

CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT FOR LONGFELLOW NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

Volume 1: Site History and Existing Conditions



Cultural Landscape Program

Division of Cultural Resources Management

North Atlantic Region

National Park Service

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CULTURAL LANDSCAPE REPORT FOR LONGFELLOW NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

Volume 1: Site History and Existing Conditions

by

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FOREWORD

In 1844 Henry Longfellow described the grounds of his home on Brattle Street in a letter to his father:

I have also planted some acorns and the oaks grow for a thousand years, you may well imagine a whole line of little Longfellows, like the shadowy monarchs of Macbeth, walking under their branches for countless generations, "to the crack of doom" all blessing the men who planted the oaks.

The line of "little Longfellows" has long since disappeared; in their place successive (if not yet countless) generations of visitors from near and distant places walk under the branches of Longfellow's oaks, elms, and lindens.

When the ownership of Longfellow House passed to the National Park Service in the midtwentieth century, so did the responsibility for stewardship of its landscape. In defining *stewardship*, Webster's Dictionary refers to the word *obligation*. And it is with nothing less than a deeply felt sense of obligation that we carry on the tradition of Longfellow family stewardship that has now been carefully documented in this Cultural Landscape Report.

I would like to recognize and thank the Cultural Landscape Program of the National Park Service's North Atlantic Region for funding and writing the *Cultural Landscape Report for Longfellow National Historic Site*. We are particularly grateful to the author, Catherine Evans, whose thorough research and thoughtful writing are a reflection of her commitment to the subject and the integrity of her work. Cultural landscape reports such as this are absolutely essential if we are to manage our historic landscapes confidently and professionally. Responsible stewardship depends on knowledge, without which management no matter how well intended, may eventually destroy more than it preserves.

Visitors come to the Longfellow National Historic Site seeking out the poet's spirit in different ways; some read or listen to his letters and verse, others look at his cherished objects of art or his vast and wonderful library, still others walk in the shade of his garden "blessing the men who planted the oaks."

Rolf Diamant Superintendent Longfellow National Historic Site

PREFACE

The Cultural Landscape Report for Longfellow National Historic Site is the second publication in our Cultural Landscape Publication Series. This series includes a variety of publications designed to provide information and guidance on cultural landscapes to managers and other preservation professionals. In this document, Volume 1: Site History and Existing Conditions, Catherine Evans used rigorous historical research and field analysis to reconstruct a detailed evolution of the landscape. Volume 2: Site Analysis will establish the historic context and evaluate the landscape's significance and integrity. Finally, a Treatment Plan will develop site-specific management goals. These four major sections of a Cultural Landscape Report—site history, existing conditions, analysis, and treatment plan—are precursors to initiating treatment. Although this four-phase methodology is transferable to all types of landscapes, each landscape's unique history requires examination to develop site-specific preservation goals.

Catherine Evans has produced a thorough and well-written report which provides a solid foundation for the preservation of this landscape. Park staff have, from the beginning of this project, made substantial contributions and provided unwaivering support. Collaboration with park staff will continue to be critical to the ultimate success of this preservation effort.

Nora Mitchell Manager Cultural Landscape Program and Series Editor Cultural Landscape Publication Series North Atlantic Region National Park Service Boston, Massachusetts

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The Longfellow National Historic Site on what is now Brattle Street in Cambridge, Massachusetts, was recognized as a significant historic site long before the National Park Service acquired it in 1973. The large and elegant house is an outstanding example of mid-Georgian architecture, and has attracted illustrious inhabitants since it was built by John Vassall in 1759. The best known residents are Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, for whom the National Park Site is named, and General George Washington, who spent nine months in the house during the American Revolution. Longfellow and Washington are both national heroes, and the house, by association, has become known and treasured as the site of their respective achievements. In addition, John Vassall and Andrew Craigie, among the largest landowners in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Cambridge, invested much of their wealth in their property. Many of Vassall's and Craigie's improvements to the property are reflected in its present appearance.

The histories of these four families are inseparable from the history of the house and its grounds. In the early eighteenth century, the Road to Watertown, now Brattle Street, was composed of many small properties whose owners relied on agriculture and local trade. John Vassall, a wealthy gentleman, consolidated seven of these properties to create a 97-acre estate. The prominence of the house reflected Vassall's social and economic prestige; it was capacious, decorated with elaborate architectural details, and elevated for views, ventilation, and drainage by two man-made terraces. On the Road to Watertown there were seven estates on the eve of the Revolution, but when Vassall built his house in 1759 there were only three other houses. Vassall set a high standard and three more fine houses were built in the 1760s. All of these mansions overlooked the Charles River, and all were outfitted with barns, pasture, meadow, and orchards, as well as formal gardens. John Vassall's wealth, Anglican beliefs, and political affiliations with England earned him social status in colonial New England, but eventually mandated his evacuation from Cambridge to England in 1774.

The size and location of the house appealed to General George Washington, and it served as his headquarters in 1775–76. In the wake of the Revolution, the property was declared abandoned and subsequently passed through several hands.

The style and prestige of the house attracted Andrew Craigie to the mansion in the 1790s. A shrewd real estate speculator, Craigie transformed the Vassall property into a showy, picturesque, 140-acre estate by enlarging the house and embellishing the grounds with gardens, structures, and ponds. The Craigie expenditures were so lavish that the property was known as "Castle Craigie." The house was also the source of the demise of Craigie's fortune, and he died heavily in debt.

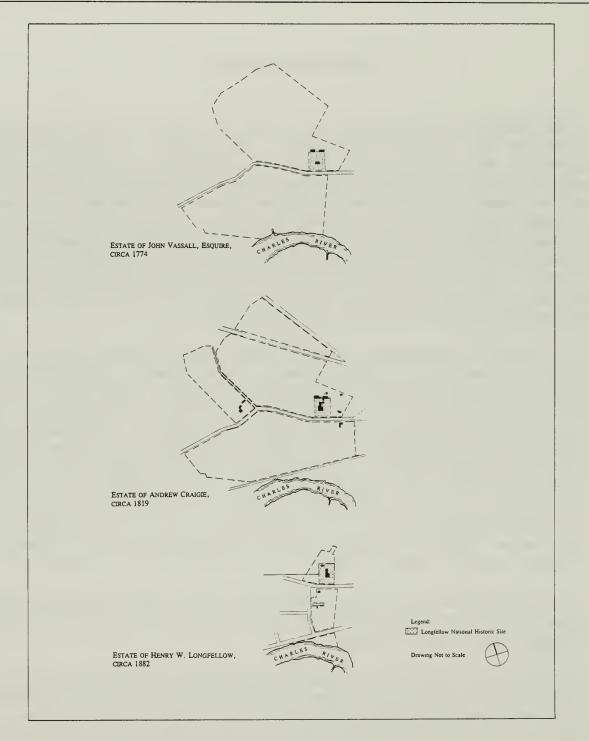


Figure 1. Plan of Vassall-Craigie-Longfellow estates.

Subdivision of the estate began after Craigie's death in 1819, and accelerated after his wife's death in 1841. Henry W. Longfellow first resided in the house in 1837, as one of Mrs. Craigie's boarders. In 1843, Longfellow married Frances Appleton, who received the house and five acres of land as a wedding gift from her father. Fanny's father also purchased four acres of meadow on the south side of the street for the couple. Fascinated with the historical associations of the house and delighted with its setting so near the Charles River, the Longfellows adopted a conservative attitude towards their property, making only a few changes. The history and location of the house became the inspirational settings for Henry W. Longfellow's life and work, and his family paid homage to the Craigies by referring to their home as "Craigie House" well into the twentieth century.

Longfellow's residence in the house coincided with an era of change in the character of Cambridge. Meadows, fields, and views of the river and hills disappeared as many of the eighteenthcentury estates were subdivided in the mid- and late 1800s. This transformation from a rural to suburban neighborhood heightened Longfellow's appreciation of the historic significance of his home. His awareness of the inseparable association between the history of the house and its surroundings fueled his efforts to conserve significant elements of this association. Although Longfellow installed a new flower garden, laid out new paths, and planted many trees, his efforts focused on extant historic features, primarily the house, the historical link between the house and the Charles River, and the forecourt of elm trees. Implicit in these efforts is Longfellow's identification of these features as those that, in his words, "signified" the property, or that were integral to its identity. In fact, Longfellow valued the view of the river so much that he purchased land between the house and river in an attempt to preserve the historic and physical link between them.

Conscientious preservation of the property at 105 Brattle Street began with Henry W. Longfellow's residency in the house, and thus predates National Park Service management by 136 years. Preservation continued after Longfellow's death as his children paid homage to their father through their stewardship of the property. Their first effort was to encourage the establishment of the Longfellow Memorial Association and the subsequent creation of Longfellow Park. The Longfellow Memorial Association assumed the task of transforming a parcel of land opposite the house into a park commemorating the poet and maintaining the house's connection to the river.

The heirs' second effort centered around the preservation of the house and its immediate surroundings. In 1888, the heirs partitioned the Longfellow estate, and thereby delineated the 1.98 acres that constitute the Longfellow National Historic Site. Alice Longfellow was the only child who did not build a house for herself on the original Henry W. Longfellow estate. Instead, she resided in her father's house until her death in 1928.

An Indenture of Trust in 1913 set forth conditions for Alice Longfellow and subsequent heirs to reside in the house. More importantly, the Indenture created the Longfellow House Trust, transferring the responsibility of preserving the house to an institution. The Indenture named trustees, described their responsibilities, and specified conditions under which they could transfer the property from the family to a corporation. It is this section of the deed that articulates the Longfellow family's intention of preserving the property for educational and inspirational purposes:

To be held, preserved, maintained and managed for the benefit of the public as a specimen of the best Colonial architecture of the middle of the eighteenth century, as an historical monument of the occupation of the house by General Washington during the siege of Boston in the Revolutionary War, and as a memorial to Henry W. Longfellow.¹

The terms put forth in this document also demonstrate that Longfellow's heirs were aware of and sensitive to the complete history of the house, not only its association with Longfellow.²

Although the Longfellow House Trust assumed responsibility for financial and legal issues pertaining to the property, Alice Longfellow, the poet's oldest child, was responsible for basic maintenance of the house and grounds during her tenure there. Like her parents, Alice made only necessary changes. Plumbing and electricity were installed in the interest of comfort, and the barn was altered to accommodate automobiles. Alice also made changes in the flower garden, which she considered appropriate to the character of the property. After Alice's death, the property was managed solely by the Longfellow House Trust.

Henry (Harry) Wadsworth Longfellow Dana (1880–1950), a grandson of Henry W. Longfellow, was the family member most interested in the house, its possessions, and its preservation as a memorial to his grandfather. He demonstrated concern for the house even before taking up residence at 105 Brattle Street in 1917. Worried that the provisions of the original Indenture of Trust could result in the dispersal of the contents of the house among several heirs, Harry Dana persevered, andsucceeded, in altering the provisions to ensure that the contents would remain in the house. Dana resided at 105 Brattle Street until 1947, and devoted much of his time to researching the history of the Dana family, arranging his grandfather's papers, and lecturing on socialism.³

Not long after Alice's death in 1928, the Longfellow family and the Longfellow House Trust faced financial constraints and the related dilemma of the disposition of the property. Possible solutions included donating the property to Radcliffe College or renting it as means of keeping the house in the family. At the same time, appreciation and concern for the historic significance of thehouse was growing. Among those most concerned was William Sumner Appleton, a Longfellow cousin, and founder of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. These early

discussions were inconclusive, and it was not until 1952, two years after Harry Dana's death, that the trustees recommenced their search for an appropriate corporation. The National Park Service was approached at this time, but expressed no interest.

After contacting the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities and the National Trust for Historic Preservation, the trustees again contacted the National Park Service in 1962. After conducting a field survey, the National Park Service determined that the property was of national historical significance, and therefore eligible for inclusion in the National Park system. In the same year, local recognition was also given to the property when the Cambridge Historical Commission created the Longfellow Historic District, whose boundaries correspond generally to those of the Longfellow estate in 1882.

In 1967, the Cambridge Plant and Garden Club entered into a cooperative agreement with the Longfellow House Trust to maintain the garden at the Longfellow House. The following year the Plant and Garden Club contracted a landscape architect, Diane Kostial McGuire to prepare "The Garden Book." This report contained a cursory history of the grounds and a restoration plan, both of which focused on Longfellow's residency at the house (1837–1882). Partial implementation of this restoration plan in 1970 resulted in the alteration and removal of landscape features that both pre- and postdated Longfellow. In retrospect, it is clear that the history of the grounds was not fully understood at the time.

The final hurdle of confirming the eligibility of the Park Service as a "corporation," to meet the terms of the 1913 deed, was achieved in 1969. In 1972, Congress passed enabling legislation authorizing the Longfellow National Historic Site. The bill reiterated the terms of the 1913 deed:

Be it enacted . . . that in order to preserve in public ownership for the benefit and inspiration of the people of the United States, a site of national historical significance containing a dwelling which is an outstanding example of colonial architecture and which served as George Washington's headquarters during the siege of Boston in 1775–1776, and from 1837–1882 as the home of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, the Secretary of the Interior is authorized to acquire by donation. . . .⁴

The consistency of language between the 1913 deed and this enabling legislation reflect a notable effort to honor the Longfellow family intentions in perpetuity.

In 1973, the National Park Service assumed management of the property. Shortly afterwards, the National Park Service developed a master plan for management of the site. The legal documents that led to the creation of the Longfellow National Historic Site, primarily the 1913 deed, clearly

reflect the Longfellow family's appreciation of the breadth of historic significance of the property. However, the master plan shifted the emphasis of historic significance to the association between the house and Longfellow's residency. After stating that the house and furnishings bear testimony to the development of American taste and design from 1759 to 1928, and noting the importance of the house as General Washington's headquarters, the statement of significance in the master plan concluded:

The principal significance of the property, however, is clearly its long association with one of this country's most famous 19th century poets, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Left to us essentially as Longfellow left it at his death, the house symbolizes the character of the man, his work, and the values and ideals of the American nation which produced them.⁵

Within this context, the National Park Service's master plan focused on the relationship between the poet and his home (structures, furnishings, and grounds) to outline treatment and interpretive objectives.

In recognizing the significance of changes made after Henry W. Longfellow's death, the master plan acknowledged recommendations put forth in the *Historic Structures Report* (1975), concerning Alice Longfellow's modifications to the property, which were, to a large degree, extant in 1978. Both reports stressed that to avoid conjecture, features from Alice's period should be maintained when and where features from Longfellow's period were both not extant and not clearly documented.

In 1983, a third study was undertaken, whose purpose was to provide the historical documentation necessary to develop a management plan for the grounds. The resulting draft "Cultural Landscape Report" (1984), incorporated documentation in the *Historic Structures Report*, thereby noting changes made after Longfellow's death. However, the recommended treatment in this draft was, like the 1968 plan, a restoration to Henry W. Longfellow's time. The historical section of this report contained research conducted through 1984, and thereby also acknowledged the significance of Alice's modifications to the landscape. Although this draft was never finalized, some of its recommendations were partially implemented. Work on the grounds between 1985 and 1987, which was not related to the draft "Cultural Landscape Report," contributed to additional alterations of landscape features.

Since 1987, much work on the treatment and management of historic landscapes has been done in the National Park Service. As a result, cultural landscape reports prepared today for National Park Service properties must include a high level of documentation as well as a clear and defensible approach to treatment. To accomplish this, this *Cultural Landscape Report for Longfellow National Historic Site* was initiated in 1989. At the same time, the site adopted a cultural landscape treatment policy of preservation, which provides for the maintenance and retention of all existing features until the *Cultural Landscape Report*, including a treatment plan, is complete.

INTRODUCTION

The Longfellow National Historic Site at 105 Brattle Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts, has played an important role in American history. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow resided in the house from 1836-1882, and both the elegance and the history of the house inspired Longfellow's work. It is in fact Longfellow who early on recognized the importance of the house and made efforts to preserve it. Longfellow's children honored their father's memory by transferring the responsibility of preserving the house and its immediate grounds to the Longfellow House Trust. The Longfellow House Trust subsequently passed on the same responsibility to the National Park Service when the Longfellow National Historic Site was authorized in 1972. These legal measures have guaranteed that the house maintains both a commanding presence on Brattle Street and a vital position in American history, even as the surrounding neighborhood has changed from rural to suburban and the land associated with the house diminished from 9 to 1.98 acres.

The legislation authorizing the establishment of the Longfellow National Historic Site identified three areas of significance for the site: literature, for the site's association with Henry W. Longfellow; architecture, for its outstanding eighteenth-century American architecture; and American history, for its association with the Revolutionary War. Subsequent management plans and reports focused on these associations and, in particular, on Henry W. Longfellow's influence on the existing 1.98-acre National Park Service property. Two of these reports, a *Historic Structures Report* (1975), and a draft "Cultural Landscape Report" (1984), focused on Longfellow's influence on the grounds. In doing so, both reports noted the importance of the landscape at the Longfellow National Historic Site, and simultaneously pointed to the need to document its history.

This Cultural Landscape Report for Longfellow National Historic Site was begun in 1989 to provide historical information and an evaluation of the site's significance and integrity as a basis for the development of a management program for the landscape. Cultural landscape reports consist of four sections: a site history and documentation of existing conditions, a site analysis, and a treatment plan. This volume of the Cultural Landscape Report contains the site history and existing conditions. The site analysis and treatment plan will be compiled in a second volume.

The site history traces the evolution of the property from 1774 to its current size and appearance. The study area encompasses the 135 acres associated with the house during Andrew Craigie's residency (1792-1819), when the property was at its largest. In addition to tracing the changing boundaries of the property, this section also investigates the changing context of the house and historic landscape features on the property. The last chapter, "Existing Conditions," is a graphic and verbal description of the site as it appears today.

Methodology

This report relies as much on primary sources as it does on earlier studies of the house and landscape of the Longfellow National Historical Site. It began as a review of the most recent studies and progressed as pertinent subjects, previously uncovered or partially covered, were identified. The documentation contained in earlier reports obviated the need for in-depth research on the property for Henry W. Longfellow's years at 105 Brattle Street. However, to understand the evolution of property before and after his residency in the house, it was necessary to document the evolution of the property from colonial days to the present. As a first step in preparing the site history, historic periods were established. These periods correspond with years of residency or management and structured both the report and the research.

Prior to Longfellow's residency, the property associated with the house encompassed a much larger area. Deeds and probate records in the Middlesex County Court House and the Massachusetts State Archives were used as primary source material to find information on these early boundaries and land use. Robert Nylander's research, on the Brattle Street area in particular, which is on file at the Cambridge Historical Commission, supplemented this work. This information, in combination with historic maps and plans of the area, was used to generate a diagrammatic plan of the original boundaries of the property.

Subsequent changes in land use, boundaries, and specific features were researched and documented in a similar way. Period plans and diagrams of the property were generated by checking deeds and City of Cambridge plans for basic information on boundaries and use. More detailed plans were generated where and when information was consistently specific. This occured primarily for periods after the 1880s, and was due to the advent of photography and the involvement of architects and landscape architects with the Longfellow family and property.

Detailed information on each period or property owner was found in a range of archives. Information on Andrew Craigie's residency was found at The American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts, which is the depository for his papers. The Craigie property was the subject of two mathematical dissertations at Harvard University (1804 and 1815), and the product of both was a perspective drawing of the property. These are in the Pusey Library at Harvard University.

The appearance of the site during Longfellow's time has been well studied, and primary material on Longfellow's residency is readily available. Houghton Library, also at Harvard University, is the location of Henry W. Longfellow's papers. In addition, family letters, photographs and drawings are located in the archives at the Longfellow National Historic Site. The collections at the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities and the Boston Athenaeum also have many photographs of the house, documenting its appearance well into the twentieth century.

Changes made to the garden in 1904 were photographed by Martha Hutcheson. Her photographic negatives and papers are located in the library at the Morris County Park Commission in New Jersey. Plans of subsequent changes to the garden by both Ellen Shipman and Alexander Wadsworth Longfellow are in the archives at the Longfellow National Historic Site.

Important information including plans and correspondence pertaining to Longfellow Park is at Chesterwood, formerly the home of Daniel Chester French, and now a National Trust property. Plans and drawings from the work of Charles Eliot and the Olmsted Brothers firm relating to Longfellow Park is in the archives at Olmsted National Historic Site. The Cambridge Historical Commission has copies of much of this information on file, as well as more recent correspondence regarding problems with and changes to the park. Information on the 1989 changes to Longfellow Park came directly from the office of Carol R. Johnson and Associates.

The history of the landscape adjacent to the house after 1928 is based on correspondence and financial records of the Longfellow House Trust and the National Park Service. The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) field notes (1935), photographic negatives (1940 and 1963) and original survey drawings (1935 and circa 1980) provided a foundation for understanding some changes preceding 1935, and many of the changes since then. Subsequent plans of the property (1968, 1983, and 1992) and interviews with neighbors and National Park Service employees clarified the recent history of the property.

The survey of existing conditions of the property was conducted by Boston University in the fall of 1991. Data were digitally recorded and included UTM coordinates, spot elevations, and landscape features. The topographic information included in this report is based on the 1935 HABS work. The survey data was checked in the field and manually redrawn.

1 Early Years In Cambridge 1630–1730

Newtowne, as Cambridge was known in the 1630s, was the first administrative capital of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Newtowne's early importance was due to its naturally defensible position on a slope that afforded visibility to the south, east and west. Situated just north of the Charles River, and five miles upstream from Boston and Charlestown, Newtowne had an inland waterfront location that guaranteed protection and transportation. Access by land to Newtowne was limited to the Indian trail from Charlestown to Watertown, known to the colonists as "the path to Watertown." It followed the Charles River, bending to skirt the marshes and lowlands. A wooded ridge, the rim of the Boston basin, inhibited access from the north and west (see Figure 1).⁶

The colonists improved the protection afforded by the terrain by fortifying their settlement on the southeast and southwest perimeters with a "Pallysadoe," a wooden pale fence (see Figure 2). A medieval land use pattern, communal and based on daily and seasonal activities, evolved within the boundaries of the palisade. In Newtowne, there were "great" (two-acre) and "small" (one-quarter-acre) house lots in a band around the center of the village. These lots were surrounded by another band of privately owned planting fields. The colonists also set aside large parcels of land for the common good; these were used initially as drilling grounds, cow yard, pasture, or as a resource for wood.⁷

This condensed settlement pattern was short-lived. In 1634, thirty-nine families arrived in Newtowne with Reverend Thomas Hooker, and lots were granted to these settlers in an area that was known as the West End (see Figure 1). The early West End lots were located on a gentle hill between the tidal marshes of the Charles River and the path to Watertown. The West End fields extended from these lots to the northwest, limited in range by the glacial ridges, the Great Swamp and Fresh Pond. The Common formed the northeast boundary, and Watertown marked the southeast boundary.⁸ The size of the "great" lots in the West End increased from two to four or more acres. This allowed for agricultural activity on land immediately adjacent to the house, rather than in the fields, and marked an important shift in colonial land use patterns.

The deeds of the earliest landowners in the vicinity of what later became the Longfellow house and National Historic Site indicate the extent and types of agricultural activity carried out in the West End. In 1655, Matthew Bridge, a yeoman, inherited property that included an orchard, upland, and salt marsh, west of where the Longfellow house now stands. Bridge sold his property to Amos Marrett, whose family consolidated several properties along the path to Watertown. The Marrett family were tradespeople, but like many of the early settlers, they relied on their land as a resource for food and shelter. A deed described one Marrett property as land, yard, and gardens, distinguishing simply between domestic and agricultural areas. Subsequent deeds list the Marretts as owners of orchards that ranged in size from one-quarter acre to ten acres, woodland, woodlots on Cambridge rocks, upland, meadow, marsh, pasture, and acres of corn and Indian corn, in addition to lands in the West End fields.⁹ The distinctions convey images of both the natural terrain and how the land was cultivated: meadow, salt and fresh, was used for hay; pasture was used for grazing livestock; woodlots, for timber and fuel. "Corn" was a generic term for grains, and Indian corn referred to maize, another edible grain. The cultivation of Indian corn was in fact one of the few indigenous agricultural practices adopted by the New England colonists; for the most part, both the pattern and type of land uses were limited by traditions they imported from England.¹⁰



Figure 2. Map of Cambridge in the seventeenth century showing topography. The West End was northwest of Cambridge, between the road to Fresh Pond and the Charles River. Courtesy of Cambridge Historical Commission. Based on "Map of Boston, Cambridge and their environs in the seventeenth century" by Edward Raisz in Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Founding of Harvard College*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1935.



2 The Vassall Family and Tory Row 1730-1774

Newtowne underwent some changes as accessibility and commercial activity became more important to the administration of the colony than protection and fortification. In 1638, the seat of colonial government was moved to Boston, and, in the same year, the name of the town was changed to Cambridge. The new name reflected the early importance of Harvard College, founded in 1636, in establishing both a new identity and economic base for the town. A new land use pattern, the consolidation of several small properties into estates, was another manifestation of the changing economic and political structure of the town.

The West End was affected by these political and economic changes. The properties along the highway to Watertown were gradually purchased by a small but wealthy group of people. Known commonly as the royalists, these people demonstrated their preference for maintaining ties with the British crown by establishing Anglican churches and emulating English culture. Many of the royalists further strengthened their ties to England by developing trade routes between their West Indies plantations, the colonies, and England. They used their profits to invest in large amounts of land in Boston and environs, and in both the architecture and furnishings of their houses.

The Vassall family was a distinguished member of the royalist group. Leonard Vassall, a grandson of one of the original patentees of Massachusetts, was born in the West Indies in 1678, and by 1723 had settled in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. In 1727 Leonard purchased a house on what is now Summer Street in Boston, and began to acquire property in Braintree that was later described as "large and valuable" by Edward Harris, a nineteenth-century genealogist.¹¹ Vassall had the luxury of a town house and a summer house; both were complemented by outbuildings and formal gardens. Leonard Vassall also owned three plantations in the West Indies.

Two of Leonard's sons, John and Henry, became prominent figures in Cambridge. Colonel John Vassall was born in the West Indies, and later inherited a plantation there. However, like his father, he settled in the Massachusetts Bay Colony. He bought property in Boston in 1736, but it is not clear whether or not this was his main residence. His first Cambridge property, a house and seven acres where 94 Brattle Street now stands, was purchased from Mercy Frizell in 1736. After adding a half-acre parcel to the Frizell property, Colonel John Vassall sold this property, in two parcels, to his brother Henry in 1741 and 1747.¹²

At the same time, John Vassall began to acquire neighboring property that eventually became 105 Brattle Street. In 1746 and 1747, he purchased two parcels of land from Amos Marrett; the first was fifty acres between the King's Highway and the Charles River (just west of what was then Henry Vassall's estate) with a barn, and the second was six and one-half acres with a dwelling house on the north side of the King's Highway.¹³ According to Harris, Colonel John Vassall erected a house and lived there until his death in 1747.¹⁴ There is no other evidence regarding either the location or construction of this house.

It is unclear how this property was used between the time of Colonel John Vassall's death and his son John's grauduation from Harvard College in 1757. John Vassall, Esquire, as the younger Vassall was known, inherited these two parcels from his father, and in 1759 built a mansion on the six and one-half acre lot.¹⁵ John Vassall, Esquire continued to improve his property by acquiring six parcels adjacent to the mansion as well as property in the surrounding area.¹⁶ By 1774, he owned a total of ninety acres along the King's Highway, and was one of the largest landholders in Cambridge (see Figure 3).

The builder of the Vassall mansion is not known.¹⁷ The Vassall mansion has many features typical of Georgian architecture, most notably its symmetry of the plan and facade, axial entrances, and low-hipped roof. Four decorative, non-structural Ionic pilasters on the facade enhance the prominence of the house, as do the two man-made terraces, which raise the house approximately four feet and are surmounted by three short flights of sandstone steps. Other architectural features, such as a projecting central pavilion crowned by a balustrade, further enhance the prominent character and location of the house.

Pictorial evidence of the eighteenth-century appearance of the Vassall mansion and grounds is limited to the Pelham Map of 1777 (see Figure 4). A depiction of military works, this map provides a rare visual record of general topographical features in the Boston region. Since there are few dwellings noted on the map, the depiction of six dwellings along the Road to Watertown are of particular note. Although the map does not depict the exterior appearance of these houses, it does provide important information about their layout and location. These properties extended from the marshes and salt meadows of the Charles River north to a ridge. Most of the mansions faced the river from a location just north of the Road to Watertown, and thus guaranteed favorable conditions of aspect, views, access, and drainage. The mansions were flanked by formal gardens and outbuildings, and Pelham's rendering indicates a preference for formal geometric garden styles prevalent in England in the early to mid-eighteenth century. The Vassall mansion is flanked by two large outbuildings with formal gardens just to the north. Pelham does not provide precise information on landscape features, and inaccurate proportions on his map create some ambiguity. For instance, although Vassall undoubtedly did maintain a formal garden, Pelham indicates that these gardens were north of Vassall's outbuildings—on land that he did not own (see Figures 3 and 4).

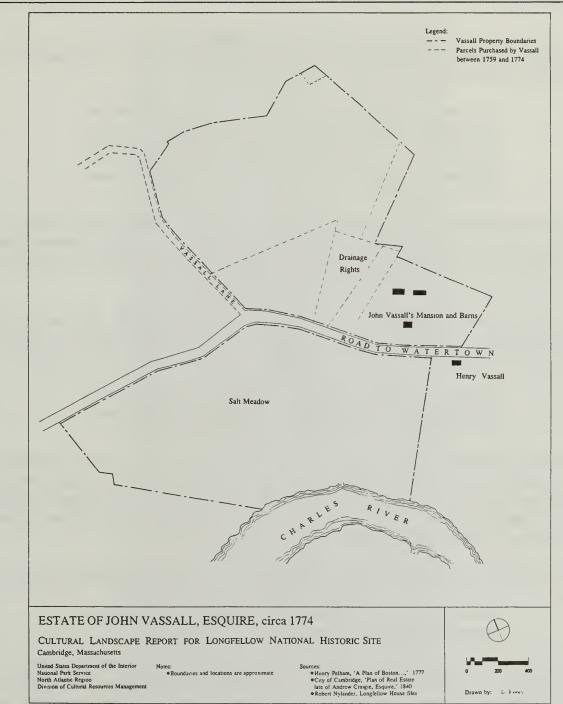


Figure 3. The estate of John Vassall, Esquire.

In the nineteenth century this section of the Road to Watertown was known as "Tory Row," a reference to the political affiliations of the families living there. Lucius R. Paige describes the lifestyle these families enjoyed in his *History of Cambridge*:

Never had I chanced on such an agreeable situation. Seven families, who were connected with each other, partly by ties of relationship and partly by affection had here farms, gardens, and magnificent houses and not far off plantations of fruit. The owners of these were in the habit of daily meeting each other in the afternoon . . . and making themselves merry with music and the dance. ¹⁸

These properties were maintained as country estates rather than self-sustaining farms, and house and garden were often separate from farms. Paige's description indicates that orchards, referred to here as "plantations of fruit," were common, and while they are mentioned frequently in deeds and the town records, they are difficult to distinguish on the Pelham plan.

Deeds and plans that postdate Vassall's ownership raise further questions about land use and landscape elements. An estate as large and elegant as Vassall's would have required a complex of outbuildings for domestic services. According to a 1778 inventory, Vassall's estate contained

the mansion house with necessary house, wood house, and barns with two acres three quarters and nineteen rods of land, \ldots the farm house east of the garden with one acre and half and twenty two rods of land adjoining.¹⁹

There are no plans illustrating the location of either the woodhouse or the necessary house (the privy or outhouse).²⁰ However, even without the benefit of a plan, this deed indicates that Vassall's property was subdivided according to land use. The house and its service buildings, originally associated with six and one-half acres was now associated with two and three-quarter acres. Gardens and agricultural areas were considered distinct and separate lots.

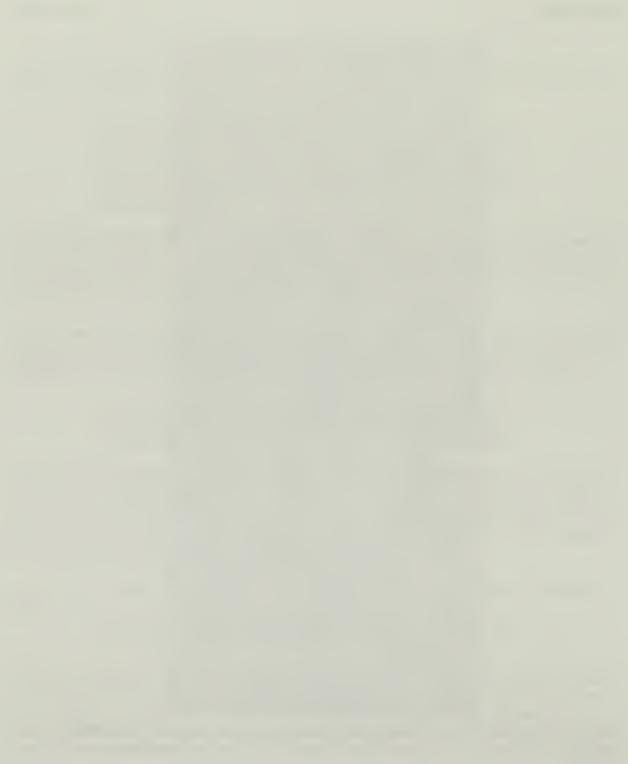
In 1771 John Vassall exchanged drainage rights with his neighbor, John Hastings, which allowed Vassall

the liberty of draining his meadow through a lot of land I [Hastings] own near the said Vassall's farm barn.²¹

This deed is the earliest record of a wetland in the area northwest of the Vassall mansion. Later maps (Walling, 1854; Craigie, 1840) indicate a brook flowing from this area into the Charles River, and, according to local tradition, the area north of the source of this brook, now Healey Street, was marsh. Vassall eventually bought this piece of land from Hastings in 1774, thus making his holding along the north side of Country Road almost continuous between what are now Mason and Sparks Streets.²²



Figure 4. Detail from "A Plan of Boston in New England with its environs. . .with the Military Works constructed in 1775 and 1776" by Henry Pelham. London, 1777. Courtesy of the Pusey Library, Harvard University.



THE REVOLUTION AND ITS AFTERMATH 1774–1792

3

The early 1770s were years of mounting tension between the Whigs and Tories throughout the colonies. In April 1774, shortly after John Vassall, Esquire had expanded his estate to ninety-seven acres, he and his family were forced to flee Cambridge. The Vassalls initially found refuge in Boston, where they remained until 1776. Vassall and his family sailed with other Loyalist families to Halifax, Nova Scotia and then to England.²³ John Vassall, Esquire died in Clifton, England in 1797.

The Vassall mansion in Cambridge was occupied immediately after the Vassall family deserted, but it is unclear who first took over the house.²⁴ By the spring or early summer of 1775, General Glover and his Marblehead Battalion had established their headquarters at the house. The arrival of General George Washington in Cambridge soon dictated their removal to a less comfortable situation:

On the 7th of July they received orders to encamp. In February, 1776, the regimental headquarters were at Brown's tavern while the regiment itself lay encamped in an enclosed pasture to the north of the Colleges.

From the records of the Provincial Congress we learn that Joseph Smith was the custodian of the Vassall farm, which furnished considerable forage for our army. It was at the time when haymakers were busy in the royalist's meadows that Washington, entering Cambridge with his retinue, first had his attention fixed by the mansion which for more than eight months became his residence.²⁵

Samuel Adams Drake, writing a century after the Revolution, did not provide specific references for his sources. It is known that Washington was situated in the president's house at Harvard College on his arrival in Cambridge on July 2, 1775, and that he relocated to the Vassall mansion on July 15th. Because Washington did not keep a journal during the war, his reasons for moving to the Vassall mansion remain unclear. Possible reasons include the luxury and capacity of the house, as well as its more protected situation in relation to the river.

The records of the Provincial Congress, Drake's source for the descriptive information, have not been reviewed for this study. The fact that the size and wealth of the Vassall property provided "considerable forage" for the soldiers indicates that the grounds were—to an unknown degree—ravaged during the war. No specific damage to the Vassall mansion and grounds during the revolution has been recorded to date, and the Drake passage remains the only indication of how the grounds were used during the war.

Washington planned and executed the siege of Boston, the march to Quebec, the new organization of the Continental Army, and the occupation of Dorchester Heights from the Vassall mansion.²⁶ Washington was successful in his attack on Boston, and the British evacuated Boston on March 17, 1776. Shortly thereafter, on April 4, 1776, Washington vacated his Cambridge headquarters.

It is unclear whether or not the house was occupied following Washington's departure. The estate was forfeited and confiscated by an act of the General Court in 1779, and consequently put up for sale in 1781.²⁷ Nathaniel Tracy, a wealthy privateer, purchased several Cambridge lots in 1781, among them the John Vassall property; this is described in the deed as

47 acres situate in Cambridge aforesaid being the homestead of John Vassall bounded. . . southwesterly by the road to Watertown & moving the fence four feet into the field from the southwest corner to the Stone Bridge. . . Also about forty acres of upland and marsh situate in Cambridge aforesaid on the opposite side of the road. . . . Also nine acres and one half, known as the Goddard lot.²⁸

This 1781 deed uses location rather than land use to define Tracy's property, suggesting that land uses mentioned in earlier deeds, such as "garden," and "pasture," had halted during the Revolution. It is important to note that the original six and one-half acres that had originally surrounded Vassall's mansion, which were reduced to two acres by 1774, were now assimilated into one forty-seven-acre parcel. Of further interest is the existence of a fence surrounding the field, for this is the first indication of enclosure on the Vassall property. The shifting of this fence also suggests that the road was either widened or moved at this time. The stone bridge terminating this fence may have been a culvert draining the Vassall meadows. The Goddard lot was not contiguous with the Vassall estate.²⁹

Nathaniel Tracy was from Newburyport, where, with his brother, he operated a privateering firm, Tracy, Jackson, and Tracy. Longfellow mentions in "Craigie House" that Tracy "lived in great lavishness."³⁰ Tracy had a reputation for collecting Loyalist properties as prizes of war, and the direct association between the house and the recent revolution appealed to Tracy. He also expanded the Vassall estate by adding four parcels, totalling twenty-five acres. These included the nine acres that had belonged to Henry Vassall, John Vassall's uncle. He also purchased nine and three-quarters acres of pasture, three acres on the road to Fresh Pond, and two acres bounded mostly by his own property.

In 1786 Nathaniel Tracy met his financial ruin and sold the 140-acre property to Thomas Russell, a Boston "merchant prince" and the first president of the United States Branch Bank. The deeds for this transfer describe the estate as a collection of properties, and do not indicate that Tracy made any changes in boundaries, use, or appearance.³¹ They do, however, rely on land use to distinguish properties, and thus provide information about specific land uses, such as agriculture, during Tracy's tenure. Russell lived in Boston and used the house as a second residence, as had Tracy. There are no recorded changes or additions during Russell's brief tenure at the house.

Andrew Craigie 1791–1819

Thomas Russell sold his 140-acre Cambridge estate to Andrew Craigie in 1792. In "Craigie House," Longfellow included a letter from Colonel Harry Jackson to General Knox describing Craigie's purchase:

Yesterday Dr. Andrew Craigie, made a purchase of John Vassall's house and farm at Cambridge, including the house of Harry Vassall in which W. F. Geyer lives, the whole making about 140 or 150 acres—for which he has given 3750 [pounds sterling]—it's a great bargain, is 50% under its value.³²

Such a bargain would not have been unusual for Andrew Craigie; land speculation was to be the cause of both his rise and eventual fall. As Craigie himself noted, he "lost himself in the house."³³

As with the transfer of property from Tracy to Russell, the deed for Craigie's acquisition listed the estate as a set of properties, maintaining distinctions of usage, such as meadow and pasture, and of origin, that is, the Henry Vassall estate. Only the description of water and a watercourse on a two-acre lot (purchased by Tracy in 1781) differed significantly from the date of its original purchase.³⁴ This is the only indication of changes (other than the moving of a fence four feet into the field, which is indicated in the deed for Tracy's acquisition of the property and mentioned above) made during Tracy's or Russell's ownership. The water and watercourse may refer to an aqueduct which extended from a spring at the base of the hill in the northwest corner of the property toward the marsh west of the house. Popular tradition relays that Tracy built this aqueduct, as well as a summerhouse on top of the hill, but this has not been confirmed in other records.³⁵

L. R. Paige, writing his *History of Cambridge* fifty years after Craigie's death, described Craigie as a secretive and manipulative businessman.³⁶ Although Craigie earned a reputation among his contemporaries with his activities in real estate speculation, he began his career in medicine. He served in the Revolutionary War at Bunker Hill in Charlestown, Massachusetts, and is thought to have been the first person to hold the office of Continental Apothecary, in 1775. In 1777, he was appointed Apothecary General. After the Revolution, Craigie used his medical knowledge to engage in the wholesale drug trade in New York, while also speculating widely in land, including the notorious Scioto land speculation. Craigie also served as a director of the first Bank of the United States, in Philadelphia.³⁷

Agricultural reform and urbanization were integral to the development of the new nation during the Federal period. To maintain his lavish lifestyle, Craigie focused his business activities on the improvement of both agricultural and urban land. Craigie was a charter member of an organization known as the "Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture," an association of gentleman farmers which sought to increase farm production and crop yields through the application of modern scientific techniques. Intended to benefit all farmers regardless of means, the society published papers in which they promoted the practices of reforestation, crop rotation, and hedge planting. Craigie published a paper in 1803 entitled "The Benefit of Frequent Ploughing." The charter members included Samuel Adams, Charles Bullfinch, Christopher Gore, and John Codman; all were gentleman farmers in Federal Boston and owned elegant country seats in the region.³⁸

Elizabeth Craigie shared an interest in botany and horticulture with her husband. The Craigies transformed their property into a picturesque farm, or *ferme ornee*, adorned and embellished with fixtures and plant materials, both exotic and indigenous. Although the mansion was elegant and spacious when it was built, Craigie's improvements to both the mansion and the grounds were so grand that the property was commonly referred to as the "Castle Craigie." The Craigies also supported the development of horticulture in the Boston area. Andrew Craigie donated three acres of land to Harvard College for its Botanic Gardens in 1805.³⁹ The most advanced horticultural information and material was essentially at their back door, and Botanic Garden records indicate that Madame Craigie frequently purchased plants there.⁴⁰

Craigie was also an influential figure in the urbanization of East Cambridge, then known as Lechmere's Point. Much of this part of Cambridge was owned by Craigie, and he eventually incorporated his holdings here in the Lechmere Point Corporation in 1810.⁴¹ A few years earlier, in 1807, Craigie also formed the Canal Bridge Corporation, which financed the construction of the Craigie (or Canal) Bridge (completed in 1809), to compete with the West Boston Bridge for tolls and traffic. At the same time, Craigie was lobbying the Cambridge selectmen to change the alignment of Mt. Auburn Street, then being laid out. Craigie proposed that the new road traverse his Brattle Street estate and connect with Mason Street to provide a shorter route from Watertown to Lechmere's Point. His motives, however, were not altogether altruistic; his proposed route would increase traffic on his new bridge. Anticipating the financial profits from this traffic, Craigie provided incentive for the entire road by paying for its construction across the southern edge of his property, over what had been John Vassall's salt meadow.⁴²

After the Revolution, Craigie travelled on business between Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, and New York. By 1791, he had decided to settle in Cambridge and was negotiating the purchase of the Vassall house. Bossenger Foster, Craigie's brother-in-law, managed Craigie's affairs in Cambridge. Prior to Craigie's official purchase of the property, Foster had the preliminary outfitting of the Vassall mansion and grounds well underway.

While Andrew Craigie was travelling in 1791 and 1792, he corresponded frequently by mail with Foster. This correspondence provides descriptions of interior furnishings, plant lists and concerns for specific exotic plant materials. Unfortunately, it does not include a plan of the grounds and makes few references to the placement of plant material. The correspondence is limited to the years 1791–92, the period of Craigie's absence from Cambridge; after 1792, when Craigie settled in Cambridge, there is little record of changes to the property.

One of the primary concerns conveyed in the 1791-92 correspondence was the repair and construction of outbuildings. When Vassall's estate was confiscated in 1778, it consisted of a mansion house with four outbuildings: a necessary house, a wood house, barns, as well as a farm house east of the garden.⁴³ It is unclear how many outbuildings (relating to the mansion) Craigie purchased with the property. However, the Foster-Craigie correspondence indicates that a new woodhouse was built in 1792. Its siting was discussed in an exchange of letters between Foster and Craigie:

You wonder what sort of wood house I have built and where placed. It is a building 40 feet long and 20 feet wide of 9 or 11 feet studd-shingles. The front left all open to be finished as may suit you—& easily moved wherever you choose—at present is standing behind the green house & temple ranging part of the garden and hog yard out of sight of the home, except from the chamber window & so as not to interfere with your intended new ice house.⁴⁴

Three new structures are mentioned here which do not appear in the Vassall inventory: the greenhouse, the temple, and ice house. Although their origin is undocumented, sketches by Craigie and Foster indicate that, in addition to screening views, the woodhouse complemented the existing buildings creating a new (or reinforcing an existing) distinct yard between the house and barn (see Figure 5).

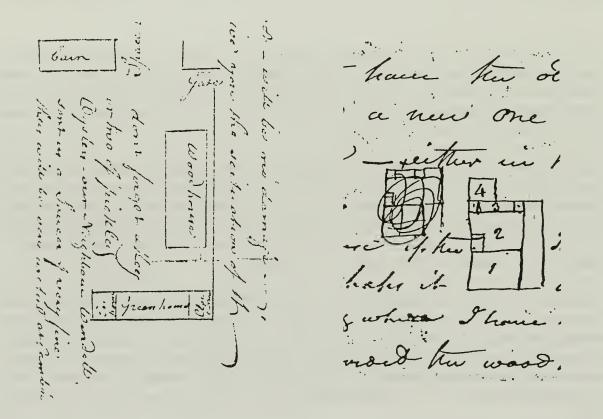


Figure 5. Diagrams of proposed outbuildings on Craigie Estate, 1791. Sketch on the left is Bossenger Foster's diagram, Craigie's is on the right. Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Limited documentation makes it difficult to trace the evolution of the outbuildings and this yard. Six outbuildings were listed in an inventory after Craigie's death in 1819: a barn, a coach house with building attached, a granary, a greenhouse, a farmhouse, and a workshop. By 1840, when a survey was conducted to document Mrs. Craigie's inheritance, five of these were extant, and five unidentified buildings had been added (see Figure 6).⁴⁵

The greenhouse identified here is quite a distance from the location described by the Foster-Craigie sketches. It is possible that there were two greenhouses. The first may have been close to the house, as part of the "yard." A second and larger greenhouse, as shown, was located further away from the house, probably near or in the midst of the gardens themselves. The narrow L-shaped structure in Figure 6 may have been "a covered walk," mentioned by Longfellow in "Craigie House."⁴⁶

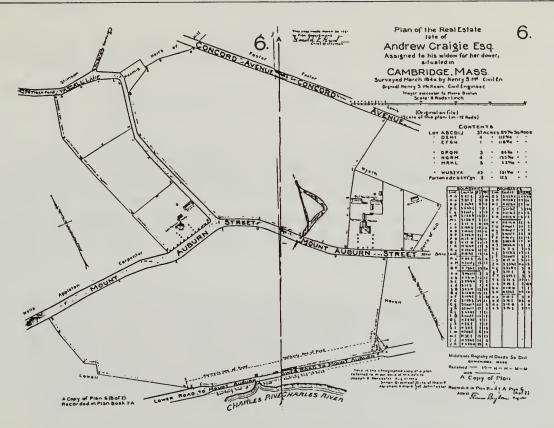


Figure 6. "Plan of the Real Estate late of Andrew Craigie Esquire, March, 1840." Note the forecourt of trees, the pond and island, and the number of structures associated with the house. Source: Middlesex Registry of Deeds.

Craigie also substantially increased the size of the house by relocating the exterior wall ten feet further north in the early 1790s. Craigie created a hallway behind the northwest room (originally the kitchen) and enlarged the northeast parlor. An ell, built behind the new hallway, extended the house further north, and provided room for a new kitchen and bedrooms. Twelve-foot-wide "piazzas" on the east and west sides were built at the same time.⁴⁷ A few years later, the piazza was extended to wrap around the east and north sides of the ell (see Figure 7).

In addition to transforming the character of the mansion into "Castle Craigie," the ell and piazzas also altered the orientation of the house. Although there is no evidence of the original carriage drive and corresponding approach to the house during Vassall's time, it is clear that Vassall's mansion had centrally located front and rear doors. When the ell made access to the rear door difficult, a new door was built in the 1790s in the west wall of the new hall. This evidence, if considered in light of the existing circular drive, suggests that this west entrance became the main entrance for visitors arriving by carriage at the Craigie mansion.⁴⁸

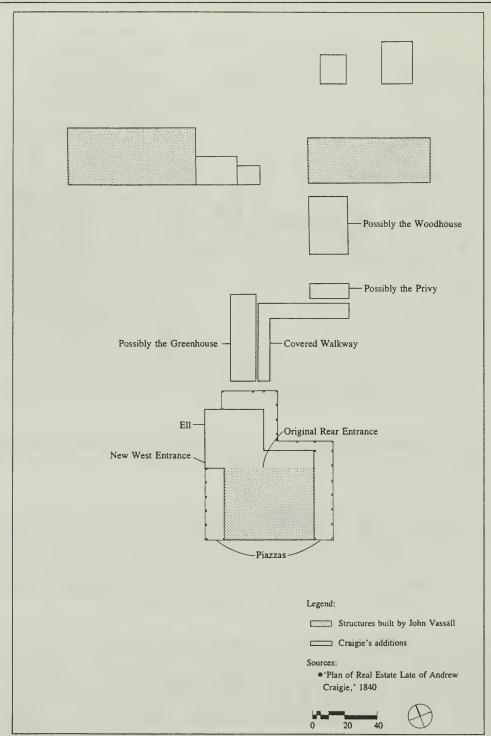


Figure 7. Andrew Craigie's additions to the Vassall mansion.

Few of the Foster-Craigie letters indicate specific improvements made to the grounds. One 1791 letter referred to a dam and an existing summerhouse:

The Dam or Cause way will very shortly be in compleat repair, the walk to the summer house is begun and when finished I dare say will please you.⁴⁹

Although Foster does not specify the location of this dam, a pond depicted on the 1840 plan suggests that Craigie transformed the parcel of land which John Vassall had purchased to improve drainage into a pond and island. A mathematical dissertation (1804), consisting of a plan and a perspective drawing of the summerhouse, locates and describes the summerhouse as an open tempietto in the northwest section of the property (see Figure 8). The location of the walk to this house is unclear.

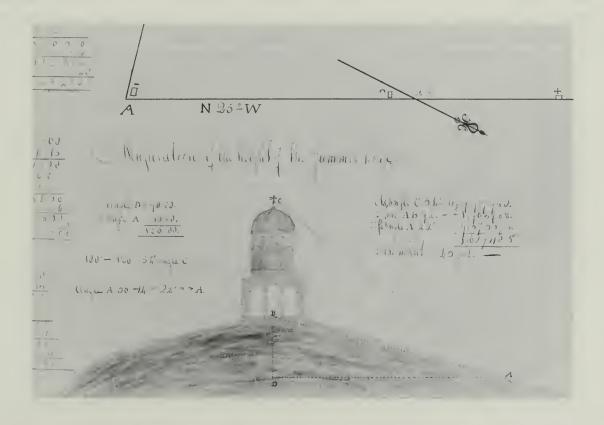


Figure 8. Charles Saunders, "The Survey of a Tract of Land in Cambridge and a perspective delineation of a Summerhouse thereon." Mathematical thesis, 1804. By permission of the Pusey Library, Harvard University.

Throughout 1791 and most of 1792, Craigie arranged for a variety of trees, shrubs, and fowl as well as decorative accessories for the interiors to be sent to his "farm at Cambridge." Foster's letters in 1791 discuss the planting of elm trees and, on the road to Fresh Pond, other forest trees. Sixty-two Lombardy poplar trees were sent to Cambridge (twelve large and fifty small); they were stored in a fenced-in nursery to protect them from cattle.⁵⁰ The 1840 plan shows ten trees defining a forecourt in front of the house, and a second mathematical dissertation on the Craigie house (Warner, 1815) depicts at least two trees, which resemble elms, in front of the house (see Figures 5 and 9).

Warner's drawing also depicts two types of fences enclosing the front of the house. The 1975 *Historic Structures Report* suggests that the original enclosure was made of brick from local Cambridge clay and dates to Vassall's era.⁵¹ By 1815, Craigie had replaced the central portion of this wall with a wood fence, in a Chinese Chippendale pattern which was popular in eighteenth-century England. The fence created a lighter, transparent screening between the house and road that was both fashionable and showy during the Federal era in Boston. Like the improvements to the house, this fence was a measure of Craigie's wealth and sophistication.



Figure 9. Perspective drawing of the Craigie house by Charles Warner, from a mathematical thesis, 1815. By permission of the Pusey Library, Harvard University.

The Foster-Craigie correspondence contains two plant lists revealing that more than one hundred fruit trees were shipped to Cambridge; these included several varieties of apple, peach, apricot, plum and cherry, and pear (see Appendix C for these lists). Such quantity and variety is not surprising; the cultivation of fruit in orchards and as fruit walls dated to colonial times, and increased as more exotic species and varieties were discovered in the late seventeenth century. There is no mention of an orchard in the letters, but the quantities and variety shipped indicate that a "plantation of fruit" was maintained on the estate. Also, there is discussion of origin and hardiness implying that Craigie was having difficulty with the fruits. Craigie was assured in another letter that all of the trees were from American nurseries, in particular from the Prince Nursery of Long Island. On March 22, 1792, 108 fruit trees were sent, "of different kinds," most likely of the varieties mentioned in the first list. Tuberous roots and "raspberry plants of a very valuable kind" also arrived in Cambridge and were stored until Craigie's arrival the following spring.

The second list contains primarily herbaceous and shrubby plant varieties, both hardy and tender. The plants not hardy in the Boston area were probably intended for the greenhouse, which, according to the 1840 plan of the estate, measured fifty feet by twenty-five feet, unusually wide for an early greenhouse. There is no further reference to indicate where or how these plants were used, if at all.

Limited evidence remains for what occurred in Cambridge after 1792. A note in Craigie's "Waste Book," a record of expenditures, lists the expenses of a well put in on September 25, 1795. Also in 1795, a pump was purchased and the summerhouse was reglazed. Another note (July, 1795) makes reference to the outfitting of "the little house on the hill" for the gardener family to live in. In 1794-95 Craigie's account books show extensive purchases of cedar rails and posts, indicating that he may have fenced the boundaries of his property.⁵²

At the time of his death in 1819, Craigie was one of the largest landowners in Cambridge and heavily in debt. His castle and property on the upper road to Mt. Auburn was described in an inventory of the estate as follows:

The homestead consisting of about 135 acres of mowing, tillage, pasture and marshland with the mansion house and buildings appurtenant—the farm house and two other houses appurtenances situated on the lane leading to the botanic garden,—all the outlots of marsh being included.⁵³

The inventory also lists livestock, farm equipment, grains, and greenhouse plants and supplies indicating that the estate was, to an unknown degree, a working farm until his death.

5 ELIZABETH CRAIGIE 1819–1841

When the indebted Andrew Craigie died in 1819, his properties became the focus of legal negotiations among his wife, Elizabeth, and Bossenger Foster's children: Andrew Foster, John Foster, Thomas Foster, and Elizabeth Foster Haven. As a first step toward settling the estate, Andrew Craigie's property was inventoried. Totalling 610 acres, Craigie's real estate holdings included many properties that were "arable, meadow, and pasture," as well as farms in Chelmsford and Charlestown. The inventory described the Cambridge house as "the mansion with the gardens & yard containing six and a half acres," thereby recalling the original Vassall purchase of six and one-half acres, and distinguishing the domestic grounds from agricultural areas. The inventory provides new landmarks: the new road (Mt. Auburn Street), the "botanick" garden, the Concord Turnpike, the spring, and the aqueduct were used to define property boundaries.⁵⁴

The Craigies' Cambridge mansion and its grounds comprised 135 acres of this estate. In 1821, Mrs. Craigie was awarded as her inheritance a third of the Cambridge property, based on value; the remainder was divided among the four heirs. Mrs. Craigie was allotted the mansion and grounds, the adjoining "close," or meadow, the meadow across the street, and a separate thirteen-acre lot with the mansion of Benjamin Lee—a total of ninety-five and one-half acres. The summerhouse lot and the aqueduct lot, both separated from the grounds of the mansion by the Concord Turnpike (now Concord Avenue), were awarded to Andrew and Thomas Foster respectively (see Figure 10).⁵⁵

Elizabeth Craigie also inherited her husband's debts, and in the years following the partition of the estate, she auctioned the furnishings, livestock, garden tools, greenhouse pots and plants, the garden engine, carriages, etc.⁵⁶ She maintained an income by renting rooms and selling fruits and flowers. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, one of her boarders, mentioned Mrs. Craigie's garden and greenhouse in "Craigie House":

The grand garden was maintained and Fruits and flowers extensively sold by her gardeners. . . . The dilapidated old brick greenhouse in ruins, remained until Mr. Oliver (Hastings) bought the land on which it stood.⁵⁷

Longfellow repeats descriptive terms such as "grand" and "great" when writing about the Craigie gardens. Unfortunately, there is no visual record of this grandness. More picturesque images of

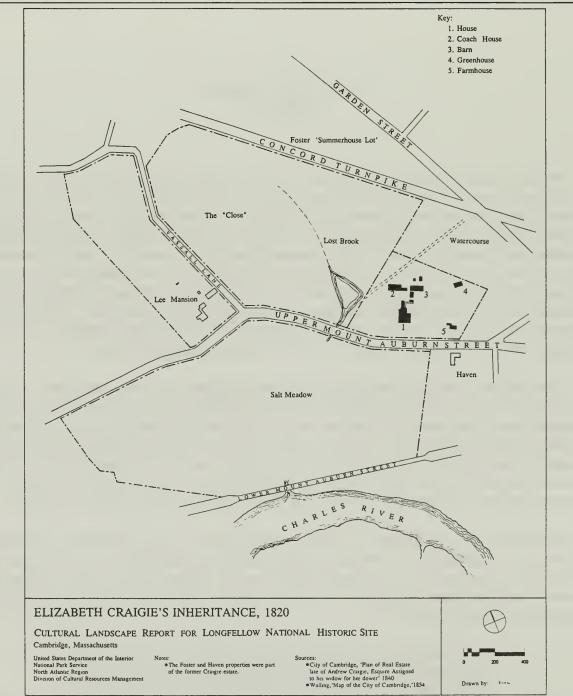


Figure 10. Plan of 1819 subdivision of Craigie estate. Note that parcels eleven and twelve were not inherited by Mrs. Craigie.

the garden are conveyed in a late nineteenth-century reminiscence of the gardens, which recalls a "pond and statues on the island and in the grounds" as a source of fascination and fear for the neighborhood children.⁵⁸

Longfellow arrived in Cambridge in December of 1836 to assume his position as Smith Professor of Modern Languages at Harvard. While looking for lodging in Cambridge, he visited a friend, Nathaniel Collins McLean, in his rented rooms at the Craigie house. Longfellow described that visit:

The first time I was in the Craigie House was on a beautiful summer afternoon in the year 1837. I came to see Mr. McLane [sic] a law-student, who occupied the south-eastern chamber. The window blinds were closed but through them came a pleasant breeze and I could see the waters of the Charles River gleaming in the meadows.⁵⁹

The location of the house, so close to the Charles River, delighted Longfellow immediately. Learning that McLean was departing the premises, he inquired about taking up residence with Mrs. Craigie. Three months later, in August 1837, Longfellow had persuaded Mrs. Craigie, with some difficulty, to rent him McLean's room and the vacant room behind it. The southeast chamber became his library, the northeast his bedroom. Longfellow expressed his pleasure with his new lodging in a letter to his sister, Annie Longfellow Pierce:

In my new abode I dwell like an Italian Prince in his Villa. A flight of stone steps, with flower-pots one each hand, conducts you to the door, and then you pass up a vast stair-case and knock at the left hand door. You enter, and the first thing that meets your admiring gaze is the author of *Outre-Mer* reclining on a sofa, in a stupid calamanco [?] morning gown: —slipper, red. It is morning; say, eight o'clock. The sun shining brightly in at one long window. . . . After this, a walk in the great gardens—appertaining to the domain.⁶⁰

Longfellow describes himself, in a self-deprecating manner, as out of place in his red slippers and "stupid" gown, but it is clear from his early letters and journals written from Craigie House that the grounds were always a source of pleasure and inspiration for him. The following is a typical journal entry:

How glorious these Spring mornings are! I sit by an open window and inhale the pure morning air, and feel how delightful it is to live! Peach, pear and cherry trees are all in blossom together in the garden.⁶¹

Many journal entries and letters speak of the refreshing and invigorating fresh air, water cooled breezes, scents of trees and flowers, and quiet walks.

This beauty was tarnished by canker worms that devastated the stately elm trees on the property. Longfellow's letters repeatedly express his frustrations with the cankerworms, and with Mrs. Craigie's eccentric attitudes. Most annoying to him was her compassion for the cankerworms:

> In matters of religion she was a free thinker. . . . (She used to say that she saw God in Nature, and wanted no mediator to come between him and her. She had a passion for flowers and cats; and in general for all things living.) When the canker-worms came spinning down from the elm trees, she would sit by the open window and let them crawl over her white turban. She refused to have the trees protected against them and said, "Why, Sir, they have as good a right to live as we: They are our fellow worms." ⁶²

Letters to his father in 1839 described his futile attempts to protect the elms by tarring their trunks, and the resulting bleak scene:

We have here a plague, which troubles us more than War, Pestilence, or Famine: Namely Cankerworms which devour the largest trees. —(I mean the leaves.) The fine elms round the Craigie House were entirely stripped last year, and the worms came swinging down on long threads, into all the windows. . . . I hope next summer to be able to sit in the shade, without being covered with creeping things, and brought daily like Martin Luther before a Diet of Worms.⁶³

Later that year he wrote:

Tarring the trees did not succeed with the cankerworms. On the ten magnificent elms which stand in front of my window, not one leaf is to be seen. All is as bare as in Winter. We shall try again in Autumn. They are talking seriously here of forming a Society for the suppression of Canker Worms; and making a regular crusade against them.⁶⁴

The cankerworm, a common pest in the nineteenth century, defoliated deciduous and fruit trees. Painting a band of tar on the trunk a few feet from the ground prevented the larvae reaching the foliage. Longfellow assumed both the cost and effort of controlling the worms, and his tar bands appear in many images of the house through the 1880s (see Figure 11).⁶⁵



Figure 11. Drawing of house by Ernest Longfellow, 1855. Note tar bands on elm trees. Courtesy: National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site.

On April 6, 1840, the gardener's cottage and the principle stable at the Craigie mansion burned. As reported in the *Daily Evening Transcript*, the fire "threatened the mansion, and was put out with water from the fish pond on the premises."⁶⁶ Longfellow noted in the Craigie house notebook that the fire was probably the work of incendiaries, and that it was rumored that a gardener recently let go by Mrs. Craigie was responsible for the fire.

After Mrs. Craigie's death in 1841, the estate was again partitioned, this time into thirds. The heirs of the Fosters received one portion; the trustees for the Havens the second portion, and John Foster the third (see Figure 12).⁶⁷ This indenture was followed by further subdivision and construction of the Craigie estate. Most of the meadow on the south of the street was purchased by Gardiner Hubbard; he subdivided all but six acres, which he reserved for his own his mansion. Oliver Hastings acquired a four-acre parcel east of the mansion in 1843. Hastings' house, finished in 1844, rests on the eastern extension of the lower terrace of the Vassall mansion. Joseph Worcester bought thirty-two acres west of the house, the "close" with the pond and island. He built a mansion fronting Brattle Street and laid out roads and houselots on the periphery of his land. Worcester rented the Craigie house from the Fosters until 1844. Worcester occupied the western half of the house and sublet the eastern portion to Henry W. Longfellow.

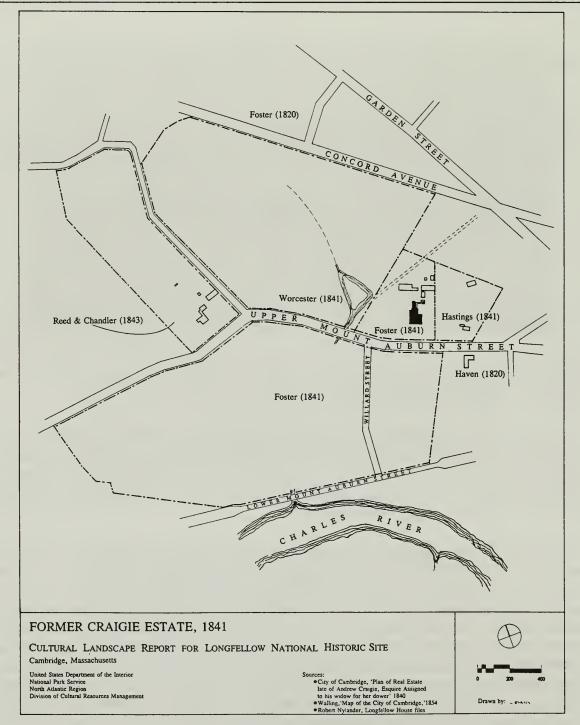


Figure 12. Partition of Elizabeth Craigie's estate, 1841.

6 Henry W. and Frances Longfellow 1841–1882

On July 13, 1843, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow married Frances ("Fanny") Elizabeth Appleton, daughter of Nathan Appleton, a prominent banker and manufacturer. After a month of visiting their families in Portland, Maine and Pittsfield, Massachusetts, the couple settled into the rented rooms at the Craigie house. Fanny wrote to her mother-in-law:

We returned to Cambridge the day before Commencement and are most happy to be again in our dear old mansion, to which we are becoming too much attached to think of resigning it for a modern house with limited views and no associations. We hope to persuade my father to purchase it for us, as we find it in very good condition and it is roomy enough to be made very comfortable. To possess the rooms in which Washington lived so long is no slight temptation, and to me they have more recent associations equally interesting.⁶⁸

The physical and historical associations of the house delighted Henry and Fanny as much as its comfort and size. The Craigie association, in particular, was remembered by the Longfellow family by referring to their home as "Craigie House."

Fanny and Henry persuaded Nathan Appleton to purchase the house and five acres of land for them in the fall of 1843.⁶⁹ Eighteen months later Nathan Appleton gave the house to Fanny for "one dollar, love and affection," presumably as a wedding gift (see Figure 13).⁷⁰

One of the Longfellows' first concerns as owners of Craigie House was the preservation of the view from the house to the Charles River. While her father was in the process of purchasing the Craigie house, Fanny wrote a letter asking him to consider an additional piece of land directly across the street:

If you decide to purchase this [the Craigie estate] would it not be important to secure the land in front, for the view would be ruined by a block of houses.⁷¹

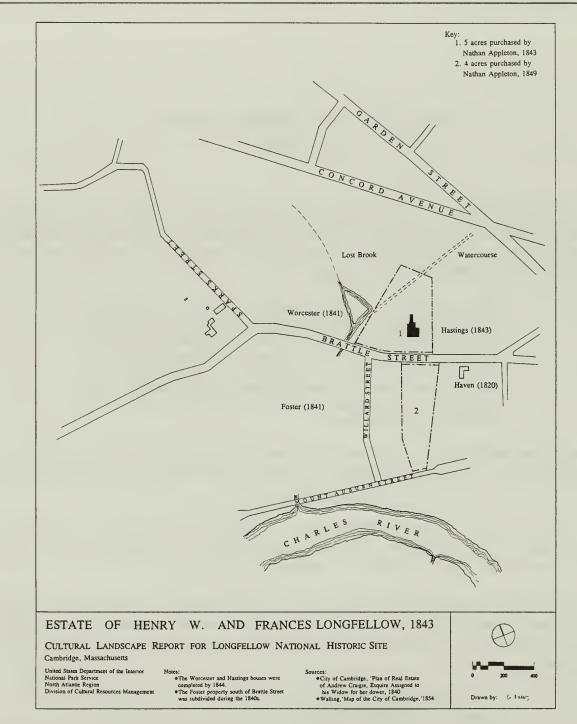


Figure 13. Longfellow/Appleton property, 1843. Note removal of outbuildings.

The steady subdivision of the land on the south side of Brattle Street spurred the Longfellows' concern about the historic and treasured view of the Charles River. Nathan Appleton purchased a second, four-acre parcel of land in November, 1843. Henry Longfellow purchased this from his father-in-law for four thousand dollars six years later (see Figure 13).⁷²

In 1843 Longfellow echoed his wife's sentiments about the house in a letter to his father:

We have purchased a mansion here, built before the Revolution, and occupied by Washington as his Headquarters when the American Army was at Cambridge. It is a fine old house and I have a strong attachment from having lived in it since I first came to Cambridge. With it are five acres of land. The Charles River winds through the meadows in front and in the rear I yesterday planted an avenue of Linden trees, which already begin to be ten or twelve feet high. I have also planted some acorns and the oaks grow for a thousand years, you may imagine a whole line of little Longfellows, like the shadowy monarchs in Macbeth, walking under their branches for countless generations, "to the crack of doom," all blessing the men who planted the oaks.⁷³

Longfellow's awareness of the importance of the history of the house, its surroundings, and its inhabitants inspired his concern for the longevity of his property. Not surprisingly, he had a self-described "conservative" attitude toward repairs and changes on the property. In describing a visit with George M. Dexter, an architect, Longfellow articulated this attitude:

Dexter the architect came to look upon the field of battle and contemplate the pulling down of old barns and the general change of house and grounds. In these repairs I shall have as little done as possible. The Craigie house is decidedly conservative; and will remain as much in its old state as comfort permits.⁷⁴

Mrs. Craigie, unable to repay her husband's debts, had kept maintenance to the house, outbuildings, and grounds to a minimum, and did not rebuild the stable and cottage after the 1840 fire. The Longfellows became owners of a property in great need of repair, and despite efforts to limit the work done on the house, Henry W. Longfellow soon discovered the burdens of caring for a large and old house. Longfellow recorded in his journal:

Troubled in mind about this old castle of a house and the repairs. He undertaketh a great house, undertaketh a great care.⁷⁵

Longfellow's journals abound with antecdotes about this "great care." For example, one part of the house—the roof—received almost immediate attention because it was in urgent need of repair.

The poet recorded in his journal for August 9, 1844:

On taking off the old shingles we found on the roof 5045 pounds of lead. This would have been worth knowing in Washington's day when they melted the pipes of the church organ for bullets; and here over his very head were nearly three tons of lead, concealed under the shingles.⁷⁶

Longfellow replaced the carriage house in 1844, probably with the help of Dexter. No plans exist for the original design of this building, but the *Historic Structures Report* (1975) identifies it as an early Victorian design, and notes that it is probable that portions of the earlier structure were reused in this building.⁷⁷

Comparison between the 1840 plan of the Craigie estate and the location of Longfellow's carriage house indicates that the barn was relocated south of the original structure. In addition, the removal of the remaining outbuildings simplified the service yard. Where the Craigie household relied on anywhere from four to ten outbuildings, the Longfellows used only the woodshed and the carriage house (see Figures 14 and 15).



Figure 14. Carriage house erected by Longfellow in 1844, circa 1900. Courtesy of the National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site.

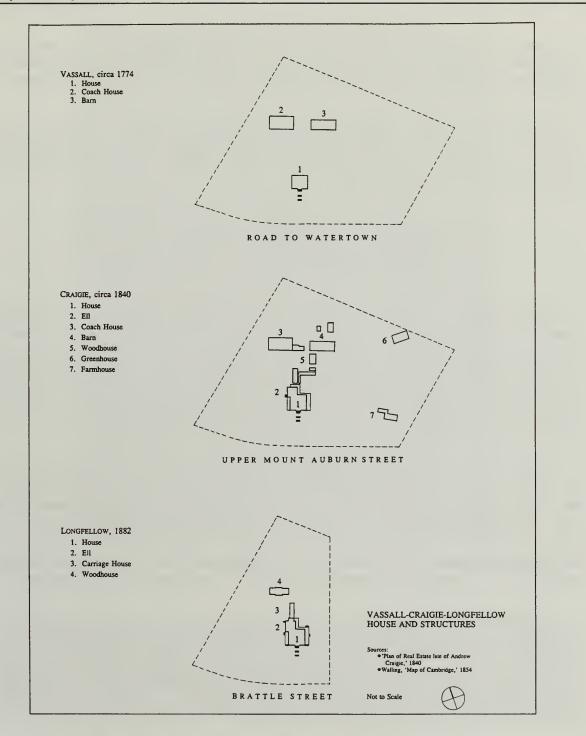


Figure 15. Structures and land associated with the mansion during Vassall, Craigie, Longfellow ownership. Note that the 1882 configuration closely resembles existing conditions in 1992.

Henry W. Longfellow undertook other structural repairs throughout the years, including the replacement of the balustrade on the roof (1844), the addition of balustrades on the piazzas, the installation of a slate roof in 1854, and the renovation of the structure north of the piazza into a billiard room in 1858.⁷⁸

During the first year with his family in Craigie House, Longfellow continued to devote considerable attention to the damaged elm trees. Under Worcester's tenure as master of the house, misguided care, rather than neglect, furthered the decline of the elms. Longfellow described, with dismay, this scene in "Craigie House":

In an evil hour he [Worcester] cut down the elm trees in front of the house, which had been nearly destroyed by the cankerworms; or rather cut their tops off in the vain hope of saving them. Thus fell the magnificent elms which signalized the place and under whose shadow Washington had walked.⁷⁹

Longfellow valued the elms for their historical associations, and because they gave the house its distinct identity. Longfellow also indicates that he believed that the forecourt of elms existed prior to Craigie's residence, for if Washington walked "beneath their shadow," the elms must have been planted some fifteen or twenty years earlier, roughly at the time the house was built. This, however, may be a poetic notion of Longfellow's, and to date there is no substantiating evidence. The Warner perspective drawing (1815), the earliest visual image of the house, depicts the elms at a mature height, but does not provide a means of determining their age (see Figure 8).

Longfellow recorded his efforts to maintain the forecourt of elm trees in an annotated sketch. This sketch corresponds to the forecourt depicted on the 1840 plan of the Craigie estate (see Figure 16). Only three of the old elms survived, and Longfellow purchased eight elms between 1844 and 1846. Longfellow's careful notes in "Craigie House" about the origin and survival of these trees give rise to questions about the longevity of this forecourt; three of these elms died the year after they were planted, and a fourth died in 1847. Longfellow indicated that only one of these was replaced, so it is possible that after 1847, the forecourt was reduced from ten to eight trees.

In Vassall's day, the mansion had stood on a six and one-half acre parcel; under Longfellow's ownership, the house was associated only with five acres and had no close or adjoining pasture. The reduction in the size of the estate did not change the essential situation of the house, but it was a register of local changes in land use. Although traces of earlier agricultural practices remained, the Longfellow property, like its neighbors, was no longer "productive." The fields, grand gardens, and orchards disappeared as smaller houses and lots emerged.

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Figure 16. Henry W. Longfellow's sketch of elms. By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

A significant impact of the changing character of the neighborhood was the creation of new, unmarked property boundaries. Around the mansion, a rustic fence and the pond served as a boundary on the west, and there was no enclosure to the east, between the Longfellow and Oliver Hasting properties. Although the northeast property line had not changed since Vassall's day, there is no information regarding its demarcation. Given this situation, it is not surprising that in addition to preserving historical landscape components (e.g., elms and views), the Longfellows also concentrated on planting hedges and screens around the edges of the property, and creating new paths within the property.

Two plans illustrating these efforts have survived. The first depicts both the Longfellow property and neighboring properties. Two letters suggest that Alexander Wadsworth Longfellow, a nephew of Longfellow's and an architect, may have been the author of this plan. Alex described the plans for the property in a letter to Samuel Longfellow (Henry W. Longfellow's brother) dated January 1844:

> I had a very pleasant visit in Cambridge, returning with James and Mary, first at . . . and afterwards at Henry's Castle Craigie. Our new Sister is a very lovely woman and I am sure you will like her much. H. is happy tho' his eyes are not perfectly restored yet. We were very busy planning the grounds & I laid out a linden avenue for the Professor's private walk. I was often reminded of your fancy for such things. . . . The house is to be repaired but not essentially altered, the old out buildings to be removed, trees planted a pond, & rustic bridge, created the pond is an apology for the bridge. Hastings is building a handsome house about 70 feet East of Craigie house rather close, but can be screened, & Joey Worcester is to leave the old Mansion in the Spring to take possession of the new house he has built just beyond the Craigie water on the west.⁸⁰

Fanny Longfellow associated Alex with the genesis of this drawing in her journal:

We had a very pleasant visit from Alick, which we persuaded him to prolong. He aided Henry with his engineer skill in drawing maps of our estate, which they decorated with rustic bridges, summer-houses, and groves *a discretion*! They contrived together to plant a linden avenue in which my poet intends to pace in his old age, and compose under its shade, resigning to me all the serpentine walks, where, in the abstraction of inspiration, he might endanger his precious head against a tree. This runs along the northern boundary, and it is to be hoped will be useful, moreover, in screening us from any unsightly buildings Mr. Wyeth may adorn his grounds with.⁸¹

These three sources refer to the "linden avenue"; this was the first path, laid out in the autumn of 1843.⁸² In addition to creating a poetic retreat for Henry Longfellow, the linden avenue served as a screen and a path between the Longfellow and Wyeth properties. The letters indicate that both necessary and decorative changes were made on the grounds; the old outbuildings, no longer needed, were removed. The description (and addition) of serpentine paths and the pond as an "apology for the (rustic) bridge," reflects the influence of the current picturesque gardening tradition on their efforts (see Figure 17).



Figure 17. Alexander Wadsworth Longfellow's sketch of grounds, 1844. By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

In the spring of 1844 a lilac hedge was planted along the fence in front of the house.⁸³ This was followed by the planting of an acacia hedge along the eastern boundary on April 28, 1844. Fruit trees were planted on the "intervening lawn." ⁸⁴ A sketch that Longfellow sent to his father in 1844 illustrated these new plantings (see Figure 18). This sketch shows the new plantings and paths in the immediate vicinity of the house. Of note are the acacia hedgerow on the eastern boundary; the clear demarcation of the terraces; the forecourt of elms; shrubs along the boundaries and driveway; and the path system. The elm trees on the eastern lawn are shown interspersed by shrubs. Thirty-three trees (possibly the fruit trees) are shown in a quincux pattern on the east lawn. Although these trees appear in both the drawing and the letter, there is no other evidence of their planting.⁸⁵ This drawing is also the first clear representation of the carriage drive.

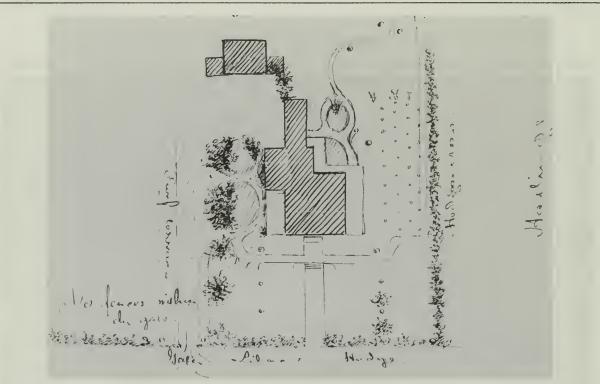


Figure 18. Henry W. Longfellow's sketch of grounds, 1844. By permission of the Houghton Library, Harvard University.

Apparently the pond, island, brook, and fence along the western edge of the Longfellow property did not provide adequate privacy for Mr. Worcester. In *Random Memories*, a collection of childhood memories, Ernest Longfellow indicated why Mr. Worcester may have requested a stronger boundary:

There was a pond on the line of separation between the two estates. . . . A high board fence separated the adjoining lands except at the pond. . . . In winter, too, on the ice, I am afraid we made an awful racket . . . for he used to issue forth in great wrath and request us to leave his part of the pond.⁸⁶

Samuel Longfellow noted that Worcester's demands to mitigate this situation with a hedge was an aesthetic expense to the Longfellows:

A buckthorn hedge has been made between us & Mr. Hastings, and Mr. Worcester not satisfied with the rustic open fence which separates between us demands a hedge there also which will cover up entirely the glimpse that I get from my western window and which I do not at all like to loose [sic].⁸⁷

It is not clear how the Longfellows resolved this problem, but to date there is no evidence of a hedge on the west property line.

In addition to planting trees and shrubs throughout the property, the Longfellows also planted a flower garden. The location of the original Craigie/Vassall gardens has not been confirmed. Longfellow described its shape as being "in the form of a lyre:"

Made the flower garden; laying it out in the form of a Lyre. Built also the rustic seat in the Old Apple tree. Set out the roses under the Library windows.⁸⁸

A watercolor by N. Vautin given to the Longfellows in 1845 is the only visual evidence that remains of the lyre garden and the rustic seat (see Figure 19). In the painting, the southern edges of this garden are visible, as well as more dominant features like the linden tree, the apple tree with its seat and swing, and distant view across the street. In the same year, after this painting was made, box was planted along the flower beds.⁸⁹



Figure 19. N. Vautin's painting of the Longfellow house from the north, 1845. Courtesy of the National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site.

In 1847, Richard Dolben, an English garden designer, redesigned the flower garden. Both Henry W. and Samuel Longfellow described the development of this new garden with optimism:

We are fairly embarked in making a flower garden, under the guidance of English Dolben, who understands his business well.⁹⁰

At the Craigie House there is nothing new I think save a new flower garden of larger growth which is in the process of completion under the direction of Richard Dolben Landscape gardener & florist from England & which promises to be very charming by next Summer, with a great Gothic Cathedral wheel or Rose-window in the centre.⁹¹

Dolben's 1847 plan for the design of this garden shows general forms but does not provide detailed information about exact planting or a rose-window pattern (see Figure 20). The central circular bed was thirty feet wide, walks were five feet wide, and there were border beds on all sides. The 1847 plan also shows a trellis with a gate extending eastward from the wood shed. As neither trellis nor woodshed appears in the Vautin painting, but do appear in later photographs, it is possible that their placement coincided with the planting of Dolben's garden. An entry in "Craigie House" explains the origins of the trellis and gate. Longfellow wrote:

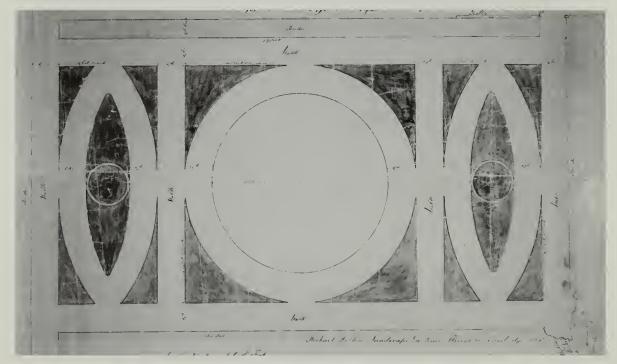


Figure 20. Richard Dolben's plan for Longfellow garden, 1847. Courtesy of the National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site.

The green trellis-work by the flower-garden was a part of an old covered walk to the outhouses. The gateway is from the old College house which stood opposite the bookseller's in the college yard. In taking up this covered walk was found the skull of a dog, with a brass collar marked 'Andrew Craigie.'⁹²

Longfellow's description of the trellis work implies that it was a pergola in Craigie's day; Longfellow removed part of it and combined it with the gateway to screen the garden from the rear of the ell (see Figure 21). Dolben's plan also suggests the existence of a hedge between the garden and carriage drive, and indicates that a path extended north from the gate north of the barn to a vegetable/kitchen garden.



Figure 21. Trellis and garden installed by Henry W. Longfellow (in 1840s), 1900. Courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

Many letters from Samuel Longfellow to Annie Longfellow Pierce, (sister of Samuel and Henry W.) and entries in Fanny Longfellow's journal note the frustrations and delights of the garden. It seems that the poet was not directly involved in the care and development of the garden, and that its planting and maintenance were rather the domain of Samuel and Fanny (Samuel Longfellow lived at the house periodically with Henry and Fanny). Yet Fanny herself was not convinced of her own gardening skills, as related by Samuel to Annie Pierce on April 27, 1846:

For the garden I shall have rather more abundant materials than last year—-Fanny thinks she has no genius for cultivating flowers & I do not think her tastes run that way, though she likes to see them.⁹³

Other letters mention frustrations with Dolben, and often the letters convey frustration with the responsibilities required for maintenance of the garden.

Nonetheless, the garden and the property in general were always a source of pleasure for the family. In her manuscript, "Reminiscences of My Father," Alice Longfellow, Henry's oldest daughter, provided a summary of both the grounds and her father's interest in maintaining them:

There were about four acres of land around the Craigie House when it came into my father's possession. The lawn was in front between the house and the street and the rest open fields filled with trees. He was much interested in planting new trees and shrubs, and in laying out an old fashioned garden. The plan of the somewhat elaborate flower beds was his own design, surrounded by low borders of box, and filled with a variety of flowers. He was not a botanist nor a student of flowers, but he found a little amateur landscape gardening a very agreeable pastime. Behind the garden was a path shaded with tall pine trees, and this was one of my father's favorite walks. There was a small green summer house, and a rustic bridge over a little brook that flowed through the garden. He also devised a rustic stairway, and platform with seats in an apple tree, where many pleasant hours were spent taking the after dinner coffee on spring afternoons among the blossoms, or talking with friends: while to the children it was the favorite spot of all.⁹⁴

This passage corroborates the earlier sketch plans and the Vautin drawing. The significant elements of the 1843-1845 sketches and letters endured: the shaded walk, the garden, the rustic bridge, and the seat in the apple tree. Drawings by Ernest Longfellow further confirm the existence (and approximate location) of other elements, in particular the location of fruit trees, the summerhouse, and the gate in the trellis by the garden (see Figures 22 and 23).⁹⁵

By the same token, the passage and the drawings throw into question the exact location of a privet hedge and fruit trees. Alice's references to the shaded path behind the garden indicate that the Longfellows used the term loosely; the garden encompassed not only the flower garden but also the area north of the barn. Therefore, although Longfellow noted in the fall of 1852 that a privet hedge was planted around the garden,⁹⁶ it is not clear where this hedge was planted. Nor is it clear where seventy-five fruit trees were planted: Longfellow noted the planting of twenty-five peach trees in 1859 for a total of seventy-five trees that year. A drawing of the property from 1845 notes fruit trees on the east lawn, but Ernest's drawing indicates "Fruit Street" in the area north of the barn. This corresponds to a 1935 plan showing two pear trees in the same location (see Figure 50).



Figure 22. Sketch plan of grounds by Ernest Longfellow. Circa 1859. Courtesy of the National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site.



Figure 23. Woodland walk and summerhouse on northern boundary of Longfellow property, circa 1904. Published in *Country Life*, August 1904. Photo courtesy of the National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site.

Between 1849 and 1870 Longfellow continued to buy adjacent land, apparently with the dual interest of preserving the view and creating an inheritance for his children. By 1871, he had added 2.26 acres to the 4-acre meadow on the south side of what was now known as Brattle Street. His last purchase, in 1870, of a 1.7-acre triangular lot between Mt. Auburn Street and the Charles River made Longfellow the owner of all the land between the Batchelder estate (east of the meadow, the former Henry Vassall estate), the Charles River, and Willard Street.⁹⁷ Longfellow also began distributing the land to his children. In 1870, a house, "Honeymoon Cottage," now 108 Brattle, had been built for his son, Ernest. Longfellow sold this and later, a small (.30-acre) lot to the north of the house, to Ernest in 1881 (see Figures 24 and 25).



Figure 24. The view from the house toward the Charles River, 1900. Courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

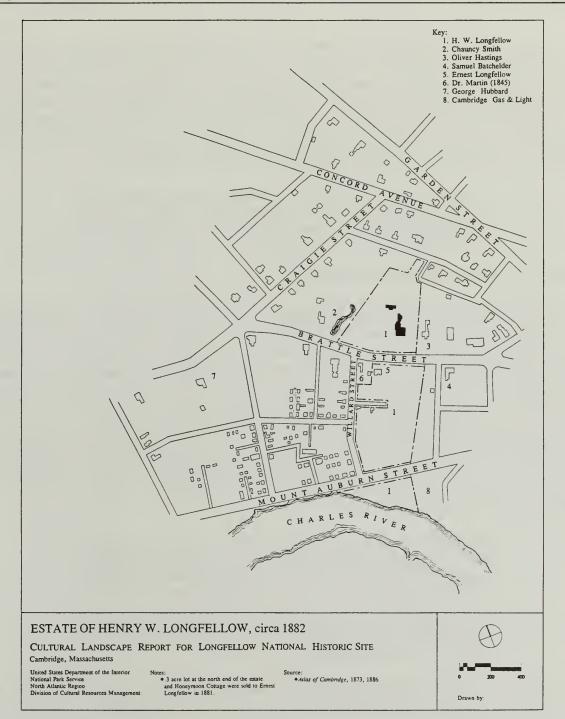


Figure 25. Plan of the estate of Henry W. Longfellow, 1882.

The acquisition of land between the house and the river preserved the historic link between the house and the river. Longfellow's concern for visual and physical access to the river was such that in 1869, when the impending construction of slaughter houses across the river further threatened the view, Longfellow organized a corporation for the purpose of purchasing this land. The land was purchased immediately in 1869, and subsequently donated by the corporation to Harvard College in July, 1870. The deed documenting this transaction describes the land as marsh with creeks and ditches as its boundaries. The deed also stipulates specific uses for this land:

said premises are conveyed subject to the following condition that they shall be forever held and used by the grantees only as marshes, meadows, gardens, public walks or ornamental grounds or as the site of College buildings not inconsistent with these uses.⁹⁸

This land was known as Longfellow Meadows.

Although Longfellow increased the size of his estate, he made few changes in the appearance of the house and grounds between the 1840s and his death in 1882. Elm trees and lilacs graced the front of the house, boundaries were marked by hedges, the woodland walk meandered through and around the garden area, and the flower garden itself continued to provide seasonal delight for the family (see Figure 26). During these years Longfellow, by now a poet of international repute, continued to write about the inspiration of his home and its setting. He writes very little about his activities on the grounds. After Fanny's sudden death in 1861, Longfellow devoted himself to his work and travelled to Europe. One significant change on the grounds in Longfellow's later years was the placement of a balustrade on the crest of the lower terrace in 1872. Its effect instigated a small family debate. Longfellow noted, hopefully, its transience, while Alice noted how it added to the grandness of the house:

I have put up the long talked of balustrade in front of the house and do not half like it, but suppose I shall get used to it in time. At all events being of wood, it can be easily taken away again; and in the meantime will be very romantic by moonlight.

We have transformed the Craigie House into a baronial Hall by putting a balustrade on the top of the second bank. It will look very pretty when we get some vines growing over it.⁹⁹

The balustrade was not removed, as Longfellow had hoped, but instead appears covered with woodbine in a photograph of Henry and Edith which dates to 1880 (see Figure 27). Longfellow died shortly after this photograph was taken, on March 24, 1882.

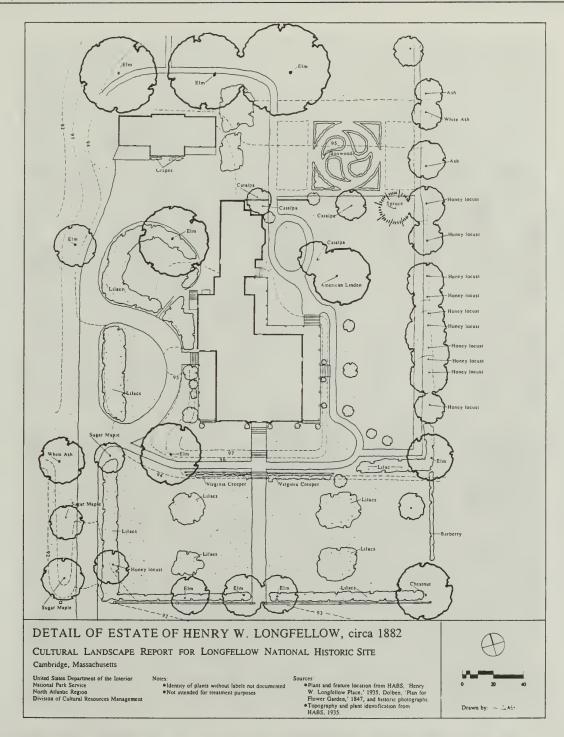


Figure 26. Plan of grounds associated with the house, Henry W. Longfellow estate, circa 1882.



Figure 27. Henry W. Longfellow and his daughter, Edith, on the steps to the Longfellow house, 1880. Courtesy of the National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site.

7 Longfellow Park 1882–1992

Like their father, the Longfellow children were aware of the historic importance of their home. The simple pleasure of the views of meadows and river were equally important to the Longfellow family. Henry W. Longfellow wrote often of the Charles River in his letters and his poetry, and it was the subject of at least three drawings by Ernest Longfellow. Immediately after their father's death, the Longfellow heirs moved to preserve the land across the street from the mansion as a memorial to their father and his deep affection for the place.

Within two weeks of Longfellow's death, in the spring of 1882, a group of Longfellow's colleagues met to organize an association to create a memorial to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. By May, 1882, the Longfellow Memorial Association was incorporated with a membership of twenty-six. None of Longfellow's children were members of this association; the donation of two parcels of land served as their contribution to the Longfellow Memorial Association. The first parcel, two acres opposite the house, the central portion of the treasured meadow, was donated to the association in 1883. The second donation of land, in 1888, was the small triangular lot between Mt. Auburn Street and the Charles River.

Prior to its formal organization in the spring of 1882, the Longfellow Memorial Association (LMA) prepared a report that outlined its objectives:

The erection under the direction of a competent committee, of a monument upon the lot of land opposite the late residence of Mr. Longfellow, including a portrait statue protected by an architectural canopy or other protection, and the laying out of the lot as a public park, to be surrendered to the City of Cambridge to be kept open forever, when the city is ready to accept the trust.¹⁰⁰

The first donation of land in 1883 from the heirs to the Longfellow Memorial Association enabled the project to commence. A plan entitled "Map of the Land opposite the Home of the late Mr. Longfellow Presented to the Longfellow Memorial Association by the Poet's Children" accompanied this donation (see Figure 28). Both the plan and the deeds for the donation indicate that the Longfellow children had specific ideas for a memorial park and house lots surrounding the park before they donated land to the LMA. The plan distinguishes an open area of "grass" from a planted area called the "garden," and locates the monument in the northern section of the park, on the grass. A horseshoe-shaped road surrounded this, and would provide access to the surrounding subdivision planned by the Longfellows. The deed was explicit about how the land should be developed; it stated that the roadway must be built within five years, that no trees or dwellings should be "suffered to exist" on the land, and that shrubs be trimmed to six feet.¹⁰¹

The same stipulations applied to a second donation of land in 1888; this was a triangular lot of marsh between Mt. Auburn Street, the Charles River, and the Cambridge Casino (located at the corner of Bath and Mt. Auburn Streets by 1888).¹⁰² However, this land was taken over by the Cambridge Park Commission in 1894, and eventually became part of the Charles River Reservation designed and managed by the Metropolitan District Commission.

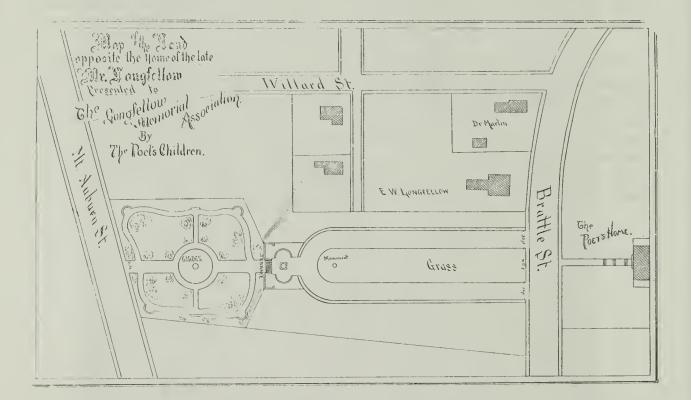


Figure 28. Plan of land donated to Longfellow Memorial Association. Author unknown. Courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

The virtues of preserving the meadow were foremost in the minds of Longfellow's heirs and the Longfellow Memorial Association. In a letter to the Association regarding the second donation of land Ernest Longfellow wrote:

Such a breathing space on the river in connection with the playing fields of the College, which my father was so instrumental in securing, will one day be a great boon to Cambridge when it becomes crowded, and would be a better monument to my father and more in harmony than any graven image that could be erected.¹⁰³

Figure 29 is a drawing by Ernest of the view from the house to the river.



Figure 29. Drawing of view from house by Ernest Longfellow, circa 1859. Courtesy of the National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site.

In 1887, the Association retained the services of Charles Eliot, a young landscape architect who had apprenticed in Frederick Law Olmsted's office (1883–1885) in Brookline, Massachusetts, to design a park for the site. It was one of Eliot's first independent projects, and his first park.¹⁰⁴ Eliot described the land and his design intentions in a letter to the association:

Your land is sharply divided into upland and lowland by a steep terrace-like bank. The brink of this bank commands a pleasing prospect over the Charles River marshes to the hills beyond. It is plain that whatever memorial monument you may determine upon should be placed here.¹⁰⁵

Eliot proposed accentuating these existing conditions by creating a park with two distinct parts. In this respect, his proposal is similar to the plan accompanying the donation of land to the LMA (see Figures 28 and 30).

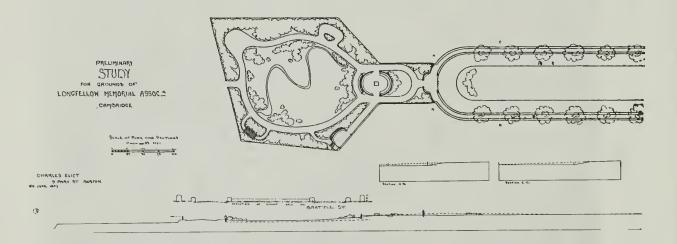


Figure 30. Charles Eliot's proposal for Longfellow Park, 1887. The sectional drawings illustrate sightlines and visibility from the northern edge of the park over the marshes. Courtesy of the National Park Service, Olmsted National Historic Site.

Recognizing that the upland section would be eventually surrounded by homes and thus would be "wholly public," he called this "the green," and designed it as a simple expanse of lawn surrounded by the horseshoe-shaped road and walks. Although he recommended that trees be planted along the sidewalks to frame the view to the river, he also acknowledged the restrictions cited in the deed by suggesting that adjacent property owners be encouraged to plant these trees. The low, granite wall at the northern end of the green was intended to keep people off the grass and provide a "handsome" edge. Eliot designed the lowland as "the garden," featuring paths and a small playground for children. To mitigate the poor drainage in this portion of the park, Eliot recommended that the upland be used to fill this area and included a brook in his proposal.¹⁰⁶ Gates at the north and south ends of the garden addressed the safety problems. Shrubs along the south fence screened the traffic of Mt. Auburn Street. Trees were designated along the edges of the garden:

let trees rise from behind shrubs on the East and West boundaries; for here there can be no question of interfering with the view from Brattle Street.¹⁰⁷

The bank between the green and garden sections was designed to take full advantage of the views of the river and marshes. He proposed an exedra "facing squarely south," and on axis with the front door of the house. From the exedra a walk led southeast along the brink of the bank, to the highest point on the LMA property, and ended in a short terrace and a flight of stairs. The entire length of this walk offered a view, which Eliot described:

the prospect hence over the river marshes is lovelier than that from the proposed exedra because the wooded hills and the tower of Mt. Auburn are included in the scene.¹⁰⁸

Eliot's plan was accepted by the Association, and was partially installed between 1887 and 1889. The major deviations from Eliot's plan were the installation of a large stone stair case (designed by C. Howard Walker) instead of the exedra, the tightening of Eliot's winding paths into an oval, and the restricted use of shrubs. In addition, trees were never planted on or around the edges of the green, and the brook was never realized. Other elements, such as the playgrounds, were not installed due to lack of funding.¹⁰⁹ The elimination of these elements, and the realignment of Eliot's path, resulted in a park dissimilar to Eliot's intended design. The stone staircase, on the other hand, created a more expansive opening between the green and the garden. A topographic map of the park, prepared by the office of Pray, Hubbard and White in 1910, depicts Eliot's plan as built. (see Figures 31–33).

The Longfellow Memorial Association continued to raise funds for a memorial statue after conveying Longfellow Park to the city of Cambridge in 1907. In 1912, the LMA hired Daniel



Figure 31. Postcard of view south from the garden area of Longfellow Park, before 1912. Courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.



Figure 32. The original stone staircase in Longfellow Park by Howard Walker. Courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

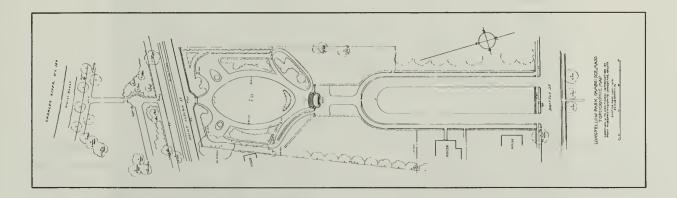


Figure 33. Topographic map of Longfellow Park by Pray, Hubbard and White, 1910. This map shows the park as built, as well as the planting along the Charles River Road. Note the gravel beach along the edge of the river. Courtesy of the National Park Service, Olmsted National Historic Site.

French to design the monument. The design of the sculpture was immediately accepted, but its siting caused much debate. Eliot had recommended siting the monument on—or in—the bank, and French also considered this an appropriate location. The Longfellows, however, dissented, because in their opinion, "the lower lot is wet in certain seasons and it is not frequented by the same class of people as the upper lot."¹¹⁰ They wanted the monument on the "green," close to Brattle Street. French subsequently consulted Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. (who in turn consulted with Arthur Shurcliff and John Nolen, two prominent landscape architects) who concurred with both Eliot and French. In addition, Olmsted, Jr. recommended that the design of the monument incorporate and redesign the existing steps.¹¹¹

The stone staircase was replaced by a stone retaining wall designed by the architect Henry Bacon. This wall, essentially a base for the sculpture, aligns it with the Longfellow House and the gate to Mt. Auburn Street (see Figures 34 and 35).¹¹² Two sets of stairs flank this retaining wall, and between the stairs, at the base of the sculpture, Paul Frost, a landscape architect, designed a sunken memorial garden.

Despite the consultation that preceded the siting of the Longfellow monument, its installation unfortunately obscured the view from the house to the river. Its location and disposition remained a contested issue. Paul Frost wrote to Olmsted, Jr. in 1922: it was unfortunate too that the monument was not designed with a keener conception of the fundamental landscape conditions, the grades, etc. which would have obviated the obstruction of the house as seen from Mount Auburn Street and from the lower park—and also less obstructed the view over the lower level from the upper. It seems to me here is an illustration of how the best of us in this country still sometimes fail to appreciate the importance of landscape setting in designing a monument or placing a building and how a monument of supreme excellence in itself may contribute little to the larger landscape scheme of which it is an essential element.¹¹³

Frost articulated these concerns about the lack of consideration given to the larger landscape setting in designing and siting the monument at a time when other changes were both obscuring and altering the Charles River. The planning of the Charles River Road began in 1892, and in 1900, it was lined with plane trees. In 1910, the completion of the Charles River Dam eliminated tidal fluctuations, and allowed woody vegetation—trees and shrubs—to flourish along the banks of the Charles.¹¹⁴ This alteration of the hydrology facilitated the stabilization, filling, and development of the banks of the river. Subsequently, land between Mt. Auburn Street and the Charles River, formerly owned by Longfellow, was developed as part of the linear park system by the Metropolitan District Commission.

Changes to Longfellow Park since 1914 include the narrowing and resurfacing of gravel paths with concrete. The park is surrounded by both houses and institutions. By the 1970s a number of canopy and understory trees had been planted in the garden. At the south gate two red oaks and an elm were planted, and three elms were planted at the north end of the garden, in front of the memorial garden. These trees, in addition to trees planted along Memorial Drive, have obscured the view from the house (This has not gone unnoticed. Until his death in 1993, Charles Eliot III, a nephew of Charles Eliot, and also a landscape architect, argued for years for the restoration of the view).

In 1989 the City of Cambridge responded to complaints about the deterioration of the lower portion of the park by hiring the landscape architectural firm, Carol Johnson and Associates. Work conducted in 1989 included the removal and replanting of trees, tree pruning, shrub removal and transplanting, lawn restoration, regrading for erosion control, the installation of granite cobbles at the south gate, and stone dust paving at the base of the monument.

Longfellow Park



Figure 34. The Longfellow Memorial and Longfellow House, circa 1925. Courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.

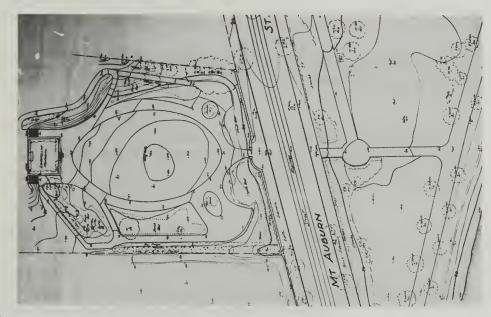


Figure 35. Plan of Longfellow Park with memorial and sunken garden. Chesterwood Museum Archives, Chesterwood, a property of of the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.



8 Alice Longfellow 1882–1928

In 1888 the Longfellow children partitioned the remainder of the estate among themselves. Eleven lots, including the house and Longfellow Memorial Association land, were created within the boundaries of the original Longfellow estate.¹¹⁵ Partial division of the estate had preceded this comprehensive partitioning. Ernest Longfellow's house, "Honeymoon Cottage" was built in 1870 at 108 Brattle Street, and the core of the meadow, as noted above, was delineated in 1883. Longfellow's youngest daughters, Edith Longfellow Dana and Anne Longfellow Thorpe received lots west of the house. Both their homes, 113 and 115 Brattle, were completed in 1887 (see Figure 36).

The partition affected the surrounding landscape. It was at this time that a lot, known as "the field," was created north of the house, and a thirty-foot right-of-way was delineated between the main house and the neighboring Dana property. The "Craigie water" disappeared, and the view of the river from the house became restricted.¹¹⁶

Longfellow's children signed an Indenture of Trust in 1913. This authorized the establishment of a trust, managed by the law firm Moore, Parker and Pickman, for the purpose of preserving and maintaining the house

> for the benefit of the public as a specimen of the best Colonial Architecture of the middle of the eighteenth century, as an historical monument of the occupation of the house by General Washington during the siege of Boston in the Revolutionary War and as a memorial to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.¹¹⁷

Alice Longfellow, the oldest child, remained unmarried, and was the only heir who did not build a house on the estate. The 1888 deeds allotted Alice two parcels of land: lot one, the field north of the house, and lot eight, to the west of the Longfellow Memorial Association's land. The terms of the 1913 indenture also permitted Alice to reside in the house, and gave her responsibility for the upkeep of the house, its furnishings and "premises generally,"

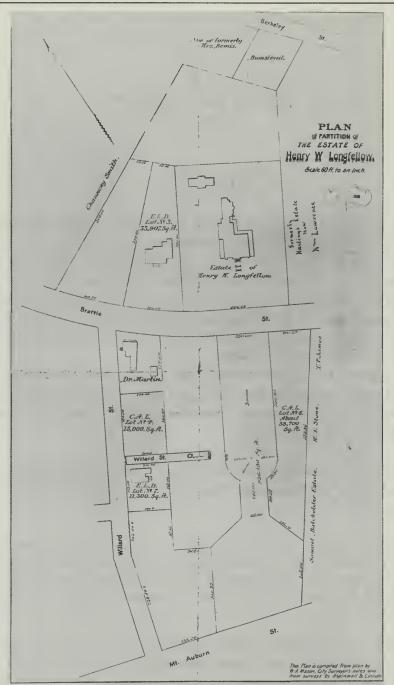


Figure 36. " Plan of the Partition of the Henry Longfellow Estate, 1888." Ten lots were carved out of Henry W. Longfellow's Estate. One lot was donated to the Longfellow Memorial Association, and eight were distributed among his children. The tenth lot, the 1.98 acres and the house, remained the property of all the children. Courtesy of the Longfellow National Historic Site Archives.

together with all fences, walks, trees, plants, and shrubs in proper condition so as not only to insure the safety thereof, but to preserve an appearance appropriate to the character of the estate.¹¹⁸

It is likely that Alice, like her father, retained a gardener to maintain the grounds after 1882. To date, there is no evidence of any major changes between 1882 and 1904.

However, in 1904 Alice hired Martha Brookes Brown (later Hutcheson), a young landscape architect, to work on the formal garden. Hutcheson's work both paid tribute to Longfellow's earlier design and made some significant changes in the layout and materials of the garden.¹¹⁹

Martha Brookes Hutcheson was an ambitious and outspoken woman, determined that landscape architecture offered vast opportunities for civic and social improvements. She was influenced by Charles Sargent, Frederick Law Olmsted and Gertrude Jekyll, and her principles of design combined the formalism of what came to be known as the Country Place era with an appreciation of the value of native plant materials and styles. Her book, *The Spirit of the Garden*, published in 1924, provides a concise summary of these design principles, and focuses on the importance of plants in defining order and space in the landscape.

This book, considered with information from Hutcheson's photographs and papers, provides clues to her design intent for Craigie House.¹²⁰ First, it seems that the overall objective was to create a garden (beyond replanting) appropriate to the colonial style of the house. In her application to the American Society of Landscape Architects, Hutcheson listed the project as "Fl. Gar. arbors, gates, fences, etc to conform to Craigie House," and she described it in her book as "Colonial motive in arbor and gates."¹²¹ Hutcheson's work at the Longfellow house reflects both an early twentieth-century interest in revival architecture and gardens, and a Longfellow family interest in colonial history. Alice Longfellow had a particular interest in colonial gardens as a member of the Ladies Association of Mount Vernon, a group responsible for the preservation and restoration of the house and gardens.

The Historic American Buildings Survey (HABS) conducted research on the Longfellow house and grounds in 1935. In response to their query for plans and other information on the garden, Hutcheson replied:

> I regret having to write you that there was no original plan of the Longfellow Garden when I took it in hand. I added all arbors, gates, etc. but I based the flower beds on the ghost of those which existed, as Miss Longfellow told me that her father, the poet, had laid out the original plan, taking the flower bed shapes from a Persian pattern.

Though I thought it an ugly idea, it was nevertheless, so in keeping with the way things were done at the period that I felt it was interesting to reset the box borders in the original flower bed pattern so long as Longfellow, himself, had done it originally. I felt that it was a way in which one of my generation could pay him an homage. This pleased Miss Longfellow very much.¹²²

A year later, Hutcheson responded in slightly more detail to a second inquiry from the HABS team:

The Longfellow Garden at Cambridge I overhauled entirely. It had gone to rack and ruin. I reset box in the Persian pattern which the poet had originally planned, for sentiment, which pleased Miss Alice Longfellow very much. Then I added arbors, gates, fence, etc. making of it a garden which Miss Longfellow could go to and, if she chose, close gates to visitors as she grew older.¹²³

Plans and drawings of Hutcheson's work have not been recovered. However, this correspondence indicates that the essential plan of Henry W. Longfellow's garden—described as a "Persian pattern"—was retained in these twentieth-century additions. In both letters, Hutcheson mentions resetting the box, but gives no indication that she replanted any other plant material. The second letter, in particular, establishes a two-fold objective for Hutcheson's work: the rehabilitation the existing garden as a memorial to Henry W. Longfellow, and the creation of an outdoor room for Alice Longfellow's enjoyment.

Martha Hutcheson's installation of gates, fences, and an arbor changed the dimensions and character of the garden area (see Figure 37). The garden was enlarged by adding a second border bed on the western edge, and widening the southern border. The most significant change was the relocation of the pediment and trellis (installed by Henry W. Longfellow in the 1840s) from an east-west orientation to its current north-south orientation (see Figures 38-40). Hutcheson described the reason for this in her book:

the use of the trellis for very rapid effect in cutting out some objectionable feature or making a garden demarcation where no space could be given to the growth of a hedge. The old stable, usually the haunt of numberless pigeons, lent interest to the garden when seen in part only. The lattice used in this way should be entirely covered by green, kept in well clipped form.¹²⁴

The trellis, now painted white and covered with vines, served as a screen between the garden and the barn, isolating the garden from service operations (e.g., barn activities, driving). As a screen, the trellis established the flower garden as a distinct room; as a wall, it established the garden as an extension of the house.

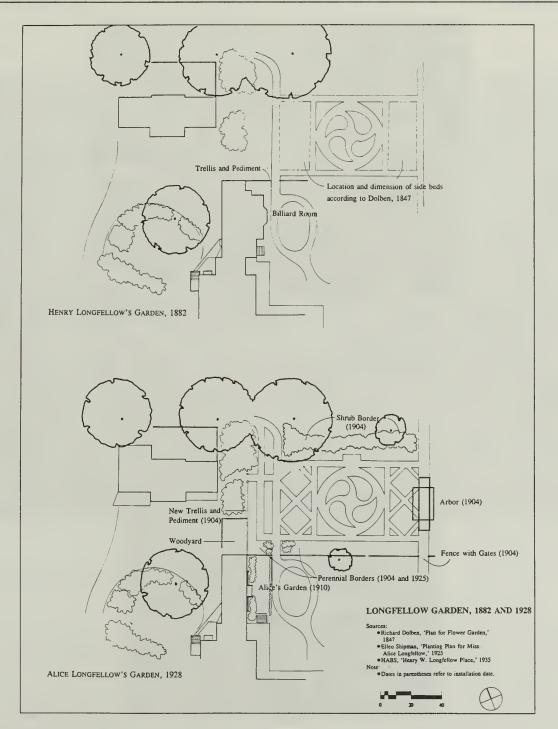


Figure 37. The garden at the Longfellow house, 1882 and 1925.



Figure 38. Photograph of the trellis in its original location, 1900. Courtesy of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities.



Figure 39. The trellis under construction. Photograph by Martha Hutcheson, circa 1904. Courtesy of the Morris County Park Commission.



Figure 40. The completed trellis after 1905. Photograph by Martha Hutcheson. Courtesy of the Morris County Park Commission.

Like the trellis, the remaining edges of the garden reflected Hutcheson's concern for expressing the relation between the garden and what lay beyond it. A three foot high, latticework fence replaced the trellis on the east lawn (see Figure 42). This fence, located approximately five feet south of the original trellis, created a formal, yet open edge to the garden. In contrast, on the northern edge of the garden Hutcheson installed an informal arrangement of shrubs, complementing the informal character of the field behind it (see Figure 41).



Figure 41. The southern edge of the garden after 1905. Photograph by Martha Hutcheson. Courtesy of the Morris County Parks Commission.



Figure 42. The northern edge of the garden after 1905. Photograph by Martha Hutcheson. Courtesy of the Morris County Parks Commission.

The installation of an arbor transformed the eastern edge of the garden into a picturesque retreat (see Figures 43 and 44). Hutcheson used arbors in many of her projects, and described their merits in her book:

The arbor may be classed as the same type of importance as the hedge—another link between architecture and the green world and be looked upon, when used in connection with a hedge, as its gateway or doorway. . . This may easily become the most intimate and enchanting spot about a home, by bringing two otherwise unrelated features together...¹²⁵

On the Craigie House arbor specifically, she wrote:

This arbor serves three purposes: (1) It forms a shady spot which is large enough for a group of people to sit in; (2) It makes the long path more picturesque, breaking the effect of uninteresting distance; (3) It creates a camouflage screening a neighbor's building which lies at the direct rear of the arbor.¹²⁶

From Hutcheson's photographs it seems that the "colonial flavor" was achieved through the detailing of the arbors and fences; posts, finials, and lattice complemented the existing architectural details of the house and the fence along Brattle Street. It is not clear at this point whether or not plant material was used to achieve a colonial effect. Hutcheson clearly planted boxwood and much, if not all, the plant material.

Shortly after the formal garden was replanted, Alice Longfellow made some structural changes to the house. According to the 1975 *Historic Structures Report*, a veranda was added to the rear second story in 1910. In 1905 the billiard room was removed from the woodshed, and the exposed east wall of the woodshed was transformed into another garden. Designed for Alice by Alexander Wadsworth Longfellow, Jr., this garden is a simple, small sitting area beneath a "shelter." The central seat is flanked by flower beds and lattice, and the whole area was enclosed with a low hedge (see Figure 45). Plants are indicated but not specified in the plans for this garden.

In 1919, Alice received a letter from Charles Sargent of the Arnold Arboretum saying:

I am distressed to hear about your old Box. It may be necessary to cut it back severely, which of course would be a misfortune.¹²⁷

While there is no evidence of the initial communication or an immediate response to this letter, the letter indicates that maintenance of the garden, in particular the boxwood, was a problematic issue.



Figure 43. Construction of the arbor on east edge of garden. Photograph by Martha Hutcheson, 1904. Courtesy of the Morris County Parks Commission.



Figure 44. The arbor completed, after 1905. Photograph by Martha Hutcheson. Courtesy of the Morris County Parks Commission.

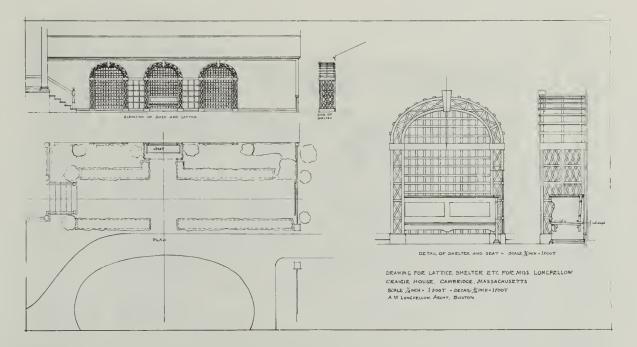


Figure 45. "Drawing for Lattice, Shelter, etc for Miss Longfellow," Alexander Wadsworth Longfellow, Jr. Courtesy of the National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site.

Six years after this letter, in 1925, Ellen Shipman produced planting plans for the Longfellow garden. Shipman was one of a small group of women landscape designers in the early years of the twentieth century. Unlike Hutcheson, she had no formal training in landscape architecture: an avid interest in horticulture and familiarity with the artist colony that flourished in Cornish, New Hamphsire in the early 1900s, were the foundations of her career. She honed her design skills by creating planting plans for the architect Charles Platt in the 1910s. In 1920 she opened her own firm in New York City, and by the 1930s, Shipman had an established reputation as a country estate designer.

The plans that Shipman did for Alice Longfellow have survived, but as with Hutcheson, there is no correspondence between Alice and the landscape architect indicating the reasons or intent for the replanting (see Figures 46 and 47).¹²⁸ However, Shipman's plans include substantial horticultural notes and complete plant lists for shrubs, bulbs, and perennials. In many cases Shipman indicated the plant material she was replacing, thus providing information about the garden planted by Hutcheson. In addition, Alice Longfellow and her gardener, Michael Gaffney, saved all the receipts for the Shipman planting. This evidence indicates that Ellen Shipman made few, if any, major

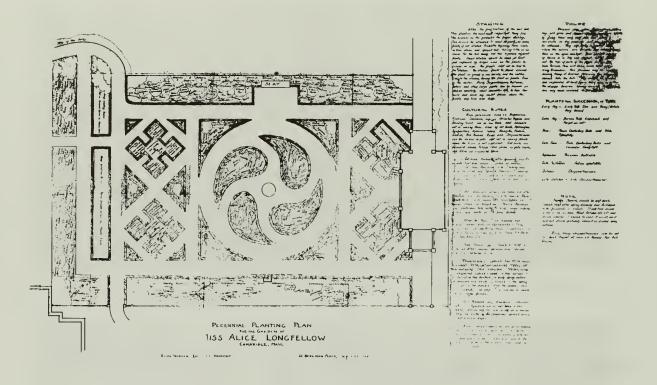


Figure 46. "Perennial Planting Plan for Miss Alice Longfellow." Ellen Shipman, 1925. Courtesy of the National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site.

changes in the design of the garden, and suggests that her primary role, like Hutcheson's, was to rehabilitate an existing garden rather than to create a new garden.

According to the notes on the HABS drawings, Ellen Shipman placed a bench beneath a carmine crab, and planted more shrubs behind this on the north edge of the garden. Her plans show the fence, trellis, gates, arbor, and pump, as well as the billiard room, intact. Shipman may have used an outdated plan (pre-1910) as the base for her drawings. The plan also indicates a circular feature in the center of the garden where a sundial now stands on a column.

Alice travelled frequently, to Europe and to family homes in Maine and in Manchester, Massachusetts. In her absences, the house was open, on a limited basis, to visitors, and the east porch, the east lawn, and the garden were used for ceremonies, especially Radcliffe graduations. The

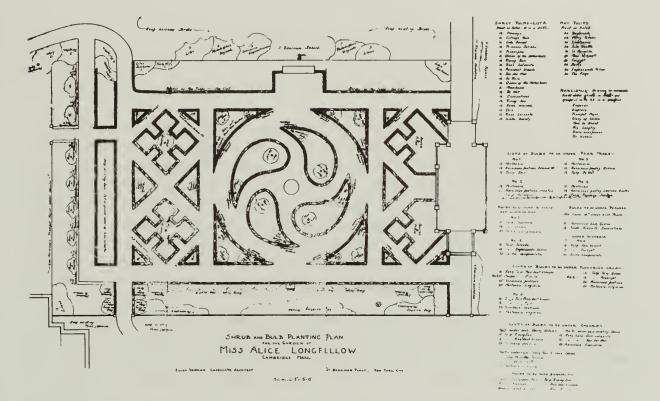
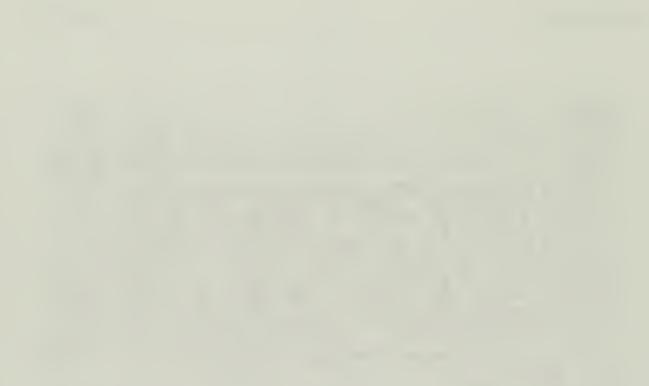


Figure 47. "Bulb and Shrub Planting Plan for Miss Alice Longfellow." Ellen Shipman, 1925. Courtesy of the National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site.

field to the north was also well-used by the neighborhood. It was surrounded by a board fence, visible in many twentieth-century photographs, and frequently interrupted by stiles (a series of rungs used to climb over the fence). According to Joan Shurcliff, whose family spent winters (1927-1947) in the house, the field was a favorite play area of both children and dogs; a small circus came there once a year, and baseball was often played on the field.¹²⁹



9 The Longfellow House Trust 1913–1972

There were no changes made to the property adjacent to the house at the time of Alice's death. Alice's nephew, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, known as Harry, shared the house with her, and continued to reside there, paying rent, after her death in 1928. There were, however, some slight adjustments in the management of the estate. In 1930, Annie Longfellow Thorp became the executor of the estate, and in the same year, she placed restrictions on land adjacent to Longfellow Park, now the property of the Cambridge Skating Club. These restrictions limited building height and type essentially to single-family residential or recreational. As a means of raising income (and of sharing the house with relatives and admirers), the Trust, under the recommendation of the heirs, approved the rental of rooms in the house to both families and students.

The Longfellow heirs had gradually built houses or sold the land surrounding Longfellow Park. By 1928, there were four houses on the perimeter of Longfellow Park (see Figure 48). In addition, many of the neighbors had subdivided their property: the subdivision of the Batchelder, Worcester and Hastings properties, in particular, contributed to an increasing density of the residential neighborhood.

Receipts on file at Hill and Barlow, the law firm which succeeded Moore, Parker and Pickman in management of the Longfellow House Trust, show that major maintenance projects on both the house and grounds were constant in the 1920s and 1930s. The fence, arbor, and trellis were repainted (white, their original color) and repaired in 1916. The arbor was painted again in 1923, and finally removed in 1932–34. Likewise, painting and repairs to the house and piazzas were continuous. Elm trees and a horse chestnut were replaced in 1922, and the lawn was thoroughly treated to improve soil conditions for the trees and shrubs. The Trust approved the installment of a new chain link fence on the eastern boundary between the house and the Cabot property, to be painted an unobtrusive green, in 1937.

Preoccupying the correspondence between the Longfellow House Trust and the Longfellow heirs in the mid-1930s are questions about the management of the house. Shortly after Alice's death the trust experienced financial difficulties, and realized that the caretaking tasks exceeded the scope of the Trust. Three options were considered: to keep it in the family to donate it to a corporation;

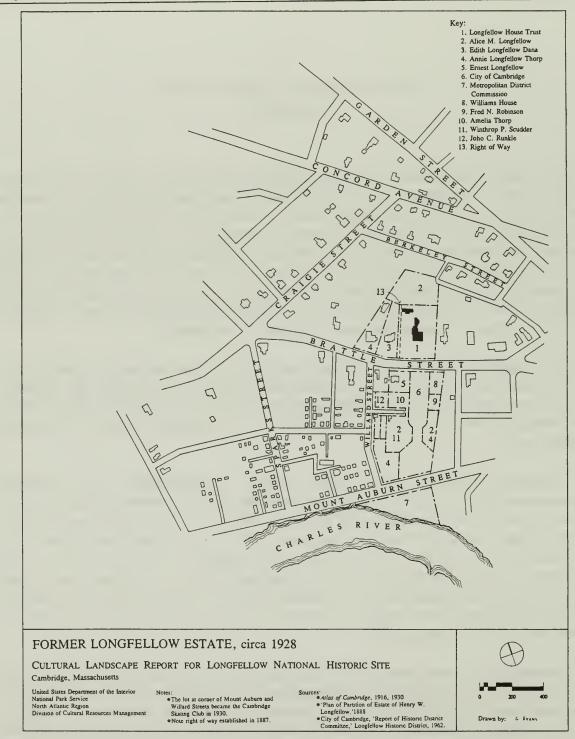


Figure 48. Former Longfellow estate, 1928. Note the right-of-way, established in 1887.

or to donate it to Radcliffe College. After much discussion it was decided that the house should remain in the family, under its current rental situation.

The Historic American Buildings Survey requested permission to survey the property in 1935; Harry Dana and Annie Thorp gave immediate approval. The garden survey done of the Longfellow house was one of several done in Massachusetts, "to record, preserve, and learn more about the early American Landscape Architecture."¹³⁰ It is through the work of the HABS team that we have a record of both the grounds and the house prior to the donation to the Park Service (see Figures 49-54). The HABS project identified and mapped all woody plants on the premises and produced measured drawings of the fences, gates, pediments, and balustrades, as well as of the grounds in general. The site plan, Figure 49, is a particularly important documentation of the entire property. The forecourt of elms contains not ten but seven elms, three of which had six-inch calipers, and probably had recently been planted. The wooden board fence, mentioned and visible in earlier documents and photographs, is clearly delineated on the east, northeast, and northwest boundaries. On the east boundary, the fence terminates well above the turf terrace, and a hedge of barberry is evident below the terrace. Paths around and through the field are marked, as are trees. The arbor on this plan corresponds to the arbor that appears in Ernest's 1855 drawing. "Woodland Avenue," another feature mentioned in Longfellow's journals and in the children's drawing, is evident in 1935. As only two linden trees are identified, it appears that the linden walk may have been instead a woodland walk, lined as it was in 1935, with oaks, American elms, maples, white ash, and pine trees. Two eight-inch caliper pear trees, possibly the remnant of an entrance of some sort, mark the path behind the barn. A drying yard, enclosed by lilacs, is west of the kitchen, and a woodyard, enclosed by a board fence, is north of the "woodhouse" that Alice built in 1910(?). Directly behind the eastern portion of the barn is another area, enclosed with lattice, whose function is not identified on the HABS drawings; this was probably the compost or manure pile. The installation of a tennis court behind the barn, at an unknown date, caused much ruckus among the children, who bemoaned the loss of play space.

In retrospect, the 1935 survey was well-timed, for several reasons. In September, 1938, the "Great Hurricane" devastated New England. Harry Dana described the damage to the Longfellow property in a letter to his cousin, Mary King Longfellow:

the most beautiful elms at the gate, the lovely catalpa with its late fragrance outside my window, and the sheltering umbrella-like apple at the bottom of the garden. Fortunately the great elm near the house and most of the elms behind the house are still standing, though only three of the pines along the walk to the north are left standing.¹³¹

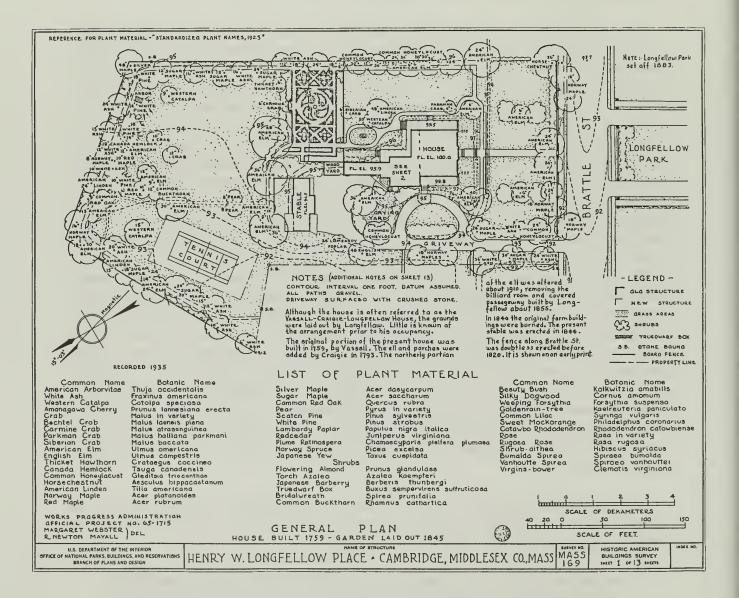


Figure 49. HABS "General Plan of Henry W. Longfellow Place", 1935.

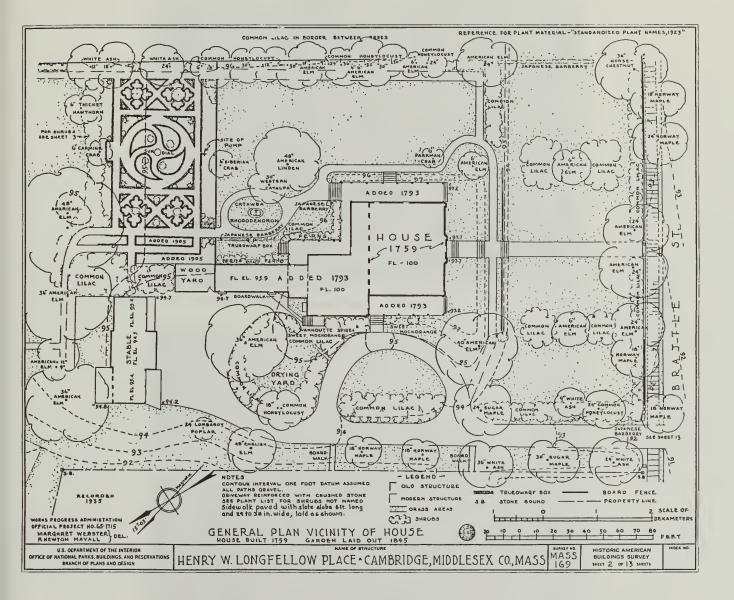


Figure 50. HABS "General Plan Vicinity of House, Henry W. Longfellow Place", 1935.



Figure 51. HABS photograph of Longfellow garden from veranda, 1940.

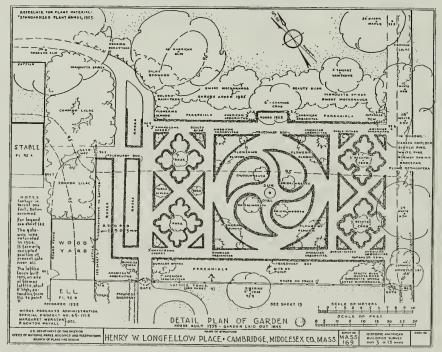


Figure 52. HABS "Detail Plan of Garden, Henry W. Longfellow Place", 1935.



Figure 53. HABS photograph of Longfellow garden, 1940.



Figure 54. HABS photograph of Longfellow house, 1940.

The hurricane destroyed some dominant landscape features at the Longfellow house: elms no longer framed the house; the apple tree, a favored spot for afternoon coffee since at least 1844, was blown over; and the wooded walk along the northern boundary, planted by Longfellow in 1845, was no longer a shady refuge.

None of these trees were replaced, although other trees were planted elsewhere over the years. Michael Gaffney, a gardener at the house, recalled planting a tulip tree of Mt. Vernon stock in the northeast corner of the property, oaks and maples along the west boundary, and a linden tree on the northwest boundary stone. In the early 1950s, Gaffney also installed the brick walk leading from the front gate to the front door of the house. Originally a packed dirt path, covered with boards in winter, its condition necessitated a new surface. This was intended to be flagstone, to match the city sidewalk in front of the house. Unable to find an appropriate size of flagstone, Gaffney decided on brick, the expense of which dictated narrowing the walk from eight to five feet. He reinforced the east end of the brick wall, and removed ten feet from the west end for "traffic safety."¹³²

More changes occurred when Alice Thorp (daughter of Anne Longfellow Thorp) died in 1955. Shortly after her death, the field to the north of the house was sold to Harvard University's Episcopal Divinity School. Over the years, the field was transformed to a cul-de-sac, providing housing for students and faculty of the Divinity School.

In 1952, two years after the death of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, the Longfellow House Trust initiated action for transfer of the Longfellow property to the National Park Service. There were two primary reasons for this move, both specified in the 1913 Indenture of Trust. The Longfellow House Trust had an inadequate source of funds for "upkeep, repair, operations and safeguarding in accordance with the express intent of the original grantors."¹³³ Although the house was still occupied by rental tenants, as agreed by the Longfellow heirs, there were no longer any Longfellow descendants living in the house. The 1913 Indenture specified that if no children or grandchildren desired to occupy the house, the property was to be conveyed to an existing corporation or one organized for that purpose.

These negotiations proceeded slowly. In 1952, the National Park Service did not manage any sites commemorating a writer, and did not express an immediate interest in the site. The Longfellow House Trust approached the New England Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities and the National Trust for Historic Preservation before contacting the Park Service again in 1962.

The National Park Service responded with more interest and conducted a field investigation of the property. This work, completed in 1963 as "Longfellow House: A Proposed National Historic Site," concluded that the Longfellow house:

is of exceptional importance, and, from the standpoint of national significance, is fully suitable for inclusion in the National Park System. . . . the importance of the house lies in its connection with the poet, Longfellow, who occupied this house as his residence from 1837 to 1882.¹³⁴

The report recommended that the property become a National Historic Site managed by the National Park Service. Its significance was tied to the history, the arts and sciences of the United States, within the subthemes of literature, drama, and music. This recognition of the national significance of the site also articulated the case for its designation as a National Historic Landmark on December 29, 1962. It is currently listed as a National Historic Landmark under Theme XIX: literature, and under the subtheme of poetry.¹³⁵

In the meantime, Frank Buda, who began as caretaker at the Longfellow House in 1933, continued to care for the grounds and house after Harry Dana's death. The Cambridge Plant and Garden Club cared for the formal gardens. In 1967, a cooperative agreement was established between the Cambridge Plant and Garden Club, the Longfellow Trustees, and the Cambridge Heritage Trust in a program to restore the gardens and grounds "to virtually the state in which they were when Longfellow lived at the house."¹³⁶ Toward this end, Diane Kostial McGuire, a landscape architect, prepared "The Garden Book for the Longfellow House-1969" and accompanying plans of existing and proposed conditions. McGuire's objectives for the project reflected those stated in the legal documents, as well as more recently developed concerns about reduced maintenance capabilities. The proposed garden was thought at the time to be compatible with Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's garden. Work conducted in 1969-70, in accordance with McGuire's plan, included the removal of the side beds from the formal garden, thus the historic paths on the east and west sides of the formal garden were also removed, including the path to the gate leading to the barn. The honeysuckle by the east piazza was replaced with vinca, the oval outside the library was transformed to a rose garden, and roses were planted along the front balustrade. Other proposed but unrealized plans included moving the trellis and pediment to its original location, creating a forecourt of lindens on the front lawn, and removing the path along the east piazza (see Figures 55 and 56).

Despite the National Historic Landmark designation and the continued interest of the National Park Service, legal problems delayed the actual transfer of the property to the National Park Service for ten years. The Longfellow House Trust submitted a petition to the Middlesex County Probate Court in 1969; this petition restated the problems with the trust's management of the property and articulated the selection of the National Park Service as an appropriate agency for managing the property:

Of all the alternative arrangements for the safeguarding, management and preservation of the trust property that the petitioners have considered since 1952, acquisition of the trust property

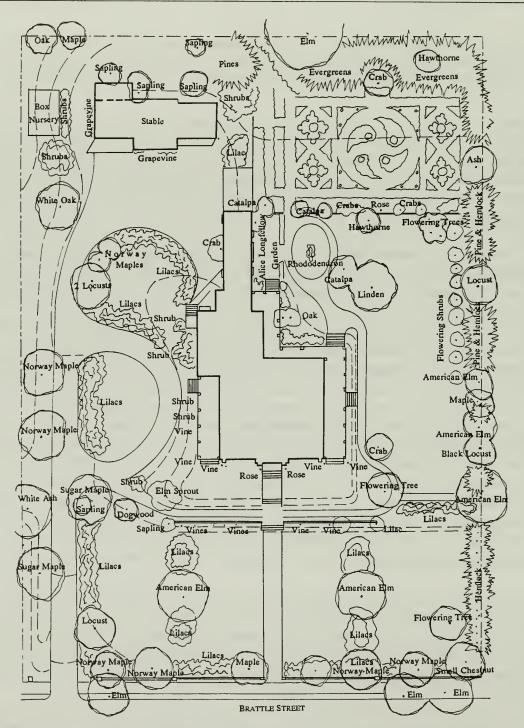


Figure 55. Existing conditions, 1968. Redrawn from a plan by Diane Kostial McGuire.

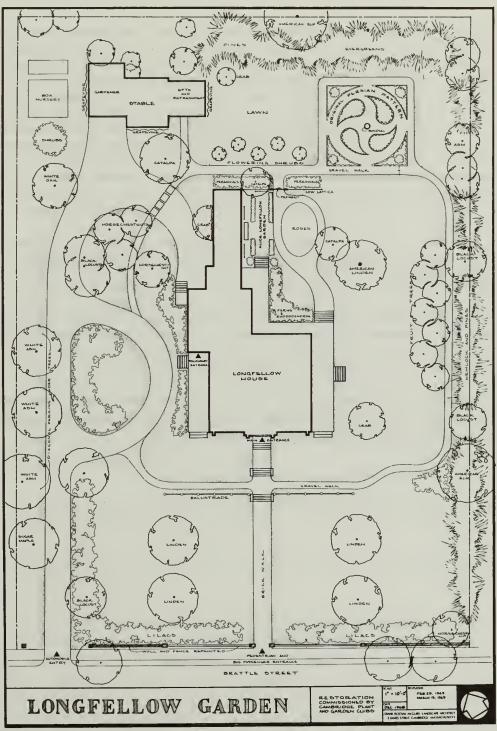


Figure 56. Restoration Plan, 1968, by Diane Kostial McGuire.

by the National Park Service is in their opinion the only one which combines the requisite financial resources with superior managerial competence and staff facilities. Your petitioners are informed and believe and therefore allege that the National Park Service is prepared to safeguard, maintain, preserve and operate the trust property in accordance with the express intent of the original grantors and to conform with certain specific requirements of the said Indentures of Trust applicable in the event of transfer of the trust property to a corporation; that it will adequately staff the property with a view to providing regulated public access; that it will make further surveys of the historic background of the house and grounds and maintain the integrity thereof; that it will, as it deems required, and subject to appropriation of public funds therefor, make necessary and desirable capital improvements to the property; and that it will enter into such further ancillary agreements with the trustees as may be necessary to establish the respective rights and duties of the parties concerning funds remaining.¹³⁷

Three years later, in 1972, the United States Congress passed a bill authorizing the transfer of the house and 1.98 acres of land to the National Park Service. The language of the bill reiterated the 1913 Indenture of Trust:

To preserve in public ownership for the benefit and inspiration of the people of the United States, a site of national significance containing a dwelling which is an outstanding example of colonial architecture and which served as George Washington's headquarters . . . and from 1837–1882 was the home of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.¹³⁸

The Congressional act upheld both the merits of the property and the responsibilities of the manager of the site as specified by the Longfellow family in 1913, thus guaranteeing the preservation of the property in accordance with the wishes of the Longfellow family.

10 NATIONAL PARK SERVICE 1972–1992

The National Park Service assumed management of the Longfellow property in December 1973. The house accommodated administrative and interpretive activities. The grounds were maintained by one gardener, and the Cambridge Garden Club continued its involvement in the maintenance of the formal gardens.

After initial operating procedures were established, the Park Service undertook research and documentation of the history of both the house and the grounds. The result was a *Historic Structures Report*, completed by the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA) in 1975. This report included a section by Elizabeth Banks entitled, "Historic Grounds Report," which focused primarily—and thoroughly—on Henry W. Longfellow's years at the house. In their recommendations for the site, SPNEA diverged from earlier assessments:

Our basic recommendation concerning the period to which the building is restored is that it be kept almost exactly as it is. It has changed little since the death of Alice Longfellow in 1928.¹³⁹

This was the first report to acknowledge the significance of Alice's changes (or lack thereof) to the historic character of the property.

The *Historic Structures Report* identified many aspects of the property affected by deterioration; in response to this, preservation and repair work was undertaken in 1975 and 1976. The visitor entrance was changed from the front door to the east ell, and a bluestone path was installed through Alice's garden to improve the access to the ell. In addition to extensive repairs to the house, the front fence and balustrade on the terrace were repaired, rebuilt, and repainted; the brick wall was repointed; and the gate assembly was repaired. Vandalism in 1978 necessitated second repairs to the Chippendale fence.

In 1978 the Longfellow National Historic Site, Final Master Plan was approved. In addition to a statement of significance and a brief history, the Final Master Plan identified the architecture, furnishings, archives and grounds as the four primary resources. It also defined the historic period as 1759–1928, and described the site as "bearing testimony to the development of American taste and design from 1759 to 1928." In choosing 1928, rather than 1882, as the end date for the historic period, the planning team recognized the recommendations put forth in the Historic Structures Report concerning the significance of changes that Alice Longfellow made to the property, both buildings and grounds.¹⁴⁰

This report also outlined management objectives. For the purposes of interpretation, the *Final Master Plan* stated these objectives:

To foster public awareness and understanding of the site and its environs with particular emphasis on Longfellow's life and work as they are reflected in the house and grounds.

To provide supplemental interpretation that reflects the Revolutionary associations of the house, and also focuses on architecture, decorative arts, and other owners of the house.¹⁴¹

Those with relevance to resource management read as follows:

To protect, preserve and restore the historic integrity of the house, its furnishings gardens and grounds . . .

To protect and enhance the scenic values of the historic site.¹⁴²

In particular reference to future management of the grounds, this report recommended the acquisition of the thirty-foot right-of-way on the western edge of the property to eliminate any possibility of the Episcopal Divinity School activating the easement. It also recommended that Longfellow Park remain under the administration of the city of Cambridge. Overall, the 1978 *Master Plan*, in accordance with the Longfellow family deeds, reinforced the need for sensitive planning to preserve the site. The authors warned against "elaborate recreation of a scene that would compromise existing historic fabric or detract from the simple dignity of the setting." Subsequent planning documents for the Henry Wadsworth Longfellow National Historic Site have upheld these objectives, most recently the "Resource Management Plan" (1991) and the "Scope of Collections Statement" (1983).

Neither the 1975 *Historic Structures Report* or the 1978 *Master Plan* provided enough documentation of the history of the grounds to articulate a management plan for the landscape. The

Cambridge Garden Club expressed increasing concern with the historic accuracy of the appearance of the grounds and the maintenance capabilities. In response to both the Garden Club's concerns and the lack of documentation, the National Park Service undertook a comprehensive "Historic Grounds Report" in 1982. This report, completed in draft form in 1984, was retitled a "Cultural Landscape Report." While this report was underway, minor grounds work continued: boxwood was renewed by pruning it down from three feet to eight inches; a copy of the sundial was stolen and replaced; and lilacs in the laundry yard were replaced.

The final section of the draft 1984 "Cultural Landscape Report" listed recommendations for a restoration of the grounds. These recommendations, based on existing conditions and available documentation, represented a range of restoration dates, beginning with the Longfellow period, and ending with the contemporary situation. Several aspects of this plan were implemented between 1985 and 1987. In Alice's garden, boxwood was moved to the formal garden and replaced with Japanese barberry. Alice's garden was also replanted with ferns, hollyhocks, and clematis. The roses in the oval outside the ell were transplanted to the west border of the formal garden, the vinca beneath the east porch was replaced with Hall's honeysuckle, and the catalpa at the north west corner of the wood shed was removed. Some of the roses on the front balustrade were replaced with woodbine.

The 1984 draft "Cultural Landscape Report" recommended that the flower garden be expanded to its pre-1968 size, and that its borders be altered to reflect the garden in Henry W. Longfellow's time (see Figures 57 and 58). Most recommendations whose historic accuracy was questionable were not executed: these included moving the trellis and pediment to its original location (running east/west from the no longer extant billiard room), surrounding the garden with privet, and planting a buckthorn hedge on the west property line (delineated in 1888). However, the existing formal garden was replanted. The draft "Cultural Landscape Report" provided the following instruction for replanting the formal garden:

Those species depicted in the HABS drawings should be accurate and should be planted accordingly. Flowers in the bed were not solely annuals... These varieties of flowers should once again fill the parterred beds.¹⁴³

The HABS plans do not include an herbaceous plant list, and are accurate for what existed in 1935, not earlier. Rather, these plans represent the culmination of garden designs and planting plans by Hutcheson, Shipman, Dolben, Samuel Longfellow, and Henry W. Longfellow. Moreover, there is no comprehensive plant list from Longfellow's period. Therefore, there is no conclusive evidence to date that would support a detailed restoration, particularly in terms of herbaceous plants, of Henry W. Longfellow's flower garden.

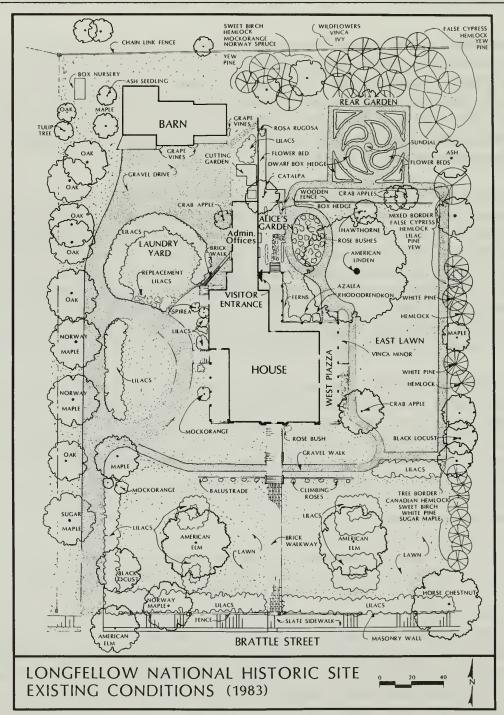


Figure 57. Longfellow National Historic Site, Existing Conditions, 1984. Courtesy of the National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site.

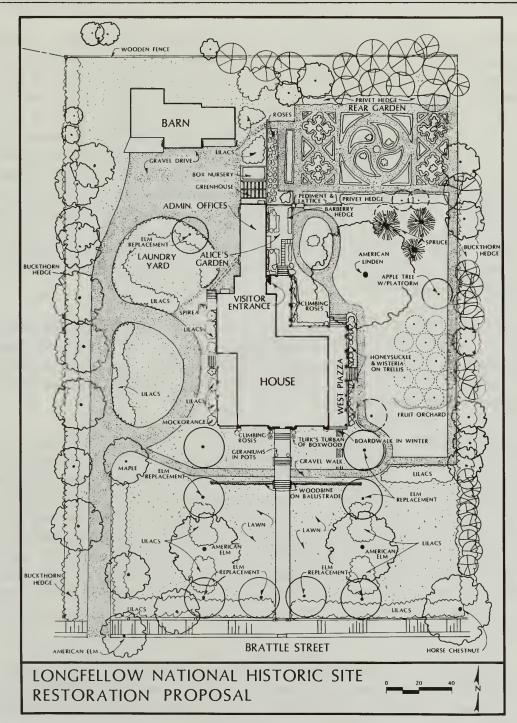


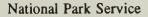
Figure 58. Longfellow National Historic Site, Restoration Plan, 1984. Courtesy of the National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site.

The draft "Cultural Landscape Report" also recommended methods of facilitating maintenance. An irrigation system was installed in 1985, and between 1985 and 1987, the driveway was excavated and resurfaced to minimize drainage problems. The new driveway consists of a ten-inch subsurface of three-quarters-inch crushed stone and four inches of compacted stone dust and crushed stone mixture. At the same time, although there was no historic precedent for it, the driveway was edged with granite blocks set in concrete. The 1984 report also recommended the replacement of trees, particularly the elms on the front lawn. In 1987, eight 'Liberty' American elms were planted on the front lawn, in accordance with recommendations in the 1984 report. A ninth elm was planted in the lilac hedge surrounding the laundry yard. Three hazardous trees were removed in 1987, and replaced in kind. These were a Norway maple along the Brattle Street wall, a honey locust along the east side of the driveway, and a sugar maple on the west side of the driveway. Other in-kind tree replacements at this time included a sugar maple and a Norway maple on the west side of the driveway, and a littleleaf linden at the northwest corner of the property. Paths were also resurfaced with a stone dust/sand mixture (see Figure 58).

In 1988, the draft "Cultural Landscape Report" was reviewed by the Acting Superintendent of the Olmsted, Longfellow, and Kennedy National Historic Sites. In general, the review found that the recommendations in the draft were inconsistent with the historic documentation provided in the report. To address this problem, it was decided to make the recommended changes to the draft and produce a final Cultural Landscape Report.

Pending the completion of the Cultural Landscape Report, the management strategy for the site was shifted from restoration to preservation maintenance. Since 1988, improving public access to the site has generated most changes to the property. In 1989 the woodshed was rehabilitated to provide a visitors' center. Subsequently, a path was installed from the west gate in the garden fence north to the carriage house. Non-historic granite edging along the driveway was removed from areas where paths meet the driveway. In 1990, a ramp for the physically disabled was constructed. This extends north from the visitors' center, parallel to the trellis and pediment on the west edge of the garden. The installation of this ramp necessitated the removal of the cutting garden, which was installed in 1979–80. An archeological dig was carried out by National Park Service archeologists prior to the excavation for concrete footings for the new ramp. Evidence of earlier structures was inconclusive.

Other work on the site has concentrated on maintenance and protection of historic features. The fence along Brattle Street was repaired and repainted in 1988. The balustrade on the front lawn, the trellis and pediment, and the fence on the southern edge of the formal garden were repaired and painted in 1989.



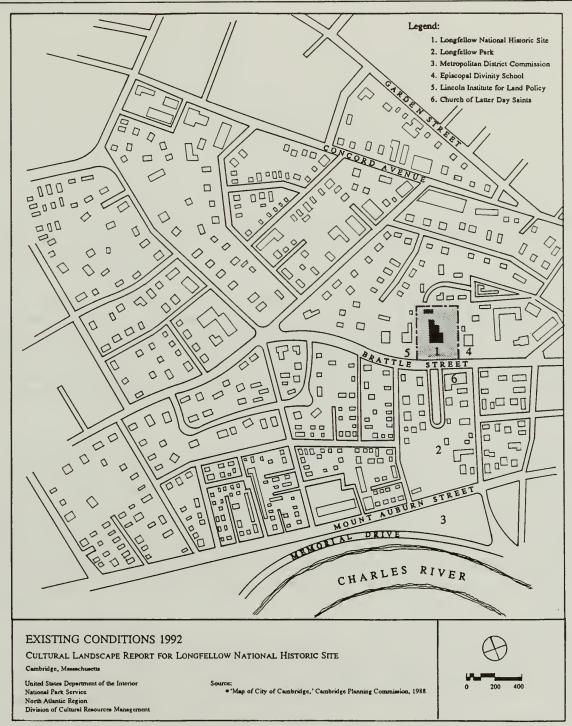
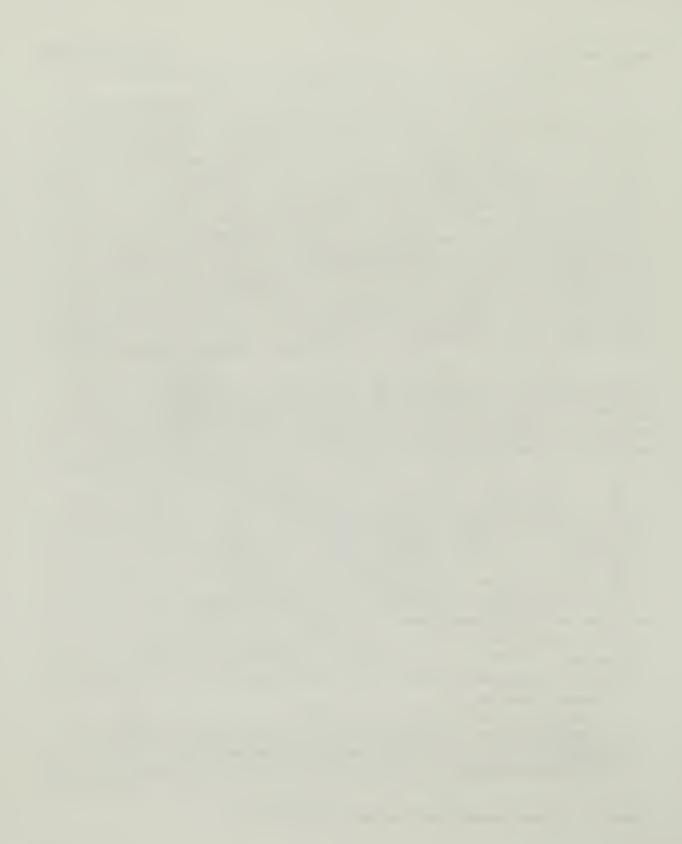


Figure 59. Longfellow National Historic Site, Existing Conditions, 1992.



11 Existing Conditions 1992

This section is a general description of existing landscape features at the Longfellow National Historic Site. The intent is to provide a record of extant features and their condition on the site. The text is referenced to Figure 60.

The Longfellow National Historic Site is located on Brattle Street in Cambridge, Massachusetts. It is a half mile west of Harvard Square, and six hundred feet north of the Charles River. Neighboring institutions are the Episcopal Divinity School to the north and east and the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy on the west. Longfellow Park, which is managed by the city of Cambridge, is opposite the house, on the south side of Brattle Street. Together, Longfellow Park and the Longfellow National Historic Site constitute the core of the Longfellow Historic District (see Figure 59).

A three-foot wide brick path leads from Brattle Street, through a fence to the main door of the house. The path runs approximately eighty feet before two flights of sandstone steps traverse two turf terraces. These terraces extend east/west and elevate the house four feet. The upper terrace wraps around the front of the house, and is approximately ninety feet long. The lower terrace extends east into the nieighboring property, and west sixty-five feet before sloping to meet the driveway. A white wooden balustrade crowns this terrace; woodbine grows at the center ends of the balustrade, and a rose (cultivar) along its extent. The front of the house overlooks Longfellow Park to Memorial Drive. Trees along Memorial Drive screen both the traffic and the Charles River from view.

The front fence, Chippendale in style and painted grey, combines with a brick wall, also painted grey, and a hedge of lilacs to screen the house from Brattle Street. The Chippendal fence is approximately 115 feet long, and constitutes the central portion of the front enclosure. The brick wall extends from both ends of the fence, 57 feet to the east boundary and 40 feet to the west. The lilacs are planted in a 10-foot-wide bed behind the fence and wall. This hedge continues around the west edge of the front lawn, forming a screen between the lawn and the driveway.

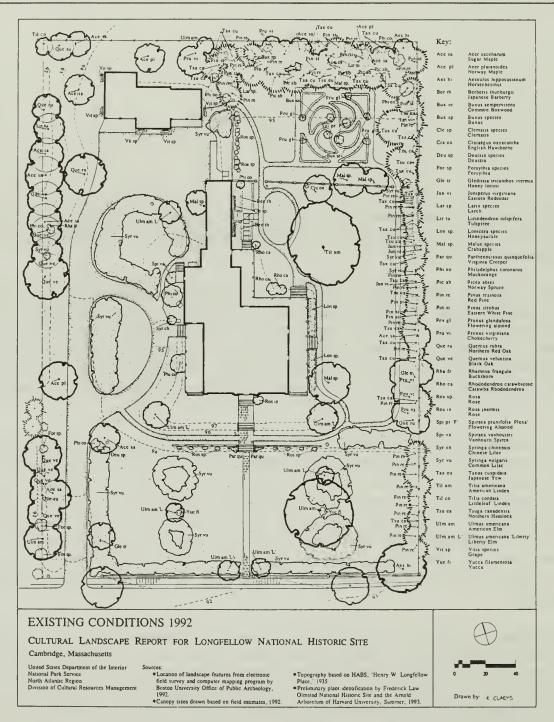


Figure 60. Longfellow National Historic Site, Existing Conditions, 1992.

A single row of eleven coniferous trees, ten red pines and one Canadian hemlock, and a threefoot-high wired fence mark the east side of the front lawn. Some of these pines are afflicted with diplodia. A horse chestnut and lily of the valley fill the southeast corner of the property.

The front lawn is punctuated with four circular beds of lilacs, two on each side of the brick path. These beds range in diameter from twenty-one to thirty-three feet. Six elm trees also punctuate the front lawn. There are two elms on either side of the front gate, two on either side of the path, and two on either side of the house on the upper terrace. The five younger trees are 'Liberty' elms, an American elm cultivar thought to be resistant to Dutch elm disease. These are survivors of ten planted in 1988; however, they are not mature enough to determine either how their form will affect the character of the front lawn or how disease resistant they are.

The east lawn is defined on the south by a hedge of lilacs planted along the lower terrace, on the east by a path and a hedgerow composed of black cherry, honey locust, elm, black oak, Norway maple, red pine, white pine, Canadian hemlock, lilac, and yew. This hedge contines past a white lattice fence, which defines the edge between the east lawn and the garden, to the the north boundary. The base of the porch at the main house is planted with Japanese honeysuckle. Interrupted fern is planted at the base of the ell porch, and at each end corner is a Catawba rhododendron.

The lawn is open and planted with three trees, the largest of which is an American linden. In 1990 and 1991, the linden showed signs of stress, but it appears healthier in 1992. The linden has been vegetatively propagated in the event that it must be replaced. The remaining two trees are a crab apple and an English hawthorn; both are in good health.

The east wall of the visitors' center is masked with a small garden, known as Alice's Garden. A bench, sheltered by an arch of latticework with two ten-foot-long pieces of latticework on either side, defines this garden. Clematis covers this latticework; and the flower bed, which extends the full length of the building, is planted with daylilies, dicentra, phlox and hollyhocks. A mock orange marks the north end of this garden, and six-inch-high barberry defines its edge. A second row of Japanese barberry parallels the flower bed and defines the outer edge of Alice's garden. A three-footwide bluestone path provides access from the porch steps between the two rows of Japanese barberry.

The formal garden is north of the east lawn and west of the driveway. A three-foot- high white lattice fence on the south and an eight-foot lattice fence on the west separate the garden from these areas. North of the garden is a dense, thirty-foot-wide border consisting of a mix of planted and volunteer vegetation. Trees in this border include a tulip, a horse chestnut, cherries, a larch, Canadian hemlock, Norway maple, Norway spruce, red pine, and white pine. Shrubs include yew, mock orange and boxwood. The groundcover is also varied, consisting of ivy, lily of the valley, nightshade, Solomon's seal and asters. This planting thins out north of the barn to a three-foot-high chain link fence. The red pines in this border are afflicted with diplodia.

The formal garden is accessible from three points: one opening at the north end of the eight-foot fence and two openings at the east and west ends of the three-foot-high fence. The gates for these entrances are in storage on site. The garden consists of a square divided into eight smaller beds, four teardrop beds in a circular arrangement, with four triangular beds squaring off the corners. All of the beds are edged with common box, which is of various degrees of age, health, and density. Plants in the triangular beds include lily of the valley, daylilies, and flowering almond. The teardrop-shaped beds are filled with perennial phlox, bridal wreath spirea, peonies, siberian iris, canterbury bells, heliotrope and verbena. The paths are approximately three feet wide, and surfaced with crushed stone. A sundial (a replica of the original) stands on top of a four-foot column in the middle of the garden. Two rectangular areas of turf flank the flower garden to the east and west by two rectangular areas of turf. A strip of turf, approximately ten feet wide, planted with two crabapple trees, forms the southern edge to the garden. A bed of roses, a mix of cultivars, is flush against the eight-foot lattice fence.

The driveway, located west of the house, provides vehicular access for National Park Service employees and a limited number of visitors. It is fourteen feet wide and edged with four-inch by four-inch granite blocks set in concrete. The driveway is made of four inches of packed crushed stone, and drains well. The carriage house and the visitor center, an extension of the house, terminate the driveway at the north and northeast ends respectively. A wooden ramp for disabled access extends twenty-one feet north from the visitors center. Lilacs surround the laundry yard from both the house and the driveway. A 'Liberty' elm, planted in 1988, is in the northeast side of the lilac bed surrounding the laundry yard. Red and black oaks, and sugar and Norway maples mark the west boundary line and screen the driveway from the Lincoln Institute.

The driveway is separated from the formal garden by the eight-foot-high lattice fence. Lilacs and mockorange are planted on both sides of the gate at the north end of this fence.

The carriage house consists of one central bay and two side bays. Concord grape grows on a wooden trellis and covers the front central portion and sides of the carriage house. The area north of the carrige house is thirty feet wide, is bounded by a three-foot-high chain link fence, and contains a cherry and an elm. The primary use of this area today is composting and storage of heavy gardening equipment. The area west of the carriage house is lawn.

APPENDICES

- A. Chronology Index of Deeds
 B. John Vassall Inventory
 C. Andrew Craigie
 D. Longfellow Park
 E. Ellen Shipman's Plant Lists

APPENDIX A Chronology Index of Deeds

October 8, 174646: 390Col. John Vassall buys 50 acres of marsh and upland.January 17, 174647: 153Col. John Vassall buys 6.5 acres.
January 17, 1746 47: 153 Col. John Vassall buys 6.5 acres.
1747John Vassall, Esquire inherits 6.5- and 50-acre parcels.
1759John Vassall builds mansion house on 6.5 acres.
July 28, 1759 57: 148 Marrett to Vassall (1.5 acres, 6 acres, 1 acre).
December 20, 1768 68: 333 Hunt to Vassall (0.5 acre).
September 25, 1770 71: 65, 69 Vassall seizes from Hill (30 acres).
April 15, 1772 73: 188 Hill to Vassall (0.75acre).
April 6, 1774 75: 528 John Vassall, Esq. from John Hastings.
1779 Act of General Court Seizure and forfeit of mansion.
June 28, 178182: 366Nathaniel Tracy buys Vassall mansion (47 acres, 40 acres, 9.5 acres, 20 acres).
July 12, 1781 83: 19 Tracy buys 2 acres from Hastings
Other additions to estate (3 acres, 9.75 acres—Henry Vassall estate, 2 acres) date and deed unknown.
October 30, 1786 94: 383 Nathaniel Tracy to Thomas Russell (47 acres, 40 acres, 9 acres, 20 acres, 3 acres, 9.75 acres—Henry Vassall estate).
June 7, 178795: 406Tracy to Russell (2 acres).

April 27, 1793	110: 406-10	John Russell to Andrew Craigie (47 acres, 40 acres, 9 acres, 20 acres, 3 acres, 9.75 acres, 9 acres).
May 8, 1794	116: 9 4	John Hastings to Andrew Craigie (3 acres, 6 acres).
March 23, 1797	125: 71	Joseph Wyeth to Andrew Craigie (5 acres, 1 acre).
October 4, 1821	240: 332-335	Indenture of partition between heirs of Andrew Craigie.
April 1, 1843	431: 25	Indenture of three parts.
October 14, 1843	434: 306	Foster to Nathan Appleton—mansion with 5 acres.
November 27, 1843	436: 122	Foster to Nathan Appleton (4 acres).
1849	540: 561	Henry W. Longfellow buys 4-acre meadow from Nathan Appleton.
July 16, 1853	650: 216	Longfellow buys 0.21 acres off Willard Street from S.C. Foster
April 22, 1856	740: 234	Longfellow buys 0.21 acre on Willard Street from G.H. Blake
July 8, 1857	780: 367	Longfellow buys 1 acre from G.H. Deane on Brattle and Willard.
April 27, 1858	810: 582	Longfellow buys 0.32 acre from R.M. Hodges between Longfellow estate and Berkeley Street.
1859	830: 269-71	Description missing.
January 5, 1859	840: 21	Longfellow buys 0.81 acre from T.M. Vinson at corner of Willard and Mt. Auburn Streets.
January 5, 1859	840: 22	Longfellow buys 0.33 acre from W.A. Saunders on corner of Willard and Brattle Streets.

December 27, 1869	1104: 560	Longfellow buys 70 acres of marsh in Brighton.
June 3, 1870	1120: 541	Henry W. Longfellow sells 0.64 acre on Brattle to Ernest Longfellow.
July 1, 1870	1123: 42	Longfellow Association sells 70 acres to President and Trustees of Harvard College.
July 25, 1870	1124: 406	Henry W. Longfellow buys 1.7 acres of marsh from Cambridge Gas & Light.
September 3, 1875	1364: 110	Indenture, see Plan Book 29.
1875		Longfellow and Hastings create right-of- way.
July 7, 1881	1572: 419	Longfellow sells to Ernest Longfellow Berkeley Street parcel.
April 30, 1883, Plan Book 40	1629: 457	Annie Longfellow Thorpe, et. al. to Longfellow Memorial Association.
November 11, 1887	1879: 125-133	Subdivision of Longfellow estate; lots 1 and 8 conveyed to Alice Longfellow, together with a thirty-foot right-of-way.
November 15, 1887	1827:179	Longfellow <i>et al</i> conveys Lot 'B' (Partition Lot 3) to Edith L. Dana.
October 16, 1888	Plan Book 57/6	"Plan of Partition of the Estate of Henry W. Longfellow," by Aspinwall.
1894		City of Cambridge takes over second donation to Longfellow Memorial Association.
1907	3381: 459	Longfellow Park conveyed to city of Cambridge.
October 28, 1913	3931: 233	Longfellow, Indenture of Trust, conveys Longfellow House and Lot to Longfellow House Trust; also grants use of right-of- way to Edith L. Dana.

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November 24, 1914	4308: 500	Supplementary Indenture of Trust. Establishes a maintenance fund.
May 29, 1952	7914: 225	Lot 1 on Partition Plan is conveyed to Trustees of Episcipal Theological School, together with a thirty-foot right-of-way to Brattle Street.
October 9, 1972	Public Law	Federal act to establish Longfellow National Historic Site.
November 23, 1973	125559:15	Longfellow house lot is donated to National Park Service, subject to the thirty-foot right-of-way across its western edge.
August 17, 1989	20017/469	Lot 3 on Partition Plan is conveyed to Lincoln Institute.

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APPENDIX B John Vassall Inventory

Middlesex County Record of Probate No. 23340 January 15, 1779

An inventory of the real and personal estate of John Vassall Esq. late of Cambridge absentee taken approved by us the subscribers in pursuance of a commission from the Hon. John Winthrop Esq. Judge of probate & appointing us a committee therefor as also the yearly value of the rent of the real Estate. . . .

1. In Cambridge the mansion House necessary house wood house and barns with two and three quarters & nineteen rods of land as contained on the Plan marked A. valued at Three Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Pounds.

2. The Farm House East of the Garden with one acre & half & twenty two rods of land adjoining as contained on the plan marked B. Valued at Two Hundred & forty three pounds six shillings.

3. The House bought of the Heirs of Jacob Hill Deceased with ten acres and a half and eleven rods of Land adjoining marked D. of the Plan Valued at four Hundred and sixty pounds.

4. The House bought of Jonathan Hill with three quarters of an acre and fourteen rods of Land adjoining marked C. on the Plan Valued at one hundred pounds under the present incumbrance.

5. All the remaining part of the Homestead situate on the north side of the road containing by estimation thirty one acres & three quarters and twenty four rods of land as Plan valued at eight Hundred and Twenty nine Pounds.

6. Also one piece of land called Goddard Lott Containing by Estimation nine Acres & an half valued one Hundred and ninety four Pounds

7. One other piece of Land situate on the south side the Country road Consisting of upland and salt marsh Containing by Estimation forty acres and an half as [go] Plan Valued at nine Hundred and Seventy Two Pounds ten Shillings

8. One other piece of Land situate in Watertown bounded Southerly by the Country Road on the East partly by Lands of the Late Col. Oliver and partly on Lands of Eben. Wyeth northerly by Fresh Pond and Westerly Collige [sic] Lands Containing by Estimation Forty Seven Acres be the same more or Less Valued at Six Hundred Pounds.

9. One other piece of lot wood land in Cambridge situate on the rock so Called Containing Twelve Acres be the Same more or Less Valued at Fifty four Pound

10. The Pew in the meeting House Valued at Twenty Pounds

11. The Pew in the Church Valued at Twenty Pounds

12. One small piece of Land adjoining James Munkou [?] Garden Containing about four rods Valued at Six Pounds

13. In Dorchester one Dwelling House & Small Barn and about one acre & three quarter of Land Valued at Five Hundred and Seventy five Pounds

14. In Boston one Dwelling House known by Jones's with the yard garden Barn and Sundry other Small Buildings on the premises Valued at Three Thousand five Hundred Pounds

Sundry Articles of movable Estate Estimated as follows viz

One [mare] about 12 years old

One [?] of steel andirons with Copper Heads

One feather bed wt. 56 tt at 5/[?] pound

one Garden rowler. . .one Small. . .one Garden Injoin. . .one Syder mill incomplete . . .one Plow Chain. . .one pr of hook [harins]. . .two old buckets. . .one pickax. . .two old hoes. . .one Iron Shovel. . .one Dung Fork. . .one pitchfork. . .one mortar ax. . .one Garden scraper. . .one weed puller. . .one large Brass kettle. . .one [dry] old Do. . .one CopperPott. . .onehalfbushel. . .number Cream col. plates. . .one old feather bed. . .one old Cart & pair of Slug wheels. . .one old plow. . .one large bathing Tub. . .one old Double Slay incomplete. . .one Single DO. . .one Small Iron Tooth Harrow. . .one small Coach Body. . .one Small Grinstone. . .one Crow Bar. . .one pr. of Horse Chains. . . one plow Chain. . . .

One negro woman of about 40 years of age

One negro boy about 8 years

APPENDIX C Andrew Craigie

Craigie Papers Correspondence American Antiquarian Society

Bossenger Foster to Andrew Craigie, Boston, October 30, 1791

You will be pleased with Cambridge upon your return. We shall finish painting on Monday next. . .am getting wood up in lighters as fast as can be done. Near 100 elms planted on both sides. The load shall want about 30 more than can get at Fresh Pond to finish. Believe can get them cheep and shall buy them to finish uniform. On the road to Fresh Pond shall put other forest trees of which there is plenty. Mr. Lowell will get the deed ready to go by next Vessel. . .the Parsons house, the farm house, the Geyer house are repaired and cleaned. . .20 lbs of cider are made and in the cellar. . .horses in fine order. . .

Andrew Craigie to Bossenger Foster, Philadelphia, November 9, 1791

I put a Brig which sailed from here yesterday several articles as are here enclosed below. The Bundles contain 50 Lombardy poplar trees in the middle of which you will find a shrub of the Raspberry plant of a very valuable kind which I gave a very high price for. I wish you would direct that it be taken great care of. Perhaps it will be best to have placed in a pot and kept within doors during the winter...

Bossenger Foster to Andrew Craigie, Boston, November 20, 1791

The trees etc. rec'd in good order—yesterday carried them to C. and set them out in the nursery for the winter as have had that fenced in to keep the Trees from the Cattle so you can place them where you please next Spring. The Barberry have put in a pot and into Dr. Smith's cellar. . . .

Nalbro Frazier to Andrew Craigie, Philadelphia, March 9, 1792

We wrote you on the 7th past and on the 9th by Mr. F. H. Harkins but have not had the satisfaction of hearing from you since. We now do ourselves the pleasure of sending you by the Sloop Dove 168 Fruit trees of Different Manor. A bundle containing 30—? and 12 twin bearing Raspberry roots, also a bundle containing 20 double Tuberous cuttings which we got from our Mr. Hamilton. The Fruit Trees etc. have been selected agreeably to the memorandum left by you with us—every pain has been taken in order to have them safely packed and we hope they will reach you without injury and turn out equal to your wishes and expectations. . .

Nalbro Frazier to Andrew Craigie, Philadelphia April 5, 1792

Your favor of 23rd March was duly received. We had previous receipt of it shipped you a variety of fruit trees from Warren Nursery of those kinds which we in conjunction with our Mr. Hamilton's opinion that would best suit you, we also sent 12 large and 50 small Lombardy poplar trees, the latter as large as we could procure, by the next supply we shall send you a further number of Lombardy poplars and some more Apple Trees, and we will also send those which you request for Judge Lowell. We are inform'd by Mr. Hamilton that all the trees in the different nurseries here have been received from Prince's Nursery on Long Island and that no Importations from England or elsewhere, have been made here. . . .

Nalbro Frazier to Andrew Craigie Philadelphia April 20, 1792 Cambridge

We find fruit trees, etc., which we went had reached you. We hope they will be attd to you in good order as we took great pains in having them well packed and every other precaution that no injury shod arrive to them on the passage. . . . Mr. Hamilton shall be made acquainted with the obligations you expressed for his present of the Lombardy Poplar Trees. . . . We shall send you by Vessel which will leave this in the beginning of the next week 30 more lombardy poplar trees and few more Apple Trees, and those ordered for Judge Lowell. . . .

Andrew Craigie to Bossenger Foster from New York, Dec. 1791

I wish to have the old ice house put in order—and a new one made much nearer to the house—either in the yard or just behind the green house. 1 the house 2 the yard 3 the greenhouse if the ice house is built behind the green house perhaps it will answer as well as any plan of which i have marked 4 would be the right place provided the wood house is not there. if the old ice house will answer and contain a sufficient quantity it may be best not to undertake the new one till I come on. . . .

Bossenger Foster to Andrew Craigie, Boston, July 1, 1792

. . .shall have the ice house better than it ever was- and doubt will not succeed for this season-I took Mr ? well. . .he says the ? under the summer house is equal to any spot for the construction an ice house and the ? no obstacle in the least- as on occasion you may keep ice in the cellar these days—and no other place will answer the purpose so well owing to the land being flat and expensive if practicable making a drain which would be absolutely necessary—

Craigie Plant List

This plant list was attached to a letter to Andrew Craigie dated March 22, 1792:

China orange Shaddock **Bergamot Orange** Portugal Lemon Double flowering Lemon St. Elinea Lemon Two different sorts of lemons Great American Aloe [?] Aloe Succatrime Aloe Pearl tongue Aloe 2 sorts True Barbados Aloe Partridge breast Aloe **Triangular** Aloe Soap Aloe Thumb Aloe Belladonna Lily Mexican Lily Alamarco Lily Willow leav'd Shrubby Swallow Nest Carolina Shrubby Callicarpa Great or night flowering thorchthistle Three-sided Thorchthistle Indian Fig two sorts Yellow flowering Indian reed Variegated, Indian reed Broad leav'd scarlet Indian reed American. . . Citron tree Curl'd leaved Orange Nutmeg, orange Yellow flowering marigold Purple flowering marigold Broad leav'd Roman myrtle Double flowering myrtle Dutch broad leav'd myrtle Portugal myrtle Italian upright myrtle Orange leav'd myrtle Birds nest myrtle Mottled myrtle

Changeable rose mallow Carolina scarlet Rose Mallow Catalonian Jasmine Carolina red bay tree African honey flower Variegated Jasmine Carolina Cherry Bay tree Common sweet bay tree Eatable wake Robin Scarlet bladder Senna Greater jointed poded Coluta Coluta Trefoil leaved Crotolaria White sow bread Poplar leaved tallow tree Double flowering Cape tallow tree Hermaphrodite Orange Luer [?] gree Cytes Deep scarlet Geranium Common scarlet Rose scented geranium Many leav'd rose scented geranium Common geranium Pale flowering, silver striped geranium Scarlet, silver striped geranium leav'd geranium Aromatic smelling geranium Horse hair geranium Sweet smelling geranium Gold striped geranium Many leav'd geranium G. . .ty stalked geranium Aromatic smelling geranium Loblolly bay tree Date palm Carolina moon seed Indian date plum tree Common Strawberry Do. Purple side sa flower Dwarf madeira fig tree Carolina evergreen Fig tree

Single red Oleander Single white Oleander Double red Oleander Arabian Jasmine Large blue passion flower Fruit bearing pomegranate Double flowering pomegranate Rose Mary Madeira rosemary Myrtle leav'd rosemary Tree sedum or houseleek Bay leav'd Laurintinus Common Laurintinus Carolina Coral tree **Upright Cypress** Indian soap berry Winter Cherry Yule growing Yucca Evergreen trumpet flower Narrowleav'd Dahoon holly Prickly leav'd nightshade [?] [?] Purple catnip

Bastard Amaranthus Guava Scarlet flowering ban Nutmeg leav'd Guava Balm of Gilead "Craigie's Widow's Dower" Middlesex County Record of Probate No. 29928 April 26, 1820

This document lists all of Craigie's property. The 135-acre estate in Cambridge consisted of the following parcels:

Nine acres of pasture & meadow purchased & described in the deed of John Hastings.

\$20.00

Four acres of land purchased, & described in the deed of Nehemiah and Margaret Rand. \$7.00

Nine and a quarter acres of arable & pasture purchased & described in the deed of Mark Lewis, with a small house thereon \$48.00

The Homestead purchased & described in the deed of John Lane & Thomas Fraser viz. the mansion with the gardens & yard containing six and a half acres of land with all the buildings and appurtenance 50.00

The close adjoining the last mentioned parcel and containing thirty four & half acres of land, arable & meadow. \$150.00

Forty two & a half acres of arable of salt & fresh meadow lying in front of the mansion house on the southwest side of the great road, comprising the forty acre tract described in the deed of Lane & Fraser, except what the new road to Watertown takes off from the southwesterly side and a lot of six & a half acres purchased of Benj. Lee, Esq.

\$100.00

The residue of said forty acre lot separated by said new road & lying between that & the mansion estimated at \$7.00

A triangular lot separated from the homestead by the Cambridge & Concord turnpike & bounded southerly by said turnpike & northerly by the lane leading to the botanic garden, containing eight acres and with the two dwelling houses & other buildings thereon—; together with about an acre lying opposite thereto on the northerly side of the said lane. \$135.00

About twenty six acres of arable, pasture & meadow land, being the residue of the land in Cambridge, purchased of Lane & Fraser & described in their deed, & not before appraised, lying on both sides the Concord turnpike & between the homestead & fresh pond so-called. \$91.00

A small lot of about a third of an acre lying on the southerly side of the lane leading by the botanic garden to the west field & fresh pond so-called, being part of the land purchased of Nehe. Rand & Joseph Kettle & their wives, with a spring on said lot used to supply an aqueduct-bounded northerly by sd. lane & on all other sides on land of Aaron Hill. \$2.00

APPENDIX D Longfellow Park

Deeds

The following are excerpts from deeds pertaining to the creation and management of Longfellow Park.

Middlesex Registry of Deeds Book 1629, p. 458-460 Longfellow, et. al. to Longfellow Memorial Association April 30, 1883

> . . . in consideration of our wish to forward the purposes of the Longfellow Memorial Association. . . . This conveyance is made with the following reservation we hereby reserve to ourselves and our heirs and assigns for the benefit of our remaining lands abutting upon or near the said parcel of land and lying to the Eastward of Willard street the right to use that portion of said parcel marked "roadway" on said plan with such addition at any time to make said roadway of greater width both on and beneath the surface of ground for all the purpose for which ways now are or at any time here after may be commonly used. And this conveyance is also made upon the following conditions first that all shrubs which may at any time be planted or exist in or upon that part of the said parcel of land which lies within the distance of four hundred and forty feet from said Brattle Street shall be kept trimmed so that they shall not at any time exceed the height of six feet/second, that no tree whatsoever shall ever be planted or suffered to exist in or upon said parcel without the consent of us the grantors or of those who at any time would have held under us by descent or devise if no conveyance of said parcel had ever been made, third, that no building of any kind other than such memorial to the said Henry W. Longfellow as shall be approved by us or the survivors of us shall ever be erected or placed upon said parcel without the consent as aforesaid, fourth, that said portion of said parcel marked "roadway" on said plan shall be graded and put in thorough order for use as a way within five years from the day of the date hereof and shall be forever thereafter maintained by said Association and said Association may at any time appropriate an additional portion thereof to make said roadway of greater width than thirty feet and shall in that case properly grade and forever thereafter so maintain the same as part of said roadway.

Middlesex Registry of Deeds Book 1845 p. 224 Longfellow, *et. al.* to Longfellow Memorial Association April 18, 1888

This is for the small triangular lot between Mt. Auburn Street and the Charles Rriver.

This conveyance is made upon the following conditions viz: First that no tree whatever shall ever be planted or suffered to exist in or upon said parcel without the consent of us the grantors or of those who at any time would have held under us by descent or devise if no conveyance of said had ever been made. Second that no building of any kind shall ever be erected or placed upon said parcel without such consent aforementioned.

Excerpts from Charles Eliot's letter to the Longfellow Memorial Association, June 1887:

Your land is sharply divided into upland and lowland by a steep terrace-like bank. The brink of this bank commands a pleasing prospect over the Charles River marshes to the hills beyond. . .

By the terms of your deed of your land you are required to build certain roadways leading from Brattle Street to a point about 80 feet from the spot just mentioned as the fittest for a monument. Houses will in time occupy the lands abutting on these roads, and grocers' carts as will as pleasure carriages will use the driveways. Thus this part of your property is destined to be a wholly public place,--not a highway to be sure, but a long court with a road about it and a grassy space in the middle.

I suggest that the grass space be made 55 feet wide, the roadways 20 feet, the sidewalks 10 feet,—the latter including a strip of turf 3 feet wide between the walk and driveway. In this strip I would set a row of Elms or Sugar Maples (the latter would live the longer in your gravel soil). Their tall trunks and their boughs bending over the roadways would frame to its advantage the Southward prospect from Brattle Street. If you may not plant trees on your land, perhaps the adjoining private owners would permit them to be set close to the bounding line. The edge of the sidewalk I place three feet from your line to allow of the widening of the sidewalk by so much whenever the increase of population may demand it. On the roadway I would have no curbstones; except at the termination near the monument, where carriages will stop. Along Brattle Street I have thought a dwarf stone wall necessary, to keep people off the central grass space and to make a handsome finish. So much for the portion of your land which on my plan is called "the green,"—from its approximate resemblance to the village green of old times.

From the end of the green to Mt. Auburn St. the land is yours to treat as you may please, and certainly you can do nothing better than adapt it to the use and enjoyment of all orderly citizens, and of women and children in particular. On my plan this part is called "the garden," and because a public garden (unless it be expensively lighted by electric light) had best be closed soon after sunset, I propose a wall with a gate in it at the end of the green, and another wall with a gate on Mt. Auburn Street. But the larger portion of your land is at present very wet,—water now stands upon it at ground level. The city dumped much gravel upon it some years ago, but its level is still some 4 feet below Mt. Auburn Street, and about 10 feet below Brattle Street. To make it usable as a pleasure garden, its drainage must be improved and its surface somewhat raised. . . .

APPENDIX E Ellen Shipman's Plant Lists for the Longfellow Garden

Locations of beds listed below are indicated on Figure 61.

Shipman Shrub & Bulb Planting List

Bulbs

Bed A May Tulips Plant as listed: 50 Daybreak 50 Fairy Queen 50 Innocence 50 John Ruskin 50 Le Menelble 50 Miss Wilmott 50 Twilight 50 Doris 50 Inglesomble Yellow 50 The Fawn Narcissus at back of border Under shrubs in drifts and groups-10 to 25 in a group: Emperor Empress Trumpet Major Glory of Leiden Mme De Graaf Mrs. Langtry Barri Conspicuous Sir Watkin

Beds C and D Early Tulips-List A Plant as listed: 12 Flammus 12 Cottage Maid 12 Lady Boreel 12 Princess Juliana 12 Prosperine 12 Q. of the Netherlands 12 Rising Sun 12 Rose Luisante 12 President Lincoln 12 Van Der Neer 12 Le Reve 12 Q. of the Netherlands 12 Moonbeam 12 Enchantress 12 Rising Sun 12 Reine Maxima 12 Ibis 12 Rose Luisante 12 White Beauty 12 De Wett 200 Narcissus Trumpet Major 25 Scilla campanulata

In groups of 12: Tulips: Crepuscule, Sazen [?], Yolande, Inglescombe Yellow, Mrs. Kerry, Twilight <u>Bed E</u> In each:

Bed J

12 Narcissus Lady [?]12 Hyacintha Enchantress

12 Mertensia
12 Narcissus: Poeticus Edward VII, Poetry Elvira, Poeticus Ornatus, Poetry [?]
12 Tulips: Ibis, De Wet, Proserpine, Princess [?]
25 Tulips: Faust, Mauve Clair, Crepuscule, Baronne de la Tannaya [?]

Bed F

2 groups of 25 in each bed:

Tulips: La France, Bleu Amable, Carl Becker, Carmen, Dream, L'Ingenue, Erguste, Anton Roopen

Bed H

2 groups of 12 in each:

Tulips: President Lincoln, Marillo, Fairy Queen, Moonlight

In each:

25 Narcissus poeticus 25 Mertensia virginea

Bed I

2 groups of 12 in each:

Tulips: Rising Sun, President Lincoln, Rose Luisante, Van der Neer, Princess Juliana, Le Reve

Shrubs

- Bed A
- 4 Lilac Josikeae
 2 Forsythia
 6 Lilac
 6 Philadelphus Virginale
 3 Lonicera fragantissima
 5 Viburnum Sieboldi
 "Keep existing shrubs"
 "Apple" [existing?]

Bed B 12 Lombardy poplars 16 Virburnum Dentatum

Bed C 2 Harrison Yellow Rose 2 Standard Wisteria "Keep existing philadelphus" "Keep existing shrubs" 3 Philadelphus Originale "Keep existing arbor vitae"

Bed D

7 Rosa Hugonis
3 Forsythia
1 Flowering Crab Apple
H.P. Baroness Rothschild
H.P. J.B. Clarke
H.P. Frau Karl Druschki
H.P. Capt. Christy
H.P. Mrs. John Laing
H.P. Paul Neyron
H.P. Jacqui... not
H.P. Mrs. R. G. Sharmon-Crainford
H.T. Sour. de George Pumat
H.T. Eldorado
H.T. Mrs. William C. Egan
H.T. Constance

H.T. Padre H.T. Imperial Potentate

H.T. Lady UrsulaH.T. William Drocr[?]H.T. Los Angeles[?] Sonnenlicht

Lilacs Border: Nepota mussini 1 Standard Wisteria "Keep existing arbor vitae" Harrison Yellow Rose

Bed E In each: 1 Standard Wisteria 1 Pear

Bed F

In each: 8' Arbor Vitae 2 Pink Flowering almond 2 (25) Tulip; Dream, L'imp[?], Erauste, Anton Roopen, La Fiancee, Blue Anable, Carmen, Carl Becker "Take out existing Rose Mme Plantier in M.I.V."

Bed G

Keep existing Rose Put in ground cover of viola cornuta 3 Lilac Josikaea 4 Forsythia Bed H In each:

1 each Flowering Crab

Bed I

2 5'- 6' Ama-mo-gawa-zakura Flowering Cherry
2 5'- 6' Kofugen Flowering Cherry
2 existing Flowering Cherry

Bed J In each: Persian Double Flowering peach

Bed L In each: 1 Persian Yelllow Rose

South of Trellis "Keep existing Pyrus Japonica" 3 Lilac Josikaea 4 Forsythia

Shipman Perennial Planting Plan

Bed A

5 Delphinium 8 Peony 4 Anchusa 9 Phlox Dawn P. Rose Prosperity **5** Thermopsis **5** Phlox Evanemlant P. Rose Vanity **3** Hollyhocks 9 Phlox Miss Lingard 5 Thalictrum P. Rose Thisbe 3 Spirea 25 German Iris 3 Funkia 35 Heuchera 5 Anchusa P. Rose Pax **3** Dictammus **3** Hollyhocks 7 Phlox Mrs. Rea P. Rose Sammy Iris (4 clumps of 9) 3 Thalictrusm 5 Phlox Dolly 3 Anchusa B. Rose Moonlight 3 Hardy Aster 5 Delphinium set in Dahlia Insulinda 3 Boltonia Latisqumia 5 Delphinium set in Dahlia 3 Hardy Aster Madonna 5 Delphinium set in Dahlia Rose Pinks 3 Hardy Aster Laevis 2 Euphorbia 3 Aster Climas 17 Ferns 18 Aconitum? 10 Cimicifuga 2 Euphorbia 3 Aster Lady 5 Delphinium set in Dahlia 3 Hardy Aster

5 Delphinium set in Dahlia
3 Boltonia
5 Delphinium set in Dahlia Break of Day
3 Hollyhocks
3 Hardy Aster
5 Delphinium set in Dahlia
3 Phlox L'Evanement
7 Phlox Elizabeth Campbell
P. Rose Clytemmestra
3 Anchusa
German Iris (4 clumps of 9)
2 AB Rose Sonnenlient
70 Heucheara

Bed C

- 4 groups of Delphinium set in Dahlia
- 6 Asters Tatericus
- Phlox: Yenus, Elizabeth Campbell, R.P. Strothus, L'Evanement, Paul Dutrie, Dawn, Crepuscule, Pink [?], Le Mahdi?, Eugene Danganilliers
- S.B. Rose: Brad (Man?), McIver, Lord Penzance, Brenda, Annie Galerstein, Lady Penzance
- 40 Japanese Anemones
- 100 Columbine
- 100 Everflowering Pinks
- Myositia & Tulips replaced with Pansy Fairyqueen
- Lilium: Candidum and Speciosum

Bed D

10 clumps of Phox canadensis Border of Nepata Mussini Bed E-1 7 Phlox Dawn, 9 Phlox L'Evenement, Thermopsis 1 Peony Japanese Iris ? German Iris 6 Astilbe 6 Delphinium in Salvia Thalictrum - 3 clumps 6 Shasta Daisy 34 Sedum (10)+(12)+(12) 20 Plumbago Hemerocalllis

Bed E-2 9 Phlox Elizabeth Campbell 7 Phlox Struthers **3** Thermopsis 2 Peony German Iris Funkia Oenothera-2 clumps 3 Astilbe Delphinium set in Salvia-2 clumps 3 Thalictrum 3 Shasta Daisy 20 Sedum 20 Plumbago 3 Spirea Hermocallis 3 Artemesia

Bed E-3
14 Phlox, Mrs. CB Merill, Saisonhierval
3 Thermopsis
22 Sedum
Plumbago
2 Peony
Shasta Daisy
28 German Iris
5 Oenothera
6 Astilbe
3 Anchusa
3 Delphinium in Salvia

3 Artemesia
<u>Bed E-4</u>
1 Phlox Crepuscule, Mrs. Rea
6 Delphinium
3 Thermopsis
6 Thalictrum
2 Peony
3 Anchusa
3 Dictamnus
3 Astilbe Rose
3 Spirea
24 Sedum
3 Shasta Daisy
24 Plumbago

Hemerocallis

Hemerocallis Flavia & Thunbergii Iris 10 German Iris

Bed F In each: Anchusa Gladiolus Japanese Iris Poppies Dictamnus Hemerocallis Bed H-1 Northwest Trefoil:

Mauve Canterbury bells replaced with lavender Centaurea
Sweet William Sutton's Pink replaced with white stock
25 White Foxgloves replaced with Hunnemannia?
Light Blue Canterbury Bells replaced with low and tall pink snapdragons
25 Sweet William Sutton's Pink replaced with Nigella Miss Jekkll
15 oriental poppies - Mrs. Perry

Bed H-2 Southwest Trefoil:

25 White Foxgl. replaced with light blue annual Lupine
Light Blue Canterbury Bells replaced with pale yellow Calendula
Sweet William Sutton Pink replaced with pink stocks
Mauve Canterbury Bells replaced with yellow Snapdragons
Sweet William Sutton Pinks replaced with deep purple stock

Bed H-3 25 Foxgloves replaced with Rose Zinnia/Yellow Campanula persicifolia Gladiolus Niagara Pyrethrum M. Rose Chapeau de Napoleon Hemerocallis Flava Thunbergii 5 Delphinium set in Dahlia 5 Astible 12 Lavender 25 Heuchera Beds I and J In each:

5 Funkia: sub grand., fortuneii, lanceolota

Bed K 25 German Iris 2 Peonies

<u>Bed L</u> In each:

12 German Iris6 White Dictamnus10 Anchusa6 Oriental Poppy

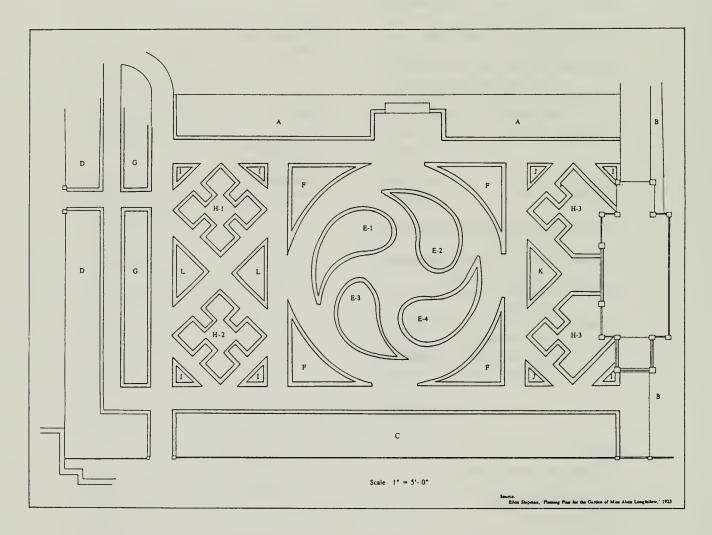


Figure 61. Diagram of planting beds, 1925 Shipman plan

ENDNOTES

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Massachusetss Registry of Deeds (henceforth referred to as MROD), "Longfellow Indenture of Trust," October 28, 1913.

2. Dwight Picaithley, "Longfellow National Historic Site: A Preservation History," Lecture presented to the National Park Service, 1986.

3. Ibid.

4. "An Act to authorize the establishment of the Longfellow National Historic Site in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and for other purposes," Statutes at Large, 86, 791 (1972).

5. National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site Final Master Plan, (Washington, D.C. : U. S. Department of the Interior, 1978).

CHAPTER 1

6. Bainbridge Bunting and Robert Nylander, Survey of Architectural History in Cambridge: Report 4: Old Cambridge, (Cambridge Historical Commission: MIT Press, 1973), 18.

7. Ibid., 16.

8. Ibid.

9. Massachusetts, Middlesex County, Register of Probate, no. 14674, Thomas Marritt [sic], July 12, 1664. See also no. 14667, Edward Marrett, 1754; no. 14662, Amos Marrett, 1739.

10. For a concise discussion of early agricultural practices in New England see John Stilgoe, Common Landscape of America, 1580-1845, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1982), 43-58.

CHAPTER 2

11. Edward D. Harris, "The Vassalls of New England," Journal of the New England Genealogical Society, (Volume, 1863), 58. Leonard Vassall's Braintree home is now the Adams National Historic Site in Quincy, Massachusetts.

12. MROD 37: 112, July 26, 1736; MROD, 43: 271, December 30, 1741; MROD, 47: 351, March 31, 1747.

13. MROD, 46: 390, October 8, 1746; MROD, 47: 153, January 17, 1746 [1747].

14. Harris, "The Vassalls of New England," 115.

15. Morgan Phillips et al., Historic Structures Report, Longfellow, (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1975), 4. The construction date of 1759 is not definite, but with insufficient evidence to indicate otherwise, Morgan Phillips takes 1759 as the official date in this report.

16. Middlesex County Register of Probate, no. 23340, 1778.

17. Peter Harrison, one of the first architects in the colonies, is thought by some to have built the Vassall mansion on Brattle Street. Harrison, like Vassall, was a royalist, and his work included Christ Church in Cambridge, King's Chapel in Boston, several civic structures in Newport, and several mansions. Architectural historians describe Harrison as an important figure in eighteenth-century American architecture, but note that his designs were derivative rather than original. Harrison relied on architectural handbooks such as *A Book of Architecture*, by James Gibbs (London: 1728), to emulate styles that were fashionable in eighteenth-century England and thereby gain favor with his royalist clientele. For biographic and critical discussions of Harrison see William H Pierson, Jr., *American Buildings and Their Architects* (New York: Doubleday, 1970); and Carl Briedenbaugh, *Peter Harrison, First American Architect* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949).

18. Lucius R. Paige, *History of Cambridge*, (Boston: H.O. Houghton Co., 1877), 140. This page quotes Munsell's Letters as edited in 1867.

19. Middlesex County Register of Probate, no. 23340, 1778 and Vassall Inventory 16640, January 15, 1779. Refer to Appendix B for complete inventory.

20. A circular well, which may have been a feature of the Vassall service yard, is located forty-five feet northwest of the house beneath a nineteenth-century addition.

21. MROD, 72: 100, January 5, 1771; MROD, 72: 132, January 5, 1771.

22. MROD, 75: 428, April 6, 1774.

CHAPTER 3

23. Harris, "The Vassalls of New England," 122-3.

24. A Historic American Buildings Survey of the property, conducted in 1935, reported that the Honorable Jonathan Sewall was in residence, while Harry Dana Longfellow (a grandson of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow) reports that the mansion was used as a hospital. See Historic American Buildings Survey, "Report on the Longfellow House," 1935, and H.W. L. Dana, "The Longfellow House: The Coming of Longfellow," 1939.

25. Samuel Adams Drake, Mansion and Fields of Middlesex, (1874), 294.

26. Ibid., 305.

27. MROD, 82: 366, 1781.

28. Ibid.

29. Robert Nylander, Longfellow House files, Cambridge Historical Commission, Cambridge.

30. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and Frances Appleton Longfellow, "Craigie House." Original manuscript at Houghton Library, Harvard University.

31. Tracy to Russell, MROD 94: 383, 30 October, 1786; MROD 95: 406, 7 June, 1787.

CHAPTER 4

32. Henry Longfellow and Frances Longfellow, "Craigie House."

33. Ibid.

34. MROD 110: 408, Thomas Russell to Andrew Craigie, January 1, 1792.

35. Alice Longfellow, "Reminiscences of My Father," Longfellow National Historic Site Archives. Henry Longfellow Dana and others attribute the summerhouse to Craigie.

36. Lucius R. Paige, History of Cambridge, 183.

37. American Antiquarian Society, description of collection of Andrew Craigie papers, (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1977).

38. For a comparative discussion of these estates see Charles Hammond, "Where the Arts and Sciences Unite..." (Ph. D. dissertation, Boston University, 1982), and Tamara Plakins Thornton, *Cultivating Gentleman: The Meaning of Country Life Among the Boston Elite, 1785-1868*, (New Haven: Yale, 1989).

39. Charles Hammond, "The Botanic Garden in Massachusetts, 1805-1834," The Herbarist, no. 53 (Concord: Mass.: The Herb Society of America, 1987).

40. Ibid., 78.

41. Paige, History of Cambridge, 183-4.

42. The lower road to Mount Auburn was built initially as a causeway. It was a "corduroy road" raised several feet above the "impassable marsh" that extended from Windmill Hill (now Bow Street area) and Simon's Hill, now the site of Mt. Auburn Hospital. Gravel from Simon's Hill was used to build the causeway. See Dr. Henry P. Walcott, "Some Cambridge Physicians," *Proceedings*, Vol. 26, (Cambridge: Cambridge Historical Society, 1931), 114–15.

43. Middlesex County, Record of Probate no. 23340, first series, 1778.

44. Bossenger Foster to Andrew Craigie, Boston, December 24, 1791, Craigie Collection, Box 3, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

45. City of Cambridge, Plan Book 1-A, plan 6, 1840. Although this plan is dated nineteen years after Craigie's death, it is known that his wife made few changes to the property, thus substantiating—though not proving—the accuracy of this plan.

46. Longfellow reused the lattice from "the covered walk leading to the outhouses"; this could have been a pergola leading from the house to the outhouses. See "Craigie House."

47. "Piazza" is an American term for covered porch. Common usage of this term dates to the eighteenth century.

48. See Morgan et al., Longfellow Historic Structures Report, 1975, for a complete discussion of these changes.

49. Bossenger Foster to Andrew Craigie, Boston, May 29, 1791, Craigie Collection, Box 3, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

50. Bossenger Foster to Andrew Craigie, April, 1791, Craigie Collection, Box 5, Folder 2, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

51. Robert Nylander, "Report on Longfellow Fence," (Cambridge: Cambridge Historical Commission, 1970), in Elizabeth Banks, "Longfellow Historic Structures Report," (Boston: Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1975), 138.

52. Andrew Craigie's waste book and account book, B. Craigie collection, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts.

53. Ibid.

CHAPTER 5

54. Andrew Craigie inventory 5303, 1819, Massachusetts State Archives.

55. MROD, 240: 332-335, Indenture of Partition between the heirs of A. Craigie, October 4, 1821.

56. Middlesex County, Record of Probate, Massachusetts State Archives. Craigie documents. The Fosters and Havens continuously challenged Elizabeth Craigie's petitions for increasing her dower.

57. Henry W. Longfellow and Frances Longfellow, "Craigie House."

58. Cambridge Historical Society Proceedings, 1931, published 1936, "The Vassall House," 103. Mary Gozzaldi quoting Susan Dana in 1890.

59. Henry W. Longfellow and Frances Longfellow, "Craigie House."

60. Henry W. Longfellow to Annie Longfellow Pierce, Cambridge, September 21, 1837, Longfellow National Historic Site, Cambridge.

61. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Journals, Cambridge, May 20, 1838, Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge.

62. Henry W. Longfellow and Frances Longfellow, "Craigie House."

63. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Cambridge, to Stephen Longfellow, Portland, Maine, April 7, 1839, Houghton Library.

64. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Cambridge, to Stephen Longfellow, Portland, Maine, June 6, 1839, Houghton Library.

65. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Journals, March 31, 1841, Houghton Library.

66. Daily Evening Transcript, Boston, April 15, 1840.

67. MROD, 431:25, Indenture of three parts, April 1, 1843.

CHAPTER 6

68. Frances Longfellow, Cambridge to Mrs. Longfellow, Portland, Maine, September 4, 1843, Longfellow National Historic Site Archives.

69. Between the 1821 and 1843 indentures, the land associated with the Craigie mansion increased from six and a half to nine acres. This was achieved by reducing the thirty-four and one-half acre "close" to thirtytwo acres. Nathan Appleton bought five of these nine acres, and John Hastings bought the remaining four acres east of this. Hasting's house was built in 1844 on what had been the lower terrace of the Vassall mansion.

70. MROD 434: 306, October 14, 1843 and MROD 463: 32, November 27, 1843.

71. Frances Longfellow to Nathan Appleton, September, 1843, in Edward Wagenknecht, ed. Mrs. Longfellow: Selected Letters and Journals of Frances Appleton Longfellow: 1817–1861, (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1956), 93.

72. MROD 540: 561, Nathan Appleton to Henry Longfellow, 1849.

73. Henry W. Longfellow to Ferdinand Freiligrath, November 24, 1843, as cited by Luzader in Historic Structures Report, Longfellow House: Historical Data, 1974, 23.

- 74. Henry W. Longfellow, Journal, April 9, 1844, (as cited in Historic Structures Report, 1975).
- 75. Henry W. Longfellow, Journals, June 4, 1844, Houghton Library.
- 76. Henry W. Longfellow Journal, August 8, 1844, (as cited in Historic Structures Report, 1975).
- 77. Morgan Phillips, et al, Longfellow Historic Structure Report, 1975, 131-133.
- 78. Refer to Longfellow Historic Structures Report, 1975.
- 79. Henry W. Longfellow and Frances Longfellow, "Craigie House."

80. Alex W. Longfellow to Samuel Longfellow, Portland, January, 1844, Longfellow National Historic Site Archives.

- 81. Henry W. and Frances Longfellow, "Craigie House."
- 82. Ibid.
- 83. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Journals, April 18, 1844, Houghton Library.

84. Henry W. Longfellow and Frances Longfellow, "Craigie House," and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Journal, April 23, 1844, Houghton Library.

85. Note that Longfellow apparently contradicts himself in these letters by stating that he planted a buckthorn (*Rhamnus* sp.) hedge and an acacia (possibly black locust) hedge in the same location. However, photographs taken at the turn of the century indicate that the acacia hedge was planted along the edge of what was known as the east lawn, opposite the house, while the buckthorn was planted on the edge of eastern section of the front lawn, below the terrace.

- 86. Ernest Longfellow, Random Memories, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1922), 10-12.
- 87. Samuel Longfellow to Annie Pierce, September 3, 1845, Houghton Library.
- 88. Henry W. and Frances Longfellow, "Craigie House."
- 89. Frances Appleton Longfellow, Diary, May 4, 1844, Longfellow National Historic Site Archives.
- 90. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Journal, November 6, 1847, Houghton Library.
- 91. Samuel Longfellow to Alex Longfellow, November 16, 1847, Longfellow National Historic Site.

92. Henry W. and Frances Longfellow, "Craigie House."

93. Samuel Longfellow, Cambridge to Annie Longfellow Pierce, April 27, 1846.

94. Alice Longfellow, "Reminiscences of My Father," in chapter called "Out of Doors or Out of Working Hours." Longfellow National Historic Site Archives. Frances and Henry W. Longfellow had six children: Charles Appleton (June 9, 1844); Ernest Wadsworth (November 23, 1845); Frances (April 7, 1847; died as an infant); Alice Mary (September 24, 1850); Edith (October 22, 1853); Annie Allegra (November 8, 1855).

95. This information is from a series of entries in Henry Wadsworth Longfellow journals: "installing a summerhouse in the garden," May 11, 1854; "bought 25 peach trees, making 75 for this year," 1859; "apple seat built," May 4, 1851; Houghton Library.

96. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Journals, November 11, 1852, Houghton Library.

97. MROD, 1124: 406.

98. MROD 1123: 42.

99. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Journal, April 12, 1872, Houghton Library. Alice M. Longfellow, April 19, 1872, Longfellow National Historic Site Archives.

CHAPTER 7

100. Winthrop S. Scudder (quoting from "The Longfellow Memorial Association, 1882-1922: An Historical Sketch," (Cambridge: Longfellow Memorial Association, 1922), 8.

101. MROD, Annie L. Thorp et al to Longfellow Memorial Association, 1629: 457, Pl. Bk. 40, April 30, 1883.

102. MROD, 1845: 224, Alice M. Longfellow et al to Longfellow Memorial Association, April 18, 1888.

103. Ernest Longfellow as quoted by Scudder, 14.

104. Eleanor McPeck, Keith Morgan, and Cynthia Zaitzevsky eds., Olmsted in Massachusetts, The Public Legacy, (Brookline, Mass.: Massachusetts Association for Olmsted Parks, 1983), 15. Charles Eliot made substantial contributions to landscape architecture in the Boston area. He is best known as the designer of the Metropolitan District Commission Park System in Boston.

105. Charles Eliot, Charles Eliot, Landscape Architect, (Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971; Cambridge, MA: 1902), 211.

106. The distinction between upland and lowland also was reflected in social terms: the lowland was visited by hoodlums in the nineteenth century. The lowland was described as an "impassable marsh," and was filled in accordance to Eliot's plan, but problems of poor drainage and hoodlums persisted.

107. Charles Eliot, Charles Eliot, Landscape Architect, 211.

108. Ibid.

109. McPeck, Morgan and Zaitzevsky, Olmsted in Massachusetts, 15.

110. Daniel Chester French to Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., April 3, 1912. French Correspondence, National Trust for Historic Preservation, Chesterwood, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

111. Cambridge Historical Commission, file on Longfellow Park contains correspondence between Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr. and Daniel Chester French, April 11, 1912 and April 13, 1912; French to Olmsted, Jr., April 15, 1912; Paul Frost to Frederick Law Olmsted, Jr., August 29, 1922. This correspondence is also on file with the National Trust for Historic Preservation, Chesterwood, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

112. Scudder, p. 17.

113. Paul R. Frost, Cambridge to F. L. Olmsted, Jr., Brookline, August 29, 1922. French correspondence files, Chesterwood, Stockbridge, MA and Longfellow Park files, Cambridge Historical Commission, Cambridge, MA.

114. Charles Eliot II, nephew of Charles Eliot, is also a landscape architect, and has written numerous letters calling for a restoration of the vista from Longfellow Park. These letters are on file at the Cambridge Historical Commission. As Memorial Drive runs perpendicular to the axis of the view from the house, the MDC plantings have obstructed the view from the house.

CHAPTER 8

115. MROD, Longfellow et al, "Indenture of Trust," 1879: 126-133, November 10, 1888.

116. The pond has not completely disappeared; a depression on the property at 121 Brattle Street marks its location, and local tradition relates stories of the pond and brook resurfacing in wet weather. See *Cambridge Historical Society Proceedings*, "The Story of a Lost Brook."

117. MROD, Longfellow, "Indenture of Trust," October 28, 1913.

118. Ibid.

119. No correspondence has been located to date that indicates why or who hired Martha Brookes Brown. However, Brown was one of the few women to enroll in the landscape department at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which provides two possible connections to Alice Longfellow. The first is that Alex Longfellow, Jr., an architect and Alice's cousin, who also attended MIT, introduced Brown to his cousin. The second possibility is simply that Alice met Martha Brown through her active interest in women's education.

120. Martha Brookes Hutcheson's house and gardens are managed by the Morris County Park Commission, New Jersey, and her papers and photographs are stored in the library of the Freylinghusen Arboretum, Morristown, New Jersey.

121. Hutcheson, professional record, Morris County Park Commission, Freyinghusen Arboretum, and Martha Hutcheson, *The Spirit of the Garden*, (Boston: Atlantic Monthly Press, 1923), 154.

122. Hutcheson to Frank Chouteau, August 2, 1935. HABS Collection at Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston.

123. Ibid., June 16, 1936.

124. Hutcheson, The Spirit of the Garden, 104.

125. Ibid., 115.

126. Ibid., 157.

127. Alice Longfellow files, "receipts," April 9, 1919. Longfellow National Historic Site Archives, Cambridge, Mass.

128. Again there are two possible connections between Alice Longfellow and her garden designer. Longfellow was a founder, and Shipman was a graduate of Radcliffe College. It is also thought that Ellen Shipman was related by marriage to the Dana family, Alice's in-laws.

129. Joan Shurcliff, interview with author, written notes, August, 1990.

CHAPTER 9

130. U. S. Department of the Interior, Office of National Parks, Buildings and Reservations, Branch of Planning and Design, Historic American Buildings Survey no. Mass 169, Henry W. Longfellow Place, 1935, field notes.

131. Henry Longfellow Dana to Mary King Longfellow, September 23, 1938. Mary King Longfellow files, Longfellow National Historic Site Archives.

132. Michael Gaffney to Russell Berry, Superintendent, Longfellow National Historic Site, January 30, 1976. Unfortunately, Gaffney did not include the dates of these changes. Gaffney loosely recalled planting the trees and replacing the front walk in the early 1950s. Further research in the trust files (at Longfellow NHS, and uncatalogued at this time) may provide more precise information. At the time of Gaffney's tree plantings, the north boundary was just north of the garden; this indicating that this tree must have been planted after 1955. This tulip tree is flourishing in the hedge separating the site from the Episcopal Divinity School. "Mt. Vernon stock" is a reference to Alice Longfellow's membership in the Mt. Vernon Ladies Association.

133. 92nd Congress, 2nd Session.

134. Richard Wittpenn, Frank Barnes and Jack Lukens, Longfellow House: A Proposed National Historic Site, (Field Investigation Report, Northeast Region, National Park Service, February, 1963), 2.

135. National Park Service, History and Prehistory in the National Park System and the National Historic Landmarks Program, (Washington, D.C. : National Park Service, History Division, 1987). In 1977, the site was listed on the National Register of Historic Places.

136. Draft of Longfellow Restoration Program prepared by Brooks Beck, a lawyer with Goodale &.., the law firm which succeeded Moore, Parker and Pickman. The Longfellow Trust papers are now on file at Hill and Barlow.

137. Middlesex County Probate Court, Equity no. 908, April 30, 1969.

138. "An Act to authorize the establishment of the Longfellow National Historic Site in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and for other purposes," *Statutes at Large*, 86, 791 (1972).

CHAPTER 10

139. Morgan Phillips, Elizabeth Banks, Longfellow Historic Structures Report (1975), 286.

140. U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site, Final Master Plan, (1978). 1978, 2.

141. U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site, Final Master Plan, (1978).

142. U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site, Final Master Plan, (1978).

143. Lucinda Brockway and Isabel Mancinelli, Draft," Cultural Landscape Report and Management Plan", Longfellow National Historic Site, National Park Service, 1984.

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