

Proceedings
of the
Brookline
Historical Society
For 1979-1984



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Brookline, Massachusetts 02146
Published by the Society
1984

Contents

— 1979 —

Coolidge Corner Families: The Coolidges, the Griggs, the Stearns, and the Whitneys <i>by Leslie S. Larkin</i>	5
Birding in Brookline <i>by Henry Wiggin</i>	7

— 1980 —

Officers	16
Report of the President	16
Report of the Committee on Rooms	18
Report of the Treasurer	19
Report of the Committee on the Putterham School	20
Annual Meeting	21
French Flats and Three Deckers <i>by Douglass Shand Tucci</i>	22
Fort Brookline <i>by Richard Berenson</i>	25

— 1981 —

Annual Meeting	37
Report of the President	37
National Association for Olmsted Parks <i>by Betsy Shure Gross and Shary Page Berg</i>	39
Fifty Years of Brookline Music and Song <i>by Leslie S. Larkin and the Rev. George Blackman</i>	41
Fall Meeting at the Devotion House	43

— 1982 —

Officers	44
Report of the President	44
Report of the Committee on Rooms	46
Gideon's Band: The Story of the Port Royal Experiment by <i>S. Morton Vose II</i>	47
The Currier Gallery of Art	59
Fisher Hill by <i>Carla W. Benka</i>	60

— 1983 —

Report of the President	67
Report of the Committee on Rooms	69
25 Lenox Street by <i>William L. Selm</i>	70
Development of the Griggs Park Neighborhood by <i>Lee Cooke Childs</i>	73

— 1984 —

Officers	82
Report of the President	82
Report of the Treasurer	85
Report of the Committee on Rooms	86
Brookline Historical Society Bylaws	87

Annual Meeting — January 24, 1982

The annual meeting of the Brookline Historical Society will be held in the Main Library, 361 Washington Street at three o'clock on Sunday afternoon.

S. Morton Vose II, former trustee and president of the Brookline Historical Society, and retired president of the Vose Galleries of Boston, Inc., will present a paper on a patriotic effort involving some Boston and Brookline people during the Civil War.

1982 Officers

PRESIDENT

Mrs. Robert Kramer

VICE-PRESIDENT

Dr. Gary Gross

TREASURER

Mr. Christopher Smith

CLERK

Miss Emily Schmidt

TRUSTEES

Mrs. Theresa A. Carroll, Mr. Edward Hartz, Mrs. James McIntosh,
Mr. Edward Ostrander, Mrs. George Peabody, Mrs. Kurt Schmidt,
Dr. Irvin Taube, and the officers, *ex-officio*

Report of the President

This year, for the Historical Society, seems to have begun and ended with the Winthrop Chandler portraits of Ebenezer and Martha Devotion. As I announced at the spring meeting, the portraits were removed from the Devotion House in February for security reasons, and placed on temporary loan at the Museum of Our National Heritage in Lexington. At the last trustees' meeting it was voted unanimously by those present to lend the portraits to the Currier Gallery of Art in Manchester, New Hampshire. In the spring they will have a major exhibit of American paintings to celebrate the opening of the gallery's new wing. Members will be notified of the date of this exhibition. In between these events, we have had three requests for permission to reproduce the portrait of Ebenezer Devotion, all of which were granted. The Chandler portraits are becoming increasingly well-known and valuable, and the Society is very fortunate in owning them.

Two other events of interest to our membership are scheduled for the coming spring. The Brookline Division of the District Court Department is planning a centennial observation of the founding of the Brookline Court; five trustees of the Historical Society have been asked to serve on a committee being formed to consider an appropriate celebration. Also this spring, the Brookline Historical Commission will publish *A Guide to North Brookline: Five Walking Tours*.

The trustees met on May 28, October 22, and January 21 of this year. We have installed an alarm system at the Putterham School and are in the process of selecting one for the Devotion House. The insurance for the Society's belongings in the house is being revised.

We have eighteen new members this year and have held three meetings. The spring meeting was held on June 7 in the parish house of the Church of Our Saviour. The Reverend George L. Blackman was, of course, indispensable to the presentation of "Fifty Years of Brookline Music and Song" as he played the piano and discoursed on the nine musical pieces presented.

On October 18 the fall meeting was held at the Devotion House. This time the focus was on a number of objects from the Society's collection which had not been displayed for some time, if at all. The departure of the Devotion portraits inspired this exhibit of some of the other Brookline-related objects which the Society owns; these include paintings of Brookline houses, the original incorporation paper of the Society, and an 1864 view of Brookline from Corey Hill.

Today the Society's annual meeting, with the nomination of new officers and reports from the chairmen of various committees, the treasurer, and the president, is held in the Exhibition Hall of the Main Library. Our speaker is S. Morton Vose II, who will give a talk entitled "Gideon's Band," the story of the Port Royal experiment, a patriotic effort involving some Boston and

Brookline people during the Civil War. Mr. Vose, as I am sure you all know, is a life-long resident of Brookline and a former trustee and president of the Historical Society.

My term as president ends today, and I want to thank all of you who have aided and supported me over the last two years. First the committee chairmen, and my heartfelt thanks also go to the officers of the Society: Nikita Zaitzevsky, vice-president; Nathan Wise, treasurer; and Sistie Egdahl, clerk, and to the trustees of the Society.

Respectfully submitted,
Leslie S. Larkin

Report of the Committee on Rooms

The meeting of the trustees of the Brookline Historical Society was held at the Devotion House in January. In February the Devotion portraits and the Seaver family portrait were shipped to Lexington. The Brookline Music School visited in March, and April was celebrated by the arrival of William Dawes.

We had many visitors including one from North Brookfield who brought his carpenter. The gentlemen wished to look at the Devotion House because they were restoring a house in North Brookfield built in 1670.

The fall meeting of the Society was held at the Devotion House. This gave the members an opportunity to look at articles that had not been on display before.

The Society has had chairs, table, and a music stand repaired this year. The house itself, however, needs paint desperately and the fence should be replaced.

Respectfully submitted,
Helen McIntosh

Gideon's Band

by S. Morton Vose II

I must confess at the outset that for this essay I have, if not a collaborator, at least a spur and inspiration. My wife first called my attention to the subject, filled me with her interest in it and urged me to share it. The peculiar way in which she herself became involved with it makes, I think, a proper introduction.

Two years ago we were visiting the home of my wife's first cousin in Savannah, Georgia. During the course of an evening he produced an old letter from among family papers and asked if she recognized the signature or knew anything of the circumstances under which it was written. It was dated in May of 1862, from Edisto Island, South Carolina, and addressed to Mr. Daniel Denny of Dorchester. He was my wife's great grandfather, and the same relation to the cousin we were visiting. The writer was Francis Everett Barnard, and he signed himself "Your affectionate nephew." She could not answer the question immediately, but the name did ring a bell, and she connected it with a book she had been reading, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction* by Willie Lee Rose. We live in Brookline in the house where my wife was born. Its attic outdoes the famous bag of Mrs. Swiss Family Robinson, producing to this day family memorabilia and documents previously unnoticed. The writer who signed himself "Your affectionate nephew" must be a family connection, and her curiosity was fully aroused. Perhaps there would be a clue at home.

Back in Brookline the attic was searched, and lo and behold, another letter; this one I think we had better read.

North Edisto
April 11th, '62

Dear Uncle;

While my people have been hearing the distant guns attacking Fort Pulaski, I have been examining the papers of a box dug up weeks since on my Murray Place, hoping to find the cause of the war. What success has attended my labors, the accompanying papers will show.

Beside these, I have a letter I intend to forward soon, telling of a large secession meeting held in Charleston in 1851, when, I learn — this island was all excitement on the subject, Major Murray taking the lead — Secession will out! It must have a

good backbone to withstand the batteries of all day yesterday, last night and today until 4 o'clock; since when silence.

We hope to hear from Charleston soon the same kind of thunder. Cotton is up today. I hope to send a bale to New York as early as anyone. I guess I shall get seventy-five acres under way, and as much corn, beside potatoes.

The women do as much work as the men, I guess, and I have no fault to find with any of them. I have much to say, but not time nor life to say it. Believe me happy in my work. Good night.

Your affectionate nephew,
F.E.B.

As you see, Francis Barnard mentions here the discovery by some black children on a plantation which he manages (which he calls The Murray Place) of a buried box which they turned over to him. It proved to contain a packet of letters, being correspondence between a number of Sea Island planters, indicating clearly that secession was being discussed at an early date. Obviously they had been hidden at the outset of hostilities as dangerously incriminating, when the outcome of the war could not have been foreseen. More interesting still, there along with the covering letter was the packet of seditious correspondence! Material enough for an essay of its own.

Our mission is not with these letters, however, but to unravel the story of F. E. Barnard. Who was he? Why was he on the Sea Islands of South Carolina in the early months of the Civil War, and especially how did a young man from Boston happen to be superintendent of a group of long-staple cotton plantations in what one would have presumed to be Confederate territory? The answer involves a bit of Civil War history of which I had previously heard very little. It has to do with a sociological experiment attempted by a group of idealistic young people from New York, Philadelphia, Boston and indeed with some Brookline connections.

Fort Sumter had been fired on in March 1861. By autumn it was apparent to everyone that there was to be no taking of Richmond to end the war in ninety days. Indeed from the Union point of view the situation was scarcely encouraging. Thoughts of such things as reconstruction and what to do with thousands of freed slaves if and when victory came, were definitely on the back burner or hardly thought of. However, a situation offering both of these problems in miniature had opened, probably little noticed by most United States citizens of the time, and given, as far as I recall, very little prominence in standard histories of the War between the States.

Early in the war it was obvious that a successful thrust on Richmond would require a Union shore base from which supplies and military support

could readily be dispatched. To this end an amphibious expedition was planned and prepared in New York. President Lincoln had on April 19, 1861, proclaimed a blockade of southern ports, and by autumn the threat was at least partially effective. That offered no land base, however, a situation which this new initiative was intended to correct. Early in September Commodore Samuel F. Dupont was ordered to assemble the flotilla of warships and transports. The army unit was to be commanded by General T. W. Sherman (no relation to his far more noted namesake with reverse initials). The choice of commanders was from the naval viewpoint fair, from that of the military disastrous.

On October 29, 1861, the fleet left New York for Hampton Roads and duly came to anchor. There it remained for days while the army men grew homesick and seasick, and the two commanders debated and argued the best spot for a Union base. They took so long that Washington officials were furious, especially as the choice had been understood unofficially all along. Port Royal Sound, about midway between Savannah and Charleston, is one of the finest natural harbors in North America. It lies directly in the middle of the South Carolina Sea Islands. The area is semi-tropical, and what was of no small importance, was then the source of the famous long-staple Sea Island cotton, an economic prize eyed hungrily by the hard-pressed federal treasury and the New England textile mills. The Charleston-Savannah railroad was within easy reach.

After some cautious reconnoitering, the Union fleet, seventeen assorted warships led by the steam frigate *Wabash*, entered Port Royal Sound. The Confederate forts, Beauregard to the east at Bay Point and Walker, much the larger, were manned and ready. On the wide verandah of a plantation house a group of prominent families had gathered to watch the "abolitionists" as the invaders were being called, repulsed. Nothing of the sort happened. What did happen during the next four or five hours was a naval exercise almost "by the book," conducted by a conservative, old-school commander, with a precision which elicited admiration even from his enemies. It required only three passes by the forts to put the rebel batteries out of action and to leave a grim carnage behind the battered bastions. It is one of the instances of family disruption so often seen in this war that the Confederate general's brother commanded the USS *Pocahontas* and had no hesitation in firing on the forts. This was an important Civil War battle, the only one of real consequence to be fought in the Sea Islands, and Commodore Dupont was thanked by Congress. It was long known among the negroes as "The Gun Shoot at Bay Point."

On the ninth, the army elements who had been fascinated observers aboard the transports while their naval counterparts were in action, came ashore on Hilton Head island. Camp and headquarters were set up and defensive precautions taken, but General Sherman delayed for a month before extending the occupation further. Not until December 11 was Sherman's

most energetic subordinate, General Isaac Ingalls Stevens, ordered to occupy the town of Beaufort. It was not a large community, but with the town mansions of the wealthy planters it had become rather elegant. The soldiers found houses sacked, furniture smashed, cupboards and closets broken open, food and drink consumed. The slaves, suddenly abandoned by their masters, had flocked in from the fields and for the first time found themselves freed from restraint and simply let go. This must have lent support to those northern opponents of emancipation who had all along been predicting bloody uprisings and chaos as its result. General Stevens, however, dealt with the situation immediately. He had the town cleared and guards posted against looting, whether by negroes or soldiers. Not all damage could be prevented by any means. Plantation negroes often destroyed the cotton gins, with the idea of freeing themselves from this tedious task, and a number of the departed masters returned by night to burn cotton store sheds and even their own mansions, to deny their use to the invaders. And one Colonel Robert E. Lee, soon to be much better known, wondered why his old West Point and Mexican war acquaintance, General Sherman, generously allowed him so much time to prepare defenses. It was time lost for the North, time which if used would surely have shortened the war.

With the Sea Islands secured, the federal government was suddenly faced with two situations with which it must deal immediately. The first, and easier, was the abandoned cotton and cotton fields; the second and far more troublesome was the vast number of negroes no longer under a master's control. It was a bewildering problem, even a frightening one. The cotton, of course, offered a source of badly needed cash for the federal treasury, and this fell within the orbit of Secretary Salmon P. Chase who set to work on the matter at once. Indeed in the matter of both cotton and negroes, he was well in advance of the government as a whole.

The cultivation of long-staple Sea Island cotton was highly specialized and had been carried on by the local planter families for generations. The lore of its management was something in which they were experts. Seed selection, for instance, was of great importance, as was yearly fertilizing of the fields with bottom mud from the salt estuaries; manuring as they called it. I would love to know why this worked. The negroes did know, and they hated the cold wet job. Most of them had been isolated on the islands all their lives, and indeed for generations. They spoke the Gullah dialect, a corruption of English with an admixture of some African words, difficult at first even for negroes from other parts of the state. Now cotton lay in the cotton houses, and many fields were unharvested. If something were not done soon, this crop would be lost, and next season's never put into the ground.

At this juncture, what seemed like a fortunate circumstance took place. A Colonel William H. Reynolds of the Rhode Island Artillery, strongly recommended by Governor Sprague of Rhode Island, came to Chase and offered

to take charge of a group of cotton agents to go to Port Royal, collect the cotton crop and see to the planting of a new one. He was accepted as chief U.S. cotton agent and was at Port Royal by mid-December. However, his selection was most unfortunate. He would cause no end of trouble there, and later in the war he and his friend the Governor, later Salmon P. Chase's son-in-law, would engage in unethical, even treasonable, traffic with the enemy in supplies. Chase was too good natured to suspect.

On the second issue, that of the abandoned or forfeited slaves, the government was not ready to act. It must be recalled that popular support for abolition was by no means universal in the North. An illustration may be found close to home. Mr. Samuel Philbrick, a prominent Brookline citizen and treasurer of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, lived in the large stone house on Walnut Street more recently occupied by the late Dr. Walter Burrage and then by Bishop Stokes. His home served as an "Underground Railway" station, and he had taken a young black girl into his family. The Philbricks attended the First Parish Church on Walnut Street. Mr. Philbrick brought her to Sunday services, a move which I am sorry to say did not prove altogether popular, especially with another prominent parishioner. This gentleman announced that if the practice continued he would leave the church. The following Sunday he deputized one of his children to peek into the Philbrick pew and report. Learning that the child was here, he and his family stalked out. The Philbricks did likewise, and neither ever entered the church again.

Obviously the converse feeling was also widespread, and as the desperate need of the abandoned slaves for food, clothing and all necessities of life became known, things began to move. As before, the first efforts were initiated by Salmon P. Chase. He wired a young Boston lawyer, Edward L. Pierce, asking him to consider taking charge of relief, and what turned out to be missionary work at Port Royal. Pierce had been Chase's secretary at one time and was well known to the abolitionist senator Charles Sumner. Further he had just completed a three month enlistment in the army and had served at Fortress Monroe, Virginia under General Benjamin Butler. There he experienced the situation created by negro refugees pouring into the Union lines, and had been asked to take charge of them. General Butler, puzzled like everyone else as to their legal status, had invented the term "contrabands" for them. It had no meaning under law but was convenient and adopted widely until the Emancipation Proclamation.

Pierce made a two-week, exploratory trip to the Port Royal area, conferred with Chase in Washington and accepted the assignment. A brief interview with President Lincoln was decidedly cool. The President was still worried and undecided about the emancipation issue, and annoyed that he should be bothered with details like negro relief. However, he did tell Chase to use his judgment in the matter. While in the Sea Islands, Pierce had met another man on the same errand, the Rev. Mansfield French, who had been sent

by the American Missionary Society of New York to see how they might be of help. He too was well known to Secretary Chase, and now agreed to organize an effort in New York while Pierce did the same in Boston. French was much older than Pierce and of very different disposition, but he was another vital cog in the experiment about to start, although his flamboyance sometimes did cause problems. Resulting from their respective efforts, Boston soon had the Educational Commission, its purpose being the "industrial, social, intellectual, moral and religious elevation of persons released from Slavery in the course of the War for the Union." In New York, the National Freedmen's Relief Association was soon organized, and presently Philadelphia had the smaller but highly important Philadelphia Port Royal Relief Committee. It might be mentioned that the official leaders of the Boston Commission carried names familiar to us today: Edward Everett Hale, chairman, Edward Atkinson, secretary, along with Henry Ingersoll Bowditch, George B. Emerson and Dr. Samuel Cabot. Things were ready to roll.

On March 3, 1862, fifty-two young people were on the pier on Canal Street in New York, waiting to board the side-wheel steamer *Atlantic* for Beaufort, South Carolina. The previous evening they had signed the wartime oath of allegiance, and now they waited in an unpleasant rainstorm while agricultural supplies, farm equipment, medicines, etc. went into the hold. At last they were aboard, the lines were cast off and the paddles started thudding (Kipling called it "chunking."). They were on their way to an adventure to which most must have looked forward with a mixture of excitement and apprehension.

Thirty of the "Evangels," as they had begun to be called, were from Boston, carefully hand-picked by Edward Pierce himself, from a total of one hundred and fifty applicants. He was much pleased, he said, that they included "some of the choicest young men of New England, fresh from Harvard, Yale and Brown, from the Divinity Schools of Andover and Cambridge, men of practical talent and experience." There were twelve young ladies too, upon whom Pierce had not originally counted. He handed them all, whether from Boston or elsewhere, to the charge of the Rev. Mansfield French, who had suggested their inclusion. It was to be a rough, foggy, uncomfortable winter voyage.

Leaving the newly-assembled band to settle queasy stomachs and start to get acquainted, we should find a glance at its members interesting. Some of the travelers have left impressions of their fellow passengers. William Channing Gannett of Boston wrote that "They were a queer farrago of clerks, doctors, divinity students, professors and teachers, underground railway agents and socialists, young and old, white hairs and black. They were Unitarians, Free Thinkers, Methodists, straight-laced and other evangelical sects." However, he added that he heard no expression of bigotry, and that everyone seemed pretty earnest and quite fraternal. Young Edward Philbrick, an energetic engineer, who had grown up in Brookline, thought that "A good many

looked like broken-down schoolmasters who have excellent dispositions but not much talent." John Murray Forbes, a Boston business man who was making the trip on private affairs, said they were "bearded and mustached and odd-looking men and odder-looking women." It was just before the general flowering of Civil War beards. I think we must put his uncomplimentary impression down to bad humor after waiting hours in the cold and rain to board the *Atlantic*. The same may have been true of the others, added to the awkwardness of multiple first acquaintance. During the extremely rough passage things began to settle down. Soon Edward Philbrick was writing, "Our Boston party improves upon acquaintance, and the longer I think of the matter the more wonderful does it seem that such a number of disinterested, earnest men should be got together at so short a notice to exile themselves from all social ties and devote themselves, as they certainly do, with a will to this holy work. It must, and with God's help it *shall* succeed!" Pierce had been strict in his selection, particularly avoiding cranks and odd-balls. His Boston delegation were all extremely well-educated, enthusiastic abolitionists, and in many cases Unitarians. They were so similar to each other that Willie Lee Rose suggests that the peculiar impression which the band created must have been caused by the New Yorkers!

While teaching, doctoring, and ministering were to be very important, the first task was to be cotton planting, and that was not much understood in Boston, New York, or Philadelphia. Why had they come, some at no salary and others at a small stipend from the Freedmen's Societies? The impulses were varied, of course; some were true philanthropists; others with conscientious objections to bearing arms saw here an answer to their troubled self-questioning about patriotic service. A few, like Edward Philbrick, saw this as the perfect laboratory for proving his thesis that free labor could produce cotton as well or better than slave labor and more cheaply. He, by the way, had not only come at his own expense but had contributed a thousand dollars to the venture. Later, his attempts to demonstrate his free negro labor theory at Port Royal would earn him considerable criticism for using it for personal profit — unjustly, I believe. Meals on board ship were excellent, but not much appreciated by the seasick Evangels. Accommodations were adequate though not luxurious. The men slept in three-tiered berths, the top berth being preferred, all things considered. There were two to a berth, and one diarist remarks that he was fortunate to draw a thin berthmate, Mr. Barnard from Dorchester. Here our friend surfaces briefly, as he does only rarely through this account, even though it was he who started us on the journey.

The *Atlantic* arrived at Hilton Head in early March, and the missionary party and baggage transferred to a river steamer for Beaufort. There the New England men turned to to unload the steamer with an energy which left the wharf idlers, both black and white, with open-mouthed amazement. They had arrived, and at once faced problems which would have fazed far

know nuffin 'bout we." In fact, the President was still hopeful that the border states might be held for the Union by a mild attitude toward emancipation. It did not work, of course, but in the meantime what were the Gideonites to tell the contrabands? It varied with the speaker: "Yes, you're free;" or "You must work hard for Massa Lincoln and you will be free;" or "We don't know," which was really the only honest answer. It was a vexing problem. For the negroes the main point was that they were now free from their masters, and had been since "The Gun Shoot at Bay Point." Their worry was that slavery might return.

By mid-March all the superintendents were on the plantations, and it was high time, very late for cotton seed to go into the ground. Few, if any had the slightest idea about cotton planting, but fortunately the negroes definitely did. The problem was to get them to work. They were industrious about their own plots of corn and yams, but they had had all the cotton experience they cared for. Eventually, pay for cotton field work (generally late in coming from the government), threats of disapproval from Massa Lincoln, and interestingly enough, promise of reading and writing lessons, brought results, though to different degrees on different plantations. In this work, the negro drivers, who had formerly managed the slaves in the field, proved invaluable. The cotton was planted, and the spring, which is very beautiful in the Sea Islands, saw the new shoots rising in the fields.

Something must be said about education, which in the long run proved to be the most successful part of the Port Royal experiment. South Carolina law had long forbidden the teaching of writing to slaves, and, since 1834, the same was true of reading. The missionaries discovered at once that the negroes unanimously longed for this magic ability which they associated with the power of upper-class whites. Thus the promise of education turned out to be a powerful incentive to work. All of the ladies and such of the men who had been designated teachers soon had classes organized for children, but black adults too were anxious to learn. Superintendents like Edward Philbrick speak of giving reading lessons in the cotton house loft after the day's work. A few negroes indeed, especially the drivers and house servants, were found to be already literate, but their instruction had to have been secret. A planter may have realized the value of a driver with whom he could communicate while absent, or a benevolent mistress or white playmate may have taken the risk of flouting the law.

Preaching was the other benefit to which the contrabands looked forward eagerly, and in which the Gideons had far more experience than in cotton culture. Here, however, there arose a difficulty which may seem amusing now, but was far from it at the time. This had to do with sectarian differences, especially between the New York and Boston contingents. I report this of course simply as history. The missionaries from Boston, at least those inclined to preaching, were Unitarians, those from New York largely Methodists, while the overwhelming majority of the contrabands were Baptists.

There was no doubt whose sermons were more appreciated. Our friend, F. E. Barnard, who was a superintendent on remote and beautiful Edisto, reported that his first text was "Work out your own Salvation with Fear and Trembling, for it is God Worketh in You, both to Will and to do his Good Pleasure." Others more plainly preached the necessity of hard work in the fields to bring material and spiritual gains. One elderly negro complained that "The Yankees preach nothing but Cotton, Cotton." The New Yorkers' preaching was more acceptable. One young Unitarian saw which way the wind blew and decided to "Go ahead and preach good Methodist sermons." A trivial but amusing incident occurred when twelve ladies were quartered together briefly (a situation which one of them warned Pierce would be fraught with trouble). Mrs. French criticized Susan Walker publicly for failing to kneel during evening worship, and hoped she would not again set such a bad example to the negroes.

In general the first impressions received by the missionaries were favorable, as far as ability to work and to learn were concerned. Francis Barnard on Edisto wrote home, "In work, in behavior, in everything good, I will put my people against any. . . ." He thought that this was the result of training from a good master, and of course that was not the universal experience. Unfortunately, many of those pleasant impressions would give way as time went on. The negroes were humans, and humans who had been deeply oppressed and degraded. The Rev. and Mrs. French were shocked by the looseness of marital ties or indeed their absence. The teachers, however, continued to the end to be impressed by their pupils.

The year 1862 brought good news and bad news for the Gideons. They had been on the islands only since early March, but things had moved fast and continued to do so. One great relief was the final removal of Colonel Reynolds and his cotton agents. Another was the arrival of Brigadier General Rufus Saxton to take charge of the cotton, negroes, and all other civilians who might come under Federal control in former secessionist territory. This signaled the transfer of the Sea Island planting and missionary work from the Treasury to the War Department. It was with the full approval of Secretary Chase, and though Secretary Stanton was by no means as easy to get along with, it put military and missionaries under one control. General Saxton was a welcome change in that he was one military commander in complete sympathy with the Gideons. Unfortunately there was bad news aplenty, too. For one thing, Edward Pierce departed upon Saxton's arrival. He had agreed to stay for only a few months, and his time was up. His Boston law practice could spare him no longer. It would have been hard to find a better leader, and he was sorely missed. He declined the military governorship of South Carolina, but held many civil offices in Massachusetts in later life. Another frustrating situation was the vacillating, contradictory policy of the Federal government and local commanders concerning the negroes. General Hunter, who had succeeded General Sherman, declared the slaves emancipated and

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In general the first impressions received by the missionaries were favorable, as far as ability to work and to learn were concerned. Francis Barnard on Edisto wrote home, "In work, in behavior, in everything good, I will put my people against any. . . ." He thought that this was the result of training from a good master, and of course that was not the universal experience. Unfortunately, many of those pleasant impressions would give way as time went on. The negroes were humans, and humans who had been deeply oppressed and degraded. The Rev. and Mrs. French were shocked by the looseness of marital ties or indeed their absence. The teachers, however, continued to the end to be impressed by their pupils.

The year 1862 brought good news and bad news for the Gideons. They had been on the islands only since early March, but things had moved fast and continued to do so. One great relief was the final removal of Colonel Reynolds and his cotton agents. Another was the arrival of Brigadier General Rufus Saxton to take charge of the cotton, negroes, and all other civilians who might come under Federal control in former secessionist territory. This signaled the transfer of the Sea Island planting and missionary work from the Treasury to the War Department. It was with the full approval of Secretary Chase, and though Secretary Stanton was by no means as easy to get along with, it put military and missionaries under one control. General Saxton was a welcome change in that he was one military commander in complete sympathy with the Gideons. Unfortunately there was bad news aplenty, too. For one thing, Edward Pierce departed upon Saxton's arrival. He had agreed to stay for only a few months, and his time was up. His Boston law practice could spare him no longer. It would have been hard to find a better leader, and he was sorely missed. He declined the military governorship of South Carolina, but held many civil offices in Massachusetts in later life. Another frustrating situation was the vacillating, contradictory policy of the Federal government and local commanders concerning the negroes. General Hunter, who had succeeded General Sherman, declared the slaves emancipated and

started to recruit a black regiment. The lady Evangels approved this and tried to instill a fighting spirit in their male charges. However, fear of sale to Cuba was still strong, and considerable force had to be used. Once the regiment was formed and making a good showing at drill, which the ladies felt would "make men of them," the Government cancelled both Hunter's emancipation order and his recruitment. The negroes were sent back to the fields without pay. Of course the plantation superintendents were delighted, but negro morale was scarcely helped.

A heavy blow came on July 3 when Secretary Stanton ordered General Hunter to send ten thousand men north to Virginia to help oppose Lee as he drove McLellan back from his thrust on Richmond. Faced with this loss of manpower, General Hunter immediately shortened his lines by ordering the evacuation of Edisto Island. Edisto was remote but very productive and a good crop had just been put in. Edward Pierce was furious and Francis Barnard was heartbroken. Sixteen hundred contrabands with their belongings, pigs, chickens and so forth, were brought to St. Helena Island where they stayed for the remainder of the war.

Eventually there was some good news. President Lincoln finally signed the Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862. It had been a long wait, and one ardent abolitionist among the missionaries had actually suggested that the best turn one could do for the slaves would be to assassinate the President! That question, at least, was now settled.

In November 1862, the department was authorized to recruit negro troops, and the process began all over again. This time of course it was harder, and again General David Hunter used force. Some reluctant blacks were even shot. But once more the ranks were filled and came under the command of General Saxton. Looking around for a crack colonel, he hit upon Thomas Wentworth Higginson of Massachusetts. He accepted and succeeded in making the outfit into a fighting force of which he was very proud. Higginson was a most unusual character: divinity school graduate, author, supporter of John Brown and soldier. One would wish more time to speak of him. In the same breath it should be mentioned that in July of 1863 Colonel Robert Gould Shaw of Boston led his black regiment from Hilton Head to an attack on Battery Wagner. It did not succeed, and Shaw and many of his men died in the attack. His body was buried without honors in a common pit with his soldiers. His father later forbade any attempt to recover it, saying that he could have no more fitting resting place. His death did much to change New England minds about negroes as soldiers. The regiment had been given a disgraceful sendoff from Boston. Belatedly, of course, there is now the fine Shaw Memorial at the corner of Beacon and Park Streets.

It had always been the custom of the Sea Island planters to move out of the low country with the coming of hot weather. The negroes were apparently immune or resistant to the marsh fevers which were extremely dangerous to white people. Despite warnings from the blacks, however, many of

the Gideons refused to leave their posts, and continued with their work as superintendents and teachers. As a result many became ill. Some went north to recuperate, and a few felt that they had had enough. On October 10, 1862, Miss Laura Towne from Philadelphia, one of the shining lights of Gideon's Band, stated in her diary that many had been ill, "F. E. Barnard of Edisto is dying." He did die, a painful and troubled death of fever and delirium, there in the Sea Islands at the age of twenty-six. Francis Barnard was not the only one for whom there was no return trip. In his case the disease was typhoid fever, but I suspect that in most others it was malaria.

There was at last more fighting, some of it terribly bloody, though with little effect on the course of the war, and there is much more that might be mentioned if time allowed. I have said very little of the dedicated work of the lady Evangels in teaching, doctoring, and counseling morals, cleanliness, and hygiene. Although I have mentioned contingents from Boston and New York, I have said too little of Philadelphia, whose group, though smaller, was of great importance. It included some Quakers and the Misses Laura Towne and Ellen Murray. They were to spend the rest of their lives in the Sea Islands, and their school, the Penn School, lived after them, surviving for forty years. Indeed it survives today as Penn Community Services, Inc. The varying experiences on the plantations are worth an essay in themselves, humorous, frustrating, sometimes inspiring and always instructive.



What shall we say of the Port Royal experiment? Did it represent success or failure? Probably in total it was neither. Gideon's Band set out to prove several theses. They believed in the possibility of negro education, and their experience proved that amply. They wanted to prove that as free men and women, negroes would work as well and probably better than under slavery. In the end that too became evident, though not so quickly as had been hoped. Finally, they wanted to provide an advance example for the coming reconstruction of the South. If they failed in that, it would be fair to blame the bumbling and foot dragging of an infuriating federal bureaucracy. Even so, later reconstruction plans continually refer back to the Port Royal experiment. Most certainly it brought tremendous benefits to the just-freed blacks of that particular time and place. Were the results worth the time, the struggle, in some cases the lives that were expended on it? It is hard to say.

One wonders how Edward Pierce or Francis Barnard would feel, were they to look at our country today. Many years after these events, an elderly black man remembered telling his mother, on the morning of November 7th, 1861, that he heard thunder. She replied, "Dat ain' no t'under, Chile, da' Yankee comin' to set yo free!" Perhaps, but many would say that the

process is not quite finished.

F. E. Barnard is not totally forgotten. The east tablet of the Soldiers' Monument on Meetinghouse Hill in Dorchester bears his name, though he was not in the strict sense a soldier. The names on that tablet were prepared by his first cousin, Francis P. Denny, Sr., my wife's grandfather. He obviously considered that his sacrifice was on a par with that of those who fell in battle. □

Notes

Willie Lee Rose, *Rehearsal for Reconstruction*, New York, 1976.

Robert Carse, *Hilton Head Island in the Civil War*, Columbia, S.C., 1976.

Elizabeth Jacoway, *Yankee Mission-*

aries in the South, Baton Rouge, 1980.

Dictionary of American Biography
Denny family correspondence

Spring Meeting — May 16, 1982

The spring meeting of the Brookline Historical Society will be held on Sunday afternoon at the Currier Gallery of Art in Manchester, New Hampshire.

The eighteenth-century portraits of the Rev. and Mrs. Ebenezer Devotion, which are owned by the Brookline Historical Society, are on loan this spring to the Currier Gallery as part of the exhibit "Masterworks by Artists of New England," which inaugurated the gallery's new wing. Our visit to the gallery will give us a chance to see our paintings among others and to look at one of New England's most attractive small museums.

Sherry will be served following a view of the exhibition.

Fall Meeting – October 24, 1982

The fall meeting of the Brookline Historical Society will be held at the Fisher Hill Estates, Boylston Street at three o'clock on Sunday afternoon.

Carla Benka, staff consultant to the Brookline Historical Commission, will present a slide talk on Fisher Hill architecture. Peter Freeman of the Macomber Corporation, developers of the Fisher Hill Estates, will be our guide to the renovations of the older estate buildings now in progress.

Fisher Hill by Carla Benka

Fisher Hill is bounded by Boylston Street, Chestnut Hill Avenue, Clinton Road, and Summer Road. It is a primarily residential neighborhood consisting of large, single family homes, the majority of which were built between 1890 and 1925.

During the early years of this area's development, Bradford Kingman wrote in the *History of Norfolk County*:

Fisher Hill is 240 feet high and is near the corner of Brighton Street (Chestnut Hill Avenue) and Boylston Street. It has a fine, broad top from which the view of the surrounding country is exceedingly elegant, and on account of the elevation and near proximity to the town, the Brookline Water Works have erected a reservoir for the supplying of water to her citizens. The ease with which the ascent may be made by carriage to the summit of this hill makes it a place of resort for pleasure driving.¹

During the eighteenth century, two well-known Brookline citizens lived in this area. One, Dr. Zabdiel Boylston, gained fame by introducing inoculation against smallpox in 1721, much to the disapproval of the clergy who preferred to view smallpox as God's punishment for man's sinful nature. Boylston lived in a house which is the oldest in the area and perhaps in

all of Brookline; the ell is said to date from the 1600s, while we know that the main house was constructed c. 1736 by Thomas Boylston, Zabdiel's father. This house, which stands on the southeast side of Fisher Hill, set back from Boylston Street near Chestnut Hill Avenue, was purchased by William Hyslop in 1766. Hyslop bequeathed it to his son David who, dying heirless, left it and the land to his wife Jane. After her death, the property was inherited by David Hyslop's sister Elizabeth, wife of General Increase Sumner.

Another resident of the area was General Isaac Sparhawk Gardner whose house once stood on Chestnut Hill Avenue. Gardner was the son of Isaac Gardner, said to be the first Brookline citizen slain during the battle of Lexington. His house was demolished by Samuel Henshaw who built a new house nearby. This house was purchased by Jacob Pierce.

Once called Mount Vernon or Henshaw Hill, Fisher Hill received its present name from an early nineteenth-century landowner and resident, Francis Fisher, who bought the Nathaniel Seaver House (built in 1745), tore it down, and built a new house (now also demolished) on the site. Fisher's property was located on the southeast slope of the hill, between Fisher Avenue and Chestnut Hill Avenue. Fisher, like a number of landowners in the area, was a commission merchant; he worked with the firm of E. S. and F. K. Fisher and J. B. Robinson whose office was located on Central Wharf in Boston. (Mortimer Ferris, who also owned land in this area c. 1849, was a commission merchant and worked for Dane, Dana, and Co. at 12 South Market Street in Boston. Unlike Fisher, however, Ferris lived in another part of Brookline.)

Other property owners and residents in the area during the first half of the nineteenth century included the heirs of Samuel Hammond; John Hayden, second husband of Jane Hyslop, whose first husband, David, is mentioned in the above text; Thomas Perkins, the merchant, who lived on Warren Street; and W. A. Humphrey, a farmer who lived on Newton Street near Clyde.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, one large landowner, Henry Lee, purchased the Hyslop estate in 1850. Lee was a partner in Higginson and Lee, the largest brokerage and banking firm in Boston. With the exception of the Boylston-Hyslop-Lee house, 83 Leicester Street, a tenant house on the Hyslop estate which has undergone numerous alterations and additions, and 33 Leicester Street, a stable on the Hyslop estate, moved in 1920 to its present location, no buildings remain which date from the days when this area consisted of a few large estates.

In a talk given to the Brookline Historical Society in 1977, Cynthia Zaitzevsky, in her discussion of the Brookline projects of Frederick Law Olmsted, pointed out that after the Civil War, farms and estates near urban areas throughout the country were rapidly bought up by speculators. "The usual situation occurred when an old family died, and the land was bought by a speculator who laid out roads and lots, sold the lots, and then had no

further connection with the project."² In general, speculators sold the house lots and did not build the houses. As we shall see, this was not the case with the major developer of Fisher Hill. Ms. Zaitzevsky also noted that in Brookline, the owner of a large estate often decided to subdivide and then continue to live on part of his property. "Obviously this situation would lead to a more sensitive solution, since the owner had to live with his own development."³

Fisher Hill remained relatively undeveloped until the 1880s; in 1884, there were six major property owners: Jacob Pierce, Joseph Huntington White, Arthur Rotch, the Goddard Land Company, Thomas Lee (son of Henry), and the heirs of Francis Fisher. During that year, representatives of two of the principal landowners on Fisher Hill wrote to Frederick Law Olmsted, asking him to design a subdivision plan for the hill and an adjoining area north and east of it, now the residential neighborhood south of the railroad tracks. (In 1884, most of that area belonged to the heirs of Benjamin Goddard, an early nineteenth-century farmer.)

Ernest Bowditch prepared the topographical survey for Fisher Hill as he often did for Olmsted's projects in Brookline. In the subdivision plan submitted by Olmsted and his partner and stepson, John Charles Olmsted, a curvilinear plan was used to accommodate the irregular topography of the area. "Olmsted's Fisher Hill subdivision is a masterpiece of curvilinear planning, and it has become one of Brookline's most attractive and desirable neighborhoods."⁴

In the subdivision plan, the Olmsteds noted existing houses on Fisher Hill; those which are still standing included Boylston Street, home (and carriage house) of Joseph Huntington White, president of White, Payson, and Co., a dry goods firm; 117 Fisher Avenue, the home of Tucker Daland, Brookline selectman; and the Boylston-Hyslop-Lee house and its out buildings. Shortly before the beginning of the area's boom, Arthur Rotch built 70 Hyslop Road; Jonathan White built 62 Buckminster Road; Jacob Pierce built 195 Fisher Avenue; Frank James built 123 Buckminster Road; and Arthur Williams built 133 Buckminster Road. (All this construction took place during the late 1880s.)

Of the six property owners in the area in 1884, Jacob Pierce was the most active in the development of Fisher Hill. Pierce was born in Newburyport in 1852; he came to Brookline with his father in 1865 and lived in the Henshaw House (demolished) on Chestnut Hill Avenue. (Samuel Henshaw was in business with his two sons, Joseph and John, and owned Samuel Henshaw and Sons, exchange brokers, with offices at 4 Merchants Exchange in Boston.) In addition to his involvement in the North Star Mining Company, Pierce owned approximately eight million square feet of property on Fisher Hill, some of which had been purchased by his father. This land was bounded by the Fisher estate to the south; Chestnut Hill Avenue to the west; an aqueduct belonging to the city of Boston to the north; and Arthur Rotch's holdings

to the east. It was this area which Pierce and his brother Dean, a stockbroker, developed, sometimes simply selling building lots and other times, particularly during the late 1890s, building houses on speculation. (As was suggested in the Zaitzevsky article, building the houses was an unusual activity for a speculator. However, like many of the speculator-developers in Brookline, Pierce lived on part of his estate while subdividing the rest.) Many of Pierce's houses were rented for a number of years before they were sold.

Pierce was described in his obituary as a community benefactor determined to maintain Fisher Hill as a "high class" residential section. He repeatedly declined "enticing offers of purchase made for parts of his property, lest he might sell it to someone who would not respect his desire that Fisher Hill should remain unblemished by any structure not in harmony with the high character he wished the neighborhood to maintain."⁵

Among the houses built by Jacob and/or Dean Pierce were: 19 Willard Road, 123 Dean Road, 195 Fisher Avenue, 291 and 294 Buckminster Road, 255, 271, and 285 Clinton Road, and probably 107 and 129 Dean Road as well as 261 Clinton Road. In a number of cases, Winslow and Wetherell (and Bigelow), a well-known firm, perhaps most famous for their design of the S. S. Pierce Building in Coolidge Corner, were the architects for these houses.

In addition to constructing homes, Pierce also laid out roads in the area. Dean Road was first, followed by Fisher, Buckminster, Hyslop, Holland and Druce. Buckminster and Clinton, forming a continuous thoroughfare from Sumner Road to Fisher Avenue, were built in 1888 and were fifty feet wide, creating the elegant, spacious atmosphere which Pierce desired.

Of the other five property owners in the area in 1884, Joseph White, Arthur Rotch, and the Goddard Land Company also developed their holdings, although there were few, if any houses built by them on speculation.

Joseph White, who owned two major parcels of land, sold house lots from one parcel. The size of the lots followed the Olmsted plan in most cases. This area now includes Holland Road, Seaver Street, and sections of Buckminster, Clinton, and Hyslop Roads. One large part of the parcel was purchased by John Longyear, the mining engineer; it is now owned by the Longyear Foundation. The land on which White's own home was built was not subdivided; it is owned today by the Scottish Rite Masonic Order.

Arthur Rotch, who lived at 3 Commonwealth Avenue in Boston, built one house (70 Hyslop Road) on his property. Rotch was a partner in Rotch and Tilden, architects of many houses in Brookline, including (probably) 170 Mason Terrace and a row of attached townhouses in the Longwood area. (Ralph Adams Cram, the champion of gothic and medieval architecture in the United States, was a draughtsman in this firm.) The Rotch Travelling Fellowship was founded through the Boston Society of Architects and funded by Benjamin Smith Rotch, Arthur's father. This highly coveted award, established in 1883, was "the first such fellowship in America and greatly facilitated European travel for the many architects who might not otherwise have

been able to afford it."⁶ By 1893, Rotch had purchased part of the estate of Francis Fisher; by 1900, he had sold part of his holdings to Frederick and Josephine Gay, who built 135 Fisher Avenue and a barn (now 125 Holland Road) and the remainder to R. W. Curtis of Boston who built 37 Hyslop Road.

The Goddard Land Company, with property along what are now Clinton, Buckminster, Clark, and Sumner Roads, was established by the heirs of Benjamin Goddard whose large farm extended from Boylston Street towards Philbrick Road and Sumner Road. (Goddard's house now stands at 43 Sumner Road.) Some of the Goddard Land Company's holdings were eventually sold to the Fisher Hill Realty Association, and houses were built during the first and second decades of the twentieth century. For the most part, these houses are smaller and less architecturally ambitious than those built earlier on Fisher Hill.

A variety of architectural styles can be found in the Fisher Hill neighborhood, including Queen Anne, Shingle, Medieval Revival, Jacobethan, and Colonial Revival as well as twentieth-century Neo-Rationalist, Georgian, and various interpretations of the Colonial style. Some of the architects designing homes here were well known on a local and, in some cases, a national level. Among the more familiar firms were: Peabody and Stearns (535 Boylston Street and probably 62 Buckminster Road); Arthur Rotch (70 Hyslop Road); Clarence Blackall (123, 172, 185, 194 Buckminster Road); Winslow and Wetherell (and Bigelow) and Goodhue (245, 255, 271, 285, and probably 261 Clinton Road); Cram, Wentworth, and Goodhue (233 Fisher Avenue); Chapman and Frazer (and Blinn) (85 and 184 Dean Road, 89 Hyslop Road, 79, 206, 214, 230, 233, 249, 282, 337, and 364 Buckminster Road); Hartwell, Richardson and Driver (73 Dean Road, 182 Fisher Avenue, 262 Clinton Road); Kilham, Hopkins, and Greeley (102 Dean Road, 29 and 67 Hyslop Road, 130 and 201 Clinton Road); Little and Brown (75 Fisher Avenue and 133 Hyslop Road); Andrews, Jaques and Rantoul (50 Fisher Avenue); Shepley, Rutan, and Coolidge (42 Fisher Avenue, 104 Buckminster Road, 73 and 80 Seaver Street); Cabot, Everett and Mead (133 Buckminster Road); and Edward Little Rogers (203, 204, 252, and 292 Clinton Road).

Individuals who built their own homes in the area included a number of architects: Robert Andrews (50 Fisher Avenue), Alfred Turner (96 Dean), and William Dabney (156 Dean Road). Early residents of the developing area included attorneys: Ralph Stewart of Choate, Hall, and Stewart (117 Dean Road), Charles Perkins (73 Seaver Street), John Crowley (86 Dean Road), and Nathaniel Walker (115 Buckminster Road). Bankers also lived here: Howard Mann (85 Dean Road), E. H. Mather (92 Dean Road), Frank Merrill (123 Dean Road), Frank James (123 Buckminster Road), and Anson Lyman (161 Buckminster Road), as did brokers: William White (93 Dean Road), William Almy (118 Dean Road), and most famous of all, Galen Stone, founder of Hayden, Stone, who lived at 149 Buckminster Road in 1900. William Lincoln, for whom the Lincoln School in Brookline is named, was a commission mer-

chant who built 214 Buckminster Road, and R. H. Stearns, founder of the department store of that name, built 355 Buckminster Road. Otto Piehler, well known fur-importer and furrier, owned 184 Dean Road.

In later years, musicians made their homes on Fisher Hill. Arthur Fiedler, conductor of the Boston Pops and founder of the Esplanade concerts, built 133 Hyslop Road; Serge Koussevitsky, conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra and founder of the Tanglewood summer concerts, lived at 37 Hyslop Road, while Eric Leinsdorf, another Boston Symphony Orchestra conductor, lived at 153 Dean Road. Today, Boris Goldovsky, founder of the Goldovsky Opera Institute, lives at 183 Clinton Road.

During the twentieth century, Jacob Pierce's wish for a "high class" neighborhood which would be restricted to the construction of residential property was crystallized into a restrictive agreement. Property owners such as Ralph Stewart and Frank Merrill of Dean Road, Nathaniel Walker of Buckminster Road, William Ruhl of Druce Street, Frederick Emery of Willard Road, and Howard Gilmore of Holland Road drew up a covenant which they felt would secure the neighborhood against injury and preserve the rural beauty and open country aspects of their homes and neighborhoods.

This covenant, entered into by 165 property owners in the district, was signed in 1914. It ensured their holdings "against deterioration through the construction of apartment houses, two-family houses, public garages, stores, and hospitals." Impetus for this legal arrangement came from the development of nearby Aspinwall Hill where "the erecting of the wooden three-decker apartment houses and consequent reduction in that section of the value of adjoining or nearby single dwellings had caused alarm among the Fisher Hill residents."⁸

This covenant was designed to be valid through 1940. Since that time, zoning laws have, in many respects, accomplished much of the intent of the covenant. In addition, the Fisher Hill Neighborhood Association remains an active and influential group, a "watchdog" against undesirable development.

There have been several non-residential uses in this neighborhood, however. The first Runkle School was built on Druce Street in 1899; it was replaced by the present building in 1962. Walter Channing's hospital for the mentally ill stood on the fringe of the area, near Boylston Street, on land which had once belonged to Francis Fisher. Although this complex no longer stands, the administration and classroom buildings as well as the dormitories of Cardinal Cushing College, erected in 1962, still remain. One of the buildings is used by a nonprofit organization, while another houses a private girls' school. Other buildings owned by institutions include 364 Buckminster Road (Augustinians of the Assumption), 535 and 575 Boylston Street (Scottish Rite Masonic Order), and 120 Seaver Street (Longyear Foundation).

The Boylston Street houses are unoccupied, while the Longyear Foundation's museum and library dedicated to the history of the Christian Science

Church are located in the house brought to Brookline from Michigan by John Longyear in 1902. Each of these three properties sits on over five acres of land. Other large parcels of open space are found around the two reservoirs on the top of the hill, one on either side of Fisher Avenue. The "covered" reservoir, noted on the Olmsted plan, is owned by the town and is surrounded by over three and a half acres of open space; the "open" reservoir is owned by the Metropolitan Water and Sewage Board and is surrounded by over eight acres of open space. Both areas have the potential of becoming the recreational area which, for the most part, the Fisher Hill neighborhood lacks.

In a discussion of this area, street names should be mentioned since quite often they are clues to the history of the neighborhood. *Fisher Avenue* was named for Francis Fisher, the commission merchant mentioned in the above text, while *Druce* and *Seaver Streets* were named for two early landowners in Brookline. Vincent Druce arrived in Brookline in 1660 and settled in what is now called South Brookline; Nathaniel Seaver built the house on the south side of the hill which was later torn down by Francis Fisher. Nathaniel *Holland* married a daughter of Joseph White (*not* the nineteenth-century property owner) whose house once stood near Fisher's house. William *Hyslop*, a Scottish peddler who "made good" and became a wealthy merchant, purchased the Boylston House. *Boylston Street* was named for Thomas, or perhaps Zabdiel, Boylston; General Increase *Sumner* married the daughter of William Hyslop. As early as 1667, the *Buckminster* family was one of the larger landowners in Brookline. Joseph Buckminster inherited the seventy-two acre farm of his father Thomas. The farm lay to the south of the intersection of Boylston Street and Chestnut Hill Avenue.

Dean road was named for Dean Pierce, brother of Jacob Pierce; Dean was a Pierce family name as was *Willard*, the middle name of Jacob Pierce. Dr. Walter *Channing*, son of William Ellery Channing and nephew of Margaret Fuller, built a hospital on Fisher Hill, as stated above. Channing was a graduate of M.I.T. and the Harvard Medical School as well as a member of the Massachusetts Medical Association and the Boston Society of Physicians. Lemuel *Baxter* was a landowner in this area during the 1840s and 1850s, and John *Hayden* was the second husband of Jane Hyslop, widow of David Hyslop and daughter-in-law of William Hyslop. □

Notes

1. Kingman, Bradford, *History of Norfolk County*, 1892, 786.
2. Zaitzevsky, Cynthia, "Frederick Law Olmsted in Brookline: A Preliminary Study of his Public Projects" in the *Proceedings of the Brookline Historical Society*, 1977, 47.

3. Zaitzevsky, *op. cit.*, 47.
4. *Ibid.*, 54.
5. *Ibid.*
6. Tucci, Douglass Shand, *Built in Boston*, 1978.
7. *Brookline Citizen Chronicle*, April 11, 1914, 1 & 4.
8. *Ibid.*