# THE SHIRLEY-EUSTIS PLACE

*Boston Landmarks Commission*
*Study Report*



*Petition #272.21*

Boston Landmarks Commission
Environment Department
City of Boston

Report on the Potential Designation of

**THE SHIRLEY-EUSTIS PLACE**
**33 and 42–44 Shirley Street and 24 Rockford Street,**
**Roxbury, Boston, Massachusetts**

As a Landmark under Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975, as amended

Approved by: _____ July 6, 2021
Rosanne Foley, Executive Director Date

Approved by: _____ July 6, 2021
Lynn Smiledge, Chair Date

## TABLE OF CONTENTS PAGE


1. Location of Property 1
2. Description 3
3. Significance 23
4. Economic Status 32
5. Planning Context 34
6. Alternative Approaches 35
7. Recommendations 37
8. General Standards and Criteria 38
9. Specific Standards and Criteria 42
10. Archaeology 49
11. Severability 50
12. Bibliography 51
13. Figures 53
14. Addendum: “Working Report on Slavery at the Shirley-Eustis House” 60

# 1.0 LOCATION OF PROPERTY

## 1.1 Address

33 and 42–44 Shirley Street, 24 Rockford Street, Roxbury (Boston), Massachusetts

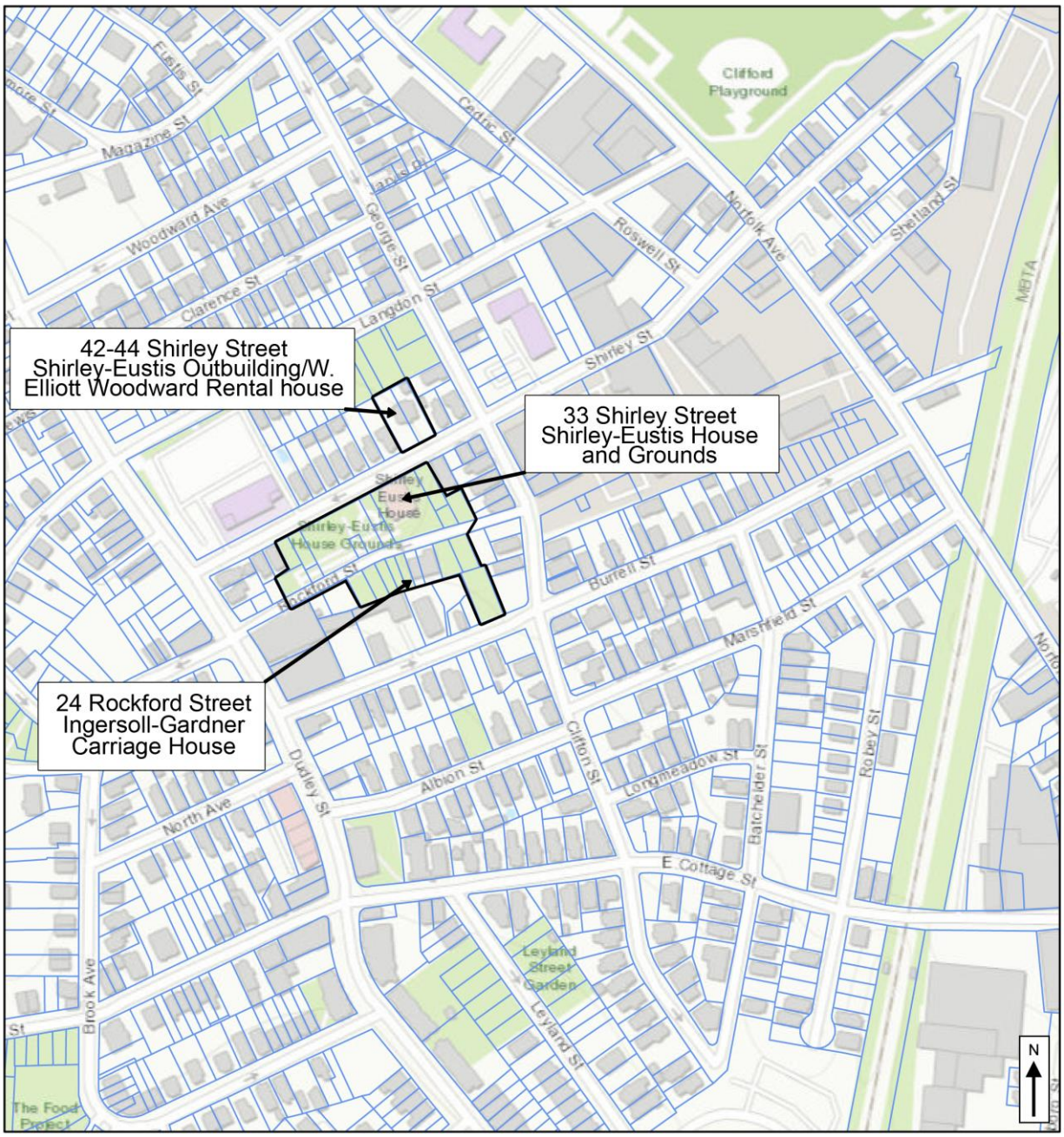
## 1.2 Assessor's parcel numbers

0800204000, 0800256001, 0800250000, 0800252000, 0800253000, 0800255000, 0800256000, 0800220000, 0800221000, 0800216000, 0800215000, 0800213000, 0800214000, 0800248000, 0800217000, 0800247000, 0800246000, 0800231000, 0800229000, 0800230000, 0800235000, 0800236000, 0800237000, 080058300, 080058400, 0800219000, 0800218000.

## 1.3 Area in which property is located

The Shirley-Eustis Place consists of adjacent sections of three blocks in eastern Roxbury, a neighborhood in southwestern Boston. The entire area is contained within the streets of Dudley, Langdon, Clifton, and Burrell. The Shirley-Eustis House and its immediate grounds comprise the interior parcels of the block on the south side of Shirley Street bounded by Shirley, Clifton, Rockford, and Dudley streets. To the south, the Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House and its immediate grounds comprise the interior parcels along the south side of Rockford Street and an adjoining parcel with frontage on Burrell Street. The Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House is comprised of two parcels north of the Shirley-Eustis House, with frontage on the north side of Shirley Street.

## 1.4 Map Showing Location




Boston Assessor's Map showing the boundaries of Shirley-Eustis Place, 33 and 42–44 Shirley Street and 24 Rockford Street (outlined in black and buildings identified with labels).

# 2.0 DESCRIPTION

## 2.1 Type and Use

The Shirley-Eustis House (33 Shirley Street) was built between 1746 and 1749 as a summer estate for Massachusetts Colony Governor William Shirley (1694–1771). It remained a single-family residence until ca. 1868 when it was subdivided into apartments. In the early twentieth century, it was purchased by the Shirley-Eustis House Association and restored to its colonial appearance. The building is now a historic house museum, and the surrounding grounds are used as community open space and landscaped gardens.

The Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House likely was built ca. 1750 as an outbuilding of the Shirley-Eustis House. It remained in use as an outbuilding, likely a barn, until ca. 1868 when it was extensively remodeled and converted into a duplex. The building remains a multi-family property under separate private ownership from the Shirley-Eustis House Association buildings and property.

The Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House was constructed ca. 1806 as a carriage house for Brookline merchant Nathaniel Ingersoll. It was later owned by John "Jack" Lowell Gardner Jr. and his wife Isabella Stewart Gardner. In 2000, the carriage house was donated to the Shirley-Eustis House Association and relocated from Brookline to 24 Rockford Street to prevent it from being demolished. It was restored from 2000–2001 by Preservation Timber Framing of Berwick, Maine. The building is used as event and meeting space.

## 2.2 Physical Description

*Setting*

The nominated Shirley-Eustis Place encompasses 24 lots on the north and south sides of Shirley and Rockford streets on the block bounded by Clifton and George streets to the northeast and Dudley Street to the southwest. The surrounding neighborhood is predominately composed of multi-family wood-frame buildings constructed in the mid-to-late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries near the street edge. Northeast of the intersection of Shirley and Dudley streets is the Ralph Waldo Emerson School (BOS.17260), and southeast of the intersection of Rockford and Dudley streets are the former West End Street Railway Stable (BOS.6751) and Metropolitan Street Railway Car House (BOS.6750). The core of the site, which consists of the Shirley-Eustis House (33 Shirley Street) and its associated gardens and landscape, occupies a generally flat landform approximately 150 feet east of the intersection of Shirley and Dudley streets. The land slopes steeply down west of the house towards Clifton Street on the northeast and Rockford Street on the southeast.

The Shirley-Eustis House (Photo 1) is approximately 16 feet from the south edge of the Shirley Street sidewalk and is slightly off-center within its parcel. A dry-laid rubble stone wall runs along the inner sidewalk edge. A pair of gateposts (Photo 2), one of which bears a large, non-historic stone inscribed with "Shirley Place 1747," frame the main entrance to the site from Shirley Street and sit approximately 50 feet northwest of the Shirley-Eustis House. A circular gravel pathway extends from these gateposts to the dwelling's main entrance on the southwest elevation and encloses a circular garden that is planted with flowers and ground cover plants and contains a central decorative metal urn (see Photo 1). A dry-laid rubble stone wall bordered by garden beds planted with annuals runs perpendicular to Shirley Street on the west side of the driveway (Photo 3).

West of the Shirley-Eustis House, the site is formally landscaped with manicured lawns. A folly, which consists of a cupola that was moved to the site in the twentieth century, is at the southwest corner of the property (see Photo 3). Terraces surround the northeast and southeast elevations of the house. The southeast terraces extend along Rockford Street for much of the length of the property (Photo 4). The

terraces are planted with mature deciduous trees and botanical ground cover, and two runs of granite steps connect the west gardens to Rockford Street. On the northeast side of the property, a stone retaining wall and a row of evergreen trees separate the upper terrace from the lower terrace. A split rubble stone patio at the northeast corner of the building on the upper terrace provides access to the rear entrances. The lower terrace has been formally landscaped into a parterre garden with two beds planted with flowers and botanical ground cover (Photo 5). A split rubble stone staircase with wrought iron railings connects the upper and lower terraces.

The Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House (42–44 Shirley Street) occupies an approximately rectangular lot of two land parcels on the north side of Shirley Street, northeast of the Shirley-Eustis House. Most of the lot is raised above sidewalk level and fronted with a rubblestone retaining wall (Photo 6). The lot areas in front (south) and west of the building are covered with grass, and a few small shrubs dot the west side of the landscape, which is surrounded by a mortared rubblestone retaining wall. The house, unlike other houses on the street, is set above and well back from the street at an oblique angle, and is accessed by a sunken concrete path. A run of brownstone steps believed to be a portion of the original Shirley-Eustis House steps that were repurposed after the house was moved in 1867 connect the sidewalk and path (see Historic Narrative, below). An asphalt driveway east of the house at a lower elevation runs between the east property line and a north-south retaining wall, wrapping around the north elevation of the building and accessing an early-mid-twentieth-century brick and concrete garage. The rear line of the parcel is marked by a tall retaining wall and drop in elevation to the parcels to the north.

The Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House occupies a generally flat site several feet below the Shirley-Eustis House and its associated gardens on the south side of Rockford Street. The land rises gently from east to west throughout the site, which is approximately 220 feet east of the intersection of Rockford and Dudley streets. A gravel parking area and a pear orchard abut the carriage house to the west. The orchard contains several trees, and a dry-laid rubble stone wall borders the north side of the orchard along Rockford Street and separates it from the parking lot to the east (Photo 7). Southeast of the carriage house, extending southeast to Burrell Street, is a teaching garden (Photo 8) consisting of raised garden beds, which is leased by the Shirley-Eustis House Association to a local resident.

*Shirley-Eustis House*

The Shirley-Eustis House was constructed between 1746 and 1749 for William Shirley (1694–1771), who served as the royal governor of Massachusetts Bay Colony from 1741 to 1749 and from 1753 to 1756. The dwelling, the design of which has been attributed to architect Peter Harrison (1716–1775), is a two-story, five-bay, massive timber-frame, Georgian-style dwelling (Photos 1 and 9–13). The building has a double-hip, double-boarded roof (Photo 11) and rests on a raised full-height basement composed of rough-cut granite and Roxbury puddingstone ashlar blocks. The building measures approximately 75 feet wide and approximately 50 feet deep.

The roof is clad with wood shingles on the lower slope and standing-seam copper on the upper slope. A balustrade composed of turned wood post spindles marks the boundary between the lower and upper slopes of the roof. Two interior brick chimneys extend from the roof ridge adjacent to the balustrade. A hexagonal wood cupola, filled with twelve-over-twelve wood sash is centered on the roof. A balustrade composed of turned wood spindles encloses the cupola's hip roof, and a weathervane with three irregularly spaced balls projects from the roof. A delicate dentiled wood cornice wraps around the dwelling above the second story.

The southwest (façade) elevation (Photos 1 and 9) is clad with wood clapboards. Ten massive, full-height pilasters with Doric capitals dominate the façade and define the center entrance, which is flanked by single pilasters, and paired flanking bays, flanked by paired pilasters. The stone basement walls project slightly beneath the pilasters. The primary entrance is centered beneath the cupola and is flanked by two double-hung, six-over-six wood windows. Five double-hung, six-over-six wood windows are evenly spaced on the second story. The first- and second-story windows have rabbeted surrounds and

are framed by louvered wood shutters. The primary entrance retains its original Georgian-style, 15-panel wood door, which is framed by a quoined surround composed of Georgian-style heavy rusticated wood blocks and surmounted by a prominent oversized keystone. The entrance is accessed via a run of ca. 1868 brownstone steps on an ashlar Roxbury puddingstone base and surrounded by wrought iron railings. A louvered wood door is in the foundation wall immediately north of the stairs; three six-over-six wood sash windows are symmetrically spaced along the remainder of the west face of the foundation.

The northwest and southeast side elevations (Photos 10 and 11) above the basement are identical in composition with full-height pilasters at the corners and a balanced fenestration pattern. They are clad with flush board siding at the first story and wood clapboards at the second story. Three windows are evenly spaced on the first and second stories. The windows on the first story contain six-light and three-light tripartite sash, and the three windows on the second story contain double-hung, six-over-six sash. The windows have rabbeted surrounds and are framed by louvered wood shutters. Two gabled dormers containing double-hung, fourteen-over-eight arched windows are symmetrically spaced on the east and west slopes of the roof. Pilasters with Doric capitals frame the dormer windows.

The northwest and southeast side elevations differ at the basement level. The basement walls on the southeast elevation are composed of rough-cut granite and Roxbury puddingstone ashlar blocks, and the northeast elevation is finished with wood clapboards. An entrance containing a fifteen-panel wood door and a double-hung, four-over-four wood window is centered at the basement level on the southeast elevation. Five double-hung, six-over-six windows are evenly spaced on the northeast elevation at the basement level.

The northeast (rear) elevation (Photo 12; also visible in Photo 10) is clad with wood clapboards and is dominated by four massive full-height pilasters with Doric capitals, which divide it visually into three bays. A 15-foot-tall Palladian window located in the central bay, converted into a secondary entrance, is composed of a six-panel wood door beneath fixed louvered wood shutters and a lunette filled with a shell motif. The entrance is flanked by leaded glass sidelights flanked by fluted Doric pilasters surmounted by Doric entablatures. A brownstone stair with wrought iron railings provides access to the entrance. The fenestration pattern on the rear elevation is asymmetrical. A single double-hung, six-over-six window is in the center of the south bay on the first story, and two windows are above it. Four windows, two on each story, are symmetrically arranged in the north bay. Each of these windows contain double-hung, six-over-six wood sash with rabbeted wood surrounds and are framed by louvered wood shutters. Three gabled dormers containing fourteen-over-eight arched windows framed by Doric pilasters are evenly spaced on the west slope of the roof. The center dormer has a double window. As on the southwest façade, a louvered wood door is immediately north of the stairs at the basement level, and three six-over-six wood sash windows are symmetrically spaced across the remainder of the basement.

The interior of the Shirley-Eustis House is characterized by a rectangular, center-hall, double-pile plan consisting of four rooms arranged on both sides of a central hall that spans the width of the building. On the first floor, the southwest elevation main entrance opens to a vestibule that extends along a southeast-to-northwest axis at the front of the building. A curved staircase on the northwest side of the hallway leads to the bedrooms on the second floor and originally served as the only access point to the upper stories. An interior door directly opposite the front entrance provides access to the two-story, central hall that extends to the northeast exterior wall. The hall has a curved stair and suspended balcony (Photo 14), leading to bedrooms on the north side of the building.

The Shirley-Eustis House has undergone several major exterior alterations as well as interior alterations during its approximately 275-year history. The house was originally designed in the Georgian style, but was renovated around the turn of the nineteenth century in the Federal style. Today, the house largely retains its Federal floor plan, which altered the stairs in the southeast corner from rectilinear to curved, and changed partition walls, all of which is evidenced by cuts and patches in molding and plaster, and wood filler strips on the floors. The current interior finishes, including plaster and woodwork, are a mix of Georgian and Federal styles (Photo 15).On the exterior, matching piazzas were built on the north and

south elevations, a Doric entablature was removed, and the second story windows were enlarged.[1]

The most dramatic of the changes was the relocation and reorientation of the dwelling in 1868, when the building, which was originally oriented with primary elevations facing roughly east and west (façade), was moved approximately 30 feet from its original location near what is now the center of Shirley Street and reoriented perpendicular to the street on a new foundation to facilitate the construction of the street and subsequent housing on the block. At that time, the two one-story piazzas were moved with the house, but by 1880 they were removed from what are now the northwest and southeast side elevations of the building. The original curved front staircase, which was composed of brownstone steps with molded nosings, was removed. Remnants of this staircase are believed to be at the sidewalk entrance to 42-44 Shirley Street. During the late nineteenth century, the building was divided into tenements and new interior partition walls were constructed.

Several decades of inadequate maintenance during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries led to widespread deterioration of the Shirley-Eustis House. The building was documented with measured drawings and photographs by the Historic American Building Survey (HABS) in 1939, and was rephotographed in 1963 (see Figures 1–3 in section 13.0). A major restoration project completed in 1985 preserved, restored, and replaced many severely damaged or missing elements on the interior and exterior, and original and early features were matched as closely as possible. On the interior, the suspended balcony in the audience hall was rebuilt in 1982. A new roof truss was installed that same year, and the rotted sill at the front entrance was repaired. Since that time, the building has been regularly maintained by the Shirley-Eustis House Association.

*Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House*

The Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House (42–44 Shirley Street, Photos 16-23) was likely constructed ca. 1750 as an outbuilding, likely a barn, for Governor William Shirley. In ca. 1868, it was converted into tenements (see Historical Significance), leading to its current appearance. The building is a southwest-facing, astylistic, two-story, three-bay-by-two-bay, massive timber-frame duplex that measures approximately 40 feet northwest-southeast and 30 feet northeast-southwest. It rests on a parged rubblestone foundation that is exposed on the southeast, northwest, and northeast elevations. The building has a side-gable roof punctuated by paired chimneys. The walls are clad with asbestos shingles, and the roof is covered with asphalt shingles. The building may have had Italianate-style ornamentation after its conversion to housing, but subsequent alterations, including the application of synthetic siding and soffits, have removed much of any decorative material.

The southwest (façade) elevation has a projecting center entrance bay flanked by one-story bay windows (Photos 16 and 17). The entrance is filled by a metal door protected by a metal awning. Secondary entrances are on the northeast elevation within a shed-roof projecting entry bay seated on a raised concrete block foundation (Photo 18). Entrances are in the east and west faces of the entry bay and are accessed by steep runs of wood and concrete steps. Entrances into each side of the basement are in the northeast elevation of the entry bay foundation, flanked by six-over-six wood sash windows. Fenestration throughout the building consists of symmetrically spaced windows filled with one-over-one, double-hung vinyl replacement sash with simple surrounds. Small window openings pierce each gable end.

The interior has been divided into two side-by-side living spaces, and floating dimensional-lumber walls obscure much of the original framing of the building. Non-destructive interior investigations undertaken as part of this project revealed portions of the building's massive timber frame, remnants of horsehair plaster and riven lath, and square cut nails (Photos 19-21). The roof system is double-boarded, matching the Shirley-Eustis House, and has a principal rafter-common purlin framing system (Photo 20). The

[1] Frederic C. Detwiller, *Historic Structure Report: Shirley-Eustis House,* (report prepared for Shirley-Eustis House Association, 1979), 34–37; Frederic C. Detwiller, "The Evolution of the Shirley-Eustis House," *Old Time New England* Summer 1980, p.17–30.

basement framing on the east side of the building is exposed, and appears to have historically been lime-washed (Photo 21), indicating its possible use as a dairy or other food storage.

A former two-car garage (Photos 22 and 23), subsequently partially infilled to create a one-car garage, is at the northeast corner of the lot, resting on concrete piers and a brick-faced concrete retaining wall. The garage, constructed in 1933, is Colonial Revival style and has brick-clad concrete walls, a flat roof, and a stepped concrete parapet.

*Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House*

The Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House (24 Rockford Street, Photos 24-28) was constructed ca. 1806 in the Green Hill neighborhood of Brookline, Massachusetts, and was moved to its current location adjacent to the Shirley-Eustis House on the south side of Rockford Street in 2000–2001. It is a southwest-facing, Federal-style, two-story, three-bay building with a massive timber frame resting on a modern concrete foundation and capped by a low-pitch hip roof. The rectangular building measures approximately 40 feet wide and approximately 60 feet deep. The roof is sheathed with wood shingles and has a molded wood cornice. The northwest, northeast, and southeast elevations are clad with wood shingles and the southwest (façade, Photo 24) elevation is clad with wood clapboards on the north and south bays. The center bay projects slightly forward and is covered with flushboard siding. All elevations are finished with wide plain corner boards and have a wide wood water table.

Five openings in the pediment provide access to an integral dovecote. The center bay contains a large, arched opening containing paired, side-hung board-and-batten doors surmounted by a vertical, flush board tympanum with a molded wood surround and a keystone. The outer bays each contain a single entrance on the first story below a double-hung, eight-over-eight wood window with a wood surround. Each side entrance has a board-and-batten door, wood surrounds, and a five-light transom. An earthen ramp leads to the center entrance, and large stone steps provide access to the side entrances.

On the northwest elevation (Photos 24 and 25), a one-and-one-half-story, one-bay, shed-roof addition extends from the easternmost bay. A stone and earthen ramp ascends along the foundation to the first-floor entrance on the west elevation of the addition, which contains paired side-hung board-and-batten doors. A small board-and-batten hayloft door sits at the attic level above the first-floor entrance. The center bay of the main block contains a single entrance flanked by a six-light wood window on the first story and surmounted by an opening to the hayloft and window. Both first-floor entrance and the hayloft entrance hold board-and-batten doors.

The northeast elevation (Photo 26) consists of a large expanse of blank wall, except for the center bay. A large rectangular entrance containing paired side-hung, board-and-batten doors and accessed by an earthen ramp is located at the first story in the center bay. A four-light wood window is above the entrance at the attic level. The interior of the building (Photos 27 and 28) has a heavy timber frame, wood walls and floors, and horizontal and vertical board partition walls. The Eustis family coach (Photo 28) is on display in the building.

## 2.3 Photographs



Photo 1. Shirley-Eustis House, front (southwest) façade.



Photo 2. Stone Wall, Gateposts, and Shirley-Eustis House, looking east.



Photo 3. Shirley-Eustis House grounds, looking west toward folly.



Photo 4. Shirley-Eustis House grounds, looking west along Rockford Street.



Photo 5. Shirley-Eustis House parterre garden, looking south from Shirley Street east of Shirley-Eustis House.



Photo 6. 42–44 Shirley Street, retaining wall and brownstone stairs, looking northwest.



Photo 7. Dry-laid rubblestone wall and pear orchard near Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House, looking southwest.



Photo 8. Teaching Garden, looking south toward Burrell Street.



Photo 9. Shirley-Eustis House and Grounds, looking northeast at the front (southwest) façade.



Photo 10. Shirley-Eustis House, southeast and northeast elevations.



Photo 11. Shirley-Eustis House, northwest elevation.



Photo 12. Shirley-Eustis House, rear (northeast) elevation.



Photo 13. Shirley-Eustis House interior, roof framing.



Photo 14. Shirley-Eustis House interior, hall, balcony, and staircase.



Photo 15. Shirley-Eustis House interior, library.



Photo 16. 42–44 Shirley Street, front (southwest) and southeast elevations.



Photo 17. 42–44 Shirley Street, front (southwest) elevation.



Photo 18. 42–44 Shirley Street, rear (northeast) and northwest elevation.



Photo 19. 42 Shirley Street interior, first floor ceiling framing and plaster (at left).



Photo 20. 42 Shirley Street interior, attic framing.



Photo 21. 44 Shirley Street interior, basement, showing lime washed ceiling framing.



Photo 22. 42–44 Shirley Street garage, front (southwest) and northwest elevations.



Photo 23. 42–44 Shirley Street, rear (northeast) and southeast elevations, view south from Langdon Street, showing rear of garage and retaining wall at back of property.



Photo 24. Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House, front (southwest) and northwest elevations.



Photo 25. Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House, northeast and northwest elevations.



Photo 26. Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House, rear (northeast) elevation.



Photo 27. Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House interior, first story.



Photo 28. Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House interior, first story.

# 3.0 SIGNIFICANCE

The Shirley-Eustis Place is historically and architecturally significant as a collection of mid-eighteenth- through early nineteenth-century wood-frame buildings constructed in Roxbury and Brookline associated with notable individuals in state and national history. The Shirley-Eustis House (1746–1749) is an outstanding example of an academic, high-style Georgian house designed by the first colonial American architect, Peter Harrison, and built for Massachusetts colonial governor William Shirley (1694–1771). It is one of the last remaining colonial governor's mansions in the original Thirteen Colonies. The house has further historical significance as the home of Massachusetts governor William Eustis (1753–1825) and his widow Madame Caroline Langdon Eustis (1781–1865) and underwent Federal-style renovations during the Eustis occupation. The property also has associations with the early twentieth-century Colonial Revival and historic preservation movements.

The Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House (ca. 1750) was likely constructed as an outbuilding, possibly a barn, for Governor Shirley and later was converted into a duplex following Caroline Eustis's death. It is historically significant for its association with the Shirley and Eustis estates and architecturally significant as an unusual surviving example of mid-eighteenth-century timber-frame outbuilding construction and later as a representative example multi-family housing from the mid-nineteenth century in Roxbury. Preliminary research also suggests that the Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House may be one of only two still-standing slave quarters in the northeastern United States. Study of the building has potential to reveal new information and insights into the history of the Shirley-Eustis Place property.

The Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House is architecturally significant as a well-preserved example of an early nineteenth-century carriage house; however, it does not have historical associations with the Shirley-Eustis Place.

## 3.1 Historic Significance

The town of Roxbury was settled in 1630 by members of Governor John Winthrop's Massachusetts Bay Company, who subsequently built the first meetinghouse (not extant) at what later became known as John Eliot Square (or Eliot Square). John Eliot (1604–1690) was Roxbury's first minister from 1632–1650 and minister to local Native American tribes. Eliot Square, north of the Shirley-Eustis Place, became a minor market center in the eighteenth century due to its location at the crossroads of Washington and Dudley streets, and roads to Dedham, Brookline, and Cambridge.[2] Farms, which supplied maritime-oriented Boston with fresh produce, generally occupied the gently sloping land of the highlands, with a few houses near the town green in Eliot Square and along Washington and Dudley streets.[3] One such house was the Governor William Shirley House, built on a 33-acre estate Shirley purchased from his friend, merchant Samuel Waldo, in 1746.[4] Shirley appears to have demolished an earlier dwelling likely built by Peter Allin to make way for his grand mansion.[5]

Governor William Shirley (1694–1771) came to Boston in 1731 hoping to revive his fortunes, having spent a sizeable inheritance on a lavish lifestyle in England. He established a successful law career in Boston and later held a position as an admiralty official of the British Empire, both of which led to his

[2] Sam Bass Warner Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston 1870–1900* (New York: Athenaeum Press, 1973), 106; Keith N. Morgan, with Richard M. Candee, Naomi Miller, and Roger G. Reed, *Buildings of Massachusetts: Metropolitan Boston* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 239.
[3] Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs*, 106; Boston Parks and Recreation, *Open Space and Recreation Plan*, 316.
[4] Paul J. Fitzpatrick, "Royal Governors' Residences in the Original 13 American Colonies," *Social Science* (Vol. 46, No.2, April 1971), 72–73.
[5] Joseph Bagley, *Interim Report for Intensive (Locational) Archaeological Survey at the Shirley-Eustis House, 33 Shirley Street, Boston (Roxbury), Massachusetts*, (Boston, MA: City of Boston Archaeology, 2018), 7–8.

increased stature in the community.[6] After the removal of colonial governor Jonathan Belcher (1682–1757) in 1741, Shirley was appointed governor.[7] As governor, Shirley was drawn into the War of Austrian Succession (1740–1748) when French forces from Louisbourg, on Cape Breton, Nova Scotia, raided the British fishing port of Canso on mainland Nova Scotia, which was also used by New England fishermen.[8] Shirley sent a regiment of New England soldiers to blockade the French troops at Louisbourg in March 1745,[9] leading to their eventual surrender on June 28, 1745.

Shortly after the Siege of Louisbourg, Shirley began looking for a country estate to escape from the pressures of downtown Boston where he lived in the Province House (not extant) with his wife Frances and their children. In March 1746, he purchased a 33-acre estate in Roxbury from his friend Samuel Waldo (1696–1759), and promptly set about building a fine mansion. The surrounding landscape was leveled and terraced, likely by soldiers returning from Louisbourg, according to the plans of Madam Frances Shirley.[10] A narrow brook that ran east–west south of the house was shifted into a stone-lined channel, and a small impoundment southeast of the house formed a pond. A barn or other type of outbuilding was constructed, likely at the same time, northeast of the house (see Figure 4 in section 13.0). The oak frame for the mansion, and possibly at least one outbuilding, which could have been the barn, was brought from England.[11] In 1764, Shirley sold the estate to his son-in-law, prosperous merchant Eliakim Hutchinson (1711–1775) and settled in the Bahamas, where he had been named Governor in 1758. The Hutchinsons summered at the property until they purchased it outright, after which they occupied the estate full time.[12] They converted the Shirleys' formal gardens to fruit orchards and pasture, and may have expanded the barn to accommodate expanded agricultural functions at the property.[13]

Ongoing research (see Addendum to this report) shows that during Shirley's and Hutchinson's ownership, the house and lands were maintained by servants and enslaved Africans. It further suggests that enslaved people may have occupied portions of 42–44 Shirley Street, which was then an outbuilding, likely a barn.[14] If further research shows that 42–44 Shirley Street was indeed a slave quarters associated with the Shirley-Eustis House, it would join the Royall House and Slave Quarters in Medford, MA, as one of the last remaining free-standing slave quarters in the northeastern United States.[15]

During the American Revolution, Roxbury was of strategic importance to the Americans during the Siege of Boston (1775–1776). Two earthen forts were constructed in the Roxbury Highlands overlooking the Shawmut neck: the low fort, near Linwood Street, and the High Fort, within what became the public green space of Highland Park, also called Fort Hill. Meetinghouse Hill, now part of

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[6] John A. Schutz, *William Shirley: King's Governor of Massachusetts*, (Boston, MA: Shirley-Eustis House Association, 2020), 15, 27.
[7] Schutz, *William Shirley,* 40.
[8] J. Revell Carr, *Seeds of Discontent: The Deep Roots of the American Revolution, 1650–1750*, (New York: Walker & Company, 2008), 176–177.
[9] Carr, *Seeds of Discontent*, 206–207.
[10] Detwiller, *Historic Structure Report*, 10.
[11] *Boston Post*, "Sale of the Eustis Estate at Roxbury," August 6, 1867, p.4; *Boston Evening Transcript*, "Auction Sale at the Eustis Estate," November 23, 1865, p4.
[12] Schutz, *William Shirley*, 347, 349.
[13] Patrice Todisco, *The Shirley-Eustis House: Landscape History and Proposed Master Plan*, (report prepared for Shirley-Eustis House Association, 1999), 31.
[14] Aabid Allibhai, "Working report on Slavery at the Shirley-Eustis House," unpublished manuscript prepared for Shirley-Eustis House Association, May2021. Local residents report learning that 42–44 Shirley Street was used as a former slave quarters from docents at the Shirley-Eustis House in the 1980s. This is an area of emerging scholarly research, and as of June 2021, no definitive answer has been determined. As more information becomes available at multiple repositories, a fuller picture of this may be determined.
[15] Jared Ross Hardesty, *Black Lives, Native Lands, White Worlds: A History of Slavery in New England*, (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2019), xiii; Aabid Allibhai, personal communication, June 2021.

John Eliot Square, was used as a parade ground for American troops, and the bell tower on the meetinghouse was used as a signal station.[16] The Hutchinsons fled Boston by April 19, 1775, leaving the property under the stewardship of Thomas Scipio, an enslaved man.[17] This was a common practice, and is seen at numerous other Boston area estates, including the Vassall-Craigie-Longfellow House in Cambridge and the Isaac Royall House in Medford.[18] In addition to Thomas Scipio, a 1775 inventory of the Hutchinsons' property also lists an enslaved woman and two enslaved children; the woman's name has not yet been discovered, but baptism records show that the children's names were Cesar and Affy.[19] Upon Hutchinson's death in June 1775, the former Shirley property was confiscated by the Massachusetts government and used as a barracks and hospital during the Siege of Boston (April 19, 1775–March 17, 1776). The house was the headquarters of Asa Whitcomb's regiment during the assault on Dorchester Heights on March 54, 1776.[20] Henry Pelham's map of Boston completed in 1777 shows the mansion and two outbuildings, one southwest and one northeast of the house (Figure 5).[21] Near the end of the war, the former Shirley property was purchased from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts by John Read, who owned it until 1791, after which the property changed hands several times.[22] The house subsequently was owned and/or occupied by widow Madame Bertille de Fitzpatrick, a refugee from the French Revolution; merchant Giles Alexander; French refugee Jean-Baptiste Cesar Dubuc-St. Olympe (1756–1834), and Irish sea captain James Magee.[23]

Captain James Magee (1750–1801) had been a privateer during the American Revolution and later became a trader of Chinese goods. After his death in 1801, his widow Margaret remained at the property with the couple's nine children and updated the property with Federal style elements. She sold the property to Massachusetts Governor William Eustis (1753–1825) in 1819.[24] Eustis served as a doctor during the American Revolution, as Secretary of War under President James Madison from 1809 to 1813, and as the United States envoy to the Netherlands from 1815 to 1818 under presidents Madison and James Monroe. He held various offices in and for Massachusetts, including as a member of the State house of representatives in 1788–1794, two terms in the U.S. House of Representatives (1801–1805 and 1820–1823), and was elected the twelfth governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1823. He died in office on February 6, 1825.[25]

At the house, the Eustises entertained the Marquis de Lafayette on his return tour of American in 1824.[26] Following William Eustis' death, his wife Caroline Langdon Eustis, whom everyone referred to as Madame Eustis, remained at the property (Figure 6), overseeing a staff of gardeners, coachmen, and servants who maintained the house and grounds. Along with her neighbors Enoch Bartlett and Samuel Walker, Caroline Eustis was active in horticulture, and was one of the only women who exhibited at the annual Massachusetts Horticultural Society exhibitions under her own name. She showed lemon and orange trees, grapes, peaches, and Bartlett pears, which had been developed by Enoch Bartlett. At the time of her death in 1865, the estate included the house with attached piazzas (Figure 7), a barn which

[16] Unitarian Universalist History and Heritage Society (UUHHS), "Edward Everett Hale." https://uudb.org/articles/edwardeverettthale.html.
[17] Allibhai, "Working report on Slavery at the Shirley-Eustis House."
[18] The Vassall-Craigie-Longfellow house now comprises the primary building at the Longfellow-Washington's Headquarters National Historic Site administered by the National Park Service, and the Isaac Royall House is part of the Royall House and Slave Quarters property.
[19] Allibhai, "Working report on Slavery at the Shirley-Eustis House," 37.
[20] Bagley, *Interim Report*, 8.
[21] Todisco, *The Shirley-Eustis House*, 30.
[22] Bagley, *Interim Report*, 8.
[23] Bagley, *Interim Report*, 8–9.
[24] Bagley, *Interim Report*, 9.
[25] Office of the House Historian, "Eustis, William, 1753–1825," https://bioguide.congress.gov/search/bio/E000230, accessed June 2021.
[26] Ida Ayres, "The Story of Shirley Place," *New England Magazine*, February 1897, p.743–755.

measured 30 by 80 feet (Figure 8), a greenhouse, and numerous gardens.[27]

Following Madame Eustis's death, the Eustis estate suffered the same fate as many of Roxbury's large estates in the mid-nineteenth century: it was parceled out for residential development, with the buildings and the land sold at auction, overseen by auctioneer Freeman D. Osgood.[28] The estate was divided into 53 lots ranging in size from 14,000 to 45,000 square feet, and three new streets were constructed: Shirley Street, Langdon Street to the north, and George Street to the east. The mansion, barns, and other outbuildings were slated to be removed and sold for their materials; as a result, no deeds for the buildings are recorded at the Norfolk County Registry of Deeds and no buildings are shown on the estate plat map (Figure 9). The buildings' contents were auctioned off in 1865 after Caroline's death.[29] Soap and candle manufacturer William H. Dow purchased the outbuilding (42–44 Shirley Street), and pharmacist and numismatist W. Elliott Woodward bought the mansion house.[30] Both men intended to convert the buildings into tenements, and Woodward relocated the mansion to the south to accommodate the construction of what is now Shirley Street.[31]

After the Shirley-Eustis House was moved to its new foundation, piazzas on the north and south elevations were removed and the building was used as a rooming house and was then carved up into apartments with numerous floating walls installed to partition the space. New stairs were built on the east and west elevations, and it is believed that a run of the original front stairs was cut down and reinstalled at the south edge of 42–44 Shirley Street. The Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding, which was acquired from Dow by Woodward, was completely remodeled and divided into two side-by-side units on separate lots. Woodward owned numerous properties on the east side of Dudley Street between Magazine and Shirley streets, and was instrumental in the development of the Mount Pleasant section of Roxbury and Dorchester following Boston's annexation of Roxbury in 1868.[32] The stone-lined water channel created during the Shirley tenure was buried under what is now Rockford Street. By 1899, the lots surrounding the Shirley-Eustis estate buildings were built up with wood-frame three-deckers and other multi-family dwellings (Figures 10 and 11) as Roxbury morphed from a rural town of country estates to a streetcar suburb of Boston.[33] The new residential profile consisted primarily of native or first-generation New Englanders with a small number of immigrants from Russia, Sweden, Ireland, and Nova Scotia, most of whom worked in what would now be classified as blue-collar occupations (e.g., cabinetmaker, hatter, clerk, and porter).[34] The Shirley-Eustis mansion was first leased to the House of the Good Shepherd convent, which was dedicated to the reformation of "fallen" women. By 1872, however, the house was vacant and would remain so until 1876, after which it was rented out again.[35]

Interest in preservation and restoration of the house arose from the Colonial Revival movement (1876–1940), which initially grew out of celebrations of the American centennial in 1876 and was largely a response to increasing numbers of immigrants arriving in the United States and labor unrest following an economic depression in 1873. Many members of the upper and middle classes created and joined

[27] Detwiller, *Historic Structure Report*, 16–17. Responsibility for the expansion of the barn is unclear, and may have been executed by the Hutchinsons or Eustises.
[28] *Boston Traveler*, "Suburban Matters," August 6, 1867, p.1.
[29] *Boston Post*, "Sale of the Eustis Estate at Roxbury," August 6, 1867, p.4.
[30] Sampson, Davenport, & Co., *The Roxbury Directory*, (Roxbury: John Backup, 1866); *Boston Traveler* 1867.
[31] Bastille-Neiley, Architects and Consultants, *Study of Uses and Development of the Shirley-Eustis House, Roxbury, Massachusetts*, (report prepared for Shirley-Eustis House Association, 1977).
[32] V. Adams, G. Pineo, M. Andrade, and M. Johnstone, *Massachusetts Historical Commission Building Form B – Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House, 42–44 Shirley Street (BOS.17262)*, (on file, Massachusetts Historical Commission, Boston, MA, 2017).
[33] George W. and Walter S. Bromley, *Atlas of the City of Boston (Roxbury)*, (Philadelphia, PA: G.W. Bromley & Co., 1899); Warner, *Streetcar Suburbs*, 49, 52–53.
[34] United States Bureau of the Census (U.S. Census), *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880* (T9, 1454 rolls), (Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1880.
[35] Bagley 2018, 10.

ancestry and historical organizations to preserve what they viewed as the glorious American past.[36] Such groups included the Sons and Daughters of the Revolution of 1776 (1890), the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution (1889 and 1890, respectively), the Mayflower Society (1897), and state and local historical societies influenced by the pioneering Mount Vernon Ladies Association (MVLA, 1853) such as the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA, now Historic New England, 1910). These early organizations often focused on preserving historic landmarks, like George Washington's Mount Vernon and the Shirley-Eustis House. The Colonial Revival in New England, particularly as embraced by the upper class, espoused Yankee ingenuity, morality, hard work, and humility.[37] About 1890, architect and interior designer Ogden Codman, Jr. (1863–1951) made architectural drawings of the Shirley-Eustis House, showing surviving original partitions and changes made during the Federal and Victorian periods.[38]

In 1913, prominent Bostonians Ethie Bigelow Prouty, Charles F. Read, Lillie Blanche Titus, Edith Andrew, William Sumner Appleton, Oliver D. Greene, Dwight Mortimer Prouty, Huybertie Pruyn Hamlin, and Henry Davis Sleeper organized the Shirley-Eustis House Association for the "purchase, preservation and maintenance of the Shirley-Eustis House, so called, situated in Boston in the county of Suffolk and Commonwealth of Massachusetts."[39] However, the house, although vacant save for a caretaker in the basement, was not restored at that time. In 1915, due to its deterioration, the building was threatened with demolition by the City of Boston building inspector. A bill passed by the Massachusetts General Court allowed the building to remain standing and not be subject to building code, provided the house was not occupied by anyone but a caretaker.[40] The building remained essentially vacant through the rest of the first half of the twentieth century. The surrounding residential buildings remained occupied largely by blue-collar workers (see Figures 1–3 and 11).

The early decades of the twentieth century witnessed demographic shifts that had a dramatic social and political impact on the United States. In order to escape the extreme racism of the southern states and the lack of economic and social opportunities, the Great Migration brought a significant population of Black migrants to northern urban areas, such as Boston. Black military veterans, who had fought overseas to defend democracy in WWI, returned home to the United States with dreams for a better life.[41] Many Black migrants were drawn to urban areas in pursuit of job opportunities. Through much of the twentieth century, Roxbury experienced demographic shifts that reflected these larger national trends. At the same time, extension of commuter rail service westward opened up outlying regions for settlement. The coming of the automobile increased the commuter range, and as European immigrant groups that had made Roxbury their home during the nineteenth century became more affluent and

[36] Michael Wallace, "Visiting the Past: History Museums in the United States," in *Presenting the Past: Essays on History and the Public*, Susan Porter Benson, Stephen Brier, and Roy Rosenzweig, eds., (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1986), 141.
[37] Laura A. Miller, *"Things Kept and Cherished": A History of Adams National Historical Park* (Philadelphia, PA: National Park Service, Northeast Region History Program, 2020), 23.
[38] Detwiller, "The Evolution of the Shirley-Eustis House," 25.
[39] Secretary of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Corporation Charter, 1913, on file, Commonwealth of Massachusetts Corporate Card File Database, accessed June 2021. Lillie Blanche Titus (1854–1923) was involved in several heritage groups, including, SPNEA, the Daughters of the Revolution of 1776 and the Daughters of the War of 1812, and was instrumental in the preservation and renovation of the John Adams Birthplace in Quincy and the USS *Constitution*. Prominent historic preservationist William Sumner Appleton (1874–1947) founded the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities (SPNEA, now Historic New England). Some of the members of the new Shirley-Eustis House Association were also members of SPNEA, but SPNEA itself was not directly involved [SPNEA, *Bulletin of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities,* February 1913, p.24].
[40] Commonwealth of Massachusetts, House of Representatives (House), *1915 House Bill 1988: An Act Relative to the Shirley-Eustis Mansion on Shirley Street in the City of Boston*, https://archives.lib.state.ma.us/handle/2452/396309, accessed June 2021.
[41] Kathleen von Jena, *Boston Landmarks Commission Study Report – Saint James African Orthodox Church* (Report prepared for the Boston Landmarks Commission, 2018), 14.

moved elsewhere, they were replaced by lower-income groups of Southern Blacks and West Indians moving into the city. By the 1950s, Roxbury had become the center of Boston's Black community.[42] Roxbury's Latino population also grew in the postwar decades, beginning with the arrival of immigrants from the Dominican Republic in the 1950s, as well as immigration from Puerto Rico in the late 1950s and 60s.[43]

Through the 1950s and early 1960s, real estate practices such as redlining and blockbusting[44] led to declines in Roxbury housing stock as existing homeowners were unable to obtain loans to make necessary home repairs and potential new homeowners were unable to secure mortgages.[45] In the late 1950s and early 1960s, the Boston Redevelopment Authority (BRA, now the Boston Planning and Development Agency) planned urban renewal projects for Roxbury focused primarily on Washington Park. The projects were designed to combat perceived neighborhood blight, blight that was caused in large part by unfair banking and housing practices such as redlining and blockbusting.[46] Roxbury became a center of grassroots activism and community organizing to combat unjust housing practices and inequality in housing, education, and employment.[47] Organizations like the Roxbury Action Program; Freedom House, founded by Otto and Muriel Snowden; and the Organization for Afro-American Unity founded by Malcolm X engaged in the fight for justice, equality, and power.[48]

In 1968, the Shirley-Eustis mansion was transferred to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and leased to the Shirley-Eustis House Association to allow the use of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) funds to repair the building and undertake limited restoration.[49] In 1977, the Shirley-Eustis House Association petitioned to have the building transferred back to them from the Commonwealth,[50] and in 1979, the Massachusetts General Court authorized the transfer through the Massachusetts Historical Commission.[51]

Beginning in the early 1980s, a restoration program was initiated that removed interior partition walls and restored historic finishes. At the same time and continuing through the end of the twentieth century, the Shirley-Eustis House Association purchased several lots surrounding the mansion and demolished the buildings on them as part of landscape restoration efforts. In 1999, the association took donation of the Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House, now on Rockford Street. Its original location, in the Green Hill neighborhood of Brookline, was purchased by a developer who intended to demolish the building but who was persuaded instead to donate it to the Shirley-Eustis House Association. The building is

[42] von Jena, *Saint James African Orthodox Church*, 2.
[43] Samuel Davis, "Roxbury," Global Boston, accessed June 1, 2021, https://globalboston.bc.edu/index.php/home/immigrant-places/roxbury/.
[44] Redlining was a policy instituted and supported by the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) through at least the 1960s that allowed banks and insurance companies to declare properties in certain areas of cities ineligible for loans or mortgages. It was based largely on demographics, and the term came from color-coded maps created in the mid-1930s by the Home Owners Loan Corporation and the FHA and adopted by the Veterans Administration. Any areas in or around where blacks lived were colored red, indicating neighborhoods considered too risky to insure mortgages. Blockbusting was the practice of real estate agents encouraging residents to rapidly sell their property because of impending neighborhood change and the potential for deterioration (Gamm 1999, 40–41; Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law* [New York: W.W. Norton Co., 2017]).
[45] Gamm, *Urban Exodus*, 40.
[46] Ibid., 40.
[47] Roxbury Historical Society (RHS). "About Roxbury." http://roxburyhistoricalsociety.org/about-roxbury.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Bastile-Neiley, *Study of Uses*, 1.
[50] Bastile-Neiley, *Study of Uses*, 1.
[51] Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Massachusetts General Court, *Acts of 1979, Chapter 528: An Act Authorizing and Directing the Massachusetts Historical Commission to Convey Title to Certain Property Located in the City of Boston to the Shirley-Eustis House Association*, https://archives.lib.state.ma.us/handle/2452/4834, accessed June 2021.

believed to be similar to a carriage house that existed at the estate during the Eustis occupation. Today the Shirley-Eustis House and Ingersoll-Gardener Carriage House and the surrounding estate grounds are regularly visited by the public. The grounds are frequently used by students at the Dudley Street Neighborhood Charter School at 6 Shirley Street. The Shirley Eustis Outbuilding at 42–44 Shirley Street continues to be used as a multi-family residence but is subject to redevelopment pressures.

## 3.2 Architectural Significance

The Shirley-Eustis House is a high-style, academic example of Georgian architecture likely designed by Newport, Rhode Island, architect Peter Harrison (1716–1775), who worked throughout New England and is credited with introducing the Palladian style to North America.[52] Characteristic features of the style that are present on the building include the monumental, two-story Doric columns, which are among the earliest in Boston, and rusticated wood siding, which was later replaced with clapboards, although the rusticated door surround on the façade remains extant. The Georgian style gained favor in the eighteenth century for its symbolic representation of order and sophistication through the use of symmetry, formal public facades, and the geometric division of building mass through ornamentation. Georgian buildings typically exhibit a paneled center entrance with an elaborate entablature supported by pilasters; dentilled cornices; and double-hung, multi-pane windows arranged symmetrically.[53]

When the Eustises took possession of the house, they had various, mainly interior, alterations made in the newly fashionable Federal style, likely executed by Samuel McIntire or Charles Bulfinch, both of whom were prominent designers in the Boston area.[54] On the exterior of the building, identical piazzas (not extant) were constructed on the north and south elevations (see Figure 5). The Federal style represented a progression of the previous Georgian style with more elegant, slender features derived from the work of brothers Robert and James Adam in Britain and was popular in port cities along the eastern seaboard.[55] During the Federal period, the first trained architects emerged in the Northeast, notably Charles Bulfinch (1763–1844), who primarily worked in Boston, Massachusetts; Samuel McIntire (1757–1811) in Salem, Massachusetts; and Alexander Parris (1780–1852) in Portland, Maine; the style further spread through architectural books like the Adams brothers' *Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (1779), and Asher Benjamin's second book of architecture, *The American Builder's Companion* (1806).[56] The Federal house plan is similar to its Georgian predecessor, though with a wider variety of interior configurations, representing a shift from the typical center entry/center hall configuration favored by the Georgian style.[57] Federal-style buildings often had a five-bay-wide, symmetrical façade and were two or three stories high, but the style can also be seen in single-story capes of varying widths. The majority of early Federal-style houses in New England are wood frame and have few exterior elaborations beyond a fanlight, elaborate door surround, and/or decorative cornice moldings; brick was favored in the American South, but is also found, to a limited extent, in New England.[58] Windows developed to have narrower muntins and larger panes of glass than Georgian-style windows.[59] Notable Federal-era elements of the Shirley-Eustis House include the covering of the building with clapboard siding and the addition of six-over-six window sash and louvered blinds. Inside the house, ornamental plaster details support the suggestion that renovation designs were executed by Charles Bulfinch.[60]

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[52] John Fitzhugh Millar, "Peter Harrison, Newport's Master Colonial Architect." *Small State*, *Big History*, http://smallstatebighistory.com/peter-harrison-newports-master-colonial-architect/, February 2017, accessed June 2021.
[53] Virginia Savage McAlester, *A Field Guide to American Houses*, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013), 201; Morgan et al. *Buildings of Metropolitan Boston*, 250.
[54] Morgan et al. *Buildings of Metropolitan Boston*, 250.
[55] McAlester, *Field Guide*, 222, 232.
[56] Ibid., 232.
[57] Ibid., 218.
[58] Ibid., 218.
[59] Ibid., 220.
[60] Detwiller, "The Evolution of the Shirley-Eustis House," 21–23.

The Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House possesses a massive hewn post-and-beam wood frame with vertical-sawn members resting on a parged rubblestone foundation. Elements of the frame were visible at the time of this report, including beams, joists, and plaster remnants in the ceiling of the first story living room, and roof rafters and purlins in the attic, both in the west unit. Only the basement in the east unit was accessible, and exposed lime-washed framing was observed. The location of the building and the visible framing elements strongly suggest its association with the Shirley-Eustis House, and its framing elements may have been brought from England as documented in a shipping manifest from 1747.[61] The building, which may have been extended to the east during the Eustis occupation of the property, likely began as a three-bay-wide barn with a central threshing floor separating two equal-sized bays; the primary entrance would have been in the center of the long wall.[62] The orientation of the building to the south conforms to early New England building convention, where buildings were oriented to capture solar radiation, rather than conform to the location of a road.[63]

The roof of the Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House has a hewn principal rafter and common purlins, a system which was common to English barns and used in eastern New England into the nineteenth century.[64] The lack of visible nails in the roof sheathing indicates the presence of a double roof, similar to that of the Shirley-Eustis House. The east basement, with its lime-washed frame, suggests that the space was used as a dairy or for other food storage. The presence of a cellar or basement is an anomaly with respect to English barns of the eighteenth century, as cellars did not come into wide use until the early nineteenth century; however, this could represent a modification to the original design.[65] However, further investigation into the framing system of the building, which could include opening walls and dendrochronology on framing members, would be necessary to more conclusively date the building.

The Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House is architecturally significant as an example of a Federal-era carriage house which was likely used to shelter livestock as well as carriages.[66] Its architectural detailing reflects the prominence of its earlier owners, Nathaniel Ingersoll, a prominent merchant in the China Trade, and Jack and Isabella Stewart Gardner.

## 3.3 Relationship to Criteria for Landmark Designation

The Shirley-Eustis Place meets the criteria for designation as a Boston City Landmark, as established in Section 4 of Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975, as amended. The Shirley-Eustis House was designated a National Historic Landmark on October 9, 1960, and was administratively listed in the National Register of Historic Places on October 15, 1966, with the passage of the National Historic Preservation Act (Criterion a). The Shirley-Eustis Place, comprising the Shirley-Eustis House, the Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House, and the Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House, represents important aspects of the social, cultural, and military history of Roxbury and the City of Boston, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, and the United States (Criterion b); was home to Massachusetts governors William Shirley and William Eustis (Criterion c); and encompasses an outstanding example of an academic, high-style Georgian mansion with Federal modifications, a likely former mid-eighteenth-century barn or other outbuilding type, the survival of which is rare in Boston. The

[61] Frederic C. Detwiller, Shirley Barn Field Notes, 1982–1989, courtesy of author.
[62] Thomas C. Hubka states that English barns were generally expanded by adding bays on either side of the central drive, but Frederic C. Detwiller suggests that the barn was doubled in size by adding bays on one side only. Further investigation of framing, particularly on the east wall, would be needed to better understand how the building was expanded (Thomas C. Hubka, *Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn: The Connected Farm Buildings of New England*, [Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2004]; Detwiller Field Notes).
[63] Abbott Lowell Cummings, *The Framed Houses of Massachusetts Bay, 1625–1725*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1979), 38–39.
[64] Hubka, *Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn*, 54–57.
[65] Hubka, *Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn*, 55.
[66] Hubka, *Big House, Little House, Back House, Barn*, 62.

conversion of the Shirley-Eustis House to multi-family housing, is a representative of a common treatment of older buildings in Roxbury in the late nineteenth through mid-twentieth centuries, and an example of an early nineteenth-century carriage house (Criterion d).

# 4.0 ECONOMIC STATUS

## 4.1 Current Assessed Value

| Parcel No. | Land Value | Building Value | Total Assessed Value |
|---|---|---|---|
| Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House | | | |
| 0800584000 | 129700 | 167100 | 296800 |
| 0800583000 | 128700 | 193400 | 322100 |
| Shirley-Eustis House | | | |
| 0800236000 | 145900 | 0 | 145900 |
| Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House | | | |
| 0800219000 | 14500 | 0 | 14500 |
| 0800218000 | 11600 | 0 | 11600 |
| Shirley-Eustis House Grounds | | | |
| 0800237000 | 25600 | 0 | 25600 |
| 0800246000 | 19400 | 0 | 19400 |
| 0800247000 | 15100 | 0 | 15100 |
| 0800235000 | 12800 | 0 | 12800 |
| 0800248000 | 10100 | 0 | 10100 |
| 0800231000 | 152900 | 0 | 152900 |
| 0800250000 | 8700 | 0 | 8700 |
| 0800230000 | 16200 | 0 | 16200 |
| 0800252000 | 2900 | 0 | 2900 |
| 0800229000 | 12000 | 0 | 12000 |
| 0800253000 | 19800 | 0 | 19800 |
| 0800255000 | 10100 | 0 | 10100 |
| 0800256000 | 7800 | 0 | 7800 |
| 0800256001 | 10000 | 0 | 10000 |
| 0800220000 | 21400 | 0 | 21400 |
| 0800221000 | 18100 | 0 | 18100 |
| 0800204000 | 40800 | 0 | 40800 |
| 0800217000 | 10100 | 0 | 10100 |
| 0800216000 | 10100 | 0 | 10100 |
| 0800215000 | 10700 | 0 | 10700 |
| 0800214000 | 15900 | 27600 | 43500 |
| 0800213000 | 17200 | 0 | 17200 |

## 4.2 Current Ownership

| Parcel No | Owner |
|---|---|
| 0800584000 | 42 Shirley Street LLC |
| 0800583000 | Louis C. Rosa |
| 0800236000, 080023700, 0800246000, 0800247000, 080023500, 0800248000, 0800231000, 0800250000, 0800230000, 0800252000, 0800229000, 0800253000, 0800255000, 0800256000, 0800256001, 0800219000, 0800218000, 0800220000, 0800221000, 0800204000, 0800217000, 0800216000, 0800215000, 0800214000, 0800213000 | Shirley-Eustis House Association |

# 5.0 PLANNING CONTEXT

## 5.1 Background

The Shirley-Eustis House has had numerous owners and gone through several transformations since its construction in ca. 1746–1749, including the addition of Federal-style ornamentation, conversion to multi-family tenement housing, and subsequent restoration in the late twentieth century. Multiple lots adjacent to the house were acquired, and late nineteenth-century houses were demolished to reestablish an appropriate landscape setting for the house. The Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House was moved to the property from Brookline in 2000. The Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House, 42–44 Shirley Street was converted to a multi-family residence and used as such since ca. 1868.

## 5.2 Current Planning Issues

The Shirley-Eustis House, Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House, and the surrounding grounds are owned by the Shirley-Eustis House Association, which operates the buildings as a historic house museum. The Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House, 42–44 Shirley Street, is currently a multi-family residence under separate ownership that is at risk due to outside development pressures.

## 5.3 Current Zoning

All parcels associated with the Shirley-Eustis Place are located in Roxbury zoning district 3F-4000, which permits three-family residential buildings.

# 6.0 ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES

## 6.1 Alternatives available to the Boston Landmarks Commission:

**A. Individual Landmark Designation**
The Commission retains the option of designating the Shirley-Eustis Place as a Boston Landmark. Designation shall correspond to Assessor's parcels listed in point 4.1 and shall address the following elements hereinafter referred to as the "Specified Exterior-Interior Features":

- The exterior envelope of the Shirley-Eustis House, 33 Shirley Street, the Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House, 24 Rockford Street, and the Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House, 42–44 Shirley Street.
- Interior/structural elements of the Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding/W. Elliott Woodward Rental House including but not limited to the following elements: a massive hewn post-and-beam wood frame with vertical-sawn members resting on a parged rubblestone foundation; elements of the frame, including beams, joists, and plaster remnants in the ceiling of the first story living room, and roof rafters and purlins in the attic, in the west side of the building; exposed lime-washed framing in the basement of the east side of the building.

**B. Denial of Individual Landmark Designation**
The Commission retains the option of not designating any or all of the Specified Exterior-Interior Features as a Landmark.

**C. Preservation Restriction**
The Commission could recommend that the property owners consider a preservation restriction for any or all of the Specified Exterior-Interior Features.

**D. Preservation Plan**
The Commission could recommend development and implementation of a preservation plan for the property.

**E. National Register Listing**
The Shirley-Eustis House is already a National Historic Landmark and was administratively listed in the National Register. Updated National Register documentation could be prepared for the entirety of the Shirley-Eustis Place, encompassing all properties and parcels described in this Study Report.

## 6.1 Impact of Alternatives:

**A. Individual Landmark Designation**
Landmark Designation represents the City's highest honor and is therefore restricted to cultural resources of outstanding architectural and/or historical significance. Landmark designation under Chapter 772 would require review of physical changes to the Specified Exterior-Interior Features of the property, in accordance with the standards and criteria adopted as part of the designation. Landmark designation results in listing in the State Register of Historic Places.

**B. Denial of Individual Landmark Designation**
Without Landmark designation, the City would be unable to offer protection to the Specified Exterior-Interior Features, or to extend guidance to the owners under Chapter 772.

**C. Preservation Restriction**
Chapter 666 of the MGL Acts of 1969 allows individuals to protect the architectural integrity of their property via a preservation restriction. A restriction may be donated to or purchased by any governmental body or nonprofit organization capable of acquiring interests in land and strongly

associated with historic preservation. These agreements are recorded instruments (normally deeds) that run with the land for a specific term or in perpetuity, thereby binding not only the owner who conveyed the restriction, but also subsequent owners. Restrictions typically govern alterations to exterior features and maintenance of the appearance and condition of the property.

A preservation restriction would also afford the owner of the property a one-time income tax deduction, based on the appraised amount of the loss of property value due to the restriction placed on the exterior of the building. Thus, the preservation restriction would offer an incentive to preserve all of the historic fabric of the elevations and to ensure that any additions or alterations would be compatible with the historic fabric.

### D. Preservation Plan

A preservation plan allows an owner to work with interested parties to investigate various adaptive use scenarios, analyze investment costs and rates of return, and provide recommendations for subsequent development. However, it does not carry regulatory oversight.

### E. National Register Listing

National Register listing provides an honorary designation and limited protection from federal, federally licensed, or federally assisted activities. It creates incentives for preservation, notably the federal investment tax credits and grants through the Massachusetts Preservation Projects Fund from the Massachusetts Historical Commission. National Register listing provides listing on the State Register, affording parallel protection for projects with state involvement and also the availability of state tax credits. Tax credits are not available to owners who demolish portions of historic properties.

# 7.0 RECOMMENDATIONS

The Boston Landmarks Commission recommends that the Shirley-Eustis Place be designated as a Boston Landmark, under Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975, as amended, for reasons cited in Sections 3.2 and 3.3 of this report. The boundary of the Landmark shall correspond to Assessor's parcels listed in 4.1.

Additionally, an archaeological sensitivity assessment of the Shirley-Eustis House Association property and 42–44 Shirley Street by a registered professional archaeologist is recommended in order to guide management decisions about maintenance and further development of the properties (see 10.0 Archaeology).

# 8.0 GENERAL STANDARDS AND CRITERIA

## 8.1 Introduction

Per sections, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 of the enabling statute (Chapter 772 of the Acts of 1975 of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, as amended) Standards and Criteria must be adopted for each Landmark Designation which shall be applied by the Commission in evaluating proposed changes to the property. The Standards and Criteria both identify and establish guidelines for those features which must be preserved and/or enhanced to maintain the viability of the Landmark Designation. Before a Certificate of Design Approval or Certificate of Exemption can be issued for such changes, the changes must be reviewed by the Commission with regard to their conformance to the purpose of the statute.

The intent of these guidelines is to help local officials, designers and individual property owners to identify the characteristics that have led to designation, and thus to identify the limitation to the changes that can be made to them. It should be emphasized that conformance to the Standards and Criteria alone does not necessarily ensure approval, nor are they absolute, but any request for variance from them must demonstrate the reason for, and advantages gained by, such variance. The Commission's Certificate of Design Approval is only granted after careful review of each application and public hearing, in accordance with the statute.

As intended by the statute, a wide variety of buildings and features are included within the area open to Landmark Designation, and an equally wide range exists in the latitude allowed for change. Some properties of truly exceptional architectural and/or historical value will permit only the most minor modifications, while for some others the Commission encourages changes and additions with a contemporary approach, consistent with the properties' existing features and changed uses.

In general, the intent of the Standards and Criteria is to preserve existing qualities that engender designation of a property; however, in some cases they have been structured as to encourage the removal of additions that have lessened the integrity of the property.

The response to these requirements may, in some cases, present conflicts with the Standards and Criteria for a particular property. The Commission's evaluation of an application will be based upon the degree to which such changes are in harmony with the character of the property. In some cases, priorities have been assigned within the Standards and Criteria as an aid to property owners in identifying the most critical design features. The treatments outlined below are listed in hierarchical order from least amount of intervention to the greatest amount of intervention. The owner, manager or developer should follow them in order to ensure a successful project that is sensitive to the historic Landmark.

- **Identify, Retain, and Preserve** the form and detailing of the materials and features that define the historic character of the structure or site. These are basic treatments that should prevent actions that may cause the diminution or loss of the structures' or site's historic character. It is important to remember that loss of character can be caused by the cumulative effect of insensitive actions whether large or small.

- **Protect and Maintain** the materials and features that have been identified as important and must be retained during the rehabilitation work. Protection usually involves the least amount of intervention and is done before other work.

- **Repair** the character defining features and materials when it is necessary. Repairing begins with the least amount of intervention as possible. Patching, piecing-in, splicing, consolidating or otherwise reinforcing according to recognized preservation methods are the techniques that should be followed. Repairing may also include limited replacement in kind of extremely deteriorated or missing parts of features. Replacements should be based on surviving prototypes.

- **Replacement** of entire character defining features or materials follows repair when the

deterioration prevents repair. The essential form and detailing should still be evident so that the physical evidence can be used to re-establish the feature. The preferred option is replacement of the entire feature in kind using the same material. Because this approach may not always be technically or economically feasible the commission will consider the use of compatible substitute material. The commission does not recommend removal and replacement with new material a feature that could be repaired.

- **Missing Historic Features** should be replaced with new features that are based on adequate historical, pictorial and physical documentation. The commission may consider a replacement feature that is compatible with the remaining character defining features. The new design should match the scale, size, and material of the historic feature.

- **Alterations or Additions** that may be needed to assure the continued use of the historic structure or site should not radically change, obscure or destroy character defining spaces, materials, features or finishes. The commission encourages new uses that are compatible with the historic structure or site and that do not require major alterations or additions.

In these guidelines the verb **Should** indicates a recommended course of action; the verb **Shall** indicates those actions which are specifically required to preserve and protect significant architectural elements.

Finally, the Standards and Criteria have been divided into two levels:

- **Section 8.3**: Those general Standards and Criteria that are common to all Landmark designations (building exteriors, building interiors, landscape features and archeological sites).

- **Section 9.0**: Those specific Standards and Criteria that apply to each particular property that is designated. In every case the Specific Standards and Criteria for a particular property shall take precedence over the General ones if there is a conflict.

## 8.2 Levels of Review

The Commission has no desire to interfere with the normal maintenance procedures for the Landmark. In order to provide some guidance for the Landmark property's owner, manager or developer and the Commission, the activities which might be construed as causing an alteration to the physical character of the exterior have been categorized to indicate the level of review required, based on the potential impact of the proposed work. Note: the examples for each category are not intended to act as a comprehensive list; see Section 8.2.D.

**A. Routine activities which are not subject to review by the Commission:**

1. Activities associated with normal cleaning and routine maintenance.

   a. For building maintenance (Also see Sections 9.0), such activities might include the following: normal cleaning (no power washing above 700 PSI, no chemical or abrasive cleaning), non-invasive inspections, in-kind repair of caulking, in-kind repainting, staining or refinishing of wood or metal elements, lighting bulb replacements or in-kind glass repair/replacement, etc.

   b. For landscape maintenance, such activities might include the following: normal cleaning of paths and sidewalks, etc. (no power washing above 700 PSI, no chemical or abrasive cleaning), non- invasive inspections, in-kind repair of caulking, in-kind spot replacement of cracked or broken paving materials, in-kind repainting or refinishing of site furnishings, site lighting bulb replacements or in-kind glass repair/replacement, normal plant material maintenance, such as pruning, fertilizing, mowing and mulching, and in-kind replacement of existing

plant materials, etc.

2. Routine activities associated with special events or seasonal decorations which are to remain in place for less than six weeks and do not result in any permanent alterations or attached fixtures.

**B. Activities which may be determined by the staff to be eligible for a Certificate of Exemption or Administrative Review, requiring an application to the Commission:**

1. Maintenance and repairs involving no change in design, material, color or outward appearance.
2. In-kind replacement or repair, as described in the Specific Standards and Criteria, Section 9.0.
3. Phased restoration programs will require an application to the Commission and may require full Commission review of the entire project plan and specifications; subsequent detailed review of individual construction phases may be eligible for Administrative Review by BLC staff.
4. Repair projects of a repetitive nature will require an application to the Commission and may require full Commission review; subsequent review of these projects may be eligible for Administrative Review by BLC staff, where design, details, and specifications do not vary from those previously approved.
5. Temporary installations or alterations that are to remain in place for longer than six weeks. See Section 9.1.
6. Emergency repairs that require temporary tarps, board-ups, etc. may be eligible for Certificate of Exemption or Administrative Review; permanent repairs will require review as outlined in Section 8.2. In the case of emergencies, BLC staff should be notified as soon as possible to assist in evaluating the damage and to help expedite repair permits as necessary.

**C. Activities requiring an application and full Commission review:**

Reconstruction, restoration, replacement, demolition, or alteration involving change in design, material, color, location, or outward appearance, such as: New construction of any type, removal of existing features or elements, major planting or removal of trees or shrubs, or changes in landforms.

**D. Activities not explicitly listed above:**

In the case of any activity not explicitly covered in these Standards and Criteria, the staff of the Boston Landmarks Commission shall determine whether an application is required and if so, whether it shall be an application for a Certificate of Design Approval or Certificate of Exemption.

**E. Concurrent Jurisdiction**

In some cases, issues which fall under the jurisdiction of the Landmarks Commission may also fall under the jurisdiction of other city, state and federal boards and commissions such as the Boston Art Commission, the Massachusetts Historical Commission, the National Park Service and others. All efforts will be made to expedite the review process. Whenever possible and appropriate, a joint staff review, or joint hearing will be arranged.

## 8.3 General Standards and Criteria

1. The design approach to the property should begin with the premise that the features of historical and architectural significance described within the Study Report must be preserved. In general, this will minimize alterations that will be allowed. Changes that are allowed will follow accepted preservation practices as described below, starting with the least amount of intervention.

2. Changes and additions to the property and its environment which have taken place in the course of time are evidence of the history of the property and the neighborhood. These changes to the property may have developed significance in their own right, and this significance should be recognized and respected (The term **later contributing features** shall be used to convey this concept.)
3. Deteriorated materials and/or features, whenever possible, should be repaired rather than replaced or removed.
4. When replacement of features that define the historic character of the property is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence of original or later contributing features.
5. New materials should, whenever possible, match the material being replaced in physical properties and should be compatible with the size, scale, color, material and character of the property and its environment.
6. New additions or alterations should not disrupt the essential form and integrity of the property and should be compatible with the size, scale, color, material and character of the property and its environment.
7. New additions or related new construction should be differentiated from the existing, thus, they should not necessarily be imitative of an earlier style or period.
8. New additions or alterations should be done in such a way that if they were to be removed in the future, the essential form and integrity of the historic property would be unimpaired.
9. Priority shall be given to those portions of the property which are visible from public ways or which it can be reasonably inferred may be in the future.
10. Surface cleaning shall use the mildest method possible. Sandblasting, wire brushing, or other similar abrasive cleaning methods shall not be permitted.
11. Should any major restoration or construction activity be considered for the property, the Boston Landmarks Commission recommends that the proponents prepare an historic building conservation study and/or consult a materials conservator early in the planning process.
12. Significant archaeological resources affected by a project shall be protected and preserved.

## 8.4 Character Defining Features

1. Orientation of Shirley-Eustis House and Outbuilding to Shirley Street
2. Relationship of buildings to each other and surrounding landscapes
3. Surrounding landscapes, including gardens, terracing, and circulation
4. Massing of all three buildings.
5. Roof shape and pitch
6. Door and window opening placement on all elevations, including relationship of upper windows to cornice.
7. Exterior cladding and ornamentation of the Shirley-Eustis House and Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House
8. Framing of all three buildings
9. Extant interior finishes, particularly molding, door and window surrounds, and, in the Shirley-Eustis Outbuilding, lime-wash on basement timbers in east unit, which reflects the historic use of the space.

The General Standards and Criteria have been financed in part with funds from the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, through the Massachusetts Historical Commission, Secretary William Francis Galvin, Chairman.

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# 9.0 SPECIFIC STANDARDS AND CRITERIA

***Refer to Section 8 for additional Standards and Criteria that may apply.***

## 9.1 Introduction

1. In these guidelines the verb **Should** indicates a recommended course of action; the verb **Shall** indicates those actions which are specifically required to preserve and protect significant architectural elements.
2. The intent of these standards and criteria is to preserve the overall character and appearance of the Shirley-Eustis Place buildings, including the exterior form, mass, and richness of detail of the house, relationship to the site and landscape.
3. The standards and criteria acknowledge that there may be changes to the landscape and the exterior of the buildings and are intended to make the changes sensitive to the character of the property.
4. The Commission will consider whether later addition(s) and/or alteration(s) can, or should, be removed.
5. Since it is not possible to provide one general guideline, the following factors will be considered in determining whether a later addition(s) and/or alteration(s) can, or should, be removed include:
   a. Compatibility with the original property's integrity in scale, materials and character.
   b. Historic association with the property.
   c. Quality in the design and execution of the addition/alteration.
   d. Functional usefulness.
6. The exterior elevations and roof elements are subject to the terms of the exterior guidelines herein stated.
7. Items under Commission review include but are not limited to the following: exterior walls, windows, entrances/doors, roofs, roof projections, additions, accessibility, new construction, paving, major plantings, fences, demolition, and archaeology. Items not anticipated in the Standards and Criteria may be subject to review, refer to Section 8.2 and Section 10.

## 9.2 Exterior Walls of the House

### A. General

1. No new openings shall be allowed on the front of the building: facing Dudley Street for the Shirley-Eustis House and Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House, and facing Shirley Street for 42–44 Shirley Street.
2. No original existing openings shall be filled or changed in size.
3. No exposed conduit shall be allowed.
4. Original or later contributing projections shall not be removed.
5. The Boston Landmarks Commission recommends that the work proposed to the materials outlined in sections B and C (below) be executed with the guidance of a professional building materials conservator.

### B. Masonry

(Brick, Stone, Terra Cotta, Concrete, Stucco, and Mortar)

1. All masonry materials shall be preserved.
2. Original or later contributing masonry materials, features, details, surfaces and ornamentation shall be retained and, if necessary, repaired by patching, piecing-in, or consolidating the masonry using recognized preservation methods. This shall include all chimneys.
3. Deteriorated or missing masonry materials, features, details, surfaces, and ornamentation shall be replaced with material and elements which match the original

in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, and detail of installation.

4. When replacement of materials or elements is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
5. If the same material is not technically or economically feasible, then compatible substitute materials may be considered.
6. Sound original mortar shall be retained.
7. Deteriorated mortar shall be carefully removed by hand raking the joints.
8. Use of mechanical hammers shall not be allowed. Use of mechanical saws may be allowed on a case-by-case basis.
9. Repointing mortar shall duplicate the original mortar in strength, composition, color, texture, joint size, joint profile, and method of application.
10. Sample panels of raking the joints and repointing shall be reviewed and approved by the staff of the Boston Landmarks Commission.
11. Cleaning of masonry is discouraged and should be performed only when necessary to halt deterioration.
12. If the building is to be cleaned, **the mildest method possible** shall be used.
13. A test patch of the cleaning method(s) shall be reviewed and approved on site by staff of the Boston Landmarks Commission. Test patches should always be carried out well in advance of cleaning (including exposure to all seasons if possible).
14. Sandblasting (wet or dry), wire brushing, or other similar abrasive cleaning methods shall not be permitted. Doing so changes the visual quality of the material and accelerates deterioration.
15. Waterproofing or water repellents are strongly discouraged. These treatments are generally not effective in preserving masonry and can cause permanent damage. The Commission does recognize that in extraordinary circumstances their use may be required to solve a specific problem. Samples of any proposed treatment shall be reviewed by the Commission before application.
16. In general, painting masonry surfaces shall not be allowed. Painting masonry surfaces will be considered only when there is documentary evidence that this treatment was used at some significant point in the history of the property.

## C. Wood

1. All original or later contributing wood materials shall be preserved.
2. Original or later contributing wood surfaces, features, details, and ornamentation shall be retained and, if necessary, repaired by patching, piecing-in, consolidating, or reinforcing the wood using recognized preservation methods.
3. Deteriorated or missing wood surfaces, features, details, and ornamentation shall be replaced with material and elements which match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, and detail or installation.
4. When replacement of materials is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
5. If using the same material is not technically or economically feasible, then compatible substitute materials may be considered.
6. Cleaning of wood elements shall use **the mildest method possible**.
7. Paint removal should be considered only where there is paint surface deterioration or excessive layers of paint have coarsened profile details and as part of an overall maintenance program which involves repainting or applying other appropriate protective coatings. Coatings such as paint help protect the wood from moisture and ultraviolet light; stripping the wood bare will expose the surface to the effects of weathering.
8. Damaged or deteriorated paint should be removed to the next sound layer using **the mildest method possible**.
9. Propane or butane torches, sandblasting, water blasting, or other abrasive cleaning and/or paint removal methods shall not be permitted. Doing so changes the visual quality of the wood and accelerates deterioration.
10. Repainting should be based on paint seriation studies. If an adequate record does not

exist, repainting shall be done with colors that are appropriate to the style and period of the building.

**D. Architectural Materials**

(Including but not limited to Cast and Wrought Iron, Steel, Pressed Tin, Copper, Bronze, and Zinc)

1. All original or later contributing architectural metals shall be preserved.
2. Original or later contributing metal materials, features, details, and ornamentation shall be retained and, if necessary, repaired by patching, splicing, or reinforcing the metal using recognized preservation methods.
3. Deteriorated or missing metal materials, features, details, and ornamentation shall be replaced with material and elements which match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, and detail or installation.
4. When replacement of materials or elements is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.

## 9.3 Windows

***Refer to Section 9.2 regarding treatment of materials and features.***

1. The original or later contributing window design and arrangement of window openings shall be retained.
2. Enlarging or reducing window openings for the purpose of fitting stock (larger or smaller) window sash or air conditioners shall not be allowed.
3. Removal of window sash and the installation of permanent fixed panels to accommodate air conditioners shall not be allowed.
4. Original or later contributing window elements, features (functional and decorative), details, and ornamentation shall be retained and, if necessary, repaired by patching, splicing, consolidating, or otherwise reinforcing using recognized preservation methods.
5. Deteriorated or missing window elements, features (functional and decorative), details, and ornamentation shall be replaced with material and elements which match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, configuration, and detail of installation.
6. When replacement is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
7. Aluminum, vinyl, metal clad, or vinyl clad replacement sash shall not be allowed.
8. Replacement sash shall be double hung, wood sash with through-glass muntins, or double hung, wood sash with simulated divided lights with dark anodized spacer bars the same width as the muntins.
9. Tinted or reflective-coated glass shall not be allowed.
10. Metal or vinyl panning of the wood frame and molding shall not be allowed.
11. Exterior combination storm windows shall have a narrow perimeter framing that does not obscure the glazing of the primary window. In addition, the meeting rail of the combination storm window shall align with that of the primary window.
12. Storm window sashes and frames shall have a painted finish that matches the primary window sash and frame color.
13. Clear or mill finished aluminum frames shall not be allowed.
14. Window frames, sashes, and, if appropriate, shutters, should be of a color based on paint seriation studies.

## 9.4 Entrances/Doors

***Refer to Section 9.2 regarding treatment of materials and features; and Section 9.5 for additional Standards and Criteria that may apply.***

1. All entrance elements shall be preserved.
2. The original or later contributing entrance design and arrangement of the door openings shall

be retained.

3. Enlarging or reducing entrance/door openings for the purpose of fitting stock (larger or smaller) doors shall not be allowed.
4. Original or later contributing entrance materials, elements, details and features (functional and decorative) shall be retained and, if necessary, repaired by patching, splicing, consolidating or otherwise reinforcing using recognized preservation methods.
5. Deteriorated or missing entrance elements, materials, features (function and decorative) and details shall be replaced with material and elements which match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, configuration and detail of installation.
6. When replacement is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
7. If using the same material is not technically or economically feasible, then compatible substitute materials may be considered.
8. Original or later contributing entrance materials, elements, features (functional and decorative) and details shall not be sheathed or otherwise obscured by other materials.
9. Only paneled doors of appropriated design, material and assembly shall be allowed.
10. Flush doors (metal, wood, vinyl or plastic), sliding doors and metal paneled doors shall not be allowed.
11. Storm doors (aluminum or wood-framed) shall not be allowed on the primary entrance unless evidence shows that they had been used. They may be allowed on secondary entrances. Where allowed storm doors shall be painted to match the color of the primary door.
12. Unfinished aluminum storm doors shall not be allowed.
13. Replacement door hardware should replicate the original or be appropriate to the style and period of the building.
14. Buzzers, alarms and intercom panels, where allowed, shall be flush mounted and appropriately located.
15. Entrance elements should be of a color based on paint seriation studies. If an adequate record does not exist repainting shall be done with colors that are appropriate to the style and period of the building/entrance.

## 9.5 Porches and Stoops

***Refer to Section 9.2 regarding treatment of materials and features; and Sections 9.4, 9.7, and 9.10 for additional Standards and Criteria that may apply.***

1. All porch elements shall be preferably preserved. See also 9.2, A., 4.
2. Original or later contributing porch and stoop materials, elements, features (functional and decorative), details and ornamentation shall be retained if possible and, if necessary, repaired using recognized preservation methods.
3. Deteriorated or missing porch and stoop materials, elements, features (functional and decorative), details and ornamentation shall be replaced with material and elements which match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, configuration and detail of installation.
4. When replacement is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
5. If using the same material is not technically or economically feasible, then compatible substitute material may be considered.
6. Original or later contributing porch and stoop materials, elements, features (functional and decorative), details and ornamentation shall not be sheathed or otherwise obscured by other materials.
7. Porch and stoop elements should be of a color based on paint seriation studies. If an adequate record does not exist repainting shall be done with colors that are appropriate to the style and period of the building/porch and stoop.

## 9.6 Lighting

1. There are several aspects of lighting related to the exterior of the building and landscape:
   a. Lighting fixtures as appurtenances to the building or elements of architectural ornamentation.
   b. Quality of illumination on building exterior.
   c. Security lighting.
2. Wherever integral to the building, original or later contributing lighting fixtures shall be retained and, if necessary, repaired by patching, piercing in or reinforcing the lighting fixture using recognized preservation methods.
3. Deteriorated or missing lighting fixtures materials, elements, features (functional and decorative), details, and ornamentation shall be replaced with material and elements which match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, configuration, and detail of installation.
4. When replacement is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
5. If using the same material is not technically or economically feasible, then compatible substitute materials may be considered.
6. Original or later contributing lighting fixture materials, elements, features (functional and decorative), details, and ornamentation shall not be sheathed or otherwise obscured by other materials.
7. Supplementary illumination may be added where appropriate to the current use of the building.
8. New lighting shall conform to any of the following approaches as appropriate to the building and to the current or projected use:
   a. Reproductions of original or later contributing fixtures, based on physical or documentary evidence.
   b. Accurate representation of the original period, based on physical or documentary evidence.
   c. Retention or restoration of fixtures which date from an interim installation and which are considered to be appropriate to the building and use.
   d. New lighting fixtures which are differentiated from the original or later contributing fixture in design and which illuminate the exterior of the building in a way which renders it visible at night and compatible with its environment.
   e. The new exterior lighting location shall fulfill the functional intent of the current use without obscuring the building form or architectural detailing.
9. No exposed conduit shall be allowed on the building.
10. As a Landmark, architectural night lighting is encouraged, provided the lighting installations minimize night sky light pollution. High efficiency fixtures, lamps and automatic timers are recommended.
11. On-site mock-ups of proposed architectural night lighting may be required.

## 9.7 Roofs

***Refer to Section 9.2 regarding treatment of materials and features; and Section 9.8 for additional Standards and Criteria that may apply.***

1. The roof shapes and material of the existing building shall be preserved.
2. Original or later contributing roofing materials such as slate, wood trim, elements, features (decorative and functional), details and ornamentation, such as cresting, shall be retained and, if necessary, repaired by patching or reinforcing using recognized preservation methods.
3. Deteriorated or missing roofing materials, elements, features (functional and decorative), details and ornamentation shall be replaced with material and elements which match the original in material, color, texture, size, shape, profile, configuration and detail of installation.

4. When replacement is necessary, it should be based on physical or documentary evidence.
5. If using the same material is not technically or economically feasible, then compatible substitute material may be considered.
6. Original or later contributing roofing materials, elements, features (functional and decorative), details and ornamentation shall not be sheathed or otherwise obscured by other materials.
7. Unpainted mill-finished aluminum shall not be allowed for flashing, gutters and downspouts. All replacement flashing and gutters should be copper or match the original material and design (integral gutters shall not be replaced with surface mounted).
8. External gutters and downspouts should not be allowed unless it is based on physical or documentary evidence.

### 9.8 Roof Projections

**(Includes satellite dishes, antennas and other communication devices, louvers, vents, chimneys, and chimney caps)**

***Refer to Section 9.2 and 9.7 for additional Standards and Criteria that may apply.***

1. Due to the historical and architectural significance of the Shirley-Eustis House, Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House, and 42-44 Shirley Street, no new roof projections shall be allowed.
2. Mechanical equipment shall be confined to either the existing roof or may be proposed on the ground. New equipment shall be reviewed to confirm that it is no more visible than the existing.

### 9.9 Additions

***Refer to Sections 9.6, 9.7, 9.8, 10.0, and 11.0 for additional Standards and Criteria that may apply.***

1. Additions can significantly alter the historic appearance of the buildings. An exterior addition should only be considered after it has been determined that the existing building cannot meet the new space requirements.
2. New additions shall be designed so that the character-defining features of the building are not radically changed, obscured, damaged or destroyed.
3. New additions should be designed so that they are compatible with the existing building, although they should not necessarily be imitative of an earlier style or period.
4. New additions shall not obscure the front of the building: facing Dudley Street for the Shirley-Eustis House and Ingersoll-Gardner Carriage House, and facing Shirley Street for 42–44 Shirley Street.
5. New additions shall be of a size, scale and of materials that are in harmony with the existing building.

### 9.10 Accessibility

***Refer to Section 9.2 regarding treatment of materials. Refer to Sections 9.3, 9.4, 9.5, 9.6, 9.9, and 10.0 for additional Standards and Criteria that may apply.***

1. A three-step approach is recommended to identify and implement accessibility modifications that will protect the integrity and historic character of the property:
   a. Review the historical significance of the property and identify character-defining features;
   b. Assess the property's existing and proposed level of accessibility;
   c. Evaluate accessibility options within a preservation context.
2. Because of the complex nature of accessibility, the Commission will review proposals on a case-by-case basis. The Commission recommends consulting with the following document

which is available from the Commission office: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Cultural Resources, Preservation Assistance Division; Preservation Brief 32 "Making Historic Properties Accessible" by Thomas C. Jester and Sharon C. Park, AIA.

## 9.11 Renewable Energy Sources

***Refer to Section 9.2 regarding treatment of materials.***

1. Renewable energy sources, including but not limited to solar energy, are encouraged for the site.
2. Before proposing renewable energy sources, the building's performance shall be assessed and measures to correct any deficiencies shall be taken. The emphasis shall be on improvements that do not result in a loss of historic fabric. A report on this work shall be included in any proposal for renewable energy sources.
3. Proposals for new renewable energy sources shall be reviewed by the Commission on a case-by-case basis for potential physical and visual impacts on the building and site.
4. Refer to the Secretary of the Interior's Standards for Rehabilitation & Illustrated Guidelines on Sustainability for Rehabilitating Historic Buildings for general guidelines.

# 10.0 ARCHAEOLOGY

***Refer to Section 9.2 regarding treatment of materials.***

1. All below-ground work on the property shall be reviewed by the Boston Landmarks Commission and City Archaeologist to determine if the work may impact known or potential archaeological resources. Applicants are encouraged to come to the Commission staff early in the project to review possible impacts.
2. Archaeological survey shall be conducted if archaeological sensitivity exists and if impacts to known or potential archaeological resources cannot be mitigated through consultation with the City Archaeologist. All archaeological mitigation (monitoring, survey, excavation, etc.) shall be conducted by a professional archaeologist.
3. An archaeological sensitivity assessment of the former Shirley-Eustis estate grounds at 33 and 42–44 Shirley Street and 24 Rockford Street should be conducted to guide any future archaeological work. The assessment should collect information about the property's past and current land use; stratify it into zones of high, moderate, and low pre-contact and post-contact archaeological sensitivity; identify known and potential archaeological resources; develop research questions relevant to the property's interpretive mission and most profitably addressed through archaeology; and provide recommendations for the management of archaeologically sensitive locations to aid in the future development of the property. The assessment also should include a list of ground-disturbing activities not subject to archaeological review (e.g., routine property maintenance such as repaving of existing driveways and parking lots or annual garden replanting).
4. Geo-prospecting techniques (e.g., time domain electromagnetic induction metal detection [EM61]; shallow frequency domain electromagnetic induction [EM38]; and ground-penetrating radar [GPR]) should be considered as a non-invasive method for targeting the locations of future archaeological investigations. Geo-prospecting should be conducted in those areas identified as archeologically sensitive and with clear parameters as to the types of resources that could survive and what their geophysical signatures should look like.

## 11.0 SEVERABILITY

The provisions of these Standards and Criteria (Design Guidelines) are severable and if any of their provisions shall be held invalid in any circumstances, such invalidity shall not affect any other provisions or circumstances.

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## 13.0 FIGURES

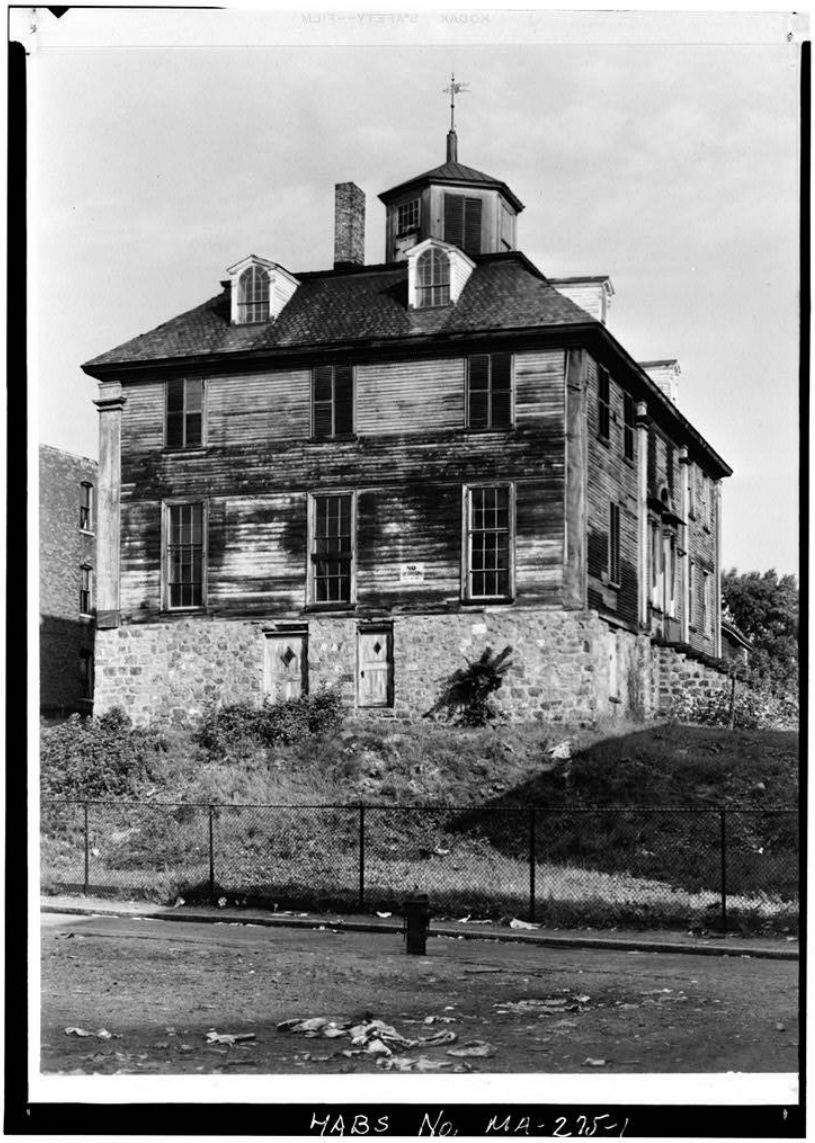



Figure 1. 1939 view of southeast and northeast elevations of Shirley-Eustis House from Rockford Street (Arther C. Haskell. *Historic American Building Survey – Shirley-Eustis House, MASS 13-ROX-9*, photographs. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 1939).



Figure 2. 1963 view of southeast elevation of Shirley-Eustis House, showing proximity of multi-family houses to the house (Jack E. Boucher. *Historic American Building Survey – Shirley-Eustis House, MASS 13-ROX-9*, photographs. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 1963).



Figure 3. 1963 interior view of hall and main stair, showing remnants of partitions (upper right) installed during the building's use as a tenement (Jack E. Boucher. *Historic American Building Survey – Shirley-Eustis House, MASS 13-ROX-9*, photographs. On file, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., 1963).



Figure 4. Detail of 1776 drawing by William Pierrie, showing a view of Shirley-Eustis Place (Drawn by William Pierrie, engraved by James Newton. *A view of Boston taken on the road to Dorchester*. 1776. Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center).




Figure 5. Detail from *A Plan of Boston in New England with its environs…1775 and 1776* showing Shirley-Eustis House and outbuilding (likely 42–44 Shirley Street) (Henry Pelham. *A Plan of Boston in New England with its environs… 1775 and 1776*. 1777. Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center).



Figure 6. Detail of the *Map of the City of Roxbury* showing Shirley-Eustis House and outbuilding (likely 42–44 Shirley Street) (Charles Whitney. *Map of the City of Roxbury, surveyed in 1843 by order of the town of authorities*. 1849. Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center).


Figure 7. Mid-nineteenth-century photograph of Shirley-Eustis House, taken prior to ca. 1868, showing side piazzas (Historic New England, GUSN-196863, https://www.historicnewengland.org/explore/collections-access/gusn/196863/).




Figure 8. Detail of *Map of the City of Boston and Immediate Neighborhood*, showing footprint of Shirley-Eustis House and expanded outbuilding at the top edge of an oval drive (Henry McIntyre. *Map of the City of Boston and immediate neighborhood*. 1852. Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center).

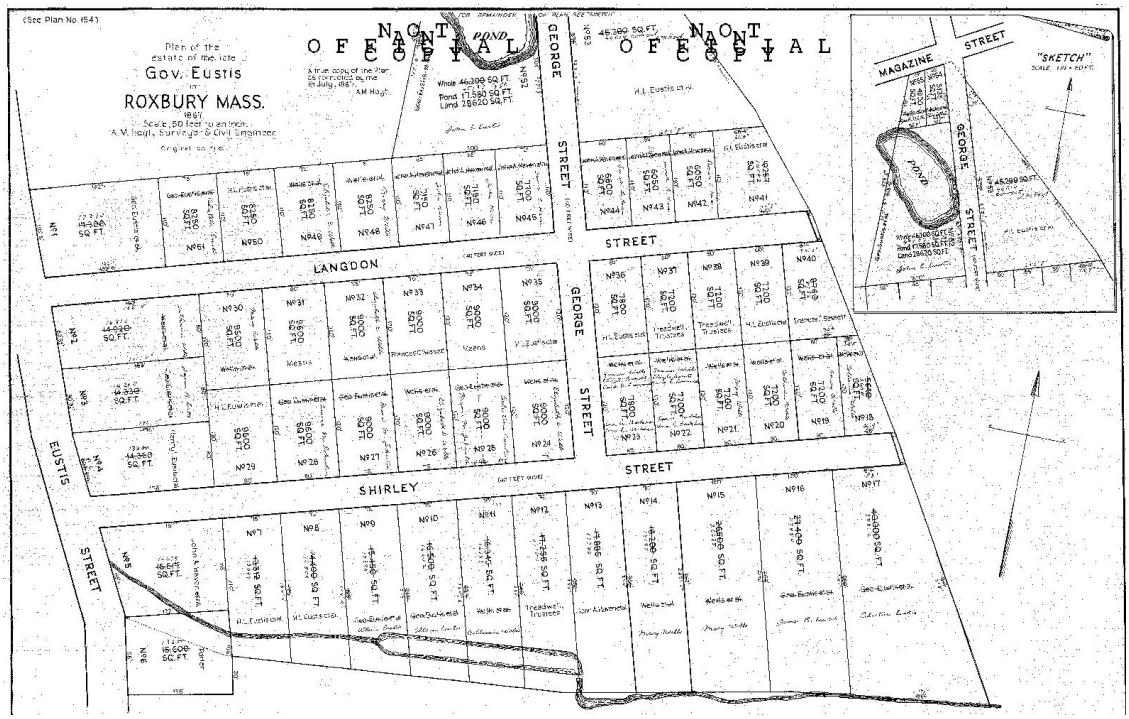



Figure 9. 1867 plat map of subdivided Eustis estate (Hoyt, *Plan of the estate of the late Gov. Eustis*. 1867. Norfolk County Registry of Deeds Book 5, page 162).

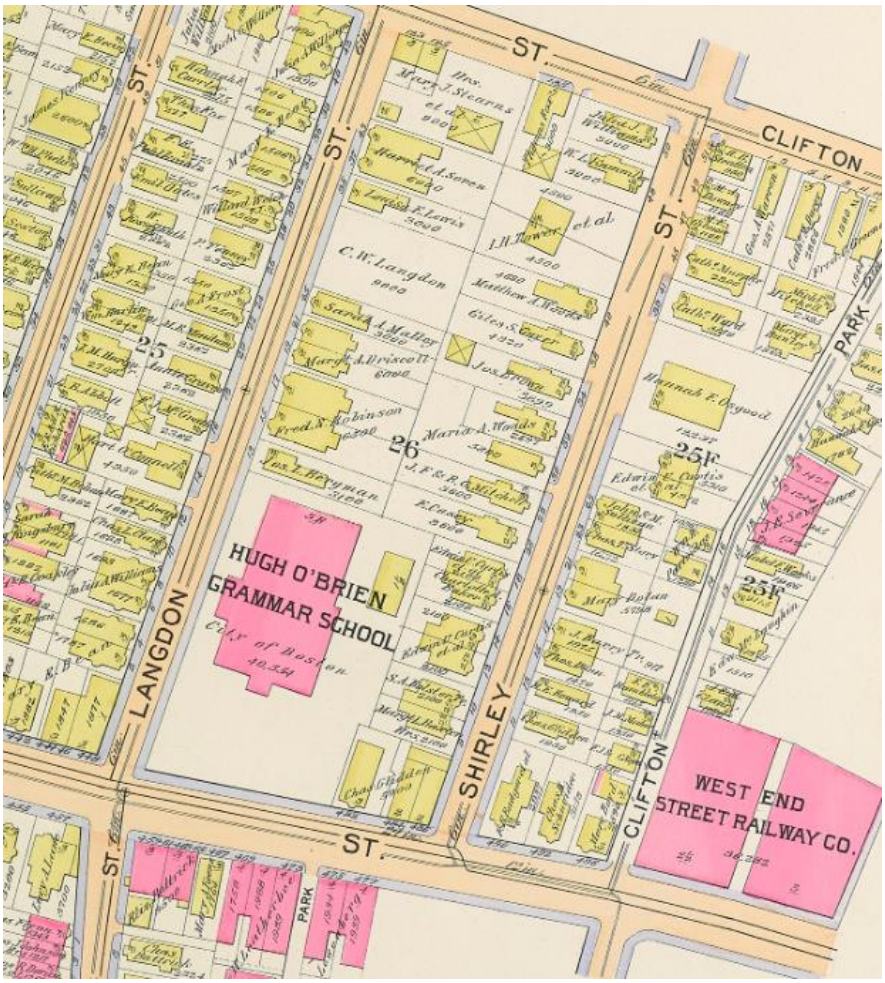


Figure 10. 1899 map of Shirley and Langdon streets, showing development of neighborhood surrounding Shirley-Eustis House (George W. Bromley and Walter S. Bromley. *Atlas of the City of Boston (Roxbury)*. Philadelphia, PA: G.W. Bromley & Co., 1899).

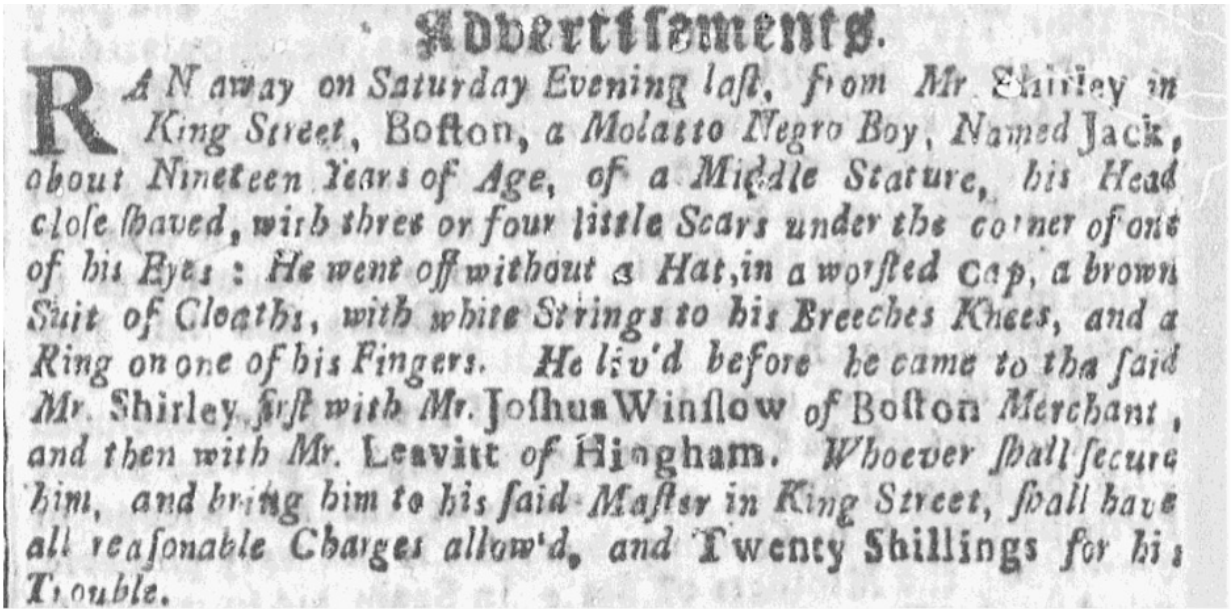


Figure 11. 1968 View of Shirley Street (Shirley-Eustis House is at far right), looking east (Boston Landmarks Commission image collection, 5210.004, City of Boston Archives, Boston, MA).

# WORKING REPORT ON SLAVERY AT THE SHIRLEY-EUSTIS HOUSE

May 2021

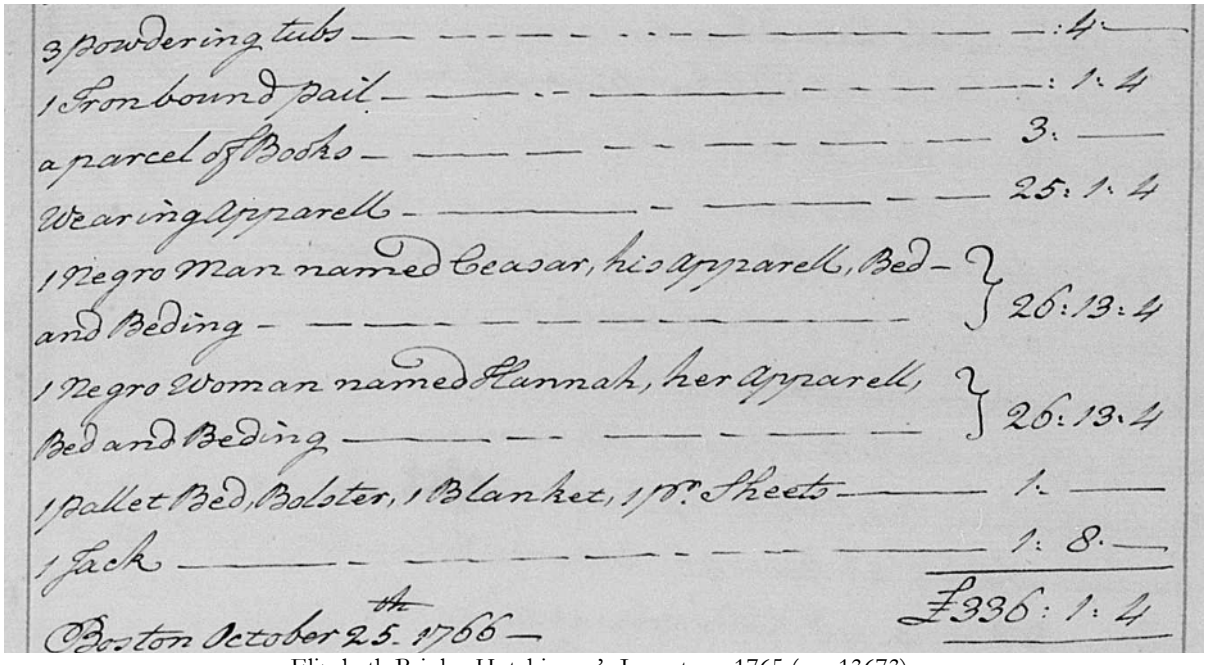
Aabid Allibhai, JD
PhD Candidate, African & African American Studies
Harvard University



Advertisements.

RAN away on Saturday Evening last, from Mr. Shirley in King Street, Boston, a Molatto Negro Boy, Named Jack, about Nineteen Years of Age, of a Middle Stature, his Head close shaved, with three or four little Scars under the corner of one of his Eyes: He went off without a Hat, in a worsted Cap, a brown Suit of Cloaths, with white Strings to his Breeches Knees, and a Ring on one of his Fingers. He liv'd before he came to the said Mr. Shirley first with Mr. Joshua Winslow of Boston Merchant, and then with Mr. Leavitt of Hingham. Whoever shall secure him, and bring him to his said Master in King Street, shall have all reasonable Charges allow'd, and Twenty Shillings for his Trouble.

Boston News-Letter (Feb. 17, 1732).



3 powdering tubs ---- 4 ----
1 Iron bound pail ---- 1. 4
a parcel of Books ---- 3. ----
Wearing Apparell ---- 25. 1. 4
1 Negro Man named Ceasar, his Apparell, Bed and Beding ---- 26. 13. 4
1 Negro Woman named Hannah, her Apparell, Bed and Beding ---- 26. 13. 4
1 pallet Bed, Bolster, 1 Blanket, 1 pr. Sheets ---- 1. ----
1 Jack ---- 1. 8. ----
Boston October 25th 1766 ---- £336. 1. 4

Elizabeth Brinley Hutchinson's Inventory, 1765 (no. 13673).

Enslavement was a state of constant familial loss. Mothers lost children and children lost mothers in a vicious cycle of sale and death even as African Americans suffered a violent break from their motherland of Africa. This is why the cultural theorist Saidiya Hartman titled her incisive travel memoir about the trans-Atlantic slave trade *Lose Your Mother*. This raw phrasing captures an essential aspect of the Black historical experience. But despite nightmarish circumstances that must have felt world-ending, Black mothers raised the children left to them with a brilliant practicality rooted in love, propelled by the belief that these descendants deserved a future.

Tiya Miles, "The Radical Hope of Black Motherhood"

# Table of Contents

*Executive Summary* ..... 1
*A Brief Overview of the Shirley-Eustis House* ..... 3
*Jack & Jane* ..... 5
*42-44 Shirley Street: A Possible Slave Quarters on the Shirley Estate* ..... 12
*A Brief Overview of Slavery in New England* ..... 14
*Thomas Scipio: Head of Shirley Place* ..... 25
*Affy & Cesar: Enslaved Children at the Shirley Estate* ..... 37
*"Overstocked with Servants of that Colour": The Temples and Slavery* ..... 48
*Bibliography* ..... 52
*Probate Records* ..... 57
*Recorded Deeds for 42-44 Shirley Street* ..... 58

**Executive Summary**

The following report on slavery at Shirley Place in the colonial period was completed between April 1 and May 17, 2021. I was asked to undertake this research by the Shirley-Eustis House Association in support of their application for landmark status to the Boston Landmarks Commission. With the exception of an undergraduate student paper (2011), there has been no prior research conducted on slavery at Shirley Place. Given time constraints and the inability to visit several relevant archives due to the coronavirus pandemic, this document should be understood as a working report, to be updated and improved with further research. I was also requested to track the deeds for 42-44 Shirley Street from the time William Shirley purchased his Roxbury estate to the present day. Copies of the deeds, William Shirley's and the Hutchinsons' probate records, and certain records pertaining to the Hutchinsons in the UK National Archives (Public Records Office) can be found in the appendix to this working report, compiled in a separate document due to its size.

Lifelong residents of Shirley Street (the overwhelming majority of Shirley Street residents) and the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI) know the structure at 42-44 Shirley Street to be a former slave quarters in addition to a barn. They learned this from the folks at the Shirley-Eustis House in the 1980s. In fact, this information is part of the tours given by DSNI. This would make 42-44 Shirley Street one of only two still-standing slave quarters in the northern United States (the other being the slave quarters at the Royall House and Slave Quarters in Medford, MA). Shirley had white indentured servants and presumably live-in secretaries while governor of Massachusetts, perhaps forcing his slaves to live at 42-44 Shirley Street due to lack of living space in the main house. Eliakim Hutchinson, one of the richest men in Boston, owned many slaves, perhaps forcing some of them to live at 42-44 Shirley Street for the same reason.

William Shirley owned and rented enslaved people in Massachusetts and the Bahamas. One of the first items of business to which William Shirley attended upon his arrival in Boston was, it seems,

the purchase of a teenage boy named Jack, who likely ran away from him shortly thereafter. Shirley's slave Jane, described as an "infant," was baptized at King's Chapel on April 1, 1746. Jane was likely torn from her parents, either given away to Shirley for free by an owner who viewed her as an economic burden or given to him as a gift; enslaved children in New England, in the words of Massachusetts Historical Society founder Jeremy Belknap, "were given away like puppies." While governor of the Bahamas (1760–1768), Shirley purchased an enslaved man named David, whom he manumitted before returning to Roxbury, and was also provided the services of several other slaves as gardeners and footmen.

Most of what we know of slavery at Shirley Place concerns the people Eliakim Hutchinson (Shirley's son-in-law) and Elizabeth Shirley Hutchinson (Shirley's oldest daughter) enslaved. Eliakim and Elizabeth lived at Shirley Place from the 1760s through 1775. Eliakim was the richest man in Roxbury and owned several human beings—at least five in the early-1770s alone. One slave was a child of Akan descent (i.e., from the Gold Coast, present-day Ghana) named Affy, likely given to the Hutchinsons for free or as a gift, perhaps from King's Chapel warden James Gordon, who also owned many slaves including a woman named Affey. Another was a man named Thomas Scipio, who was likely the head of Shirley Place in 1775 after the Hutchinsons fled their estate for Boston around the Battle of Lexington and Concord. Significantly, Scipio was still enslaved in Massachusetts in 1784—after the *Walker v. Jennison* (1783) that many historians incorrectly assume abolished slavery in the state. From 1769, when he returned to Shirley Place, until his death in 1771 (and thereafter as enslaved people surely helped bury him and attend to his affairs), Shirley would have had the services of Eliakim's slaves.

The Temple family's slaves would have frequently visited and worked for the Shirleys and Hutchinsons at Shirley Place. William Shirley's daughter, Harriet Shirley Temple, married Robert Temple Jr. in 1755. They owned many slaves and lived in Charlestown and Medford at Ten Hills

Farm, neighbors to Isaac Royall Jr. and dozens of his slaves. Indeed, they inherited several slaves of Robert Temple Sr. who, in one of his several advertisements selling enslaved people noted that "the main reason why he inclines to part with them, is, that he is Overstocked with Servants of that Colour, to which they add one every Year, and are likely to continue so to do, for many Years to come."

**A Brief Overview of the Shirley-Eustis House**[1]



The Shirley-Eustis House

The Shirley-Eustis House at 31-33 Shirley Street in Roxbury, Massachusetts is a five-bay, three-story wood and stone house, commissioned as a summer residence for William Shirley, Governor of the Province of Massachusetts Bay (1741–1749 and 1749–1756) not long after his victorious assault on French forces at Louisbourg, Nova Scotia in 1745. Though little remembered today, the victory was wildly celebrated on both sides of the British Atlantic as a significant blow to French imperial

[1] Much of this brief overview is taken from the report prepared for the Boston Landmarks Commission application entitled "A Partial History of the Shirley-Eustis House" (Oct. 2020) and the Shirley-Eustis House website. For a more detailed overview of the Shirley-Eustis House, see "A Partial History of the Shirley-Eustis House." For further information on Thomas Scipio and slavery at the Shirley-Eustis House more generally, see below.

ambitions in North America. Both powers vied continuously for control of the lucrative North Atlantic fishing grounds and timber reserves.

Dubbed "Shirley Place" by later owner Caroline Langdon Eustis, the 33-acre estate served as home to two Massachusetts governors: Royal Governor William Shirley (from 1747–1760 and 1769–1771) and Democratic-Republican William Eustis (from 1819–1825). Eustis' wife, Caroline Langdon Eustis, lived at the estate until her death in 1865. Shirley's daughter, Elizabeth Shirley Hutchinson, and her husband, Eliakim Hutchinson, lived at Shirley Place from the 1760s through 1775. For a brief period during the Revolutionary War—after the Hutchinson's fled Shirley Place in 1775 and joined their Loyalist counterparts in Boston—one of the Hutchinsons' many slaves, Thomas Scipio, was likely the head of the Roxbury estate. Shirley Place has also served as a Revolutionary War barracks and hospital during the Siege of Boston from 1775 to 1776; as a refuge from the Haitian Revolution for Jean-Baptiste du Buc, counselor to Louis XVI of France; and as retirement home for Privateer Captain James Magee, an Irishman famous for capturing the British ship *Countess*. As the first Boston merchant to visit either Batavia or Canton, Magee acquired a fortune as a China trader. During the latter part of the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries the Shirley-Eustis House served as tenement housing.




Shirley Place.
Henry Pelham, *A Plan of Boston in New England with Its Environs* (1777), Norman B. Leventhal Map Center, Boston Public Library.

**Jack & Jane**

One of the first items of business to which William Shirley attended upon his arrival in Boston was, it seems, the purchase of a human being. On February 17, 1732, only a few months after he moved to the city, "Mr. Shirley" alerted his fellow colonists that his slave Jack had absconded.

> "*RAN away on Saturday Evening last, from Mr.* Shirley *in King Street, Boston, a Molatto Negro Boy, Named Jack, about Nineteen Years of Age, of a Middle Stature, his Head close shaved, with three or four little Scars under the corner of one of his Eyes: He went off without a Hat, in a worsted cap, a brown Suit of Cloaths, with white Strings to his Breeches Knees, and a Ring on one of his Fingers. He liv'd before he came to the said Mr. Shirley, first with Mr.* Joshua Winslow *of* Boston *Merchant, and then with Mr.* Leavitt *of* Hingham.

*Whoever shall secure him, and bring him to his said Master in King Street, shall have all reasonable Charges allow'd, and* Twenty Shillings *for his Trouble.*"[2]

Was "Mr. Shirley in King Street" the future Royal Governor of Massachusetts, William Shirley? Without access to much of Shirley's early correspondence, one cannot with absolute certainty establish that he lived on King Street in 1732.[3] In 1736 and 1737, Shirley lived on Queen Street, which, walking in the direction from the Common to the harbor, turned into King Street.[4] Ida Ayres mentions that before his governorship, Shirley lived on King Street (Ayres could be referring to Shirley's place of residence after he moved from Queen Street, meaning that he would have moved from his Queen Street residence sometime between 1737 and 1741; it is also possible Ayres found that Shirley lived on King Street at the time he moved to Boston, and simply assumed he lived on the same street until his governorship).[5] Prior to becoming governor, Shirley was sometimes referred to as "Mr. Sherley"—similar to the above runaway slave advertisement that refers to a "Mr. Shirley."[6] Moreover, the

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[2] *Boston News-Letter* (Feb. 17, 1732), 2. Shirley's biographer John Schutz states that Shirley and his family left England for Boston in "mid-summer" of 1731. John A. Schutz, *William Shirley: King's Governor of Massachusetts* (Roxbury: Shirley-Eustis House Association, 2020 [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961]), 5.

[3] It is possible that research into deeds of King Street properties in the 1730s could place Shirley on King Street in 1732, thought the chance of this is slim as he likely rented, and did not own, his home at that time. Still, it could be the case that if Shirley did live on King Street, a deed for a property adjacent to one on which he was living, might mention his presence. Ida Ayres, who states that Shirley lived on King Street before his governorship, does not include citations in her article, but perhaps she obtained this information through deed research. See footnote 4 for Ida Ayres' article on the Shirley-Eustis Estate.

[4] "WINES, lately imported, and to be Sold by *John Burchinsha*(?), at the Cellar under Mr. *Sherley*'s House in *Queen-Street* over against the Prison, *viz.* Good and fine." *New-England Weekly Journal* (Oct. 26, 1736), 2.

"TO BE LET, A very good Cellar under the House of the *late* William Payne, *Esq*; *deceased, Situate in Prison Lane*; *Inquire of* William Shirley, *Esq; now dwelling in said House*." *Boston Gazette* (Feb. 28, 1737), 4.

"TO BE SOLD, a good Brick House, with four Rooms on a Floor, and a large Yard and Garden, situate in *Queen Street* over against the Prison, late the Estate of *William Payne*, Esq; deceased, and now in Occupation of *William Shirley*, Esq; Enquire of *Margaret Payne*, [illegible] Widow and Executrix of the said Deceased, who is impowered to sell the same. *New-England Weekly Journal* (Jun. 14, 1737).

For Queen Street and King Street, see the following map: *The Town of Boston in New England* (1722) by Cap[t] John Bonner, Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center, Boston Public Library, accessible at https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:9s161f21f.

[5] Ida Ayres, "The Story of Shirley Place." *New England Magazine*, new ser., vol. 15; old ser., vol. 21 (Sep. 1896–Feb. 1897), 743.

[6] See footnote 3.

advertisement, by listing Jack's previous owners, indicates that "Mr. Shirley" purchased Jack only recently, which provides further circumstantial evidence that "Mr. Shirley" is William Shirley: recall that as of February 1732, when the advertisement was published, Shirley would have only been in Boston for a few months. Further, in 1742, Shirley managed the sale of multiple properties, including two on King Street, as attorney for the "*Yeamans* of *London*, Esquire": "*A large Brick Dwelling House and Land in King's-Street, wherein* John Boydell, *Esq*; *deceased, lately dwelt*" and "*a small Tenement in King's-Street, occupied by Mr.* Samuel Tyley *and Mr.* Henry Laughton. Shirley was governor at the time, and perhaps was undertaking this extra work as a favor to the Yeamans—possibly in return for staying at one of these King Street properties back when he was a new Bostonian.[7]



Queen Street & King Street. Captain John Bonner, *The Town of Boston in New England* (1722).

Running away was a risky and difficult endeavor for enslaved people, all the more so in eighteenth-century New England, where there were significantly more whites than Indigenous People or Blacks. Jack would have been especially conspicuous because of his presumably light-brown complexion (recall that Shirley describes him as a "Molatto Negro Boy"). Why did Jack flee, and where

[7] *Boston Evening-Post* (Aug. 9, 1742), 2.

did Shirley think Jack was headed? Was Shirley an especially violent enslaver? How did Jack get the "three or four little Scars under the corner of one of his Eyes?" Only a teenager when he fled Shirley, Jack had already been sold multiple times. His former owners being listed in the advertisement suggest that he had been sold to "Mr. Leavitt of Hingham" and then Shirley in relatively quick succession, and that Shirley suspected Jack may have run back to one of his former owners—that is, to a place with which he was familiar and likely had family and friends. Shirley described Jack as a "Molatto Negro Boy"—was one of Jack's previous owners also his father? Did Jack's father sell his own child? Was Jack the product of, as was often the case, the rape of an enslaved Black woman, either by her slaveowner or another white man? How might Jack have felt to be sold multiple times as a child? Some of these questions are unanswerable. However, as one historian has stated, "even if we can't answer the questions, we need to be asking them; the way you change the juggernaut of a historical paradigm is simply to ask questions that that are outside of the comfortable and the known."[8]

(There is a great deal more one might say about Jack with further research. To provide just a few additional examples: one might learn about his family, occupations and skills, and other aspects of his life by investigating records pertaining to "Mr. Joshua Winslow of Boston merchant" and "Mr. Leavitt of Hingham." One might discuss the clothing Jack is described as wearing in the runaway slave advertisement [and, more generally, the clothing enslaved people in New England wore] and how it differed from the clothing their owners like Shirley wore).

Available records only show one other person enslaved by Shirley in Massachusetts, an "infant" "Negroe Servant of Gouvernour Shirley" named Jane who appears in the King's Chapel Register of Baptisms on April 1, 1746.[9] Jane does not appear again in the historical record. It is possible

[8] Jessica Luther, "History is Messy Work. And That's OK." *Not Even Past* (Oct. 31, 2012), https://notevenpast.org/history-messy-work-and-thats-ok/.

[9] Bell, James B. (ed). *The Colonial Records of Kings Chapel, 1686-1776*. Vol. 2. Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts. 2019. Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XCI), 546 (online version). The original King's Chapel Records are at the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is closed due to the pandemic.

that she was the daughter of one of Shirley's slaves—an enslaved woman—who does not appear in the historical record. (I specify "enslaved woman" here because in Massachusetts, as elsewhere in the Atlantic world, the child of an enslaved woman became the property of the woman's owner. That is, for Jane to be the property of Shirley from the time of her birth, Shirley must have been the owner of Jane's mother.) It is quite possible that shortly after her birth, Jane was given to Shirley as a gift. In eighteenth-century Massachusetts, enslaved people, particularly enslaved children, were often given away as gifts. As one historian observed crudely, "a 'nigger baby' in fact, among the well-to-do of those days, was a favorite and frequent gift." Venus Roe, for instance, was "given to Swithin Reed by a Boston merchant as a present for his wife, and being a baby, was brought home to her mistress in one of Mr. Reed's saddlebags." Jeremy Belknap, founder of the Massachusetts Historical Society, similarly stated that Black children "were given away like puppies."[10] It is possible that Shirley purchased Jane, but considering she is described as an "infant," this is unlikely: if Shirley required the labor of an enslaved person, he would have purchased someone at least in their teenage years—like Jack.

What happened to Jane? She did not die while owned by Shirley, as she does not appear in the King's Chapel burial records. Did Shirley sell Jane and his other slaves, perhaps when he became governor of the Bahamas? Did he take them with him to the Bahamas? If he did, what would that experience have been likely for Jane and Shirley's other slaves—to be forcibly taken from everything they knew and loved to an unfamiliar place far away from home? Could Jane be the unnamed "Negro Woman" listed in Eliakim Hutchinson's (Shirley's son-in-law who purchased the Roxbury Estate from

[10] Samuel Francis Batchelder, *Notes on Colonel Henry Vassal (1721–1769), His Wife Penelope Royall, His House at Cambridge, and His Slaves Tony & Darby* (Cambridge, MA, 1917), 74, 74 n.4, also printed in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical Society*, vol. 10 (1915). Martha E. Sewall Curtis, *Ye Old Meeting House* (Boston: Anchor Linotype Printing Co., 1909), 61 (Venus Roe); Jeremy Belknap, "Queries Respecting the Slavery and Emancipation of Negroes in Massachusetts…" *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, ser. 1, vol. 4 (1795), 200; George H. Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* (New York, 1866), 57; Hardesty, *Black Lives, Native Lands, White Worlds*, 99–100.

Shirley in the 1760s) 1775 inventory, a discussion of which will be had elsewhere in this report? Jane was not the only child in the Shirley household. On August 9, 1753, Nanny, "Negroe Servant of Catherine Maria Shirley"—who would have been living with her father—was baptized at King's Chapel. Only four days later, she was buried at the church. She was eighteen months old.[11] Did the Shirleys decide to have Nanny baptized because they knew she was going to die?

It is almost certainly the case that Shirley enslaved other people in the colony. As Shirley had never decided that Massachusetts was where he would settle in the long-term, he would have likely rented slaves instead of purchasing them. Slaves he rented would be less likely to appear in the historical record than human beings he purchased. Shirley may have acquired enslaved people in Massachusetts in the same manner he did so in the Bahamas where, at least one "thoughtful legislator," presumably seeking favor with Shirley, offered him an enslaved person for "sale," while others provided him with services of their slaves.[12] One cannot rule out that Shirley bought, sold, or rented enslaved people through placing advertisements in the newspaper because many slave advertisements did not list the name of the buyer, seller, or renter. Here is one such example: "TO BE SOLD, A Negro Man that understands Cooking and House-work; also a young Negro Girl; both have had the Small-Pox. Enquire of the Printers."[13] It would seem, however, that because of Shirley's social and political connections, he could traffic in human beings through less public means.

According to his biographer John Schutz, as governor of the Bahamas (1760-1768), Shirley purchased an enslaved man named David, "who was offered for sale by a thoughtful legislator." Shirley was also provided "the services of three or four Negroes as gardeners and footmen." In the

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[11] Bell, James B. (ed). *The Colonial Records of Kings Chapel, 1686-1776*, vol. 2 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts. 2019) (Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XCI), 564, 734 (online version). The original King's Chapel Records are at the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is closed due to the pandemic.

[12] For Shirley's slaves in the Bahamas, see John A. Schutz, *William Shirley: King's Governor of Massachusetts* (Roxbury: Shirley-Eustis House Association, 2020 [Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1961]), 252, 265.

[13] *Boston News-Letter* (Sep. 19, 1765), 4.

Bahamas, enslaved Africans undertook hard labor. Though they were the minority on other Bahamian islands, in New Providence, where Shirley lived, nearly every white family enslaved one or two human beings, and there were twice as many enslaved Blacks as whites. Before Shirley returned to Roxbury after his Bahamian governorship ended in 1768, Schutz informs us that Shirley manumitted David. It has not been possible to learn much about Shirley's slaves in the Bahamas as Schutz does not cite any sources to support his claims, nor was I able to obtain access, without funds and due to other restrictions resulting from the pandemic, to relevant documents in the Bahamas and the UK.[14]

* * *

Enslaved people in New England worked in any and every industry; Jack, Jane, and Shirley's other slaves would have undertaken all sorts of labor.[15] For instance, a historian of Roxbury, Francis Drake, states that a "lawn of considerable extent fronted the [Shirley] house. It was said to have been levelled by soldiers returned from the Louisburg Expedition. Mr. Aaron D. Williams often heard his father speak of having seen the soldiers at work there."[16] Shirley's and Eliakim's slaves would have been responsible for the lawn's upkeep. In 1819, William Eustis complained to his friend Tristram Barnard about the Shirley-Eustis House: "How much we missed you and your tool chest! fixing door & windows and locks & hinges and blinds and carpets & c. & c. & c."[17] In the colonial period, much of this and other maintenance work would have likely been done by enslaved people like Jack and Jane. They would also have had to keep a kitchen fire constantly going during the winter months to keep their enslavers warm and plant fruits and vegetables in the estate's orchards and gardens.

[14] Schutz, *William Shirley*, 252, 265.

[15] While there weren't available records that spoke directly to what work enslaved people undertook on the Shirley Estate, we can infer with high confidence what they did as we know what kind of work enslaved people in New England households generally undertook. For more on the labor of enslaved people in New England, see the section of this report entitled "A Brief Overview of Slavery in New England."

[16] See Francis S. Drake, *The Town of Roxbury* (Boston: Municipal Printing Office, 1908), 122; Frederick C. Detwiller, *Historic Structures Report: Shirley Eustis House* (Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1979), Part I, 10.

[17] Detwiller, *Historic Structures Report*, I, 42.

Bondspeople on the Shirley Estate would also attend to, among many, many other things, managing livestock, the carriage house and barn, serving guests at estate functions, going to the market to purchase food and other provisions, cutting firewood, cooking, cleaning, repairing fences, and chauffeuring around their enslavers. Their daily activities took them in and out of the many outbuildings that would have populated the estate such as the barns and byres, wash house, well house, and dairy. In the house itself, their service to the family began on the ground floor, whose entries were on the north-south access rather than the east-west access reserved for free citizens. It is also quite possible that enslaved people helped build the Shirley Estate; future research should examine this possibility.

**42-44 Shirley Street: A Possible Slave Quarters on the Shirley Estate**



42-44 Shirley Street

The most important piece of information in this report was provided by a lifelong resident of Shirley Street. They and the other lifelong residents of Shirley Street (the overwhelming majority of Shirley Street residents) know the structure at 42-44 Shirley Street to be a former slave quarters, among other things (including a servant quarters and a storage space for wheat and dry goods). The residents learned this from the folks at the Shirley-Eustis House in the 1980s. I also spoke to a member of the Dudley Street Neighborhood Initiative (DSNI) who told me the same thing: that at DSNI, they know 42-44 Shirley Street as a former slave quarters. In fact, this piece of information is part of the tours given by DSNI. DSNI also learned this from the folks at the Shirley-Eustis House in the 1980s. As to the atmosphere of the slave quarters at 42-44 Shirley Street, New England historian Wendy Warren states that "In any household, servants' and slaves' quarters were naturally dens of resentment and grievance."[18]

I have been looking through the records from the Shirley-Eustis House Association (not all of which are currently accessible, as some were moved to other repositories that are closed due to the pandemic) to see if we can learn more information about 42-44 Shirley Street. Slaves that Shirley rented, or even his own slaves, could have lived at 42-44 Shirley Street, which likely had multiple uses (as did many buildings in the colonial period); as indicated by the lifelong residents of Shirley Street and Frederick Detwiller's *Historic Structures Report*, one of the uses of the structure of 42-44 Shirley Street was as a barn.[19] Shirley had multiple live-in secretaries and presumably a few white servants, who may have taken up the available living space in the main house, leaving the enslaved people to

[18] Warren, *New England Bound*, 198.

[19] Detwiller, *Historic Structures Report*, 33, 39, 80–81, 83, 107. King's Chapel records show at least 3 white (likely indentured) servants of Shirley. On September 12, 1753, John Hitchman, "Servant to Governour Shirley," died at the age of 25. On May 9, 1755, Jane Chapman, "Servant to Govr Shirley," died at the age of 70. On November 11, 1755, Elizabeth Wilmot, "of Govr Shirley's family, died at the age of 53. Bell, James B. (ed). *The Colonial Records of Kings Chapel, 1686-1776*, vol. 2 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts. 2019) (Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XCI), 734, 736 (online version). The original King's Chapel Records are at the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is closed due to the pandemic.

live in 42-44 Shirley Street. There is no record showing that Eliakim Hutchinson had white servants, but he owned many slaves during his life, and in the early-1770s he likely owned at minimum five enslaved people at once. Some, if not all, of them could have lived in various outbuildings on the estate, including 42-44 Shirley Street.

Before proceeding to the rest of the enslaved people at the Shirley-Eustis Estate in the colonial period, it would be helpful to provide a brief overview of slavery in New England.



"A view of Boston" showing the Shirley House and two outbuildings, one of them quite possibly the barn and possible slave quarters at 42-44 Shirley Street. J.F.W. Des Barres, *A View of Boston Taken on the Road to Dorchester* (1776).

**A Brief Overview of Slavery in New England**

"Public historians giving presentations on the history and impact of slavery on America and Americans immediately confront a daunting problem," observed historian James Horton, recalling an encounter that took place on Boston's Old Granary Burial Ground in 2004. "[T]he vast majority of Americans react strongly to the topic, but few know much about it."

> Generally, Americans believe that slavery was an exclusively southern phenomenon. They date it from the decades immediately preceding the Civil War, and think of it as a relatively minor part of the American story. One striking illustration of this was revealed during a conference held in Boston that focused on slavery and the slave trade in New England. During a conference break a number of participants wandered through Boston's Old Granary Burial Ground, which contains the graves of such Revolutionary-era notables as Paul Revere, Samuel Adams, John Hancock [and his slave Frank], and Crispus Attucks, the African American hero of the Boston Massacre. A

> Boston tourist spying the conference program, with its titles printed in bold letters, was clearly shocked. 'Was there slavery in New England?' he asked. He was at first disbelieving, then fascinated, and finally disappointed and saddened. "I thought we were better than that," he said as he walked away, obviously affected by the brief encounter.[20]

The Boston tourist was not unlike many Northerners before him. Frederick Douglass frustratingly stated that before the Civil War, "The people of the North had been accustomed to ask, in a tone of cruel indifference, 'What have we to do with slavery?'" The answer, as one historian has put it, is everything. From the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, enslaved people, while fewer in number than in the US South or the Caribbean, were ubiquitous in all trades and industries in New England. Owning slaves was commonplace in the region. As the historian of New England slavery Joan Melish has written, "settlers at the middling and upper levels of society and in all occupations, from wealthy landowners and ministers to urban artisans and rural farmers, owned slaves."[21] In the late-seventeenth century, a French traveler, Antoine Court, observed that "there is not a house in Boston, however small may be its means, that has not one or two [slaves]."[22] Even after the institution dissipated in much (but not all) of the North, slavery continued to sustain the Northern economy through a variety of industries—including what Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner condemned as the "unhallowed alliance between the lords of the lash and the lords of the loom." In fact, New England's commercial ties to slavery date back to earliest days of colonization. There would be no New England without the labor of enslaved people and direct participation in the Atlantic-wide slave economy. New England was the center of the Atlantic slave trade in the British colonies and

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[20] James Oliver Horton, "Slavery in American History: An Uncomfortable National Dialogue," in James Oliver Horton & Loise E. Horton (eds.), *Slavery and Public History: The Tough Stuff of American Memory* (New York: New Press, 2006), 37. Thanks to Samuel Zeiberg for informing me about Frank. See also Pamela Athearn Filbert, "Curiouser and Curiouser," *Vita* Brevis (Blog of the New England Historic Genealogical Society), https://vitabrevis.americanancestors.org/2019/02/curiouser/.

[21] Melish, "Northern Slavery and Its Legacies," 118. Warren, *New England Bound*, 9–10, 74–76. On Rhode Island slave trade, see especially Clark-Pujara, "Slavery and the Northern Economy," 98–99.

[22] Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620–1776* (Eastford, CT: Martino Fine Books, 2017 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1942]), 100–123.

supplied slave plantations in the West Indies with all sorts of provisions (including human beings), without which they could not function.[23] Perhaps, then, it is not surprising that Massachusetts was the first British North American colony to give legal recognition to slavery; in the following years, other northern colonies would do the same.[24]

Before they enslaved Africans, white colonists in New England enslaved Indigenous people. In the colonial period, New Englanders sold Indigenous people in the region into slavery in the West Indies. They enslaved and sold not only war prisoners, but even those who voluntarily came under the jurisdiction of the colonists, as the colonists encouraged them to do. They would be sold for money and goods, including African-descended slaves, who would then be brought back to New England. Indeed, the first African slaves that arrived in New England were exchanged for Pequot slaves. Not all Indigenous enslaved by New Englanders were sold abroad. Many were forced to labor in the region.[25]

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[23] Eric Kimball, "What have we to do with slavery?: New Englanders and the Slave Economies of the West Indies," in Sven Beckert & Seth Rockman (eds.), *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of Economic Development* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 181–194; Wendy Warren, *New England Bound: Slavery and Colonization in Early America* (New York: Liveright, 2016); Seth Rockman, "Negro Cloth: Mastering the Market for Slave Clothing in Antebellum America," in Sven Beckert & Christine Desan (eds.), *American Capitalism: New Histories* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 170–194. On New England cotton mills, see Clark-Pujara, "Slavery and the Northern Economy," 102–106; Ronald Bailey, "'Those Valuable People, the Africans': The Economic Impact of the Slave(ry) Trade on Textile Industrialization in New England," in David Roediger & Martin H. Blatt (eds.), *The Meaning of Slavery in the North* (New York: Garland, 1998), 3–31.

[24] Melish, "Northern Slavery and Its Legacies," 117–118. There was also slavery in the upper Midwest. The ban on slavery in the Northwest Ordinance of 1789 did not emancipate enslaved people already living in the region.

[25] Warren, *New England Bound*, chapter 3, esp. 91–92. Margaret Newell, "The Changing Nature of Indian Slavery in Colonial New England," in Colin Calloway & Neal Salisbury (eds.), *Reinterpreting New England Indians and the Colonial Experience* (Boston: Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2004); Margaret Newell, "Indian Slavery in Colonial New England," in Alan Gallay (ed.), *Indian Slavery in Colonial America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010); Kerima M. Lewis, "Captives on the Move: Tracing the Transatlantic Movements of Africans from the Caribbean to Colonial New England," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, vol. 44, no. 2 (2016), 147–49. Thanks to Byron Rushing for emphasizing that the first African slaves brought to New England were traded for Indigenous slaves.

Enslaved Indians often formed families with enslaved Africans. They created a rich culture that blended Indian, African, and English customs. This also alters the narrative of the 'disappearing' Indian, as while disease, massacre, and dispossession dramatically reduced the number of Indians in the northern colonies, Indians that started families with African-descended people simply became classified by the British as "Black." Melish, "Northern Slavery and Its Legacies," 119.

New England colonists experienced the British Atlantic as one economic system. Slavery made the Atlantic into one world. As one historian has observed, "what moved in the Atlantic in these centuries was predominantly slaves, the output of slaves, the inputs to slave societies, and the goods and services purchased with the earnings of slave products." As for New England in particular, another historian has stated, "New England, indeed, succeeded without slavery as its primary labor source, but the region's economic success owed to its participation in an Atlantic-world economy that hinged on slave-produced goods. New Englanders actively engaged in the international slave trade, processed slave-produced sugar into rum, and supplied slave colonies with food and lumber."[26] Similarly, the historian Bernard Bailyn has stated that "New England, not more than 5 percent of whose population was African, was dependent on the African slave trade for its economic survival since the major markets for its agricultural products were the West Indian slave plantations."[27] Seventeenth-century New Englander Edward Johnson attributed Boston's growth to its increasing engagement with the Atlantic-wide slave economy, observing, "This Town is the very Mart of the Land, *French, Portugalls*, and *Dutch* come hither for Traffique." Colonial era Captain Thomas Bredon, returning to Britain from Massachusetts, warned the British that they needed to reign in New England, for those colonies were becoming an economic powerhouse, "they [i.e., the New England colonies] being the *key of the Indies* without w[hi]ch Jamaica, Barbados & the Caribee Islands are not able to subsist."[28]

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[26] Warren, *New England Bound*, 53; Alan Gallay, "Introduction," in Allan Gallay (ed.), *Indian Slavery in Colonial America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 14; Barbara Solow, "Introduction," in Barbara Solow (ed.), *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1. Christy Clark-Pujara, "Slavery and the Northern Economy," in Bethan Jay & Cynthia Lynn Lyerly (eds.), *Understanding and Teaching American Slavery* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2016), 96–115. Anne Farrow, Joel Lang, & Jenifer Frank, *Complicity: How the North Promoted, Prolonged, and Profited from Slavery* (New York: Random House, 2005), 48–55; Jared Ross Hardesty, *Black Lives, Native Lands, White Worlds: A History of Slavery in New England* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2019), Preface.

[27] Bernard Bailyn, *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005), 84.

[28] Warren, *New England Bound*, 55–58.

Ships built in New England, crewed by New England men, carried a wide array of goods—enslaved people, fish, livestock, and timber to name just a few—to provision sugar plantations in the West Indies. These human and non-human commodities were traded for slave-produced goods such as sugar, molasses (runoff from the sugar refining process and used to make rum), and rum, and then reexported throughout the Atlantic world (some goods were consumed locally). New England distilleries turned molasses to rum which, being a major currency of the transatlantic slave trade, was subsequently exchanged in West Africa for enslaved people. Most of those enslaved people would be sold in the West Indies (others would be sold in New England and elsewhere in the Americas), and their forced labor would produce the molasses which New Englanders would turn to rum to then purchase more slaves from West Africa. This constant exchange of human and other commodities between the mainland colonies, West Africa, and the West Indies, became known as the triangular trade. And New England was a central actor.[29]

Massachusetts merchants began outfitting ships specifically to trade rum and other goods for enslaved people in West Africa and transporting them to the West Indies by 1644. The colony was the leading American slave trading colony until 1700, when another New England colony, Rhode Island, overtook them in slave trading dominance.[30] Significantly, not just wealthy people, but middling people of all classes invested in the slave trade.[31] The Atlantic slave trade also undergirded

[29] Kimball, "What have we to do with slavery?," 181–194; Farrow, Lang, & Frank, *Complicity*, 48–55; Clark-Pujara, "Slavery and the Northern Economy," 96–115; Melish, "Northern Slavery and Its Legacies," 115–132; Jay Coughtry, *The Notorious Triangle: Rhode Island and the African Slave Trade, 1700–1807* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981). On the start of New England trade with West Indies, see Warren, *New England Bound*, 50–51. The triangular trade also provided New Englanders the means to make payments on their debts to English creditors for their sundry European imports, as New England trade with the West Indies generated a trade surplus to offset their trade deficit with England. New Englanders also used enslaved people as collateral for debt. Kimball, "What have we to do with slavery?," 181, 183–184; Warren, *New England Bound*, 55–56, 78–79.

[30] Joanne Pope Melish, "Northern Slavery and Its Legacies: Still a New (and Unwelcome?) Story," in Bethan Jay & Cynthia Lynn Lyerly (eds.), *Understanding and Teaching American Slavery* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2016), 116–117.

[31] Melish, "Northern Slavery and Its Legacies," 117; Rachel Chernos Lin, "The Rhode Island Slave-Traders: Butchers, Bakers, and Candlestick-Makers," *Slavery & Abolition*, vol. 23, no. 3 (Dec. 2002).

development of a number of sectors of the economy, including the banking and insurance industries, shipbuilding, iron-making, sail-making in the northern states, especially in New England and New York.[32] As to how white New Englanders regarded the morality of trafficking of human beings, consider that in 1794, when Congress made participation in the slave trade to foreign ports illegal, the number of slaving voyages leaving New England ports actually increased. And in the nine months between Congress' 1807 Act banning US participation in the transatlantic slave trade and January 1, 1808, when the ban went into effect, the rate of importation of Africans in American boats reached a record high. As Joan Melish explains, "far from responding to the 1807 Act as a moral wake-up call, Americans hastened to invest in the trade and to make as much money from it as possible in the short time allowed. And New England ships continued to carry slaves illegally at least through 1821." She continues, "By the end of the legal trade, in 1808, North American vessels, more than half of them New England owned, had accounted for two thousand slave-trading voyages that had transported close to a quarter-million African slaves to the Americas."[33]

The rise of sugar plantations in the West Indies meant that, as Barbados slaveowner George Walker explained, "To the sugar cane every thing is sacrificed." Most available land was devoted to sugar plantations; New England provided the necessary goods to provision them. Such goods included, as Rhode Island governor Richard Ward observed, "our African trade," which "often furnishes them with slaves for their plantations."[34] One slaveowner observed of his own class in the mid-seventeenth century that English planters were "so intent upon planting sugar that they had rather

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[32] Melish, "Northern Slavery and Its Legacies," 117. Melish explains that iron-making was "for ships' anchors and hardware as well as for iron pots as trade goods in Africa."

[33] Melish, "Northern Slavery and Its Legacies," 115–132; For a discussion of the increase in the number of slaving voyages as the 1808 deadline approached, see Rachel Chernos Lin, "The Rhode Island Slave-Traders: Butchers, Bakers, and Candlestick-Makers," *Slavery & Abolition*, vol. 23, no. 3 (Dec. 2002).

[34] Committee on Petitions (Examination of Witnesses, Testimony of George Walker of Barbodoes) (Mar. 16, 1775), in R. C. Simmons & P. D. G. Thomas (eds.), *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliament Respecting North America*, vol. 5: 1754–1783 (White Plains, NY: Kraus International Publications, 1986), 556; Kimball, "What have we to do with slavery?," 181, 183–184.

buy foode at very deare rates than produce it by labour, soe infinite is the profitt of sugar workes after once accomplished."[35] For instance, sugar plantations needed light to operate, and New England, primarily Massachusetts, provided them with the necessary commodities. The oil and spermaceti candles needed to produce light, both of which came from whales, were nearly all supplied by New England, mostly by whaling ships built in and operated from Massachusetts. Spermacetti candles were essential to sugar plantations, as "a sugar works often operated around the clock at harvest time," between January and May.[36] New Englanders, primarily Massachusetts, supplied fish, particularly dried, salted cod, to West Indies plantations, which became "the meat of all the slaves in all the West Indies." Higher-grade fish, known as "merchantable" fish, were more expensive and shipped to consumers in southern Europe, while lower-grade fish, known as "refuse" and deemed below European standards, was sold to the West Indies.[37] West Indian plantations also required livestock and enormous quantities of lumber, most of which was provided by New England. The ships to carry these goods to the West Indies, along with fishing fleets, whaling ships, coastal boats, and slavers, left from New England-built vessels crewed mostly by New England sailors. Kimball succinctly summarizes New England's crucial ties with sugar plantations in the West Indies during the colonial period:

> [U]ntil the American Revolution, New Englanders depended on the slave labor plantation regimes of the West Indies to purchase their exports. The profits from these transactions, in turn, provided payments against their debts for English goods. New Englanders were led by Rhode Islanders in importing slave-produced molasses from the West Indies and manufacturing it into rum to purchase slaves from Africa for future sale in the Caribbean. In addition, New Englanders supported the plantation regimes in the Caribbean by supplying critical infrastructure elements

[35] Warren, *New England Bound*, 55.

[36] Kimball, "What have we to do with slavery?," 184–186.

[37] Kimball, "What have we to do with slavery?," 186–187; Warren, *New England Bound*, 55; Daniel Vickers, *Farmers and Fishermen: Two Centuries of Work in Essex County, Massachusetts, 1630–1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 99.

like oil, candles, fish, livestock, and wood. To carry these commodities, New Englanders built a vast maritime fleet and employed locals to crew their ships.[38]

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Enslaved people in New England could be found working in every occupation, trade, and industry. The slave economy was not only connected to the rich, but also to less wealthy white colonists such as craftsmen, sailors, and farmwives. Nor was slavery was limited to port cities or larger towns, but rather went into the New England interior. Enslaved people worked on farms and raised products such as vegetables, forage crops, fruits, horses, cattle, and sheep. Most farms were relatively small, save for those in southern Rhode Island and eastern Connecticut. Bondspeople worked in every New England industry, engaging in forestry, shipbuilding, fishing, whaling, privateering, manufacturing, printing, construction, lumbering, candlemaking, iron forging, ropemaking, rum distilling, spinning, sailing (including on slave ships), sailmaking; they were house servants, cooks, laundresses, maids, nurses, coachmen, attendants, butlers, valets, blacksmiths, carpenters, coopers, bakers, tailors, sawyers, managers; they worked in homes, tanneries, cooperage plants, factories, ships, shipyards, and every other place of employment in the region. For example, the printer of the first newspaper published in New Hampshire was an enslaved man named Prince Fowle, and the slave of John Campbell, publisher of the *Boston News Letter*, likely helped print what was the first permanent newspaper in the British colonies.[39]

Significantly, enslaved people in New England were skilled in several different trades at once. A slave advertisement could describe an enslaved person as skilled in "all sorts of household work,

[38] Kimball, "What have we to do with slavery?," 192. "By 1775 nearly 80 percent of New England exports went to the British West Indies and not to other parts of what was to become the United States. The business of slavery allowed New England to become an economic powerhouse without ever relying on a staple crop." Clark-Pujara, "Slavery and the Northern Economy," 97.

[39] Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620–1776* (Eastford, CT: Martino Fine Books, 2017 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1942]), 100–123; Melish, "Northern Slavery and Its Legacies"; Hardesty, *Black Lives, Native Lands, White Worlds*, 70–92.

used to the cooper's business and a very good sailor," or "capable of doing all sorts of house work and has likewise been used to the printing business," or as one "that can do any sort of work in doors or out, [and] can work at the ship carpenters trade," or "skilled in all household arts and especially talented in needle work."[40]

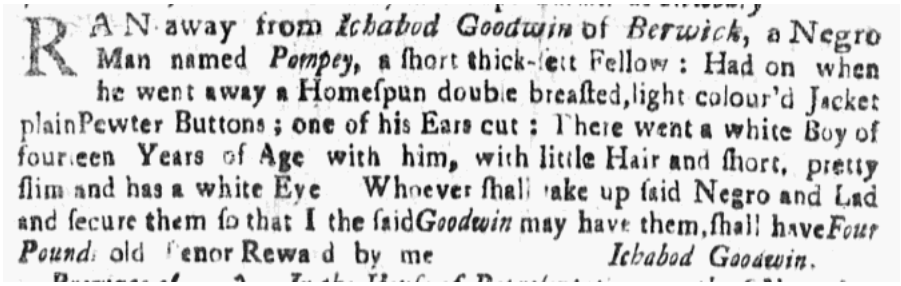
It is important to note that owning human beings was much more than simply a status symbol for whites. Household labor was incredibly burdensome in the colonial period. The household was a productive unit in colonial America, and slaves in the household were responsible for caring for sheeps, goats, pigs, chickens, cows, draft animals, for planting tending, and harvesting from herb, dye, and vegetable gardens and fruit trees, for gathering and processing raw fibers to turn them into woven and sewn clothing for the family, for cutting, splitting, and stacking firewood, for cutting and milling lumber, and for digging out stumps and stones and making stone walls, to name just a few.[41]

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Runaway slave advertisements demonstrate the torture enslaved people endured at the hands of New England whites. One enslaved person who ran away from his owner had "a Pair of Pothooks around his Neck"; another, "an iron collar riveted around his Neck and a chain fastened to it"; yet another man had "four Chains of a Scale Beam lock'd about his Neck"; another wore "an Iron Collar

[40] Lorenzo Johnston Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620–1776* (Eastford, CT: Martino Fine Books, 2017 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1942]), 100–123; Warren, *New England Bound*, 9–10; Melish, "Northern Slavery and Its Legacies." "Africans and African Americans were most densely concentrated in towns and cities. In ports, they loaded and unloaded the boats and worked in shipyards, ropewalks, and other maritime industries. Frequently they were hired out as laborers or as sailors on merchant ships (and sometimes on slave ships). Urban slaves also performed domestic labor in the homes of middling and wealthy artisans, merchants, and elites. Slaves worked in saltworks, iron furnaces, candle works, and other manufacturing operations. Many hired out part of their own time or participated in trade in other ways and negotiated agreements with their owners to keep part of their earnings. … Most northern slaves, however, lived and worked on the farms clustered around small towns. As colonists near the coast moved westward in search of more or better land, they often brought one or two slaves with them. Therefore, even families living on the frontiers of settlement often had one or two slaves. On these rural farms, slaves worked alongside the white men and women of the household. Enslaved women performed household labor, cooking, washing, spinning, weaving, and caring for children. Enslaved men practiced carpentry, stone masonry, and other skilled tasks in the field and the barn." Melish, "Northern Slavery and Its Legacies," 118–119.

[41] Melish, "Northern Slavery and Its Legacies," 119–120.


RAN away from *Ichabod Goodwin* of *Berwick*, a Negro Man named *Pompey*, a ſhort thick-ſett Fellow: Had on when he went away a Homeſpun double breaſted, light colour'd Jacket plain Pewter Buttons; one of his Ears cut: There went a white Boy of fourteen Years of Age with him, with little Hair and ſhort, pretty ſlim and has a white Eye. Whoever ſhall take up ſaid Negro and Lad and ſecure them ſo that I the ſaid *Goodwin* may have them, ſhall have *Four Pound* old Tenor Reward by me *Ichabod Goodwin*.

*Boston Post-Boy* (Jan. 25, 1748).

… with the Name of his Master engraven upon it in Capital letters."[42] One can also gather prior instances of torture from descriptions of enslaved people in runaway advertisements, as is likely the case with Pompey who had "one of his Ears cut": "RAN away from *Ichabod Goodwin* of *Berwick*, a Negro Man named *Pompey*, a short thick-sett Fellow: Had on when he went away a Homespun double breasted, light colour'd Jacket plain Pewter Buttons; one of his Ears cut: There went a white Boy of fourteen Years of Age with him, with little Hair and short, pretty slim and has a white Eye."[43]

Enslaved people often stole food in New England, which speaks to their treatment by whites. There was no shortage of food in New England, and from the mid-seventeenth century onward, white colonists in New England ate relatively well. Slaves' need to steal food, then, arose not from famine-induced hunger but from being refused access to adequate food. This is all the more so given the stark punishment that was meted out for stealing food that was not worth all that much.[44]

Bondspeople everywhere, including New England, resisted their enslavement in many ways, from work slowdowns to stealing to running away to killing their masters.[45] For example, an enslaved girl named Phillis, about 17 years old, was sentenced to death for poisoning her master's child. Shortly

[42] Peter Benes & Jane Montague Benes, "Introduction," in Peter Benes & Jane Montague Benes (eds.), *Slavery/Antislavery in New England* (Boston: Boston University, 2005) (The Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings, 2003), 5.

[43] *Boston Post-Boy* (Jan. 25, 1748), 2.

[44] Warren, *New England Bound*, 210–212.

[45] On enslaved resistance, see Kerima M. Lewis, "Captives on the Move: Tracing the Transatlantic Movements of Africans from the Caribbean to Colonial New England," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, vol. 44, no. 2 (Summer 2016), 144–175; Warren, *New England Bound*, 187–217.

before Phillis was to be hanged, her mother "dy'd with an Excess of Grief."[46] In another case, a group of African-descended people (we do not know for sure whether they are free or enslaved) set several fires in Charlestown: "On Friday last a Barn full of Hay was burnt down to the Ground at Charlstown: Three Fires have happen'd there in a short Time of one another, whereby great Loss has been sustained, and the Town greatly endager'd; and we hear that Yesterday the Town had like to have sustained another and still greater Loss by Fire; but the Preparations made for perpetrating so horrid a Scene, was timely and happily discovered: 'Tis suppos'd a young Negro Girl instigated and set on by one or more Negro Men, was the Instrument thereof."[47]

Enslaved people could be traded for other slaves that better suited the enslaver's needs: "*Any Person that has a Negro* Boy that can be well recommended, who prefers Outdoor-Work, may exchange him for another as likely as any in *Boston*, imported last Year."[48] Families were often split up at sale, as was quite possibly the case with this mother and child: below his ad for "A Quantity of choice Feathers, Mackrel and pickled salmon," John Torrey added an "N. B.": "At the same Place to be Sold, a strong, healthy Negro Woman, of 24 Years of Age, and a Negro Boy between 2 and 3 years old, together or a part, as shall best suit the Buyer. The Woman is honest and sober, has liv'd on a Farm, and is a good Servant in a House."[49]

As legislation and constitutional interpretations made it clear that slavery would eventually end in Northern states, slaveowners began to emancipate their slaves individually, and more slaves began to run away and fewer slaveowners bothered to advertise for their return. But many northern

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[46] *Boston Evening-Post* (Mar. 4, 1751), 1; *Boston Gazette* (Apr. 16, 1751), 2; *Boston Evening-Post* (May 20, 1751), 2; Boston Record Commissioners, A Report of the Record Commissioners of the City of Boston, later, Records Relating to the Early History of Boston (Boston, Massachusetts: Municipal Printing Office, 1876-1909), 39 Volumes, Selectmen's Minutes (1751), 260–261; Suffolk County Court Files, v. 419, case no. 67676 (image 392), https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-CSRW-V3PY-Y?i=391&cat=240378.

[47] *Boston Gazette* (Aug. 8, 1749), 2.

[48] *Boston Gazette* (Mar. 29, 1762), 4.

[49] *Boston Gazette* Sep. 20, 1773.

enslavers, seeking to protect their investments, sold their slaves south to states where slavery remained legal, and several state governments passed legislation forbidding owners from selling their slaves out of state.[50] Additionally, even after slavery gradually dissipated in Massachusetts, newspapers nevertheless published runaway slave advertisements from other states. For instance, the following advertisement from one Benjamin Coddington of New York was printed in a Massachusetts newspaper on May 2, 1808: "Thirty Dollars Reward. RAN away from the subscriber, on the 17th of April last, a NEGRO MAN, named TOM, about 30 years of age, of a small (illegible), and well set; had on when he went away a wool hat, long straight-bodied coat, of a light colour, with large buttons, and a star on them, striped vest, and a pair of black and white mixed (illegible) woolley trousers. Went away with a stuttering black man, named FRANK, who belonged to one of my neighbours. Whoever will take up said Slave, and return him to the subscriber, living in Charleston, Montgomery Country, (N.Y.) on the Mohawk River, about 26 miles West of Schenectady, shall receive the above reward, and all reasonable charges."[51]

**Thomas Scipio: Head of Shirley Place**

In 1738, William Shirley's oldest daughter, Elizabeth Shirley Hutchinson, married Eliakim Hutchinson, a merchant who was "by far the richest man in Roxbury before the Revolution." In 1763, they purchased the Roxbury estate from Shirley and lived there until they fled to Boston in 1775, around the time of the Battle of Lexington and Concord.[52] Most of what we know of slavery at Shirley Place concerns the people Eliakim Hutchinson and Elizabeth Shirley Hutchinson enslaved.

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[50] Melish, "Northern Slavery and Its Legacies," 125.

[51] *The Sun* (Pittsfield, MA) (May 14, 1808).

[52] A brief overview of Eliakim Hutchinson can be found in Clifford K. Shipton "Eliakim Hutchinson," in *Sibley's Harvard Graduates*, vol. VIII: 1726–1730 (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1951), 726–729. The quote is from Frederick C. Detwiller, *Historic Structures Report: Shirley Eustis House* (Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, 1979), Part I, 28.

Since they fled their home in Roxbury at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, the Hutchinsons were desperately attempting to regain their wealth. Elizabeth Brinley Hutchinson stated in her 1784 memorial (hereinafter "Elizabeth's Memorial [1784]") that she included

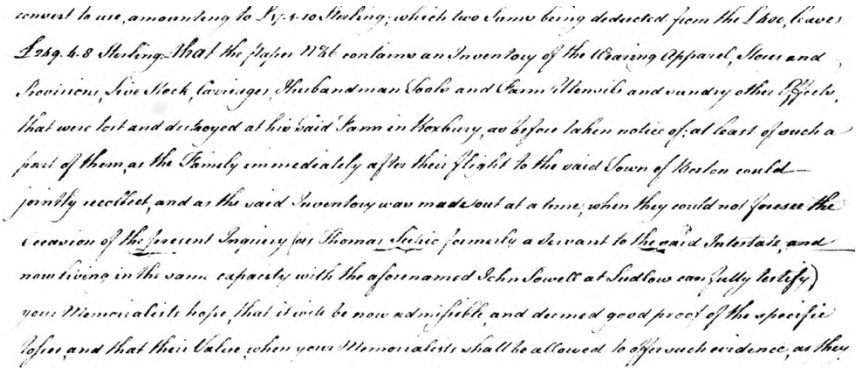
> an Inventory [hereinafter referred to as "Boston Inventory"] of the Wearing Apparel, Stores and Provisions, Live Stock, Carriages, Husbandman Tools and Farm Utensils(?) and sundry other Effects, that were lost and destroyed at his [Eliakim Hutchinson's] said Farm in Roxbury, as before taken notice of at least of such a part of them, as the Family immediately after their flight to the said Town of Boston could jointly recollect, and as the said Inventory was made out at a time, when they could not forsee the Occasion of the present Inquiry (as **Thomas Scipio** formerly a servant to the said Intestate [Eliakim Hutchinson], and now living in the same capacity with the aforementioned John Powell at Ludlow can fully testify), your Memorialists hope, that it will be now admissible, and deemed good proof of the specific losses, and that their Value, when your Memorialists shall be allowed to offer such evidence, as they are possessed of, and can produce, will be thought to be estimated in a fair and equitable manner.[53]

Here one witnesses a rare occurrence: an enslaved person being addressed by a white person by two names: not simply Scipio or even a shortened nickname like Tom or Tom Scipio, but Thomas Scipio. Hutchinson probably only refers to him in this more dignified manner, however, because she badly needed funds from the British Treasury and believed providing Thomas Scipio as a witness would aid her plea. Naturally, she wanted him to be credible in the eyes of the British Treasury. Hence his full name. This is the only time on record Thomas Scipio was referred to by his full name.

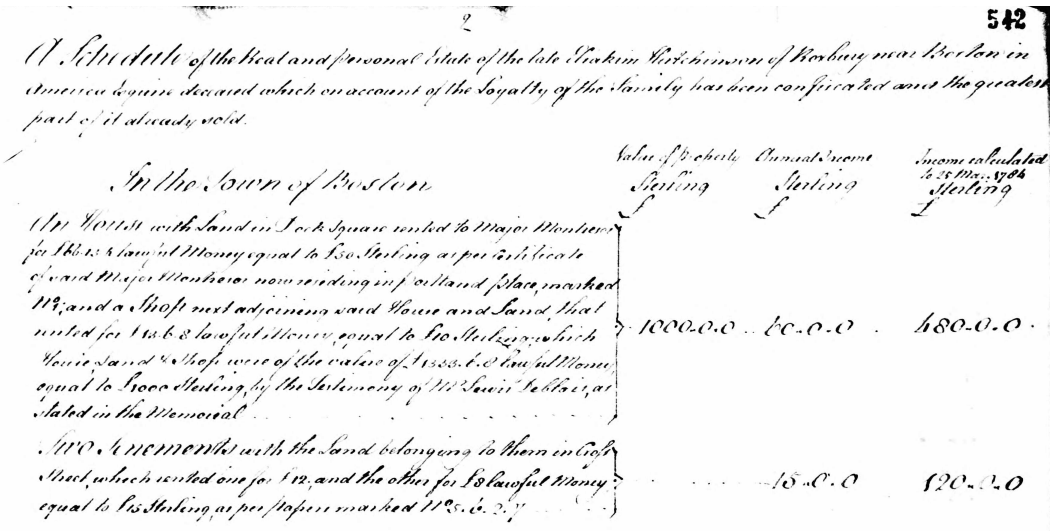
While the Boston Inventory to which Elizabeth refers in her memorial (1784) (along with a second inventory, written by Eliakim Hutchinson "some years" before his death, hereinafter referred to as "Roxbury Inventory") is lost to history, her 1784 inventory of Eliakim Hutchinson's property

[53] Elizabeth Hutchinson Memorial, 1784, UK Archives 13/46 (images 745–753, quote on 749). Elizabeth Hutchinson 1784 Memorial, UK National Archives (Public Records Office), American Loyalist Claims, Series II, AO13/46 (images 745–753). The bold font of "Thomas Scipio" is my emphasis, though "Scipio" was underlined in the letter; whether inadvertent or not is not clear.

("Elizabeth's Inventory [1784]") has been preserved. That inventory lists no enslaved people.[54] However, in an early 1775 inventory of Eliakim Hutchinson's property that his son William appended to his memorial to the British Treasury ("Eliakim's Inventory [1775]") (it could be that Eliakim's Inventory [1775] is a copy of the now-lost Boston Inventory to which Elizabeth refers), four enslaved people were listed: "a Negro man named Scipio" and "a Negro Woman and 2 children." Eliakim's Inventory (1775) does not indicate what if any familial relations there were between the four enslaved people.[55]



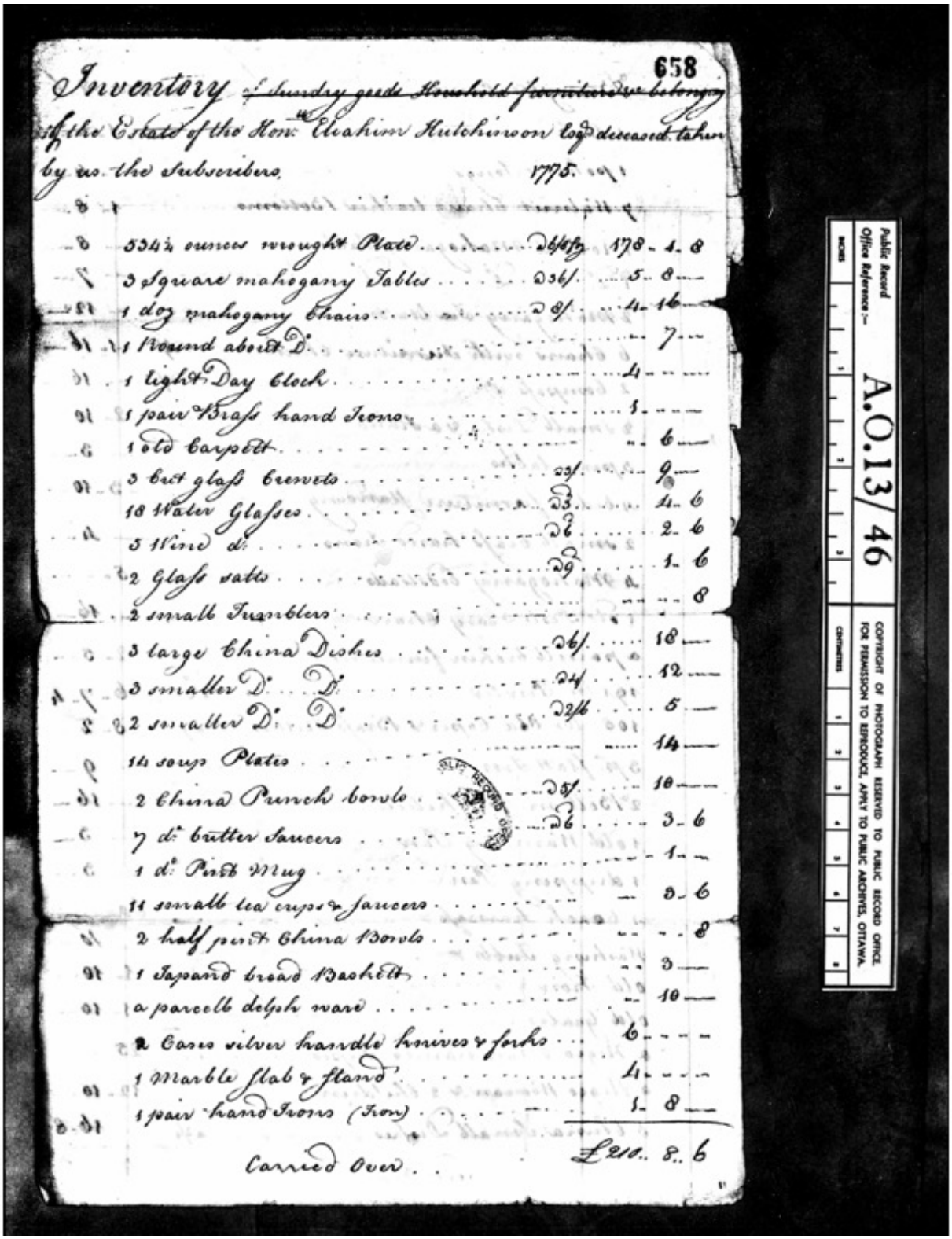
Excerpt Elizabeth Hutchinson's Memorial to the British Treasury mentioning the Hutchinsons' former slave, Thomas Scipio (1784).



Part of Elizabeth Hutchinson's Inventory (1784).

[54] Elizabeth Hutchinson Memorial (1784) & Elizabeth's Inventory (1784), UK National Archives (Public Records Office), American Loyalist Claims, Series II, AO13/46 (images 745–753).

[55] Eliakim Hutchinson 1775 inventory, UK National Archives (Public Records Office), American Loyalist Claims, Series II, AO13/46 (images 926–927).

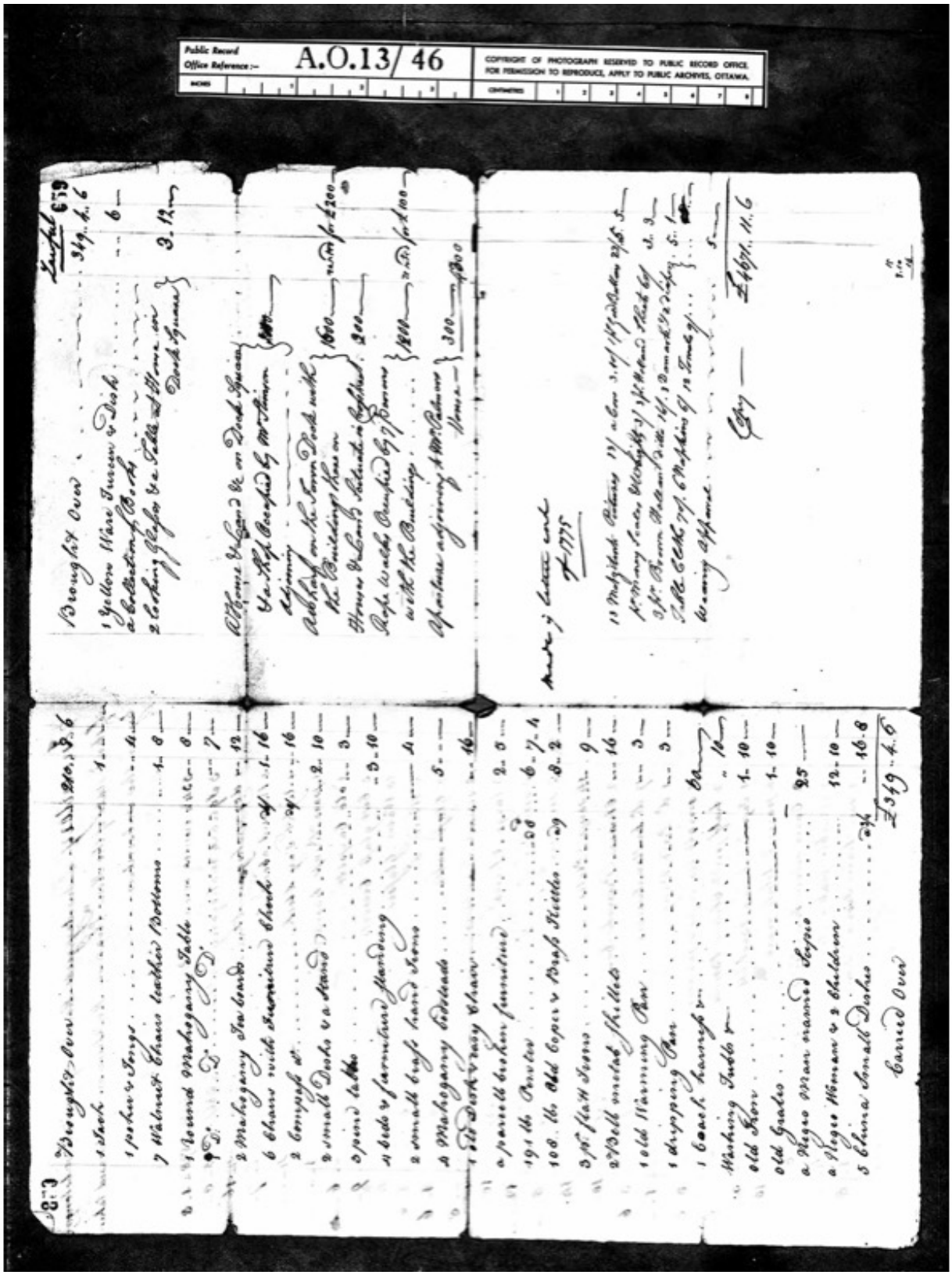


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Inventory ~~of sundry goods Household furniture &c belonging~~
of the Estate of the Hon.ble Chahim Hutchinson Esq.r deceased taken
by us the Subscribers 1775.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | 534½ ounces wrought Plate | 6/8 | 178 | 1. 8 |
| 7 | 3 Square mahogany Tables | 36/ | 5 | 8 |
| 81 | 1 doz mahogany Chairs | 8/ | 4 | 16 |
| 11 | 1 Round about D.o | | | 7 |
| 01 | 1 light.d Day Clock | | 4 | |
| 01 | 1 pair Brass hand Irons | | 1 | |
| 6 | 1 old Carpett | | | 6 |
| 01 | 3 but.t glass Decanters | 2/ | | 9 |
| | 18 Water Glasses | 3 | | 4. 6 |
| | 5 Wine d.o | 2 | | 2. 6 |
| | 2 Glass salts | 9 | | 1. 6 |
| 11 | 2 small Tumblers | | | 8 |
| 0 | 3 large China Dishes | 6/ | | 18 |
| | 3 smaller D.o D.o | 4/ | | 12 |
| 8 | 2 smaller D.o D.o | 2/6 | | 5 |
| | 14 soup Plates | | | 14 |
| 01 | 2 China Punch bowls | 5/ | | 10 |
| 6 | 7 d.o butter Saucers | 6 | | 3. 6 |
| 6 | 1 d.o Pint Mug | | | 1 |
| | 11 small tea cups & Saucers | | | 5. 6 |
| 11 | 2 half pint.t China Bowls | | | 8 |
| 01 | 1 Japand bread Basket | | | 3 |
| 01 | a parcell delph ware | | | 10 |
| | 2 Cases silver handle knives & forks | | 6 | |
| 01 | 1 Marble Slab & Stand | | 1 | |
| 01 | 1 pair hand Irons (Iron) | | 1 | 8 |
| 8 01 | | | | |
| | Carried Over | | £210 | 8. 6 |

Public Record Office Reference :- A.O.13/46
INCHES CENTIMETRES
COPYRIGHT OF PHOTOGRAPH RESERVED TO PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE. FOR PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE, APPLY TO PUBLIC ARCHIVES, OTTAWA.




A 1775 inventory of Eliakim Hutchinson's real and personal estate, appended to his son William's memorial to the British Treasury. Notice the four enslaved people listed and valued in the inventory. "Eliakim's Inventory (1775)."

Perhaps Elizabeth Hutchinson did not think the British Treasury would compensate for her for enslaved people in 1784. However, it seems more likely that the Hutchinsons sold Eliakim's slaves sometime between 1775 and 1784. Recall that Elizabeth's Memorial (1784) stated that Eliakim's former slave Thomas Scipio—"a Negro man named Scipio" in Eliakim's 1775 inventory—was now living "in the same capacity" (i.e., as a slave) with John Powell. Thomas Scipio was no longer the Hutchinsons' slave, but rather the property of John Powell, likely through sale.[56] It would make sense, then, that Scipio does not show up on Elizabeth's Inventory (1784), because Elizabeth would have already been compensated for him. We do not know what happened to the other three enslaved people listed in Eliakim's Inventory (1775) (who, like Scipio, are not listed in the 1784 inventory), but it is not unlikely that they suffered the same fate as Scipio: sale. Indeed, the Hutchinson's had lost much of their wealth and, though far from being poor, needed money to sustain the lifestyle they believed a family of their station deserved, as evidenced by their continual pleas to the British government for money. Some of the Hutchinson's slaves, like many enslaved people during the Revolutionary War, may have run away and freed themselves, but in that case they would likely still appear on Eliakim Inventory (1784), as legally, they would have still been his property when the Hutchinson's fled their Roxbury estate.

It is important to note that, as per Elizabeth's Memorial (1784) to the British government, Thomas Scipio still seems to be enslaved and living with John Powell in Ludlow, Massachusetts in *1784*—after the 1783 *Walker v. Jennison* decision that historians have incorrectly claimed abolished slavery in the state. As Gloria Whiting has demonstrated through meticulous research in probate records, slavery began petering out in Massachusetts in the mid-1770s but continued in the state well

[56] Elizabeth Hutchinson Memorial (1784) & Elizabeth's Inventory (1784), UK National Archives (Public Records Office), American Loyalist Claims, Series II, AO13/46 (images 745–753) (quote at image 749).

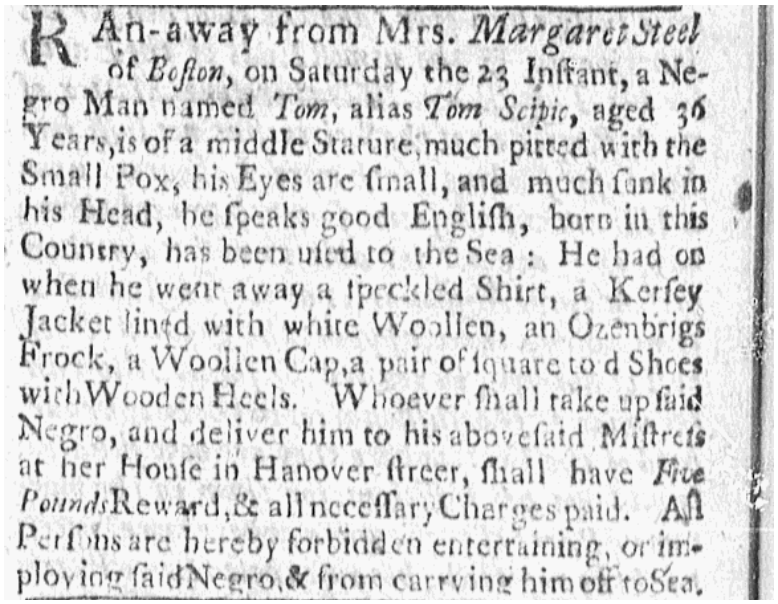
Eliakim Hutchinson 1775 inventory ("Eliakim's Inventory [1775]"), UK National Archives (Public Records Office), American Loyalist Claims, Series II, AO13/46 (images 926–927).

after 1783, likely into the 1790s at least. Contemporaries interpreted neither the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 nor the *Walker v. Jennison* (1783) decision as abolishing slavery in the state. Moreover, while the 1790 federal census does not list any enslaved people in Massachusetts, there is evidence that census takers discouraged the state's slaveowners from declaring their slaves.[57]

* * *

In 1736, a "Tom Scipio" appeared in a runaway slave advertisement. Scipio had absconded from Margaret Steel, who attended King's Chapel with Eliakim Hutchinson.

> *"Ran-away from Mrs. Margaret Steel of Boston, on Saturday the 23 Instant, a Negro Man named Tom, alias Tom Scipio, aged 36 Years, is of a middle Statue, much pitted with the Small Pox, his Eyes are small, and much sunk in his Head, he speaks good English, born in this Country, has been used to the sea: He had on when he went away a speckled Shirt, a Kersey Jacket lined with white Woollen, an Ozenbrigs Frock, a Woollen Cap, a pair of square to'd Shoes with Wooden Heels. Whoever shall take up said Negro, and deliver him to his abovesaid Mistress at her House in Hanover Street, shall have Five Pounds Reward, & all necessary Charges paid. All Persons are hereby forbidden entertaining, or imploying said Negro & from carrying him off to Sea."*[58]


RAn-away from Mrs. *Margaret Steel* of *Boſton*, on Saturday the 23 Inſtant, a Negro Man named *Tom*, alias *Tom Scipio*, aged 36 Years, is of a middle Stature, much pitted with the Small Pox, his Eyes are ſmall, and much ſunk in his Head, he ſpeaks good Engliſh, born in this Country, has been uſed to the Sea: He had on when he went away a ſpeckled Shirt, a Kerſey Jacket lined with white Woollen, an Ozenbrigs Frock, a Woollen Cap, a pair of ſquare to'd Shoes with Wooden Heels. Whoever ſhall take up ſaid Negro, and deliver him to his aboveſaid Miſtreſs at her Houſe in Hanover ſtreet, ſhall have *Five Pounds* Reward, & all neceſſary Charges paid. All Perſons are hereby forbidden entertaining, or imploying ſaid Negro, & from carrying him off to Sea.

*New-England Weekly Journal* (Oct. 26, 1736).

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[57] Gloria McCahon Whiting, "Emancipation Without the Constitution or the Courts: The Case of Revolutionary Massachusetts." *Slavery & Abolition*, vol. 41, no. 3 (2020), 458–478.

[58] *New-England Weekly Journal* (Oct. 26, 1736), 2. Also reprinted in Antonio T. Bly, *Escaping Bondage: A Documentary History of Runaway Slaves in Eighteenth-Century New England, 1700–1789* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012), 44. Thanks to Faye Charpentier for pointing me to this runaway advertisement. Faye Charpentier. *Slavery and King's Chapel*. Boston: King's Chapel, 2019.

It is very possible that Tom Scipio and Thomas Scipio are the same person given their uncommon full names, the close relations between Margaret Steel and Eliakim Hutchinson, and that enslaved people in Massachusetts (and elsewhere) were commonly bought and sold (and rented). If they were the same person, it would mean that Scipio lived until at least the age of 84. (Recall that Margaret Steel's advertisement indicated "Tom Scipio" was born in 1700, and Elizabeth Hutchinson's Memorial [1784] mentions "Thomas Scipio" was living in Ludlow with John Powell.) "Tom" and "Thomas" Scipio being the same person would also help explain why Eliakim Hutchinson's 1771 tax record only lists one slave, when he likely had, at a minimum, five at the time. Most historians only look at a transcription of the Massachusetts 1771 tax records published in 1978 or available online.[59] Doing so, one might conclude that Eliakim was simply lying about the number of slaves he had, as both sources indicate he owned only one "servants for life." Lying about slaves on tax records was common because slaves were taxable property. However, if one looks at the original tax records, they will find that the actual relevant heading is "Servants for Life, *between 14 and 45 Years of Age*."[60] We know the approximate ages of three of Eliakim's five slaves in 1771: two are children and one is 61. This would mean that Eliakim was *not* lying about at least 3 of his slaves; they were simply not in the relevant age group. That leaves two of his slaves that could show up on his tax record: one "Negro Woman" and Thomas Scipio (both listed in Eliakim's Inventory [1775]). If Tom Scipio is the same person as Thomas Scipio, then just like the 3 aforementioned slaves, he would not show up on Eliakim's tax record on account of his age, for he would have been 71 years old at the time of the tax valuation. That would mean the only possible Hutchinson slave (for which we have records) that could have appeared on his tax valuation was the "Negro Woman" from Eliakim's Inventory (1775). If so,

[59] Pruitt, Bettye Hobbs. *The Massachusetts Tax Valuation List of 1771*. Boston: G.K. Hall & Co. 1978. 1771 Massachusetts Tax Inventory. https://sites.fas.harvard.edu/~hsb41/masstax/masstax.cgi.

[60] Massachusetts Archives, vol. 134, p. 45 (image 256), https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9Y5-3J4D?cat=1055547.

then the "Negro Woman" must have been between fourteen and forty-five years of age. It would also mean Eliakim was likely not lying about the number of slaves he owned (or at least those he owned in the early-1770s for which records exist).[61]

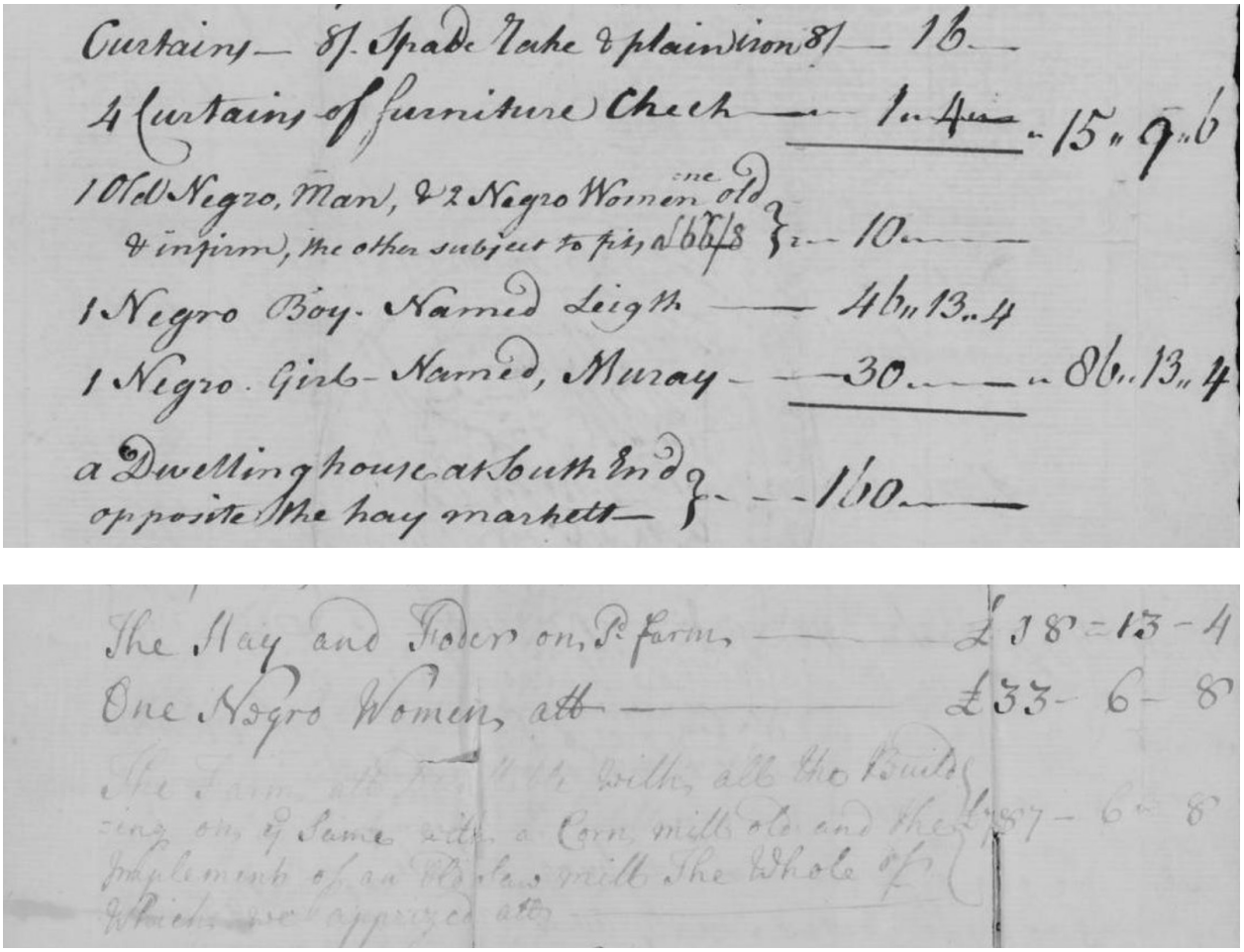
There is also an argument to be made that Tom Scipio and Thomas Scipio were not the same person. But even if they are different people, it is still very possible that Thomas Scipio was Tom Scipio's son, given the tradition of enslaved parents naming their children after themselves or other kin, along with the fact that while Tom or Thomas and Scipio were relatively common names for African-descended people in the Americas, both names together (i.e. Tom Scipio or Thomas Scipio), were far less common. If they were the same person, Thomas Scipio would be 75 years old at the time Eliakim's Inventory (1775) was written. In that inventory, Scipio is valued at £25, while "a Negro woman & 2 children" are together valued at around £12. As an elderly man, it would not make sense for Scipio to be valued so much more than Eliakim's other slaves.[62] For instance, fellow King's Chapel vestryman James Gordon's inventory included "1 Old Negro Man, & 2 Negro Women[,] one old & infirm, the other subject to fits," each valued "@66/8" or £3. 6s. 8d., for a total of £10, while "1

[61] Eliakim Hutchinson 1775 inventory, UK National Archives (Public Records Office), American Loyalist Claims, Series II, AO13/46 (images 926–927).

[62] Eliakim Hutchinson 1775 inventory, UK National Archives (Public Records Office), American Loyalist Claims, Series II, AO13/46 (images 926–927).

While there might possibly be a neutral party conducting Eliakim's Inventory (1775) following his death—thus resulting in a value of Scipio well below 25 pounds—it is likely that a neutral party did not conduct Eliakim's Inventory (1775). Elizabeth Hutchinson mentions that Eliakim made an inventory "some years" before his death ("Roxbury Inventory"). Eliakim Hutchinson, for one or another reason, could have assigned Scipio a high value in that Roxbury Inventory. If Eliakim's Inventory (1775) was also based on the Roxbury Inventory, it could have assigned the same high value to Scipio. Whether or not the Eliakim's Inventory (1775) was based on the Roxbury Inventory (which has been lost to history), the surviving Hutchinsons could have changed the inventory. That is, suppose Eliakim's inventory assigned Scipio a low monetary value (or even did not list Scipio, say, because it was a rough inventory focused only on his real, and not personal, estate), Eliakim's wife Elizabeth or their son William (or their lawyers) could have assigned Scipio a high value in Eliakim's Inventory (1775). After all, Elizabeth Hutchinson did feel she needed Thomas Scipio as a witness to corroborate her losses during the American revolution to the British Treasury, and clearly wanted him to seem credible (as additionally evidenced by referring to him in her memorial to the British Treasury as Thomas Scipio rather than simply Scipio or Tom—by one name rather than both or at least a title of Mr. or Mrs., as white people would have been referred to).

Negro Boy Named Leigth," "1 Negro Girl Named Muray," and "One Negro Women [sic]" were valued at £46. 13s. 4d., £30, and £33. 6s. 8d, respectively.[63]



James Gordon's Inventory, 1770 (no. 14734).

* * *

Note the following. First, in 1784, Elizabeth Hutchinson recalled that her husband Eliakim,

> *in April 1775 (on the day of the Battle of Lexington) was obliged to abandon his House and Effects at Roxbury aforesaid, and take refuge in the said Town of Boston*, as is notorious to almost every American Sufferer from the said Province[.] … Eliakim Hutchinson in a short time after his quitting his said House and Effects, as before related, and before the Evacuation of the said Town of Boston by the

[63] *Suffolk County, MA: Probate File Papers*. Online database. *AmericanAncestors.org*. New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2017-2019. (From records supplied by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Archives. Digitized images provided by FamilySearch.org), https://www.americanancestors.org/DB2735/i/48699/14734-co14/69565628. See also Suffolk County Probate Records, vol. 69, pp. 389–392.

> King's Troops, under whose protection your Memorialist, Elizabeth Hutchinson, and her Family left their easy and affluent circumstances in that part of the world, died intestate.[64]

Second, a court record from 1780 stating that

> the said Eliakim Hutchinson before the said nineteenth Day of April AD 1775 and after the Arrival of Thomas Gage Esq[r] Late Commander in Chief of all his Britainicc [sic] Majestys Forces in North America at Boston the Metropolis of this State vizt on the *fourth Day of September AD 1774 did withdraw from Dorchester [Roxbury] aforesaid his usual place of Habitation in this State in to the said Town of Boston with an Intention to seek and Obtain the protection of the said Thomas Gage* and of the said forces then and there being under his Command and that the said Eliakim Hutchinson since the said Nineteenth Day of the same April vizt *on the tenth Day of August AD 1775 at said Boston died* and that the said Eliakim Hutchinson by means of all and Singular the Offences aforesaid hath freely renounced all Civil and Political Relations to each and every of the said United States and hath become an Alien.[65]

Third, a letter from Boston placing Eliakim Hutchinson's death in that city on June 22, 1775.[66] (This letter conflicts with the 1780 court case stating that Eliakim died in Boston on August 10, 1775. Eliakim could not have died on August 10 because the letter that reported his death was dated August 1, 1775. It is reasonable to assume that Eliakim died sometime between June 22 and August 1, 1775.)

These three documents—Elizabeth Hutchinson's Memorial (1784), the court record (1780), and the letter from Boston (1775)—difference in dates notwithstanding, agree that Hutchinson fled to Boston (as did many Loyalists) from his Roxbury estate and died in Boston in 1775. This is important because it contradicts research stating Eliakim died in his Roxbury estate or in Halifax,

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[64] Elizabeth Hutchinson 1784 Memorial, UK National Archives (Public Records Office), American Loyalist Claims, Series II, AO13/46 (images 745–753) (quote on images 745–746).

[65] State Mass[ts] vs Hutchinson (Oct. 3, 1780). Massachusetts Court of Common Please (Suffolk County) (image 506–510) (quote on images 506–507, pp. 156–157). Court records, 1780. Suffolk County Courthouse, Clerk of Courts, Boston, MA.

[66] Force, Peter. *American Archives Fourth Series … A Documentary History … in Six Series*. Fourth ser., vol. III. Washington: 1837, Letter no. 8, pp. 32–33.

Nova Scotia. Eliakim's wife, Elizabeth Hutchinson, fled to Boston with him and subsequently to England. Thomas Scipio and the Hutchinsons' other slaves did not sail to England with Elizabeth.

Instead, evidence suggests that Thomas Scipio and Eliakim's other slaves remained at their Roxbury estate for at least a brief period after the Hutchinsons fled to Boston. A committee appointed to confiscate and put to use "such Estates only as may be found without Occupant or possessor" observed in August 1775 that "many of them who are left in possession under pretence of occupants are only negroes or servants &c and that in some instances the Officers Doctors and others belonging to the army have entered upon & taken possession & make waste on s[ai]d Estates."[67] This description matches that of the Shirley House during the Revolutionary War, which was used as a military barracks and a hospital. Much damage was done to the Shirley House during this period. The committee, then, was likely referring in part to the Shirley House. The committee's resolution also makes it evident that several Loyalists left their slaves in charge of their estates in an attempt to prevent confiscation. Indeed, this committee was probably also referring to the estates of the Vassals of Cambridge, at which their slave Anthony (Tony) Vassal was likely placed in charge of the Vassal brothers' estates before they were overtaken by military and medical personnel.[68] From Elizabeth Hutchinson's Memorial (1784) we can infer that the Hutchinsons trusted Scipio (recall that she listed him as a reference for the British government), and the Hutchinsons clearly did not want to lose their property. The upshot is that for a brief time, Thomas Scipio appears to have been the head of the entire Shirley Estate. What might that experience have been like for Thomas Scipio? His story has yet to be told.

[67] Massachusetts Archives, vol. 154, p. 30 (image 770).

[68] Samuel Francis Batchelder, *Notes on Colonel Henry Vassal (1721–1769), His Wife Penelope Royall, His House at Cambridge, and His Slaves Tony & Darby* (Cambridge, MA, 1917), also printed in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical Society*, vol. 10 (1915).

**Affy & Cesar: Enslaved Children at the Shirley Estate**

Recall that Eliakim's Inventory (1775) lists four enslaved people. Between "old Grates" and "5 China Small Dishes," one finds "a Negro Man named Scipio," valued at £25, and "a Negro Woman & 2 Children," together valued at just over £12. The "Negro Man named Scipio" refers to Thomas Scipio, as we learn from Elizabeth's Memorial (1784), in which she lists him as a reference that can corroborate her claims of financial loss. The "Negro Woman & 2 Children" listed in Eliakim's Inventory (1775) remain nameless—for the moment.[69] The "Negro Woman" could be Jane, one of William Shirley's former slaves. When Eliakim Hutchinson bought the Roxbury estate from his father-in-law, William Shirley, when the latter became governor of the Bahamas, he could have also purchased Jane and the other slaves in Shirley's household. Alternatively, Shirley may have sold Jane and the other people he enslaved or taken them with him to the Bahamas. It is unlikely that Jane died between the time we meet her in the King's Chapel baptism records and Shirley's departure for the Bahamas, as she does not appear in the church's burial records.

The King's Chapel baptism records reveal the names of the "2 children" in Eliakim's Inventory (1775): Cesar and Affy. "Cesar a Negroe Child[,] Servant to Eliakim Hutchinson Esq$^{r}$," and "Affy a Negroe Child[,] Servant to Eliakim Hutchinson Esq$^{r}$," were baptized at the church on October 6, 1773.[70] Affy is quite possibly the daughter of Affey, one of James Gordon's slaves. Indeed, James Gordon and Eliakim Hutchinson knew each other, as they were both vestrymen of King's Chapel.

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[69] Elizabeth Hutchinson 1784 Memorial, UK National Archives (Public Records Office), American Loyalist Claims, Series II, AO13/46 (images 745–753).

Eliakim Hutchinson 1775 inventory ("Eliakim's Inventory [1775]"), UK National Archives (Public Records Office), American Loyalist Claims, Series II, AO13/46 (images 926–927).

[70] Bell, James B. (ed). *The Colonial Records of Kings Chapel, 1686-1776*, vol. 2 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts. 2019) (Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XCI), 649 (online version). The original King's Chapel Records are at the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is closed due to the pandemic.

Gordon and Shirley served as church wardens together.[71] Gordon, like Hutchinson, owned several human beings. (On March 12, 1752, five of Gordon's slaves, including Affey, were baptized at King's Chapel. They were all listed as "Adult[s]" and "Negroe Servant[s] of James Gordon": Prince, Ovid, Leith, Affey, Sinah, and Bess.)[72] Gordon had sold at least some enslaved children before, indicating that he did not find the practice despicable: "Absconded from her Master John Wass of Boston, a Negro Girl, named Letitia formerly bought of Mr. James Gordon. Whoever will take up the said Negro, and bring her to said Wass at the South End of Boston, shall be satisfied for their trouble."[73] Gordon was also fine publicly associating himself with the torture of enslaved people: "RAN away from Mr. Benjamin Astills, now of Boston, on Friday the 17th of September Instant, a Negro Man named Cajo about 21 Years old, with an Iron Collar about his Neck, with the Name of his Master engraven upon it in Capital Letters. He had on a double breasted Jacket of a Greenish colour, an Oznabrigs Frock and Trouzers, but no Hat or Cap, Shoes or Stockings. Whoever shall take up the said Negro, and bring him to Mr. James Gordon, Merchant, living in Cornhill in Boston, shall have Twenty Shillings Reward, besides all necessary Charges paid."[74] Moreover, enslaved parents, when they were able to choose their children's names, often named their children after themselves or other kin.[75] Gordon's inventory, for instance, lists several enslaved people, including "1 Negro Boy Named

[71] For instance, in 1735 and 1736, among other years, Gordon, Hutchinson both served as vestrymen of King's Chapel. Bell, James B. (ed). *The Colonial Records of Kings Chapel, 1686-1776*, vol. 1 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 2019) (Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XC), 211, 216, 252 (online version).

[72] Bell, James B. (ed). *The Colonial Records of Kings Chapel, 1686-1776*, vol. 2 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts. 2019) (Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XCI), 560 (online version). The original King's Chapel Records are at the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is closed due to the pandemic.

[73] *Boston Gazette* (April 2, 1739), 4.

[74] *Boston Evening-Post* (Sep. 20, 1736), 2.

[75] It is also possible that the unnamed "Negro woman" in Eliakim's Inventory [1775] is either Caesar's or Affy's mother. Eliakim's Inventory [1775] does not state the relationship of any of Hutchinson's slaves to any other. While this does not mean that they Hutchinson's slaves were unrelated to each other, slaveowners did sometimes indicate the relations between enslaved people in their records.

Leigth," likely the son Leith, one of Gordon's slave baptized with Affey and others in 1752.[76]

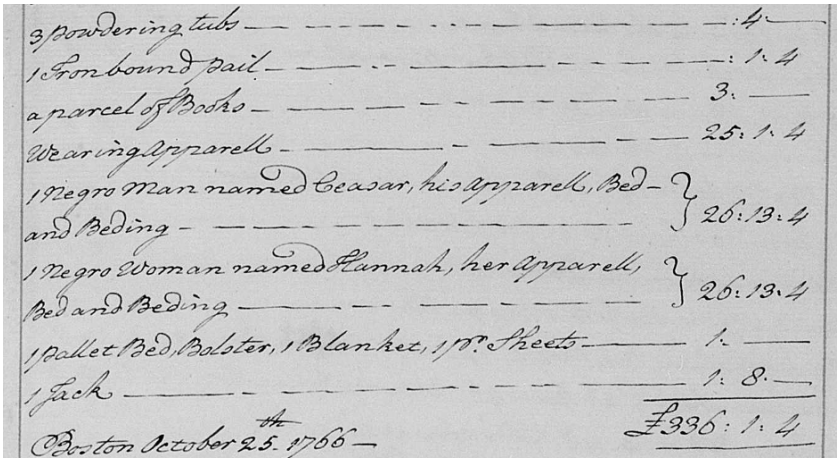
However, if Eliakim Hutchinson's Affy was the daughter of James Gordon's Affey, how did Eliakim come to own Affy? An enslaved child was the property of their mother's owner, which meant that when Affy was born, she would have belonged to Gordon. This was because of the legal principal known as *partus sequitur ventrem*. The obvious answer might seem to be that Gordon sold Affy to Hutchinson. That is a possibility, but given that they lived in eighteenth-century Massachusetts, there are other likely—perhaps more likely—possibilities. Gordon could have given away Affy to Hutchinson for free or even paid Hutchinson to take Affy. Gordon may have also given Affy as a gift to Hutchinson. Or, given that James Gordon died in May 1770, it is possible that Eliakim acquired Cesar or Affy from Gordon's estate after his death, by purchase or otherwise (for instance, he could have taken one or both of them to settle debts that Gordon may have owed him). The estate could have also been giving these enslaved children away for free, as did many slaveowners in non-rural parts of New England.[77]

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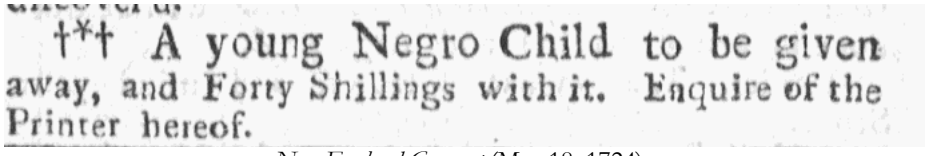
[76] *Suffolk County, MA: Probate File Papers*. Online database. *AmericanAncestors.org*. New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2017-2019. (From records supplied by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Archives. Digitized images provided by FamilySearch.org), https://www.americanancestors.org/DB2735/i/48699/14734-co14/69565628. See also Suffolk County Probate Records, vol. 69, pp. 389–392.

None of the woman listed in James Gordon's inventory have names; therefore, while Affey is likely one of the women listed in the inventory, one cannot establish this with certainty.

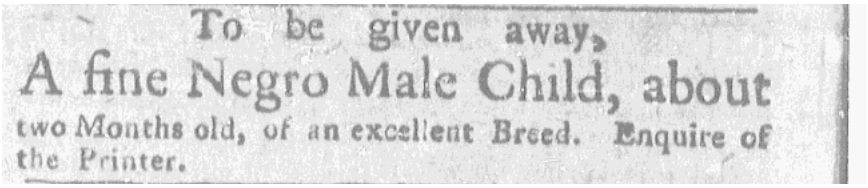
[77] For James Gordon's burial, see Bell, James B. (ed). *The Colonial Records of Kings Chapel, 1686-1776*, vol. 2 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts. 2019) (Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XCI), 752 (online version). The original King's Chapel Records are at the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is closed due to the pandemic.


3 powdering tubs — — —

to be given *away*."[83] Some enslaved women were sold away because they had children too often: "To be Sold … A Negro Woman about Thirty Years of Age, for no Fault, but because she brings a Child every Twelve Months, and sometimes oftener."[84] Black babies were also "given" as gifts: as one writer crudely recalled, "a 'nigger baby' in fact, among the well-to-do of those days, was a favorite and frequent gift." Venus Roe, for instance, was "given to Swithin Reed by a Boston merchant as a present for his wife, and being a baby, was brought home to her mistress in one of Mr. Reed's saddlebags." Jeremy Belknap, too, stated that Black children "were given away like puppies."[85] How must it have felt for mother and child to be forcefully ripped apart from each other?


†*† A young Negro Child to be given away, and Forty Shillings with it. Enquire of the Printer hereof.

*New-England Courant* (May 18, 1724).

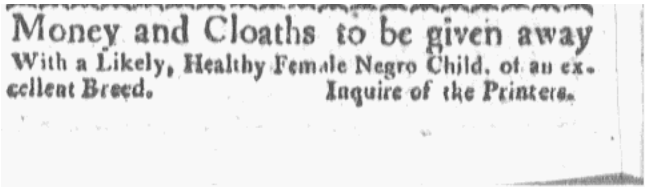

To be given away,
A fine Negro Male Child, about two Months old, of an excellent Breed. Enquire of the Printer.

*Boston News-Letter* (Apr. 7, 1774).

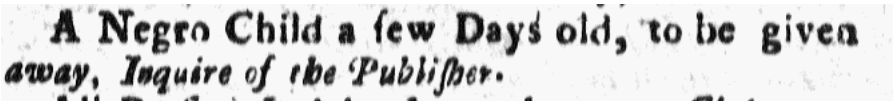
[83] *Boston Gazette* (Jun. 11, 1739), 3. Here is an example of "*A Negro Man to be given away*," significantly, several years after the Quock Walker case in 1783, that many historians wrongly believe to have abolished slavery in Massachusetts. "*A Negro Man to be given away*. To be given away, with a sum of Money, Bed, Bedding and Clothing sufficient for a number of years, a NEGRO MAN, of about 45 years of age, who would be very serviceable in a family, understands Kitchen and all kinds of family Work." The advertisement is dated August 24, 1786. *Massachusetts Spy* (Oct. 26, 1786).

[84] *Boston News-Letter* (May 4, 1758), 3. It is possible that the girl and woman are daughter and mother.

[85] Samuel Francis Batchelder, *Notes on Colonel Henry Vassal (1721–1769), His Wife Penelope Royall, His House at Cambridge, and His Slaves Tony & Darby* (Cambridge, MA, 1917), 74, 74 n.4, also printed in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical Society*, vol. 10 (1915). Martha E. Sewall Curtis, *Ye Old Meeting House* (Boston: Anchor Linotype Printing Co., 1909), 61 (Venus Roe); Jeremy Belknap, "Queries Respecting the Slavery and Emancipation of Negroes in Massachusetts…" *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, ser. 1, vol. 4 (1795), 200; George H. Moore, *Notes on the History of Slavery in Massachusetts* (New York, 1866), 57; Hardesty, *Black Lives, Native Lands, White Worlds*, 99–100.


Money and Cloaths to be given away
With a Likely, Healthy Female Negro Child, of an excellent Breed. Inquire of the Printers.

*Boston Gazette* (Mar. 18, 1771).


A Negro Child a few Days old, to be given away, Inquire of the Publisher.

*Boston Gazette* (Jun. 11, 1739).

It wasn't always this way, but that does not mean things were better for enslaved people. When children were highly valued, slaveowners became human breeders. In 1638, in Noddles Island, a large tract of land in the middle of Boston Harbor, British traveler John Josselyn encountered an enslaved woman who had been raped by an enslaved man. Both slaves were the property of a merchant named Samuel Maverick, who, "desirous to have a breed of Negroes," commanded one of his slaves to rape another:

> the Second of *October*, about 9 of the clock in the morning, Mr. *Mavericks* Negro woman came to my chamber window, and in her own Countrey language and tune sang very loud and shrill, going out to her, she used a great deal of respect toward me, and willingly would have expressed her grief in *English*; but I apprehended it by her countenance and deportment, whereupon I repaired to my host, to learn of him the cause, and resolved to intreat him in her behalf, for that I understood before, that she had been a Queen in her own Countrey, and observed a very humble and dutiful garb used towards her by another Negro who was her maid. Mr. *Maverick* was desirous to have a breed of Negroes, and therefore seeing she would not yield by perswasions to company with a Negro young man he had in his house; he commanded him will'd she nill'd she to go to bed to her, which was no sooner done but she kickt him out again, this she took in high disdain beyond her slavery, and this was the cause of her grief.[86]

Sixteen thirty-eight was the year the first known African slaves arrived in New England. Both of Maverick's slaves probably arrived aboard that first ship, the *Desire*, based in Salem—the ship

[86] Wendy Warren, "'The Cause of Her Grief': The Rape of a Slave in Early New England," *Journal of American History*, vol. 93, no. 4 (Mar. 2007), 1031–1049. See also the introduction in Warren, *New England Bound*. Paul J Lindholt, *John Josselyn, Colonial Traveler: A Critical Edition of* Two Voyages to New-England. Hanover: University Press of New England. 1988 [1674], 24.

Governor John Winthrop recorded in his journal that went on a trading voyage to the West Indies and returned to Massachusetts with "some cotton and tobacco, and negroes, etc., from thence, and salt from Tertugos." What Winthrop does not mention were the goods used to purchase the "negroes": New England slave traders aboard the *Desire* exchanged their Pequot slaves for African slaves.[87]

Whether or not Affey was Affy's mother, both Affy and Caesar were likely torn apart from their families.[88] Families were often split up at sale, as may have been the case with this likely mother and child: below his ad for "A Quantity of choice Feathers, Mackrel and pickled salmon," John Torrey added an "N. B.": "At the same Place to be Sold, a strong, healthy Negro Woman, of 24 Years of Age, and a Negro Boy between 2 and 3 years old, together or a part, as shall best suit the Buyer. The Woman is honest and sober, has liv'd on a Farm, and is a good Servant in a House."[89]

While some white colonists were named Affey, it was also an Akan name signifying a girl born on Friday. The Akan people are from present-day Ghana, what was then called the Gold Coast by Europeans. In the Americas, particularly in the Caribbean, people of Akan descent were known as

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[87] John Winthrop (Dunn, Richard; Savage, James; & Yeandle, Laetitia [eds.]), *The Journal of John Winthrop, 1630–1649*, (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1996), 246; Wendy Warren, "'The Cause of Her Grief.'" Kerima M. Lewis, "Captives on the Move: Tracing the Transatlantic Movements of Africans from the Caribbean to Colonial New England," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, vol. 44, no. 2 (2016), 147–49. Thanks to Byron Rushing for emphasizing that the first African slaves brought to New England were traded for Indigenous slaves.

[88] It is possible that the "Negro Woman" in Eliakim's Inventory (1775) is Affy's and/or Caesar's mother, though there is no indication of this other than the fact that they are grouped together as "a Negro Woman & 2 Children" in the inventory. Even if the children had their mother, they likely did not have their father with them: if a woman was enslaved, then the child of a man (of whatever race or status) and that enslaved woman belonged to the woman's enslaver. Eliakim did own male slaves, but there is no indication that they were either of the children's father. There are two enslaved men that Eliakim owned in the 1770s for whom records exist. It would have been quite late in life for Cesar to father a child as he would have been at least in his fifties when Affy and Caesar were born. Cesar died on July 9, 1774 at the age of 63. It is unlikely that "Cesar" was the father of "Caesar" despite them having the same name and the tradition of enslaved parents naming their children after kin, for reasons already mentioned, in addition to the fact that Caesar was a relatively common name for enslaved African-descended people. Thomas Scipio's age is not indicated in Eliakim's Inventory (1775), but if he is the "Tom Scipio" born in 1700 from Margaret Steel's runaway slave advertisement (discussed elsewhere in this memorandum), then he would have been at least in his 60s at the time of his birth—again relatively late in life to father a newborn. However, we cannot confirm that Thomas Scipio and Tom Scipio were indeed the same person.

[89] *Boston Gazette* Sep. 20, 1773. Enslaved people could also be traded for other enslaved people that better suited the enslaver's needs: "*Any Person that has a Negro* Boy that can be well recommended, who prefers Outdoor-Work, may exchange him for another as likely as any in *Boston*, imported last Year." *Boston Gazette* (Mar. 29, 1762), 4.

"Coromantees" and were notorious for their rebellious ways. They led and participated in many slave rebellions throughout the Atlantic world, in addition to other acts of resistance such as setting fires to white households and poisoning whites. Enslaved people of all ethnicities engaged in these forms of resistance, but among white planters, the Coromantees were singled out as being particularly rebellious.[90] When an enslaved boy named Dublin ran away in Boston, his owner described him as being "of the Cormantion nation": "ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS Reward. Ran-away from the subscriber on Sunday the 15th instant, a NEGRO BOY, named *Dublin*, aged about 14 years, of low stature, thick and well sett, stammers a little in his speech, of the Cormantion nation. — Whoever takes up, and him safely conducts to his master at Boston, shall have the above reward, and all necessary expenses, paid by HECTOR MCNEIL. All masters of vessels, and others, are hereby cautioned against carrying off or concealing said servant."[91]

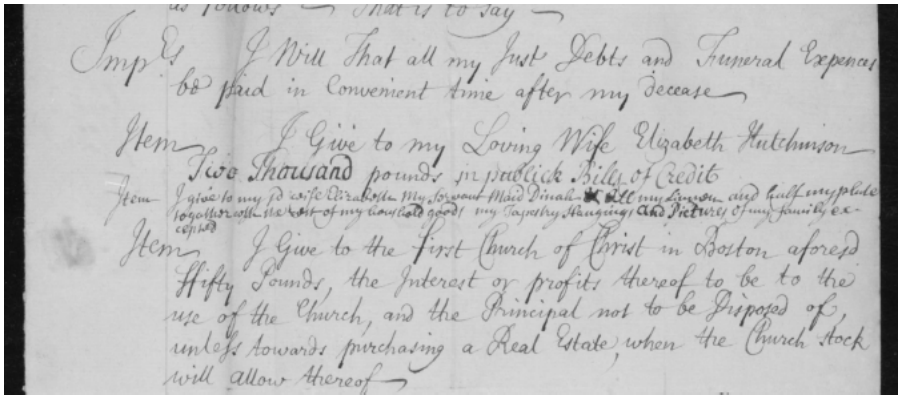
* * *

While writing his will, Eliakim Hutchinson's father, William, initially forgot to allocate some of his property. This included a human being whom he enslaved, Dinah. In tiny handwriting in between two paragraphs, one stating "I give to my Loving Wife Elizabeth Hutchinson Two Thousand pounds in publick Bills of Credit" and the other stating "I give to the first Church of Christ in Boston aforesd ffifty Pounds, the Interest or profits thereof to be to the use of the Church, and the Principal not be Disposed of, unless towards purchasing Real Estate, when the Church stock with allow thereof," William penciled in, "I give to my sd wife Elizabeth Hutchinson my servant maid Dinah &

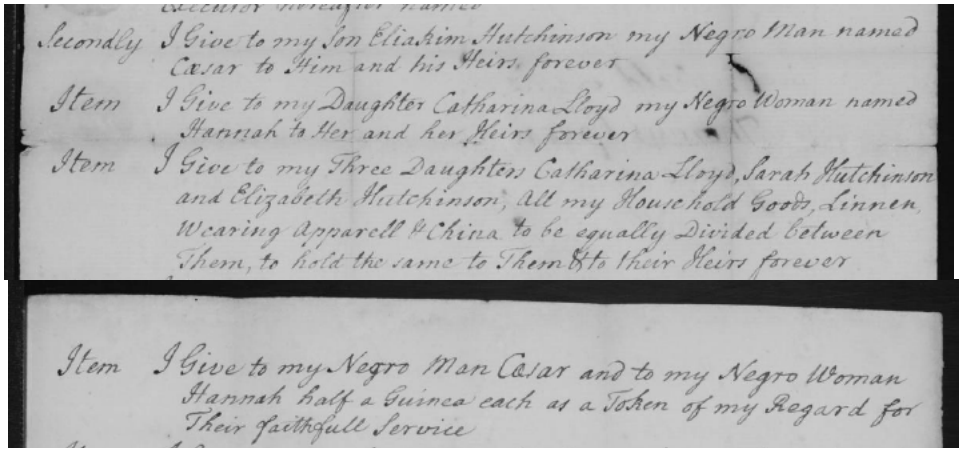
[90] Kerima M. Lewis, "Captives on the Move: Tracing the Transatlantic Movements of Africans from the Caribbean to Colonial New England," *Historical Journal of Massachusetts*, vol. 44, no. 2 (Summer 2016), 144–175; John Thornton, "The Coromantees: An African Cultural Group in Colonial North America and the Caribbean," *Journal of Caribbean History*, vol. 32, no. 1 (Jan. 1998), 161–178; Vincent Brown, *Tacky's Revolt: The Story of an Atlantic Slave War* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2020), Chapter 3: Coromantee Nation.

[91] *Evening Post and General Advertiser* (Aug. 28, 1779), 4.

all my linnen and half my plate together with the rest of my hous hold goods[,] my Tapestry Hangings and pictures of my family excepted."[92]



William Hutchinson's (Eliakim Hutchinson's father) Will (no. 4488).



Elizabeth Brinley Hutchinson (Eliakim Hutchinson's mother) Will (no. 13673).

Eliakim Hutchinson's mother, Elizabeth Brinley Hutchinson, died over four decades later, in 1765. In between "Wearing Apparell" valued at 25 pounds, 1 shilling, 4 pence, and "1 pallet Bed, Bolster, Blanket, 1 (?) Sheets" valued at 1 pound, was listed "1 Negro Man named Caesar, his Apparel, Bed and Beding" valued at £26. 3s. 4d. and "1 Negro Woman named Hannah, her Apparel, Bed and Beding" also valued at £26. 13s. 4d. In her will she wrote, "I Give to my Son Eliakim Hutchinson my Negro Man named Caesar to Him and his Heirs forever." "I Give to my Daughter Catherina Lloyd

[92] *Suffolk County, MA: Probate File Papers.* Online database. *AmericanAncestors.org.* New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2017-2019. (From records supplied by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Archives. Digitized images provided by FamilySearch.org). (4488:2). https://www.americanancestors.org/DB2735/i/48704/4488-co2/69472914. A copy of William Hutchinson's will is available at https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9Y5-276N.

my Negro Woman named Hannah to Her and her Heirs forever." Six years before Eliakim's mother died, however, Hannah is described as "a Negro Servant to C. Hutchinson," suggesting that she may have already been a part of the Lloyd household. She continued: "I Give to my Negro Man Caesar and to my Negro Woman Hannah half a Guinea each as a Token of my Regard for their faithfull Service."[93] Elizabeth does not indicate whether Caesar and Hannah were related by blood or marriage. Even if they were not, it must have been hard for them to be separated from each other.

A "Guinea" was valued at 21 shillings for most of the eighteenth century. "Guinea" was a term used by Europeans to refer to West Africa. "Guinea" coins were introduced as a currency in mid-seventeenth century Britain because much of the gold used to produce the coins was from a region of "Guinea" that Europeans called the Gold Coast (modern-day Ghana, where Affy's family was likely from), named for the region's major export. By the turn of the eighteenth century, slaves overtook gold as the region's major export (the region neighboring the Gold Coast was already called the Slave Coast).[94]

(Significantly more research must be undertaken on the Hutchinson family's slaves as well as their economic ties to slavery. For instance, I have yet to mention two of Eliakim's slaves in this report. "Mr Hutchinson's Negroe Man" was buried at King's Chapel on April 14, 1746. His age of death, like

[93] *Suffolk County, MA: Probate File Papers*. Online database. *AmericanAncestors.org*. New England Historic Genealogical Society, 2017-2019. (From records supplied by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court Archives. Digitized images provided by FamilySearch.org). https://www.americanancestors.org/DB2735/rd/48698/13673-co1/1416872039. A copy of Elizabeth Hutchinson's will is available at https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9YR-GJ1P?i=222. Elizabeth Hutchinson inventory: https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3Q9M-C9YR-GJPT. For Hannah's baptism on September 19, 1759, see Bell, James B. (ed). *The Colonial Records of Kings Chapel, 1686-1776*, vol. 2 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts. 2019) (Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XCI), 585 (online version). The original King's Chapel Records are at the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is closed due to the pandemic.

[94] Sam Margolin, "Guineas," in Martha B. Katz-Hyman & Kym S. Rice (eds.), *World of a Slave: Encyclopedia of the Material Life of Slaves in the United States*, 2 vols., I, 259–260; Stephanie Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), 32.

his name, is not listed in the church records.[95] Peter, "Negroe Servant to Eliakim Hutchinson Esq[r]," was baptized at King's Chapel on August 30, 1755 and buried at the church shortly thereafter on October 27, 1755. He was eight months old.[96] Moreover, as indicated by the "Brief Overview of Slavery in New England" section of this report, slavery was the backbone of colonial New England's economy, and supporting the slave economy in the West Indies, West Africa, and locally in New England and elsewhere in North America was the manner through which wealthy merchants such as the Hutchinsons made their fortunes. The same holds true for the Temple family into which William Shirley's daughter, Harriet Shirley, Temple married.)




A 1688 Guinea Coin.

[95] Bell, James B. (ed). *The Colonial Records of Kings Chapel, 1686-1776*, vol. 2 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts. 2019) (Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XCI), 725 (online version). The original King's Chapel Records are at the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is closed due to the pandemic.

[96] Bell, James B. (ed). *The Colonial Records of Kings Chapel, 1686-1776*, vol. 2 (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts. 2019) (Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume XCI), 568, 736 (online version). The original King's Chapel Records are at the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is closed due to the pandemic.



*Negroland and Guinea with the European settlements, explaining what belongs to England, Holland, Denmark, &c.* Herman Moll (1729). University of Florida, George A. Smathers Libraries.

**"Overstocked with Servants of that Colour": The Temples and Slavery**

William Shirley's daughter, Harriet Shirley Temple, married into a family that enslaved many African-descended people. One finds several slave sale advertisements placed in newspapers by her father-in-law, Robert Temple Sr. "*A Likely Young Negro Boy about 16 Years of Age, who has had the Small-Pox, and is fit for Town or Country Business, to be Sold by Robert Temple, at* Noddles-Island."[97] "A very Healthy Negro Man, who has had the *Small Pox, and is very expert at most sorts of Town or Country Business, with his Wife which is also a very Healthy and Valuable Wench, and a Male Child; to be disposed of by* Robert Temple, *at Noddles Island; and* ***the main reason why he inclines to part with them, is, that he is Overstocked with Servants of that Colour, to which they add one every Year, and are likely to continue so to do, for***

[97] *Boston Gazette* (Mar. 17, 1729), 4.

***many Years to come***. Right below that advertisement, Temple advertised his other goods for sale: "Very best Barrel'd Beef, To be Sold, by *Robert Temple* at Noddles Island."[98] A few years later, he placed another advertisement in the newspaper: "To be Sold a Negro Man about 22 or 23 Years old, has been in the Country 12 Years, is fit for the House, the Field, or the Sea, and can be as well recommended as most of that Colour: Whoever inclines to purchase him may apply to *Robert Temple* at Noddles Island, or the Printer."[99] Perhaps they managed his "beautiful English Stallions": "Saturday last was landed here from England, two beautiful English Stallions; one of them well known by the name of Little Driver, who we hear has won more plates than any Horse in England; they are going to Boston, being the property of one Mr. Temple, who is expected in the next packet from England."[100] Some of the Temple slaves fled their enslaver: "Ran away on the 3d instant, a Negro Man named Portsmouth, aged about 40 Years, of middle Stature, walks Limping and Sp'a-footed, talks good English, and plays on the Fiddle, he carried with him an Orange coloured Coat with yellow mettal Buttons, a Wast Coast of thin Stuff, and Cloath Breeches. Whoever takes up said Fellow is dressed to convey him to Robert Temple at his House in Charlestown, and they shall have Five Pounds Reward old Tenor, and all necessary Charges paid."[101]

Seven human beings enslaved by Temple Sr. appear in the baptism records of the Christ Church (now known as Old North Church): Anne (Sep. 30, 1730), Metumbo, also known as Tom Bow (Dec. 7, 1746), Dutches (Dec. 7, 1746), Caesar (Apr. 13, 1729), Cork (Jun. 19, 1743), Jennett (Aug. 1734), and Lucy (May 30, 1746).[102] Harriet's husband, Robert Temple Jr., would inherit several

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[98] *Boston Gazette* (Mar. 6, 1738), 4 (the bold font is my emphasis).

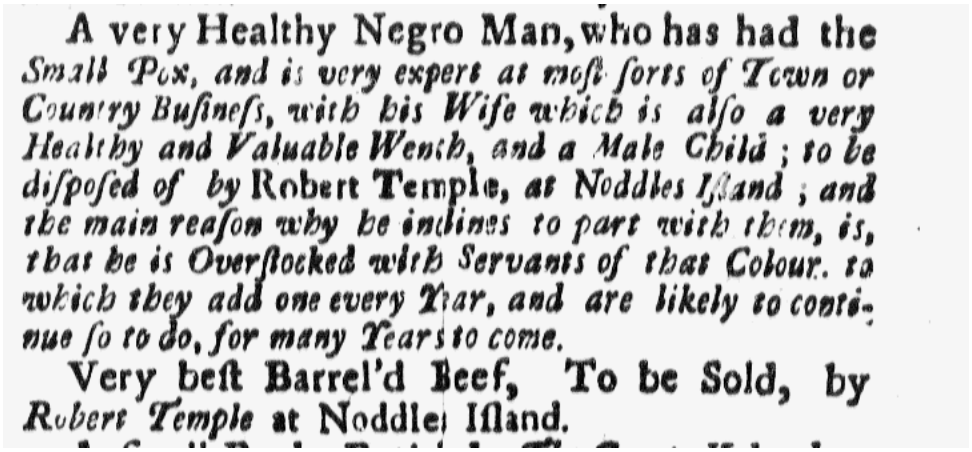
[99] *Boston Gazette* (Nov. 27, 1744), 4.

[100] *Boston Evening-Post* (Aug. 17, 1761), 3.

[101] *Boston Gazette* (Jul. 15, 1746), in Antonio T. Bly, *Escaping Bondage: A Documentary History of Runaway Slaves in Eighteenth-Century New England, 1700–1789* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2012), 65.

[102] Student paper, "Searching for Slaves and Servants: Investigating the Silences at the Shirley-Eustis House," (2011), 7 (manuscript on file at the Shirley-Eustis House). The Christ Church records are located at the Massachusetts Historical Society, which is currently closed due to the pandemic.

of his father's slaves, along with the wealth those slaves had produced. Indeed, in his will, the elder Temple bequeathed to his wife Mehetable "the use of my three negroes Bandon, Kerry & Mallow" until her death (unless she remarried) at which point these three human beings would become the property of his son Robert Jr. He left his son John "my three negroes viz, Dutchess, Tumbo and Limerick." His son William received "my negro man called Jack."[103]


A very Healthy Negro Man, who has had the *Small Pox, and is very expert at moſt ſorts of Town or Country Buſineſs, with his Wife which is alſo a very Healthy and Valuable Wench, and a Male Child; to be diſpoſed of by* Robert Temple, *at Noddles Iſland; and the main reaſon why he inclines to part with them, is, that he is Overſtocked with Servants of that Colour. to which they add one every Year, and are likely to continue ſo to do, for many Years to come.*

Very beſt Barrel'd Beef, To be Sold, by *Robert Temple* at Noddles Iſland.

*Boston Gazette* (Mar. 6, 1738).

Harriet, Robert Jr., and their many slaves resided on Ten Hills Farm, with the Royalls and their dozens of slaves as neighbors. Ten Hills Farm was a 600-acre tract of land in Charlestown (part of which was later annexed by Medford) granted to Governor John Winthrop, who enslaved people there, by the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1631. In the 1730s, 500 acres of Ten Hills was purchased by Isaac Royall Sr., who passed it down to his son and namesake. The Royalls were one of the largest slaveowners in New England and obtained their wealth through slavery—they owned sugar plantations in Antigua and engaged in the slave trade, in addition to their many slaves in Massachusetts. The younger Royall served on Governor Shirley's Council, and Shirley nominated him for a judicial post in 1754, the same year Shirley commissioned his census of slave. The remaining 100 acres was purchased by Robert Temple Sr. in 1740, who also passed it down to his son and namesake after his

[103] "Will of Robert I Temple," in *Prime*, Some Account of the Temple Family, 48–53.

death. Harriet Temple likely often visited her father, sister (Elizabeth Shirley Hutchinson), and brother-in-law (Eliakim Hutchinson) at Shirley Place, bringing Robert and at least some of her slaves with her. As the Temples enslaved several people, it is quite possible they would have rented or loaned out some of them to their father, William Shirley, or their siblings, Elizabeth and Eliakim Hutchinson, at their Roxbury estate, particularly during non-harvest times.[104]

Multiple letters to George Washington and John Adams provide us a glimpse into how the Temples' slaves may have fared during the Revolution. In the most telling letter, James Bowdoin (whose daughter Elizabeth was married to John Temple, Robert's brother) wrote Washington in 1778 that Ten Hills Farm was "in so ruined a state, that it will require a great length of time, and great expence upon it to put it in a condition to answer the purpose of supporting his family; and it would be again, if the enemy should attack Boston, so much in the centre of military operations, that he would have reason to expect that all his expence upon it would be lost."[105] The Temples' slaves, if still living on the property, must have been going through incredibly difficult times. There is a great deal more research one might undertake on the Temples and slavery.

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[104] C. S. Manegold, *Ten Hills Farm: The Forgotten History of Slavery in the North* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Temple Prime, *Some Account of the Temple Family* (New York, 1887), 48. Schutz, *William Shirley*, 173. On the Royalls, see Alexandra Chan, *Slavery in the Age of Reason: Archaeology at a New England Farm* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007).

[105] James Bowdoin to George Washington (Apr. 23, 1778), in *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, sixth ser., vol. 9 (1897), 415. http://www.masshist.org/library/MHSCollectionsdigi. See also Abigail Adams to John Adams (Aug. 12, 1776), (Adams Family Correspondence, vol. 2), http://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/index.php/view/AFC02d054#AFC02d054n2 and Harriet Temple to John Adams (Aug. 10, 1776), (Papers of John Adams, vol. 4) http://www.masshist.org/publications/adams-papers/index.php/view/PJA04d259.

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# Probate Records

See Appendix for copies of the following probate records.

i = image number for online records.

William Shirley

1. Index. No. 15041-i550.
2. Probate docket. 15041-i375.
3. Probate record – reg certif of adm. 15041: vol. 70, p.515, i520.
4. Probate record – administration 15041. American Ancestors.

William Hutchinson (Eliakim Hutchinson's father)

1. Index. No. 4488 (in 1721); no. 5847 (in 1729).
2. Probate docket. 4488-i320.
3. **Probate record – will. 4488: vol. 22, pp.319–320, i172.**
4. Probate record – evidence of will; private account; petition of exec – vol. 3 (new series), pp. 491–492, i265–266.
5. Probate record – probate & letter, vol. 22, p.318, i171.
6. Probate record – exec release – vol. 31, p.304, i731.
7. Probate record – letter (ex) – vol. 31, p.417, i788.
8. **Probate record – will 4488. American Ancestors.**
9. **Will of Eliakim Hutchinson (William's father, Eliakim Hutchinson's grandfather)**

Elizabeth Hutchinson(s) (Two Elizabeth Hutchinsons: Eliakim Hutchinson's mother & Eliakim Hutchinson's sister)

1. Index. p.159, i319. No. 6783 (sister) (guardianship in 1735). No. 13673 (mother) (will in 1765). No. 14132 (mother) (administration in 1767).
2. Probate docket. 6783-i513.
3. Probate record – bond guard record 6783: vol. 19, pp.47–48, i28–29.
4. Probate record. letter 6783: vol. 32, p.269, i150.
5. Probate docket. 13673-i244. (inventory v64 p586).
6. **Probate record – will, probate, & letter 13673: vol. 64, pp.423–426, i222–224.**
7. **Probate record – will 13673. American Ancestors.**
8. **Probate record – inventory 13673: vol. 64, pp.586–591, i306–308.**
9. Probate docket 14132-i282.
10. Probate record – regrs certif of adm 14132: vol. 66, p.472, i252.
11. Probate record – administration 14132. American Ancestors.

Eliakim Hutchinson

1. Index. No. 16883-i319.
2. Probate docket. 16883-i532.
3. Probate record – reg of certif of agts appt 16883: vol. 78, p.681, i352.
4. Probate record – inventory 16883: vol. 78, pp.226–227, i119.
5. Probate record – account 16883: vol. 78, p.625, i323.
6. Probate record – resolve of general & warrant to com return 16883: vol. 86, p.577, i710.
7. Probate record – account 16883: vol. 80, pp.758–759, i396.
8. Probate record – reg certif of adm 16883: vol. 92, p.110, i493.

9. Probate record – account 16883: vol.95, p.280–282, i152–153.
10. Probate record – absentee 16883. American Ancestors.

# Recorded Deeds for 42-44 Shirley Street

The citations to all the deeds for 42-44 Shirley Street from the time Shirley purchased his estate in 1746 to the present day are recorded below. I've provided copies of all the deeds, save those between 1886–1972 (and one deed in 1880), as the deeds for those years aren't available online. However, I have pulled them all up at the Suffolk County Registry of Deeds office; I was unable to obtain a copy of those deeds because their computer system was down.

The deeds in the Appendix are sorted from oldest to most recent.

If the "Book" number begins with a digit or an "S," the deed is in the Suffolk Registry of Deeds. If the "Book" number begins with an "N," the deed is in the Norfolk Registry of Deeds.

| **Recorded Date** | **Book** | **Page** | **Grantor** | **Grantee** |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **8/26/2019** | **61643** | **169** | **Rosa Fatima; Darosa Alredo; Rosa Louis C; Rosa Marlyn; Pontes-Rosa Alexander** | **Shirley Street LLC 42** |
| **11/16/2017** | **58808** | **31** | **Rosa Fatima; Darosa Alfredo** | **Rosa Louis C; Pontes-Rosa Alexander** |
| 4/28/1972 | 8528 | 231 | Leva (Leaver) Marie S | Rosa Fatima; Darosa Alfredo |
| 2/1970 | 8349 | 245 | Deyesso (De Ieso) Concetta | Leva (Leaver) Marie S; Cappucio Maria C |
| 8/17/1962 | 7672 | 333 | E Masciocchi & Al | Deyesso (De Ieso) Concetta |
| 3/24/1959 | 7384 | 139 | Elva D Arnold | E Masciocchi & Al |
| 3/24/1959 | 7384 | 138 | Carolina Masciocchi | Elva D Arnold |
| 1/28/1935 | 5510 | 409 | Enrico Masciocchi | Carolina Masciocchi |
| 8/8/1923 | 4497 | 584 | Enrico Masciocchi | George Miglierini (mortgage) |
| 7/2/1923 | 4483 | 438 | Mary & Patrick Maguire | Enrico Masciocchi |
| 8/3/1920 | 4243 | 361 | Matthew & Maria Woods (conveyed to Woods by 2 deeds) | Mary & Patrick Maguire |
| (1) 3/8/1902<br><br>(2) 3/8/1902 | 2811<br><br>2811 | 569<br><br>570 | John F Tarbell (trustee of Isaac Tower)<br><br>Abby T Tower et al. | Matthew & Maria Woods<br><br>Matthew & Maria Woods |
| (1) 1/17/1880<br><br>(2) 7/28/1899 | 1781<br><br>2624 | 478<br><br>302 | William Whitaker<br><br>Jane Whitaker (executive of William Whitaker) | Isaac Tower<br><br>Abby Tower & Annie Tarbell |
| **(1) 1/17/1880**<br><br>**(2) 1/17/1880** | **1481**<br><br>**1481** | **Fol. 132**<br><br>**Fol. 132** | **Charles Jones**<br><br>**Charles Jones (2nd recorded)** | **William Whitaker**<br><br>**William Whitaker** |
| **1/22/1878** | **1407** | **Fol. 9** | **Michael Whalen** | **Charles Jones** |
| **1/5/1878** | **1407** | **Fol. 10** | **Charles Jones** | **Michael Whalen** |
| **1/1/1874** | **1193** | **Fol. 131** | **Eliah Woodward** | **Charles Jones** |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **10/1/1868** | **S941** | **Fol. 226** | **Freeman D Osgood (his undivided half)** | **Eliah Woodward** |
| **8/20/1867** | **N358** | **Fols. 234–235** | **Deeds from Celestine Eustis, Maria M Johnston, and others** | **Eliah Woodward & Freeman D Osgood** |
| **6/15/1867**<br><br>**6/15/1867** | **N356**<br>**Fol. 33-i392**<br>**Fol. 33-i392**<br><br>**N356** | | **William Eustis**<br><br>**William Eustis** | **Catherine Eustis by Decree of probate (lot 25)**<br><br>**Marie M Eustis (Johnston) (lot 25)** |
| **9/22/1819** | **N62** | **Fol. 58** | **Margaret Magee** | **William Eustis** |
| 1801 | | | James Magee, est (Norfolk probate docket 12121) | Margaret Elliot Magee & son Charles Elliot |
| **9/17/1798** | **N9** | **Fol. 251** | **Giles Alexander Jr** | **Capt James Magee (Boston merchant, mariner) (employ of T. H. Perkins)** |
| **5/20/1793** | **S176** | **Fol. 39** | **Giles Alexander Jr** | **John Read, mtge**<br>**Mtge discharge de Fitzpatrick 5/25/1793**<br>**Mtge discharge John Read 11/19/1794** |
| **5/20/1793** | **S176** | **15** | **Thomas H. Perkins** | **Giles Alexander Jr (merchant)** |
| **5/17/1793** | **S176** | **13** | **Mme. Bertille de Fitzpatrick (nee Bovis)** | **Thomas Handasyd Perkins (merchant)** |
| **7/16/1791** | **S170** | **96** | **John Read** | **Mme. Bertille de Fitzpatrick (nee Bovis); T.H. Perkins (agent)** |
| 8/3/1782 | MA281 | 18, 28, 37, 50, 63, 101, 112, 129 | Samuel Henshaw & Samuel Barrett | John Read |
| 1781 | MA281 | 18, 28, 37, 50, 63, 101, 112, 129 | Edward Carnes (agent for estate) | Committee for sale of absentee estates |
| 1775 | | | | Taken by patriot army |
| 1778 | | | | Mass. Confiscation Act |
| 3/10/1763 | | | William Shirley | Eliakim Hutchinson (indenture) |
| 3/25/1746 | S72 | 276 | Samuel Waldo | William Shirley |