

Kennedy, Planning the City---

I A City upon a Hill

In 1630 when John Winthrop proclaimed to his fellow passengers aboard the *Arbella*, "We shall be as a City upon a Hill," he did not have the site of Boston in mind. Although Boston literally sat upon several hills, only one of which remains, Winthrop was speaking metaphorically; his words describe the religious mission of the Puritan voyagers to New England. The founders of the Massachusetts Bay Colony envisioned a "Godly Commonwealth" that would serve as a spiritual beacon to the rest of the world.

John Winthrop's notion of a model community became an enduring part of Boston's heritage. His band was not the first to settle the Bay Colony—others had already built rudimentary homes and settlements along the shore of Massachusetts Bay before his party of Puritans first landed at Salem—but it became the most important. As soon as Winthrop and his successors nestled into the peninsula, with hills dominating the western side and land narrowing to a long southern neck which connected it to the mainland, Boston became conscious of its role as a model to others seeking a spiritual pattern for living. Winthrop went beyond aspiring simply to social harmony; he envisioned "a city in a literal, physical sense, a place where arrangements involving land, property, and status would be planned and organized around a central community institution, the church."¹

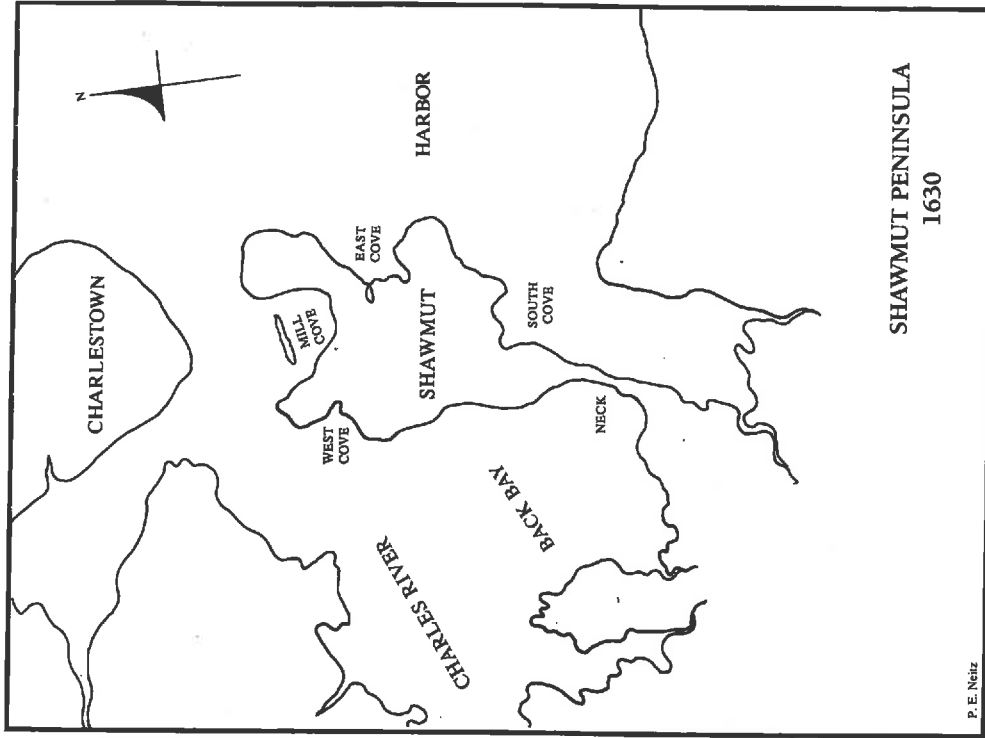
But Boston was molded as surely by its physical setting as by the ideology of its Puritan founders. In fact, Boston has always developed in response to the dynamic interaction between ideals and other factors—

topographical, economic, demographic, and political. The story of Boston is partly that of the evolution of a frontier settlement into an internally acclaimed city, but it is also the story of how its citizens embraced new ideas about the role of government. During the colonial era the government distributed property, defended its people against both the sea and the enemies who sailed it, and protected them from dangers within their community. Bostonians soon established a distinct pattern in which the public and private sectors collaborated; this partnership has characterized Boston planning for centuries. In a brief look at the first century and a half of urban development, we will see how the appearance of the city and the way Bostonians planned it both arose from this unusual partnership.

Boston had a specific and self-conscious origin. Winthrop founded Boston in an unlikely location, and its topography has always been influential in planning both town and city.² Located on a 750-acre peninsula with numerous inlets and marshes, and dominated by a trio of hills, Boston in 1630 gave little promise of becoming a great metropolitan area. Originally occupied by the reclusive Reverend William Blaxton, the Shawmut Peninsula—as it was then known—was soon overrun by hundreds of settlers, among them Governor Winthrop and his band of Puritans. Shawmut had purer drinking water than that found in Charlestown, their original settlement, and the peninsula also provided greater safety from hostile Indians and wild animals. Most important, the peninsula possessed a harbor where ships could enter easily and safely.³

Bostonians of the colonial era built their city as none have been able to do since. They began with the raw material of land in the wilderness and followed their fancy as they laid out streets, house lots, wharves, meeting-houses, and markets. The salamander shape of the town remained unchanged in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, although the edges of the peninsula were modified by landfill. Early settlers also created the eccentric street pattern that survives to charm and frustrate today. Despite the legend that wandering cows were responsible for the city's maze of streets, Boston was actually laid out on the English pattern, with the focus on the market area, now the vicinity of the Old State House.⁴ Furthermore, the first proprietors took pains to adapt their public ways to the local topography, and Boston's original street plan was no more confusing than those of some of its neighbors, notably Salem and Ipswich.⁵

Boston's setting on a hilly peninsula jutting into a harbor protected by numerous islands was both fortuitous and restrictive. The fledgling town depended on the ocean for its survival and growth, yet Boston was hemmed in by the hills, the shore, and the sea, which made expansion



Map 1.1 Shawmut Peninsula, 1630. Boston in its earliest form during the colonial period. The narrow neck connecting it to the mainland was gradually expanded over the next several hundred years and all the coves noted on this map were also filled in. Virtually no water's edge was left untouched.

difficult. People and produce came to and from Boston principally by water throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries because there was only one road in and out of town along the Neck to Roxbury, and that flooded at high tide, turning the town temporarily into an island. In 1631 the General Court inaugurated a ferry to Charlestown. In 1638 the

General Court ordered the establishment of a ferry to connect Boston with Winnisimmet (Chelsea) and Noddle's Island (East Boston), a connection maintained into the middle of the twentieth century.⁶

The early townspeople conceived no grand plan for physical development but steadfastly went about creating an entirely new town, building by building. Responding to topography as much as to present economic needs and community values, colonial Bostonians wasted no time on speculation and projections of future growth patterns. As historian Daniel Boorstin writes of them, "perhaps because their basic theoretical questions had been settled, the Puritans were able to concentrate on human and practical problems."⁷

Sam Bass Warner, Jr., uses the term "folk planning" to describe the settlement process in such seventeenth-century New England towns as Boston.⁸ He suggests that for a period of time the medieval English tradition of town planning fused with local religious ideology to create an informal consensus concerning the religious, social, and economic framework for the burgeoning community. Nevertheless, as the town and its population grew, a more unified form of planning became necessary, and the role of local government expanded. Bostonians also formed public-private partnerships, created charitable institutions, civic centers and marketplaces, and contended with the Colony and the Crown. Throughout this period, as ever since, Bostonians argued—and occasionally agreed—about what the city should look like and how they should go about achieving their vision.

From a twentieth-century perspective, government involvement in community affairs may appear relatively insignificant, but the Massachusetts Bay Colony and the Town of Boston shared responsibility for directing local growth throughout the colonial period. Massachusetts Bay originally operated under a royal charter that allowed the colony virtual autonomy. The founders established a representative system of government with a bicameral legislature and an elected governor. During the first two decades of the colony's life the General Court evolved into a legislative body representing all the towns of the colony. Boston was the seat of government and, like all towns, subject to the authority of the colonial government. Bostonians conducted their community's affairs in open town meetings, with the execution of decisions assigned to various elected officers. Between meetings seven to nine selectmen, elected annually, assumed the executive function. Most government action was in response to emergencies and conflicts, and so did not require far-reaching planning or close study of the community's needs. In the beginning, however, in keeping with their vision of a city upon a hill, Boston's

founders hoped to follow a detailed scheme for mapping out their new town.

The Massachusetts Bay Company hired Boston's first professional "city planner," Thomas Graves, originally of Kent, England. Sent to New England to "lay out" the community where Winthrop and his thousand followers were to settle, Graves journeyed first to Salem, then, in 1630, to Charlestown. There he laid out a model town, allocating a two-acre plot to each individual or family.⁹ The community soon moved across the Charles River to the Shawmut Peninsula, but there is no record of Graves' repeating his planning work for the settlers.¹⁰

Although the Shawmut Peninsula numbered 750 acres, the colonial government also granted the Town of Boston control of the lands of present-day Chelsea, Winthrop, Revere, Braintree, Quincy, Randolph, Holbrook, Brookline, and East Boston as well as Roxbury, Dorchester, and other parts of the current city. By 1639, the total area under town authority exceeded 43,000 acres.¹¹ By 1794, however, the various additions, with the exception of East Boston, had been stripped away. Mount Wollaston split off to become Braintree in 1640, Muddy River to become the Town of Brookline in 1705, and Tumney Marsh to become the Town of Chelsea in 1739. Other towns followed suit, and by century's end, Boston was once again reckoned a land area akin to its original size—logging in at just 783 acres.

Nevertheless, the land mass controlled by the settlers throughout the seventeenth century was quite large, and once the founders had settled on the site of contemporary Boston, they determined, through their local government, a great deal of the town's early appearance. Assignment of house lots in the community was a civil matter and occupied the town's authorities for the first half-century of Boston's existence. In the early years the town set a maximum on the amount of property one person could own and would not grant any land unless the potential recipient was considered a likely candidate for permanent acceptance into the Puritan congregation. (A 1638 law, for example, specified that land was to be allocated on the condition of "inoffensive carriage.")¹² Legislation enacted by town officials in 1635 allowed houses to be erected only on sites approved by town overseers, who themselves were charged with "avoyding of disorderly building to the inconvenience of streets and laynes" and with "the more comely and commodious ordering of them."¹³ The penalty for any builder caught disregarding this order was the forfeiture "of such sum as the overseers shall see fitting."

Town officials designated land for streets and meetinghouses but important patterns of land allocation also arose from private enterprise and

the search for wealth. Harvard historian Bernard Bailyn observes that land speculation has always been a major preoccupation of ambitious people in America, and that by 1675 politically influential individuals in Massachusetts had been "granted personal gifts by the legislature totaling 130,000 acres, in parcels far larger than any conceivable personal use could justify and beyond any possible personal use by their children or grandchildren."¹⁴

In the seventeenth century, the local authorities who allocated land tended to be liberal in granting farmland on the mainland west of the peninsula, but conservative in assigning house lots on the peninsula itself. The colonial legislature granted Governor John Winthrop, for example, numerous properties in eastern Massachusetts, including Winthrop's most cherished possession, Tenhills Farm, a 600-acre property in what is now Medford, and his total holdings in the colony amounted to no more than two or three thousand acres.¹⁵

Much of the early settlement of Boston took place in what is now known as the North End. Streets were given sensible names like Fore, Middle, and Back to correspond to their locations. Now known as North, Hanover, and Salem Streets, they were then the target of an early street-widening project. In what may have been the first local use of the power of eminent domain, after a fire in 1676 the legislature stipulated that Hanover Street be broadened to a uniform width of twenty-two feet.¹⁶

Fire was an ever-present danger in the wooden town and prompted the expansion of government power as both the town authorities and the Massachusetts General Court took steps to protect Bostonians from tragedy. Within a year of Boston's founding the government passed the first of many fire regulations. The law was fairly simple: no one was to build a wooden chimney or to have a thatched roof.¹⁷ Another law in 1653 required each home to be equipped with a ladder long enough to reach the roof.¹⁸ The great fire of 1676 proved a milestone in Boston's planning history. After the fire, the selectmen not only passed more rigorous fire codes, but also moved toward street planning on a larger scale. The selectmen persuaded the General Court to require any new house construction to be of stone or brick, covered with slate or tile. The penalty for violating this law was a fine equivalent to the value of the building, unless the selectmen granted an exception. This measure, however well intended, proved unenforceable and was quickly suspended.¹⁹ Wooden houses continued to be built, including "Paul Revere's House," which still stands in the North End and survives as a popular tourist attraction.

After the 1676 fire, the legislature granted the selectmen permission to stake out streets in the burned areas and to require all new buildings to

conform with the new lines. The General Court passed an even more important measure in 1692—the first zoning law, which limited commercial activities to designated areas in the town. The legislation allowed boards of health to assign certain places for the exercise of "any trade or employment which is a nuisance or hurtful to the public health, or is attended by some noisome odors," and allowed the board of health to "prohibit the exercise thereof within the limits of the town or in places not so assigned."²⁰

In addition to establishing streets and regulating building materials, Bostonians also involved themselves in laying out and building wharves and docks. As early as 1634 an ordinance required a beacon warning, constructed of stones and logs, near every landing place. A law granting property rights to the low-water mark led to considerable land reclamation by providing an incentive to fill in marsh and extend property.²¹ Also in 1634, the colony's leaders sanctioned a common landing place on the north side of the great cove. In 1641 the town went a step further and gave title to all the wastelands in the vicinity of what is now Faneuil Hall to a group of merchants for the purpose of building wharves and warehouses.²² The town granted the merchants' association the right to charge vessels landing on these wharves, and thus Boston gained a more convenient town cove created at private expense.

Just two years later, in 1643, the town granted a group of partners the area of the North Cove facing Charlestown on condition that they erect and maintain one or more corn mills for milling wheat and cereal. These developers were allowed to cut a waterway through the marsh along the present Blackstone Street in order to operate the mill or mills they established. Private citizens further altered the shoreline in 1673 when the town authorized a group to create a seawall, which the colony had suggested as a defense precaution. A special town meeting declined to vote the needed funds but offered to give the mudflats between the town and the proposed wall to private builders, who could then construct their own warehouses, wharves, and docks adjacent to the wall. Over forty subscribers stepped forward to build lengths of the wall from 20 to 150 feet long. Despite the town's success in getting the wall built, the developers' profits were meager and they allowed the wharves to decay.

Commercial interests exercised an ever-increasing influence in shaping the young town. By 1687 merchants with large investments in English and West Indian trade and those engaged in shipbuilding and distilling controlled 66 percent of the town's wealth. Five of the nine selectmen were sea captains, while the presence of Deacon Henry Allen on the Board was "a tangible indication of the continuing influence of the church."²³

Control by commercial interests expanded in the next century and extended well beyond matters of trade. Enterprising Bostonians of the early eighteenth century helped Boston reach out to surrounding areas.

In 1707 Elisha Cooke, son of a prominent town leader, organized a group of other young merchants to develop the Neck—a narrow strip of land running from Boston to Roxbury. The town meeting approved their plans to widen and fill in portions of the Neck and granted them exclusive rights to the land for twenty years.²⁴ Similarly, in 1710 and 1711, entrepreneurs built Long Wharf, a public facility. Captain Oliver Noyes and associates took charge of this massive project, an extension of King (now State) Street from the Town House into the harbor. The lengthened wharf allowed merchants to load and unload the largest ships of the day, and formed a picturesque road to the sea. Long Wharf prospered and eager traders quickly lined its half-mile span with rows of warehouses and shops, to which Noyes and his associates gained exclusive rights for forty years.²⁵

Despite the importance of commerce, for more than a century Boston had no permanent public market. In fact, Boston exercised only limited and ineffective control over local trade during these years. The town was unique among large communities in Europe and America for having no market, no strict market regulations, and no set market day. Other colonial governments exercised their economic powers by setting prices, wages, and standards of quality, but Bostonians preferred the freedom to choose among tradespeople roving the streets and to buy on all weekdays.²⁶

The eighteenth-century battle over the construction of a public market signals an important shift away from the laissez-faire tradition in Boston. A pamphleteer argued against the project by claiming that tradesmen would refuse to bring their provisions to a central market in Boston, preferring to sell only in the unregulated towns of Roxbury and Charlestown.²⁷ However, Boston was suffering an economic decline in comparison with other seaports, and by the 1720s many citizens were convinced that the time had come for the town to establish more regular trading and market practices.²⁸ But the battle was only beginning. In 1733 the town meeting voted first in favor of building a market, then against the proposal.

The following year a compromise among the various geographical interests established not one but three markets in Boston, to be located in the north, south, and central districts of the town. Still the issue was not settled: additional legislation actually weakened the existing commercial regulations, and the town refused to pay officials to patrol the new

markets. Bostonians, fearing the new markets as an extension of government authority, boycotted them. Then, after a long, cold, and hungry winter, a mob attacked and burned the wooden markets in March 1737. Town authorities ordered the damaged buildings closed permanently the following month.

Three years later Peter Faneuil, a prominent merchant, offered to construct a central market of brick at his own expense. He stipulated that once the market was opened, the town could "legally authorize, regulate and maintain it."²⁹ Faneuil also offered to provide public space in the new building, including rooms for town offices and a meeting hall. The market issue was still so controversial that the town meeting only narrowly approved this generous proposal by 367 to 360, with the understanding that strolling vendors would continue to be free to operate throughout the town.³⁰ As a result, many stalls in Faneuil Hall, which was finally built in 1742, stood empty for thirty years.³¹

Among the least controversial and most noteworthy steps taken by local government in the colonial era was the purchase of land for the creation of America's first public park. The forty-five acres of land for Boston Common, purchased by the town in 1634 for thirty pounds from the Reverend William Blaxton,³² served as a cow pasture for two centuries and as a training ground for the militia until the Civil War.

Then as now, public institutions for criminals and for the poor were a serious concern. In 1657 the town meeting instructed the selectmen to construct a house of correction for anyone who might be "debauched and live idly."³³ Voters advised the selectmen to finance the penal institution with the sale of wastelands, and once again the town financed a public facility without resorting to direct taxation. In 1738 the town also constructed a workhouse for the poor between the Granary Burying Ground and the Common.

As Bostonians made these and other decisions they still depended upon the General Court to make laws, and on six different occasions between 1650 and 1677 sought greater autonomy by petitioning for a municipal charter incorporating the town into a city. Each time provincial authorities killed the proposal. In the eighteenth century, however, Bostonians themselves came to oppose a municipal charter, in part because of a general fear of public authority. Advocates of a municipal charter resumed agitation, however, immediately after the American Revolution, contending that a city form of government, with correspondingly increased powers, would be better for promoting trade, paving streets, and preventing crime. Sam Adams, leader of the Boston Tea Party, spearheaded the opposition to this move. He argued against any change in the charter

"from its present democratic plan, in order to build up a new fabric approximating more nearly an aristocratical or monarchical government."³⁴

Other neighborhoods of present-day Boston became independent towns during the colonial era and embarked on independently conceived municipal plans. Originally part of land granted to Boston, for example, Roxbury became an independent township and in 1652 appointed a commission to lay out streets. Within eleven years twenty streets were in place, including the present Washington, Tremont, Dudley, Parker, Boylston, and Heath Streets.³⁵ The streets of Charlestown were also surveyed for the first time in 1670, and the records indicate that both present-day Main Street and Rutherford Avenue were in existence at that time. In 1713 and 1766, the town government of Charlestown again surveyed the streets. In another innovative stratagem for avoiding taxes for public improvements, the legislature in 1760 granted Charlestown permission to hold a lottery to finance the paving of Main Street. The town sold six thousand tickets and awarded 1,245 prizes, retaining 10 percent of the proceeds. Not long after, the opening salvos of the American Revolution and the fires resulting from the Battle of Bunker Hill destroyed all but fifteen houses in Charlestown, which required extensive planning and rebuilding.

By the time of the Revolution, then, Boston and neighboring towns had considerable experience in managing their affairs and in determining their physical appearance. In the colonial era, Boston used a variety of approaches to meet community needs, setting constraints on the location and material of residences, assuming some control over the operations of merchants, undertaking responsibility for public transportation, and drawing on a combination of public and private funds for major improvements to the town. Town officials recognized community needs and steered a pragmatic course to secure their objectives while exercising a limited amount of government control.

Although the legislature of the colony also made laws regulating some aspects of building and street patterns, the most significant decisions were often made by individuals who wanted to develop certain projects they believed would enhance their wealth. These men used the town meeting to advance their goals, making certain that the town authorized and subsidized their individual or collective actions by granting publicly owned land. In all of this, although there were factions and conflicts, there was a certain unity of purpose. Developers built places of commerce that benefited the townspeople. The interests of the entrepreneurs and the town were essentially the same.

Moreover, class interests did not diverge much when it came to de-

veloping the emerging metropolis. It was an article of faith that both entrepreneurs and town profited by the sort of public-private partnerships common at the time. Given that Boston's economy depended on its seaport, these arrangements generally related to matters of commerce like building wharves and warehouses. In the post-Revolutionary era, however, public attention increasingly turned to coping with the town's transformation into a city, and to the residential development of Boston's shoreline. These goals required greater governmental leadership, as well as a new order of public-private collaboration.

D. Board Members of the Boston Redevelopment Authority

Patrick J. Bocanuso ¹	1968–1973
Paul J. Burns	1970–1975
James E. Cofield, Jr.	1976–1980
James G. Colbert	1957–1980
George P. Condrakes	1964–1969
Michael F. Donlan	1985–
Robert L. Farrell ²	1969–1989
James K. Flaherty	1973–
Clarence J. Jones ³	1981–
Francis J. Lally ⁴	1957–1970
Joseph W. Lund ⁵	1957–1961
Melvin J. Massucco	1957–1970
Stephen J. McCloskey	1957–1968
William A. McDermott, Jr.	1980–1985
Francis X. O'Brien	1989–
John P. Ryan	1961–1964
Consuelo Gonzales Thornell	1989–
Joseph J. Walsh ⁶	1970–1989

¹Chairman, November 1970 to February 1972

²Chairman, February 1972 to January 1989

³Elected Chairman, May 1989

⁴Chairman, April 1961 to November 1970

⁵Chairman, October 1957 to April 1961

⁶Chairman, January to April 1989

Notes

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Introduction

- 1 Harold Lasswell's definition can be found in his *Politics: Who Gets What, When, How* (New York: Peter Smith, 1950), 3.
- 2 David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 15.
- 3 M. Christine Boyer, *Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983), 67.
- 4 Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Private City: Philadelphia in Three Periods of Its Growth* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968), x.
- 5 Eric H. Monkkenen, *America Becomes Urban: The Development of U.S. Cities and Towns, 1780–1980* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 218.
- 6 Melville C. Branch, "Goals and Objectives in Civil Comprehensive Planning," in *Urban Planning Theory*, ed. Melville C. Branch (Stroudsburg, PA: Dowden, Hutchinson, & Ross, Inc., 1975), 272.
- 7 Stanley K. Schultz, *Constructing Urban Culture: American Cities and City Planning, 1800–1920* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989), xii.
- 8 Kenneth T. Jackson, "The Impact of Technological Change on Urban Form," in *Technology, the Economy, and Society: The American Experience*, ed. Joel Colton and Stuart Bruchey (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987), 150.
- 9 Monkkenen, *America Becomes Urban*, 164, 161–62.

1 A City upon a Hill

- 1 Charles N. Glazeb and A. Theodore Brown, *A History of Urban America*, 2d ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1976), 5. Also see Darrett Rutman, *Winthrop's Boston: Portrait of a Puritan Town* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965).
- 2 Walter Muir Whitehill's *Boston: A Topographical History*, 2d ed., enl. (Cambridge:

- Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1975) remains the basic text for this aspect of Boston's history.
- 3 Albert P. Langtry, ed., *Metropolitan Boston: A Modern History*, 5v. (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., Inc., 1929), 3:1044.
- 4 Whitehill, *Boston: A Topographical History*, 8; Glaab and Brown, *A History of Urban America*, 6.
- 5 John W. Reps, *The Making of Urban America: A History of City Planning in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1965), 141.
- 6 Elisabeth M. Herlihy, "The History of Boston's Street System," in *Report on a Thoroughfare Plan for Boston*, ed. Robert Whitten (Boston: City of Boston Planning Board, 1930), 154. In 1786 the Charlestown ferry was replaced by the Charles River Bridge and Harvard received annual compensation of two hundred dollars for some forty years. In 1834 the other two ferries went under private management but in 1870 the city of Boston returned them to the public domain. After folding in the 1950s, ferry service between Boston and East Boston resumed in the late 1980s with a shuttle connection between Rowes Wharf and Logan International Airport.
- 7 Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1958), 29.
- 8 Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *The Urban Wilderness: A History of the American City* (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), 7.
- 9 Herlihy, "Boston's Street System," 150.
- 10 Other examples of planning in Puritan New England did occur; e.g., Cambridge was originally laid out in a gridiron street pattern. See Charles W. Eliot, Donald M. Graham, and David A. Crane, "Boston: Three Centuries of Planning," *A.S.P.O. Newsletter: American Society of Planning Officials* 30 (1964):43.
- 11 Elisabeth M. Herlihy, "Planning for Boston: 1630-1930," *City Planning Quarterly* 6 (1930):3-4.
- 12 Josiah Quincy, *A Municipal History of the Town and City of Boston during the Two Centuries from September 17, 1630 to September 17, 1830* (Boston: C. C. Little Brown and J. Brown, 1852), 4-5.
- 13 Quoted in Langtry, *Metropolitan Boston*, 3:1946.
- 14 Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), 67.
- 15 Edmund S. Morgan, *The Puritan Dilemma: The Story of John Winthrop* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1958), 65, 175-176.
- 16 Herlihy, "Boston's Street System," 157.
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- 18 Quincy, *Municipal History*, 5.
- 19 Justin Winsor, ed., *The Memorial History of Boston, including Suffolk County, Massachusetts 1630-1880*, 4 vols. (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1881), 4:493-494.
- 20 Province Law of 1692, Chapter 32; now Chapter 3, Section 3 of the General Laws.
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- 22 Whitehill, *Boston: A Topographical History*, 11.
- 23 James A. Henretta, "Economic Development and Social Structure in Colonial Boston," in *Cities in American History*, ed. Kenneth T. Jackson and Stanley K. Schultz (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 68.

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Notes to
A City
upon
a Hill
264

- 24 Gerald B. Warden, *Boston 1689-1776* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1970), 68.
- 25 Caleb H. Snow, *A History of Boston: The Metropolis of Massachusetts from Its Origin to the Present Period with Some Account of the Environs*, 2d ed. (Boston: Abel Bowen, 1828), 160-161; Whitehill, *Boston: A Topographical History*, 19-20; Warden, *Boston 1689-1776*, 68.
- 26 Monkkenon, *America Becomes Urban* 65.
- 27 Ford Worthington Chauncey, ed., "Communications of Two Documents Protesting against the Incorporation of Boston," *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts* 10 (1904-1906):346.
- 28 Warden, *Boston 1689-1776*, 116-121.
- 29 Frank C. Brown, "John Smibert, Artist, and the First Faneuil Hall," *Old Time New England* 36 (1946):61-63.
- 30 Quincy, *Municipal History*, 11. Another prominent citizen's death bequest had led to the erection of the first townhouse for government use in 1657.
- 31 Jon C. Teaford, *The Municipal Revolution in America: Origins of Modern Urban Government, 1650-1825* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 43.
- 32 State Street Trust Co., *Boston's Growth*, 6.
- 33 Quincy, *Municipal History*, 7.
- 34 Sam Adams's comments appeared in the *Massachusetts Centinel and Republican Journal*; cited in Teaford, *The Municipal Revolution*, 68.
- 35 Herlihy, "Boston's Street System," 160-165.
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- 1 Ellen Susan Bulfinch, ed., *The Life and Letters of Charles Bulfinch* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1896), 59.
- 2 Workers of the Writers Program of the Works Progress Administration [WPA] on the State of Massachusetts, *Boston Looks Seaward: The Story of the Port, 1630-1940*, foreword and epilogue by William M. Fowler, Jr. (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1985), 66-86.
- 3 Samuel Eliot Morison, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1941), 125.
- 4 Writers of the WPA, *Boston Looks Seaward*, 71. Originally called the Charlestown Navy Yard, the name was changed in 1874 after Charlestown was annexed to Boston. It was called the Boston Navy Yard until 1945 when the name was again changed, this time to the Boston Naval Shipyard. See Bettina A. Norton, *The Boston Naval Shipyard, 1800-1974* (Boston: The Bostonian Society, 1975), 2.
- 5 Joseph L. Eldredge, ed., *Architecture Boston* (Barre, MA: Barre Publishing Co., 1976), 3.
- 6 Harold Kirker and James Kirker, *Bulfinch's Boston* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 3-5, 40.
- 7 Quincy, *Municipal History*, 28-29. See also Bulfinch, *The Life and Letters of Charles Bulfinch*, 136, for Bulfinch's comments on his own contribution to the state law "giving power to the selectmen to widen streets and regulate pavements." Among today's streets widened during his tenure are Congress, Court, State, Hanover, Beacon, and Exchange.
- 8 John D. Forbes, "The Port of Boston, 1783-1815" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1936), 112.
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Notes
The
Grea
Selectn
265