary paper, type, and supplies. Although Glover died on the trip, his wife promptly set up the press in Cambridge — the first to be established in this country. President Dunster married the widow in 1641 and thus fell actual if not legal heir to it when she died a few years later. He, in turn, sold or gave it to the College some time before his resignation. In due course the press was moved into the president's new house in 1646. But 'its Continuance in the Presidents house being (besides other Inconveniences) dangerous and hurtfull to the edifice thereof'² it was decided to move the press, and in the College inventory of 10 December 1654 is listed 'One small house unfinished, intended for a printing house.'³ This was still unfinished the next May, but shortly thereafter the press must have been transferred to it; the press installed in the Indian College as mentioned above by Gookin and others was probably the new press and equipment which arrived in 1659 for Eliot's Indian Bible.

As with so many of the very early Harvard buildings, the Indian College was not built to stand up well under the rigors of the New England climate. On 6 November 1693 the Corporation voted: 'That y^e Indian Colledge be taken down, provided the Charges of taking it

¹ I, 344.

² 'Briefe Information' of 9 May 1655, in Massachusetts Archives, lviii, 32, as quoted by Morison, *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, II, 577.

³ 'Harvard College Records,' *Pub. Col. Soc. Mass.*, XV, 208.

down amount not to more then five pounds.’¹ There being no takers, the College asked the Society in London for permission to use the bricks. On 19 September 1695 the Commissioners of the Society voted: ‘Whereas the President & Fellows of y^e Colledge Jn Cambridge have Proposed & Desired that y^e Bricks belonging to y^e Indian Colledge w^{ch} is gone to decay & become altogether Uselesse may be Removed & Used for an Additional Building to Harvard Colledge, We do Hereby signifye to y^e Corporation our Consent to their Proposall; Provided that in case any Indians should hereafter be sent to y^e Colledge, they should enjoy their Studies rent free in said building.’² On 7 April 1698, the Corporation ordered ‘that the Bricks of y^e old Indian Colledg be sold to M^r Willis, he allowing for them 20^{li}.’³ The end of the building and of Harvard’s unnatural attempt to imbue the Indian with the delights of the mind is recorded in Samuel Sewall’s diary: ‘In the beginning of this Moneth of May, the old Brick Colledge, comonly called the *Indian* Colledge, is pull’d down to the ground.’⁴ And in a letter to his father dated 16 May 1698 he wrote: ‘The Brick Colledge is taken down y^t wch used to be call’d ye Indian Colledge. I dwell’d at first in Harvard Colledge, and afterwards in that: And before, frequently Recited there in ye chamber of Mr. Joseph Brown my Tutor. Many of ye places y^t formerly knew us, are so far from knowing us any more; that they know not y^t selves. Mr. Stoughton is building a very fair Brick Colledge of Ninety-Seven foot long.’⁶

In addition to the College buildings, just described, whose appearance can now be only conjectured, there were three separate houses for the College presidents prior to the date of our earliest view in 1726.

The first President’s House and the earliest building possessed by the College was the Peyntree house.⁶ William Peyntree’s property — the beginning of the present College Yard — was probably acquired by the Overseers before 3 May 1638. Here, after the necessary repairs had been made, Nathaniel Eaton lived and conducted the opening sessions

¹ *Ibid.*, 346.

² *Ibid.*, 352.

³ *Ibid.*, 358.

⁴ ‘Diary . . . 1674-1729,’ *Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, 5th series, V (1878), 480, as quoted in Matthews, *Pub. Col. Soc. Mass.*, XV, lxxxiv.

⁵ Quoted in sale catalogue no. 307 of Goodspeed’s Book Shop, item no. 25, January, 1939.

⁶ Matthews, *Pub. Col. Soc. Mass.*, XV, civ; Morison, *Founding of Harvard College*, p. 204.

of College until his dismissal on 9 September 1639. During the following academic year it was unoccupied; thereafter Dunster occupied it for a short period until his marriage to Mrs Glover on 22 June 1641, when he moved into her house on the present site of the Pi Eta Club.

She lived but a short time and in 1644 Dunster took a second wife; thereupon the General Court was induced to vote £150 for a new President's House: 'That Mr Dunster, p̄sident of the col[lodge] at Cambridge, shall have 150^l assigned unto him, to be gathered by y^e Treasurer for y^e colledge out of y^e mony due for y^e children sent out of England, to be expended for a house to be built for y^e said p̄sident, in p̄t of y^e 400^l p̄mised unto him for his use, to belong to y^e colledge.'¹ Since the site of this new house was on or very near the site of the original Peyntree house, the latter must have been no longer in existence by this time. Their location was to the east of Goffe College along the line of the then road, south of the original Harvard College building. In January 1910, during the same subway excavations in Massachusetts Avenue which had revealed traces of Goffe College a few weeks earlier, the foundation walls of either the Peyntree house or the Dunster house were uncovered in the street in front of Wadsworth House. In this second President's House dwelled Dunster, Chauncy, and Hoar.²

These early buildings — the Old College, Indian College, Goffe College and the President's House — formed a compact unit around the College Yard, a small area set over against the present Holyoke House on Massachusetts Avenue. There seems to be little which can be said in commendation of Nathaniel Eaton, the first College head, but at least alumni can always be grateful that it was he who introduced this word 'Yard.' A conjectural bird's-eye view of Cambridge and this early Yard, drawn by Mr Shurtleff for the frontispiece of the first volume of *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, is here reproduced (Plate I).

This view is drawn as of 1668 looking toward the southwest. In the foreground is the Old College; to its right the Indian College; and further to the right the original brewhouse. On the road in front of the former is the President's Lodging on the site of the original Peyntree

¹ *Mass. Bay Recs.*, II, 84, as quoted by Matthews, *Pub. Col. Soc. Mass.*, XV, cv.

² Matthews, *Pub. Col. Soc. Mass.*, XV, lxxix, lxxxii, civ-cvi; Morison, *Founding of Harvard College*, p. 343. The southern corners of Goffe College and the Peyntree or Dunster House are now marked by bricks set in the pavement. In addition, a tablet set in one of the pillars of the Class of 1857 Gate indicates their site.



PLATE I

CONJECTURAL VIEW OF HARVARD COLLEGE AND CAMBRIDGE IN 1668

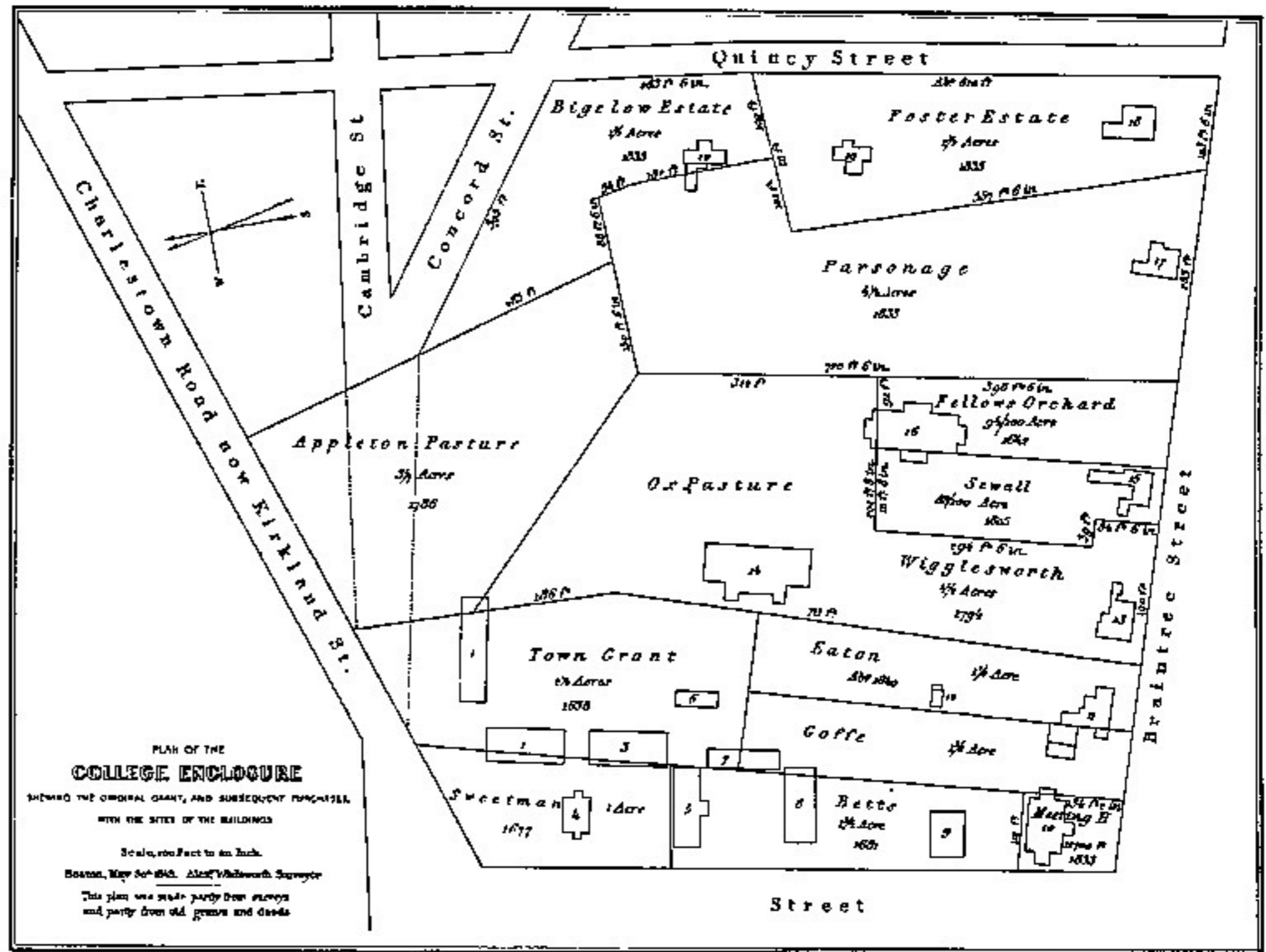
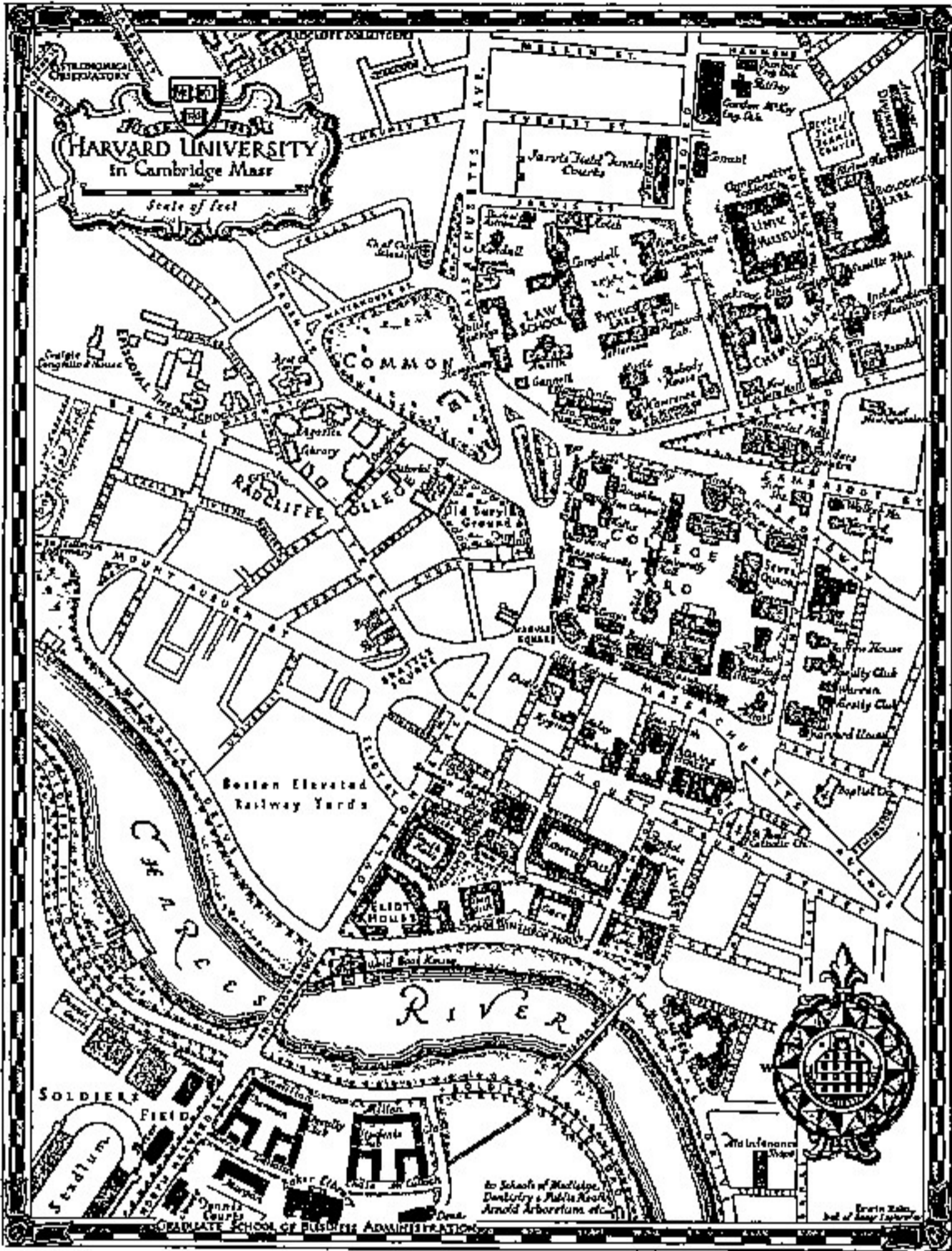


PLATE II
PLAN OF HARVARD COLLEGE YARD IN 1848



Copyright 1942 by the President and Fellows of Harvard College

PLATE III

PLAN OF HARVARD UNIVERSITY IN CAMBRIDGE, 1942



PLATE IV

CARTE DE LA VILLE, BAYE, ET ENVIRONS DE BASTON, 1693, BY FRANQUELIN



PLATE V

ENLARGED SECTION OF FRANQUELIN'S 'CARTE DE BASTON,' SHOWING THE VIEW OF CAMBRIDGE

House; and next to it in front of the Indian College is Goffe College. To the latter's right is the Cambridge Parish's second meetinghouse, close to the site of the present subway entrance in Harvard Square. To the left of the President's Lodging outside the Yard fence is the Hooker-Shepard-Mitchell house. This property was acquired by John Leverett in 1696, a new Parsonage having been built in 1670 to the east of the Bradish and Fellows' Orchards seen on the extreme left.¹

In order to compare these early college grounds with the later Yard, as well as to show the growth of this Yard from its earliest days, there is also reproduced (Plate II) a 'Plan of the College Enclosure Shewing the Original Grant, and Subsequent Purchases, with the Sites of the Buildings.'² Several corrections and additions should be noted. The Eaton — or original Peyntree — lot (the beginning of the Yard) was acquired by the College in 1637 or early in 1638 and not 'abt 1640'; the Goffe property was acquired in 1651; the Sweetman in 1697 and not in 1677; and the Fellows' Orchard in 1645 and 1649 and not in 1642. This plan gives the owners of the various properties at the time they were acquired by the College. Many of these were collected holdings, the names of the original owners of which may be found in the references just cited. As has already been noted, the Peyntree and Goffe houses were located to the south of the southern boundaries of the lots as here shown — that is, near the middle of the present Massachusetts Avenue. Braintree Street later became Harvard Street and then Massachusetts Avenue. Concord Street is now Broadway.

The buildings as numbered on the plan are as follows: 1. Holworthy Hall. 2. Stoughton Hall. 3. Hollis Hall. 4. Holden Chapel. 5. Harvard Hall, erected on the site of the second Harvard College (or first Harvard Hall). 6. The Brew house. 7. The first Stoughton Hall. 8. Massachusetts Hall. 9. Dane College. 10. Meetinghouse of the First Parish, erected just to the north of the site of the second and third houses.

¹ For more detailed information concerning the geography of Cambridge and the College during early days see *Founding of Harvard College*, map of Cambridge around 1638, with accompanying key, at p. 192; *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century*, I, inserted notes accompanying the frontispiece; *Harvard Alumni Bulletin* for 21 March 1942, with copy of letter from Mr Shurtleff to President Conant about the view.

² From Samuel A. Eliot, *A Sketch of the History of Harvard College* (Boston, 1848), p. 190 (with three pages of explanatory text).

Also see Lucius R. Paige, *History of Cambridge* (Boston, 1877), p. 212, for an extremely sketchy map of Cambridge about 1750, the original of which, according to William C. Lane, is owned by the Essex Institute.

11. Wadsworth House. 12. Indian College, which should probably be shown in the Goffe lot to the west of this site. 13. Wigglesworth House. 14. University Hall. 15. Sewall House. 16. Gore Hall. 17. The Parsonage. 18. Dana House, occupied at this time by Professor Felton. 19. Professor Walker's house, built by the College in 1844. 20. Professor Peirce's house, built by the College in 1844.

Finally, in order that these earlier Yards may be compared with the present scene, a reproduction of a current map is also given (Plate III).¹

The Burgis and following views hereafter described take up this story of Harvard's physical changes in some detail. With the passing of the Old College from wear, tear, and weather and the erection of the second Harvard College, the first building of which we have an authentic picture, the orientation of the College was completely changed to look out over the Common in the direction of the present First Church.

¹ Drawn by Dr Erwin Raisz of the Institute of Geographical Exploration, 1942, and printed in the current *Harvard University Catalogue*.

I. Franquelin View 1693

(Plates IV and V)

IN the archives of the Ministère de la Marine of the French Government is a water-color map inscribed 'Carte de la Ville, Baye, et Environs de Baston . . . Par Iean Baptiste Louis Franquelin hydrog. du Roy 1693. Verifiée par le S^r de la Motte.' Its size is 83 x 60 cms. On this map appears a view of Cambridge in the form of a minute perspective labeled 'Cambridge, Bourgade de 80 Maisons. Cest une universite.' Among the massed buildings may be clearly made out a college structure, even in some detail, while off to the side appears what must be the Meetinghouse — the second occupied by the First Church, from 1650 to 1706.

This 'Carte de Baston'¹ was reproduced in heliotype in a reduced size, measuring about 35 x 25 cms., as Plate no. 22 in Gabriel Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes & de globes relatifs à la découverte de l'Amérique du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, 1893. A tracing of the original map was made in 1879 for the Boston Public Library, which reproduced it in heliotype. From it a section was reproduced for Professor Morison's *Harvard College in the Seventeenth Century* and for *Harvard et la France* (1936).

The miniature drawing on this map is the earliest existing view of Cambridge and of any of the College buildings; but it can hardly be a factual representation of the town, for the site of the Meetinghouse and other buildings does not accord with the known facts; it is probably merely a sketch to indicate the town's existence and general location. Although the College building is given in enough detail to show that it could not have been the second Harvard College, begun in 1674 and the only building standing between 1679 and 1698 except the Indian College, the suggestion is brought forward that, even if the drawing is unreliable as a view of Cambridge, it may correctly depict the College and the Meetinghouse as of some earlier date.

Jean Baptiste Louis Franquelin, born about 1652 at St Michel de

¹ The spelling 'Baston' suggests a more ancient and respectable lineage for a well-known pronunciation than might be suspected in certain quarters now ancient and respectable themselves. It is said that the spelling persists in Canada, the pronunciation (in spite of all) in 'Boston.'

Villebervy, Côte d'Or, France, first came out to Canada with Frontenac in 1672 as a young engineer and cartographer. Maps of his dated 1684 and 1688 carry the statements that they embody the observations of 'douze années' and 'plus de 16 années' respectively. In 1678 his name is first found as cartographer on a map serving to clarify the land holdings of New France. In the census of 1681 he is listed as a bachelor of thirty years, but in 1683 he married the widow of Bertrand Chesney.

During the eighties he made a number of plans and maps of which the most important was 'Carte de la Louisiane, ou des voyages du Sicur de la Salle et des pays qu'il a découverts depuis la Nouvelle-France jusqu'au Golfe de Mexique, les années 1679-80-81-82,' Paris, 1684. Francis Parkman called this great work the most remarkable of all the early maps of the interior of North America. It measures 6 ft. x 4½ ft.

In 1683 La Barre, Frontenac's successor, wrote home that Franquelin 'is as skilful as any in France, but extremely poor and in need of a little aid from his Majesty as an Engineer: he is at work on a very correct map of the country [probably that above mentioned] which I shall send you next year in his name; meanwhile, I shall support him with some small assistance.'¹ In 1686 Denonville, as governor, expressed a similar opinion; and as a result Franquelin was named royal hydrographer the next year with a salary of 4,000 livres. He was evidently back in France in 1688 and 1689, when he submitted to the government two very well drawn-up *Mémoires*. He is found returning to Canada, again under appointment as royal hydrographer, in the latter year, when Frontenac was named as governor for a second time.

Frontenac sent him back to France in 1692, after Sir William Phips's demonstration against Quebec, to report on the plans Franquelin had made of Manhattan and Orange in New York — and perhaps even then to discuss plans for a retaliatory attack on Boston. He remained there with his family the following year, during which the 'Carte de Baston' was drawn as well as the 'Carte de la Coste de la Nouvelle Angleterre depuis le Cap Anne jusqu'à la Pointe Nevresing, où est compris le Chemin par Terre et par Mer de Baston à Manathes.' Although he was back in Canada in 1694, he left for home again the following year, never to return. He was succeeded as hydrographer by the famous explorer, Louis Joliet. On his death — in 1697 according to one author-

¹ *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York* (Albany, 1853-87), XI, 205, as quoted by Parkman, *La Salle*, pp. 455-456.

ity but in 1718 as given by another — Franquelin left some twenty maps or plans.

It seems clear that Franquelin himself never saw Boston nor indeed any of the areas and sections which he mapped. In drawing them all he relied on the notes, sketches, and reports of the various French explorers, emissaries, and visitors. His map of Boston was one of a number drawn at the time to aid in the projected attack of the French in retaliation for Sir William Phips's campaign of 1690. The French knowledge of Boston was extensive. Parkman notes that the place had been carefully examined by Meneval, Chevalier d'Aux, and Lamothe-Cadillac. The first-named, governor of Port Royal, had been captured by Phips in his attack on that place in 1690 and taken a prisoner to Boston, to be lodged under guard in the house of John Nelson. He was finally released, and covertly left for France early in 1691. Although Franquelin may well have received data from him, it is clear that he hardly had a sufficient run of the countryside to obtain much information, at least about Cambridge. Franquelin may also have used material furnished by Lamothe-Cadillac as to the harbor and coastal waters. The latter was employed in the royal service as a coastal pilot and was considered an authority on the New England coast, although he was always unreliable. But it seems highly probable that much of Franquelin's information for this map came from a Frenchman in Quebec who, although he died in 1681, in his day had greater first-hand knowledge of the area than any of his countrymen — Father Gabriel Druilletes.

This Jesuit had been the missionary to the Abenakis in 1646 and even at that time had evidently been ordered to do some reconnoitering, for he visited the English settlements along the Kennebec and adjacent coastal waters, being well received by Winslow and others. In 1650 and again in 1651 he was sent to the New England governments as an envoy charged with the negotiation of a treaty — practically the first occasion on which a Canadian Jesuit had appeared in a political character. His purpose was to organize a joint alliance against the Iroquois, but the New Englanders refused to join such a movement. In the course of his mission, however, he visited Boston, Roxbury, Plymouth, and Salem on his first trip, and New Haven and Boston on his second. At Boston he was the guest of the noted Edward Gibbons. Although he evidently does not mention Cambridge he probably visited it, in view of its proximity. In the journal and report of his first mission he gives much military information about his trip.

Franquelin and Druilletes were both living in the small town of Quebec during the years 1678-1681. Under the circumstances it is reasonable to assume that the cartographer would have acquired many facts about the Boston area from the Jesuit who was their sole Canadian possessor.

It is submitted that the miniature view of Cambridge on Franquelin's 'Carte' was drawn from sketches or at least information furnished by Father Druilletes, and, although presenting a mere conventional representation of the town as a whole, gives an actual depiction, in miniature, of the town's two important buildings — the first Harvard College with its wings and the second meetinghouse of the First Church (just erected in 1650) with its belfry.¹

There is more than conjecture to support this theory. As already noted, the minute perspective of Cambridge on Franquelin's map is labeled 'Cambridge, Bourgade de 80 maisons.' Now in a return made to the Massachusetts General Court as of March, 1647, the number of houses in the town is given as 90. In a similar return made in 1680 the number of families 'according to our nearest computation' is 121; and in 1688 the number of estates was listed as 150.² Although the '90 houses' of 1647 does not correspond exactly to the '80 maisons' given on the map, it is certainly near enough to indicate that the information on the map applies to the middle of the century and not to the end. The information, therefore, may well have come from Druilletes, who was the only person in Canada likely to have had it, and if so it would have been as of 1650 or 1651, when he was in the neighborhood.

The original Old College has already been described in the preceding pages. The Meetinghouse was the second building used by the First Church. The first had been located on the southwest corner of the present Mt Auburn and Dunster Streets, erected in 1632 by the Hooker group and taken over in 1636 by Thomas Shepard and his congregation after the former had migrated to Connecticut. The first building had become in need of repairs by 1650 and had also become too small. It was at first proposed to repair it 'with a four-square roof and covered with shingle' but on 11 March 1649/50 at a general town meeting it was voted 'that the five men [Edward Goffe, Thomas Marrett, John Stedman, Robert Holmes, and Thomas Danforth] chosen by the town

¹ I am indebted to my friend and neighbor, Hugh Mason Wade, of Cornish, New Hampshire, for help and suggestions about Franquelin.

² Cf. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, pp. 280, 439-444.

to repair the meeting-house shall desist from the same, and agree with workmen for the building of a new house, about forty foot square and covered as was formerly agreed for the other, and levy a charge of their engagements upon the inhabitants of the town. It was also then voted and generally agreed that the new meeting-house shall stand on the watch-house hill.'¹ This was the slight eminence situated southwest of the present Lehman Hall. By 13 January 1650/51 the house had already been erected.

With this building the College began the practice of standing part of the cost of the Meetinghouse, thereby retaining a property right in it. In the College inventory of 10 December 1654 is the item: 'The East Gallery in Cambr. meeting house for the use of the Students vallued at 30^{li}.'² In this first instance the cost of £30 was raised by a forced loan of 15s. on each student, 12s. of which was returned when the student graduated. Under the Laws of 1655 each student paid a fee of 3s. 4d. for the use of the Gallery during his college course. On 24 December 1691 the Corporation voted that £5 be allowed toward repairing the building, such action under no circumstances, however, to be considered a precedent for the future.

From the earliest days of the College until the erection of University Hall the Meetinghouse of the First Church was in effect an integral part of its establishment. Although students in a body attended morning and evening prayers in their 'spacious Hall,' Sunday services were always held in the Meetinghouse. The original college laws provided that, 'In the publike Church assembly they shall carefully shunne all gestures that shew any contempt or neglect of Gods ordinances and bee ready to give an account to their tutours of their profiting and to use y^e helpes of Storing themselves with knowledge, as their tutours shall direct them. & all Sophisters & Bachellors (until themselves make common place shall publiquely repeate Sermons in y^e Hall whenever they are called forth.'³ While the Old College was still in use Commencement exercises were held in the College Hall, but beginning about 1687 for almost two centuries they were celebrated in the Meetinghouse of the First Church.

This Meetinghouse seen in the Franquelin View stood until 1706, when it was replaced by the Church's third building, erected on the same site and described in View No. 4 following.

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

² 'Harvard College Records,' *Pub. Col. Soc. Mass.*, XV, 209.

³ *Ibid.*, 25.

Plate IV, showing the entire map of Franquelin, is reproduced directly from the original through the courtesy of the Service Hydrographique de la Marine, Ministère des Armées, of the French Government. The enlargement of the portion of the map containing Cambridge, Plate V, is taken from the heliotype reproduction in Gabriel Marcel, *Reproductions de cartes & de globes relatifs à la découverte de l'Amérique du XVI^e au XVIII^e siècle* (Library of Congress copy).

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(To be continued)

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