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# Boston Two Hundred Years Ago

Myron F. Wehtje

Barbara Vaughan, a Rhode Islander, came to Boston on a visit in the late summer of 1785. During her visit she was escorted to the top of Beacon Hill, where she was told that one could see for twenty miles in every direction.<sup>1</sup> Recounting her experience later, she wrote that she could not recall ever having witnessed a "more pleasing scene." To the east she could view Massachusetts Bay. If a ship had been entering Boston Harbor that day, she could have seen it pass from the open bay into the narrow channel between Deer and Governor's Islands to the north and Long and Castle Islands to the south. Then she could have seen the vessel sail between the mud banks on either side of the ship lane formed by the common action of the Charles and Mystic Rivers and then ease up to one of the approximately eighty wharves and quays along the shoreline of Boston.<sup>2</sup>

To the north, Miss Vaughan saw Charlestown, separated from Boston by a quarter mile of water and, like Boston, resting on a small peninsula. She probably saw ferries crossing between Boston and Charlestown and Boston and Winnissimmet, which was on the mainland a quarter mile beyond Charlestown. If she had come a year later, Miss Vaughan would have seen Boston and Charlestown joined by what was regarded as the greatest bridge in America. In early March 1785 the legislature chartered a corporation of more than eighty persons to build a private toll bridge between the two towns. More than fifteen hundred feet long and forty-two feet wide, the bridge rested on seventy-five oak piers. On both sides were six-foot walkways for pedestrians, and there was a thirty-foot draw in the middle. Forty lamps lighted the bridge at night. On June 17, 1786, the eleventh anniversary of the battle of Bunker Hill, an estimated twenty thousand people gathered for the dedication of the Charles River Bridge, just completed at a cost of more than £15,000. While church bells rang and cannon fired, a long procession walked over the bridge from Copp's Hill, in Boston's North End, to Breed's Hill, in Charlestown. Then eight hundred gentlemen sat down for a "sober festivity" at two 320-foot tables arranged in the shape of a horseshoe and covered by a "spacious canopy." Nothing nurtured the civic pride of Bostonians in the 1780s any more than the completion of what the *Independent Chronicle* called "the greatest effect of private enterprise within the United States" and Deacon John Tudor acclaimed "the greatest piece of work ever done in America." The practical value of the bridge was demonstrated almost immediately: shortly after the opening, five hundred vehicles crossed it in one day.<sup>3</sup>

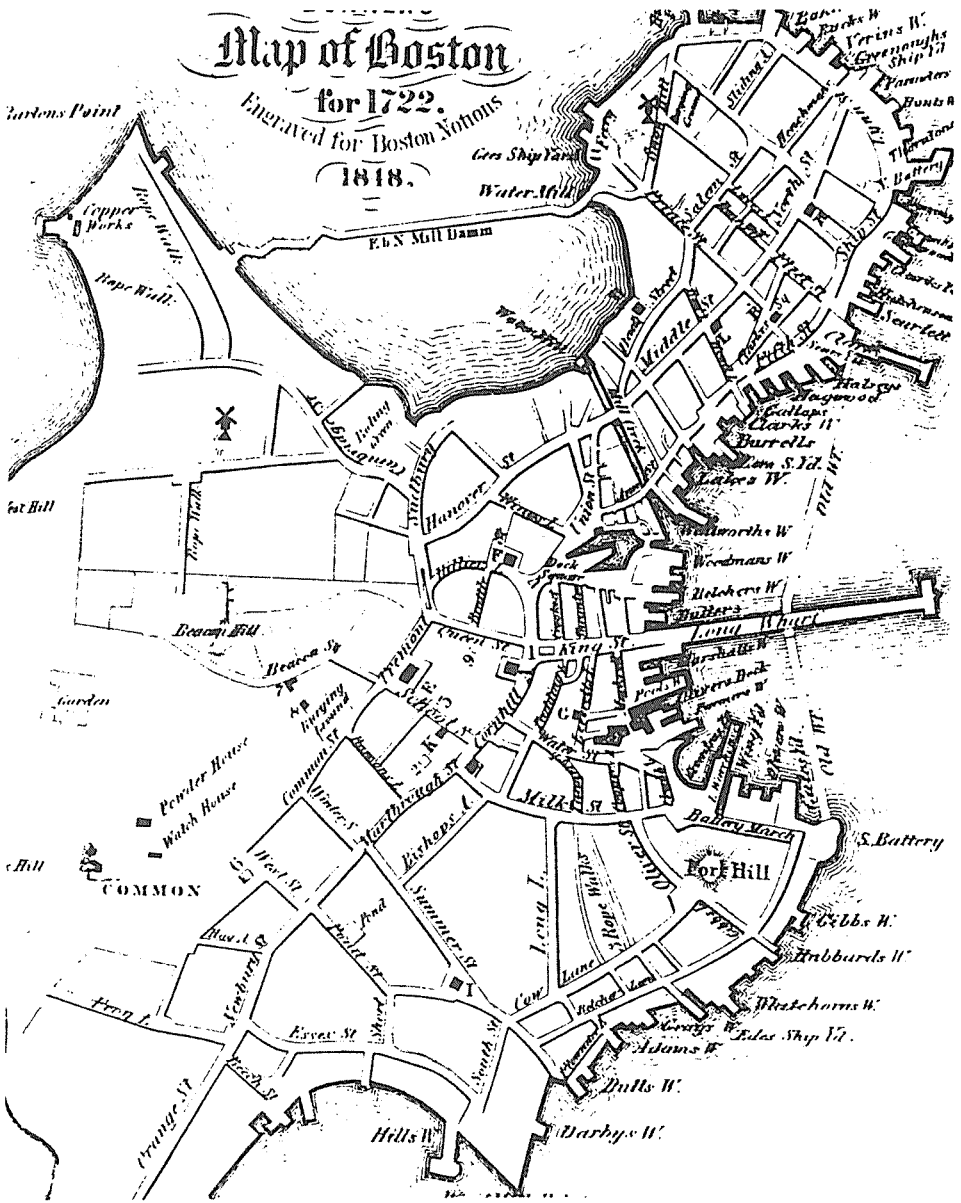


Figure 1. Map of Boston

From Nathaniel Dearborn, *Boston Notions being an authentic account of "That Village from 1630 to 1847"* (Boston, 1848).

From the peak of Beacon Hill, Miss Vaughan could easily see Cambridge to the northwest. Since mid-century a number of Boston's merchants had maintained homes in that pleasant town, but its principal attraction was Harvard College. To the south and slightly to the west of Boston was Roxbury, which Miss Vaughan could see beyond the Back Bay, framed against the Blue Hills in the background. The boundary between Boston and Roxbury was on the mainland a short distance beyond the Neck, a narrow stretch of land joining to the mainland the peninsula on which Boston was located. At its narrowest the Neck was little more than a causeway. When a high spring tide occasionally washed over it, Boston became for a time an island. During the winter the Neck was sometimes dangerous. For instance, in February of 1785 two couples returning from Roxbury during a snowstorm nearly perished when their sleigh left the road and went onto a salt pond at the side of the Neck. Directly east of the Neck and south of the ring of wharves on Boston's eastern shore was Dorchester Heights, which Miss Vaughan could have seen easily from street level. North of the heights and a short distance to the southeast of Boston were extensive mud flats that were exposed during low tide.<sup>4</sup>

Topographically, the peninsula on which Boston rested was little different from what it had been in 1630, when the town was founded.<sup>5</sup> Historians of the town have commonly compared its shape to that of a pear or tadpole. The irregular shoreline included two coves, one on the east where the harbor was, and one in the north containing a milldam and a large mill pond. Excluding the area of the Neck, the peninsula extended about two miles from north to south and one mile from east to west. However, because of the large indentations in the shoreline, the peninsula may have contained as few as seven hundred acres. The surface, like the shoreline, was uneven. Near the center of the peninsula was a ridge running east and west. Beacon Hill, near the center of the ridge, was the highest point in Boston, rising to a height of about 150 feet. It was flanked on either side by a hill of smaller elevation. Among Boston's other hills were Fort (or Corn) Hill in the southeastern part of the peninsula, Fox Hill on the southwestern shore at the edge of the Common, and Copp's Hill at the northern end of the peninsula.<sup>6</sup>

Boston presented a low profile to visitors approaching it from the sea. The skyline was dominated by the meetinghouses, which numbered about sixteen or seventeen during the Confederation period. Their steeples, according to one visitor, were "so numerous . . . that the town at a small distance . . . looks like a large fleet." Among the church buildings that visitors saw first were probably the Old South; the First Church, in the center of town; and Christ Church, to the north. Unlike most of the buildings in Boston, they were constructed of brick. In spite of recurrent fires since its founding, the town still contained mostly wooden buildings. For the most part, those buildings were also old. Partly because there had been no "great fire" for more than two decades, partly because of the war, and partly because of a stagnating and then a shrinking population, there had been little new construction in Boston since mid-century. Harold and James Kirker have observed that in the quarter century before 1785 "not a single important building had been constructed in Boston." But even in 1760 the town was already a generation behind in the architectural style then in vogue in England. Architecturally, Boston's most advanced buildings, whether

private residences or public buildings, were in the Palladian style that had flourished in England in the early Georgian period. The older buildings in town reflected the Tudor style of the seventeenth century.<sup>7</sup>

Most visitors coming to Boston on ocean-going vessels probably disembarked on the southern side of the Long Wharf, which, according to some estimates, extended 2,100 feet into the center of the harbor. At its extreme eastern end was an open platform running north and south. Near the middle, on its northern side, Long Wharf was attached to a T-shaped projection known as Minot's T, or the T Wharf. Along the northern side, running the length of Long Wharf, was a passageway for pedestrians. Much of the rest of the 104-foot wide wharf was occupied by warehouses and stores, most of them two stories high. As an old man, Thomas Handasyd Perkins recalled that Long Wharf was a "cob-wharf, built on cross-timbers," with the "tide ebbing and flowing under the stores." Because of the war, it was in a run-down state at the beginning of the Confederation period. The proprietors of Long Wharf probably devoted much of the time in their periodic meetings to the subject of repairs.<sup>8</sup>

Long Wharf was certainly Boston's most imposing wharf, but it was only one of many. Along the harbor to the south, stretching almost to the Neck, and along the harbor to the north, reaching even beyond the Mill Dam, were numerous wharves and docks among the houses, stores, shipyards, and other structures. Just to the north of Long Wharf was the Town Dock, conveniently set well into the peninsula adjacent to the marketplace but able to accommodate only small vessels. At the northern end of the cove that formed the center of the harbor was Hancock's Wharf, one of the largest in Boston after the Long Wharf. Another prominent feature of the northern harbor was the North Battery and its wharf, near the northern end of the peninsula. At the southern end of the cove, below the Long Wharf, were Foster's and Rowe's Wharves, near the South Battery. Farther south, beyond several smaller wharves, were Griffin's Wharf, well remembered as the scene of the Boston Tea Party, and Tileston's Wharf. Inside Windmill (or Wheeler's) Point, the southeastern corner of the peninsula, were a number of other small and medium-size wharves spread out toward the Neck.<sup>9</sup>

From the Long Wharf, visitors to Boston could go directly onto State Street, which led into the center of town. As they entered State Street they could see its full length ahead of them. At the end of the street, up a gentle incline, was the State House. The affairs of the Commonwealth were conducted on the upper floor. The clerks of the Supreme Judicial Court and the Court of Common Pleas had offices on the lower floor, but most of the lower floor served as an informal gathering place. According to a 1784 gazetteer, "gentlemen in trade" made "great use of this floor for walking." And many years later, Thomas Handasyd Perkins remembered that the "little urchins of the day" gathered on the ground floor to spin their tops and play marbles. Groups of people also clustered on the street corners outside the State House. State Street was attractive; the 1784 gazetteer described it as "very spacious." Also, the predominantly brick buildings on both sides of the street were generally of the same height and design, giving it a unified appearance. Those buildings were used for a wide variety of purposes. Visitors were welcome at the Bunch of Grapes and several other inns

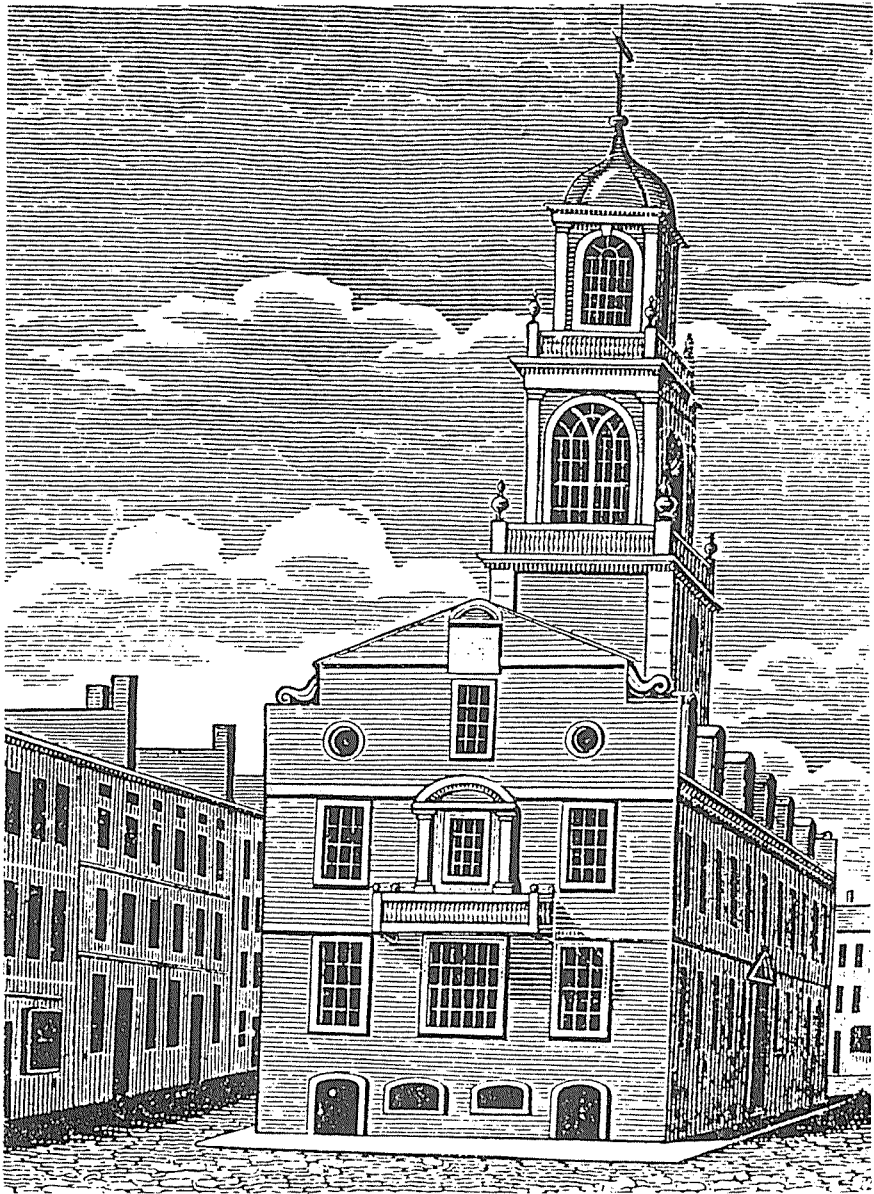


Figure 2. Old State House

From Charles Shaw, *A Topographical Historical Description of Boston* (Boston, 1817).

along State Street. There were also numerous private residences, some of which housed members of the town's elite. However, State Street was especially noteworthy for its commercial buildings: the stores or counting houses of prominent merchants like Thomas Russell; less pretentious retail shops, usually identified by placards or "swinging signboards hanging from wrought iron standards;" and the offices where brokers and underwriters insured ships and cargoes. Of course, the commercial district spilled over into the streets running off State Street to both the north and south. Kilby Street and other streets in the area were lined solidly with the same mixture of residences and commercial buildings.<sup>10</sup>

At its western end, just beyond the State House, State Street intersected Cornhill, along which the commercial section of Boston continued. Walter Muir Whitehill called that intersection "the nerve centre of Boston." It brought together the town's two principal thoroughfares, State Street, connecting with the harbor, and what was really the "main street," running south to join Boston to the mainland. That main street carried four different names along its extent. Beginning in the center of town as Cornhill, it became Marlborough Street and then Newbury Street before taking the name of Orange Street as it approached the Neck at the southern end of town. Cornhill was a very crowded street. One visitor found it "filled with carts, teams, and drays, standing idle, so that it was very inconvenient," and a townsman complained that the traffic made Cornhill so "dangerous that no lady dare venture in that part of the town." Like State Street, Cornhill had many retail shops in three-story brick buildings with flat roofs and balustrades. The shopkeepers and their families often lived above the shops. (Altogether, about eighteen per cent of Boston's population was packed into the center of town, in the vicinity of Cornhill and State Streets.) One of the most prominent features of Cornhill was the First Church. Often referred to as "Old Brick," it was located at the intersection of Cornhill and State Streets, just around the corner from the State House. The oldest of Boston's congregations gathered there to hear the sermons of old Charles Chauncy and of John Clarke, his assistant.<sup>11</sup>

South of Cornhill, Marlborough Street carried travellers into the South End. Here brick gave way largely to pine and oak. The two and three-story buildings were generally covered with clapboards, often painted a "pale white." As was true of much of the town outside the commercial center, there were quite a few merchants' stores and retail shops scattered along the streets of the South End, but it was principally a residential area for about thirty-seven per cent of the people of Boston. Compared to the center of town, the South End was uncrowded. However, as the population of Boston grew following the war, this section enjoyed much of the increase. Allan Kulikoff has judged that there was probably "intense building activity" particularly in Ward Twelve, which took in a relatively large area in the extreme southeastern and southern parts of the peninsula. The garden spots alongside most of the houses often included fruit trees as well as the usual vegetables and flowers. Most of the houses also had their own wells and pumps.<sup>12</sup>

When Barbara Vaughan visited Boston in 1785, she undoubtedly entered the town by way of the Neck, riding up Orange Street into the South End. Later she recalled the "bleak unpleasant road" that passed over the Neck. More

than half a century later Thomas Handasyd Perkins remembered that the road was paved with stones in the center, with an unpaved "summer road" on each side. Although there were few houses on the Neck—all on the western side—it was evidently far from barren; before the war, rows of elms had been planted there by civic-minded Bostonians.<sup>13</sup>

When Miss Vaughan rode up the main street, she may well have turned right at the intersection of Cornhill and State Streets, passing down State Street. If, instead, she turned left, toward the west, she would have entered Court Street, leading directly to the ridge dominated by Beacon Hill. In the 1780s this area was sparsely settled. Children often played to the west of the Hancock mansion. Sliding down the open northern slope of the ridge was a favorite pastime.<sup>14</sup> To the south of the ridge lay the 45-acre Common, which the gazetteer called "the most pleasing part of the town." The Common, which Barbara Vaughan regarded as "the best on the Continent," was both a town park and an area for grazing livestock.<sup>15</sup> On its eastern side was the Mall, a 1400-foot walk along Common Street. At the beginning of the Confederation period, there were two rows of elms along the Mall. A third row was planted in 1784. That same year a "single range" of elms was planted along the southern end of the Common, almost down to the Back Bay, and a single row was placed at the northern end, west of the Hancock mansion. To adorn the largely bare Common, trees were also planted around the pond in the middle and on the "rising grounds" here and there. These changes in 1784, along with the replacement and repair of fences, the placing of new gravel on the Mall, and other improvements, were all part of a general plan to restore the Common from the "decayed state" into which it had fallen during the war.<sup>16</sup> The old wooden fence, which had served as an ornament in addition to restraining the livestock, had been used for fuel during the war. The surface of the Common, "badly scarred" by holes and ditches, provided further reminders of the recent occupation by the British. But the British could not be blamed for everything: the selectmen had to be on guard to prevent Bostonians from spoiling the surface by crossing in their carriages.<sup>17</sup>

The restoration that began in 1784 was one of Boston's most impressive civic improvement projects of the period. It was financed by public subscription rather than by tax revenues. Wishing the Common to be a "public ornament and honor to the town," more than two hundred subscribers led by Governor John Hancock, who gave £9, contributed a total of more than £285 for the improvements. No longer could it be said that Boston lacked "works of a public nature to attract the observations and attentions of strangers."<sup>18</sup> Of course, after the improvements had been made, the Common was more useful to the townspeople as well. Quite a number of Bostonians kept their cows on the Common, and in spite of the presence of livestock, others used it for recreational purposes; in the summer of 1785, for instance, a group of young men played cricket there.<sup>19</sup>

North of the ridge that included Beacon Hill was West Boston, or the West End. This section, bordered on the west by the Back Bay, on the north by the Charles River, and on the east by the Mill Pond, was thinly settled, containing only about 170 houses and tenements and eight per cent of the population.



Because of the readily available space in the West End, it contained most of the town's ropewalks. The ropes produced there were among Boston's most important manufactures. Except for the West Meetinghouse on Lynde Street and a "handsome" building housing the town's powder magazine, this unpretentious part of town seems to have had no noteworthy buildings.<sup>20</sup>

If Barbara Vaughan, riding north from the Neck, turned neither right nor left at the intersection of Cornhill and State Streets, she would soon have entered Dock Square, the market area for the town. Country people brought meats and produce up Cornhill from the Neck. Fish and other products arrived at the Town Dock, on the eastern side of the square. The square itself was dominated by Faneuil Hall. On the lowest level of Faneuil Hall and in the immediately surrounding area were stalls and stands that the town rented to venders of meats and other products.<sup>21</sup> The second floor of the building contained the hall used for town meetings and other gatherings. Above that were the selectmen's chambers, other town offices, and an area for storage. Faneuil Hall, then, was the seat of local government as well as the center of the marketplace.

To the north of Dock Square was Boston's North End. A peninsula within a peninsula, it was largely separated from the rest of Boston by Mill Creek, which flowed southeast from Mill Pond into the harbor. Ann Street and Hanover (or Middle) Street crossed the creek, joining the North End to the center of town. Visitors from Europe probably felt most at home in the North End, for it had an almost medieval character. Many of the buildings, such as Paul Revere's house in North Square, dated from the previous century.<sup>22</sup> Like the center of town, the North End was crowded. About thirty-five per cent of Boston's population lived in the houses and over the shops along the crooked streets, lanes, and alleys.<sup>23</sup> Only the more important streets were paved with stones. There were no sidewalks; the stones were laid almost from doorstep to doorstep.<sup>24</sup> An occasional elm or lime tree may have stood in the front of a house, but trees were less numerous in the North End than in the more spacious parts of town. The streets were busy, filled with pedestrians, men on horseback, wagons, and coaches. Of course, the heavy traffic on cobblestones, together with the other noises of a city, made Boston's streets very noisy. Heavy traffic along narrow streets without sidewalks also made those streets dangerous. Accidents were common in Boston during this period.<sup>25</sup>

North Square, which the Kirkers call the "heart" of the North End, contained some of the quarter's more impressive buildings, reminders of an earlier era, when the town's elite was well represented there. The Hutchinson mansion, perhaps the "first classical house in America," was also one of the oldest brick houses in Boston. The square also boasted of the Clark-Frankland mansion, in the colonial Georgian style of Boston's finest homes. The Kirkers suggest that its "unadorned exterior concealed the handsomest rooms in town." Other landmarks, not far from North Square, included Christ Church (known today as the Old North) and the New North Meetinghouse.<sup>26</sup>

During the Confederation period visitors came to Boston in considerable numbers from the British Isles, the European Continent, the West Indies, South America, Canada, and, of course, from other states in the Union. Most arrived

by ship, but others, like Barbara Vaughan in 1785, came overland, entering Boston by way of the Neck. Travel to and from Boston was rather haphazard, but shortly after the war a limited packet service was established between Boston and London. Two vessels made two trips each during the year. Otherwise, ship passengers could not rely on "regular routes" or "fixed schedules." Most vessels sailed when their cargoes were ready, and they sailed wherever they could dispose of those cargoes. Passengers had to accommodate themselves to those facts.<sup>27</sup>

Various efforts were also made to establish regular overland travel. Stage-coaches made regular runs between Boston and towns to the north, including Salem, Newburyport, and Portsmouth. In the spring of 1784, for example, Joseph Brown left Boston each Thursday for Salem and Newburyport and began his return trip from Newburyport each Monday. He charged passengers five dollars for a round trip and three dollars for a one-way trip. Later in the year Ezra Burrill advertised more frequent travel between Boston and Salem; he left Boston one day and returned the next, then set out for Salem again the following day. That same year there was also at least one weekly stage travelling between Boston and Portsmouth.<sup>28</sup> Long-distance traffic was heavier to the south. Soon after the war regular stagecoach service facilitated travel between Boston and Hartford and between Boston and Providence. The coaches going to Providence took the "Lower Post Road" that passed through Attleborough. Those who wished to go on to New York City could proceed by packet. The Hartford coaches took the "Middle Road," which went west into central Massachusetts before turning southwest into Connecticut. Travellers who wished to continue to New York City could make coach connections in Hartford for New Haven, where they could take passage on sloops for the last part of the journey.<sup>29</sup> With a coach covering only about forty miles a day, the trip to New York might take a week. Josiah Quincy took a week to get from Boston to New York in 1784, and another traveller that year made it in six days.<sup>30</sup>

The most celebrated visit to Boston during those years was by the Marquis de Lafayette, in October 1784. As Lafayette reached nearby Watertown on the fifteenth, he was joined by a group of army officers, who escorted him into town.<sup>31</sup> When the general reached the Liberty Stump in the South End, a waiting crowd gave three cheers. Lafayette was also greeted by the ringing of bells and the firing of an artillery salute. As he left his coach at the Bunch of Grapes on State Street and bade farewell to his escort, he was cheered again by what the *Independent Chronicle* described as "one of the most numerous and animated assemblies we have ever seen." Later Lafayette was received by Governor Hancock and hosted by other prominent Bostonians.<sup>32</sup> The climax of his visit came on the nineteenth, the anniversary of the defeat of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown three years earlier. For the first time since 1775 the street lamps were lighted.<sup>33</sup> After a parade along State Street, Lafayette was the guest of five hundred gentlemen at a public dinner in Faneuil Hall. The guest of honor sat under the huge fleur-de-lis. Thirteen decorative arches had also been constructed for the occasion. After each toast offered at the dinner, thirteen cannon were fired in Dock Square.<sup>34</sup> The emotional highlight was the unveiling of a portrait of George Washington.<sup>35</sup> While the people in the almshouse, workhouse, and jail enjoyed the leftover wine and food, Lafayette attended an

evening garden party at the home of Madame Haley, the sister of famed Englishman John Wilkes and a leader of local fashion. Fireworks were a part of the entertainment there.<sup>36</sup>

Lafayette's impressions of Boston are unknown, but most visitors liked the town. "We have been very much pleased with Boston," Barbara Vaughan wrote after spending two weeks there. She had found the "situation" to be "beautiful." Another visitor, after complaining about the "intolerably crooked" streets and commenting on the "truly superb" buildings, praised the people of Boston. He concluded that the "disposition of the people, their urbanity, and attention to strangers, exceeds that of any other city on the continent."<sup>37</sup>

#### NOTES

1. For a panoramic view of eighteenth-century Boston and its environs, including the bay, see the frontispiece in Samuel G. Drake, *The History and Antiquities of Boston, the Capital of Massachusetts and Metropolis of New England, From Its Settlement in 1630, to the Year 1770 . . .* (Boston, 1856).
2. Barbara Vaughan to Katherine W. Livingston, Sept. 26, 1785, Ridley Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; John D. Forbes, "The Port of Boston, 1783-1815" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1936), pp. 109, 110; Evelyn Marie Walsh, "Effects of the Revolution Upon the Town of Boston: Social, Economic, and Cultural" (Ph. D. diss., Brown Univ., 1964), I, 268; and the "Geographical Gazetteer [sic] of the Towns in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts: Boston," *The Boston Magazine*, I (Dec. 1784), 4. The gazetteer, which provides the fullest description of Boston by a contemporary of the Confederation period, is listed in the table of contents of the October 1784 issue but is bound with the December issue. The paging of the gazetteer is separate.
3. Vaughan to Livingston, Sept. 26, 1785, Ridley Papers; "Geogr. Gaz.," *Boston Mag.*, 4; Walter M. Whitehill, *Boston: A Topographical History*, rev. ed., (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 48, 49; Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston, 1921), p. 37; *The Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser*, June 22, 1786; *The Massachusetts Gazette*, June 19, 1786; William Tudor, ed., *Deacon Tudor's Diary* (Boston, 1896); *The Massachusetts Centinel*, July 5, 1786.
4. Vaughan to Livingston, Sept. 26, 1786, Ridley Papers; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt: Urban Life In America, 1743-1776* (New York, 1955), p. 25; George Francis Marlowe, *Coaching Roads of Old New England: Their Inns and Taverns and Their Stories* (New York, 1945); *The Continental Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, May 8, 1783.

5. One of the best surviving maps of Boston from the period 1783 to 1787 is the *Plan of Boston*, which is bound with the "Geogr. Gaz.," *Boston Mag.* Another very useful map, *A Plan of the Town of Boston with the Intrenchments, etc., of His Majesty's Forces in 1775, from the observations of Lieut. Page, of His Majesty's Corps of Engineers, and from the plans of other gentlemen.* See Justin Winsor, ed., *The Memorial History of Boston, Including Suffolk County, Massachusetts, 1630-1880* (Boston, 1881), III, between pp. iv and v.
6. In addition to "Geogr. Gaz.," *Boston Mag.*, p. 2, see Edward Stanwood, "Topography and Landmarks of the Last Hundred Years," in Winsor, ed., *Memorial History*, IV, p. 25; John D. Forbes, "Port of Boston," p. 110; and Darrett B. Rutman, *Winthrop's Boston: A Portrait of a Puritan Town, 1630-1649* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1965).
7. Increase N. Tarbox, "The Congregational (Trinitarian) Churches of Boston Since 1780," in Winsor, *Memorial History*, III, 401, 402; "R. T." to "H. W.," *Mass. Cent.*, Feb. 18, 1786; Harold and James Kirker, *Bulfinch's Boston, 1787-1817* (New York, 1964), pp. 5-9, 29-31.
8. G. B. Warden, *Boston, 1689-1776* (Boston, 1970), p. 68; Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, p. 38; John D. Forbes, "Port of Boston," p. 121; "Geogr. Gaz.," *Boston Mag.*, p. 4; Thomas Handasyd Perkins did his reminiscing in an address on Aug. 2, 1841. See Bostonian Society, *Proceedings* (Boston, 1894), p. 28.
9. John D. Forbes, "Port of Boston," pp. 121-125; Perkins, in Bostonian Soc., *Procs.*, pp. 28, 29; "Geogr. Gaz.," *Boston Mag.*, p. 2.
10. John D. Forbes, "Port of Boston," pp. 113-116; "Geogr. Gaz.," *Boston Mag.*, pp. 3, 7; Perkins, in Bostonian Soc., *Procs.*, pp. 24-27.
11. Whitehill, *Topog. Hist.*, p. xi; Allan Kulikoff, "The Progress of Inequality in Revolutionary Boston," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XXVIII (1971), pp. 394, 397; "R. T." to "H. W.," *Mass. Cent.*, Feb. 18, 1786; *Mass. Cent.*, Jan. 14, 1786; Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, p. 17.
12. "Geogr. Gaz.," *Boston Mag.*, p. 6; John Stetson Barry, *The History of Massachusetts: The Commonwealth Period*, 4th ed. (Boston, 1857), III, 199; Whitehill, *Topog. Hist.*, p. 47; Kulikoff, "Progress of Inequality," pp. 394, 398.
13. Vaughan to Livingston, Sept. 26, 1785, Ridley Papers; Perkins, in Bostonian Soc., *Procs.*, p. 31; Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, p. 244.
14. Franklin Benjamin Sanborn, "Boston and New York after the Revolution," MHS, *Proceedings*, XLVII (1913-1914), 232, 233.
15. "Geogr. Gaz.," *Boston Mag.*, pp. 2, 3; Vaughan to Livingston, Sept. 26, 1785, Ridley Papers.
16. Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, p. 244; *Mass. Cent.*, Aug. 7 and 18, 1784.
17. D. Greenleaf to J. T. Hayward, Oct. 1841, in *Fifth Report of the Record Commissioners, 1880*, rev. ed. (Boston, 1887); M. A. DeWolfe Howe,

*Boston Common: Scenes from Four Centuries* (Boston, 1921), p. 39; *A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, Containing the Selectmen's Minutes from 1776 Through 1786*, vol. 25 of the Reports of the Record Commissioners of Boston (Boston, 1894), p. 206.

18. *Mass. Cent.*, Aug. 18, 1784, and April 2, 1785.
19. *The Exchange Advertiser*, June 30, 1785.
20. "Geogr. Gaz.," *Boston Mag.*, pp. 5, 7; Kulikoff, "Progress of Inequality," p. 394.
21. Perkins, in *Bostonian Soc., Procs.*, p. 35.
22. Barry, *History of Mass.*, III, p. 198; Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, p. 17.
23. Kulikoff, pp. 393, 394.
24. Perkins, in *Bostonian Soc., Procs.*, p. 35.
25. Bridenbaugh, *Cities in Revolt*, pp. 35-36, 243-244.
26. Kirker and Kirker, *Bulfinch's Boston*, pp. 11, 12.
27. Perkins, in *Bostonian Soc., Procs.*, p. 29; John D. Forbes, "Port of Boston," pp. 52, 53.
28. *The Independent Ledger and the American Advertiser*, May 31, 1784; *Ind. Chron.*, Sept. 23 and Dec. 9, 1784; John Jenks, "Journal & Expenses, 1784-1785," MS, 2, 7, 10, Houghton Library, Harvard Univ.
29. Mary Caroline Crawford, *Little Pilgrimages among Old New England Inns: Being an Account of Little Journeys to Various Quaint Inns and Hostelrys of Colonial New England* (Boston, 1907), p. 46; Marlowe, *Coaching Roads*, pp. 32, 54, 55, 78; Perkins, in *Bostonian Soc., Procs.*, p. 33.
30. Stephen Jenkins, *The Old Boston Post Road* (New York, 1914), p. 24; H. E. Scudder, ed., *Recollections of Samuel Breck, with Passages from His Note-Books (1771-1862)* (London, 1877), p. 90.
31. Mary Caroline Crawford, *Old Boston Days & Ways: From the Dawn of the Revolution until the Town Became a City* (Boston, 1910), p. 351.
32. *Ind. Chron.*, Oct. 21, 1784.
33. "Andrew Eliot Diary," MS, Andrew Eliot Papers, MHS.
34. Crawford, *Old Boston Days & Ways*, p. 351.
35. Abram English Brown, *Faneuil Hall and Faneuil Hall Market* (Boston, 1901), p. 134.
36. *Ind. Ledger*, Oct. 25, 1784; Crawford, *Old Boston Days & Ways*, p. 352; "Andrew Eliot Diary," Andrew Eliot Papers, MHS; *Ind. Chron.*, Oct. 21, 1784.

37. Vaughan to Livingston, Sept. 26, 1785, Ridley Papers; "R. T." to "H. W.,"  
*Mass. Cent.*, March 4, 1786.