

THE EARLY COLLEGE BUILDINGS AT CAMBRIDGE.

BY ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS.

IN College Book Number Three of the Records of Harvard College, the following entry occurs, probably in the hand of Thomas Danforth :¹

“Mr. Nathaniel Eaton was chosen Professor of the said school in the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-seven, to whom the care and management of the donations before-mentioned were intrusted, for the erecting of such edifices as were meet and necessary for a College and for his own lodgings, an account whereof is as followeth.”

Then follows a brief statement of account, in which charges are made for setting up the frame of the building; for digging the cellar; for fencing the yard with pales six and one-half feet high; for chimneys; for iron casements; for part of the frame of an outhouse; for felling, squaring and loading lumber; for bricks provided and laid in place; for lime to be burnt for the College; for cedar boards, and for additions to the frame already raised.

Succeeding this there is another entry to the effect that after Eaton's removal from this trust, “The charge of carrying on the building begun by Mr. Eaton was then committed to the management of Mr. Samuel Shepard and the College Book was put in his hands.”

In Shepard's account which comes after this entry,² we find charges for clapboards, lime, hair, stone, and for workmen, including specific charges for brickmakers, bricklayers, a smith, and a plasterer.

Quincy quotes these entries at length in his appendix but attempts no description of the building. He confines

¹ Quoted by Quincy, I., p. 452.

² Quoted by Quincy, I., p. 453.

himself to the statement that it was begun under the superintendence of Eaton, and the work was carried on thereafter by Samuel Shepard. He then refers to the petitions to the General Court for aid to keep the building in repair, which, after the lapse of a few years, Dunster found himself from time to time compelled to present. Peirce in his *History of the College*, collated the references to the building by contemporaneous writers.¹ Since that time, the same ground has been worked by others, and their labors have been placed before the public in such form that we are enabled at a glance to see what has been given to the world concerning this interesting building.²

For the purpose of bringing before your eyes what we can gather from the writings of those who themselves saw the building, I transcribe a few extracts.

The author of "*New England's First Fruits*,"³ says: "The edifice is very fair and comely, within and without, having in it a spacious hall, where they daily meet at commons, lectures, and exercises, and a large library with some books in it, the gifts of divers of our friends, their chambers and studies also fitted for and possessed by the students, and all other rooms and offices necessary and convenient with all needful offices thereto belonging."

Johnson, in his "*Wonder-Working Providence*" helps us a little.⁴ Cambridge, he says in one place, was like a

¹ Peirce's *History of Harvard College*, appendix.

² A paper by Dr. Oliver on a rare picture of the College buildings was read before the Mass. Hist. Soc., and published in their *Proceedings*, Vol. XVIII., p. 321, *et seq.* The value of this interesting paper was much increased by memoranda contributed by the late Charles Deane, LL.D., concerning the early buildings. Dr. Deane added to the references already collected by Peirce, new and interesting material.

Much information may also be gained by consulting Sibley's *Graduates*.

A Key to the sources of information is furnished in Professor Hart's Paper in No. 2. Vol. II., *Harvard Monthly*, April, 1886, entitled "What do we know about John Harvard?"

³ Mass. Hist. Coll., I., p. 242.

⁴ Poole's Edition, p. 164.

bowling green, and elsewhere he states that the College itself was a "fair building," "thought by some to be too gorgeous for a wilderness and yet too mean in others apprehensions for a college."

Winthrop records in his diary, that in 1642, most of the magistrates and elders dined at the College,¹ and again, in 1643, the Synod met at Cambridge,² about fifty being present, and "they sat in commons and had their diet there after the manner of the scholar's commons but somewhat better, yet so ordered as it came not to above sixpence a meal for a person."

The record of a meeting of the "Governours of Harvard College" is entered in Book I. of the College Records. Quincy gives a fac-simile facing page 48 in his first volume. This meeting was held in the College Hall, December 10th, 1643.

Edward Randolph, King's Commissioner, in his report on colonial affairs, to the Privy Council,³ in 1676, says: "There are three Colleges built in Cambridge, a town seven miles from Boston. One built of timber and covered with shingles of cedar, at the charge of Mr. Harvard, and bears his name. A small brick building called the Indian College, where some few Indians did study, but now converted to a Printing house. New College, built at public charge, is a fair pile of brick building and covered with tiles, by reason of the late Indian war not quite finished. It contains twenty chambers for students, two studies in a chamber, a large hall, which serves for a chapel, one that is a convenient library with some few books of the ancient fathers and school divines."

¹ Winthrop's New England, II., p. 87.

² Winthrop's New England, II., p. 136.

³ Historical Collections relating to the American Colonial Church—Edited by William Stevens Perry, D.D., III., p. 22. Randolph's report is also given as the report of "E. R." in the Hutchinson Papers, p. 501. The quotation in the text is from the first citation.

Hubbard, in 1679, merely refers to the first building in the past tense.

Dankers and Sluyter, who visited Cambridge in 1680, and to whose report we are indebted for a glimpse at the lack of discipline which prevailed under President Oakes, make no mention whatever of the building.¹

Cotton Mather, writing in 1702, merely states that the name of the new college and the old one are identical.

It is my purpose before I conclude, to analyze the foregoing extracts, in order that we may note the contributions of the several writers towards the reconstruction of the lost building, and that we may measure the value of inferences which are to be drawn from neglect of mention. Before making this analysis, I wish to introduce certain references to the building contained in the records of the College. It may be well, however, before leaving this branch of the subject to call attention to one other reference made in a contemporary publication. Ogilby,² in his *America*, published in 1670, says there were two Colleges at Cambridge, "The first called Harvard College, from Mr. John Harvard, who, at his death, gave a thousand pounds to it, to the other, Mr. John Harnes was the chief benefactor." This work makes no pretence of being anything but a collection of extracts from the writings of others. Johnson in his "Wonder Working Providence" alludes twice to the College. Once the printers read his manuscript correctly and John Harvard received proper credit³ but the other allu-

¹ *Memoirs L. I. Hist. Soc.*, I., p. 384.

² Ogilby, p. 160.

³ This statement ought perhaps to be qualified. Page 61, Poole's edition, the name is given as "Harver." There is no difficulty in recognizing the name under this method of spelling. Page 165, *ibid.*, the name of the benefactor of the College becomes "Harnes."

Still another change was rung upon the name in Good News from New England, 1648, where the name is converted into "Harves."—*Mass. Hist. Coll.*, 4 S. I., 216.

sion was misinterpreted and the name was converted into Harnes. Hence Ogilby's two colleges.

If we turn now to the College records, we shall find there a few entries which will add somewhat to the scant information concerning the original College building at Cambridge, which we have found scattered through contemporary publications.

In College Book, Number One, there is a copy of a bill for glass, rendered by Christopher Grant, of Watertown, bearing date, March 5, 164 $\frac{1}{2}$. Charges are made for glass furnished in the hall and school, the library, the kitchen, the chamber over the school, the lanthorn, the turret, the staircase, the hall study, and in six other studies and eight chambers designated by the names of occupants. The total of the bill at 10^d per foot, including a charge for "mending glass at several times and what was forgot," came to £15, 16^s, 4^d.

There are in the same book numerous entries relating to the expense of finishing the several studies and chambers of the College building. The different apartments are designated by the names of the tenants, and the finish of the several rooms varied in character and expense. No explanation is given for this method of designating the rooms. A natural interpretation would be that each student became responsible for the completion of the apartment which he occupied, using his discretion as to the character of the work. This would account for the difference in the expenditures made upon the several rooms, and would explain why it became necessary for the College to keep a separate memorandum of the expenses incurred in each apartment. It would also explain why the apartments were designated by the names of occupants.

A few extracts taken from these accounts will show how some of the rooms in the building were finished.

The charges on "Sir Bulkley's study" were as follows :

Imps	For plankes	£ 0,, 16,, 0	This Study let to Sir Amos, December 1645:
it	To ye joyner	0,, 17,, 10	
it	For hinges, lock & nayles	0,, 7,, 4	
it	For glasse	2,, 6	
it	For dawbing ye walles	0,, 6	
		2,, 4,, 2	
it	Ye charges of ye chamber belonging yereto	13,, 4	
<p>℞ me Johannem Bulkleyeum Novem. 17, 1643</p>			

Among the items in the account against the study occupied by Thomas Parish, which study we are informed was let, on the 29th of the 8th, 1644, to John Beardon, are 1^s 8^d for a "mantle tree," 2^s 6^d for "clay," 10^d for "seeling" and 1^s for "calking." Details are given of the expenditures in the studies occupied by Sir Brewster, Sir Downing, and Samuel Winthrop. The chamber of Mr. Richard Harris was "sieleed with cedar round about." It appears, also, that he shared with Thomas Parish certain expenses connected with the chimney, for which he was charged, as follows: "For ye chimney half costs wth Tho Paris so amounts to [£]1 11^s 10^d." For a key, Harris was charged 8^d. The studies of the high east chamber, Sir Bellingham's study, and the studies of the library chamber are among those the charges for the finish of which are given. For "300 foot of board" used in John Brock's study 18^s were charged. In the high west chamber we have "a note of ye expenses of John Weld about his study and bed." For "dawbing ye sides" he was charged 4^s 6^d. Sir Alcocke was charged 4^d "for window hookes," and 1^s "for plaistring ye study." It is also recorded that he had "a bed-roume which was to him alone." The charge for "whiting, lathing, doore-boards and workmanship of ye

chamber," was "three bushels of mault" which was apparently paid to "Richard ye mason." Among the entries connected with the middle west chamber, we have charges for "laths" and for "dawbing." For a "part of a table and cabin" a charge of 3^s 7^d is made. One study was "let to George Stirk, in 1644, without charging him with ye cabin." For a spring lock a charge of 3^s was made. John Allen was charged 9^s 8^d 1^r "for a part of a cabin belonging to the same study," and 9^s 6^d "for one share of ye chamber." Bradford's study carried with it a "right to a cabin in the great chamber."

Among other entries there is a "table of the income of the studies in Harvard College with their incomes and quarterly rents." From this we can get at the rooms in the building, and it will also aid us in understanding what was meant by the phrases high east chamber, high west chamber, &c. The rooms designated were as follows:—

Imprimis. The senior fellows study in ye great chamber
in ye corner west off ye buttery.

The sizers study over ye porch of that chamber.

The lower east chamber.

Ye study by ye hall.

The middle study next thereto.

The northermost study in ye same row.

The corner study over against it.

The low chamber westward of this betwixt it and
ye turret.

The study with ye fire in it over this little chamber.

The little study next to it eastward.

In ye east middle chamber,

Ye southernmost study.

The middle study.

The northermost study in ye same row.

The corner study over against it.

In ye highest east chamber,

Ye southernmost study.

The middlemost study.

The northermost study.

In ye turret,

Ye south east study.

The north east study.

The north west study.

The south west study.

The great chamber next ye library,

The east study next ye library.

The west study in ye corner.

The west study with ye fire.

The middle west study.

In ye middle chamber over ye kitchen,

The southernmost study.

The middle study.

The northernmost study.

The corner study over against it.

The study in ye chamber east of this over ye larder.

In ye highest chamber over ye kitchen,

Ye study with ye fire.

The middlemost study.

The corner study next to it.

The lowest study in ye turret.

Total Income £94 11^s 8^d.

President Chauncy entered in this book a memorandum relating to the rents of studies "in Mr Goffe's house," "the old house" and "the old College," from which some information can be derived. The studies referred to were classified according to their quarterly rents, in three classes, yielding, respectively, 6^s 6^d, 5^s 4^d and 2^s 6^d, per quarter.

The following chambers or studies in the College building were included in this list: "The kitchen chamber studies," "The long chamber studies," "The sire study," and "The study at the stairs at the foot of the turret." We also find mention in addition to the rooms in the "Goffe house" and the "old house" of "a study in a loft in yt weh was the school house."

In Book III., p. 41, the Inventory of the College Property in 1654 is recorded. The first College building is

there described as follows: "The building called the old College, containing a hall, kitchen, buttery, cellar, turret and five studies, and therein 7 chambers for students in them, a pantry and small corner chamber, a library and books therein valued at £400."

"Certain orders by the Scholars and Officers of the College to be observed, written 28th March, 1650,"¹ are recorded in the College Books. From these, hints may be gleaned of life in the building, and of the building itself.

The Steward is instructed not to receive "any pay that is useless, hazardful, or importing detriment to the College, as lean cattle to feed, turning over bills to shops, &c., but at his own discretion and peril." The butler and cook are to see that the College utensils "to their several offices belonging, from day to day be kept clean and sweet and fit for use, and they shall at meal times deliver them out as the public service of the hall requireth to the servitor or servitors, who shall be responsible for them until that they return them after meals to the butteries or kitchen; but they are not bound to keep or cleanse any particular scholar's spoons, cups or such like, but at their own discretion."

"And if any scholar or scholars at any time take away or retain any vessel of the College's, great or small, from the hall out of the doors from the sight of the buttery hatch without the butler's or servitor's knowledge, or against their will, he or they shall be punished three pence, but more at the President's discretion if perverseness appear." "The butler and cook shall see that all the rooms peculiar to their offices, together with their appurtenances be daily set and kept in order, clean and sweet from all manner of noisomeness and nastiness or sensible offensiveness. To the butler belongs the cellar and butteries, and all from thence forth to the furthest end of the hall with the south porch; to the cook the kitchen, larder,

¹ Quoted by Quiney, I., p. 582.

and the way leading to his hatch, and the north alley unto the walk."

The accounts of the Steward furnish information as to the means to which students were compelled to resort, in the lack of a circulating medium, to adjust their accounts, and through occasional charges, throw light upon the occupancy and rents of College rooms.

In 1649, Rawson settled his bill with "an old cow" and was allowed for "her hide" and for "her suet and inwards." He was charged 2^s 6^d "for sending for his cow twice, once by Chevers and once by goodman Caine." A charge was made in one instance of 2^s for pasturage of a cow before appraisal. 8^s 6^d was allowed to one student for a sword, and to another, 14^s 6^d for rose water. William Myldmay and Mr. Lyons were credited with [£]4 5^s for a runlet of sack, while Sir Allerton was credited with [£]1 8^s for "sack that he brought into College at commencement, and was charged upon the rest of the commencement according to their proportion."

Charges are met with for knives, books, almanacs, cutting hair, Physician's bills, clothing and making apparel, shoes and mending same; for a bedstead, mat and cord, for a spring lock and key, for a casement and other necessaries about a chamber. Bills are paid with rye, Indian, wheat, malt, apples, butter; with cows, oxen, sheep, lambs and steers; with quarters of wethers and quarters of lambs; with beef, pork and bacon; with sugar and salt; with wool and sacking. Payments in meat would appear at one time to have become disproportionately large, for the Overseers came to the rescue of the Steward, in 1667, with the following order: "It is ordered likewise that the Steward shall not be enjoined to accept of above one quarter part fleshmeat of any person." Credits are allowed in student's accounts for waiting, monitor work and for work done of various sorts. Rents for rooms are charged. In 1651, Long is charged [£]3 for the rent "of the study that was Sir

Eaton's, in the chamber over the p'ting room." This was probably in the President's house. In 1652, charges are made for "a new study in the new house" and for a new study in the "pentinary." Mention is made of rooms designated as "gallery rooms." The following entry, in 1651, "Lent to build the gallery in all the accounts or nearly all" would indicate that the policy of procuring advances from the students for work on buildings, in this instance probably for the church, was in vogue at that date. Very little money was used in adjusting the College accounts. Occasionally, however, some student is credited with the payment of coin, thus on the 8th of the 2d month, 1651, Sir Dudley "paid by silver and Indian which was all the Governor would own tho more was demanded as appeareth on the debtor's side."

In the orders promulgated March 28th, 1650, to be observed by the Scholars and Officers of the College, the following is to be found: "Whereas much inconvenience fall-eth out by the scholars bringing candles in course into the hall, therefore the butler henceforth shall receive at the President's or Steward's hands twenty shillings in money, ten at the thirteenth of September and ten at the thirteenth of December, toward candles for the hall for prayer time and supper, which, that it may not be burdensome, it shall be put proportionably upon every scholar who retaineth his seat in the buttery." Charges for "candels and wood for publick fyre," occur frequently after this date. A credit taken in 1670, for 5^s 3^d for "repairing settles" was undoubtedly for settles in the old building. Not so, however, the charge for "mending the jack" in 1699, nor the charge for "washing and sanding the hall" in 1705, although it is probable that jacks were mended and the hall was sanded in the old building. Forks appear for the first time in the accounts in 1707, and we find, as the commencement dinners grew more elaborate, charges for "turnspit Indians," and for "boating the pewter," the latter phrase referring,

probably, to the transportation of the extra dinner service from Boston.

In the foregoing extracts from contemporaneous publications and the records of the College, I have included all that seemed to me to throw light upon the College building. To these I have added other extracts showing that at a very early date the College was in possession of other dormitories from which rents were received. I have quoted from old account books several entries bearing upon the modes of life of the College students. I propose now to recapitulate what has gone before, to follow the brief life of the old College building up to the time of its collapse, and to add thereto a few words concerning the Indian College.

The first question that suggests itself with reference to the original College building is, where did it stand? In a paper read before this Society, I have already given my reasons for thinking that it stood within the College yard, facing Harvard Street, opposite Holyoke Street.¹ The building was sometimes called the "College building," a title which in a few years was converted into the "old College building." On the whole, however, the College and the building were identical, and Harvard's name was from the first attached to both. The language of the Act of March 13, 1636, is as follows: "It is ordered that the College agreed upon formerly to be built at Cambridge, shall be called Harvard College." Morton in his *New England's Memorial*, says, "Harvard College was erected at Cambridge." Randolph, as we have seen, says it was built "at the charge of Mr. Harvard, and bears his name." Cotton Mather speaks of the new college as "wearing still the name of the old one."²

The date when work was begun upon the building can

¹ When I examined the question of the site of the building, I consulted with Lucius R. Paige, D.D., the historian of Cambridge, and derived great assistance from him. It was my intention to have acknowledged my obligations when that paper went to press. Through inadvertence this acknowledgment was then omitted. ² *Magnalia*, 4th book, Vol. II., page 12, New Haven, 1820.

only be fixed approximately. Eaton was apparently put in charge in 1637. He was removed in 1639. The only money with which he charged himself in his accounts was received from the executor of John Harvard's estate. John Harvard died Sept. 14, 1638. It is probable, therefore, that work was begun on the building in the fall of 1638. It was continued under Shepard's supervision in 1639. In his account there is one date of 1641. There is also a charge against the College for 4,000 boards, in 1642, in Treasurer Tyng's account. Christopher Grant's bill for glass was dated March 5, 1643, while the date of the memorandum of charges for the finish of Bulkley's study was November, 1643, and there are charges against rooms bearing date 1644. Winthrop says that most of the Government of the College were present, in 1642, at the commencement, and dined at commons. Although he does not state that this dinner was given in the College building, this may fairly be inferred from the expression "they dined at the College." From the dates given above, it would seem as if the building must have been used before it was completed, which probably was substantially accomplished in the fall of 1643. Within less than ten years from the time of its completion, the expense of the repairs taxed heavily the college treasury. In the course of another decade the process of decay had so completely got the upper hand that the Corporation and Overseers represented to the General Court that unless the building should be overhauled that summer it would become uninhabitable.¹ In 1677, the fears of the College

¹ Secondly—The College building, although it be new groundfilled by the help of some free contributions the last year, yet those ceasing, and the work of reparation therewith intermitted, it remains in other respects in a very ruinous condition. It is absolute necessity that it be speedily new covered, being not fit for scholars long to abide in as it is. And without such reparation some time this summer, both the whole building will decay, and so the former charge about it will be lost, and the scholars will be forced to depart.

Information given by the Corporation and Overseers to the General Court, 9 May, 1655.

Quincy I., pp. 462, 463.

Mass. Archives, 58, fol. 32, 33.

Hazard's State Papers, II., pp. 85, 86.

officers were realized. A portion of the building actually fell down, and it was no longer available for College purposes.¹

Johnson says that the first College building was "thought by some to be too gorgeous for a Wilderness and yet too mean in others apprehensions for a Colledg."² When we reflect upon how it was built and especially when we recall the finish of some of the studies, we shall be more likely to sympathize with those who apprehended it was too mean for a College, than to coincide with those who thought it was too gorgeous for a wilderness. Charges in Eaton's account for "felling, squaring and loading lumber," show that he paid for cutting down trees which entered into the construction of the building. The frame was set up in the yard, and apparently before this work was concluded, it was determined that the projected building was on too small a scale, for, in the original account, a charge is entered "for additions to be made to the frame." The bricks used in the chimney, or some of them at least, were made for the College, and the wages of the workmen who made them were paid by the person who had charge of the work.

We have seen that Grant's bill for glass, the table of the income of the studies, the inventory of 1654, and the classified list of rents entered by Chauncy, furnish information concerning the character of the building. If we take this in connection with the items gleaned from contemporaneous publications, from the Steward's account-book and from the charges against the separate studies and chambers, we can deduce the following facts concerning the building:—

In the first place it had a cellar. The charge for excavation appears in Eaton's account, and the cellar itself figures in the Inventory of 1654. There was a kitchen, a buttery and a larder or pantry. There was a fair and spacious hall and a large library. The hall was used for commons as

¹ Records of Massachusetts, V., p. 143.

² Wonder-Working Providence, Poole's Edition, 4^o, p. 164.

well as for recitations and exercises.¹ Some idea of its size may be gained from the fact that most of the Magistrates and Elders who formed the government of the College in 1642, were present at the first commencement and dined with the scholars' ordinary commons. The number of Elders present in 1643, when the Synod met at Cambridge, was about fifty. "They sat in commons and had their diet there, after the manner of the scholars' commons." There were eight chambers in the building. Two of them were small and apparently were intended for use by single students. It will be remembered that Sir Alcocke had a "bed-rooms which was to him alone." It was probably one of these small chambers. In each of the large chambers there were three or four studies. Beside the studies in the chambers, there were five studies in the turret. Four of them were designated in the table of the income of the studies, by points of compass and all four were evidently on the second floor. The fifth was called the "lowest study" in the turret and in Chauncy's list is styled "the study at the stairs at the foot of the turret." It requires no great stretch of the imagination to fill up what is wanting in the description of the turret, and thus interpret the meaning of these entries. The main entrance to the building was probably through the turret. The space of the ground floor in that portion of the building was evidently occupied by the staircase which is mentioned in the glazier's bill, and in Chauncy's list; by the passage way leading to the hall; and by "the study at the stairs at the foot of the turret;" the latter being merely the portion of the hall beneath and in the rear of the stairs, which was enclosed and utilized as a study.

What were these studies, of which there were three in some chambers and four in others, whose walls were "dawbed," or "plaistered and whitened," or "seiled with cedar round about?" It is plain that they must have been

¹ New England's First Fruits, Mass. Hist. Coll., I., p. 242.

very small, and it is possible that the partition which separated them from the chambers did not reach the ceiling.¹ In a volume of the College archives entitled Volume I., Book of Papers, there is a plan for a college building which is attributed to Thomas Prince, in which studies are plotted which were apparently about five feet square. The building of these separate compartments for study connected with rooms in a college building allotted for sleeping purposes, at a time when so great economy had to be practised in every department of life, requires some explanation. It is probably to be found in the fact that similar arrangements existed in the colleges of England. In the account which Anthony Dollaber gives of his arrest in 1528, he says that he determined to spend the whole afternoon until evening time at Frideside College, at his books, in his own study, and so, he adds, "I shut my chamber door unto me and my study door also." Again, he says he shut his chamber door and went into his own study.¹⁸ Each student lodged in the first College building at Cambridge, was, like Anthony Dollaber, at Frideside College, provided with his own study, to which he could retire, and although the size of these private rooms must have been exceedingly diminutive, still he was thus furnished with a place where he could be secluded, and carry on his studies without interruption.

In the table of the income of the studies, two are described as having fires in them. Of course these must have been larger than the studies within the chambers and were,

¹ The use of the word study as applied to the small apartments, or closets, having windows in them, partitioned off from the rooms, in Hollis & Stoughton, survived in the Harvard vocabulary until a quite recent period. The partitions of these studies extend to the ceiling, but the studies in the Long Hall at Eton are like those suggested in the text.

Since the meeting at which this paper was read, Mr. Winsor informs me that the original plan of Massachusetts Hall, in 1720, has been discovered. The arrangement of the studies in this plan, little rooms $4\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ feet in dimension, is interesting, and aids in the interpretation of the language used in the table of the income of the studies.

¹⁸ Froude, II., 58-60.

perhaps, full-sized rooms. The situation of these rooms which enjoyed the privilege of a fire was necessarily determined by the chimneys. We find one of them mentioned in the charges against Bulkley. He occupied "the study with the fire, the highest over the kitchen." Where there were several studies in one chamber, the latter must of course have been jointly occupied by the tenants of the several studies. In what chambers the students lodged who occupied the studies in the turret does not appear, but it is probable that provision had to be made for them in the larger chamber. The rule, however, was, that to each chamber as many students were assigned as there were studies. This may be inferred from the following extract from the orders of the Overseers, which were approved in 1667: "In case any shall leave a study in any chamber, wrin some do yet remain, such as remain shall stand charged with ye care of ye vacant studies."

In the chambers were "cabins" or closets which were specifically assigned. Sometimes the cabin assigned to a student was not situated in the chamber where he lodged, thus, Bradford's study carried with it "the right to a cabin in the great chamber." Three of the chambers are designated as the "low east chamber," "east middle chamber," and the "highest east chamber." There were, therefore, three east chambers one over the other. In other words, the eastern end of the building was devoted to lodging rooms. The "low" and the "middle" east chambers each had four studies. On the lower floor the first in order of mention was the study of the hall, then came the middle study in the same row, then the northernmost study, and after that, the corner study over against it.

It is probable that the structure was a two-story building with an attic sufficiently high to admit of rooms being finished off in it. Westward of the low east chamber and "betwixt it and ye turret," was another low chamber, which was also spoken of as a little chamber. The turret

was therefore separated on the ground floor from one end of the building by the width of these two chambers. There were probably on the ground floor, beside these chambers, the hall, the kitchen, the buttery, and the pantry. It may therefore be assumed that the front of the building was broken by a turret in the middle. There was no "highest" chamber or study mentioned in the turret. Perhaps the architectural finish of the turret did not permit a chamber at that elevation. A charge appears in Christopher Grant's bill, for glazing the "lanthorn." The use of this term would seem to point to an ornamental finish of the top of the turret. On the other hand it appears from the records, that, "in 1658, John Willett gave the College a bell which was placed in the turret." From this it may be inferred that there was at any rate an open belfry in the turret. With the detailed enumeration of the rooms given in the table of income of the studies, it would seem as if we could almost trace the footsteps of the person who made up the list, as he passed from room to room and noted down by descriptive title each chamber, and located each study within it. There are, however, difficulties in the vagueness of such phrases as "the corner study over against it," and "the sizers study over the porch of that chamber," etc., which are insuperable. If any meaning can be attached to the title of the "east chamber," it would seem probable that the building must have faced to the north or to the south. If the site of the building be accepted as on the Eaton lot, then it must have faced to the south, towards Harvard Street. The kitchen, buttery, &c., were at the west end, the hall in the middle, and the east end was devoted to chambers.

A comparison of this suggestion as to the plan of the first building with the description of the first Harvard Hall, given in the *Life of Timothy Pickering*,¹ will show that the

¹ *The Life of Timothy Pickering*, I., p. 9. Describing commons life in the new building, he says, "Each scholar carried to the dining table his own knife and fork, and, when he had dined, wiped them on the table cloth."

same general plan was followed in the new building. This we know faced to the south, and we also know that the manner in which the eastern and western wings were occupied was the reverse of that above suggested as probable for the first building, the kitchen and buttery in the new building being in the eastern wing. The glazier's bill is dated 1643. There are charges for finishing the separate studies dated in 1643, and others dated in 1644. It would seem that the building must have been used before it was finished. In that event, perhaps oiled paper was used as a substitute for glass in the windows. If we needed proof that this conjecture was within the range of probability, it is to be found in the statement made by Dankers and Sluyter, that they looked into the Indian College through a broken paper sash.¹ It is even probable that paper was used in the sashes in the College building after Christopher Grant had furnished the glass specified in his bill. The total charges for the glazier's bill amounted to less than £16. The charges for single studies were from one to two shillings each. These sums could hardly have paid for glazing all the windows in the building. It is not unlikely that the sash frames were only partially glazed, use being made of oiled paper for what remained unglazed. It may be urged in opposition to this inference, that a bill, not rendered until the spring of 1644, could hardly have been for the original glazing of the building. The reply to this is, that the bill contains a specific item for repairs, showing that it is not as a whole a bill rendered for work of that character, and further, it is evident that the building was occupied before it was completed, which would undermine the force of any adverse inference drawn from the date of the bill.

The phrase "covered with cedar shingles," as used by Randolph, probably referred merely to the roof. The Overseers, in their petition in 1655, represented that it was absolutely necessary that the building should be "new cov-

¹ *Memoirs L. I. Hist. Soc.*, I., p. 384.

ered." Randolph himself describes the new building as "covered with tiles," an expression that we should naturally limit to the roof. This does not, however, militate against the probability of the sides having been finished in the same way. It was, at that time, a common method of finish employed in Boston. Dankers and Sluyter described the Boston houses in 1680 as "made of thin small cedar shingles, nailed against frames, and then filled with brick or other stuff." Clapboards we know were exported from early times, and in Shepard's account he charges himself with one payment made in clapboards. All we can say is, that the finish may have been either shingles or clapboards.

As we recall the various details which have been suggested by the several documents which we have examined, we can picture to ourselves the rudely constructed little building, two stories high, probably with a gambrel roof and dormer windows in the attic story, its front broken by a projecting turret finished off at the top with a belfry. We can look into the kitchen and see the busy scene as the modest meals were prepared, which were to cost the members of the Synod not above sixpence apiece. The luxury of the turn-spit Indians who tended the commencement dinners, can only be associated with the new building, if we rely exclusively upon the charges in the Steward's account book, but it is not unlikely that the primitive simplicity of the meals which were served to the Synod gave place to luxuries like those indicated in the foregoing charges, even during the life of the first building. We can see the hall with its sanded floor, now in use for religious services, now with tables spread for commons, and again occupied as a recitation room. As the scene of the commons is brought before us, we note that each student receives his sizing of food upon a pewter plate and his beer in a pewter mug. These are delivered by the butler to the servitor, and from the buttery hatch the former keeps watch to see that no vessels or utensils belonging to the College

are borne from the hall. Forks are as yet unknown at Cambridge, and each student feeds himself with the knife which he carries upon his person.

If we think of the scene in summer, we imagine the students with the windows of their chambers and studies swung open and fastened in position by the "window hooks," enjoying to the full the fresh, cool sea-breeze which sweeps unpolluted across the plain described by Johnson as like a bowling-green. The very defects of the building made it comfortable in warm weather, but when the cold blasts of the winter storms swept through the cracks caused by the shrinking of the timbers as they seasoned, openings disclosed themselves which no caulking or daubing could keep closed, and the scene presented for our consideration is far different. At such times as these, the chambers and studies must have been deserted, and the students must have collected within the settle, where, by the light of the public candle, cowering over the public fire, was to be found the only place where they could, with any sort of comfort, pursue their studies, during the long winter evenings.

Of course a building could not last long, into the construction of which timber entered which was standing upon the stump when the work began.¹ As early as 1647, we find that the repairs upon it had got beyond the financial capacity of the College to meet. In a petition to the Commissioners of the United Colonies, Henry Dunster, the President, sets forth the lamentable condition of the building in the following terms:² "Seventhly, seeing the first evil contrivall of the College building there now ensues yearly decay of the roof, walls and foundation, which the study rents will not carry forth to repair." From this time

¹ The frame of the little First Church at Salem has been preserved. The portions which have decayed have been cut out and replaced by sound wood. An inspection of this interesting relic will show how rude the carpenter work of the period was.

² Hazard's State Papers, II., pp. 85, 86.

forth until 1677, when it became uninhabitable in consequence of a portion of the building having fallen down,¹ complaints as to its condition and of the annual expenditures required to keep it habitable are frequently encountered.² When Dunster addressed this petition to the Commissioners they had no funds at their command which they could appropriate for College buildings. The position which they held was, however, one of great influence, and their aid had already been invoked in behalf of the College by Samuel Shepard, who, in 1644, proposed a general contribution for the maintenance of poor scholars.³ The petitions of Shepard and Dunster were favorably considered by the Commissioners, and the Towns and General Courts were recommended to make provision for the College.

In 1646, Eliot was at work preaching to the Indians in their own language, and laying the foundation for future work of conversion and instruction.⁴ His success led to the formation in London of the Society for the propagation of the gospel among the Indians, which was incorporated in 1649. This Society raised funds for the purposes for which it was organized, and intrusted the distribution of these funds to the Commissioners of the United Colonies.

In 1651, the President and Fellows petitioned the Commissioners for aid, and if we may infer the nature of the request from the character of the reply, these officers not only wanted assistance in the payment of bills for repairs but also some addition to the permanent dormitories of the

¹ Reply to Royal Commission, Records of Mass., V., p. 143.

² See second paragraph in Information to General Court, Mass. Arch., Vol. 58, fol. 32, quoted by Quincy, I., 463.

³ Hazard's State Papers, II., p. 17.

⁴ Gookin gives an interesting account of the tact displayed by Eliot in securing the attention of the Indian children. Mass. Hist. Coll., I., pp. 172, 173.

Public schools were opened in 1645, at which "Indian children were to be taught freely"—(Winthrop, II., p. 215), and although it was not probable that Indian children would be found who would attend the English town schools without special provision for maintenance, still there was a possibility that there might be some aspirants among them for education.

College. The language used by the Commissioners in their reply is as follows:¹

“By yours of August 27th, we understand that the former College buildings are in a decaying condition and will require considerable charge ere long for a due repair, and through the increase of Scholars, many of them are forced to lodge in the town, which proves many ways inconvenient and will necessarily require an enlargement of your buildings, for which you propound and we have seriously considered whether any help may be had from the collections for the propagation of the Gospel amongst the Indians, but cannot find by the Act of Parliament, (now passed) that any such liberty is granted. * * * Yet we now desire Mr. Winslow to inquire the mind of the Corporation therein, ourselves conceiving that the advancement of learning here may also advance the work of Christ amongst the Indians and accordingly out of that stock (as it comes in) should gladly contribute, might we do so without offence.”

This was about the time that Johnson wrote his “Wonder Working-Providence,” in which he states that the College “is enlarging by purchasing the neighbors’ houses.” The purchase of the house of Edward Goffe, which stood on Braintree Street, on the lot next west of the College lot, was evidently one of the purchases alluded to by Johnson. The rooms in this building were rented to students and are included in the classified list of rents attributed to Chauncy. The Steward’s account-book contains charges in 1652, for “new studies in the new house.” There were also rooms rented in Dunster’s house, as appears from the charge against Matthews, in 1652, for “the income of the study which was Sir Pelham’s, in the chamber above the printing room”; and, as we have seen, there was one study at least “in the building which was the school house.” With the College building, the new house and the rooms in the President’s house, it seems the accommodations were still insufficient.

¹ Hazard’s State Papers, II., p. 197.

At the same time that the Commissioners replied to the President and Fellows of the College, as above quoted, that they would contribute for the enlargement of the College from the funds of the Corporation, if they could do so without offence, they cautiously tested the sense of the officers of the Corporation, by the following tentative expression of opinion:¹ "It is apprehended by some that according to the intent of the Act of Parliament an eye may be had in the distributions to the enlargement of the College at Cambridge, whereof there is great need, and furtherance of learning, not so immediately respecting the Indian design, though we fully concur not, yet desire to know what the apprehensions of the honored Corporation are herein."

The honored Corporation evidently did not concur in the apprehensions of those who thought the funds of the Society might be applied for the enlargement of the College without regard to the "Indian design," and through Winslow proposed that six hopeful Indians should be trained up at the College. The Commissioners, in 1653, acquiesced in this proposition, but explained² that "the College being already to straits for the English students we shall be forced to raise some building there for the convenience of such Indians, wherein we shall expend at least one hundred pounds, desiring the building may be strong and durable though plain," and without waiting for further correspondence upon the subject, they immediately thereafter authorized the Massachusetts Commissioners³ to erect a building of one entire room, at the College, for the convenience of six hopeful Indian youths, to be trained up there according to the advice received this year from the Corporation in England, "which room may be two stories high, and built plain but strong and durable, the charge not to exceed one hundred and twenty pounds, beside glass, which may be

¹ Hazard's State Papers, II., p. 180.

² Hazard's State Papers, II., p. 299.

³ Hazard's State Papers, II., p. 300. Peirce, p. 28, says 1665.

allowed out of the parcel the Corporation hath lately sent upon Indian account. The amount of the appropriation it will be noticed is slightly in excess of the estimated cost reported to the Corporation." On request of the President of the College, the Massachusetts Commissioners were, in 1654,¹ authorized to alter the form of the building, "provided it exceed not thirty feet in length and twenty in breadth."

Thus a building was secured. Occasional references to the number of Indians at Cambridge, which are scattered through the papers from which the foregoing extracts are taken, shows that for several years there were from six to eight Indians present at the school and the College pursuing their studies.² About two-thirds of these appear to have been content with the instruction furnished by the grammar school.³ The other third prosecuted for a while the higher studies of the College, and of these one only had the perseverance to finish the course and take a degree. Gookin speaks of them as becoming disheartened and leaving the grammar school, when "almost ready to enter College."⁴

According to Gookin, the Commissioners constructed a "house of brick" which passed under the name of "the Indian College." It cost, he estimated, at between three hundred and four hundred pounds.⁵ It was large enough for twenty scholars, and was fitted with convenient lodgings and studies. When Gookin wrote, it had "hitherto been principally improved for to accommodate English scholars and for placing and using a printing press belonging to the College." All this had come about naturally enough. Chauncy had reaped the reward of Dunster's solicitude on

¹ Hazard's State Papers, II., p. 321.

² Hazard's State Papers, II., pp. 403, 404, and see also the Annual Accounts, same papers.

³ In the Reply to the Royal Commissioners, it is stated that in 1665 the number present was eight, "one whereof is in the Colledge and ready to commence."

⁴ Mass. Hist. Coll., I., p. 172.

⁵ Mass. Hist. Coll., I., p. 176. Quoted by Thomas in his History of Printing, I., p. 240.

account of the decaying College building and the lack of dormitories. The accommodations for six hopeful Indian youth had become adequate for twenty. Chauncy petitioned, in 1656, and again, in 1657,¹ for the privilege of using the vacant rooms. The petition was granted with a proviso that "the said building be by the Corporation secured from any damage that may befall the same through the use thereof." The building having thus become a regular dormitory, we hear no more of it except that the statement is made that the printing office² was opened in it. Special appropriations, in 1664 and 1667, made for the benefit of Chauncy, for his pains in teaching the Indian students,³ show that the building was, perhaps, at those dates, still made use of to some extent for its original purpose.

The record is preserved of a meeting of the Commissioners for propagating the Gospel among the Indians, at which consent was given that the "bricks belonging to the Indian College wch is gone to decay and become altogether useless," should be removed and used for an additional building for Harvard College, provided studies should be furnished rent free in the new building for any Indian who might thereafter be sent to College. It was in pursuance of this consent, and under the foregoing condition that the bricks were sold in 1698 to John Willis, and the proceeds applied in payment for the cellar under the southerly end of the first Stoughton Hall,⁴ a building which shared the fate of the first College building, and the Indian College. It was so poorly constructed that, in 1780, it was found

¹ Hazard's State Papers, II., pp. 358, 359.

² Mass. Hist. Coll., I., p. 176. Hutchinson's Papers, p. 501.

³ Hazard's State Papers, II., p. 496 and p. 508.

⁴ The following entry is to be found in the Brattle Book in the Harvard Archives:

"Boston, Dec. 14, 1698.

"Cash paid Mr. Thos. Willis, 10^{lb}, in full (with the bricks &c., of the old Indian College sold him last April by Act of ye Corporation for 20£), for making a cellar under ye southerly end of the new building, unless ye corporation shall see meet to allow ym anything further on ye acct. as per Mr. Willis' receipt."

necessary to pull it down. Whether the destruction of this building carried with it the rights of Indian students to studies rent free, is a question which has not been raised.

The interest which attaches to the Indian College is greatly increased by the fact that the building was evidently used as a dormitory for white students during the greater part of its existence. The site of the building is not known. It is conjecturally placed on the plan in Eliot's History of Harvard College, in the quadrangle near Gray.¹

One other building erected by the College was contemporaneous with the first College building, viz., the President's house. This is the house of which Dunster says, "The house I have builded upon very damageful conditions to myself, out of love for the College, taking Country pay, in lieu of bills of exchange on England, or the house would not have been built." In 1724, a resolution was passed in the General Court of Massachusetts Bay, with the following preamble: "Whereas, the College is now without any President's house, it being removed when the Massachusetts College was built," &c., &c. This seems to fix the site of Dunster's house.

The temptation to follow the subject further and say something of Stoughton Hall, and of Harvard Hall, is great, but I have already completed the task which I set myself. It was my purpose to add to the published information concerning the early buildings at Cambridge a few new facts gathered from the Harvard Records. The contribution which I have been able to make will not greatly increase the knowledge concerning the early buildings, and the life of the students therein, but if it throws even a little light upon this obscure subject, the work will not have been wasted.

¹ Thomas says, "This building was taken down many years since. It stood not far from the other buildings of the College." History of Printing, I., p. 240, note.

Copyright of Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society is the property of American Antiquarian Society and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.