

Table of Contents

Volume 18

EDITOR'S NOTE

PROCEEDINGS

SIXTY-NINTH MEETING.....	5
SEVENTIETH MEETING.....	7
SEVENTY-FIRST MEETING.....	8
SEVENTY-SECOND MEETING.....	9

PAPERS

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CHARITABLE SOCIETIES IN CAMBRIDGE.....	11
BY EDWIN HERBERT HALL	
QUINCY STREET IN THE FIFTIES.....	27
BY LILLIAN HORSFORD FARLOW	
THE WASHINGTON ELM TRADITION.....	46
BY SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER	

ANNUAL REPORTS

SECRETARY AND COUNCIL.....	76
TREASURER.....	81
OFFICERS.....	82
MEMBERS.....	83
BY-LAWS.....	87

By a recent vote of the Council, the Proceedings for each year, beginning with 1925, are to be published during the following year, and the volumes now in arrears (1920 to 1924 inclusive) are to be published as opportunity permits. Since many of the programs for those years consisted of informal addresses not preserved, the reading of extracts from books, the exhibition of various collections, and other matters not available for printing, the Proceedings for 1920 and 1921 will eventually be published together as Volume XV, those

for 1922 as Volume XVI, and those for 1923 and 1924 as Volume XVII. The present volume for 1925 therefore becomes Volume XVIII.

PROCEEDINGS
OF
THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY
SIXTY-NINTH MEETING
TWENTIETH ANNUAL MEETING

THE SIXTY-NINTH MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, being the twentieth annual meeting, was held 27 January, 1925, at the residence of the Reverend John Simpson Penman, 146 Brattle Street, Cambridge. A bitter snowstorm was responsible for a small attendance.

President Emerton called the meeting to order. The minutes of the last meeting were read and allowed.

The Secretary read his annual report, with which by custom was incorporated the annual report of the Council.

Voted to accept the report and refer to the Editor for publication. (Printed, pp. 76-80, post.)

The Curator made his annual report, reading a list of the unusually large number of objects presented to the Society during the year, some of which he exhibited.

Voted to accept the report and refer as above.

In the absence of the Treasurer, his annual report was read by Mr. Stoughton Bell, together with the report of the Auditors.

Voted to accept the same and refer as above. (Printed, p. 81, post.)

The President stated that he had appointed in advance a nominating committee consisting of Messrs. Beale and Poor.

For this committee Mr. Poor reported the following nominations:

President --- EPHRAIM EMERTON

Vice-Presidents --- MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, ROBERT WALCOTT

Secretary --- SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER

Treasurer --- GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT

Curator --- WALTER BENJAMIN BRIGGS

Council

SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER, JOSEPH HENRY BEALE, STOUGHTON BELL, WALTER BENJAMIN BRIGGS, FRANK GAYLORD COOK, EPHRAIM EMERTON, EDWARD WALDO FORBES MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, CLARENCE HENRY POOR, JR., ROBERT WALCOTT, JOHN WILLIAM WOOD, JR., GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT

Ballots were distributed and the above were duly elected as the officers of the Society for 1925.

For the committee on the Old Burying Ground, the Secretary announced that the City Engineer had at length completed, without cost to the Society, the detailed plot of the ground showing every stone and tomb to the number of over 1200, and prepared a finding list for the same. A blue print of this plan was exhibited.

Voted that Lewis M. Hastings, Esquire, City Engineer, be extended the grateful thanks of this Society for his valuable contribution to the history of Cambridge.

After a few preliminary remarks, the President introduced as the speaker of the evening, Professor EDWIN HERBERT HALL, President of the Cambridge Welfare Union, who read a paper on "The History of Charitable Societies in Cambridge," including a sketch of James Huntington, founder of the Avon Place Home. (Printed, pp. 11-26, post.)

The meeting then adjourned and the light refreshments were enjoyed.

6

SEVENTIETH MEETING

THE SEVENTIETH MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held 28 April 1925, at the residence of Horatio Stevens White, 29 Reservoir Street, Cambridge. About twenty-five persons were present.

The President called the meeting to order. The minutes of the last meeting were read and allowed.

For the committee on the Old Burying Ground, the Secretary reported that a cross set of finding lists — numerical, alphabetical and chronological — had been prepared in conformity with the engineer's plot.

Mrs. Farlow announced that the Society had been offered, through her, some of the wood of the historic "Village Smithy" formerly standing at the corner of Brattle and Story

Streets, together with a chair made from the same. The President stated that objects of this kind would be greatly appreciated for the Society's collections.

The speaker of the evening, the Hon. ROBERT WALCOTT, then gave an extempore address on "Charles Follen," and exhibited various books, pictures, manuscripts, etc., relating to him.[1]

The meeting then adjourned for refreshments.

¹ See E. L. Pollen's *Life of Charles Follen*. (Boston, 1841); T. Parker's "Life and Character of Dr. Follen," in his *American Scholar* (1907); K. Francke's "Follen and the German Liberal Movement, 1815-19," in *American Historical Association Papers*, vol. 5 (1891), etc.

7

SEVENTY-FIRST MEETING

THE SEVENTY-FIRST MEETING OF THE SOCIETY took the form of a lawn party, for members and friends, on the afternoon of 12 June 1925, at the residence of Stoughton Bell, Esq., 121 Brattle Street, Cambridge. The weather was ideal and the flowers and foliage at their best. Over sixty persons were present. Tea was served under the trees at 4.30 P.M.

At 5.15 P.M. the guests assembled indoors, and the President gave a few words of greeting. Miss Hopkinson, a member of the pageant committee of the 150th anniversary celebration by the city on July 3, urged the members of the Society to cooperate on that occasion. A list prepared by Mrs. Gozzaldi was read of the historical buildings and sites in Cambridge to be marked with large placards during that celebration.

The speaker of the afternoon, MRS. WILLIAM GILSON FARLOW, then read a paper on her early recollections, entitled "Quincy Street in the Fifties." (Printed, pp. 27-45, post.) In connection with this paper Mr. Lane exhibited a number of appropriate photographs from the collection in the University Library.

At 6.15 P.M. the meeting adjourned.

8

SEVENTY-SECOND MEETING

THE SEVENTY-SECOND MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held on the evening of 27 October, 1925, at the residence of Mr. James Leonard Paine, 9 Waterhouse Street, Cambridge. About fifty members were present.

President Emerton called the meeting to order. The minutes of the last meeting were read and allowed.

The Curator exhibited a number of new gifts to the Society, especially several large scrapbooks, containing local historical material collected by the late William Augustus Saunders and presented by the widow of our former member, Herbert Alden Saunders.

On the recommendation of the Council (due notice having been given in the call for the meeting) it was

Voted that the first sentence of Article III of the By-Laws be amended to read as follows:

"Any resident of, or person having a usual place of business in, the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible for regular membership in this Society."

And in conformity with this change, that the first sentence of Article VI be amended to read as follows:

"Any person who is neither a resident of, nor has a usual place of business in, the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, but is either a native, or formerly had a residence or a usual place of business there for at least five years, shall be eligible to associate membership in the Society."

Voted that the present Article XVIII of the By-Laws (as to amendments) be numbered Article XX, and be preceded by two new articles, as follows:

"ARTICLE XVIII. DISSOLUTION

"If at any time the active membership falls below ten, this Society may be dissolved at the written request of three members, according to the laws and statutes of this Commonwealth.

"ARTICLE XIX. DISPOSITION OF PROPERTY UPON DISSOLUTION

"Upon dissolution of the Society, all its collections and other property shall pass to the President and Fellows of Harvard College, in trust for the following purposes, to wit:

"1. To place all the books and manuscripts of the Society in the University Library so that they shall at all times be accessible for consultation and study.

"2. To place the other collections of the Society in some building where they will be safe and accessible, so far as possible; or if they cannot do so, to transfer such other collections to the Cambridge Public Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, or such other fit educational institution as will hold them in trust for the citizens of Cambridge.

"If the President and Fellows of Harvard College shall decline this trust, then the property of the Society upon its dissolution shall pass on the same terms to the City of Cambridge, to be administered by the trustees of the Cambridge Public Library."

The President stated that a fresh supply of "ancestors' papers" was ready, and requested members having Cambridge ancestry to fill them out for permanent record.

The Secretary then spoke on "The Washington Elm Tradition" in connection with the recent celebration held by the city. (Printed, pp. 46-75, post.)

The meeting then adjourned.

10

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF CHARITABLE SOCIETIES IN CAMBRIDGE

BY EDWIN H. HALL

Read 27 January 1925

WE cannot duly appreciate the charitable institutions of our own time and place, without a considerable historical background; and, in view of the great influence which the Bible had on the lives of our New England forefathers, it is not unfitting to begin an account of Cambridge charities by reference to the Old Testament.

In the ten commandments, which first appear in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, there is nothing said about caring for the poor. These laws command justice but not generosity. In fact, according to the bible story, the commandments were delivered to the Israelites only a few months after their departure from Egypt, at the beginning of their long sojourn in the wilderness, while they were subject to attack from dangerous enemies and dependent for their daily bread on the manna miraculously provided for them. Injunctions regarding the care of the poor would apparently have been premature at this time.

In the twenty-third chapter of Exodus, however, which evidently refers to a considerably later time and a condition of established habitation, we find this passage: "And six years thou shalt sow thy land, and shalt gather in the fruits thereof; but the seventh year thou shalt let it rest and lie still; that the poor of thy people may eat.... In like manner thou shalt deal with thy vineyard and with thy olive yard." In the fifteenth chapter of Deuteronomy we read, "At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release," that is, of debts, "save when there shall be no poor among you." Indeed, it seems not too much to say that among the early Jews, almsgiving, care for the poor, was a kind of religious ritual, performed in part, of course, from the instinct of humanity but with a very definite view of profit to the giver. In the same chapter from which I

12

have just quoted we find this verse: "Thou shalt surely give him [the poor man] and thine heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him; because that for this thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy works, and in all that thou puttest thine hand to do."

In the nineteenth chapter of Proverbs we read, "He that hath pity upon the poor lendeth unto the Lord; and that which he hath given will He pay him again."

But this conception of almsgiving as a good personal investment was and is by no means confined to the Jews. Apparently it prevails widely in the Orient to the present day. I have heard my colleague, Professor Fenn, say that the early Christians believed the prayers of the poor to be especially effectual in saving their benefactors from dire experiences in the future life. It seems probable that the indiscriminate giving of food to "ragged, bestial beggars" at the gates of monasteries during the Middle Ages was prompted largely by a like consideration. It is a commonplace that giving of this sort, primarily for the benefit or satisfaction of the giver, promotes beggary, and in countries where it prevails mendicancy is an established profession, often hereditary.

In early New England this habit of ritualistic giving, as a prescribed religious duty, probably never existed, and the reasons are fairly obvious. The early New England type of religion was severely subjective, and external acts had comparatively little to do with it. Every man's relations with his God were of a strictly personal character, and altogether too serious to be affected materially by any benevolent dealings with a third party, especially any unthrifty and probably sinful member of the community. Furthermore, in old England, the traditions of which were doubtless strong in the new country, the civil authorities had been trying for some centuries to control the recognized evils of vagrancy and mendicancy which ecclesiastical bounty had fostered. Finally, the early settlers of New England were in a condition strongly resembling in important respects that of the Israelites when recently come out from Egypt — in a strange, barren and hostile country — and we have seen that no commandment of charity was laid upon the followers of Moses at that time.

Indeed, from many records quoted or cited in Mr. Robert Kelso's History of Public Poor Relief in Massachusetts, one might easily get the impression, erroneous I believe, that New Englanders of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were lacking in that instinct of compassion for the needy and suffering which is an attribute of ordinary human nature. These records illustrate over and over again the fact that each New England community took zealous care to prevent the settlement within its borders of anyone likely to become an object of public expense. Thus, from the Boston Records of March 29, 1647: "It is ordered that no inhabitant shall entertaine man or woman from any other towne or countrye as a sojourner or inmate with an intent to reside here, but shall give notice thereof to the selectmen of the towne for their approbation within 8 days after their cominge to the towne upon penalty of twenty shillings."¹ The householder introducing a stranger into a community was required "to give a bond to save the town harmless in case the newcomer should fall into distress and need support." If parents did not support their children, the children could be indentured "for some term of years, according to their ages and capacities," and the parents could be "putt forth to service."²

In fact, Mr. Kelso appears to have ample warrant for the statement which he makes in the following paragraph (page 100): "From the stern measures taken by the watchful selectmen, first to avoid the burden, and second, when finally charged to carry as little of it as possible, it resulted that the lot of the town's poor was hard. To be relieved at all, the

needy must have been in direct want for the necessaries of life; and relief when given was such merely as to sustain life."

And it must not be supposed that such a condition of things existed in early colonial times only. Our author says: "In the two hundred years [from 1683] that followed these primitive times, the people of Massachusetts passed through five wars, two of them great conflicts upon the issue of liberty, yet, deeply as men's hearts must have been stirred, and strengthened as the impulse of sympathy must have been for the unfortunate, 'out-relief at the end of the nineteenth century differed little

¹ Kelso, p. 47.

² Ibid., p. 96.

if at all from the meagre shelter, the coarse food, and the pine box of the seventeenth. Such differences as did come about arose more through economic change than from any variance in the attitude of the overseers of the poor. Poverty was not differentiated from chronic pauperism and pauperism was akin to crime. The sturdy beggar, the idiot, the drunkard, and the widow who was only poor, were herded together under the same roof, the chief source of anxiety being the net cost of the establishment." (Page 101.)

But there is another aspect of these unhappy matters that may easily be overlooked, though it is significant and important. Behind the obvious penuriousness and apparent hard-hearted-ness of the public authorities in dealing with the poor there was a stern sense of public responsibility and of personal duty. Towns warned away the stranger because each community recognized the obligation it assumed toward him if he once acquired a legal "settlement" within its borders. It was not simply a question of relief or no relief for the poor; it was a question of equity or of responsibility as between towns. Even to this day of great public expenditure for all sorts of purposes, even great expenditure for the care of the poor, no community, large or small, is willing to pay a bill which it thinks some other community ought to pay, or can be induced to pay. Even now any citizen of Massachusetts who encourages an indigent family to settle in his town is liable to a considerable fine — one hundred dollars, I believe.

Moreover, like conscientious men of all times, New England selectmen and overseers of the poor have doubtless in many cases been more strict and frugal in the use of public money than in the use of their own. They were responsible officials, subject to the criticism of their fellow-townsmen, dealing with a dependent class of people whose misfortunes were, in many cases at least, the results of their misbehavior; and it doubtless would have seemed to them injurious to the morals of the community to make the dependent poor really comfortable, even according to the very moderate standards of physical comfort which prevailed in their time. The sad, often cruelly sad, fate of those who "came on the town," involving not only hard conditions of living but a desolating loss of self-respect,

was enough to maintain in the community generally a most vivid and wholesome dread of such dependency. To abolish this dread by taking tender care of the lazy and improvident would be to take something potentially heroic out of common life.

Finally, I cannot doubt that, in a time when belief in a future life of infinite happiness or of infinite misery was far more general and more confident than it is now, the earthly suffering of men and women seemed of far less importance than it does in our own day. There is, I suspect, some relation beyond mere coincidence in time, between the increase of charitable activity and the decrease in zeal for foreign missionary work which the last fifty years have witnessed in America.

Striking evidence of the rate at which public expenditure for charity has increased during the last two or three generations is found in the following data which I have obtained from official reports kept at the office of the Cambridge "Department of Public Welfare" (formerly "Overseers of the Poor"):

For the year ending December 1, 1857, the "total net expenditure for supporting the poor [of Cambridge] in and out of the Almshouse, exclusive of fuel," was \$789.25. The tax rate for this year was \$8 on \$1,000. The population of Cambridge according to a census of 1855 was 20,473.

For the year ending November 30, 1894, the net cost of caring for the poor was \$53,233.15, the population, according to the census of 1890, being 70,028.

For the year ending March 31, 1922, the expenditures of the Overseers of the Poor were \$262,360.40, of which amount \$62,962.18 was repaid, mainly by the Commonwealth, making the net cost, to Cambridge, \$199,398.22, the population at that time being about 110,000.

Mr. Kelso, from whose book I have taken evidence of the stern,¹ sometimes harsh, methods of early New England officials in dealing with the poor, celebrates the achievements of the successors of these officials as represented by the work of the unpaid Massachusetts State Board of Charity, established in

¹ *In one respect our ancestors were more liberal than we are. Kelso gives from the town records of Easton, for May, 1799, the following: "Voted to Abiel Kinsley, nine pounds, four shillings, for shogger and rum for David Randall's family."*

1863, and usually made up of the main of men with a long New England ancestry. He speaks of "the preeminence of Massachusetts in the field of social service," which preeminence, "beginning with the thorough analyses of Samuel Gridley Howe, has been built up by the unremitting efforts of his successors."

My limited reading has found comparatively little about private or church charity in early Massachusetts times, but it would be quite unfair to assume that it was unknown or

even uncommon. Thus, Kelso, on page 105, speaking of the seventeenth century, says, "Many towns owned milch cows, acquired usually by gift from citizens to the use of the poor; and it was not unusual to help a struggling family by assigning to them a town cow for a certain period."

Sharples, on page vi of the preface to his edition of the Cambridge Church Records, speaks of a book containing the deacons' accounts, beginning with the year 1638 and ending in 1716, and says, "This book gives the amount of money collected each Sabbath.... It also contains a record of how the money was spent, and gives the special collections made on Thanksgiving days for the relief of the poor."

The first reference to charity that I have found in the body of this book occurs on page 267: "Voted [May 31, 1784] that the Committee last chosen be directed to enquire into the state of monies given to the poor of the Chh."; but after this, references of this character are frequent. It appears from a record of July 29, 1785, that such "monies" amounted on this date to £62 and 2d, £40 of which had been given by the late Rev. Dr. Appleton, pastor of the church, recently deceased. On September 23, 1785, various rules governing the use of these funds were adopted, among them the following:

"3. That one third of the sums contributed at the annual Thanksgivings for the use of the poor shall with leave of the contributors be added yearly to the principal of this fund."

In the record for the year ending June 30, 1792, is the first definite mention I have found of expenditure from this fund: "Money contributed to certain widows £3, 3s, Od." In the next year the amount "distributed to sundry widows" was £4, 19s. In the next year the "money distributed" was 12s only. In the year ending June 30, 1795, the "sundry widows" re-

appear and receive £6, 3s, 10d. For the next year the "cash distributed to sundry persons" was \$12.25. Change to the decimal system of money was now in progress, £1 being taken as the equivalent of \$3.33 1/3.

From the date last mentioned to 1830, when the published record ends, small amounts were given from this Poor's Fund nearly every year, usually to widows, sometimes described as "indigent," but their names are never mentioned. The largest annual distribution recorded, after the year 1795, was \$16.08 in 1798-99, the average amount being about \$12.¹ Apparently the recipients were in all cases members of the church.

As I find no mention of Thanksgiving day collections after the record of September 23, 1785, quoted above, and as the yearly interest on the Poor's Fund was considerably larger than the recorded annual distribution from this fund, I conclude that the practice of taking Thanksgiving day collections for the benefit of the poor was discontinued soon after the Rev. Mr. Appleton's bequest added £40 to the fund in question. At the end of the record, hi 1830, this fund amounted to about \$680.²

¹ According to Paige's History of Cambridge, the population of the town was 2,453 in 1800, 2,323 in 1810, 3,295 in 1820, and 6,072 in 1830.

² At Christ Church there was also a regular poor fund, for which money was collected "at the Communion and at other times." From the gathering of this S.P.G. mission in 1759 to the dispersal of the congregation in 1775, at least £132 had been expended for the support of the poor, besides a special collection of about £12 for the relief of "the Sufferers at Canada" in the great fire at Montreal in 1768 — a rather surprising liberality towards the Roman Catholics. As the congregation was very aristocratic and included few poor people the fund seems to have been administered on a somewhat generous scale — perhaps not always confined to parishioners. Some of the entries are:

By pd. Thomas Sherren [the clerk and sexton], gave him, his family having been sick, --- £1 16s.

Cash given to Sherren by the desire of the Church --- 16s, 3 1/2d.

By Cash pd Mr. Bacon a Poor man --- 19s. 4d.

To sundry disbursements to the poor & for wine and charcoal, --- £2 10s, 8d.

Pd Dolley out of poor money --- 7s. 8d.

William Dolley was a typical pauper. He and his wife both died in December of 1775, and from the selectmen's records it appears that Deacon Samuel Whittemore was paid £1 6s. 8d. for the previous year's rent of a house for him — that his child of a year and a half old was farmed out to "Widow Cook in Menottemy [Arlington]" at 2s. per week, the selectmen of that precinct being "desired to provide a carriage for her to come and fetch sd. child" — and that William Darling was paid "for burying Dolley and his wife and the negro of Thos. Oliver at 6/- p. peace, 18s."

The idea of a poor fund at Christ Church was revived and officially recognized when the reconstituted parish was incorporated in 1815. By Section 7 of the Act the society was "empowered to raise and establish a fund . . . the income of which they may from time to time appropriate to the support of the minister ... or to

The first purely charitable Cambridge association of which I have found mention is the Cambridge Humane Society, founded in 1814. In 1857, according to the Cambridge Directory of that date, Rev. John G. Palfrey was its president. I am told that there were at one time a Female Humane Society and a Male Humane Society in Cambridge, but I do not know of which one Mr. Palfrey was president. In an account of the Paine Fund published in 1912 by the First Parish in Cambridge, mention is made of the Female Humane Society, of which Mrs. J. P. Cooke had been president for many years. This association went out of existence soon after the Paine Fund became active in 1905.¹

The Cambridge Directory of 1857, already referred to, mentions two other charitable societies, as follows:

"Howard Benevolent Society: This Society was founded in 1851. Its object is to relieve the sufferings of the poor and unfortunate. Its labors are at present confined to the Second Ward.²... Applications for aid to be made to one of the Managers."

"Walker Benevolent Society: This Society was instituted in North Cambridge, October 1, 1855. It has for its object, etc., the amelioration of the condition of the poor of North Cambridge and Somerville, and the prevention of fraud."

The Howard Benevolent Society is still in existence, dispensing the proceeds of a permanent fund of moderate size.

The Walker Benevolent Society, as described above, is interesting because of its twofold object, to relieve poverty and to

the relief of the poor of the society." The position of Christ Church, as Professor Joseph H. Beale has pointed out, is therefore believed to be unique in New England, as that of a corporation which is at once a business and a "religious and charitable" organization.— ED.

¹ ***The Humane Society has been a rather favorite theme with Cambridge writers. See for instance the article by Arthur Oilman, "An Old-Time Society," in The Cambridge of 1896, the paper by Edward H. Hall, "The Cambridge Humane Society," in these Proceedings, vi, 27, and the paper by Mrs. R. H. Dana (Edith Longfellow), "The Female Humane Society," in the same, ix, 62. Upon its dissolution in 1914 the records of this century-old organization were presented to the Cambridge Historical Society. The first annual report gives a striking picture of the sturdy independence of the native population of those days: "Such has been the general state of health, and such the comfortable circumstances of most of the inhabitants of Cambridge, that but very few cases have occurred that required much aid from the Society." — ED.***

² ***Not the present Second Ward, but a region near Magazine Street.***

prevent fraud. This association apparently ended its labors, whether in triumph or in despair we can only guess, about 1859, for its name does not appear in the Directory of 1860.

In this Directory for 1860 Catholic charitable societies begin to appear — the St. John's Charitable Society and the St. John's Female Relief Society. Their names did not stay in the Directory many years.

In the Directory of 1863 there is mention of the "East Cambridge Female Charitable Society, — formed in 1824. Composed of ladies from the several religious Societies." This society ceased to appear in the City Directory about 1889.

The Ladies' Samaritan Society, East Cambridge, organized in 1861, was mentioned for many successive years in the Directory, Mrs. Joel Robinson being its president. I have found no mention of its existence after 1883.

The Cambridge Social Union, organized in 1871, appears in the Directory for 1872, with William H. Vaughan as president. Its rooms were said to be on Brattle Street, corner of Palmer Street, second floor. With a change of location to its own building at 42 Brattle Street, this Union has continued its activities to the present time.

The Directory of 1874 is the first to mention the Cambridge Dispensary. Its location was in the City Building, now housing the Police Department and the Department of Public Welfare, on Western Avenue at the corner of Green Street. The president was William L. Whitney. Apparently this institution came to an end about 1882, possibly in consequence of the formation of the Associated Charities.

The present East End Union is the outcome of a "Lower Port Union Mission Sunday School," opened in 1876, at 7 Burleigh Street, near the present Kendall Square. Social service work, with children of both sexes, began early in this mission, and the original, somewhat militant, religious purpose of the institution long since disappeared. In 1889 the association was incorporated as the East End Christian Union. Industrial development of the region about 7 Burleigh Street forced the Union to leave this location in 1921. It found

temporary quarters in a small house, No. 17 Fifth Street, at that time owned and partly occupied by the Associated Charities (now the Cambridge Welfare Union),

The next year it was reincorporated as the East End Union and established itself at 105-107 Spring Street, East Cambridge. Its building was destroyed by fire in 1923; but with great energy the Union has rebuilt, continuing its work meanwhile as best it could. In a region where many of the inhabitants are foreign-born, this Union combines much Americanization work with the usual activities of a community social center.

The Directory for 1876 is the first that mentions a Conference of St. Vincent de Paul.¹ This Conference was connected with St. John's Church, East Cambridge. In 1884 there was also a Conference of the same society in Cambridgeport. It would appear from the Directory that in 1889 there was only one such Conference in Cambridge, this one being connected with the Church of the Sacred Heart. The 1922 Directory of Social Agencies for Cambridge names seven Conferences, connected with as many different churches.

The Avon Home, first called the Avon Place Home, was established in 1874, though it does not appear in the Directory before 1877. The first location was in a house now the residence of Dr. Ezra Taft. Mrs. Henry W. Paine was the first president of its trustees. After some years the Home was removed to a large new building, especially constructed for its uses, on Mt. Auburn Street, nearly opposite the Cambridge Hospital and the Homes for Aged People. Later the policy of putting out dependent children individually with approved families was adopted, and this building was pulled down, after being injured by fire. I shall give presently, in this paper, a sketch of the life and personality of the founder of the Avon Home, Mr. James Huntington.

The Cambridge Neighborhood House, at 79 Moore Street, Cambridgeport, was opened as a social center by Mrs. Quincy Shaw, a daughter of Professor Louis Agassiz, in 1878, and it was for very many years supported entirely by her and directed by her or by her agents. It is probably the only charitable institution in Cambridge, open to all nationalities, which was established by a person of foreign birth. It was incorporated in 1909,

¹ *St. Vincent de Paul, who lived from 1576 to 1660, founded associations (confréries) of Catholic lay women to care for the poor and the sick. The present general Society of St. Vincent de Paul, also a lay association, dates from 1833; its local branches or Conferences are very numerous.*

while remaining largely under the control of Mrs. Shaw. In 1920, after her death, it was reincorporated and it is now dependent on the general public for its support.

The Margaret Fuller House is another social service center in Cambridgeport, at 71 Cherry Street. It is not incorporated, being maintained as a branch of the Young Women's Christian Association.

The Cambridge Welfare Union, incorporated under its present name in 1920, is the successor of the Associated Charities of Cambridge, which society was organized in 1881 and incorporated in 1883. The first office of the original organization was in the old City Building on Western Avenue. The first staff officer, called the Registrar, was Miss Sarah A. Pear. Joseph B. Warner was the first chairman of the executive committee, and Ephraim Emerton, soon succeeded by William T. Piper, was the first secretary of this committee. Later, Miss Mary Birtwell became head of the office staff, serving with great devotion and efficiency for many years until her death in 1919.

Like the comparatively short-lived Walker Benevolent Society, already mentioned, which was formed nearly a generation earlier, the Associated Charities had a double purpose, to help those in need and to suppress fraudulent¹ or needless beggary. Its early policy was based on the theory that most difficulties of the poor could be overcome by the help of good advice and steadfast encouragement, very little money being used for direct "relief." In fact, the society appears to have had for many years no sustained relief fund, except what came from the North Cambridge Relief Association, an organization for the benefit of the needy in Wards 10 and 11, which in 1920 made over its fund to the keeping of the Cambridge Welfare Union. But during the hard times about 1907 the practice of keeping a ready relief fund was begun, and it has continued ever since, with a tendency toward more liberal use of money year by year for direct relief purposes. A like change of policy has occurred simultaneously in similar associations the country over. This is undoubtedly a popular development, among both the beneficiaries and the financial supporters of charitable work; but in

¹ One of its early reports tells of a woman who had persuaded each of eight persons to pay the whole of her rent.

my opinion it may go too far. If John Boyle O'Reilly could revisit this community, he would not, I feel sure, speak now, as he did some forty years ago, of

Organized charity, measured and iced,

In the name of a cautious, statistical Christ.

It would be impracticable to deal in this paper with all the charitable or benevolent associations, some religious, some medical, some racial, which have grown up in Cambridge during the past forty years. The mere Directory of Social Agencies in Cambridge, issued in 1922 by the Cambridge Union of Social Workers, is a pamphlet of 31 pages. I shall mention only a very few of these, certain ones that I happen to have some direct knowledge of.

The Anti-Tuberculosis Association was founded in 1903 and incorporated in 1912. The establishment of organizations like this is a natural consequence of comparatively recent recognition of tuberculosis as both a contagious and a curable disease. The Association opened a free dispensary in 1905, to deal with individual cases of illness among those too poor to afford adequate care at their own expense, and it maintained a vigorous agitation in favor of the recognition and observance of health rules by the public at large. After the city, in 1916, assumed charge of all charity cases of tuberculosis, the work of the Association was for some years almost exclusively educational. Of late it has cooperated with the Visiting Nursing Association in maintaining a health center in East Cambridge, and with the city authorities in supporting a summer open air school, or camp, for children, near Fresh Pond.

The Paine Fund was established by the will of Miss Jeannie Warren Fame of Cambridge, who died in 1903. She was the daughter of a well-known lawyer, Henry W. Paine, and her mother had been active in charitable work, being, for example, the first president of the Avon Home trustees. Miss Paine's will gave her property to the "First Parish Church of Cambridge, otherwise called the Unitarian Society of Old Cambridge, to form a permanent charity fund, of which the income shall be regarded as an extension of the so-called Sanders Fund income, and used as said Sanders Fund income has been used

22

by Mrs. J. P. Cooke, President of the Cambridge Female Humane Society," etc.

This document, ambiguous in more than one respect, has been wisely and generously interpreted, and in the able hands of Mrs. Annie L. Chesley, who has been from the first secretary of the committee controlling the Paine Fund, this fund has done a very great amount of good in a very quiet and considerate way.

Cambridge pays a large amount of money every year for charitable purposes, in addition to that raised by taxes and dispensed by the public authorities. It is doubtless true that no one, even among those who give most largely, is running any serious risk of financial ruin through his benefactions; but the multiplicity of rather insistent calls upon one's benevolence is trying, and often seems, even to the most generous, as unreasonable. So the Community Chest, an institution which appears to work well in certain places, especially at first, has often been proposed for our city. Two or three years ago a committee of three men, Mr. Walter Earle, Mr. Thomas Hadley and Rev. Angus Dun, the best committee of three, I think, that could have been selected, considered at length the pros and cons of this proposition and then laid the question before the various charitable societies that might be expected to take an interest in the matter. Little encouragement for the project, if the idea can be said to have attained sufficient positiveness to be called a project, was given by the various bodies of directors, and the committee quite justly ceased its labors.

Being for the present commissioned as a historian, not as a prophet, I shall make no prediction as to the developments of the next decade in the charity undertakings of Cambridge.

I said above that I proposed to say something further regarding Mr. James Huntington, sole projector and founder of perhaps the most popular of all Cambridge charities, the Avon Home. He was born in Vergennes, Vermont, in 1822, of a good family,

Samuel Huntington of Connecticut, signer of the Declaration of Independence, being his great uncle. Apprenticed to an older brother, he learned the watchmaker's trade and learned it well. Then, supporting himself from this time forward

by this craft, at which he personally worked till he was more than seventy years old, he set out to gain a liberal education. Studying first in a school taught by another of his several brothers, and later at Phillips Andover Academy, he prepared for Harvard College, where he graduated in 1852, when he was in his thirtieth year. He must have shown good qualities there, for he was made a member of the Institute of 1770 and was an intimate friend of his classmate Gurney, afterward dean of the college.

After graduation he occupied in succession two shops in or near Harvard Square, but finally took possession of a little triangular space, now 1432 Massachusetts Avenue, under College House. His business grew, for he was widely known as a skilful and honorable workman, till he had employment for a number of assistants or apprentices. When his cramped quarters would no longer suffice, he took a larger shop under Holyoke House, installing there one of the men he had trained, but continued his own labors in his old place.

In 1874 he opened, entirely at his own expense and on his own initiative, the small Avon Place Home, already mentioned, "for children found destitute within the limits of Cambridge." The reason for doing this he gave in these words: "I thought I owed something to the world."

About this time he was hard hit by financial losses, through no fault of his own, and it was doubtless for this reason that he almost immediately made over the Home, valued with its furnishings at \$10,000, to a board of trustees, whom he selected; and I believe he never afterward had any official connection with the institution he had, with such nobility and simplicity of purpose, established.

In 1893 failing health compelled him to retire from active life. During the forty years of his professional occupation in Cambridge no sign had ever borne his name or advertised his business. In 1900 he removed with his family to Newton, where he died May 19, 1901. His last expressed wish was that \$1000 should be given from his estate to found a scholarship at Phillips Andover Academy, and this wish was carried out.

Mr. Huntington was an interesting and picturesque personality. He was somewhat below medium height and of slight

figure. His hair, which he kept rather long, his beard, and his eyes were dark; his nose was somewhat aquiline. In his shop, as out of doors, he wore a longish, loose, black coat, not obviously new, and a soft black hat. As he went along the street between his place of business and his house, with his head bent forward, his eyes fixed unconsciously upon the ground, his hands thrust each into the opposite sleeve as into a muff, he was plainly a man

walking in a world of his own, a figure about whom the imagination of Hawthorne might have woven a sombre romance.

In speech he was deliberate, low-voiced and whimsical. He had a bent for moralizing and philosophizing in a serious fashion and a habit of putting his reflections into verse, which he wrote with facility, but not as a rule for publication. He was gentle, shy and proud, and, naturally enough, he had with this temperament a Dantesque capacity for bitter and continuing wrath, when he felt himself to be intentionally and deliberately wronged. This wrath too he, like the great Florentine, vented in verse, though, again, not for publication.

In consequence of the financial losses to which reference has already been made, he instituted legal proceedings against the man by whom he, whether justly we need not here inquire, believed himself betrayed; and with stern resolution he pressed this action through years of tedious litigation to a successful issue in the Federal Supreme Court. His antagonist refusing, on the plea of illness, to appear in court, remained virtually a prisoner in his own house to the end of his days.

*Though Mr. Huntington's outward habit of life gave little evidence that he had ever entered the College Yard across the street from his shop, his college associations meant a great deal to him. The only portrait of him ever taken, so far as is known, was his class daguerreotype. I have said that, as an undergraduate, he was a close friend of his classmate, E. W. Gurney. I remember reading, or hearing read, about forty years ago, a letter from Gurney expressing genuine appreciation, together with kindly criticism, of some verses Huntington had sent him. Gurney died in 1886 and was buried near the sea at Beverly. On this occasion Huntington wrote a poem of seventy-two lines which, with the title *Il Passato e Passato*, was printed*

25

anonymously in the Boston Advertiser. One of the stanzas ran thus:

A heart so full to overflowing

With grace and help for all

Still there must beat, to Nature's boundless throbbing,

With love perennial;

While the wide wave-fields as they rise and fall

To fields forever wider sound the call.

26

QUINCY STREET IN THE FIFTIES

BY MRS. WILLIAM G. FARLOW

Read 12 June 1925

[EDITOR'S NOTE.— Quincy Street was begun about 1811, as a part of the development of the Foxcroft property. According to information kindly furnished by Lewis M. Hastings, City Engineer, it started from Kirkland Street, and was originally a cul-de-sac, ending abruptly at the Foxcroft line, about opposite the present Sever Hall, and is so shown on a map of 1813. Eight or ten years later it was extended to its full length through the land of Edmund Dana, and appears on a map of 1830 as "Dana Street." On a map of 1841 it is called "College Street"; but at or before the time when it was formally accepted by the city in 1853 its name was again changed to Quincy Street in honor of Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard College from 1829 to 1845.

Originally the street was somewhat longer than it is now. Harvard Street and Massachusetts Avenue then met at an acute angle. Quincy Street crossed Harvard Street, cut through this point of land, and running along the westerly side of the present Beck Hall debouched into Massachusetts Avenue. The triangular plot thus formed — the third "Delta" produced by the somewhat unusual lay-out of the street — was later taken by the city, cleared, paved, and thrown into Quincy "Square."

The noticeable "hump" in the southerly portion of the street is caused by its crossing a well-defined ridge or spur extending from Dana Hill and forming the natural watershed of this part of town. The gentle northerly slope formerly ended in swampy lands at and near the location of Memorial Hall, which were drained by a little brook that eventually found its way into "Miller's River" at East Cambridge. The southerly slope, draining into Charles River, was considerably steeper, as may be seen by the retaining wall at the corner where Harvard Street was cut through it, and by the decided drop from Massachusetts Avenue to Arrow Street, Bow Street, and the land beyond, ending in the ancient "ship marsh" around Grant and Cowperthwaite Streets. The western slope, now in the College Yard, is also still strongly marked, though its foot has been cut away to make room for the Widener Library. So pronounced was the strategic position of this hillock in 1775 that a breastwork is said to have been thrown up along its crest, as one of the secondary defences of Cambridge village. It is interesting to think that Quincy Street probably follows the line of this old fortification.

On this knoll also was built the first house on the street, the present No. 11, erected by Richard H. Dana in 1823. The second (No. 28) was built just ten years later by Joseph T. Buckingham, soon followed by Dr.

27

Charles Beck and Professor E. T. Channing. At that period all the Harvard buildings were in the old College Yard, a considerable distance away across the fields to the westward. In 1835 however the far-seeing President Quincy extended the college property by purchasing all the land on that side of the street, which before long became a favorite location for professors' houses. In 1860 the first permanent college building on the street was erected — the little octagonal brick gymnasium still standing at the northerly end, the earliest official recognition of athletics at Harvard. From that advanced outpost the University has gradually entrenched itself impregably on its new frontier, has now crossed the street, and threatens soon to engulf it altogether.]

I was born in Kirkland Street in 1848, and for the next ten or eleven years was constantly in Quincy Street; so that, being a girl of some ability, more imagination, and

truthful withal, I find I can give an account of that far-off time which may be of interest to us as Quincy Street prepares to become a part of Harvard College.

To illustrate for myself, I remember a little incident about 1855, when an ever-constant and cheerful friend came in to see my mother while I was sitting with her. After words of familiar greeting, I was observed, and Miss Anna said, "Why, here is Lily — how she has grown! Have you decided on her color yet, Phoebe?" I had never before heard of a girl having a special color, and my interest was great. "What is it, Lily, blue or pink?" Now as I thought blue a lovely color, and did not like pink, I waited quietly for the reply. "Yes," said my mother, "Lily's is pink, and Kate's is blue." That did not please me at all; but as she continued, "Now Lily dear, run away and play with Katie," I did as requested, wondering all the time why pink was my color when I didn't like it. However, sometime later, after the first snowfall, when our rubber boots were brought out, I found the reason, for my rubber boots had a strip of pink velvet around the top, while Katie's had a strip of blue. That was the reason, of course, and I accepted it without any words.

My earliest memory is of being thrown into the snow with a big globe beside me from a sleigh which my father was driving. He was bringing us home from Bunker Hill Monument where the globe had hung as the weight of the pendulum suspended there to illustrate the discovery of Galileo in the Cathedral at

28

Pisa. Luckily, I was not hurt, but the globe received a small dent on one side, which for many years I was in the habit of caressing and saying, "Poor globe, poor globe!"

The proofs of my intelligence were so evident that it was felt necessary to send me to school at the early age of three. So one morning my father took my little hand in his, and, holding my little armchair in the other, led me past the high steps of the Baptist Church, helped me over the muddy walk by Holmes Place, and passing through the Cambridge Common, stopped for a minute by the Washington Elm, then hale and hearty, standing in the middle of the road. On the corner just beyond stood an old colonial house with three ancient poplar trees in front. It was the common style of old houses in Cambridge, for there were two just beyond it on Garden Street and three on North Avenue across the Common.

My father put me in the care of a very old woman wearing a white dame's cap, placed my chair in the room to the right of the front door and told me to be a good little girl till he came for me, and, uttering some soothing words, departed. This room has played an important part in my life, so I describe it as I have often seen it; the chimney-piece to the left, to the right my dear little armchair with its lion stencilled in gold on its back. The dame took me to the chair, where I sat for some time watching her and the boys and girls standing in front of her. They left their places, and later she came for me to join some five or six children now standing before her, placing me at what I afterward came to know was the foot. Then she said something to the first child, unintelligible to me, who promptly answered her back; then what seemed the same to the next, who replied at once; then to the third, and a curious feeling came over me that I had never felt before, as I saw the third could answer, for I began to realize that the next would say something, and then, Oh, she would ask me! Cold chills ran down my back when the last child had said "a-b, ab," or something like it, and she looked at me! At once I gave a great roar of horror and ignorance! That is all I remember of the day. But if I see a possible accident either in

carriage or by rail, when two cars approach in one of which I am, then the old dame appears sitting in front of the fireplace, her head turned toward me!

29

Early in the morning the horn of the old stage was heard, and from beyond the Baptist Church horses and stage came lurching through mud and snow, stopping only to take passengers for Boston. Although I well remember the fishman's horn which we heard twice a week, I cannot remember the tone of the coach horn.

I have twice mentioned the Baptist Church. It stood where the Hemenway Gymnasium is now, at the corner of Kirkland Street and Holmes Place, and was an imposing New England church painted white, with a high flight of steps, portico, and light, graceful spire, and faced towards Harvard Square. The church was moved up North Avenue about 1864, and is now dismantled of its former beauty, as the graceful spire was struck by lightning many years ago.

Our adventurous spirit led us into other near-by fields. We climbed the apple trees in John Holmes's orchard from our back fence, and found a talking parrot in its cage on the little eastern porch of the Holmes's house. We stood outside the wicket gate listening to the parrot; but often John Holmes kindly let us in where we could see the parrot more closely, and say a few words to his mother, then a very old lady, who frequently was sitting on the porch in the sun.

In the fifties the Fitchburg Railroad operated a short branch to Cambridge, running from Somerville back of Norton's Woods between the Palfreys' place and the University Museum to Holmes Place, where there was a depot in which the platforms were on the level of the car floors. This depot afterwards became the Harvard Commons. Back of our house was the turntable on which the locomotive was turned after each trip, twice a day. In the morning we watched the process with great interest. On either side of the roadbed were the ditches where we learned to skate in winter, and in summer searched for tadpoles and sticklebacks and algae for our aquarium. In the distance beyond was the brick building of Tufts College — a few houses in Everett Street were all that separated us. This road was discontinued after the horse cars began to run from Cambridge to Boston in 1859.

I must not forget to mention here the fine, large, old willow trees in which we climbed and played, for they were a part of the

30

old stockade against the Indians. Some were in the neighborhood of Langdell Hall and the Jefferson Physical Laboratory. Becky Jarvis's willows, we called them. There were two or three in Mr. Batchelder's and Mr. Lane's borders. There were other willow trees near Norton's Pond where the Andover Chapel now stands, and I think one or two are still standing near the Somerville border of the Shady Hill School. A few of the old willows forming the stockade still stand by the Cambridge boathouse, and two more were blown down about six years ago in Buckingham Place.

We lived in the eastern end of the Lawrence Scientific School, with the apex of the "Delta" across the street; and there in the short winter afternoons we watched to see the lamp-lighter come up the street, put his ladder against the post and run up to light the lamp. Then the curtains were drawn and night came on apace.

There were a few days in October when students played football in the Delta and rent the air with cries of "Harvard! Harvard!" and there was at the top of the slope now under the northern entrance to Memorial Hall an old oak tree under whose spreading branches was a wooden bench. Here the little girls of the neighborhood were wont to gather and play with their dolls in the afternoons. Usually the Delta was a fine playground; for we also improved all our faculties for balancing on the Delta fence, which was high with a sharp top, and we had many a fall.

On certain pleasant days a club, to which my father and mother belonged, gathered to promenade around the Delta, some going in one direction, some in another so they might meet and converse. When those happy days came and mamma put on her black lace and velvet ribbon visite, and her bonnet with the pretty flowers around her face, and long strings tying it in under her chin, and drew on her black lace mitts, my sisters and I were filled with joy and curiosity. But, as they never tried to balance on the fence, or run races, we soon lost interest, tied on our own Shaker bonnets and went out to our museum in the back yard.

After having heard this graphic account of myself, you will understand that my description of Quincy Street is truthful and accurate, even if childish.

Almost every house in Quincy Street has been moved or enlarged. Arria Huntington wrote of Cambridge as it was in the time of her father's professorship — "a very charming place with spacious houses standing well back in their gardens and orchards." Illustrating Arria's description comes the first house in Quincy Street (from the Kirkland Street end), that in which President Sparks lived, overlooking the Delta. In fact all the presidents since Edward Everett have lived in Quincy Street; it is the Presidential Street!

President Sparks was a good, quiet, white-haired old man — perhaps we thought so because he did not mind if we made a good deal of noise in his garden, as the girls played there every day. Mrs. Sparks was very kind to us, and although she had what might be called her peculiarities, and all Cambridge rang with stories of her humor and witticisms, of that we recognized nothing. To be sure, we thought it was hard for the three Sparks daughters to wear Shaker sunbonnets covered with white satin to church all winter, as well as straw Shaker bonnets in summer. But in those days neither Chandler nor Jordan & Marsh pointed the proper way, and each mother dressed her children as she saw fit.

One other thing I must not omit: several times a year Beatrice stood at the gate and greeted her friends with the news, "Our cat's got kittens!" And really, there were always kittens to show in this hospitable home.

The grounds were neat, well kept, and well laid out. We were not allowed to step into the flowerbeds or pick flowers. These were the only restrictions; but there was a large barn and shed, a pump with a large trough in front of it, a back piazza, and a grove of trees.

To all these places we were welcome, and Lizzie Sparks, or "Spizzie Larks," was one of our leaders. Lizzie loved to tell us she was born into Harvard College when her father was its president. On Class Day the students in their exercises around the tree, after cheering for her father, followed the marshal in his request, "Now fellows, three times three for the Baby!" which were given with a will; and so Lizzie came into the heart of the college.

After many years this estate was purchased and the house moved to its present site, while the stone chapel of the New

32

Jerusalem Church was placed somewhat to the north of the former site.

About this time a new, beautiful, and artistic influence was felt in Cambridge, for the Greenoughs returned from their sojourn in Florence to live here. Art, both sculpture and painting, was placed on a definite plane; and the beautiful houses, the appreciation of noble sculpture, the intimacy with painting and engraving, as well as the series of house-to-house concerts by the Mendelssohn Quintette Club, undoubtedly made a deep impression. We were taught to look for beauty in the earlier colored windows of Appleton Chapel and in the marble figures which dignified the cold chapel at Mt. Auburn. It seems suitable therefore that the new Fogg Art Museum should be erected in Quincy Street.

Mr. Henry Greenough was an architect, our first architect, and many houses were built by him which may be recognized today by their prominent features. These houses were generally handsome, the steps to the entrances imposing. In the interior they were spacious, the rooms lofty, the halls a feature of the house with their hospitable effect, as the staircases were often placed at right angles to, and unseen from, the front doors. The mouldings were tasteful, the doorways broad and decorated. You will readily call to mind these houses; Mr. Fowler's in Kirkland Place, now overshadowed by an apartment house, is one of them. Those of Langdon Warner in Garden Street, and of Miss Horsford in Craigie Street, are others.

The next house to President Sparks's was built by Mr. Henry Greenough for his sister-in-law, Mrs. Horatio Greenough. It was a beautiful house with a broad hall, and parlors well suited to the fine copies of large Italian pictures which hung on the walls. At the back was a loggia which we thought a covered piazza, but no matter who lived there it was always a shelter for discarded furniture. In this house I encountered my first dread lessons in French, given in the dining room at four o'clock, once or twice a week. Here Choquet taught us that "chat" was cat, and other similar words and terms. We five or six children sat around a table which was covered with a red and blue checkered cloth. Mrs. Greenough returned to Florence after a few years, and then the Huntingtons came over with

33

their children from Milton to live in the house. Laura was always a welcome playmate, but Henry, who promised to show us "Blue Hill spunk," was a terror!

The house now occupied by Professor Lake has skipped to its present site (40 Quincy Street) from that on which the School of Architecture now stands. (In the East it is not necessary to have cyclones to move houses; we do it in a more orderly manner.) This house was occupied by Professor and Mrs. Felton with their interesting family, of whom I shall speak farther on. Still later the house was occupied by Jeffries Wyman, then Professor James B. Thayer, and Professor Langdell. The latter continued to live in the house during its passage from one side of Quincy Street to the other. Mrs. Langdell and her mother, Mrs. Huson, could often be seen tending flowers and plants about the house, as it now stands.

A word about the wild flowers, which we found very abundant and gathered by the handful. In the swamp near Broadway, at the foot of the hill on which Appleton Chapel was built, used to grow the rhodora — "a thing of beauty is a joy forever" — but now, alas, it is only found in country swamps and generally seen from a railway train. Where Becker's greenhouse stands was a real swamp in which the flags grew in great clumps, and a little farther on, the pasture was white with housatonia, popularly called innocents. Near a small oak tree still standing by the Public Library we found an army of dog-tooth violets, while everywhere in the field short-stemmed blue violets blossomed in the spring.

Opposite what is now the college carpenter's shop (formerly the old gymnasium) lived Admiral C. H. Davis, a most delightful and handsome man, with children who were our schoolmates and friends at dancing school. To this house was added a pleasant dining room while Professor J. Henry Wright lived there. The Davises had a big black Newfoundland dog, Bruno, who knew us all, and whose affection we reciprocated. He was run over and killed by a horse and wagon. Sometime afterward we found his grave in a dump heap in "Pig Lane," now a continuation of Prescott Street. Constant and Henry and Frank Davis were all good boys, never troubling the little girls, while Benjy Peirce, a terror, used to stand near our front door after

dancing school and mince about, holding out his trousers on each side as a girl does her dress at dancing school.

Back of Admiral Davis lived Mme. Greenough and her daughter, Miss Louisa Greenough, charming, with the indefinable air of grace and breeding which all the family had brought from Italy. This house has just been torn down and absorbed by an apartment builder. Broadway was originally the Concord Road and has been widened by the width of its southern sidewalk. On the corner was a house built by Mr. Henry Greenough for Mrs. Agassiz, when she decided to have a girls' school taught by Harvard professors in Cambridge. It had a most imposing entrance up flights of steps on either side of a huge portico; inside, the rooms were many and spacious. Mrs. Agassiz once gave a Christmas party at which each child was presented with a gift from the beak of a goose whose neck and head appeared through the portieres between the folding doors. (We afterward found out it was Miss Ida Agassiz.) The third story was furnished with desks and chairs for the schoolgirls, and one heavenly afternoon lingers in my mind when Lisa Felton and I skipped from desk to desk without permission.

Professor Agassiz, who always knew me by name, had a small museum with classrooms next to the Lawrence Scientific School, where the addition to the gymnasium now stands. As it was in such close proximity to our house, we were generally present at

the opening of boxes and unpacking of various bottles and chemicals. We were not always welcome; but as we had a museum of our own on our back fence, we could retire to that, and add a fresh supply of clinkers. We also kept our living specimens (which were toads) in the area windows of the Lawrence Scientific School.

The only other connection I have with the Agassiz School is an unusual one: I saw a barge filled with Harvard students, drawn by ten or fifteen students each holding in one hand a horseshoe, in the other the rope attached to the barge, as was usual on the fire engines at that time, start on Broadway and stop in front of the Agassiz School where the fellows sang songs of farewell. I learned later the students in the barge had just been expelled from the college.

After Professor Agassiz's death, Mr. Alexander Agassiz made

35

over the house for his mother's use. After her death the college loaned it to the Cambridge School Committee, to whose careless management was due the fact that it was burned.

In the next house (32 Quincy Street) lived the only mysterious person in the street. His name was Parker; he had a wife and two small boys¹ who were always decorous in their behaviour; but we had been told that the father was a "blue" man, so called because he had swallowed a penny in his youth and it had turned him blue. I never saw him to my knowledge, but we went past the house peering with the greatest curiosity. Later Mrs. Fisk lived in the house with her three sons. During her lifetime the house was much enlarged, and a third story added, which darkened the Agassiz house and was the occasion of Mr. Alexander Agassiz taking away the imposing porch and adding a suite of rooms in its place, into which the sun shone.

For nearly twenty years we have had a professor of English, sometime a dean of students, live in this house with his delightful family. A real Cambridge garden has blossomed here, and large trees have greatly added to the beauty of the estate. Mr. Hurlbut is the genial secretary of the Cambridge Book Club, an old and well-established association including twenty-one of the "intelligentsia" of Cambridge, and now in its ninety-fourth year.

The next house (28 Quincy Street) was built by Mr. Joseph T. Buckingham, editor of the Boston Courier, who was very fond of flowers and fruit trees. It was built earlier than the other houses and was gracious and symmetrical inside as well as out.² In the fifties ex-Governor Emory Washburn, after his

¹ Charles Pomeroy Parker, B.A. (Oxford) 1876, Harvard Professor of Greek and Latin, and Edward Melville Parker, Bishop of New Hampshire.

² Miss Mary H. Buckingham, granddaughter of Joseph, vouches for the statement that he built this house and moved out from Boston in 1833. At that time it was the only residence on the street except the R. H. Dana house, and is so shown on a map of 1838. As first constructed, its exterior was of the simple foursquare block type: the mansard roof, the graceful little portico with its beautifully carved Corinthian columns, the ornamental balconies at the front windows, etc. were not added till many years later. The upper floors were originally subdivided into numerous small chambers to accommodate the family of thirteen children. The extensive and varied gardens are said to have run down to a small pond near Broadway. The locality seems to have been known as "Walnut Grove."

*After selling the place to Professor Washburn in 1856, Buckingham again became a Cambridge pioneer and built one of the first houses on Buckingham Street, which was named for him. He was a power in the newspaper world of his day, and has been immortalized by Lowell in *The Biglow Papers*. (See *The Cambridge of 1896*, 219.) The old house was taken down in 1924 to make way for the new building of the Department of Fine Arts.— ED.*

36

appointment as a professor in the Law School, lived here with his wife, daughter, and two sons. He was a member of the old Cambridge Book Club.

In this period Cambridge, in common with the spirit of the time, felt the great interest in the abolition of slavery, and Governor Washburn showed his sympathies by sending an old colored man named Parker Bassett, who had worked for him for many years tending the furnace and taking great pride in keeping the basement tidy, to the free negro colony at Liberia, accompanied by his extensive family. One morning some months after, at breakfast time, Governor Washburn; looking out of the window, suddenly turned pale and put his hand to his head, exclaiming, "I must be working too hard, for I seem to be getting hallucinations. It looks to me exactly as if I saw Parker Bassett out there!" Raising the window, he enquired in a weak voice, "Parker Bassett, is that you?" "Yas, Governor," came the ingratiating reply, "Yassir, dat's me." "But what are you doing here? Didn't I send you to Liberia?" "Yassir, you done send me shore 'nuf," admitted the ex-guardian of the lower regions, "but I jes' thought I'd come back and see if your cellar's looking all right!"

Mrs. Washburn lived to a good old age, and later her daughter, Mrs. Batchelder, with her son and daughter, lived here. The house was the centre for many years of a gracious hospitality, and also the home of many inspiring influences in religious and charitable work. It had a prettily laid out garden, with peonies, Jacob's ladder, dialetra, and a large classical vase in the centre — the remains of the old Buckingham parterres. There were many old trees in the yard, especially pear trees, which have always flourished in Cambridge to an extent quite embarrassing, so that in the autumn the old residents were kept busy sending baskets of pears to their neighbors — and receiving other baskets of pears in return!

In the rear of the Washburn house stands a house built about 1900 for Mrs. Charles Eliot and her children, a very pleasant house with entrance only on Quincy Street — soon probably to share the fate of its neighbors.¹ One of our former residents on moving here remarked it was a very lonely street with no young

¹ *This house stands about on the location of Mr. Buckingham's stable, where he kept the "rig" in which he used to drive in and out from Boston every day. Such an appurtenance was rare in those times. See post, p. 41.— ED.*

37

people. But into this gracious house have come brides and young people and little children's sweet voices to make us young and gay. Also Dean and Mrs. Chester N. Greenough spent several happy years in this charming house.

Then came my house, 24 Quincy Street, built by a Mr. Whitney in the forties. As he did not approve of closets there were none built in the house. Early in the fifties, Mr. and

Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell came here to live, while their two sons, Charles and James, were in college. At that time the house was of the cottage type, and small. Mrs. Lowell with her attractive sons and daughters was generous in her hospitality, and dancing and charades were the order of the day. I remember her chiefly in the streets walking with her two brown terriers. During the Dickens period when everyone was familiar with his writings, Mrs. Lowell gave a large Dickens party in which my father appeared as Pickwick, and Mr. Solomon Lincoln as Sam Weller. It was a great success and talked of for a long time.

Since I came here I have called this house the home of heroes, as both Charles and James Lowell fell in the Civil War; and I have displayed the country's flag on all of the national holidays, as well as during the World War, in their memory. I remember Charlie Lowell's funeral, his riderless horse leading the procession with his boots over the saddle, and the band playing the "Dead March" from Saul. Mrs. Lowell had two daughters, both of whom served as nurses in the Sanitary Commission in the Civil War.

Miss Hattie Lowell married George W. Putnam and lived here with her mother, while Miss Anna Lowell lived in Washington after her marriage. The Putnams had a large family and found the house inconveniently small, so that in 1878 after the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, with its examples of beautiful English houses, they decided to enlarge it. The staircase and the dining room were added, and (I think) the third story; so that when Dr. Farlow bought the house about 1894 it was a large house with plenty of closets and rooms, to which he invited three or four bachelor friends to live with him, all taking their meals at the Colonial Club. He was married in January, 1900, and thereafter the house has remained stationary.

I mentioned Mrs. Lowell's two little brown dogs which were

her constant companions in her walks, and I think perhaps this is the place to speak of our four-footed friends who have given us so much pleasure.

Cato, our first dog, died young, and we were inconsolable until it was suggested that we have a funeral for him by the back fence and invite all the children of the neighborhood. My Uncle George, Latin professor, said that a dog's name should end in "o," and his advice was generally taken. Then Clio, a little black-and-tan, was in turn succeeded by a little white dog with brown spots named Iddity. He had been brought up by Marshall, who was the caretaker at "The Den" in Follen Street, and in giving him to Mr. Lane he said, "He's a perfect little iddity." Uncle George thought the name too good to be lost. Our next dog was Fido, a small, white poodle. The next was Saugus, a yellow mongrel, who followed my father and uncle home from a long walk in Saugus. We children claimed him for ours. He was friendly in his disposition, but one morning we found a hole under the front doorsteps from which Saugus emerged with puppies, and mamma decided that dear old Saugy must go. A setter named Frank completes the tale of our personal dogs, but Uncle George had a dog who lived in "The Den," on whose account the rug before the door was marked Cave canem. He was given to us and lived later in the country. He was named after a professor in Goettingen, whom he was supposed to resemble, Dr. Heck, but commonly called "The Fool."

He was supposed to understand only Latin, but I am afraid that our Latin was doggerel to all but him.

Miss Upham kept a large and acceptable boarding house in what is now "The Foxcroft," then facing on Kirkland Street. Her nephew, Mr. Wood, always took the little fat black-and-tan terrier to walk up and down the broad path in front of the house and in Kirkland Street. Good little Gyp — none knew him but to love him, and say, "He was too fat!"

Quincy Street is now the home of many distinguished dogs. There is Phantom, who walks with Mr. and Mrs. Lowell in the Yard, and there is the Hurlbut's Andrew, who used to bark at automobiles. Poor thing, he had a lesson! And Geordie, who is as black as my Jock is white.

The next house, now the Colonial Club, was occupied by Pro-

fessor Louis Thies, Curator of the Gray Engravings in Harvard College Library from 1862 to 1870. It was a good, square house of simple proportions, with the best fence in Cambridge for children to walk on, so low, and smooth, and broad on top. Dr. Thies must have been one of the educated Germans who came here as a result of political troubles about 1820. I think that Dr. Charles Beck and Professor Follen belonged to the same group. Clara Thies was a gay and pretty girl who belonged to the "Bee." Henry James, Sr., lived in the house for many years with his delightful family.

The next house was built by Professor E. T. Channing, who died in 1856. I never remember seeing Professor Channing, but Mrs. Channing in her widow's dress with her rosy cheeks and bright eyes was a familiar figure in Cambridge for many years. Later, Professor and Mrs. de Sumichrast lived there, and now Professor and Mrs. Hocking, who have enlarged the house and added interest to the street by the life and gayety of their children.⁴

Beyond, at the corner of Harvard Street, stood in its beautiful garden the stately house of Dr. Beck, Professor of Latin. His daughter, Mrs. Moering, and her son lived with him. He was a stately, handsome man and could be seen any day riding horseback through the elm-shaded, historic streets of Cambridge. The garden was continued on the opposite side of Harvard Street to Massachusetts Avenue. After Dr. Beck's death this part of the land was given to a hospital in Boston, and Beck Hall was built by the new owners.² There was a pretty little Delta with elm trees in it in front of Beck Hall, the apex towards Harvard Square. This has since become the property of the City of Cambridge, and disappeared. Dr. Beck had a pretty box-edged garden near Quincy Street, so that all

¹ *This house has the peculiarity of standing end-on (and very close) to the street, with both its sides exactly alike — a piazza with a broad flight of stone steps leading up to a central door flanked by two "swell-front" bay windows — so that until recently for a stranger it was impossible to tell which was front and which was back. One was quite as likely to ring the kitchen bell as the visitors' bell.— ED.*

² *This plot was known for a generation or more as "Beck's Park." Sloping to the south, it had been a part of the extensive gardens and orchards of Edmund Dana, whose house in the eighteenth century stood near the present Quincy Hall facing on Arrow Street, the ancient highway into the centre of the village. The*

section of Massachusetts Avenue from Quincy Square to Putnam Square was cut through his estate in 1793, and the head of Harvard Street in 1808.— ED.

40

could enjoy it who passed by. His house was bought by Mr. Warren, an instructor in Sanskrit, who made many changes in the interior; and later it was moved close to Prescott Street, and is now lost to view. A post of the Grand Army of the Republic called the "Charles Beck Post" is established in Cambridge.

"Oh, Lillie, you don't know what's going to happen next week," said Clara Howe to me one day. I said, "No, what is it?" full of curiosity. "I'm not going to tell you." "Please!" "Well, I'll tell you. The Huntingtons' barn is coming down Quincy Street and up Kirkland and into our yard." "I don't believe it," said I, "how can a barn go through the street?" Well, the barn did go through the street, and at the end of the summer, there it stood in Oxford Street, by the Howes' house, and the Howes kept a horse and a two-seated open wagon — which reminds me of the fact that in the fifties there was only one horse and carriage owned in Cambridge, belonging to Gardiner Hubbard on Brattle Street. Mentioning this one day to Mrs. Agassiz, she and Miss Sallie Cary were interested to count up the number of people who owned carriages in Boston when they, Mrs. Agassiz and Miss Cary, were young. They could name but six private carriages!

So far, we have been passing down the easterly side of Quincy Street. Returning on the other side, the house in which Professor Palmer lives was occupied by Dr. Huntington in a most dramatic period of the history of Cambridge and Harvard College. Dr. Huntington preached in Appleton Chapel. He had two daughters, Arria, who was my age, and Ruth, and two sons, one in our estimation very cross, the other, a perfect angel. He had a Sunday School for the children of the professors who went to Appleton Chapel, to which my sister and I went. It was always a pleasure to go into those two sunny rooms overlooking Quincy Square. I remember in 1861 that a Mr. Abbot who taught in the Sunday School went to the war. I did not know why, but I remember we all wept. This was Mr. Stanley Abbot, a brother of Mr. Edwin H. Abbot. He fell at Gettysburg.

The dramatic period occurred at this time when Dr. Huntington, who was a Unitarian minister, became a convert to the Episcopal Church and was confirmed in Christ Church. Fami-

41

lies in his congregation were divided, some following Dr. Huntington, others remaining where they were. Large classes joined in the confirmation and many of our friends at that time became Episcopalians.

From April, 1861, to Commencement Day, Dr. Huntington held a service in the Arsenal grounds, corner of Follen and Garden Streets, for the seniors who were ready to enlist for the war. It was a strange sight, the students guarding the Arsenal in their plain clothes, behind the high picket fence, with mounted cannon in the rear and stacks of cannon balls. This was the Sunday service we preferred to share.

Dr. Andrew P. Peabody succeeded Dr. Huntington in his professorship and lived in the house, 11 Quincy Street, for many years. Dr. Peabody was preeminently the friend of the students, whom he loved, and for many years held a similar place in their hearts to that now held by Professor Briggs among the later classes. Others who have lived in this house within my recollection are Dr. and Mrs. William James, Professor and Mrs. George H. Palmer, and now with him, Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Palmer.¹

Next to this house was for a long time an empty space where we used to coast downhill in winter, but about 1860 a house was built for President Felton. The architect wished to build a large and rather imposing house, but Mrs. Cary, who had lately

¹ *This was the first house built on Quincy Street, erected by Richard Henry Dana in 1823. The curious one-story projection on its west side is all that now remains to show its connection with one of the notable events in astronomical history — the founding of the Harvard Observatory. Such a department of the university had been talked of for many years, but was not put through till the energetic President Quincy bought the house, and in 1839 invited William Cranch Bond, the famous observer, to bring his instruments to Cambridge and occupy it. A cupola (removed some twenty years since) with a revolving dome was then built on the roof, and the west wing added for an instrument room. The necessary "mark" for a meridian line on which to adjust the telescope was erected on the top of a tower specially constructed on Blue Hill, eleven miles due south.*

*The house had been selected for its proximity to the college and for its elevated position on the little knoll already described; but alas! the elevation proved insufficient. An old barn was moved to a new location on the opposite side of Massachusetts Avenue and completely shut off the view of Blue Hill! In this dilemma the ingenious expedient was adopted of purchasing a right of way through the roof of the barn, and cutting a tunnel therein, through which the mark could again be observed. On account of this and other unsuitable conditions the instruments were removed in 1844 to the present observatory, specially constructed on the old "Summer House Hill" of the former Vassall-Craigie estate. (See the article on "The Dana House," by Professor Joseph Lovering, in *The Harvard Book*, i, 143.) — ED.*

moved to Cambridge, told him that the proper thing for Cambridge was a cottage mansion, so the cottage mansion was built. It was small and inadequate, and Professor Goodwin used to tell a story about going there with Mr. Felton before the completion of the house. Mr. Felton said, "This is my study. Do you think it is large enough?" "No," said Mr. Goodwin, looking around the room, "You couldn't even swing a cat here!" Mr. Felton lived but a short time after moving into this house. We heard that he wore a wig, but did not know whether it was true or not. He was a jolly and very fat man, however, and his cheery laugh resounded when he talked.

No account of Quincy Street without a word of Molly Felton, his eldest daughter, would be worth listening to. She was the embodiment of light, laughter, friendship, and love of outdoor life, a true and delightful friend to all Cambridge of that day, and beloved by all during her lifetime. I remember at school hearing her say to her friend Hattie Loring, "If there is ice tomorrow, I should be perfectly willing to skate to church." This poor little worm wondered whether or not she was a Christian.

The vacancy in the president's office became a matter of more than usual moment at this time, as the scientific men led by Professors Peirce and Agassiz wished to break away from the immemorial custom of having a minister for president. The outcome was the

election of the Rev. Thomas Hill, a minister and well-known mathematician from Antioch, a college in Ohio. Dr. Hill occupied the president's house for five or six years, and then resigned. His son was for many years one of the distinguished professors of chemistry, whose ingenuity in adapting Boylston Hall for the greatly enlarged classes enabled the college to continue to carry on its courses and research in that building.

Then after an interregnum when Dr. Peabody held the reins, Mr. Charles W. Eliot became president of the college and lived in this house. He took down walls and made a delightful living room of the inadequate study. You will all remember how some ten or twelve years ago this house was torn down and the noble mansion was built, a fitting president's house, now occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Lowell.

43

Beyond that was the house occupied by President Walker and his wife. Dr. Walker was an old man, as I remember him. Once or twice a year he preached in Appleton Chapel. Members of the Board of Overseers who were clergymen often performed a similar duty.

Professor and Mrs. J. P. Cooke moved into this house when Dr. Walker resigned, and enlarged it with the addition of a library. Later, Professor and Mrs. Shaler dwelt here, and during their stay the house was moved about a hundred feet to the south to make way for Emerson Hall, at which time Professor Shaler enlarged it and made it more comfortable. The house was the scene of many hospitable gatherings, for they entertained generously both strangers and students.

After Professor Shaler's death, Dr. and Mrs. Fenn lived here for several years while their children were in school. The boys were interested in nature study, and frequented the College Library in search of books on moths and butterflies. One of the twins, after searching among the books, was asked by his mother if he had been successful. He said, "No, not very. I only found one book, Advice to Young Mothers."

This house has been removed to Divinity Avenue. As it was too large to go through the street it was sawn into several pieces, and Dr. F. G. Peabody said to Dr. Fenn, "I suppose you will take up your quarters again in Divinity Avenue!"

Under the large, spreading trees in front of Sever Hall stood the house occupied by Professor Benjamin Peirce, who with his family lived there for many years. At that time Professor Peirce was generally considered the most distinguished man in Harvard College. His long, gray hair flowing on either side of his face added distinction and affability to a somewhat severe countenance. His daughter, Helen Peirce, was acknowledged to be the most graceful dancer in Cambridge. Professor Peirce was a distinguished mathematician and astronomer, and was later called to Washington to be Superintendent of the Coast Survey. When he and Mrs. Peirce returned to Cambridge they lived for several years in the stately house on the corner of Kirkland Place, where they often entertained Edwin Booth and other artists of distinction.

Professor G. M. Lane lived in the first Peirce house for several

44

years ; and then this large and comfortable house was moved to Frisbie Place, where Professor and Mrs. James B. Ames occupied it.

Already Sever Hall, Emerson Hall, and Robinson Hall have arisen on the sites of the old familiar houses, and in a few months three houses on the east side of Quincy Street will be destroyed in order that the College may raise in their places a more worthy and larger Fogg Museum of Art with surrounding gardens.

45

THE WASHINGTON ELM TRADITION

BY SAMUEL F. BATCHELDER

Read 27 October, 1925

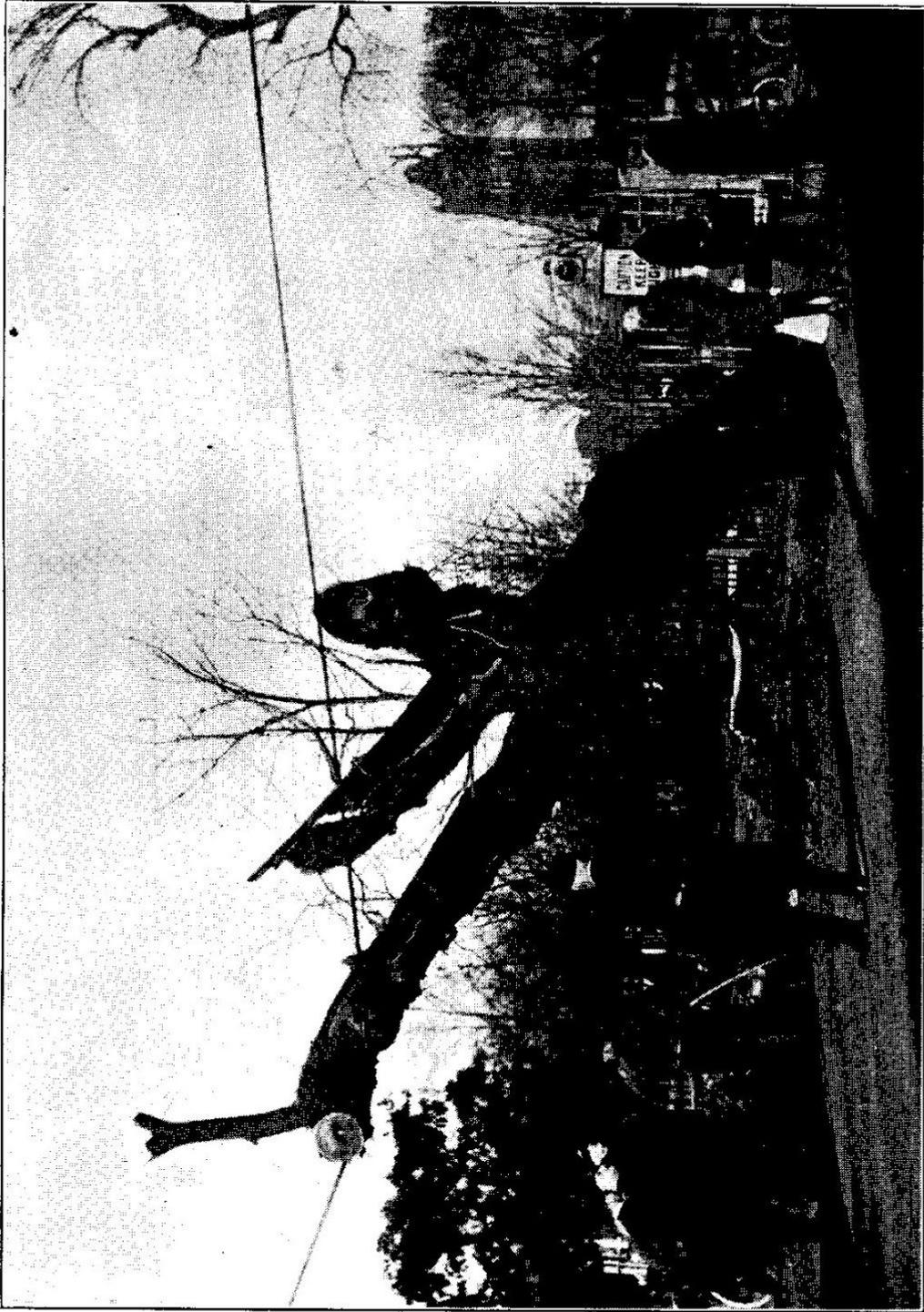
The famous Washington Elm, standing in the middle of Garden Street at its junction with Mason Street, was the first of a line of six magnificent elms planted along Garden Street, the westerly border of the "Cow Commons," about 1700. The second stood at the corner of the present Waterhouse Street, and was early noted as the "Whitefield Elm," from the fact that the great revivalist preached some of his soul-shaking sermons beneath its shade in 1740. It obstructed the way and was cut down in 1871.¹ The third stood at the corner of the present Concord Avenue, and the fourth opposite the present Walker Street. The fifth, just inside the fence between the present Houghton and Parsons estates, was long known as the "Stone Elm," from Gregory Stone, the early owner of the property; its maimed stump has survived all its fellows. The sixth stood opposite the present Linnaean Street, on which the line, turning at right angles, seems to have continued along the northern border of the "Commons," as indicated by several other massive trunks.

For many years the Washington Elm had been slowly dying, deprived of almost all moisture by the water-tight paving of the street around it and by the lowering of the subterranean "water table" through the construction of sewers, etc., which also cut seriously into its roots. As early as 1874, S. A. Drake alludes to "its crippled branches swathed in bandages; its scars where, after holding aloft for a century their outstretched arms, limb after limb has fallen nerveless and decayed."² Like an ancient martyr, the more it suffered the more famous it became. Desperate if somewhat unintelligent efforts were made to preserve it by the city authorities. More and more dead branches

¹ 1855, the date given on page 48 of *The Cambridge of 1896*, seems to be an error — perhaps refers to some other tree in the line.

² *Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex*, 267.

46



THE LAST OF THE WASHINGTON ELM

were cut off, the wounds smeared with tar, the hollows filled with cement, the remaining limbs braced with iron bands and rods, until it became a truly pitiable object.

Finally, on October 26, 1923, the whole wretched ruin was accidentally pulled over by workmen trying to remove another dead branch, and crashed against the iron railing surrounding it. Examination showed that the trunk was hopelessly rotted below the ground, a mere mass of punk: the wonder was that it had stood so long. Experts from the Bussey Institution counted two hundred and two annual rings in a section of its trunk; so that allowing for the last few years when growth had evidently ceased entirely it must have been at least two hundred and ten years old.

The remains of the famous relic were rescued with some difficulty from a horde of souvenir hunters and taken in charge by the city government. It was determined to make of them "an object lesson in patriotism for the whole country." To this end they were sawn into numerous fragments. A large piece of the main trunk was sent to the governor of each of the forty-eight states, and the section from which the rings were counted was polished and presented to the museum at Mt. Vernon. From the smaller branches were made a quantity of gavels, two of which were presented to the legislative bodies of each state and many to fraternal organizations, etc. One hundred and fifty small blocks of the wood were given to local applicants, thirty-two to various counties, and two hundred and fifty were sent out over the country. In all about one thousand pieces were distributed, each suitably labeled with a metal plaque.

The granite tablet that had stood at the foot of the elm bore the inscription — said to be from the pen of Henry W. Longfellow:

**UNDER THIS TREE
WASHINGTON
FIRST TOOK COMMAND
OF THE
AMERICAN ARMY
JULY 3D, 1775**

47

This tablet was perforce removed; but on the same spot a bronze inscription was set in a circular panel of cement, flush with the street surface:

**HERE STOOD
THE WASHINGTON ELM
UNDER WHICH**

GEORGE WASHINGTON

TOOK COMMAND OF

THE AMERICAN ARMY

JULY 3 1775

On July 3, 1925, a grand civic celebration preceded by a long parade was held on the Common close by the site of the Elm to commemorate the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the above momentous event. The exercises included a speech by the President of the United States,¹ and a "pageant" representing the original ceremony as popularly understood.

After all these tokens of veneration, extending over so many years, it may be presumptuous — even profane — to question the tradition on which they have been based; yet if we lay aside the trusting spirit in which we have always accepted it, and consider it in the light of common sense and everyday experience, it appears so odd and unlikely that we are tempted to ask: Is it true?

It is only the restless iconoclasts, to be sure, that dare to propound such a question. Most of us have no wish to examine the tradition critically. Mental inertia (as in so many other cases) is primarily to blame. Every old Cantabrigian has been brought up on the story, and that is enough. The more often it is repeated the more firmly it is believed. To upset it would be as painful a shock to our historic equilibrium as to declare the truth that the Declaration of Independence was not signed on the Fourth of July. Besides, the fame of the Elm has spread over the whole country, so that it formed the best "sure-fire" attraction in town for every visitor. To discredit it would in a

¹ It was remarked that the President in his address made no reference to the Elm.

manner impugn the good faith of the city. Lastly, some of us devoutly believe the tradition has been handed down in an unbroken chain from heroic Revolutionary sires. To disbelieve it would somehow be not only unpatriotic but unfilial. Washington's Elm in short is as much an accepted part of American history as his cherry tree, or the dollar that he threw across the Potomac, or his wonderful twenty-two-foot jump.

But when we find, for instance, that such a painstaking and judicious local historian as Paige, who had unrivalled opportunities for collecting and sifting evidence, and the greatest regard for all authentic relics of the past, makes no reference to the Elm in his account of Washington's arrival in Cambridge,¹ we are justified at least in assuming an attitude of open-mindedness, and in making some investigation of the subject along simple and obvious lines.

I

First of all, then, what do the upholders of the tradition claim?

Nothing at all, as I understand, concerning Washington's arrival in Cambridge on Sunday, July 2 — but everything concerning his "taking command" on Monday, July 3, 1775. This simplifies matters at once; for the events of those two days were very different, and must be kept sharply separated in all that follows.

The text, so to speak, of the traditionists, seems to be taken from the letter which John Adams had written a fortnight before from Philadelphia: "I hope the utmost politeness will be shown to these officers [Washington and Lee] on their arrival. The whole army, I think, should be drawn up upon the occasion, and all the pride, pomp and circumstance of glorious war displayed; — no powder burned, however."

This passage is not only sufficiently blatant in itself, but (since the writer of course knew the utter impossibility of pomp and circumstance in the American forces) it is positively silly. Nevertheless the traditionists have seized upon his sentiments and, ignoring the fact that he referred to the reception of both the generals, have applied them to a perfectly distinct function

¹ *History of Cambridge (1877), 421.*

which apparently never entered his head. From the picture which he suggests they have idealized the vision of a really soul-stirring ceremony, and then, as an additional touch of romance, have located it "under this tree."

A typical account of the fully developed vision is in the "Diary of Dorothy Dudley," under date of July 3, 1775:

"Today he [Washington] formally took command under one of the grand old elms on the Common. It was a magnificent sight. The majestic figure of the General mounted upon his horse, beneath the wide-spreading branches of the patriarch tree; the multitude thronging the plain around, and the houses filled with interested spectators of the scene, while the air rung with shouts of enthusiastic welcome as he drew his sword and thus [sic] declared himself the Commander-in-Chief of the Continental Army."

*Let us simply remark in passing that John Adams' letter was not a statement of fact but merely the expression of a wish — not in the past tense but in the future. And very curiously we shall find as we proceed that every other contemporary reference to the great event was also in the future tense. As for Dorothy Dudley's diary, almost everyone knows by this time that it is a literary forgery — and not a very clever forgery at that — written for the centennial anniversary volume entitled *The Cambridge of 1776*. Its whole phraseology is obviously modern, and it is full of small inaccuracies. In this passage, for example, the only house near by was the Moore house, built about 1750, where the Shepard Church now stands: as Cambridge had been virtually deserted by its inhabitants there could have been*

no thronging multitude of spectators: and the army was not then the Continental Army but the Army of the United Colonies. All the same, the passage is worth repeating to show the traditionists' state of mind. It is just the sort of thing which our school children have been fed up with for generations. And on the scene which it describes, the traditionists are ready to stake "their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor."¹

¹ *The incident is pictured in substantially similar terms by sundry "popular" historians, from Washington Irving (who seems to have started the whole thing) to Henry Cabot Lodge. These gentlemen allow their enthusiasm for the main event — the first entry of Washington upon the military scene which he was to dominate for so many eventful years — to run away with their fidelity to detail.*

50

Moreover, to clinch the effect of the printed word, the most outrageous pictures have been published in the history books, especially the school histories issued during the middle of the last century. In these pictures the artists have allowed their "historical imagination" to run amuck. Prancing steeds, dipping colors, dear little drummer boys, long rows of troops aligned to a hair's breadth, gorgeously uniformed, and presenting glittering arms with fixed bayonets, thrill every youthful heart, while smack in the middle of the front rank stands the Elm, with just room for Washington, nourishing his sword, to ride between it and his immaculate warriors.¹ What child after devouring such a scene could doubt the tradition for the rest of his life?

II

Before we proceed, let us emphasize that it is agreed on all hands we are dealing with a tradition. Now the value of a tradition varies inversely with the civilization of the community in which it is found. Among savage tribes, where traditions are handed down from father to son with solemn ritual, they are as authentic as written records. But the invention of printing may be said to have killed the reliability of tradition. As we all know, any sort of statement now has only to be made in type to be believed. Have we not "seen it in the papers"? This bit of psychology is the basis of all modern advertising.

*A modern tradition is thus at the mercy of every unscrupulous meddler who can rub one idea against another. As Carlyle says in his *Essays on History*, "Our Letter of Instructions comes to us in the saddest state; falsified, blotted out, torn, lost, and but a shred of it in existence." In a modern community a tradition grows like Jack's Beanstalk, and sends out the most amaz-*

*All are carefully discussed (and discredited) by Charles Martyn on page 153 of his recent scholarly and minute *Life of Artemas Ward*. This writer devotes more space and critical study to the events of early July, 1775, than any other whom I have found.*

¹ *Perhaps the most amazing of these pictures was published as the "front page feature" of *Ballou's Pictorial* for July 7, 1855. It is credited to "Mr. Warren, the artist." Washington, mounted apparently on a Shetland pony, is backed up tight against the Elm, and gazes calmly off into space, surrounded by an indescribable*

confusion of staff officers, orderlies, infantry in heavy marching order, cavalry, cannon, and enthusiastic ladies standing up in barouches to point out the hero to their children.

51

ing ramifications. Witness the preposterous embellishment of the Elm tradition – that Washington built a platform in its branches where he was accustomed to sit and "survey the camps."¹ Considering that his view would have been limited to a few hundred yards in any direction, this would indeed have been a pleasant and restful method of spending time for a commander almost driven to death by his manifold cares and responsibilities!

When we admit, then, that we are discussing a tradition, and a tradition of modern times in a highly civilized community, it is tantamount to saying that we are leaning upon a very feeble reed. A tradition, for instance, connected with the founding of Harvard College would be entitled to much more weight, because arising much earlier and in a much more primitive society. But at the risk of breaking a butterfly on the wheel, let us try to trace this tradition as far back as we can.

The first appearance in black and white that its champions claim for it seems to be a short article by John Langdon Sibley in his American Magazine of Useful Knowledge for 1837. The crucial passage is this:

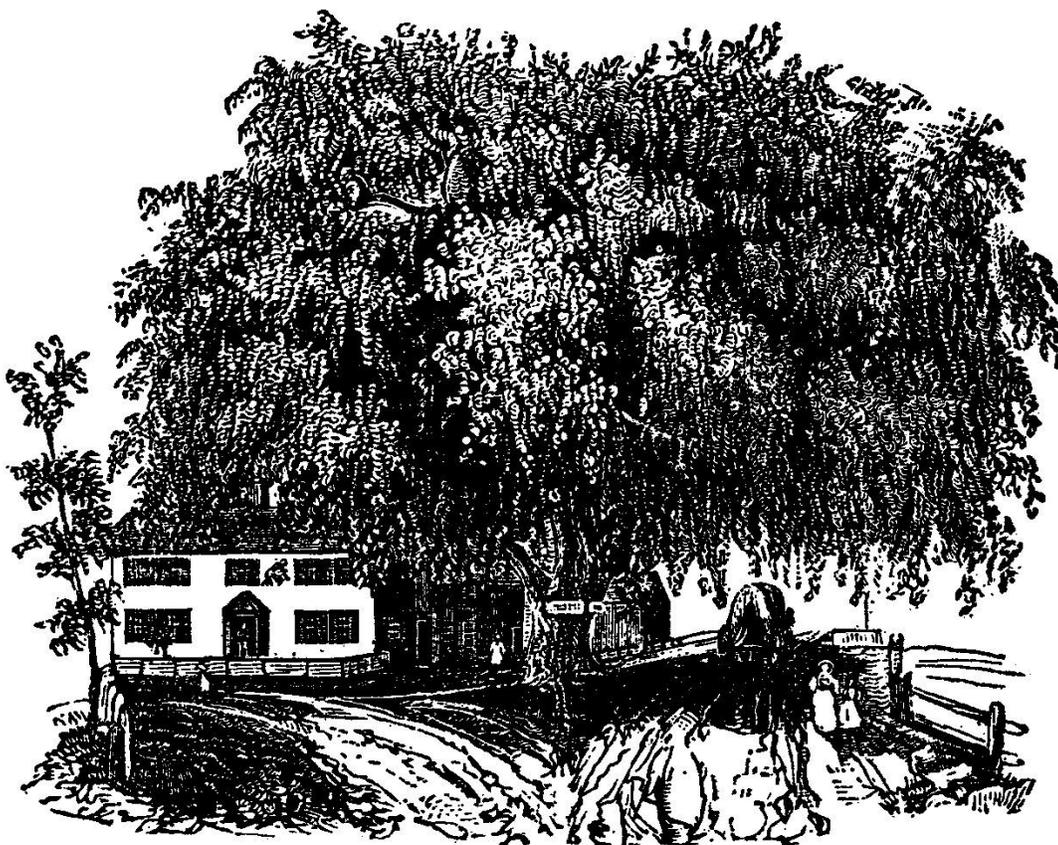
"Whitfield stood in its shade and moved a vast multitude by his eloquence.... The Revolutionary soldiers, who stood shoulder to shoulder,— blessings be on their heads,— tell us that when Washington arrived at Cambridge, he drew his sword as commander-in-chief of the American army, for the first time, beneath its boughs, and resolved within himself that it should never be sheathed till the liberties of his country were established. Glorious old tree, that hast stood in sight of the smoke of Lexington and Bunker's Hill battles, and weathered the storms of many generations,— worthy of reverence."

Enthusiasm rather than accuracy marks this passage. The author is flatly in error as to the Whitefield Elm, draws the long bow as to the battle smoke, and does not explain how the Revolutionary soldiers could divine what Washington resolved within himself! Such accessories appreciably weaken the main statement. The article is chiefly interesting as containing the first known picture of the Elm, with a signboard nailed to its trunk for the direction of travellers.

¹ Cf. S. A. Drake, *Historic Fields and Mansions of Middlesex* (1874), 268.

52

In 1844 another picture of the Elm was made – a pencil sketch by Miss Quincy, daughter of the president of Harvard. According to a memorandum in the corner of this sketch, in 1830, or fourteen years earlier, "an old resident" remembered that Washington "stood" (not rode) at "about the place" when he took command. Like Sibley, she gives no names or



EARLIEST KNOWN PICTURE OF THE WASHINGTON ELM, 1837

Earliest Known Picture of the Washington Elm, 1837 direct statements — all is vague and at second hand. This seems to indicate that the tradition was then, so to speak, still in its fluid or formative state. But old residents will remember anything. The older they are the more they will remember. We all know the story of the convivial octogenarian who before dinner could remember George Washington, and after dinner could remember Christopher Columbus.

Anyhow, it was evidently in the 1830's that the tradition began to appear in recorded form. In all that long interval from 1775 there had been innumerable Fourth of July orations, political sermons, and other patriotic harangues, many of them

printed and preserved, which might easily have referred to such a striking event. But nothing of the sort has been brought forward by the traditionists. The tale apparently had no recorded existence for over fifty years!

In 1851, Benson J. Lossing, after a visit to Cambridge, printed the story (with another sketch, showing the Moore house also) in his *Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution*. Here the embellishments begin. Washington "walked" — he was then still on foot — from

*his quarters to the tree, "stepped a few paces in front, made some remarks, drew his sword, and formally took command of the Continental Army." This is quite mild and unassuming — almost tentative. But unfortunately Lossing locates the Elm "on Washington Street"¹ and "at the north end of the Common"; and also locates Washington as then in the Vassall-Longfellow house, "in which mansion, and at Winter Hill, he passed most of his time." Further, in his *Seventeen Seventy-Six*, published in 1847 without the tradition (i.e. before he had seen Miss Quincy?), Lossing makes Washington arrive in Cambridge on July 12. Thinking that such a frame for the picture was rather shaky, the late Horace E. Scudder, in the interests of local antiquaries, wrote to Lossing to ask where he got his authority for the story. But no satisfactory answer was ever received.²*

In 1864 the thing became an accepted part of history by a very simple device. The City of Cambridge, during the height of the Civil War "patriotism," did a good bit of propaganda by erecting the granite tablet "to commemorate," as the vote of the Aldermen vaguely read, "the Revolutionary event and date that rendered said Tree historical." Of course after such an indorsement from such an authority, no "100 per cent American" could do otherwise than accept the "fact."

It was not till this period, by the way, that the Elm attracted sufficient notice to be marked on the maps of Cambridge as one

¹ *A retraction is necessary here. I find this portion of the way was known as Washington Street till 1848. It is a curious illustration of the early indifference to (or doubt of) the tradition that the title was then deliberately dropped, and the name Garden Street extended to the whole length of the thoroughfare. The public interest of those days was plainly much greater in the Botanic Garden than in the Elm — a condition long since reversed!*

² *For the above data I am mainly indebted to Professor Albert Bushnell Hart.*

of the local points of interest. From that time its fame steadily increased, fostered by scores of writers and hundreds of speakers, until as has been said it became the Mecca of uncounted thousands of tourists, sight-seers, and "souvenir hounds" — the city's chief "exhibition piece."

Thus snowball-like grew the tradition, from vague and feeble beginnings ever gaining, as it rolled along, in weight and importance, till it represented the greatest Revolutionary event in town. Nevertheless, almost apocryphal as it seems in its present form, we must not forget one point in its favor. A tradition may grow and flower surprisingly; but it doesn't grow like a kind of historical orchid. It must have its root in something definite. Very few traditions associated with a given location spring from nothing at all. If I point out to my little boy the crack in the parlor floor where I once lost a quarter, my descendants will doubtless in time show each other the very room where great-grandfather was declared a bankrupt — but it will be the same parlor.

Now it is a notable example of the survival of our ancestral "tree worship" to consider what a number of famous trees there are (or were) in Cambridge. There was the "Whitefield Elm" already noted. There was the "Election Oak" across the Common, on the spot now marked by another tablet. There was the "Spreading Chestnut Tree" beside which stood the "village smithy," at the corner of Brattle and Story Streets. There were the

"Rebellion Tree" and the "Class Tree" in the College Yard. There were the "Palisade Willows" on Mount Auburn Street, made famous by Lowell's poem. We confidently challenge any other community to exhibit such an historical and poetical arboretum.

Yet none of these trees have ever been associated with the name of Washington. He has a tree all to himself. We will allow the "unpatriotic" and the "un-American" and other evil-minded persons to insinuate that as this particular tree was not already "tagged" it was conveniently open to be assigned to the Father of His Country. Let such cavillers go. We are quite ready to admit that from the considerations above set forth Washington probably did do something, active or passive, beneath his Elm. The only question is — what?

55

III

In trying to answer the question we may first apply the "process of exclusion," and consider (even, it is to be feared, at tedious length) what he almost certainly did not do. Let us begin with the "antecedent probabilities." What was natural and likely under the circumstances? What were the known conditions under which Washington "took command"? And what logically follows from them?

We may first discuss the topography. The road from Watertown (the most ancient travelled way in town) came down by what is now Brattle Street, passing the scattered country seats of the rich Tories, and turned into the present Mason Street. Its lower end debouched upon the Common, then a perfectly open plain. Around the edge of the Common were several dwellings, the schoolhouse, the Episcopal church, the graveyard, and the buildings of Harvard College. At this point, therefore, the real village might be said to begin; and here stood a big elm, either at the side of the road or just within the dooryard of the Moore house already mentioned.

Now important military ceremonies do not normally take place under roadside trees, especially with an excellent parade ground only a few yards away. (If the Elm had stood in the center of the Common instead of cramped against the edge and almost in one corner, the probabilities would be much more in its favor.) And in such an important affair as taking command of an army, the leading figure of all would not naturally "take cover" whether under a tree or any other shelter. The ceremony (if any) emphatically calls for him to seek an open space. Or are we to assume that the immortal George, like the immortal Robin Hood, sate himself down 'neath greenwood tree and called on his merry men to gather round his leafy retreat? No manual of tactics covers such an emergency. Perhaps an exhibition drill by the Shriners — but why pursue the inquiry?

The supposition, by the way, that Washington "sheltered himself from the heat beneath its branches" is too ridiculous to be taken seriously. Would a man in the prime of vigor, inured to all weathers, act like a schoolgirl preserving her complexion? Would a commander on his first appearance before his men give

56

such an example of trivial self-indulgence? Would Washington confess himself inferior in stamina to sturdy farmers from the hayfields who two weeks before had sweated and blistered through that infernal Seventeenth of June? Assuredly not — but we are digressing.

Secondly, what inferences can be drawn from the date? It was only a fortnight after Bunker Hill. Everybody expected — and expected very naturally — that the British would follow up their victory by another attack. This second attack did in fact very nearly come off — though the historians have generally failed to notice the circumstance. A letter from Cambridge (to which we shall have occasion to refer again) dated Monday, July 3, states:

"When the Generals were within twenty miles of the camp, they received an express that the Parliamentary troops had, on Saturday morning, about 6 o'clock, begun a very heavy cannonading on the town of Roxbury, which continued better than two hours, without intermission, tho' with little or no loss on the side of the Provincials, and that they expected a general attack on Sunday, about two o'clock, at the time of high water; that we had confirmed, and this I believe was prevented by a heavy ram, which began at half-past twelve, and continued till late at night."¹

Even on the very day of the alleged "taking command" Glover's regiment (stationed just behind Harvard College) was ordered to be ready to march at a minute's warning, to support General Folsom "in case his line should be attacked."

Pretty plainly, then, the camp during those days was in a state of considerable trepidation. The paramount need was to strengthen the defences, and the army was strung out all the way from Maiden to Roxbury, digging like beavers. In Cambridge village there were not more than three or four regiments, and even these were heavily depleted by drafts for the entrenching parties. To have assembled the army, or even a respectable portion of it, for a grand parade on Cambridge Common at that time would have been a risky business — rather like calling off the ditchers at a forest fire to attend a political rally. And thus to assemble them, to bully or coax

¹ *Pennsylvania Gazette, July 12, 1775.*

them into any sort of mass formation (for according to Von Steuben the men had an invincible habit of marching in single file like the Indians), to go through any sort of ceremony, and to disentangle them again would have taken up the best part of a day. It is not likely that Washington would have sanctioned any loss of time like that. Besides, he himself was too desperately anxious (as we shall see) to get a look at the enemy and the location of his own forces to wait for anything of the kind.

In the third place, what can we learn from those same sturdy farmers? There probably never was an army — except perhaps the late lamented Boers — so little fitted by inclination or by training for "fuss and feathers." The men, officers and all, could shovel and shoot. At that point their military notions stopped. Their drill was a farce. Timothy Pickering asserted that not one officer out of five knew even the commands for the simplest evolutions, much less how to execute them. Most of the camps, according to William Gordon, were in a condition of most unmilitary nastiness. Nobody cared a fig for uniforms. Washington had to order the officers to wear colored ribbons, at least, so as to be

distinguished in any way from the privates. Even in the matter of an official flag there was so little interest that the whole thing was left in abeyance until the war was almost half done. Esprit de corps was entirely lacking. The troops of each colony were under control of their own commanders only, and frequently not on good terms with their neighbors. Up to that time, there is record of only one occasion on which the bulk of the army had been assembled for concerted manoeuvres — a practice march to Charlestown and back on May 13 — a feat which seems to have astonished everybody concerned, including the enemy. On one point indeed the army seems to have been well supplied. There was, if countless family traditions are to be believed, a superabundance of drummer boys. But as in the Civil War, this merely allowed the youngsters to enlist and see the fun, and probably gave a painfully uncertain quality of field music.

How are we going to construct a soul-stirring military function out of elements like these? Where do the illustrators get the material for their elaborate uniforms, glittering arms, and serried ranks of the army beneath the Elm? Is it probable that

the officers would have attempted, or that Washington would have encouraged, a spectacle that would have done nothing but reflect discredit and ridicule upon his motley, fidgety, and none-too-enthusiastic forces? Let any militia officer of today reply.

And fourthly, how about Washington himself? It is well known that he was extremely unassuming and modest — so modest that when he was nominated for the high command by the Continental Congress he immediately left the hall. We may be sure that any pompous ceremony would not have been at his own seeking. Moreover, none realized better that he was in a very delicate position. As Charles Martyn points out, he was not yet the popular idol that he later became.¹ He was merely a distinguished stranger, coming with nobody knew what theories of his own, to oust the New England commander of a New England army, a well-known and trusted veteran, who had just received the highest mark of confidence from the other colonies. For, after Ward's handling of the affair at Bunker Hill, both Connecticut and Rhode Island had voted to put their forces also under his unreserved control. And thus not only in fact, but in title, he had become "Commander-in-Chief of the Allied American Army."² Washington was therefore the second and not the first commander-in-chief — a point not generally appreciated. At all events, it was certainly natural for him to walk softly and sing small at first — not to flourish his sword and prance up and down the camp.

Further, George Washington was accompanied by Charles Lee. Now Lee was immensely popular, an old campaigner, a bluff hail-fellow with everyone, and enjoyed a military reputation which very nearly got him the nomination instead of Washington himself. He thus filled the popular eye quite as much as the new commander. Every "address of welcome" that Washington received on his way to Cambridge was accompanied by another to Lee. When they arrived at the camp their names were universally coupled. Most contemporary accounts speak of "the Generals" as doing this or that. Lee, being intensely jealous of his chief, took good care to stick to

¹ *Life of Artemas Ward, 151, n.*

² See *Rhode Island Records*, vii, 355.

him like a leech, and was quite capable of making trouble if Washington got too much attention.

The diplomatic situation, in fact, may roughly be compared to a dignified and rather inscrutable Texan, closely accompanied by Theodore Roosevelt, relieving General Edwards in the middle of his campaign with the 26th Division in France. Under such circumstances it seems likely that Washington would have considered it the part of prudence to get into the saddle as quietly and unostentatiously as possible.

For every reason, then — personal, practical, political, and diplomatical — it is not probable that Washington "took command" in any such flamboyant style as old Cantabrigians so fondly assert.

IV

Yes, say the traditionists, all this is very pretty, but it is mere theory. Very well, let us leave the realm of antecedent probability and proceed to the records.

Fortunately we have plenty of records — legislative, military and civil — by press and public, by men and women. What can we fairly infer from them?

It is appropriate to start with those of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, the ultimate authority in the military as well as the civil affairs of the province. Apparently a good deal worried by John Adams' letter and similar suggestions, they held a number of anxious debates on the subject of Washington's reception. A committee was appointed, their report was tabled, taken up again, amended, and finally, on June 26, a formal resolve was passed. The house of the president of Harvard College (Wadsworth House), as the most dignified in town, was, except one room reserved for the owner, to be "taken, cleansed, prepared and furnished for the reception of General Washington and General Lee." General Ward was to be officially notified of the "expected early arrival" of these dignitaries, so that he "may give such orders for their honorable reception as may accord with the rules and circumstances of the army, and the respect due to their rank, without, however, any expense of powder, and without taking the troops off from the necessary attention to their duty at this crisis of our affairs."

Pretty discouraging, this! The "booming of cannon" and the "joyful salvos of musketry," which the "popular" historians delight to describe, were taboo right away. Any general assemblage of troops was forbidden, too.

Let us see how Ward interpreted the "respect due to their rank," under "the circumstances of the army." Here it is in his general orders for Saturday, July 1 — his only reference to the subject: "That the drummers in this encampment [i.e., Cambridge] attend

upon Mr. John Bassett, drum major, at 7 o'clock tomorrow morning, and receive orders from him." No reference to a parade or the concentration of any troops. And the orders for July 2, Ward's last day of command, are equally negative. They are concerned solely with the much neglected subject of sanitation — sick inspection and cleaning up the camp.¹ Apparently Ward, like a sensible man, was much more anxious to present Washington with a healthy and tidy army than with a complimentary review. The utmost that he seems to have contemplated was to have the new generals "drummed into town," or perhaps to have additional field music for the first day's guard mounting.

We may here add that those drummers duly reported to Mr. Bassett on Sunday morning and received their "orders." Which orders were evidently (on account of the weather) to come again on Monday and bring the fifers too. For the enthusiastic Joseph Hodgkins, lieutenant in Wade's company of Ipswich, wrote to his better half: "Cambridge, July 3, 1775. Monday morning about 8 o'clock. I now set down to write a line to you... Geaneral Washington and Lees got into Cambridge yesterday, and to Day they are to take Vew of ye Army, & that will be attended with a grate Deal of grandor. There is at this tune one & twenty Drummers & as many feffers a Beting and Playing Round the Prayde."²

Note Mr. Hodgkins' future tense again. If he was prepared to be so thrilled with a "grate Deal of grandor" is it conceivable that he would have utterly failed to mention it had it materialized? Note also that taking a view is very different

¹ See *Mass. Historical Society Proceedings*, xv, 113.

² *Ipswich Antiquarian Papers*, ii, no. xx. Even larger "massed bands" are recorded. Thus at Roxbury, Elihu Clark noted on June 9, 1775, "I see 36 Drum 27 fifers all playing [at] once." *MS. Journal, Library of Congress.*

from taking command. We shall find that the generals did indeed take a very anxious view of the army, but without any recorded grandeur. Note further that one and twenty drummers, at the usual allowance of one to a company, represent only about two regiments "in this encampment."

*Such were the official preliminaries. Not much ammunition for traditionists here. Let us turn to the newspaper account of the actual arrival. Now it so happened that the brothers Hall, proprietors of that estimable weekly, the *Essex Gazette and New England Chronicle of Salem*, had foreseen a good deal of job printing would be needed at Cambridge, and had moved their office, by permission, into one of the rooms in Stoughton Hall — thus continuing the printing tradition that had been one of Harvard's first ventures. From their window, therefore, they could look out on the Common and see everything that passed. This was their account, appearing in the issue of the following Thursday.*

"Cambridge, July 6. Last Sabbath came to town from Philadelphia His Excellency George Washington Esquire, appointed by the Continental Congress General and Commander-in-Chief of the American Forces, and was received with every testimony of respect due to a gentleman of his real worth and elevated dignity. His Excellency was accompanied by the Hon. Charles Lee, Esquire, and a number of other gentlemen."

The most striking thing about this news item is its amazingly non-military language. Had Washington been a well-known scientist or a famous philosopher, and Lee a learned

judge, the phraseology could not have been more civilian in tone. In fact, it almost suggests that the editors were trying to make the best of a very poor business. While as for the pomp and display, if any, on the Monday, the reporter evidently couldn't make "copy" of it at all; for he says nothing whatever about it. This again is pretty fair negative evidence.

Civilian records made on the spot are scarce, since (as already stated) most of the non-combatants had left town. Mrs. Adams, however, wrote to her husband a few days later:

"The appointment of the Generals, Washington and Lee, gives universal satisfaction.... I was struck with General Washington. You had prepared me to entertain a favorable

62

opinion of him, but I thought the half was not told me. Dignity, with ease and complacency, the gentleman and soldier, looked agreeably blended in him. Modesty marks every line of his face. Those lines of Dryden instantly occurred to me:" — and the good soul wanders off into poetry.

Surely a lady of such appreciative and emotional temperament would have been the first to chronicle any soul-stirring ceremony such as the traditionists claim. But unfortunately she doesn't; and there seems only one inference to draw from her silence.

The letter from Cambridge dated July 3, already quoted, after describing the rain goes on to say, "The Generals have spent this whole day in reviewing the troops, lines, fortifications, etc. They find the troops to be 15,000 strong, and the works to be in as good order as could be expected." Here we have the facts in a nutshell. Washington's "whole day" is accounted for, in precisely the way any sensible man would expect, at the very time when the traditionists solemnly place him beneath the Elm, waving his sword and haranguing his assembled forces. But as all the fortifications and nearly all the troops were miles away from the Common, this entry gets him farther off from the Elm than ever. The word "review" here is applied to earthworks as well as troops, and hence must mean "inspect" — or "visit" as Washington himself, and various other chroniclers, say. It cannot mean "take command," because it is distinctly applied to both Washington and Lee.

Out in Stoughton, Ezekiel Price was keeping a diary. He was in close touch with what was going on in Cambridge, and recorded all items of news that were interesting enough to filter out of the camp. In fact, he may be considered as reproducing faithfully the general talk of the day. His entries are as follows:

"Monday, July 3. The plentiful rains that fell yesterday made it exceeding pleasant this morning. Toward noon, very warm. In the afternoon, assisted in raking hay. Reports of the day — that General Washington had got to Cambridge with General Lee and others."

There is no entry for July 4.

"Wednesday, July 5. Heard ... that General Washington

63

*had visited the camps, and the soldiers were much pleased with him; and, by the motions of the Continental Army, it is expected that something of importance will soon happen."*¹

*We may add that the civilian chronicler, William Gordon, who was on the spot and very thick with Washington, recording his movements in detail, makes no mention of any ceremony of "taking command" in his account of Washington's arrival at Cambridge.*²

Our liveliest and most suggestive records are the camp diaries, kept by many of the soldiers themselves. These are surprisingly numerous — and surprisingly silent on the great event. In fact, many of them enter specifically on July 3 — "Nothing of importance this day," — "Nothing remarkable," — and the like. One of the best for our inquiry is that of Noah Chapin, Jr., of Somers, Conn., ensign in Willes's company of Spencer's regiment, stationed at Roxbury. Noah was a poor speller but a conscientious recorder. Moreover, he was a hero worshipper, and took a sort of fascinated interest in the doings of the new generals. This is what he wrote:

"1775. July 2 this Day about 11 o'clock Genrel Washington & Genrel Lee with several other Gentlemen arrived at Cambridge and in the afternoon they Road out to the line of forts at Prospect Hill in Charlestown.

"3. this day the Gener from Cambrid Came to Brookline fort.

*"4. this Day near 2000 Roxbury Troops musterd toward Cambrid to waight on the new Generals But was Rejected By the General Who said they did not want to have time spent in waiting on them.*³

*"5. this Day the Generals from Cambridge Came to Roxbury in the fore noon and viewed the Lines and forts and about Noon Returned Back."*⁴

Here let the traditionists answer one question: If the soldiers

¹ *Mass. Historical Society Proceedings, vii, 185.*

² *See his History of the American Revolution (1788), ii, 63.*

³ *Compare Clark's entry for this date, at Roxbury: "the rodeislanders went over to Cambridge to wait on General Washington." (MS. Journal, Library of Congress.) This must be the same occasion noted by General Greene, in command of the Rhode Island regiments at Jamaica Plain, who on July 4 "sent a detachment of 200 ... to welcome his Excellency to camp," and considered that they "met with a very gracious reception."*

⁴ *Manuscript at State Library, Hartford, Conn.*

had already seen (and perhaps heard) the general in a grand parade and speech-making on July 3, why were they so anxious to get a look at him on the 4th?

*Paul Lunt of Newburyport, first lieutenant in Era Lunt's company of Little's regiment, was stationed at Prospect Hill. On July 3 he noted: "Turned out early in the morning, got into readiness to be reviewed by the General."*¹

It will be observed that this entry, as well as Chapin's, exactly bears out the letter of July 3 quoted above. It evidently means that Washington inspected the troops at Prospect Hill on Monday just as he inspected those at Brookline. Such a wide "swing around the circle" certainly leaves little time for the far-famed function on the Common. Indeed, all the positive documentary evidence that we can collect leads away from the Elm rather than towards it; while the negative evidence of course omits all reference to it in a manner almost equally significant.

James Stevens, an Andover carpenter, in Poor's company of Frye's regiment, stationed right hi Cambridge, has perhaps the most illuminating notes of all:

"Saturday July the 1 ... we preaded to receive the new jeneral Washington but he did not com.

"Sunday ye 2 this morning we preaded to receive the new jeneral it rained & we was dismesdthe jeneral com in about nune there was no meting in the afternune. [Evidently on account of the weather.]

"Munday ye 3 nothing happeng extr orderly we preaded three tunes I went up on the nil."²

Stout old William Heath was in command of the whole Roxbury division of the army. As a high ranking officer he would be greatly interested in all the doings of his new superior. Yet after duly recording in his diary the arrival of Washington on the 2d, he makes no further entry at all until the 5th, when he mentions, like Chapin, the visit to Roxbury.³

Thus, in climbing the ladder of rank, we come finally to Washington himself, the main figure of the tradition. Now or

¹ *Mass. Historical Society Proceedings, vii, 192.*

² *Essex Institute Collections, xlvi, 49.*

³ *See his Memoirs (N. Y. 1901). Original MS. at Mass. Historical Society.*

never we shall have the truth. Here is his official report to the President of the Congress:

"Camp at Cambridge, July 10, 1775. Sir: I arrived safe at this place . . . after a journey attended with a good deal of fatigue, and retarded by necessary attentions to the successive civilities which accompanied me on my whole route. Upon my arrival I immediately visited the several posts occupied by our troops; and as soon as the weather permitted reconnoitered those of the enemy. I found the latter strongly entrenched on Bunker's Hill, about a mile from Charlestown, and advanced about half a mile from the place of the late action," etc.

This is perhaps the unkindest cut of all. Washington is ready enough to mention other "civilities." Why not the greatest, crowning civility of the whole series — if it occurred? No. If there was a tithe of the sword drawing and curvetting, the drumming and fifing, the parading and saluting that Cambridge loves to dwell upon — under the Elm or

anywhere else — it must have been recorded in some of the numerous sources we have examined.

*How much interest, by the way, did Washington take in his Elm in after years? Sidney Willard, in his *Memories of Youth and Manhood*, describing Washington's visit to Cambridge in 1789, says: "Then nine years of age, I distinctly remember sitting on the fence before the old house which still [1855] remains at the corner near the tree, and seeing the majestic warrior, mounted on a fitting steed, 'with all his trim belonging,' pass by," Here he ends. Was the tree decorated for the occasion? Did Washington stop and point it out to his escort as the scene of one of the greatest events of his life? Did he, in the regulation style, annex a souvenir of the occasion? Apparently not. He only "passed by." Priest and Levite in the parable were not more unfeeling to the wayfarer than Washington to the youthful traditionist perched on the fence.*

Why then, we ask, this astounding universal omission to record by so many diverse, eager, vigilant recorders? Why this "conspiracy of silence" by all concerned? Plainly the traditionists must explain this away in some reasonable manner or shut up shop.

V

But though nobody on the spot seems to have been sufficiently impressed by the ceremony (if any) of "taking command" to set down the slightest reference to it when it was fresh in memory, there were at least two eyewitnesses whose accounts were recorded — at second hand — long afterwards. One of these was Andrew Leavitt of Amherst, N. H., a soldier in Crosby's company of Reed's regiment, probably stationed at Medford. About 1840, in extreme old age, he is said to have given Mr. Daniel F. Secomb the following description of the scene:

"The officers placed their men in as good shape as they could, but they were a motley looking set, no two dressed alike. Some were armed with fowling pieces, some with rifles, others with muskets without bayonets. When all was in readiness, Washington and his staff advanced to the square prepared for their reception. He was a large, noble-looking man, in the prime of life, and was mounted on a powerful black horse over which he seemed to have perfect control. After a short address to the soldiers, he took from his pocket a psalm book, from which he read the one hundred and first Psalm (another account says it was then sung by the soldiers to the tune of Old Hundred)."

Whether Secomb wrote this down at the time, or simply carried it in his head for some forty years, is not clear. At any rate, he did not publish it until 1883.¹ It certainly makes no mention of the Elm, but of a hollow square formation into which Washington rode; nor of the drawing of any sword, but instead — a psalm book! Indeed the whole passage is so odd and improbable that commentators dismiss it as the maunderings of an nonagenarian.²

¹ Secomb, *History of Amherst, N.H.* (1883), 371. This Psalm contains some verses easily applicable to the opposing parties: "Whoso hath also a proud look and high stomach, I will not suffer him. . . Mine eyes look

upon such as are faithful in the land, that they may dwell with me.... I shall soon destroy all the ungodly that are in the land, that I may root out all wicked doers from the city of the Lord."

² *"One may read with some curious interest the following alleged recollections given to the author [Secomb] forty or so years earlier by Andrew Leavitt, a very old soldier, then about ninety years of age." Martyn, Life of Artemas Ward, 153, n. Leavitt died in the summer of 1846. Mass. Historical Society Proceedings, 2d Series, xvii, 129.*

67

The other account is by the Reverend Hezekiah Packard of Bridgewater, who served in Captain Cobb's company of Titcomb's regiment. His story, also told in extreme old age, was transmitted, also after a very long interval, by Judge Samuel P. Hadley of Chelmsford, who says —

"Our village pastor was a Harvard freshman at Cambridge when the war broke out; and, with an elder brother, he joined the army as a fifer, and stood at attention when Washington took command, and reviewed his army of farmers on Cambridge common. I sat on his knee while he described to me the scene. 'Washington,' said he, 'was a grand looking man; and, when he walked by with his staff, I was so impressed that I forgot to remove my hat.'"¹

Here again is no mention of the Elm or the sword drawing; and Washington "walks by," saluted, apparently, by the ludicrously civilian removal of hats! The most casual reader will notice that these stories are not only sufficiently surprising in themselves but are totally unlike. In fact they probably do not refer to any grand ceremony at all, but to two separate reviews or inspections which Washington made of different detachments on that busy Monday. At the best, even taking them at their face value, they not only fail to give the least confirmation of the tradition, but suggest, in the psalm book and the hat doffing, a most unmilitary ceremonial which must somewhat stagger the believers in an imposing and properly "patriotic" parade.

Both these accounts of course are nothing but "hearsay evidence." But Hezekiah Packard is said to have made a direct written statement himself, mentioning the Elm. If so, it is the only first-hand material we have, and as such deserves some further examination. The facts appear to be these: In 1837, or 62 years after the event, at the age of 76, Packard set down, for the benefit of his children, a series of autobiographical notes, to be opened after his death. He died in 1849, and the manuscript was promptly used by his son Alpheus in writing a memoir of

¹ *This is the version quoted in Treyelyan's George III and Charles Fox, i, 291, n, A slightly briefer statement occurs in Lowell Historical Society Contributions, i, 218 (1910). Packard died in 1849, aged 88. Hadley died at about the same age in 1919. If in his childhood he sat on Packard's knee, the latter must already have been a very old man. See Kingman, North Bridgewater, 146.*

68

his father. He naturally paid great attention to it, and quotes the Revolutionary portion, apparently verbatim, in much detail — how Hezekiah at the age of thirteen and a half enlisted as a fifer, "dwelt in tents near Cambridgeport" during the summer of 1775, "drew

our provisions from College Hall [Harvard Hall] where beef, pork, etc. were kept for our army;" and how he again saw service at Rhode Island in 1777 — but not a word anywhere about the Elm or the events of July 3.

*Unfortunately this manuscript has long been lost. But Hezekiah's other son Joseph also quotes, or assumes to quote, from it in his book *Recollections of a Long Life*, published in 1902. His quotations of the same Revolutionary portion however are surprisingly different from those made more than fifty years before, and almost seem as if he were quoting from memory, after the loss of the manuscript. He did not even take the trouble to compare the quotations given by Alpheus. Whole sentences are altered until nothing but their general sense remains, there are omissions in the middle of important passages, and after the Rhode Island episode (far out of its chronological order) occurs this addition: "I saw Gen. Washington take command of the army under the Elm tree in Cambridge."¹*

Considering the above circumstances this is not as strong evidence as we should like; but until the original manuscript can be found and the entry substantiated, it may be allowed to stand for what it is worth.

VI

The real trouble with the traditionists is twofold. They have mixed their dates and they are obsessed by a fallacy. They have confused the events of Sunday and Monday. They have failed to notice that almost all the evidence of preparations for a ceremony refers to Washington's reception on Sunday. That ceremony, whatever it was intended to amount to (and it cannot have been much), was completely spoiled by the rain. For rain was in those days a far more serious military matter than it is now. Aside from the lack of waterproof clothing, no body of men could be turned out under arms during a storm, for the

¹ For much help in tracing this singular sequence my thanks are due to Professor William Romaine Newbold of the University of Pennsylvania.

simple reason that a wet flintlock converted a soldier into a nonentity at a stroke. Up to the time of the invention of the percussion cap, no battle could be fought in the rain. Sagely enough did the old saw adjure us to "Put your trust in Providence but keep your powder dry." Neither could there be any martial music. There was as yet no "sounding brass and tinkling cymbal," and in the rain the drummers couldn't drum.

To be sure there is some evidence of an expected function of some sort in Cambridge early Monday morning, but it was small, local, and probably simmered down to a brief inspection only. For anything more elaborate, Washington was too busy galloping from fort to fort examining his own lines and those of the enemy. He had neither time nor inclination for receiving any half-baked and impolitic honors.

Thus, though there might have been, had all gone well, something in the way of a military reception on the second, there was nothing in the way of a dramatic "taking command" on the third. But the traditionists jumble up the two. In order to support their story, they must not only assume that a grand parade actually did take place, but to connect it with "taking command" they must further assume that it took place on Monday —

that is, that Washington stole into Cambridge on Sunday, virtually unnoticed, and burst into full bloom, so to speak, the next day. That is not the way in which military honors are rendered, however.

The fallacy under which the traditionists labor regards the essential nature of "taking command." Does this consist of drawing a sword and riding up and down a line of troops? Of course not. The idea seems to have been derived from the sight of a regimental parade. There the adjutant, having formed the line, turns it over to the colonel. The latter thereupon draws his sword to show that he has taken charge and that all subsequent orders will proceed from him. But that is a mere gesture. It invests an officer with no new power. And that every American schoolboy should be taught the contrary, is a pathetic commentary on our national ignorance of military affairs. No British or continental schoolboy would accept it for a moment. Our Civil War veterans at least should know better. For during that conflict the command of armies was frequently taken,

70

without as much as the tap of a drum, by newly arrived generals whose swords were still packed in their baggage.

The fact of the matter is, we have all been so long bedazzled and befuddled with this traditional sword-drawing gasconade that we cannot seem to realize that taking command of an army in the field, with all it implies, is a mighty serious business. Like most other important administrative events, military and civil, its essentials are of a quasi-legal and extremely prosy description. They consist mainly in the new commander's presenting his credentials, otherwise reading his commission, in taking over the headquarters order book and other documentary evidence of his authority, and especially in publishing official notice of the fact in general orders.

These uninteresting and untheatrical formalities seem to have been duly observed in the case before us. Ward's order book, as the original shows, was turned over to Washington and continued without a break. But the general orders for Monday morning are headed for the first time, "By His Excellency George Washington, Esquire, Commander-in-Chief of the Forces of the United Colonies of North America." (These orders, by the way, consist of nothing but a call for every colonel to make a return of his regiment and his ammunition in detail.) This of course is a perfectly sufficient basis for the usual statement that Washington "took command of the army" on July 3, 1775. That is, he began to give his commands on that date. However, as general orders were issued early in the morning, it was necessary to prepare them the night before. The order book, therefore, must have been turned over to Washington on Sunday. Indeed, some contemporary writers assert that Washington "took command" on the second. At all events, considering that Ward's headquarters were just across the Common, nobody but a lunatic would maintain that the above technicalities took place under the Elm.

Let us recollect again — all popular ideals to the contrary — that Washington was performing no original or creative act, that he did not wave his sword and by a sort of military magic cause his famous army to spring into being. He was simply taking over the control of a distinctly "going concern," a force that had already fought a highly creditable pitched battle under

a totally different commander. Nobody, either then or now, at all conversant with military etiquette would expect (or apparently did expect) that the actual transfer of command could be turned into a grand ceremonial; though there do seem to have been some anticipations of a special review afterwards.

Speaking of fallacies, we may in conclusion glance at one other — the "unbroken chain." Suppose A makes an oral statement to his son B concerning what he remembers of an event which happened perhaps forty years before. B, after perhaps forty years more, relates what heremembers of the statement to his son C, and C in turn to D. Now D, having a justifiable amount of family pride, naturally believes he is in possession of the identical original statement. To prove it, he recites his descent from A! It is hardly necessary to point out that this does not prove that A had a trustworthy and scrupulous memory, or that his meaning was correctly understood by B — and so on down the "chain." Indeed an accurate "long range" memory is the rarest of modern gifts; for documents, as already suggested, have superseded and almost atrophied memory. (D himself will be glad enough to use them in proving his descent.) In place of the old primitive fidelity in transmitting a story, there has sprung up an irresistible tendency to "embroider" it. One has only to cite the familiar example of the growth of a bit of gossip.. And what after all is tradition but historical gossip — a long-extended series of "they say's"?

Such then, in sum (errors, omissions, and typographical slips excepted), is the present state of the argument for the negative — the contention of the much-abused "detractors of the Elm." If the traditionists can counter with anything weightier than more flag flapping and more family trees (which are quite a different species from elms), let them by all means now speak, or adopt the alternative presented in the wedding service.

VII

At the same time and per contra, to say that it is virtually certain that Washington did not, in any such heroic style as is now currently believed, "under this tree first take command of the American army" (and why "first"? How many times must

Perhaps the easiest way of arriving at a reasonable answer will be to make use of the probabilities and the evidence we have accumulated above, in an attempt to visualize the occurrences of that eventful Sunday, the second of July, 1775, in Cambridge.

It is eleven o'clock in the morning — the very middle of "meeting time" (all the troops were inveterate church goers) — and raining hard. With this double reason for keeping within, scarcely a soul is to be seen. The weather has put a stopper on the modest arrangements that Ward has felt justified in making for receiving the new generals "with the respect due to their rank." It has done the same for the more or less independent preparations made by a few exceptionally zealous regimental commanders. Down at the main guard in the Court House (on the present site of the cooperative store) they are

speculating whether it will even be a case of "Turn out the guard!" Anyway, the generals are far behind their schedule, and the waiting, like the rain, has cooled enthusiasm.

But a courier comes cantering down the road from Watertown. "They're coming!" and Ward, like a courteous host, feels he must at least go out and greet his guests. With two or three aides he splashes across the Common. But he is old and heavy and tortured with gallstones, and he does not go far. Where the road enters the village, he halts and shelters himself from the downpour under the wide branches of a magnificent elm. In a few minutes the group of distinguished strangers is seen approaching. They are soaking wet and dog-tired — Washington himself is half sick.¹ They also draw rein (or rani) beneath the protecting roof of foliage. Ward greets them politely, and the old and the new generals shake hands. And in that handclasp, to put it fancifully, the electric thrill of com-

¹ "In poor health." Letter of Provincial Congress to Trumbull, July 4, 1775. "A good deal fatigued." Washington's own letter quoted on p. 66 ante.

mand passes from Ward to Washington. Thenceforth the Massachusetts man defers to the Virginian. His day is done. Everything after that is mere confirmatory ritual.

Ward conducts his new chief at once to President Langdon's. Here the most distinguished civilian in town, and bishop, so to speak, of all the clergy in New England, receives him from the hands of the most distinguished military man. Early in the afternoon, Washington, refreshed by a good dinner and dry clothes, starts off, burning with impatience "at this crisis of our affairs," to get a first look at the situation. At the end of the day he comes to Ward's headquarters in the Hastings house (on the site of the present Hemenway Gymnasium). Here a little knot of ranking officers has gathered to meet him. He reads his commission, receives the headquarters documents and any flag or insignia of rank possessed by Ward, and is introduced to his brigadiers — perhaps makes a brief speech. (If he does, Charles Lee makes another!) These necessary formalities concluded, Ward serves an excellent supper — this is another delightful and most reasonable tradition — the Madeira goes round, the proper toasts are drunk, songs are sung, and amidst old-time conviviality the great man relaxes at length from the strain of one of the most memorable days of his life.

Such is the story as nearly as we can reconstruct it. Unfortunately there is nothing dramatic or "patriotic" in it. It is merely the application of ordinary Yankee common sense — an article in which the traditionists occasionally seem to be lacking. But at least it suggests a reasonable connection between Washington and the Elm. Although in a very different form from what the traditionists would have us believe, such a connection is quite sufficient to found the tradition upon.

If the above picture be thought too elaborate, another perfectly simple explanation suggests itself. It is clear that Washington spent all of Monday, July 3, in visiting and "sizing up" as many detachments of his scattered forces as possible. Among them would naturally be included — perhaps first of all — the few regiments in Cambridge. They would no doubt be drawn up on "the parade," as the Common was then called. During the

inspection, or while waiting for it to be formed, Washington very probably stood beside or near the Elm, as that was close

74

to the road by which most of the troops would reach the formation point. By the simple citizen-soldiery the first sight of their new commander, sword in hand and perhaps himself giving orders or making a short address, might easily be construed as his "taking command" of them. So at least they might have referred to it in after years, or so (more likely yet) it might have been interpreted by their youthful listeners. And in pointing out the location, the Elm, as the most prominent landmark, would naturally be indicated. Thus in the course of years the tree and the commander would become linked in popular imagination, and the basis for the tradition easily laid.

But, from what has been adduced in the course of this study, that anything more significant or impressive occurred "under this tree" it will take more than mere iteration and indignation to convince the sceptic.

It is a matter of regret that Cambridge, the scene of so many momentous occurrences in the opening stages of the Revolution, has neglected (with the same unaccountable lack of civic pride which has allowed her unique old burying ground to go to ruin) for a century and a half to erect any adequate monument to commemorate them. The Washington Elm, after a fashion, did perform that function. At least in popular estimation, it formed a tangible memento of the most stirring days in the history of Cambridge — the only local and visible focus for patriotic enthusiasm. It was more than the reputed witness of a great event. It was more than an object for that mysterious tree worship which, inherited from our remotest ancestors, still stirs obscurely within us. It was a symbol of Our Country. And to the conscious or unconscious recognition of this fact was doubtless due a large part of the veneration in which it was held. Now nothing remains.

75

ANNUAL REPORT OF SECRETARY AND COUNCIL

In the past year of 1924 the Society has lost the following members by death:

William Wilberforce Dallinger

Edward Bangs Drew

Katherine Dunbar

Grace Hopkinson Eliot

Edwin Atkins Grozier

Edward Lothrop Rand

Dudley Allen Sargent

Charles Moreland Carter (Associate)

And by resignation or removal the following:

Henry Wilder Foote

Chester Noyes Greenough

Lauretta Hoague

Theodore Hoague

Anne Smoot Jackson

Patrick Tracy Jackson, Jr.

John Livingston Lowes

Mary Cornett Lowes

Anna Atwood Pickering

William Henry Pickering

Mary Peyton Winlock

James Haughton Woods

New members elected have been:

John Frank deChant

Theodora Willard

Lillian Clark Richardson (Associate)

It will be seen that the membership roll, which is limited to 200, has at present a considerable number of vacancies. All members are urged to suggest names of candidates. Any resident of Cambridge who sympathizes with the objects of the Society is eligible, and to make the Society truly a Cambridge organization all sections, interests, and occupations of the city should be represented.

For several years the number of members who have neglected to sign the By-Laws has been increasing. During the past autumn therefore the Secretary instituted a "drive" to secure these missing signatures, and by aid of a special messenger succeeded in adding fourteen to the roll within a few weeks. Several other members have called in person and signed the book; so that only about half a dozen names now remain to be added to our valuable collection of autographs.

The annual meeting was held 19 January, 1924, at the Widener Memorial Room in the college library. The officers were reflected with the exception of George Grier Wright elected Treasurer vice Francis Webber Sever, Walter Benjamin Briggs as Curator vice Edward Locke Gookin, and Robert Walcott as a Councillor vice Richard Henry Dana. The usual reports were read and accepted. It was voted that the Secretary send a letter to Congressman Dallinger protesting against the proposal to remove the Harvard Square Post Office to Central Square. (This protest seems to have been effective, as the Harvard Square Office still stands.) On the proposal to change the name of the Cambridge Bridge to the "Longfellow Bridge" it was voted that the President appoint a committee, with full powers, to confer with the authorities. The questions raised concerning the final disposition of the property of the Society in case it should ever cease to exist, concerning possible aid from the City of Cambridge in publishing the long-delayed Index to Paige's History, and concerning the publication of the second and final volume of the Town Records, were all referred to the Council. The meeting then adjourned to the Treasure Room where a general exhibition of the Society's collections had been arranged, and for the first time in several years the members had an opportunity to examine the numerous and interesting objects which for lack of better accommodations spend most of their time boxed up in the basement of the Widener Library.

The spring meeting was held 22 April, 1924, at the residence of Professor Merriman, 175 Brattle Street — the historic Fayerweather house. The President read a paper on the history of the house prepared by Mrs. Gozzaldi, who was prevented by illness from being present. The Reverend Glenn Tilley Morse ex-

hibited and described samples from his rich collection of early silhouettes, among them that of William Wells, one of the former owners of the Fayerweather house.

At this meeting Mr. Walcott for the committee on the name of the "Longfellow Bridge" reported that the Mayors of Boston and Cambridge were both in favor of the change, but that certain legal formalities would make an act of the Legislature necessary. The Secretary is glad to add that Mayor Curley of Boston has accordingly introduced in the present session of the Legislature, House Bill No. 286, providing for this change of name. Since Mayor Curley's action, several letters in the Boston papers have shown the public interest in the matter. Some of these letters have raised the old question whether this was the bridge to which Longfellow referred in his famous poem. Mr. Charles F. Mason has called the Secretary's attention to a letter from John H. Edwards of Lancaster, which appeared in the Boston Herald on or about February 20, 1919. In this letter Mr. Edwards says:

"A few weeks before his death I had the pleasure of calling on Mr. Longfellow, and I asked him about the poem, which was a favorite of mine, and its location. He told me that

the poem referred to the Cambridge or West Boston Bridge, then a long, wooden structure standing on piles, and that the 'flaming furnace' was located near Cottage Farm." This amply justifies the Society's action in the case.

On the afternoon of 7 June, 1924, Professor and Mrs. Sachs entertained the members and their friends at a garden party at "Shady Hill." After a pleasant hour on the lawn, all adjourned to the library, where President Eliot spoke informally on the history of the house since it passed into the hands of Professor Andrews Norton in 1821.

The regular autumn meeting was held at the residence of Mr. James Atkins Noyes, 1 Highland St., 28 October, 1924. Mrs. Palmer read extracts from her book, privately printed, on the history of "The Bee," and Mrs. James Barr Ames read a paper on "The Cambridge Indian Association."

During the year the Society has published the addresses of President Eliot and Professor Emerton at the Centenary of the birth of Mrs. Agassiz, recently held under the joint auspices

of Radcliffe College and the Historical Society. Work on the publication of the back volumes of the annual Proceedings is still delayed owing to the extreme difficulty of securing and editing the manuscripts of papers delivered so long ago. One volume however is in the press and will shortly appear, another is in a good state of forwardness, and it is hoped that the above difficulties will progressively diminish as the more recent volumes are reached.

From the difficulty in assembling its members the Council has succeeded in holding only one meeting during the year, but a meeting of considerable importance. The whole matter of raising funds for the publication of the Index to Paige's History of Cambridge was carefully discussed and a committee with full powers appointed to take the matter in charge and push the work to completion. On the question whether the city could be prevailed upon to publish the second volume of the Town Records, the President appointed a committee to confer with the Mayor and to ascertain whether it is true that a transcript of these records is in existence ready for the printer. On the final disposition of the Society's library and collections in case of its possible dissolution, the President appointed a committee to consider the appropriate changes in the By-Laws, etc. This committee has prepared a report which is believed to cover the situation to the satisfaction of all concerned.

It is with great satisfaction that the Committee on the Old Burying Ground is able to report that the detailed plot of the ground, which has lain half finished for over a year, has at last been completed by the City Engineer without expense to the Society. This plot shows every headstone, footstone, tomb, and burial mound now standing; even the mutilated fragments that are still visible above the ground are faithfully located. Every stone is numbered, the total being over 1200, and is entered in a key list showing the name thereon, if any name can now be deciphered. With the possession of this invaluable data the committee will now be able to proceed to a general checking of the present list with that made by Harris in 1845, and thus determine the extent of the damage and losses since

that date. It will also be possible to make studies of the chronological grouping of interments, the grouping by families, the Harvard

79

College section, the probable location of graves now unmarked, the identification of mutilated stones, and other pressing questions connected with the ground. From these studies interesting and suggestive results are expected, leading to further steps for the investigation and preservation of what is by far the most valuable early relic the town now possesses.

SAMUEL F. BATCHELDER, Secretary

Cambridge, 27 January, 1925

80

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

1924

CASH ACCOUNT RECEIPTS

Balance from 1923 --- \$1,801.40

Annual assessments: 189 Regular members --- \$567.00

5 Associate members --- 14.00

Initiation fee: 1 Regular member --- 2.00

From Radcliffe College, one half expense Agassiz Proceedings --- 23.75

Interest on bank deposit --- 37.88 [receipts subtotal] 644.63

[receipts total] \$2,446.03

DISBURSEMENTS

Printing notices, bills, etc. --- \$33.25

Postage --- 9.00

Clerical services --- 9.52,br/> Use of chairs at meetings --- 6.25

Picture moulding and mending map --- 18.77
 Printing Proceedings Agassiz Anniversary --- 47.50
 Bay State Historical League, annual dues --- 2.00
 Annual Allowance Secretary, Treasurer, and Curator, \$25.00 each --- 75.00
 [disbursements subtotal] 201.29
 Balance carried to next year's account --- \$2,244.74

DEPOSIT IN CAMBRIDGE SAVINGS BANK

Amount January 10, 1924 --- \$639.91
 Interest July 10, 1924 --- 15.98
 Interest January 10, 1925 --- 16.38
 Balance January 10, 1925 --- \$672.27

GEORGE G. WRIGHT, Treasurer

Cambridge, January 8, 1925

Audited and Approved.

WARREN K. BLODGETT, HARRY F. R. DOLAN, Auditors

Cambridge, January 16, 1925

OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

1925

President..... EPHRAIM EMERTON
Vice-Presidents..... MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI
 **WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE**
 **ROBERT WALCOTT**
Secretary..... SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER
Treasurer..... GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT
Curator..... WALTER BENJAMIN BRIGGS

Council

SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER, JOSEPH HENRY BEALE, STOUGHTON BELL, WALTER BENJAMIN BRIGGS, FRANK GAYLORD COOK, EPHRAIM EMERTON, EDWARD WALDO FORBES, MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE, CLARENCE HENRY POOR, JR., ROBERT WALCOTT, JOHN WILLIAM WOOD, JR., GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT

82

REGULAR MEMBERS

1925

MARION STANLEY ABBOT; ANNE ELIZABETH ALLEN; MARY WARE ALLEN; CHARLES ALMY; ALBERT FRANCIS AMEE; SARAH RUSSELL AMES; ALBERT STOKES APSEY; †CHRISTINA HOPKINSON BAKER; AGNES GORDON BALCH; MARY EMORY BATCHELDER; SAMUEL FRANCIS BATCHELDER; ELIZABETH CHADWICK BEALE; JOSEPH HENRY BEALE; MABEL ARRABELLA LEWIS BELL; STOUGHTON BELL; EDWARD MCELROY BENSON; ALEXANDER HARVEY BILL; CAROLINE ELIZA BILL; MARION EDGERLY BILL; CLARENCE HOWARD BLACKALL; EMMA MURRAY BLACKALL; WARREN KENDALL BLODGETT; ELLA JOSEPHINE BOGGS; ANNABEL PERRY BONNEY; WALTER BENJAMIN BRIGGS; ADA LEILA CONE BROCK; JESSIE WATERMAN BROOKS; SUMNER ALBERT BROOKS; CHARLES JESSE BULLOCK; JOSEPHINE FREEMAN BUMSTEAD; BERTHA CLOSE BUNTON; GEORGE HERBERT BUNTON; RAYMOND CALKINS; ZECHARIAH CHAFFEE, JR.; LESLIE LINWOOD CLEVELAND; FRANK GAYLORD COOK; ADA LOUISE COMSTOCK; LOUIS CRAIG CORNISH; SAMUEL MCCHORD CROTHERS; †THOMAS HARRISON CUMMINGS; HENRY ORVILLE CUTTER; ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA; RICHARD HENRY DANA; GEORGE CLEMENT DEANE; MARY HELEN DEANE; JOHN FRANK DE CHANT; ERNEST JOSEPH DENNEN; EDWARD SHERMAN DODGE (L); HARRY FRANCIS ROBY DOLAN; ADELINA ANNA DOUGLASS; WILLIAM HARRISON DUNBAR; CHARLES WILLIAM ELIOT; SAMUEL ATKINS ELIOT; EMMONS RAYMOND ELLIS; FRANCES WHITE EMERSON; WILLIAM EMERSON; EPHRAIM EMERTON; SYBIL CLARK EMERTON; PRESCOTT EVARTS; LILLIAN HORSFORD FARLOW; EUNICE WHITNEY FARLEY FELTON; WILLIAM WALLACE FENN; EDWARD WALDO FORBES; WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD;

** Deceased †Resigned (L) Life Member*

83

FRANCES FOWLER; ESTHER STEVENS FRASER; EDITH DAVENPORT FULLER; EDWARD LOCKE GOOKIN; MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI; EDWIN BLAISDELL HALE; ALBERT HARRISON HALL; ELIZABETH HARRIS; ALBERT BUSHNELL HART; FRANK WATSON HASTINGS; DORIS HAYES-CAVANAUGH; †EDWARD YOUNG HINCKS; STANLEY BARBOUR HILDRETH; ALISON BIXBY HILL; LESLIE WHITE HOPKINSON; CORNELIA CONWAY FELTON HORSFORD; KATHERINE HORSFORD; ALBERTA MANNING HOUGHTON; ARRIA SARGENT DIXWELL HOWE; LOIS LILLEY HOWE; BERTHA MORTON HOWLAND; GEORGE HARVEY HULL; BYRON SATTERLEE HURLBUT; EDA WOOLSON HURLBUT; JAMES RICHARD JEWETT; MARGARET WEYERHAEUSER JEWETT; ETHEL ROBINSON JONES; WALLACE ST. CLAIR JONES; GEORGE FREDERICK KENDALL; MARGARET CROWNINSHIELD KENT; NORTON ADAMS KENT; JUSTINE HOUGHTON KERSHAW; ANNA READ LAMBERT; WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE; MAUD ADELA LAWSON; FLORA VIRGINIA LIVINGSTON; ALICE MARY LONGFELLOW; JOSEPH LOVEJOY; NATALIE HOLDEN LOVEJOY; ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL; DAVID THOMPSON WATSON MCCORD; ELIZABETH MACFARLANE; CHARLES JOHN

MCINTIRE; HERBERT BRUCE MCINTIRE; WILLIAM MACKINTOSH MACNAIR; EMMA ENDICOTT MAREAN; GEORGIE MARIA MARSTERS; JOHN DOUGLAS MERRILL; DOROTHEA FOOTE MERRIMAN; ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN; JOSIAH BYHAM MILLETT; EMMA MARIA CUTTER MITCHELL; ALICE MANTON MORGAN; *ROBERT SWAIN MORISON; VELMA MARIA MORSE; EMMA FRANCES MUNROE; ARTHUR BOYLSTON NICHOLS; GERTRUDE FULLER NICHOLS; HENRY ATHERTON NICHOLS; JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN NICHOLS; ALBERT PERLEY NORRIS; MARGARET NORTON; JAMES ATKINS NOYES; THOMAS FRANCIS O'MALLEY; JAMES LEONARD PAINE; MARY WOOLSON PAINE; LOUISA PHILLIPS PARKER; JOHN SIMPSON PENMAN; CLARENCE HENRY POOR, JR.; ARTHUR KINGSLEY PORTER; JOHN LYMAN PORTER; LUCY WALLACE PORTER; ALFRED CLAGHORN POTTER;

**Deceased †Resigned (L) Life Member*

84

DAVID THOMAS POTTINGER; ROSCOE POUND; HARRY SEATON RAND; MABEL RENA MAWHINNEY RAND; HELEN LEAH REED; WILLARD REED; WILLIAM BERNARD REID; FRED NORRIS ROBINSON; MARGARET BROOKS ROBINSON; JAMES HARDY ROPES; GERTRUDE SWAN RUNKLE; JOHN CORNELIUS RUNKLE; PAUL JOSEPH SACHS; MARY WARE SAMPSON; ELEANOR WHITNEY DAVIS SANGER (L); CAROLYN HUNTINGTON SAUNDERS; GRACE OWEN SCUDDER; WINTHROP SALTONSTALL SCUDDER; FRANCIS WEBBER SEVER; ALICE DURANT SMITH; WILLARD HATCH SPRAGUE; GENEVIEVE STEARNS; JOHN HUBBARD STURGIS; WILLIAM DONNISON SWAN; JOHN HOUGHTON TAYLOR; JOSEPH GILBERT THORP; SARAH MOODY TOPPAN (L); ALFRED MARSTON TOZZER; ELEANOR GRAY TUDOR (L); BERTHA HALLOWELL VAUGHAN; CHARLES PETER VOSBURGH; MAUDE BATCHELDER VOSBURGH; ROBERT WALCOTT; GRACE REED WALDEN; HENRY BRADFORD WASHBURN; FHEDERICA DAVIS WATSON; EDITH FORBES WEBSTER; KENNETH GRANT TREMAYNE WEBSTER; SARAH CORDELIA FISHER WELLINGTON; ALICE MERRILL WHITE; FANNY GOTT WHITE; HORATIO STEVENS WHITE; MOSES PERKINS WHITE; WILLIAM RICHARDSON WHITTEMORE; THEODORA WILLARD; OLIVE SWAN WILLIAMS; SAMUEL WILLISTON; GEORGE GRAFTON WILSON; JOHN WILLIAM WOOD, JR.; GEORGE GRIER WRIGHT; †STEPHEN EMERSON YOUNG; †HENRIETTA NESMITH YOUNG

**Deceased †Resigned (L) Life Member*

85

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS

GARDNER WELD ALLEN; OSCAR FAYETTE ALLEN; HOLLIS RUSSELL BAILEY; MARY PERSIS BAILEY; ELIZABETH FRENCH BARTLETT; JOSEPH GARDNER BARTLETT; ELVIRA BREWSTER COLLIER; MARION BROWN FESSENDEN; FRANCIS APTHORP FOSTER; ANNA LYMAN GRAY; ELIZA MASON HOPPIN; ROSE RYSSE HOUGHTON; ERNEST LOVERING; PHILLIPPE BELKNAP MARCOU; BRADFORD HENDRICK PEIRCE; LILLIAN CLARK RICHARDSON; PHILIP LEFFINGWELL SPALDING; MARY LEE WARE

HONORARY MEMBER

JAMES FORD RHODES

86

BY-LAWS

I. CORPORATE NAME

THE name of this corporation shall be "THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY."

II. OBJECT

The corporation is constituted for the purpose of collecting and preserving Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials, of procuring the publication and distribution of the same, and generally of promoting interest and research, in relation to the history of Cambridge in said Commonwealth.

III. REGULAR MEMBERSHIP

Any resident of, or person having a usual place of business in, the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, shall be eligible for regular membership in this Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Persons so elected shall become members upon signing the By-Laws and paying the fees therein prescribed.

IV. LIMIT OF REGULAR MEMBERSHIP

The regular membership of this Society shall be limited to two hundred.

V. HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Any person, nominated by the Council, may be elected an honorary member at any meeting of the Society by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Honorary members shall be exempt from paying any fees, shall not be eligible for office, and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VI. ASSOCIATE MEMBERSHIP

Any person who is neither a resident of, nor has a usual place of business in, the City of Cambridge, Massachusetts, but is either a native, or

87

formerly had a residence or a usual place of business there for at least five years, shall be eligible to associate membership in the Society. Nominations for such membership shall be made in writing to any member of the Council, and the persons so nominated may be elected at any meeting of the Council by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting. Associate members shall be liable for an annual assessment of two dollars each, payable in advance at the Annual Meeting, but shall be liable for no other fees or assessments, and shall not be eligible for office and shall have no interest in the property of the Society and no right to vote.

VII. SEAL

The Seal of the Society shall be: Within a circle bearing the name of the Society and the date, 1905, a shield bearing a representation of the Daye Printing Press and crest of two books surmounted by a Greek lamp, with a representation of Massachusetts Hall on the dexter and a representation of the fourth meeting-house of the First Church in Cambridge on the sinister, and, underneath, a scroll bearing the words Scripta Manent.

VIII. OFFICERS

The officers of this corporation shall be a Council of thirteen members, having the powers of directors, elected by the Society, and a President, three Vice-Presidents, a Secretary with the powers of Clerk, a Treasurer, and a Curator, elected out of the Council by the Society. All the above officers shall be chosen by ballot at the Annual Meeting, and shall hold office for the term of one year and until their successors shall be elected and qualified. The Council shall have power to fill all vacancies.

IX. PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS

The President shall preside at all meetings of the Society and shall be Chairman of the Council. In case of the death, absence, or incapacity of the President, his powers shall be exercised by the Vice-Presidents, respectively, in the order of their election.

X. SECRETARY

The Secretary shall keep the records and conduct the correspondence of the Society and of the Council. He shall give to each member of the

88

Society written notice of its meetings. He shall also present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XI. TREASURER

The Treasurer shall have charge of the funds and securities, and shall keep in proper books the accounts, of the corporation. He shall receive and collect all fees and other dues owing to it, and all donations and testamentary gifts made to it. He shall make all investments and disbursements of its funds, but only with the approval of the Council. He shall give the Society a bond, in amount and with sureties satisfactory to the Council, conditioned for the proper performance of his duties. He shall make a written report at each Annual Meeting. Such report shall be audited prior to the Annual Meeting by one or more auditors appointed by the Council.

XII. CURATOR

The Curator shall have charge, under the direction of the Council, of all Books, Manuscripts, and other Memorials of the Society, except the records and books kept by the Secretary and Treasurer. He shall present a written report at each Annual Meeting.

XIII. COUNCIL

The Council shall have the general management of the property and affairs of the Society, shall arrange for its meetings, and shall present for election from time to time the names of

persons deemed qualified for honorary membership. The Council shall present a written report of the year at each Annual Meeting.

XIV. MEETINGS

The Annual Meeting shall be held on the fourth Tuesday in January in each year. Other regular meetings shall be held on the fourth Tuesdays of April and October of each year, unless the President otherwise directs. Special meetings may be called by the President or by the Council.

XV. QUORUM

At meetings of the Society ten members, and at meetings of the Council four members, shall constitute a quorum.

89

XVI. FEES

The fee of initiation shall be two dollars. There shall also be an annual assessment of three dollars, payable in advance at the Annual Meeting; but any Regular Member shall be exempted from the annual payment if at any time after his admission he shall pay into the Treasury Fifty Dollars in addition to his previous payments; and any Associate Member shall be similarly exempted on payment of Twenty-five Dollars. All commutations shall be and remain permanently funded, the interest only to be used for current expenses.

XVII. RESIGNATION OF MEMBERSHIP

All resignations of membership must be in writing, provided, however, that failure to pay the annual assessment within six months after the Annual Meeting may, in the discretion of the Council, be considered a resignation of membership.

XVIII. DISSOLUTION

If at any time the active membership falls below ten, this Society may be dissolved at the written request of three members, according to the laws and statutes of this Commonwealth.

XIX. DISPOSITION OF PROPERTY UPON DISSOLUTION

Upon dissolution of the Society, all its collections and other property shall pass to the President and Fellows of Harvard College, in trust for the following purposes, to wit:

1. To place all the books and manuscripts of the Society in the University Library so that they shall at all times be accessible for consultation and study.

2. To place the other collections of the Society in some building where they will be safe and accessible, so far as possible; or if they cannot do so, to transfer such other collections to the Cambridge Public Library, the Massachusetts Historical Society, or such other fit educational institution as will hold them in trust for the citizens of Cambridge.

If the President and Fellows of Harvard College shall decline this trust,

then the property of the Society upon its dissolution shall pass on the same terms to the City of Cambridge, to be administered by the trustees of the Cambridge Public Library.

XX. AMENDMENT OF BY-LAWS

These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting by a vote of two-thirds of the members present and voting, provided that the substance of the proposed amendment shall have been inserted in the call for such meeting.