

Henry Hobson Richardson, Radical Federalists, and Mount Vernon in Brookline

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From 1874 to 1886, the Perkins-Hooper-Richardson House, at 25 Cottage Street, was the home and office of Henry Hobson Richardson, the most influential American architect of the nineteenth century, during the last twelve, highly productive, years of his life.¹ It began as a tall-columned frontispiece, of ca. 1804-05, added by Samuel Gardner Perkins, to a late eighteenth century house. Its south parlor wing was added in the 1850s and the north wing's second floor, containing H.H. Richardson's bedroom/studio, was added ca. 1884-85.

The Perkins-Hooper-Richardson house is one of five unusual neighboring Brookline houses, built or radically modified between 1794 and 1806, that varyingly reflect ideas quite specific to their time and interrelated original owners, all of a radical Federalist bent. Close to 25 Cottage, at 215 Warren Street is "Old Green Hill," where a similar tall-columned frontispiece had been added by Senator George Cabot to an older house in 1794. It clearly was Perkins' direct model. However, most probably the ultimate model for both was the east portico piazza that George Washington added to Mount Vernon, ca. 1777-78, (Fig. 4). Three of these five Brookline houses



Fig. 1) The Perkins-Hooper-Richardson House, 25 Cottage Street, built 1804-05. The single story south parlor wing on the left was added in the 1850s. The columns today closely resemble the Mount Vernon portico columns but the two earliest views, of 1889 and 1902 show them, improbably, as being apparently cruciform in plan and without capitals. They must have been rebuilt or recased in the 20th century. (Paul Bornbaum)

survive; the third is “Green Hill”, at 135 at Warren Street that eventually became Isabella Stewart Gardner’s summer home (Fig. 6). It was built in 1806 for Captain Nathaniel Ingersoll, the son-in-law of Captain Adam Babcock, who then owned Old Green Hill.

These five houses were neither conventionally Federal in style, being generally too austere, nor Greek Revival, being both too early and generally stylistically incorrect. They are or were:

- **Old Green Hill**, a.k.a. The George Cabot house, 215 Warren St. (Fig.3), a columned frontispiece addition of 1794 to the 1742 Nehemiah Davis farm house.²
- **The Stephen Higginson Sr. house**, 70 Heath St., 1798, demolished ca. 1860. (Fig. 5)
- **The Perkins-Hooper-Richardson House**, a.k.a. Samuel Gardner Perkins house, 25 Cottage St. (originally accessed from Warren Street, opposite Old Green Hill), ca. 1804-05 (Fig. 1).³
- **The Thomas Handasyd Perkins House** (the only one of these houses without continuous two-story columns), 450 Warren St., 1805-06, demolished 1853, (Fig. 2).⁴
- **Green Hill**, a.k.a. The Nathaniel Ingersoll house, 135 Warren St., 1806, (Fig. 6).⁵

The original owners of the first four of these houses were interrelated by family, marriage, business, and Federalist politics.⁶ With regard to 25 Cottage Street, the most significant were:

- **Thomas Handasyd Perkins** and **Samuel Gardner Perkins**, brothers who for six years (1788-94) were also business partners, along with a third brother James Perkins.
- **Stephen Higginson, Sr.**, the father-in-law and, after 1794, business partner of **Samuel Gardner Perkins**; the uncle of **George Cabot**; and sometimes a business associate of the Perkins brothers.
- **Stephen Higginson, Jr.**, the brother-in-law of **Samuel Gardner Perkins**.
- **George Cabot**, also a sometimes business associate of **the Perkins brothers**.

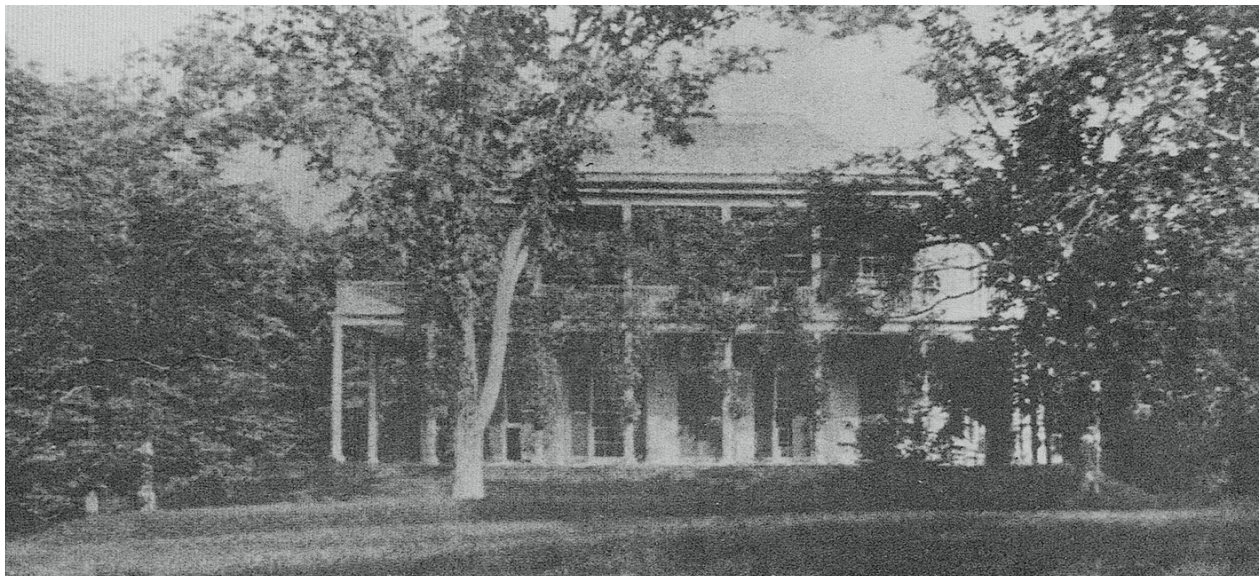


Fig. 2) The Thomas Handasyd Perkins House, 450 Warren Street, built 1805-06, demolished 1853. Other than this one photo there is only a very brief description. The second floor piazza was only on this side and was accessed from the master bedrooms. (Private collection)

These men generally shared strong socio-political ties, reflecting their radical Federalist party views. They were also horticultural reform enthusiasts.⁷ This partly reflected a premise that, to forestall the eventual cyclical decline of America's political experiment and its "new" civilization — a decline that eighteenth century political theory tended to view as inevitable — the new republic and its economy had to be grounded on a renewed agriculture. Those two abstractions, one political, the other philosophical, helped inform the five houses and their settings.

While normally grouped with the four others, the T.H. Perkins House, long vanished and known only from one photo, perhaps not published before 1970, and from one brief description, should be considered separately — especially, as it was the object of a problematic "Jamaica Planter" label that was later casually attached to all five. As discussed below, these houses did not actually comport with such a tropical house form.⁸ However, their most striking feature may well relate to a plantation — Mount Vernon (Fig. 4), as also discussed below.

Except for the T.H. Perkins House, these houses were all distinguished by colonnades of thin, evenly spaced, two-story, post-like columns under low pitched hipped roofs, over "piazzas" (porches or covered terraces) that originally encompassed at least three sides of the house or of a substantial frontispiece addition. These colonnade-sheltered ground floor piazzas were made to seem almost continuations of the surrounding lawn. But, in most cases, as with the Perkins-Hooper-Richardson house, as the lawn approached the piazza it sloped up as a berm, hiding the foundation of the piazza. Thus the continuity between lawn and piazza was more conceptual than functional. This too mirrored a comparable berm in front of Mount Vernon's piazza.



Fig. 3) Old Green Hill, The Senator George Cabot House, 215 Warren Street, columned frontispiece added to an 1742 house in 1794. Note the trellises then attached to the columns and between them at the second floor level in this ca. 1900 photo. (Courtesy, Public Library of Brookline)

Old Green Hill

Senator George Cabot (1751-1823) created Old Green Hill, the first of these five houses (Fig. 3). His friend John Adams saw it as a harbinger of state political ambition — which, if the thought existed, never came to pass. On December 26, 1793, Adams wrote his wife:

Our Friend Mr Cabot has bought a Farm in Brokelyne . . . where he is to build a House next summer. He delights in nothing more than talking of it. The Searchers of Secret motives in the heart have their Conjecture that this Country Seat in the Vicinity of Boston was purchased with the Same Views which some Ascribed to Mr Gerry in purchasing his Pallace at Cambridge and to Gen. Warren in his alighting on Milton Hill.⁹

When Cabot's father died while he was a student at Harvard, leaving him £600, he went to sea on a ship commanded by his brother-in-law, Joseph Lee. By the age of 21 he was a captain. Three years later in 1775, he and Lee formed Cabot & Lee, a merchant trading and ship owning partnership primarily trading in New England goods, such as salt cod, particularly with Spain but also occasionally southern ports, the West Indies, and eventually the Baltic. During the Revolution he was very profitably a privateer, together with, as was common, some smuggling.¹⁰ In 1780 Cabot was a delegate to a convention drafting a new Massachusetts constitution and in 1788 a delegate to the Massachusetts convention ratifying the U.S. Constitution. The next year George Washington visited him at his house in Beverly. In 1791 he was elected by the state legislature to the U.S. Senate.¹¹ There he joined the new Federalist Party headed by Vice-President John Adams and Cabot's old friend and New York business associate, Alexander Hamilton. He resigned in 1796, due to the bitter nature of politics in Philadelphia, then still the Capital. By 1800, after Jefferson's election, he had withdrawn completely to his Brookline farm.

The influence of Mount Vernon

By the late 1790s the Federalist builders of these houses could identify with Washington's Cincinnatus-like 1783 return to the quiet of Mount Vernon, first after resigning as Commander-in-Chief and again after his refusal to accept a third term as president in 1797. They could especially do so in 1801-09, when Jefferson, their prime opponent, was in office — and they were entirely out of power. Thus, Mount Vernon, with its iconic colonnade of simple two-story square columns, would seem an obvious inspiration for Cabot's colonnaded Old Green Hill.

While Cabot is not known to have visited Mount Vernon, he and Washington maintained a lengthy correspondence over many years. And Cabot was entrusted by Washington, should the need arise, to shelter George Washington Lafayette, the Marquis de Lafayette's refugee son and Washington's godson, until the end of Washington's second presidential term, to avoid potential diplomatic difficulties with Revolutionary France.¹² Also Cabot must have seen the very abstract vision of Mount Vernon's east front piazza portico, in Edward Savage's ca. 1787, painting, the earliest known of the portico, that was exhibited in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston.

Although T.H. Perkins' house was the only one of these five without Mount Vernon-like two story columns, in 1793 he had separately made possible the escapes from revolutionary France of George Washington Lafayette and of his mother. And in the spring of 1796 Perkins had visited Washington at Mount Vernon.¹³ It left a deep impression that he recorded and no doubt passed along to his brother Samuel.



Fig. 4) Detail from “The East Front of Mount Vernon,” ca. 1787, by Edward Savage. This is the first painting of Mount Vernon’s iconic east front. Savage, a Massachusetts native, was commissioned by Harvard in 1793 to make a portrait of George Washington for the College. That led to a second Washington portrait for John Adams. Savage’s view of Mount Vernon’s east front, which preceded those portraits, was exhibited in Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. As early as 1805 it was replicated on expensive imported Chinese ceramics. (Courtesy, Mount Vernon Ladies Association)

Arcadian Simplicity

Two other potential influences also suggest themselves for these colonnades.

Unlike the later nineteenth century houses that filled in around them, these wooden country houses tended towards austerity, offset by verdure. With their tall unadorned post-like, often vine entwined, piazza columns, they also comported with a romantic English upper class desire of the era, and of their worldly owners, to recapture an acadian simplicity.

During the Late Georgian/Regency Period in England, despite England and France being at war for much of that time, radical French ideas gave rise to a sometimes radically simplified ideal of architecture and design, in which building designs might be stripped of ornament and reduced to almost prismatic forms. Such idea would have circulated among some of the English country gentry whose estates the Perkinses, Cabot, Higginson, and other wealthy Boston Federalists visited, and with whom they exchanged horticultural and philosophical ideas and books, along with their specimen plant cuttings and seeds.¹⁴ Both Perkins brothers and Cabot were founding members, officers or trustees of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture.¹⁵ Except for the Perkins-Hooper-Richardson House, there are historic images of all these houses, dating from perhaps ca. 1850 to ca. 1900, that show vines on and sometimes between the columns.

Perkins-Hooper-Richardson House

The Perkins-Hooper-Richardson House (Fig.1), bears the names of Samuel Gardner Perkins (1767-1847), who built most of what now stands, Edward William Hooper (1839-1901), who owned it when Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-86) lived in and had his architectural practice there, and Richardson himself.

Originally, the Perkins-Hooper-Richardson house stood within sight of Old Green Hill, with nothing between them. (In addition to the present 25 Cottage Street lot, its lot then included those of 39 Cottage Street to the south, and 222 and 230 Warren Street to the north.) Its driveway entrance was then directly opposite Old Green Hill and remained so at least until 1857. Perkins' columned frontispiece addition clearly emulated that of Old Green Hill, which when Perkins built it belonged to Stephen Higginson Jr., Perkins' brother-in-law. Even more than Old Green Hill, Perkins' house eschewed stylistic gestures. It is an almost cubic form, consisting of a plain building volume surrounded by a column-and-roof-edge-delineated void, that hid the nondescript eighteenth century house behind.¹⁶ This frontispiece was basically two large rooms: a ground floor parlor and master bedroom above with, on the north side, a small stair entrance hall and single story wing, to which Richardson later added his second floor bedroom/studio. Because the piazza on the north side, leading to the entrance, is less wide than those on the front and south side of the house, the piazza and its four evenly spaced front columns is thus subtly off-center in relation to the core of Perkins' frontispiece addition. Other additions followed.



Fig. 5) Stephen Higginson, Sr. House, 70 Heath Street, built 1798, demolished ca. 1860. This is the only known view. The only description is of the garden, not the house. Note the vine enveloped columns. Except for the Perkins-Hooper-Richardson house, for which there are no early views, there are similar vine-enveloped images of all these houses. (Courtesy, Public Library of Brookline)



Fig. 6) Green Hill, 135 Warren Street, built 1806, substantially enlarged 1842. This 1864 image, the earliest known the house, postdates the substantial additions of ca. 1842. The hemi-elliptical, one story, open pavilion attached in front of the columns (long since removed) seems more likely to have dated from 1842 than 1806. It is also not clear if the lattice-work arches are of 1806 or 1842 . (Courtesy, National Gallery of Art)

The earliest photograph, of 1902, shows the columns as unornamented and distinctly, cruciform in plan, for which there is no obvious appropriate precedent. (One column appears partially boxed in or reinforced.) The present twentieth century paneled square columns and capitals, appear to be based on those at Mount Vernon — perhaps just a logical model but possibly due to information now lost. An 1895 drawing also shows a distinctive shadow suggesting a cruciform cross-section.

On his estate Samuel Perkins devoted himself to horticulture and in particular the cultivation and propagation of many pear varieties. He did much of his garden work himself. But as a trustee of the Massachusetts Society for the Promotion of Agriculture (MSPA), he also corresponded with eminent British experimenters and land owners, such as Sir Joseph Banks, regarding building the MSPA's library.¹⁷ Like his brother Thomas, he had a 200-foot long glazed heated "fruit house" (now lost). These would have cost far more to build, and particularly to maintain and operate, than the two brothers' comparatively simple Brookline homes.¹⁸

The house after Perkins

The one story south parlor wing was added by Waldo Maynard, who bought the house from Perkins' heirs in 1851.¹⁹ As a result, the southwest rear corner column lands on the south parlor wing's roof, where it is internally supported. Maynard sold the house in 1864 to Edward William Hooper, a classmate of Henry Hobson Richardson, who in 1874 rented it from Hooper when he moved to Brookline from New York. After Richardson's death, Hooper arranged for it to be held

in trust and later sold advantageously to Richardson's widow. In 1862 Hooper had gone to the recently liberated town of Port Royal, South Carolina, to aid the newly freed blacks in converting abandoned Sea Islands plantations into farms. After returning to Boston he was "much occupied" as Treasurer of the New England Freedmen's Aid Society.²⁰ Hooper was also the brother of Clover Hooper Adams who, with her husband Henry Adams, the grandson and great grandson of two presidents, was a Richardson client. Clover Adams is memorialized by Augustus Saint-Gaudens famous enigmatic sculpture of a cloaked seated figure at her grave.²¹

During Richardson's twelve years in the house he added his second floor bedroom and a single story flat roofed office wing, known as "the Coops," off the end of the south parlor wing, which was demolished a few years after his death. His descendants stayed in the house, doing little to it, until it was sold by the widow of Henry Hobson Richardson III in 2001. Subsequently it has gone through a very difficult period when it was threatened with demolition and several attempts to restore it were thwarted. Throughout that time it remained unoccupied and the eighteenth century rear wing was demolished.

About the 20th century "Jamaica planter" and "West Indian style" labels

Re "Jamaica planter"

Since the mid-twentieth century, the five houses have been collectively mis-identified as reflecting a "Jamaica planter" or "West Indian" style. The term "Jamaica Planter's House" may first have been applied in print in 1957, specifically to T.H. Perkins' house, by George C. Shattuck M.D., a descendent of T.H. Perkins and owner of the estate where his house stood.²² Shattuck did so immediately after stating that "through trade with China and other parts of the world Perkins had become a rich man." "Jamaica planter" does not seem to appear in any earlier publications about any of these houses, including notably in that of Shattuck's knowledgeable Warren Street neighbor, Nina Fletcher Little.²³ Nor, is it in Julia Goddard's 1903 history of Old Green Hill.²⁴ Perhaps "Jamaica planter" had some currency in Shattuck's family, arising from the Perkins' initial involvement with West Indies trade, combined with the estate's proximity to Jamaica Pond and Jamaica Plain in Boston — thus fancifully transforming some general concept of a West Indies style into a "Jamaica planter" style. (The name Jamaica in this local context goes back to at least 1677 and may have had nothing directly to do with that island.)²⁵



Fig. 7) The Captain W.G. Weld House a.k.a. Andrew Peters House, built 1799 (demolished ca. 1945), at 310 South Street, Jamaica Plain, an example of what was considered a "West Indian" house in the Boston area in the early Nineteenth Century. (Courtesy, Boston Public Library)

In reference to the Perkins-Hooper-Richardson House, the term “Jamaica planter’s house” first appears in a passing reference to H.H. Richardson, in a 1959 article about the Olmstedes.²⁶ It seems next to appear, as “Jamaican planter’s house,” in James O’Gorman’s *Living Architecture: a Biography of H.H. Richardson*, in 1997, the likeliest source for later references.²⁷

Re “West Indian style”

With respect to Old Green Hill, N.F. Little does mention commerce with the West Indies and then adds, “It is thought that their experience with southern climates may have influenced their conceptions of comfortable country homes.” She also somewhat misleadingly notes, “Thomas Handasyd Perkins built a similar home.”²⁸ But, concerning the Perkins-Hooper-Richardson House, she diverges from West Indies associations, if not plantations, saying “This house is built after the type of the so-called southern colonial.”²⁹

Perhaps the first “West Indian Style,” reference to both Old Green Hill and the Perkins-Hooper-Richardson House, is in the 1983 Green Hill National Register Historic District’s inventory form.³⁰ All subsequent such references to these building may have arisen directly or indirectly from there. It was likely inspired by N.F. Little’s 1948 description, cited above.³¹

Finally, it must be noted that in nineteenth century Boston when a house was described as “West Indian,” which seems to have been very rarely, it was a single story bungalow (Fig. 7).³²

Re Richardson and plantation houses

Reportedly Richardson noted some resemblance between his Brookline home and certain plantation houses along the Mississippi above New Orleans.³³ However, such houses, even those with two story columns, almost invariably had second floor principal rooms, opening onto an upper piazza that usually encompassed all sides of the house — a form known as “Raised Creole.”³⁴ Neither the Perkins-Hooper-Richardson house nor Old Green Hill has a second floor piazza or upper level principal rooms, so the resemblance was superficial. The T.H. Perkins’ house was the only one of the five with even a partial second floor piazza — but its principal rooms were on the ground floor.

Do they reflect a typical West Indian house form?

Despite the Jamaica Planter label having been apparently first applied to the least typical of these houses (the T.H. Perkins House) and that almost 150 years *ex post facto*, do these houses reflect some archetypical West Indian or Jamaican plantation house form? Apparently not. Typically such plantation houses were of masonry and most often had their principal floor raised above a ground level service “basement.” When they had significant colonnades, usually there was an upper level principal floor with its piazza supported by separate ground floor columns or by an arcade or piers. There seems no obvious general West Indian precedents for the 25 Cottage and Old Green Hill configuration.

It also should be noted that as a practical adaptation to outdoor living in the tropics or to a New England summer, a roof raised two stories above a ground floor piazza makes no sense. The extra height reduces both the shade offered and the shelter provided from rain. Arguably, the two story colonnade was chosen for other reasons.

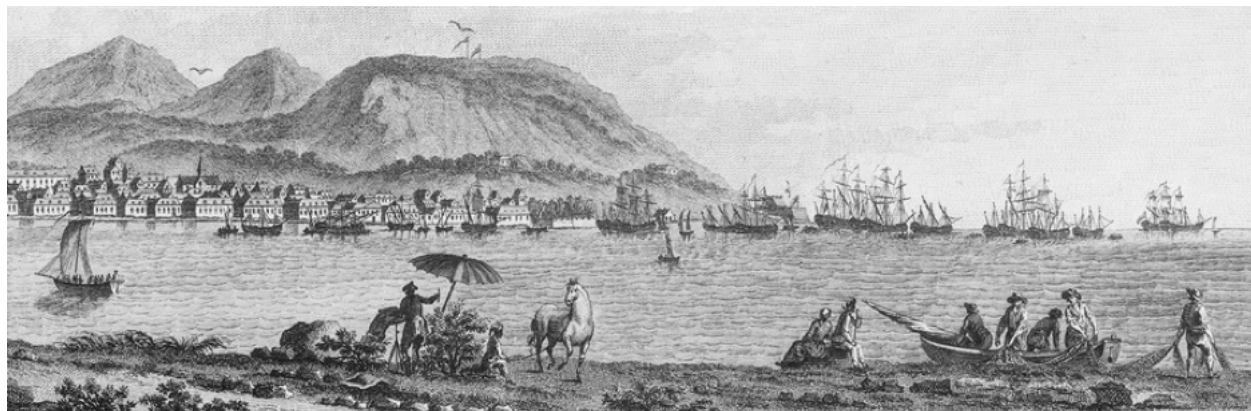


Fig. 8) *The trading port of Cap-Français, on the island of Saint-Domingue (now Haiti), ca. 1790, from Moreau de St. Méry, Recueil de vues des lieux principaux de la colonie française de Saint-Domingue. The Perkins Saint-Domingue warehouse was in this city of typically European masonry buildings. (Courtesy, John Carter Brown Library, Brown University)*

The Perkins brothers and George Cabot in the West Indies — and the plantation economy

The Perkins brothers

Early in their mercantile careers, from 1786 to 1793, the Perkins brothers had a West Indies trading base, but not plantations. Nor was it in Jamaica. It was in Cap-Français, in the French colony of Saint-Domingue (now Haiti) — a grid-plan city of substantial southern European style masonry buildings, serving outlying plantations with masonry planters' houses.

Secondarily to their trading business, the Perkins brothers did participated in the slave trade (just as eventually later in China they would in the widespread opium trade.) In addition to primarily exchanging dried cod, timber and other New England goods from their Cap-Français warehouse for plantation-produced rum, sugar, coffee, cacao, and indigo, they also sometimes were brokers between arriving slavers from West Africa and the Perkins' planter customers.

One can not excuse or justify their involvement in any manner but must acknowledge it in the context of that very different place and time; New England's consumption of Caribbean sugar and rum and its ante-bellum mills' and mill workers' dependance on southern cotton were both also deeply complicit in perpetuating plantation slavery, so too were New England's industries and fisheries whose southbound shipments fed and sustained those plantation economies.

Thomas Perkins seems to have disliked Haiti and in 1786 became the Boston end of a trading partnership with his brother James who had been employed in a Cap-Français trading house since 1782. In 1788 Samuel joined the venture, mostly taking on Thomas' role in Boston, while Thomas entered into a partnership with his wife's cousin James Magee. In February 1789 Thomas sailed as "supercargo" (the person in charge of trading and packing the ship's cargo), on a 15 month voyage to China with Magee as captain. The Perkins' involvement with Haiti essentially ended following the Haitian Revolution that began in 1791 and lead to the 1793 burning of Cap-Français, including the Perkins warehouse to their great financial loss, about all of which Samuel Perkins wrote an important memoir.

In 1792 the brother's formed a new partnership as "commission agents" with a warehouse in Boston. From then on their primary focus was the far more profitable trade in tea and luxury goods from China and the far east, although they continued to trade with Europe and to a much lesser extent the West Indies, from which they eventually withdrew entirely as "not pay[ing] in proportion to the vexation."

In 1794 Samuel Perkins left his brothers' firm to become a partner with his father-in-law in S. Higginson & Co., who were frequent joint venturers with his brothers' partnership on European voyages and were also one of two firms serving as his brothers' London agents.

George Cabot

Senator George Cabot, who created "Old Green Hill," the first of these five houses, also began his commercial career shipping goods between New England and the West Indies, although apparently unlike the Perkins, with no trading base of his own in the islands. There seems no suggestion he ever trafficked directly in slaves. It appears that after the Revolution, during which he did well through privateering, he could afford to retire to the life of a passive investor.

Postscript

In 1794, the year George Cabot added the Mount Vernon like frontispiece his Brookline home, the "Mount Vernon Proprietors," a syndicate of Federalist entrepreneurs led by Harrison Grey Otis, which at one time included the architect Charles Bulfinch, began developing the south side of Beacon Hill and the flats below. In 1803 while Stephen Higginson Jr. briefly owned Old Green Hill, he purchased from Bulfinch, 87 Mount Vernon Street, one of that distinguished row of set-back houses just above Louisburg Square.³⁵ It survives.

NOTES

¹ This paper is part of a longer study in preparation for publication. It arose from research for Brookline's proposed Olmsted-Richardson Local Historic District (LHD) in the spring of 2021 when, not for the first time, I encountered the label "Jamaica Planter" applied to the Perkins-Hooper-Richardson house and to Old Green Hill. However, this time I felt it had to be explored and explained. I want to particularly thank Roger Reed, Keith Morgan, Steve Jerome, Virginia Jacobs, and my fellow members of the ad hoc committee that prepared the Olmsted-Richardson LHD Study Report for their comments and suggestions.

² Little, Nina Fletcher, *Some Old Brookline Houses Built in this Massachusetts Town Before 1825 and Still Standing in 1948* (Brookline: Brookline Historical Society, 1949), 71-78; Goddard, Julia, "The Goddard House, Warren Street Brookline, built about 1730: its owners and occupants," *Proceedings of the Brookline Historical Society*, 1903: 16-34; Massachusetts Historical Commission [MHC] "MACRIS" Database form-B, "Old Green Hill" BKL-1611

³ Little, *Some Old Brookline Houses*, 63-70; MHC, "MACRIS" form-B "Perkins-Richardson House" BKL-1607

⁴ Seaburg, Carl & Stanley Patterson *Merchant Prince of Boston: Colonel T.H. Perkins, 1764-1854* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1971) 389-93; Shattuck, George Cheever, M.D., "Some Remarks About the History of 450 Warren Street," *Proceedings of the Brookline Historical Society*, 1957: 23-24

⁵ Little, *Some Old Brookline Houses*: 87-92; MHC, "MACRIS" form-B "Green Hill" BKL-1613

⁶ This was not the only family/business residential colony near Boston. The Milton Forbes clan is another example.

⁷ See Thorton, Tamara Plakins *Cultivating Gentlemen: the Meaning of Country Life among the Boston Elite, 1785-1860* (New Haven: Yale, 1989); and Seaburg & Patterson, *Merchant Prince*.

⁸ On February 14, 2021 Keith Morgan communicated, “I spent some time looking at plantation houses in the Caribbean and found very few that actually are similar. If they had porches, they were normally two-story porches . . . The Lodge House in Nahant is much closer than any of the Brookline examples. I am not aware of any further houses that could be used for comparison purposes in the greater Boston area . . .”

⁹ “Adams Family Papers” Massachusetts Historical Society, https://masshist.org/digitaladams/archive/doc?id=L17931226ja&bc=%2Fdigitaladams%2Farchive%2Fbrowse%2Fletters_1789_1796.php. Elbridge Gerry, now associated only with the notorious “Gerrymander,” won one term in 1810. James Warren ran once for lieutenant governor and lost.

¹⁰ Lodge, Henry Cabot, *The Life and Letters of George Cabot* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1878), 9-14

¹¹ Election of Senators by popular vote began in 1914.

¹² “to George Washington from George Cabot, 9 May 1795,” National Archives <https://founders.archives.gov/documents/Washington/05-18-02-0092>; Lodge, Henry Cabot, *George Washington*, (Cambridge: Riverside, 1924), V2 366 In the event, young Lafayette stayed with Washington.

¹³ Gary, Thomas G., *Memoir of Thomas Handasyd Perkins* (Boston: Little Brown, 1856), 200

¹⁴ Thorton, *Cultivating Gentlemen*, 87-89

¹⁵ Thorton, *Cultivating Gentlemen*, 57-84; “A.D. 1817,” *Transactions of the Massachusetts Society for Promoting Agriculture* New Series V1 (1858): 64

¹⁶ The rear wing’s prior, more humble existence is constant with earlier descriptions of it as “an old building, partly home and partly barn . . . occupied by one of the first Irishmen to settled here” and “a small tenement . . . occupied by Mr. Perkins’ gardener,” in respectively: Woods, *Historical Sketches*, 353; Goddard, Samuel Aspinwall, *Recollections of Brookline, Being an Account of the Houses Families and Roads etc.* (Birmingham England: Osborne, [1873]), 7

¹⁷ Thorton, *Cultivating Gentlemen*, 87-89

¹⁸ Denehy, John William, *A History of Brookline, Massachusetts, from the First Settlement of Muddy River Until the Present Time* (Brookline: Brookline Press, 1906), 40

¹⁹ Contra N.F. Little and the National Register form-B for this house, Roger Reed, says convincingly that the South Parlor dates from ca. 1856. Reed, “Perkins/Richardson House,” 11

²⁰ “Edward William Hooper LL.D.,” *The Harvard Graduates’ Magazine*, V VIII, 1899-1900, 189

²¹ “Clover Adams,” *History of American Women* <https://www.womenhistoryblog.com/2011/02/clover-adams.html>

²² Shattuck, “Some Remarks,” 23-24

²³ Little, *Some Old Brookline Houses*.

²⁴ Goddard, “The Goddard House”

²⁵ “How Jamaica Plain Got Its Name,” Jamaica Plain Historical Society <https://www.jpshs.org/jp-history/2005/4/10/how-jamaica-plain-got-its-name.html>

²⁶ Hudak, Joseph “Some Aspects of the Life and Times of the Olmsted” *Proceedings, Brookline Historical Society* (1959): 16

²⁷ O’Gorman, James, *Living Architecture: a Biography of H.H. Richardson* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997) 30

²⁸ Little, *Some Old Brookline Houses*: 61

²⁹ Little, *Some Old Brookline Houses*: 69

³⁰ Massachusetts Historical Commission [MHC] “MACRIS” Database “Green Hill” form-A, BKL.M: 2

³¹ Once suggested, this terminology was able to take on a modern life of its own, with little convincing historical basis. After citing Elizabeth Perkins Cabot's brief description of Thomas H. Perkins' Brookline house as a "dignified white house with a piazza along the front and white columns supporting a piazza above," and her description of the Captain Crowell Hatch house in Boston, the Perkins Estate National Register form then asserts that T.H. Perkins' Nahant Hotel with its two stories of encircling balconies "reflected the merchant's interest in West Indies architecture." (MHC, "MACRIS" form-B "Perkins estate" BKL 1706) The Hotel may indeed suggest something tropical, but that form could just as well have been found in China (a place probably more fondly recalled by Perkins than Haiti) not to mention that form being common to certain partially pre-fabricated European and American colonial buildings located in many places, not just the West Indies. Such buildings became quite agnostic as to location, having prefabricated iron balcony systems shipped indiscriminately from Glasgow to Bermuda or the far east, or from Boston to Liberia.

³² The five identified Boston area examples from that period of the term "West Indian" having been applied to houses, show that it meant a single story or one and a half-story house, as distinct from the two story Perkins-Hooper-Richardson House and its four Brookline contemporaries. And, contrary to N.F. Little in 1948, nineteenth century writers, did not apply that term to the tall-columned Gore Homestead, of perhaps ca. 1816, in Jamaica Plane. The five houses to which West Indian was implicitly or explicitly were: The Peters Homestead, 310 South Street (Demolished); The Penney-Hallett House (Demolished); The Dr. John C. Warren house (Replaced); and an unidentified house advertised as "built in the W. I. style", all in Jamaica Plain, plus a house associated with Captain Crowell Hatch, near the head of Sears Wharf, Boston (Demolished). See: Drake, Francis Samuel, *The Town of Roxbury: Its Memorable Persons and Places, etc.* (Boston, 1905), 413, 421; Whitcomb, Harriet Manning, *Annals and Reminiscences of Jamaica Plain*, (Cambridge: Riverside, 1897), 26-27, 55-56; and "Remember Jamaica Plain? Farm To Let" <https://rememberjamaicaplain.blogspot.com/2008/04/farm-to-let.html?m=1>

³³ O'Gorman, *Living Architecture*, 113

³⁴ Edwards, Jay, and Nicolas Kariouk Pecquet du Bellay de Verton, *A Creole Lexicon: Architecture, Landscape, People* (Baton Rouge, Louisiana University, 2004) 80

³⁵ Seasholes, Nancy S., *Gaining Ground: A History of Landmaking in Boston* (Cambridge, MIT, 2018) 135ff