

The Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical Society, Volume 29, 1943

Volume 29

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*THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL
SOCIETY PROCEEDINGS FOR
THE YEAR 1943*

ONE HUNDRED FORTY-THIRD MEETING THIRTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE thirty-eighth Annual Meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society was held at the Craigie House, 105 Brattle Street, on Tuesday, January 26, 1943, at 8:15 P.M. The members were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hopkinson and of Mr. H. W. L. Dana.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The Treasurer read his Annual Report showing cash on hand amounting to \$423.58 and special funds with a total book value of \$20,-441.82 and a total income of \$430.64. It was voted to accept this report.

The report of the Auditor, Mr. Arthur Nichols, was read and accepted.

The Secretary read the report of the Nominating Committee, composed of Professor William Emerson, chairman, Mr. Carroll L. Chase, and Mr. George H. Bunton, as follows:

For President.....ROBERT WALCOTT

FRANK GAYLORD COOK

For Vice-Presidents..... LOIS LILLEY HOWE

SAMUEL ATKINS ELIOT

For Secretary..... DAVID THOMAS POTTINGER

For Treasurer..... JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN NICHOLS

For Curator..... WALTER BENJAMIN BRIGGS

For Editor.....CHARLES LANE HANSON

For Members of Council: the above and

ROGER GILMAN, LESLIE TALBOT PENNINGTON, ALLYN BAILEY

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FORBES, MAUDE BATCHELDER VOSBURGH, AND LAURA ROWLAND DUDLEY

It was moved and seconded that the Secretary be directed to cast one ballot for the persons named in the report of the Nominating Committee. The motion was unanimously

carried. The Secretary then reported that he had cast the ballot, and the President declared that these persons were the duly elected officers of the Society for the year 1943.

The President spoke of the death of Professor Joseph H. Beale, for many years Vice-President of the Society, and announced that Mr. Cook had been asked to prepare a minute on Mr. Beale's services for the next meeting.

Mr. G. Frederick Robinson, of the Watertown Historical Society, read an entertaining "letter" from Sir Richard Saltonstall, "newly discovered" among some old papers, in which various current topics were touched upon with lightness and humor.

The President then introduced Mr. H. W. L. Dana, who read a paper, illustrated with many lantern slides, on Washington Allston.

The meeting adjourned at 9:45 to listen to a radio broadcast which the Boston newspapers had announced during the day with considerable mystery; it proved to be a statement about President Roosevelt's trip to North Africa for consultation on war problems.

At the end of the broadcast, refreshments were served in the dining room. About seventy-five members and guests were present.

ONE HUNDRED FORTY-FOURTH MEETING

THE one hundred forty-fourth meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society was held at the home of Miss Bertha Hollowell Vaughan, 57 Garden Street, on Tuesday, April 27, 1943. President Walcott called the meeting to order at 8:20 P.M. Mr. Eldon R. James read the minutes of the January meeting. Mr. Frank Gaylord Cook read the following minute on the late Joseph Henry Beale:

Joseph Henry Beale was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts, Oct. 12, 1861. Fitting at Chauncy Hall School, Boston, he entered Harvard at 17 in the class of 1882. There his choices were broad, and, as it were, instinctive; and his work was diligent and intensive, — forecasting his future distinction as a scholar. On the social side he joined, in his sophomore year, the Everett Athenaeum, given to debating, and, in his junior year, the Pi Eta Society, specializing in dramatics. A contemporary photograph of the cast in a Pi Eta play, entitled "Engaged," displays him, elaborately arrayed in bonnet, wig and gown, as a leading lady.

In his studies, in his second year he took Honors in Classics and Highest Honors in Mathematics. At graduation he received Honorable Mention in Music, Mathematics, English Composition and Greek. He was a member of the Phi Beta Kappa, and, for the four years, he ranked fifth in his class.

On leaving college — as if to test and deepen his preparation — he served the first year as a Master at St. Paul's School, Concord, N. H., under Dr. Coit, and he spent the second year in the Harvard Graduate School in the study of Classics and History.

In 1884, having chosen the Law as his profession, he entered the Harvard Law School. There he was graduated in 1887 with distinction, receiving the degrees of L.L.B. and A.M. After a brief practice in Boston he was called to the Harvard Law School to begin in 1890 his service there as a teacher for forty-eight years.

Of his eminence and achievements as a teacher and -writer of Law, others, better qualified, have well written. The brief time and space given me may fittingly be used in sketching his services to this society, and in presenting some salient elements of his character.

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THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

He was elected a member of this society Dec. 13, 1905, about six months after its organization. He was elected to its Council Oct. 31, 1922. He was chosen one of its Vice-presidents Jan. 26, 1932. In these offices he continued till his death, Jan. 20, 1943. Several times he was Auditor. He served on committees — to nominate officers, to secure an endowment, to enlist new members, to inspect and put in order the ancient Court records of Middlesex County, Massachusetts (presenting several reports of progress thereon); and he gave legal advice touching the gifts under the will of Maria Bowen.

June 24, 1927 he was named on a committee to frame resolutions on the death of Samuel F. Batchelder Esq. June 21, 1929 he spoke briefly on the aims and work of the Cambridge Tercentenary Committee. April 28, 1931 he spoke informally on the work and life of Rev. Prescott Evarts, formerly Rector of Christ Church, Cambridge. Jan. 6, 1933 he offered a motion favoring the construction of a bridge over the Charles River at Gerry's Landing, Cambridge, to be named The Charles William Eliot Bridge.

He read three papers before this society: Jan. 26, 1932 on Civil Government in Cambridge; April 28, 1936 on President Dunster as a Litigant (gleaned largely from his work on the Middlesex County Court records above referred to); and April 26, 1938 on The Origin of the New England Town.

This unflinching interest, readiness and usefulness characterized him in other fields — in his college class, in Cambridge as an Alderman and School-committeeman, as a member of the Cambridge Dramatic Society, and in Christ Church.

He was frank, genial, open-minded, sympathetic and sincere. Such an amiable, broad, strong, healthy personality attracted general respect, admiration and affection. To his classmates he was "Joe Beale"; to his pupils he was "Joey."

Such a character — devoted as it was to the highest purposes — inevitably resulted in a benevolent, a pre-eminent, a happy, life. His happiness he himself tersely summed up in his report to the Secretary of his Harvard class, published on its Fiftieth Anniversary. "I have, most certainly," he wrote, "had my full share of what President Eliot called 'the durable satisfactions of life' and feel constantly my good fortune in having been welcomed in with '82 to 'the fellowship of educated men'."

President Walcott then introduced Rev. Willard Reed, who spoke on "An Excommunication in Harvard Square." At the beginning of the talk, Mr. Reed passed around photographs of the portraits of Deacon

PROCEEDINGS FOR THE YEAR 1943

William Hilliard and his wife Sarah, the central figures in the curious ecclesiastical incident under discussion. These photographs were supplied by Dr. Frederick Pratt, a descendant of the Hilliards.

The meeting adjourned at 9:30 P.M. About seventy members and guests were present.

Editor's Note. In order to keep the Washington Allston papers together, Mr. Reed's paper follows them.

ONE HUNDRED FORTY-FIFTH MEETING

THE one hundred forty-fifth meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Ingraham, 7 Lowell Street, on Tuesday, June 8, 1943. President Walcott called the meeting to order at 4:10 P.M.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The Curator reported the gift from Miss Mary E. Batchelder of a collection of memoranda and miscellaneous manuscripts written by her brother, the late Samuel Francis Batchelder, for many years Secretary and Editor of this Society.

President Walcott then read an extremely interesting paper on Hubbard Park, with many reminiscences of its former residents.

At 5:30 the meeting adjourned to the garden, where refreshments were served.

About sixty-five members and guests were present.

Editor's Note. Mr. Walcott stressed the life and public service of Gardiner Greene Hubbard, who laid out the park, and his distinguished son-in-law, Alexander Graham Bell, who proposed to Mabel Hubbard in the Hubbard house and was married July n, 1877 in the house which was torn down in 1941.

ONE HUNDRED FORTY-SIXTH MEETING

THE one hundred forty-sixth meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society was held on Tuesday, October 26, 1943, at the Craigie House, 105 Brattle Street.

In the absence of President Walcott, Vice-president Miss Lois Lilley Howe called the meeting to order at 8:15 P.M.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

Mrs. Vosburgh reported on the part taken by the Society in the recent Third War Loan drive. The Society, with total sales of \$27,706.25 to its credit, ranked first among the "small" organizations and fourth among all Cambridge organizations participating. We were therefore entitled to make a choice among the literary manuscripts donated by their authors in connection with the raising of funds. At a meeting in the Cambridge Public Library, Mrs. Vosburgh, acting for the Society, chose three chapters of VanWyck Brooks's "New England: Indian Summer" in typescript with many manuscript emendations. These chapters, along with those chosen by other organizations, are on permanent deposit at the Cambridge Public Library.

At the conclusion of this report Miss Howe introduced the speaker of the evening, Mr. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, who presented a paper, illustrated with many lantern slides, on "Washington Allston in Cambridgeport." This was a continuation and conclusion of the paper Mr. Dana read before the Society at its January meeting.

About fifty members and guests were present.

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PAPERS READ DURING THE YEAR 1943

ALLSTON AT HARVARD

1796 TO 1800

BY H. W. L. DANA

Read January 26, 1943

IN THE SUMMER OF 1796, when Washington Allston as a boy of sixteen first came to Cambridge and entered Harvard College, he brought with him from his native South Carolina what has been delightfully described as "a nature open on the southern side."¹

By background, by birth, and by bringing up he had been saturated through and through with the romance, the imagination, and the chivalry of the "Sunny South." To those who saw him on his arrival at Cambridge, he seemed like some radiant being from another

world. A close friend recalls the effect made by the coming of this charming Southern youth:

Allston, with that fine, luminous face, and all so gracious — I remember well the impression he made upon me when he was with my brother Ned,

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¹ James Russell Lowell's famous account of Allston and the Cambridge of Allston's day, which is quoted here and later on, was first part of a long letter written from Cambridge in September 1853 to Allston's protégé and fellow-artist, William Wetmore Story, then living in Italy. In his correspondence Lowell refers to this letter, which later formed the basis of an essay, variously as "Cambridge Twenty Years Ago" and "Sketch of Cambridge as it was Twenty-five Years Ago"; but it was with the title "Cambridge Thirty Years Ago" that it was finally published in two parts in Putnam's Magazine for April and May, 1854, Vol. III, pp. 379-386, 473-482. It was later reprinted as "Cambridge Worthies — Thirty Years Ago" in Favorite Authors, Boston, 1861, pp. 270-293; and as "Cambridge Thirty Years Ago" in Lowell's Fireside Travels, Boston, 1864, pp. 3-88.

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and I a little boy. I did not look upon him as being a mere human creature, but as belonging to a race somewhere between us and the angels.²

One of his Harvard classmates, Leonard Jarvis, speaks of Allston as "distinguished by the grace of his movements and his gentlemanly deportment. His countenance once seen, could never be forgotten." He describes his features in detail: "His smooth, high, open forehead, surrounded by a profusion of dark, wavy hair, his delicately formed nose, his peculiarly expressive mouth, his large, lustrous, melting eyes, which varied with every emotion." In contrast to the more ruddy complexion of the New England boys, he says that Allston had a "complexion of most beautiful Italian cast, smooth and colourless, yet healthy." These features, "all blending harmoniously formed a face which was irresistibly attractive and which united with his gentle, unassuming manners, secured him the good will of his classmates."³

The two or three Carolinians who had come north to Harvard were noted for their aristocratic dress and we are told: "Their swallow-tail coats, tapered to an arrow-point angle and their delicate calf skin boots . . . were objects of great admiration." ⁴ Jarvis notes that Allston was "dressed in more fashionable style than the rest of us;" and refers to "the title of 'Count' bestowed upon Allston" by some of his cronies. He makes haste, however, to assure us that this title was given "in jocular anticipation of the distinctions which were to crown his genius." For, more important in connection with Allston's later career as poet and painter is the fact that early in his college days, his classmate said of him: "His poetical talents and his genius for the fine arts were soon discovered and gave him a high standing among us."

THE DOCTOR AND THE ARTIST

Allston's stepfather, Doctor Henry Collins Flagg, arranged to have the boy spend his first year in the house of Professor Benjamin Waterhouse, who was a friend of Doctor Flagg's and like him a native of New-

² *Richard Henry Dana 1st, letter to William Cullen Bryant, April 14, 1869. The older brother referred to was Edmund Trowbridge Dana, Allston's college mate and intimate friend.*

³ *This and the subsequent quotations from Leonard Jarvis are from a long letter of his written on February 12, 1844, to Richard Henry Dana 1st.*

⁴ *Oliver Wendell Holmes, quoted by Samuel Eliot Morison, Three Centuries of Harvard, Cambridge, 1936, p. 198.*

port and a doctor. The arrangement worked out very satisfactorily and a warm attachment grew up between the doctor and the young student. In the autumn of his Freshman year, on October 21, 1796, Allston wrote back to his stepfather, "The doctor with whom I live has shown a friendship for me that I wish may never be forgotten." Doctor Waterhouse in turn seems to have had a keen interest in his young charge and long afterwards spoke of Allston as one "for whom I have always had the strong partiality of a friendship partaking of the paternal; for he was under my special care during his college life."⁵

Doctor Waterhouse had a few years earlier been appointed at Harvard as the first Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic. He was a strong-willed gentleman of the old school and his manners and clothes were those of an earlier age. As he sallied forth from his house at the north end of the Cambridge Common and crossed the broad stone covering the little brook which then ran past his door, he would tap with his gold-headed cane upon the slab so that it would sound with a hollow resonance. Under his three-cornered hat, his powdered hair was tied behind in a slender tapering queue "like the tail of a violet crab, held out horizontally by the high collar of his shepherd's grey overcoat."⁶ This stiff coat collar held his head so firmly that when he turned to speak to anyone, he could scarcely rotate his head. Accordingly he would swing his whole body about, staring through the two great circles of his amazing spectacles and displaying what was described as "a look of questioning sagacity and an utterance of oracular gravity."⁷

The house where the good doctor lived with his family and where Allston spent his Freshman year, stood then and still stands on the north side of the road which has come to be called "Waterhouse Street" in honor of the doctor. This dwelling, which Doctor Waterhouse used to refer to as "my own pleasant house," faced towards the south and its white façade was bathed in the sunshine that streamed across what the doctor called "the handsome enclosed Common or College-green in

⁵ *Doctor Benjamin Waterhouse, letter to William Dunlap, November 16, 1833, quoted in William Dunlap, A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States, Boston, 1918, Vol. II, p. 300.* ⁶ *Lowell's Fireside Travels, Boston, 1864, p. 81. There can be no question that the "W." referred to is Doctor Benjamin Waterhouse.*

⁷ *Oliver Wendell Holmes, quoted by William Coolidge Lane in The Cambridge Historical Society: Publications, Cambridge, 1909, Vol. IV, p. 21.*

front." ⁸ *The house itself was a snug little two-storey building with a high roof. It dated back from Colonial days and was formerly occupied by the Tory, William Vassall, who had fled back to England at the beginning of the American Revolution. Even more than its modest exterior, the interior with its cosy, low-studded rooms ornamented with excellent wooden paneling and curious cupboards, presented an atmosphere of pleasant hospitality to all who entered.*

*The household of Dr. Waterhouse at this time included his mother, his wife, a number of young children, and various other relatives who visited there from time to time. They all welcomed the young Allston cordially and he soon became a cherished member of the family circle. The room that he occupied throughout his Freshman year at Harvard was the southwest chamber, up one flight to the left from the front door. This was then an unfinished apartment "filled in" with brick. Here he had his studio and here he used to amuse himself with getting up charades, caricatures, illustrated rebuses, and many other odd and humorous things. Thus "Allston's room," as they called it, became the scene of much fine foolery to the entertainment of the whole Waterhouse family, old and young.*⁹

The doctor's own work was, of course, primarily in science rather than in painting; or, as he put it, in the "plain arts" rather than in the "fine arts." Yet he was not without a considerable interest in art. As a boy in Newport he had taken up painting for a time and had gone with his schoolmate Gilbert Stuart to London and presented him to Benjamin West, the President of the Royal Academy. Dr. Waterhouse had in his possession several portraits of himself painted by Stuart. One gave him the "air of a militant Quaker . . . pensive but determined looking and alert." Another represented him "looking steadfastly on a human skull placed on a polished mahogany table." ¹⁰

Finding that Allston, as well as Stuart, had a gift for painting, Dr. Waterhouse got him to paint portraits of some of the family, giving him the rather difficult task of depicting two extremes of age: his seven-year-old son and his nearly ninety-year-old mother.

⁸ *This and other passages are quoted from the Journal of Benjamin Waterhouse, extracts from which were published by William Roscoe Thayer in The Cambridge Historical Society: Publications, Cambridge, 1909, Vol. IV, pp. 22-37.*

⁹ *Leonard Jarvis, letter of February 12, 1844.*

¹⁰ *William Dunlap, A History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States, Boston, 1918, Vol. I, pp. 192-208.*

PORTRAITS OF WASHINGTON ALLSTON



AS A BOY
By a French Artist in Newport



AS A YOUNG MAN
By Frederick Walker



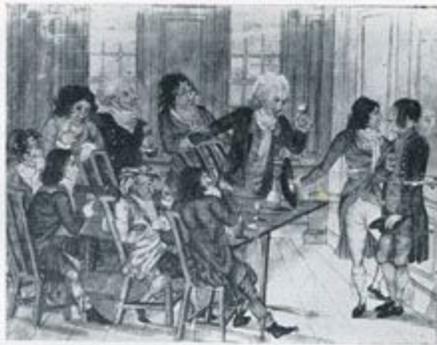
AT FIFTY
By George Whiting Flagg



AT THE END OF HIS LIFE
By Richard Staigg

"THE BUCK'S PROGRESS"

Painted by Washington Allston, November 10th, 1796



Number I. The Introduction of a Country Lad to a Club of Town Bucks



Number II. A Beau in his Dressing Room



Number III. A Midnight Fray with Watchmen

See pp. 21-23

CARICATURES BY ALLSTON

1798



BONAPARTE IN EGYPT

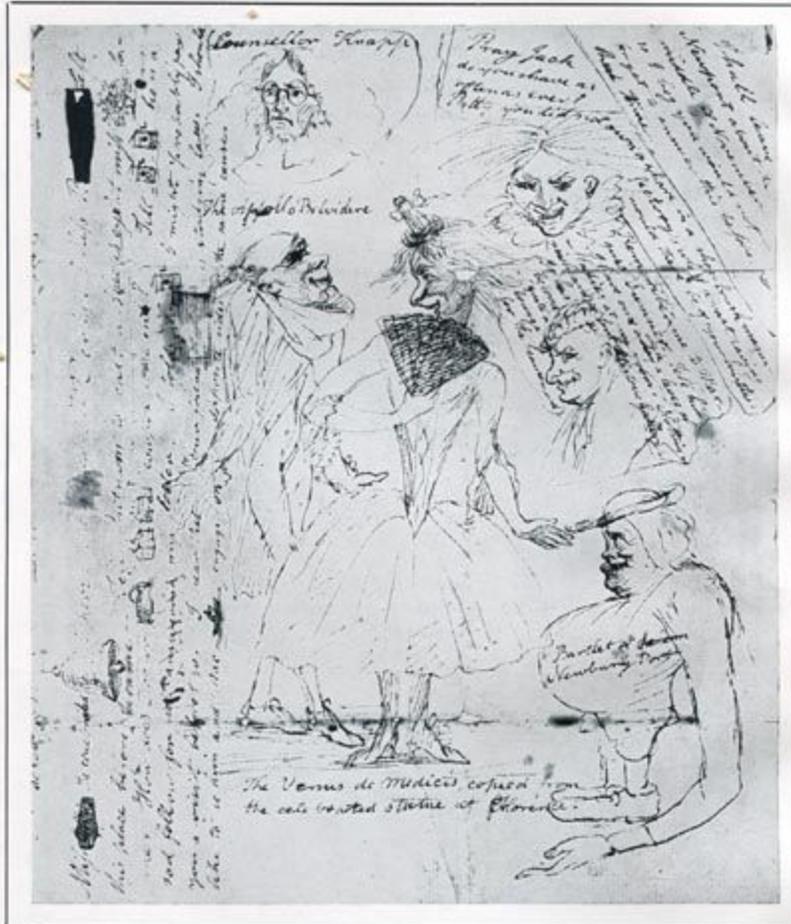
President Willard at Harvard



GEOMETRICAL PROBLEM
Height of Accessible Object

GEOMETRICAL PROBLEM
Distance of Inaccessible Object

PAGE FROM A LETTER BY ALLSTON
 Written from Newport, June 22, 1800, to his Classmate John Knapp



Knapp appears as "Counsellor Knapp"; another college mate, Summer, as "Marquet Summer"; while still another, "Bartlet of Newburyport", is grotesquely pictured. In the center are caricatures of Apollo and Venus. To the left is an "Illustrated Rebus", in which one can make out: "Miss Coffin the celebrated belle is here. . . How does Doctor Waterhouse's cow-pox come out?" See p. 18

Allston's Portrait of Andrew Oliver Waterhouse pictured the boy who had been named after his maternal grandfather, Andrew Oliver, the Lieutenant Governor of the Bay Colony. It was apparently Allston's earliest attempt at oil portraiture and long afterwards Dr. Waterhouse, who carefully cherished the portrait, wrote of Allston: "I have in my possession his first essay in oil, being the portrait of my eldest son when a child."¹¹

Allston's Portrait of Hannah Proud Waterhouse, the doctor's Quaker-born mother, shows her as an elderly woman, full of the same strong character that marked her son. It is a rather crude drawing in colored crayons, or pastels, representing her in white cap fitting

*closely around her face and with white shawl over her shoulders. The only suggestion of color is the pink flesh tones in the cheeks.*¹²

Young Allston's talents as a draftsman were also useful to the doctor in another way. Allston's Illustrations for Dr. Waterhouse's Essays were used to make clear certain points in the doctor's treatises and letters which he was sending to various scientists abroad.¹³ For Dr. Waterhouse's energetic mind was keeping in constant touch with the latest discoveries in the various centers of European learning. Among those with whom he corresponded and for whom he needed the help of Allston's drawings, was the celebrated Dr. Edward Jenner of England, the discoverer of vaccination. Dr. Waterhouse himself became famous — many at the time would have said "infamous" — as the first to introduce vaccination into America. It was he who provided Thomas Jefferson with the vaccine with which he inoculated his family and servants. Dr. Waterhouse was in a way a conqueror — a conqueror over a dread disease. He used to boast: "I cut the claws and wings of smallpox." Among the proud possessions preserved by his descendants are a Lowestoft china jug and cream pitcher given to him by Dr. Jenner, with two cows represented on the side to indicate the experiments in cow-pox and a "W" above standing for Waterhouse. The Harvard Medical School still owns the silver snuff-box in which he kept his serums and his scalpel. This bears the inscription: "Edw^d Jenner to Bⁿ Waterhouse."¹⁴

¹¹ Doctor Benjamin Waterhouse, letter of November 16, 1833, to William Dunlap.

¹² This portrait has passed into the hands of Doctor Waterhouse's granddaughter, Mrs. Mary Ware Sampson of Cambridge.

¹³ Leonard Jarvis, letter of February 12, 1844.

¹⁴ James Russell Lowell in *Fireside Travels*, Boston, 1864, pp. 83-84, elaborates on this and claims that Doctor Waterhouse, to emphasize his own importance, once published an advertise-

ment saying: "Lost, a gold snuff-box, with the inscription, 'The Jenner of the Old World to the Jenner of the New'. Whoever shall return the same to Doctor Waterhouse will be suitably rewarded."

Having encouraged young Allston to use his gifts as portrait painter and illustrator, Dr. Waterhouse felt that he could claim that Allston was, as he said, "in some sense my élève."¹⁵ In his youth the doctor had spent seven years in Europe studying science and it may well have been by his advice that Allston, on leaving Harvard, was to spend seven years in Europe studying art. To be sure the "Grand Style" of "Historical Painting," which Allston later adopted, was not so much to the doctor's taste as were the portraits and scientific drawings which Allston had made for him. He came to ridicule Allston's type of romantic painting of supernatural scenes, saying that it was "like looking into an intense fiery furnace, all blazing with heat, smoke, soot and cinders — and a heap of ashes."¹⁶

Nevertheless the doctor gladly paid tribute to what he called Allston's "justly acquired reputation," though he seemed impatient with the gushing female admirers of Allston and

their "laboured eulogisms." His pictures, Dr. Waterhouse said, "speak for themselves and need no puffing by little trumpeters."¹⁷

Allston, in turn, though more interested in art than he was in science, used to write back to Cambridge asking "How does Dr. Waterhouse's cowpox come on?"¹⁸ Forty years later, when Allston returned to Cambridge and built his studio there, he continued to send the doctor free tickets of admission to his exhibitions. Dr. Waterhouse lived on to the good old age of ninety-two, but always maintained an eager interest in the artistic genius whom he had sheltered as a Freshman under his roof in the old house on Cambridge Common.

It was then what used to be called the "Mansion of Dr. Waterhouse" that was the center of Allston's life during his first year at Harvard. Beside the house to the left were at that time a series of sheds and a large barn. To the north of these were, as Dr. Waterhouse says, "eight acres of good land in the rear."¹⁹ There he had his garden and there he had planted the Lombardy poplars which he had brought back with him from

¹⁵ *Journal of Doctor Waterhouse for May 3, 1839.*

¹⁶ *Journal of Doctor Waterhouse for August 31, 1839.*

¹⁷ *Journal of Doctor Waterhouse for May 3, 1839.*

¹⁸ *Washington Allston, letter of June 22, 1800, to John Knapp.*

¹⁹ *Journal of Doctor Waterhouse for October 4, 1839.*

Italy and which he had been the first to introduce into Cambridge.¹⁹ These gave Allston his first foretaste of Italian scenery and of the poplar trees which he became so fond of painting. Beyond the Waterhouse garden other trees stretched for a mile or so northward in a region unbroken at that time by any cross streets. It was here that Dr. Waterhouse later promoted the Botanical Garden; and it was he again who planned the first formal tree-planting in the Harvard Yard.²⁰

As Allston emerged from Dr. Waterhouse's front door, he could see at a short distance towards the east the unpretentious old "gambrel-roofed house" where Oliver Wendell Holmes was later to be born.²¹

In the opposite direction, a little distance to the west along the highroad to Watertown, stood what Dr. Waterhouse described as "the largest and best house in Cambridge."²² This had been built in Colonial times by Major John Vassall, a nephew of the William Vassall who had lived where Dr. Waterhouse was now living. Major Vassall, like the other Tories, had fled at the beginning of the American Revolution and for ten months in 1775 and 1776 the house had been used as the Headquarters of General Washington, for whom Washington Allston had been named and whom he had met as a boy in South Carolina. Some four years before Allston came to Cambridge, this mansion had been bought by Andrew Craigie, who had enlarged it and was now living there with his brilliant and interesting wife, Elizabeth Shaw Craigie. Since Mr. Craigie, like Allston's stepfather, Dr. Flagg, had been an Apothecary

General in Washington's Army and since he was now a close friend of Dr. Waterhouse, it seems more than likely that young Allston visited the Craigie House to see the Craigies then; just as at the end of his life he used to go there to visit Professor Longfellow.

From Dr. Waterhouse's, in walking south across the Cambridge Common to attend his studies at Harvard College Allston could see beyond the College Green the little group of four red brick buildings which made up the Harvard of his day — the "Factories of the Muses." From the belfry on the top of Harvard Hall in the center, he could hear the

²⁰ Samuel Eliot Morison, *Three Centuries of Harvard*, Cambridge, 1936, p. 172.

²¹ This house, which had been the Headquarters of General Artemus Ward in 1775, was bought by Judge Oliver Wendell in 1807. The Reverend Abiel Holmes, for whom Allston later designed a church, had married Oliver Wendell's only daughter and named for him his son, Oliver Wendell Holmes, born in the old gambrel-roofed house in 1809.

²² *Journal of Doctor Waterhouse for March 5, 1840.*

sound of the College bell, summoning him across the Common to early morning prayer, or later in the day, to his various classes.

To the left of Harvard Hall and set further back from the road stood Hollis Hall which was used as a college dormitory. Beyond that to the left was Holden Chapel which at that time had been turned over to the Medical School, though Dr. Waterhouse, with characteristic obstinacy stubbornly refused to give his classes there. On the other side of Harvard Hall stood the oldest of the Harvard buildings, Massachusetts Hall, which was then also used for students' rooms. In addition to these four brick buildings, there were at that time in the Harvard Yard a number of wooden houses where professors and students were living. It was in one of these that Allston was to spend the remaining three years of his college life. Apparently Dr. Waterhouse was hard to please, for he did not altogether approve of the architecture of the Harvard buildings even of that earlier period and he said caustically: "The genius of ugliness grinned horribly at the birth of every building belonging to Harvard College"²³

Harvard Hall, which at that time stood in the midst of these buildings, was then used for a number of different purposes.

On the ground floor to the left was the room used then for the College Chapel, which Allston attended early each morning.

*On the floor above the Chapel was the College Library, where Allston did much of his reading. The College Archives still preserve written neatly in his handwriting the dates and the lists of the books that he took out to read: books on painting, books on Greece and Rome, an Italian Grammar, Tasso's *Jerusalem Delivered*, Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, Shakespeare, Milton, and other works of literature.*

On the ground floor to the right was the College Commons or Dining Hall where Allston ate his mid-day meal served from the "Buttery Hatch," or Kitchen, in the basement underneath.

Upstairs, above the Dining Hall and across the hallway from the Library was the so-called "Philosophical Chamber." This was used as a Lecture Hall, but to the great disgust of the Professor of Divinity, Dr. Waterhouse insisted on placing in the room, to help him in his courses in Natural History, cases of stuffed birds, a collection of preserved fish,

²³ *Journal of Doctor Waterhouse for August 25, 1837.*

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specimens of minerals, and the so-called "Orrery," still preserved today, an ingenious machine devised to represent mechanically the motion of the spheres. The presence of all these objects tended to distract the students' attention from the lectures and Allston and his fellow students found an irresistible temptation to tamper with them. Moreover there were reactionary forces at Harvard who objected to Dr. Waterhouse's interest in science and predicted that "the ingrafting the botanical & natural history professorship on the University would operate the destruction of the institution." ²⁴

Each hour, as Allston heard the sound of the clanging bell, he would attend his classes in this "Philosophical Chamber" in Greek, Latin, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, Astronomy, Rhetoric, Metaphysics, and History. His respectful and gentlemanly deportment made him a favorite with the professors and his native charm and good spirits soon made him popular with the students.

"THE BUCK'S PROGRESS"

*Among the students were a number of young swells or, as they were then called, "gay young bucks or rakes." At about this time at Harvard, it is said "a spirit of buckism was very prevalent." ²⁵ In the autumn of his Freshman year, as Allston became familiar with these "more buckish sort of students," he proceeded to paint a series of water-color sketches, representing ludicrous episodes in the career of a Harvard student of that period. These he called *The Buck's Progress*. This was clearly intended as a counterpart to the famous series of pictures by Hogarth called *The Rake's Progress*.*

The pictures in Allston's series all bear the same main title, "The Buck's Progress," and have the same signature and the same date: "Washington Allston Nov. 10th 1796." Each number, however, has a separate sub-title which was apparently followed by a rhymed couplet at the bottom of the page, now unfortunately obliterated or cut off.

In Number I. The Introduction of a Country Lad to a Club of Town Bucks, a country bumpkin with lanky straight hair and rather old-fashioned clothes is represented as appearing at the door. In his long

²⁴ *Doctor Waterhouse, letter of March 1825 to President John Quincy Adams.*

ALLSTON IN CAMBRIDGEPORT

1830 TO 1843

BY H. W. L. DANA

Read October 26, 1943

THE LINK BETWEEN ITALY AND AMERICA

IN 1830, some thirty years after Washington Allston's graduation from Harvard College, he returned once more at the end of his life to Cambridge and made his abode there. During the intervening years he had lived in England, had travelled through the Netherlands, France, and Switzerland, and had spent several wonderful years in Italy.

Allston, "in whose veins the South ran warm,"¹ had felt a special susceptibility to all that was lovely in Italian nature and Italian art. He became the first important artistic link between Italy and America.

In Italy he had formed a close friendship with the English poet Coleridge. This had been renewed and extended to the other English romantic poets during Allston's long stay in England. Allston, then, became also the first authentic intermediary between English romanticism and America.

Now, on his return to Cambridge, Allston brought back the aroma both of Italian art and of English romanticism into what was then a rather inartistic and unromantic New England. He hoped to make them thrive in a cold and indifferent atmosphere. He brought his enthusiasm for art and for romanticism into the very environment that needed them most and cared for them least. That was Allston's glory. That was Allston's tragedy.

In London his first wife, Anne Channing, the sister of William Ellery Channing, had died in 1815; and now, fifteen years after her death, Allston decided, after what he called a "patriarchal courtship," to marry her cousin, Martha Remington Dana. The wedding took place on

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¹From William Wetmore Story's letter of Dec. 30, 1855, to James Russell Lowell. Quoted more fully later on.

June 1, 1830, in the Dana House² on the rising land in the corner of the Harvard Yard on Quincy Street, the next house but one to the Sewall House³ where Allston had spent his last three years at Harvard.

Immediately after the marriage, Allston and his wife went to live in a little house in the village of Cambridgeport, which was then separated from the village of Old Cambridge by almost a mile of open country.

His new house was situated near the Charles River, not far from Captain's Island with its Powder Magazine and not far from Fort Washington with its group of pines and its "Oyster Bank." It was a spot that he had loved to visit when a student at Harvard and now, just a week after moving there, he gave the following account of his new house and its environment:

It is a snug, commodious little mansion, prettily situated in a retired part of this village, and commanding a pleasant view of the adjacent country, taking in a part of the river and a picturesque little pine wood, which used to be the favorite haunt of my younger days, to which I used to saunter after college hours, and dream sometimes of poetry, and sometimes of my art. These youthful associations have an indefinite charm peculiarly pleasant to me at this time; they seem to bring together the earlier and later portions of my life, mingling them as it were into one, and imparting to the present some of that eloquent quiet of the past which my nature has always most loved. You may well suppose that such a home, with the woman of my choice, must have no ordinary value in my eyes, after the restless, wandering Arab life which I have led for the last ten years.⁴

Long afterwards the road upon which this house of Allston's was situated, came to be called Allston Street in his honor.⁵ In 1830, however, it ran through open marshland, dispersed with huckleberry pastures, and shaded here and there with pines, oaks, maples, and tupelo trees.

² See H. W. L. Dana, "In the Southeast Corner: A Little History of the Dana-Palmer House," *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, April 27, 1946, Vol. 48, pp. 575-579. A fuller account of this house will be given in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical Society for 1946*.

³ See H. W. L. Dana, "The Stephen Sewall House, Cambridge, Massachusetts," *Old-Time New England*, April 1947, Vol. XXXVII, pp. 95-99.

⁴ 'Washington Allston's letter of June 8, 1830, to John Stephens Cogdell, a sculptor living in South Carolina.

⁵ According to Lewis Morey Hastings, "The Streets of Cambridge: Some Account of their Origin and History," *Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical Society for 1919*, Vol. XIV, p. 63, Allston Street was laid out in 1838 and 1847, and named "for Washington Allston, the painter." His house apparently stood near the corner of what would be today Pearl Street and Allston Street, on land that belonged previously to his wife, Martha Remington Dana.

In this snug little house of his, there was small space to paint pictures, especially Allston's notoriously large ones. Accordingly he soon made plans to build a separate studio, or "painting-room," as he called it. This was located about a third of a mile north of his house,

*near what is now Central Square, but what was then called the Haymarket, where the hay raked from the salt marshes was brought together and sold.*⁶

At last, almost a year after his marriage, the new studio building was ready and on May 27, 1831, Allston was able to write:

*I have but a few weeks since been established in my new painting-room, which I have built in this place ... I am in better health and certainly in better spirits than I have been in ten years.*⁷

*Two months later he wrote proudly to a friend in South Carolina: "I am now in my new painting-room, which I believe has not its superior in Europe."*⁸

From now on Allston could be seen each morning leaving his house dressed in "his bright blue body coat and buff pantaloons" ⁹ walking towards his new studio, carrying with him a pitcher for drinking water. This he would fill at a little cascade that fell from a brook into a tiny pond and from there carried it the remaining half way to his studio.

The spacious studio itself was of his own design, especially "constructed to meet his requirements in painting large pictures." ¹⁰ It was shaped like a Greek temple, for art had become for Allston a sort of religion and this was to be a "temple of art." It must have been about twenty feet wide and about forty feet long. There were pediments at the narrower eastern and western ends. Vines were allowed to grow all over the southern side and the two ends; but on the northern side there was a huge window, six panes of glass wide and fourteen panes high, running the whole height of the building and letting in the necessary northern light.

Crossing a garden filled with "small trees and bits of shrubbery,"

⁶ *Allston's studio stood on the northwest corner of Magazine and Auburn Streets. Some time after Allston's death it was removed to Valentine Street, where it still stood in 1908, but since then it seems to have disappeared without leaving any trace.*

⁷ *Allston's letter to James McMurtrie of Philadelphia, May 27, 1831.*

⁸ *Allston's letter to John S. Cogdell, July 25, 1831.*

⁹. *"Alfred Greenough's letter to Henry Greenough, August 30, 1830.*

¹⁰ *Jared B. Flagg, The Life and Letters of Washington Allston, New York, 1892, p. 347.*

Allston could be seen walking along the path that led towards the doorway at the western end with its classical pilasters and pediment "enarched with climbing vines."¹¹

Opening the green-painted door Allston would enter his sanctum — the spacious studio itself. The interior seemed large enough to house any of the so-called "ten-acre" pictures so popular at that time. The walls of the interior were tinted a Spanish brown, so that his paintings might seem all the brighter with color, contrasted with the duller background. The eastern end of the studio, opposite the entrance, was reserved for the great mysterious unfinished picture — Belshazzar's Feast.

At first this was rolled up so that none could see it; but even during the last four years of his life, when it was unrolled and stretched across the entire end wall, a large curtain of similar size could be pulled across in front of it, which, as Charles Sumner said, served as "the breakwater of our curiosity." 12 When the curtain was drawn aside and Allston was working on the great picture, no one was allowed to enter the studio.

On the other walls of the studio were hung the other paintings and outlines that Allston was working on. Along the north wall were cabinets and small closets where Allston kept his painting materials and his smaller pictures. Little by little he began covering the doors and walls of these cabinets with inscriptions — aphorisms indicating his ideals in art. To the left of the great northern window was a fireplace to heat the studio in winter months. There, when Allston laid down his palette and his brushes, he would sit and warm himself before the fire and smoke his cigars as in reverie he dreamed out his pictures.

From Allston's studio an inner light and warmth seemed to stream. It seemed to have "brought Italian sunshine into the gray little town." 13 Ralph Waldo Emerson spoke of Allston at that time as "the solitary link as it seemed between America and Italy." " This studio was a sort of projection of the European continent and above all of Italy into Cambridgeport:

Allston is adamas ex veteri rupe, chip of the old block; boulder of the European ledge; a spur of those Apennines on which Titian, Raphael, Paul

¹¹ Moses Foster Sweetser, *Allston, Boston, 1879*, p. 133.

¹² "Letter of Charles Sumner, September 30, 1840, to Horatio Greenough in Florence.

¹³ Odell Shepard, *Pedlar's Progress: The Life of Branson Alcott, Boston, 1937*, p. 178.

¹⁴ "Emerson's letter to Margaret Fuller, July 11, 1843.

Veronese, and Michael Angelo sat, cropping out here in this remote America and unlike anything around it.¹⁵

Other Americans had been in Italy, but Allston with the Latin blood in his veins and his boyhood bringing up in South Carolina, had been peculiarly receptive to Italy. As James Russell Lowell put it:

Allston carried thither a nature open on the southern side, and brought it back so steeped in rich Italian sunshine that the east winds (whether physical or intellectual) of Boston and the dusts of Cambridgeport assailed it in vain. To that bare wooden studio one might go to breathe Venetian air.¹⁶

VISITORS TO ALLSTON'S STUDIO

Many and varied were the visitors that made their way to Allston's studio "to breathe Venetian air." Only a month after Allston had finished this new building, Thomas Sully, the charming portrait painter, came from Allston's native state, South Carolina, to visit him in Cambridge. He observed: "The walls of Allston's painting-room are colored with Spanish brown." Against this background Sully noticed the brilliance of the colors in Allston's paintings: his "Venetian red," his "madder lake," his "terra rosa." He quotes Allston as

saying, "Never use brown drapery to a dark or yellow complexion; it will look like a snuff bag . . . Paint pure, decided tints." From then on, in the list of American painters, so Dunlap tells us, Sully always designated Allston as "Number One."¹⁷

The following year, in July 1832, came Washington Irving, who like Washington Allston had been named for the Father of his Country. At the beginning of the century, in Italy, he had formed what he called a "romantic friendship" with Allston, which had later been renewed in England when Allston was doing illustrations for Irving's "Knickerbocker History of New York." Now, at length, returning to America and recognized then as the foremost man of letters there, one of his first

¹⁵ *Emerson's Journal, March 12, 1844. Emerson uses the same image in his letters of July n, 1843, to Margaret Fuller, and of July 21, 1843, to his brother, William Emerson.*

¹⁶ *"James Russell Lowell's letter to William Wetmore Story, Sept., 1853. Printed as "Cambridge Thirty Years Ago" in Fireside Travels, Boston, 1864, p. 53.*

¹⁷ *William Dunlap, A History of the Rise and Progress of The Arts of Design in the United States, Boston, 1918, Vol. II, pp. 281 & 296.*

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impulses was to make a pilgrimage to Cambridgeport to see Allston. Of this encounter he wrote:

I visited him at his studio at Cambridge, in Massachusetts, and found him, in the grey evening of life, apparently much retired from the world.¹⁸

Long afterwards Irving continued to speak of Allston, and just a week before Irving's death his last visitor at Sunnyside records:

I happened to mention the name of Washington Allston. It set his soul all glowing with tender, affectionate enthusiasm.¹⁹

In the same year as Irving's visit to Allston, 1832, Sophia Peabody, later the wife of Nathaniel Hawthorne, asked Allston's permission to copy some of his pictures and called him whimsically the "Tiger of the Age." 20 Her energetic sister, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, who was then assistant to Bronson Alcott, the "Socrates of the Temple School," took him to see Allston and Alcott writes in his diary for January 5, 1835:

I walked with Miss Peabody to Cambridgeport to see Mr. Allston, the artist, a man whom I had long wished to see. We reached his home at an early hour after dark and remained with him until past midnight.²¹

Alcott went on to record the wonderful things that Allston told him about the great Coleridge; and Elizabeth Peabody from then on never ceased to sing the praises of Washington Allston.

In November 1837 the famous British art critic, Mrs. Jameson, to whom Allston had written one of his finest poems, made a special pilgrimage to see his studio in Cambridgeport. She was described at that time as having "auburn hair, light blue Scotch eyes, a clear

complexion, pleasant easy manners, and an open, intelligent expression of countenance."
22 She in turn gave her impressions of Allston:

¹⁸ *Washington Irving, "Washington Allston" in Cyclopaedia of American Literature by Evert A. Duyckinck and George L. Duyckinck, New York, 1855, Vol. II, p. 16.*

¹⁹ *William G. Dix, November 22, 1859. Printed in The Life and Letters of Washington Irving, by his nephew, Pierre M. Irving, New York, 1864, Vol. IV, p. 325.*

²⁰ *Sophia Peabody's letter of May 12, 1832, to her mother.*

²¹ *Frank B. Sanborn and Walter T. Harris, A. Bronson Alcott: His Life and Philosophy, Boston, 1893, p. 206.*

²² *Richard Henry Dana, Jr., letter of November 23, 1837, to his brother, Edmund Trow-bridge Dana.*

I was struck by the dignity of his figure, and by the simple grace of his manners; his dress was rather careless, and he wore his own fine silver hair long and flowing; his forehead and eyes were remarkably good; the general expression of his countenance open, serious, and sweet; the tone of his voice earnest, soft, penetrating.²³

There were dinners at which Allston and Mrs. Jameson were joined by the President of Harvard, Josiah Quincy, Dr. William Ellery Channing, Jared Sparks, the William Minots, and others, and the brilliant conversation lasted late into the night. Mrs. Jameson speaks of herself as "magnetized" by Allston, by "the vivacity of his conceptions and the glowing language in which he could clothe them" and says that before she reached home "it was near three in the morning." She found even the unfinished outlines in his studio "exquisitely poetical" and declared that they made "an ineffaceable impression on my mind." She made a point of visiting all the houses in Boston which contained pictures by Allston and declared that "Whenever a picture left his easel, there were many to compete for it" — a sentence which helps dispel the illusion that Allston was at this time completely unsuccessful. She spoke of his "genius and grandeur of aim and purpose."²⁴ To Allston she wrote: "You do satisfy me more than any living artist I know."²⁵ To Otilie von Goethe in Germany she wrote that she would take care that the fame of Allston should be known in Germany.²⁶ To her mother in England, she wrote of Allston as "one of the finest painters in the world."²⁷

In the following year, in September 1838, Allston's nephew Robert Francis Withers Allston, later Governor of South Carolina, came in a chaise to see his "Uncle Washington" and gives a somewhat more sober picture of the studio:

Found him just warming his room (the weather was chilly and quite damp) with a coal fire-place and a stove previous to commencing his day's

²³ *Mrs. [Anna Brownell Murphy] Jameson, "Memoir of Washington Allston, and his Axioms on Art'1, London Athenaeum, January 13, 1844, Vol. XV, p. 39. Reprinted in her Memoirs and Essays Illustrative of Art, Literature and Social Morals, New York, 1846, pp. 97-126.*

²⁴ *Mrs. Jameson, Memoirs and Essays, New York, 1846, p. 102.*

²⁵ Letter from Anna Jameson to Washington Allston, November 22, 1837.

²⁶ Letter from Anna Jameson to her mother, December 6, 1837. Published in *Anna Jameson: Letters and Friendships*, edited by Mrs. Stewart Erskine, London, 1915, p. 160.

²⁷ *Letters of Anna Jameson to Ottilie von Goethe*, edited by G. H. Needier, Oxford, 1939. (See letter of December 1837).

*work. Tho he had just finish'd his segar, he brush'd a place for my hat (for every part of the room was cover'd with dust, as if it had not been swept in 12 months), drew a chair to the fire-side and commenced smoking again. After some conversation he said "I must shew you something but I have nothing but sketches." He accordingly shew'd me several heads which he kept for his own study and at length pull'd from the apparent rubbish the sketch of a storm and shipwreck at sea, very spirited, his seas are always fine, and another, Titania's Court, one of the most beautiful conceptions that I ever saw . . . He was grown much older since I saw him and lost much flesh, his head is quite white and venerable, but his noble countenance is placid, mild, and intelligent as ever.*²⁸

Later on, Governor Allston was eager to buy whatever pictures he could of his Uncle Washington's.

Margaret Fuller, as a "youthful prodigy," had seen Allston's pictures when she was only sixteen and found in his art "sweet silvery music, rising by its clear tone to be heard above the din of life, long forest glades glimmering with golden light." 29 Now, some eleven years later, an opportunity came to meet Allston in his studio and she wrote to Emerson on January 7, 1839:

*There was at last an interview with Mr. Allston. He is as beautiful as the town-criers have said . . . He got engaged upon his Art, and flamed up in a galaxy of Platonism. Yet what he said was not so beautiful as his smile of genius in saying it. Unfortunately I was so fascinated that I forgot to make myself interesting.*³⁰

*She and Emerson went together later in that same year to see the Allston Exhibition, of which she wrote a glowing account for the first number of *The Dial*. Emerson himself in his own "Essay on Art" in *The Dial* bases many of his ideas on these discussions among the Transcendental-ists about Allston and even mentions Allston in the same breath with Homer and Shakespeare.³¹ To be sure he had some "reservations" — Elizabeth and Sophia Peabody called them "heresies" — but in picking his*

²⁸ Letter of September 25, 1838, to Elizabeth Frances Blyth. Printed in *The South Carolina Rice Plantation, as Revealed in the Papers of Robert F. W. Allston*, edited by J. H. Easterby, Chicago, 1945, pp. 82-83.

²⁹ Margaret Fuller, "A Record of Impressions, Produced by the Exhibition of Mr. Allston's Pictures in the Summer of 1839," *The Dial*, July 1840, Vol. I, p. 74.

³⁰ Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Margaret Fuller Ossoli*, Boston, 1892, p. 93.

³¹ Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Thoughts on Art," *The Dial*, January 1841, Vol. I, p. 372.

*ideal faculty for his ideal college, it was the name of Washington Allston that led all the rest.*³²

Other American authors — Holmes and Hawthorne, Lowell and Longfellow — also visited this same Allston Exhibition of 1839 and wrote their impressions, as did the artists and art critics, including some who came on from New York and from Allston's native state of South Carolina.

*Holmes tells us that he had seen a man standing in a church gallery "who looked so like an angel of light that I knew him to be Allston, although I had never seen him before."*³³ *Holmes could not resist having his little joke about "Florimel in full flight on her interminable rocking-horse."*³⁴ *He did, however, write a most glowing account for the North American Review, in which, after taking up in turn the various American painters, he speaks of Allston as "the brightest and noblest of all."*³⁵

*Hawthorne, whose mood of dreamy thought, enveloped "with a veil of intermingled gloom and brightness" is closest to that of Allston, visited the gallery on June 15, 1839, and gazed silently on the Allston pictures.*³⁶

*Lowell, then only twenty years old, on one of his visits to the Allston Exhibition, seems to have paid more attention to a beautiful Southern damsel whom he saw there than to the pictures, but on another occasion, wrote a poem about Allston's Miriam and ended by paying a splendid tribute to Allston himself: "The beautiful old man! lovely as a Lapland night!"*³⁷

Longfellow, who had recently come to Cambridge to teach modern languages at Harvard, soon made the acquaintance of Allston. In 1839, on the basis of Allston's account which he gave Longfellow of his days in Italy, Longfellow wrote an essay on "The Life of an Artist in Rome,"

³² *Emerson's Journal, May 23, 1839.*

³³ *Oliver Wendell Holmes to Jared B. Flagg, quoted in Jared B. Flagg, The Life and Letters of Washington Allston, New York, 1892, p. 395.*

³⁴ *Oliver Wendell Holmes, "A Mortal Antipathy," Boston, 1885. Reprinted in The Writings of Oliver Wendell Holmes, Boston, 1893, Vol. VII, p. 3.*

³⁵ *Oliver Wendell Holmes, "Exhibition of Pictures Painted by Washington Allston," North American Review, April 1840, Vol. 50, pp. 358–381.*

³⁶ *Hawthorne visited the Allston Gallery on Saturday afternoon, June 5, 1839. See Rose Hawthorne Lathrop, Memories of Hawthorne, Boston, 1897, P. 29*

³⁷ *James Russell Lowell, letters to G. B. Loring, April 29 and May 10, 1839; and Fireside Travels, Boston, 1864, p. 54.*

describing a pilgrimage to Rome just such as Allston had made and ending with the sentence so applicable to the later Allston: "What wonder is it if dreams visit him in his sleep, — nay, if his whole life seems to him a dream!" ³⁸ In January 1840, Longfellow wrote an enthusiastic review of Allston's *The Sylphs of the Seasons with Other Poems*, in which he said: "I love in him the man, the painter, and the poet. He still lives in retirement in Cambridge-port, the life of an artist, lapped in dreams Elysian." ³⁹ In 1841, Longfellow's friend Professor Felton wrote an enthusiastic review of Allston's novel called *Monaldi*, the story of the rivalry of a painter and a poet in Italy.⁴⁰ It was to Professor Longfellow and to Professor Felton during the winter of 1841-1842 that Allston read aloud his *Lectures on Art* — lectures which were never delivered in public and were never published during his lifetime.⁴¹ Felton has described those delightful evenings:

*His voice was the gentlest utterance that ever mortal spoke in. . . After making all his peculiar arrangements, — placing his lights each in a certain position, — setting his footstool between his chair and the fire, — warming his feet, — lighting his cigar, and reducing his manuscript to order, — read on, hour after hour, . . . describing a favorite masterpiece of painting with such feeling and pictorial skill, that sight itself could scarcely surpass the vividness of the impression his description made; his large, mysterious eye growing larger with the interest of his subject, his voice increasing in volume and strength, his pale countenance transfigured by his kindling soul to an almost supernatural expression, until, as he uttered passage after passage of harmonious and magnificent discourse, he seemed to become the inspired prophet, declaring a new revelation of the religion of art. . . . The listener sighed to think the night so short, so potent was the enchantment.*⁴²

As Coleridge in his later years had gathered an enchanted circle about him at Highgate, so Allston now at the end of his life held his group of

³⁸ *New York Mirror*, January 19, 1839, Vol. 16, p. 236.

³⁹ "Poems by Washington Allston. (Extract from a letter to the Editors)", *The Evening Signal*, New York, Tuesday Noon, January 7, 1840. Reprinted in *The New World*, January n, 1840.

⁴⁰ Cornelius Conway Felton, *North American Review*, April 1842, Vol. 54, pp. 397-419.

⁴¹ They were published seven years after his death in *Lectures on Art and Poems by Washington Allston*. Edited by Richard Henry Dana, Jr., New York, 1850. They consisted of Preliminary Note — Ideas; Introductory Discourse; and lectures on Art, on Form, and on Composition.

⁴² *North American Review*, October 1843, Vol. 57, pp. 396-399.

friends spellbound in Cambridgeport. The mantle of the Prophet Coleridge had fallen on the shoulders of the Prophet Allston. Passersby late at night could see the lights still burning in Allston's windows and hear the soft sound of voices. It was often late on the following day before Allston got up and during the early morning hours a ghost-like stillness haunted both his studio and his house. Longfellow in his journal for April 9, 1840, wrote:

On my way to town stopped at Allston's painting room. It stands in the Port, an awkward-looking house on the common, with one long window, looking North. Knocked at the green door. All silent, went over to his house. It was past eleven, and a lovely Spring morning. He was still in his

chamber; and for aught I know in his bed. He keeps late hours. The parlor window was wide open and the smell of cigars still lingering there, showed how late the evening session had been.

"A FINE SPECIMEN OF A GLORIOUS OLD GENIUS"

It was in 1842, the year before that of Allston's death, that the English novelist Charles Dickens came to Boston and all of Allston's old love of England was kindled anew. Sick and feeble as Allston then was, he resolved to attend the great banquet that was to be given in honor of Dickens. With great effort, he donned his best green coat with large brass buttons and yellow waistcoat and high white stock, and took the stagecoach into Boston to Papanti's Hall and there he was presented to Dickens or, if you prefer, Dickens was presented to Allston. Mr. James Fields remembered seeing the "Immortal Boz . . . take a pinch of snuff from Allston's snuff-box."⁴³

At the fifteen-dollar banquet there were ten courses, innumerable wines, and no less than thirty toasts and thirty orations. Hillard, in his eloquent address, turning towards Allston, quoted Allston's poem "America to Great Britain" ending

*Yet still from either beach
The voice of blood shall reach,
More audible than speech —
We are one.*

⁴³ James T. Fields, *Yesterdays with Authors*, Boston, 1882, p. 129.

Dickens gave a corresponding toast which warmed Allston's heart:

"America and England: and may they never have any division but the Atlantic between them."

Finally the Chairman, Josiah Quincy, Jr., offered the toast:

"Washington Allston — He who unites the genius of the poet, the pencil of the painter, and the pen of the novelist; his name shall glow for ever upon the eternal canvass."⁴⁴

In reply Allston turned a graceful, if somewhat involved, compliment to Dickens. An indulgent nephew declared: "Mr. Allston's toast went off famously";⁴⁵ and Julia Ward Howe said later: "Of all the wits who made the feast one to be remembered, Allston shone a bright particular star."⁴⁶

Of this famous occasion Allston wrote:

What a dinner or rather coena it was! How bright every face — and all with the same light — as if radiant with an effluence from the Genius of the banquet. — You remember how feeble I was on the preceding morning. I then doubted if I were not preparing for a relapse; and I went to the Dinner almost 'without legs; but, strange to say, it seemed the next day as if I had as many as a centipede. Perhaps it was owing to my having imbibed the departing strength of a wine glass, whose leg I broke in applauding. . . The impression which Dickens left on me was a very rare one

— that he was indeed worthy to be the author of his own books. . . / took to him instantly — and felt, though in so large an assemblage, as if I were talking to an old friend.⁴⁷

A few days later, on Friday, February 4th, on the eve of his departure, Dickens made his way to the picturesque ivy-studded studio in Cambridgeport to make a farewell call on Allston. Writing to a friend in England, Dickens said: "Washington Allston the painter (who wrote *Monaldi*) is a fine specimen of a glorious old genius." 48

Later in the same year, when Dickens published his *American Notes*,

⁴⁴ Report of the Dinner Given to Charles Dickens in Boston, February 1, 1842, Reported by Thomas Gill and William English, Reporters of the *Morning Post*, Boston, 1842, p. 34.

⁴⁵ Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Journal for February i*, 1842.

⁴⁶ Julia Ward Howe, *Reminiscences 1819-1899*, Boston, 1899, p. 231.

⁴⁷ Letter to Cornelius Conway Felton, May 12, 1842.

⁴⁸ Letter to John Forster, February 28, 1842. See also letter of Richard Henry Dana ist to Mrs. James Arnold, February 14, 1842.

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he inscribed one of the first copies to Allston and gave it to Longfellow, who was then visiting him in London, to take back to America to give to Allston.

During the last year of his life, Allston from time to time continued to take the coach into Boston. Lowell, who as a young man used to see him on such occasions, has given us the following charming description:

The stranger who took the "Hourly" at Old Cambridge, if he were a physiognomist and student of character, might perhaps have had his curiosity excited by a person who mounted the coach at the Port. So refined was his whole appearance, so fastidiously neat his apparel, — but with a neatness that seemed less the result of care and plan, than a something as proper to the man as whiteness to the lily, — that you would have at once classed him with those individuals, rarer than great captains and almost as rare as great poets, whom Nature sends into the world to fill the arduous office of Gentleman. . . A nimbus of hair, fine as an infant's, and early white, showing refinement of organization and the predominance of the spiritual over the physical, undulated and floated around a face that seemed like pale flame, and over which the flitting shades of expression chased each other, fugitive and gleaming as waves upon a field of rye. . . Here was a man all soul, whose body seemed a lamp of finest clay, whose service was to feed with magic oils, rare and fragrant, that wavering fire which hovered over it. You, who are an adept in such matters, would have detected in the eyes that artist-look which seems to see pictures ever in the air. . . As the stranger brushes by you in alighting, you detect a single incongruity, — a smell of dead tobacco-smoke. You ask his name, and the answer is, "Mr. Allston."

"Mr. Allston!" and you resolve to note down at once in your diary every look, every gesture, every word of the great painter . . . and then contrive to let your grandchildren know twice a week that you met him once in a coach, and that he said, "Excuse me, sir," in a very Titianesque manner, when he stumbled over your toes in getting out.⁴⁹

In the last winter before his death Allston still made these occasional trips into town. On November 6, 1842 he records having dined there with John Quincy Adams, former President of the United States, and says: "The old gentleman was exceedingly entertaining; his talk showed nothing of the infirmity of age." ⁵⁰

⁴⁹ *Fireside Travels, Boston, 1864, pp. 46-49*

⁵⁰ *Letter to Richard Henry Dana 1st.*

Later in that same winter he went to dine with his brother-in-law, the poet Richard Henry Dana. It may well have been this occasion which Julia Ward Howe describes when she says:

I encountered Mr. Allston in Chestnut Street, Boston, on a bitter winter day. He had probably been visiting his friend Mr. Dana, who resided in that street. The ground was covered with snow, and Mr. Allston, with his snowy curls and old-fashioned attire, looked like an impersonation of winter, his luminous dark eyes suggesting the fire which warms the heart of the cold season. The wonderful beauty of the face, intensified by age, impressed me deeply.⁵¹

Elsewhere Mrs. Howe describes the memory of this same "vision" of the "fragile figure," the "starry eyes," the "snowy curls" amid the snow. "Here was the winter of age; here the perpetual summer of the soul. . . Not long afterwards the silvery snows melted, and the soul which had made those eyes so luminous shot back to its immortal sphere."⁵²

"THE GRIM SYNTHETIC FACT OF CAMBRIDGEPORT"

There has been a tendency to argue that Allston accomplished nothing during these last thirteen years in his studio in Cambridgeport. A younger generation of artists and writers who themselves remained abroad and became more or less "expatriates" seemed to want to justify their own conduct by criticising Allston for having returned to America. William Wetmore Story said:

Allston starved spiritually in Cambridgeport; he fed upon himself. There was nothing congenial without, and he turned all his powers inward and drained his memory dry. His works grew thinner and vaguer every day, and in his old age he ruined his great picture. I know no more melancholy sight than he was, so rich and beautiful a nature, in whose veins the south ran warm, which was born to grow to such height and to have spread abroad such fragrancy, stunted on the scant soil and withered by the cold winds of that fearful Cambridgeport.⁵³

Horatio Greenough spoke of Allston in Cambridgeport as "an eagle tied to the roost."⁵⁴

⁵¹ *Julia Ward Howe, Reminiscences 1819-1899, Boston, 1899, p. 430.*

⁵² *Julia Ward Howe, Margaret Fuller, Boston, 1883, p. 77.*

⁵³ *Letter to James Russell Lowell, December 30, 1855.*

⁵⁴ *Letters of Horatio Greenough to his brother Henry Greenough, Boston, 1887, p. 29. See also Story's Three Sonnets to Allston, the lines beginning, Here in life's prose he seemed half out of place. . ."*

Henry James spoke of Allston as "the beautiful colourist . . . withering in a cruel air"; and blamed it all on what he called "the grim synthetic fact of Cambridgeport." ⁵⁵

For Charles Eliot Norton, Cambridgeport was the "abomination of desolation" and was looked upon as "hanging on the verge of the continent." ⁵⁶ Allston himself used to make fun of "Cambridge Port" as "this Sublime Porte." He said that trying to produce art in Cambridge-port was "like a bee trying to make honey in a coal-hole." ⁵⁷

Thus grew up "the myth of Allston's failure." Because Belshazzar's Feast was unfinished, some have jumped to the unjustified conclusion that all of Allston's work during this period was left unfinished. "The Dictionary of American Biography" even goes so far as to say that with Allston's return to America, "his career as an artist terminated."

*A more careful study of the exact chronology of Allston's paintings shows us at last that, on the contrary, much of Allston's very best work, his most finished smaller pictures, his most romantic landscapes, his most imaginative outlines, were done precisely during this last period of his life in this "romantic studio" in Cambridgeport. It should also be remembered that many of his best poems and his novel *Monaldi*, dealing with the life of an artist in Italy, were published at this time and that his very illuminating *Lectures on Art* were written during his last years.*

ALLSTON S DREAMY WOMEN

It was shortly after Allston opened his new painting-room in Cambridgeport in 1831 that he began painting that beautiful series of ideal figures bathed in calm "reverie" or "dreamerie" as Longfellow called it.⁵⁸ Since most of these were female figures, this series of romantic portraits has been called by Van Wyck Brooks "Allston's dreamy women." ⁵⁹ In many cases, as Allston was in the process of putting his conception on to the canvas a poem came to him on the very same subject. Allston told

⁵⁵ Henry James, *William Wetmore Story and his Friends*, Boston, 1903, Vol. I, p. 307.

⁵⁶ W. Clyde Wilkins, *Charles Dickens in America*, New York, 1912, p. 261.

⁵⁷ Letter to John S. Cogdell, January 31, 1841, and letter to Leonard Jarvis, June 24, 1836.

⁵⁸ Letter to Sam Ward, March n, 1839.

⁵⁹ *The Flowering of New England*, New York, 1936, p. 184.

"ALLSTON'S DREAMY WOMEN"



"THE TUSCAN GIRL"
1831

See p. 49



"THE SPANISH MAID"
1831

See p. 49



"THE EVENING HYMN"
1835

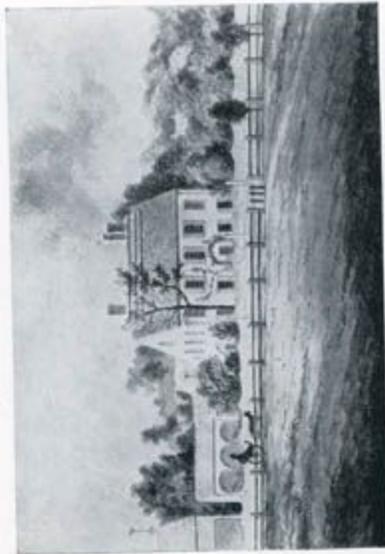
See p. 50



"ROSALIE LISTENING TO THE MUSIC"
1835

See p. 50

WASHINGTON ALLSTON IN CAMBRIDGE



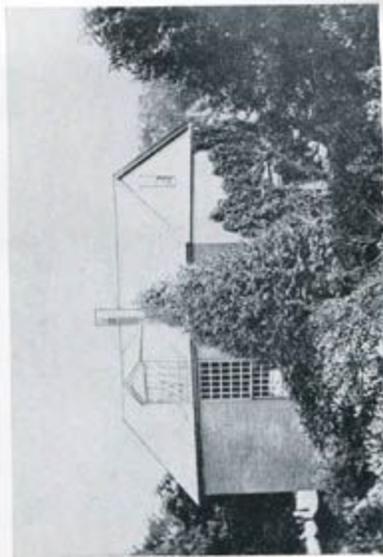
At Dr. Waterhouse's from 1796 to 1797

See p. 15



At Professor Sewall's from 1797 to 1800

See p. 23



Allston's Studio from 1811 to 1843

See p. 36



Allston's Grave

See p. 65

OUTLINE DRAWINGS BY WASHINGTON ALLSTON



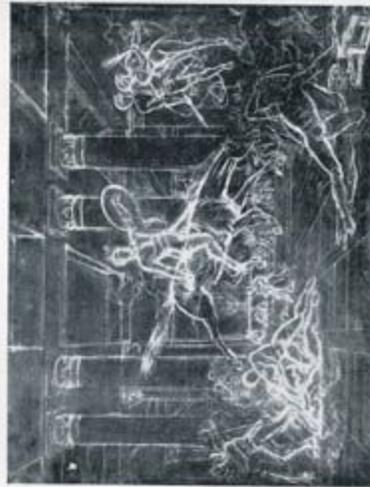
"TITANIA'S COURT"

See p. 52



"FABLES ON THE SEA SHORE"

See p. 53



"HELIOGORGUS DRIVEN FROM THE TEMPLE"

See p. 52



"SHIP AS A SOCIAL"

See p. 53

Mrs. Jameson that "as well as he could recollect, the conception of the poem and of the picture had been simultaneous in his mind."⁶⁰

Since only one of these pictures is in a public museum, and all the rest are privately owned, they are perhaps not as well known as they should be. Yet taken as a series they represent a most important achievement in romantic painting. Arranged chronologically they cover this last period of Allston's life and serve to show how much the statement that with his return to America "his career as an artist terminated" now needs to be challenged.

The Spanish Maid (1831), or Inez, as Allston calls her in the accompanying poem, is depicted as plucking a flower as she sits on a mossy bank by the side of a misty little lake into which a far-off cascade is falling from a mountainside almost hidden "amid the purple haze." She is dreaming of her lover Isidore who is away fighting in the wars, eagerly awaiting his return:

*And, decked in Victory's glorious gear,
In vision Isidore is there.⁶¹*

The Roman Lady (1831) was a noble Italian woman of the late sixteenth century reading from a volume of Tasso which she holds in her hands. She is so rapt in what she is reading that "a vital intelligence seems to pass from her eyes to the book."⁶²

The Tuscan Girl (1831), or Ursulina as she is called in the poem, was a young girl in Italian peasant clothing who has gone to a spring in a lovely forest to fill her pitcher. She is sitting on a beautiful bank idly watching in tranquil mood a "moth come twinkling by." She is of that sensitive age when

*Every thought and feeling throw
Their shadows on her face.⁶³*

⁶⁰ Mrs. Jameson, *Memoirs and Essays*, New York, 1846, p. 123.

⁶¹ Allston's poem "The Spanish Maid" was published in *The Knickerbocker*, August 1839, Vol. 14, pp. 169 & 170. The accompanying picture was exhibited in the *Boston Athenaeum* in 1831, No. 135. It was given to the *Metropolitan Museum of Art* in New York City in 1901.

⁶² This picture was owned by Edmund Dwight and exhibited in the *Boston Athenaeum* in 1831, No. 210.

⁶³ Allston's picture of *The Tuscan Girl* was inscribed with the date 1831, and was exhibited in the *Boston Athenaeum* in 1832, No. 141. It was painted for David Sears and now belongs to his great-grand-daughter, Mrs. Miriam Sears Minot of Boston. Allston's poem "The Tuscan Girl" was published in *The Charleston Book*, Charleston, S. C., 1845, p. 304.

Lorenzo and Jessica (1832), from that lovely last act of Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, were seated side by side, hand in hand, in Portia's garden at Belmont, in the misty half-light listening to the music of the spheres. As Emerson said of this picture, "there is moonlight but no moon."⁶⁴ One can almost hear their whispered words:

How sweet the moonlight sleeps upon this bank.⁶⁵

The Young Troubadour (1833) was a dreamy minstrel playing his guitar beside the Lover's Fountain with its marble Cupid and singing his love for Fair Isabel:

He loved the Muse because she came

Unasked, and gave him more than fame, —

The pure, sweet music of the heart.⁶⁶

The Evening Hymn (1835) depicted a beautiful young girl playing on a lute as she sings by twilight, while in the background the Doric columns of a ruined Roman palace seem milk-soft in the mist. It is as though the gentle hymn of early Christianity were first being heard amid the slowly crumbling ruins of the Roman world.⁶⁷

Rosalie (1835) was represented as playing with her golden chain and listening at the "dreamy hour of day" to music "that seems from other worlds to plain,"

As on her maiden reverie

First fell the strain of him who stole

In music to her soul.⁶⁸

The Italian Shepherd Boy (1838), a new version of an earlier picture of Allston's, was seated on a bank in a forest, holding in his hand the shep-

⁶⁴ Emerson's Journal, June 12, 1839.

⁶⁵ Allston's picture of Lorenzo and Jessica was painted in 1832 for Patrick Jackson and exhibited in the Boston Athenaeum in that same year, Supplement No. 247.

⁶⁶ Allston's picture The Young Troubadour was painted for John Bryant, Jr., and exhibited in the Boston Athenaeum in 1835, No. 71. Allston's poem of the same name was published in his Lectures on Art, and Poems, New York, 1850, pp. 338–342.

⁶⁷ This picture was painted for Mr. Warren Dutton in 1835, and was exhibited at Harding's Gallery in 1839, No. 17. It now belongs to the Estate of Thornton K. Lothrop.

⁶⁸ Allston's picture of Rosalie was painted in 1835 for Nathan Appleton, was exhibited at Harding's Gallery, No. 35, and is now hanging in the Longfellow house in Cambridge. The corresponding poem was published with an engraving of the picture in the Boston Book for 1837. pp.306-307.

herd's flute that he had been playing. It was as though he were still listening to the echoes of his music dying away among the trees and mingled with the sound of the waterfall dimly seen in the distance.⁶⁹

The Bride (1840) or "the almost bride, sweet Esther," as Allston calls her in his poem "The Betrothed," was seated in the silver sheen diffused by the pale light, meditating the word "Yes" that has passed her coral lips, till

The dull, dark ground beneath, the trees above,

*And chiming breezes, all, breathe only love.*⁷⁰

*Amy Robsart (1840), the tragic heroine of Sir Walter Scott's Kenilworth, the beloved of Queen Elizabeth's favorite, Leicester, was presented, dressed in fur collar and dark blue cloak, in all her soft golden beauty and weakness.*⁷¹

*In this series of dreamy women, Margaret Fuller saw "the capacity of emotion with a habit of reverie." She says: "They floated across the painter's heaven in the golden clouds of fantasy."*⁷²

These figures bathed in mystical light were all painted in a single decade in Allston's studio in Cambridgeport. They represent perhaps the most remarkable examples of romantic portraiture to be found in the whole range of American art.

ALLSTON'S OUTLINES

At the same time that Allston in his Cambridgeport studio was painting this series of dreamy figures with blurred and hazy outlines, he was also preparing a series of outline drawings marked by precise, clear-cut lines. Different as was the technique of these outlines from that used in the romantic paintings, they showed an equal, if not indeed a still

⁶⁹ *The later version of The Italian Shepherd Boy was sold to Robert C. Hooper, and was exhibited at Harding's Gallery in 1839, No. 22. It is now owned by Mrs. James R. Hooper of Boston.*

⁷⁰ *Allston's picture of The Bride is described by Margaret Fuller in The Dial, July 1840, Vol. I, pp. 83-84. She quotes two sonnets, "To W. Allston, On seeing his 'Bride'" signed "J.," and "To Allston's Picture, 'The Bride'" signed "O.," both sonnets having been written by Samuel Gray Ward. The picture was destroyed in the Boston fire of Feb. 24, 1862.*

⁷¹ *Allston's picture of Amy Robsart was painted for John A. Lowell. Charles Sumner in a letter of September 30, 1840 to Horatio Greenough speaks of it as "recently painted." It was exhibited in the Boston Athenaeum in 1850, No. 93. It is now owned by Mrs. Sumner Hollander of Boston.*

⁷² *Margaret Fuller, The Dial, July 1840, Vol. I, p. 79.*

greater power of imagination. In place of the misty effects of color and chiaroscuro by sunset or moonlight, were sharp outlines, clean and clear and bold. Some were in black or umber lines upon a white background, while others were drawn in white chalk upon a black background. In these outlines there was a freedom, a courage, and a sweep of imagination, unlike anything Allston had shown before. In them he was constantly trying experiments of giving the figures of angels or fairies the appearance of floating in the air — a very difficult effect to produce. The subjects were taken from the grandest, the most imaginative, and the most romantic themes to be found in the Bible or in the Apocrypha, in the Classics, or in Shakespeare and Milton.

*The Angel Pouring out the Vial of Wrath Over Jerusalem was a daring attempt to depict one of the most awe-inspiring episodes of the Last Judgment, described in the Book of Revelation, or the Apocalypse. The Angel of Wrath was shown floating in the air holding a drawn sword in one hand and from the other pouring forth the golden vial filled with wrath.*⁷³

*Heliodorus Driven from the Temple was from the Second Book of the Maccabees and represented Heliodorus, the King's Treasurer, who was trying to steal the treasures from the Temple, crouching in fear, while the terrible apparition with shield and drawn sword, riding through the air on a huge horse, bore down upon him; and two other supernatural beings, flying through the air with scourges, descend upon him in wrath.*⁷⁴

*The Cumaean Sibyl from the Sixth Book of Virgil's Aeneid, was represented in two different outlines, seated majestically by a cave in the forest, with one hand raised beside her forehead in meditation, while in the other hand she holds a stylus with which to write her Sibylline Leaves.*⁷⁵

Titania's Fairy Court, from Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream,

⁷³ Leonard Jarvis in his letter of February 12, 1844, to Richard Henry Dana 1st says of this picture of Allston's: "The idea came to him while labouring under a severe attack of sickness in 1829." It was later obliterated and recommenced on July 9, 1840.

⁷⁴ This outline was included in the Allston Exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1881, No. 257. It belongs to the Dana Collection and is now on loan at the Fogg Museum of Art at Harvard University.

⁷⁵ There are two outlines of the Cumaean Sibyl, one a large outline in white chalk on a dark background and the other a small outline in black on an umber background. Both belong to the Dana Collection.

*depicted the Queen seated on "a bank where the wild thyme grows," while her attendants bring petal-cups and flowers and shells to her, small cherubs fan her with their fairy wings, musicians play on lutes and pipes and harps, and in the foreground dancers, with arms interlocked and with leaves and flowers in their hair, form a circle or float away toward the distant waterfalls in the forest.*⁷⁶

*The Dance of Fairies on the Sea-shore Disappearing at Sunrise showed a line of beautiful Ariel-like spirits taking hands and dancing on the yellow sands with printless feet, while the leaders, at the approach of dawn, fly over the crest of the waves up towards the clouds.*⁷⁷

The Archangel Gabriel Setting the Guard of the Heavenly Hosts was taken from the Fourth Book of Milton's Paradise Lost. In the foreground Gabriel, with his back turned, directs the Guard. Uzziel, Ithuriel, and Zephon, with spears in hand, assist in setting the Guard, while

From their ivory port the cherubim

Forth issuing at the accustom'd hour, stood arm'd

To their night-watches in war-like parade,

Half wheeling to the shield, half to the spear.

A Ship at Sea in a Squall showed an old-fashioned three-masted ship with square sails, leaning under the rising storm, while another ship was dimly seen bending over in the distance. Mrs. Jameson says that this mere outline left "an ineffaceable impression on my mind":

*There was absolute motion in the clouds and waves — all the poetry,
all the tumult of the tempest was there!⁷⁹*

This series of outlines, then, like the series of dreamy women which Allston was painting simultaneously, helps refute the charge that Alls-ton was idle during all the period of his life in Cambridgeport. If he

⁷⁶ *This outline was seen by Mrs. Jameson during her visit to Allston's studio in 1837. It was exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum in 1847, No. 136. It belongs to the Dana Collection and is loaned to the Fogg Museum of Art at Harvard University.*

⁷⁷ *This outline was also seen by Mrs. Jameson in 1837. It was loaned by the Allston Heirs to the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, but was reported in 1941 as having "disintegrated." Reproduced in *Outlines & Sketches*, by Washington Allston, Boston, 1850.*

⁷⁸ *There are five different outlines for different parts of this picture. These all belong to the Dana Collection.*

⁷⁹ *This marine sketch in white chalk on brown canvas was seen by Mrs. Jameson in 1837. It belongs to the Dana Collection and is on loan at the Fogg Museum of Art, Harvard University.*

lacked physical energy, his thoughts were always at work, making, to use his own words,

As thoughts surged to Allston's mind while he was painting these pictures and drawing these outlines, he would pause and inscribe these ideas on the doors and walls of the cabinets in his studio. Little by little he accumulated a remarkable collection of aphorisms there, which attracted the attention of Mrs. Jameson and other visitors to his studio. As Allston explained, these were "texts for reflection before he began his day's work." They served to keep before him the ideals which he wished to have in mind while pursuing his art — ideals of originality, distinction, genius, fame, unselfishness. Here are some of the most striking of them:

Originality in Art is the individualizing of the universal.

Distinction is the consequence, never the object of a great mind.

The love of gain has never made a Painter; but it has marred many.

*The painter who seeks popularity in Art closes the door upon his own
genius.*

Genius stands forever relieved against its own imperishable glory.

Fame is the eternal shadow of excellence.

A man may be pretty sure that he has not attained excellence when it is not all in all to him.

An Artist will delight in excellence wherever he meets it, as well in the work of another as in his own.

Selfishness in Art is sensibility kept at home.

No one can see anything as it really is through the misty spectacle of self-love.

In the same degree that we overrate ourselves, we shall underrate others.

There is an essential meanness in the wish to get the better of anyone.

The only competition worthy of a wise man is with himself.⁸¹

Art must be sufficient for the Artist.⁸²

⁸⁰ Washington Allston, *The Sylphs of the Seasons*, London, 1813, p. 31 40th stanza.

⁸¹ *Lectures on Art, and Poems by Washington Allston*, New York, 1850, pp. 167-177, gives 41 of these "Sentences Written by Mr. Allston on the Walls of his Studio." Mrs. Jameson, *Memoirs and Essays* quotes twenty of Allston's "Axioms on Art."

⁸² Emerson's *Journal*, October 6, 1837.

THE END OF ROMANTICISM

To a remarkable degree Allston really lived up to the principles expressed in his own Aphorisms. During the last years of his life he remained remarkably tranquil in spirit and undisturbed by envy, as he saw one by one so many of the things he held dear challenged, changing, and disappearing, and new and alien things forging to the front. As the nineteenth century wore on, a new commercial spirit seemed to be taking the place of the ideals of chivalry with which Allston had been brought up. He said wistfully to his nephew: "In eighty years there will not be a gentleman left in the country."⁸³

Shortly before his own death, came the death of his saintly brother-in-law, William Ellery Channing, and Allston designed the monument for him in Mount Auburn Cemetery. One by one many of the men to whom he had looked up to with admiration had died.

By the eighteen forties "the delicate poetry of introspection, the dreamy quietism of the 1820s and 1830s, had vanished and could not be recaptured."⁸⁴ Science in America was beginning to take the place of art. Allston saw his favorite pupil, Samuel Finley Breese Morse, gradually leaving the field of art and turning to that of science. Discouraged with the

ill-success of his large historical paintings, Morse had taken up the daguerreotype, trying to console Allston with this argument: "Art is to be wonderfully enriched by this discovery."⁸⁵ Then Morse turned his attention towards the discovery of the telegraph and of that Morse Code which has made his name known throughout the world. Yet Allston never reproached him for abandoning art. On the contrary, on March 24, 1843, only a few months before Allston's death, he wrote to Morse, rejoicing at the Act of Congress appropriating money "towards carrying out your Electro-Magnetic Telegraph." As a boy of eighteen Morse had gone to Allston to study art, saying "I go to him as to the sun to imbibe life." Now it was Allston's turn to look toward Morse in his triumph in a new field and write, "I congratulate you with all my heart," adding with a sort of wistful significance "There is a tide in the affairs of men, which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."⁸⁶

⁸³ Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Journal for April 22, 1843.*

⁸⁴ Edgar P. Richardson, *Washington Allston: A Study in Romantic Painting, Chicago, 1948.*

⁸⁵ Samuel Finley Breese Morse letter to Washington Allston, May 1839.

⁸⁶ Letter to S. F. B. Morse, March 24, 1843, only a few months before Allston's death.

Among those who remained artists, Allston saw a gradual turning away from the technique of painting on canvas towards the more solid medium of sculpture. Horatio Greenough had said that Allston "was to me a father in what concerned my progress in every kind. He taught me first how to discriminate — how to think — how to feel."⁸⁷ Now Greenough in the realm of sculpture had come to rival the reputation that Allston had held in the realm of painting. Yet, far from being jealous, Allston rejoiced in his success and wrote an enthusiastic poem "On Greenough's Group of the Angel and Child." When Greenough's "Chanting Cherubs" with their nude limbs shocked Bostonian prudes, Allston came to Greenough's defence. In the year before Allston's death, Greenough received twenty thousand dollars for his Washington, while Hiram Powers, Thomas Crawford, and other American sculptors were getting forty, fifty, or even seventy-five thousand for their statues, prices far higher than Allston ever received for any of his paintings. Allston, however, was without jealousy and remained true to the principle he had inscribed on the wall of his studio that an artist should "delight in the work of another as in his own."

Even within the special field of painting, Allston viewed with equanimity the tendency to turn away from romanticism towards realism. Allston had urged the young painter William Sidney Mount to take Van Ostade and Steen for his models, recognizing "the realistic vein in which the young man's strength lay."⁸⁸ Allston went to see Mount's pictures in the Athenaeum and gladly declared that they "showed great powers of expression."⁸⁹

*Similarly Allston accepted calmly the shift in literature from romanticism towards realism. His own novel *Monaldi* was a belated romantic tale in the manner of the Gothic romances of Mrs. Radcliffe and Monk Lewis.⁹⁰ Yet he gladly welcomed the triumphs of Dickens in the field of the realistic novel. Allston also saw his own highly imaginative *Monaldi* far surpassed in popularity by the mere straightforward realistic account of his young*

nephew's Two Years Before the Mast, which appeared in print at about the same time. He was only too glad to welcome its success.

⁸⁷ *Horatio Greenough letter to William Dunlap, Dec. i, 1833.*

⁸⁸ *F. O. Matthiessen, American Renaissance, New York, 1941, p. 598.*

⁸⁹ *Allston letter to William Dunlap, August 18, 1834.*

⁹⁰ *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow letter to Sam Ward, November*

This nephew, Richard Henry Dana, Jr., indeed enjoyed a very intimate friendship with his "Uncle Washington." It was Allston who had urged him to publish the account of his voyage. It was Allston too who suggested that as an engagement ring reminiscent of his sea voyage he use a large emerald set in gold. At the end of Allston's life this nephew went constantly to see him and has left us this beautiful account of Allston's last days:

It was my habit to spend there one evening every week. I walked down about dusk, for his dinner hour was after dark. He had closed his painting room after a day of exquisite or tormenting, lacerating or soothing labor, the candles in their silver sticks were shining over his table covered with a pure white cloth, decked with a few dishes, his never failing decanter of Madeira, and after the warm salutation we sat down at table. His dress was a blue coat with gilt buttons, drab pantaloons, a rich brown or buff waistcoat, and a white cravat; while his hair, beautiful even in age with the various tints of gray and waving curls, crowned the exquisite beauty of his regular but animated features. His day's work, be it fortunate or unfortunate, is over. There is nothing more for him to do but to enjoy ease and pleasant society . . . No picture is more pleasing to my heart and fancy than to see Mr. Allston seated at his parlor fire in the evening, after a day spent in his studio, his eye resting meditatively upon the fire . . . when the dinner is removed, the glasses remain, and a small plate containing his evening cigar. When this was lighted, and he had leaned back in his chair, and the wreathed smoke arose like a halo about his curling hair, so close to it in color and form and lightness that you hardly knew which was ascending into the air, — then the beauty and the dream of life seemed truly to have begun.⁹¹

In his journal for May 19, 1843, this nephew tells us how he went to bring Allston the good news that Professor Longfellow, after many years of waiting, was at last engaged to Miss Fanny Appleton:

To Cambridge Port. Mr. Allston very much interested in Longfellow's engagement, liking him and having always admired the beauty and character of his promised lady. He burst out saying "I have a vision!" We all looked around and saw his face raised, with a mock heroic expression, and he went on "I see Longfellow up to his knees in golden clouds with his head knocking against the stars."⁹²

⁹¹ *Richard Henry Dana, Jr., Journal for August 20, 1852.*

⁹² *Richard Henry Dana, Jr., Journal for May 19, 1843.*

With such roseate visions as this, Allston's last days might have been spent in calm serenity, had he not been haunted by an incubus that weighed more and more heavily upon him. This was his great unfinished picture of Belshazzar's Feast.

THE HANDWRITING ON THE WALL

Twenty-six years earlier, in April 1817, while still in London, Allston had begun what he hoped might prove to be his great masterpiece. It was to be a picture sixteen feet wide and twelve feet high. The subject was a grandiose one, taken from Allston's favorite field — the Old Testament — and dealing with his favorite theme — that of the supernatural manifestation of some great impending doom. It was to represent Belshazzar's Feast as described in the fifth chapter of the Book of Daniel.

To the left, the King of Babylon, Belshazzar, was to be seen cowering in terror upon his throne in the midst of his great feast, surrounded by his wife and his concubines and courtiers and the vessels and seven-branch candlestick he had stolen from the Temple. To the right of the picture were to be seen the astrologers, the Chaldeans, and the soothsayers, the wise men of Babylon, struck dumb and impotent. In the center of the picture towered the commanding figure of the Prophet Daniel, turning toward Belshazzar, and with left arm outstretched pointing towards the "Handwriting on the Wall" with its appalling message:

"MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN"

This message Daniel is interpreting to the King as follows:

"God hath numbered thy kingdom, and finished it. Thou art weighed in the balances, and art found wanting. Thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians."

For Allston, this theme was the great prototype of God throughout the ages putting down the mighty from their seats. It was the terrible warning which foretold the impending doom of the Caesars and the fall of Rome, and of all the despots and tyrants, of all the Tamberlanes and Napoleons of later history.

During the quarter of a century that Allston was working on this great picture, the treatment of it grew and changed and expanded in his mind. In addition to the innumerable sketches of heads and hands and

drapery and the perspectives of the building that have come down to us, there are three different versions of the complete picture: two on a smaller scale; and the final one on the large scale, forever unfinished and forever unfinishable.

In the first sketch, made in sepia to give him a chance to work out the light and shade, the chiaroscuro, for the larger picture, there were several defects which were later remedied. The seven-branch candlestick, which should have been an important part of the story, was

rather obscurely shown above the throne of Belshazzar. The gold and silver holy vessels, stolen from the Hebrew Temple, were largely concealed by two boys in the foreground who tended to distract the attention. Moreover, behind the back of the Prophet Daniel, a woman was pointing in the opposite direction so that this unfortunately drew one's eye towards a meaningless void.

In the second sketch, which was in color to enable him to work out the color scheme for the bigger canvas, the seven-branch candlestick was made to shine forth clearly and the boys were removed so that the holy vessels could now be seen more fully. The woman's hand was no longer pointing but was hanging by her side. There were still, however, many defects that needed to be remedied. There was still that awkward void between Daniel and the soothsayers. Belshazzar's clothes were too orderly about his throat and neck and his hands too limp. Gilbert Stuart pointed out that whereas Daniel's left hand was pointing towards the supernatural light upon the wall, his right hand was hanging loosely by his side; and accordingly he urged Allston to paint the Prophet's right hand clenched to express more intensity of feeling. He also encouraged Allston to change the perspective in the larger picture — a change which forced Allston, as he said, "to make more than twenty thousand distinct lines in chalk, in circles and segments of circles, in order to bring the whole picture into correct perspective."⁹³

The third and final version was to be that on the large canvas and here Allston tried to remedy all these defects. Into the empty space behind the Prophet, he introduced the figure of a kneeling woman, the one person in all the assemblage who recognizes the greatness of the Prophet and falls to her knees at his feet. Allston attempted to repaint Daniel's right

⁹³ William Ware, *Lectures on the Works and Genius of Washington Allston*, Boston, 1852, p.111.

hand as clenched and represented the garment about King Belshazzar's neck as torn asunder, revealing the tensely drawn muscles of his throat and neck and shoulder. The feeble hands of Belshazzar he half blotted out, and, as studies on separate sheets of paper, made magnificent drawings of both the right and the left hand clutching at the robe on his knees. Indeed all these changes made during the last years of Allston's life show such an improvement, such an increased dramatic sense, and such a mastery of draftsmanship, that we begin to realize the fatal mistake of supposing that Allston's powers were waning.

Why then was the picture never finished? Gilbert Stuart, who died fifteen years before Allston, had prophesied that Belshazzar's Feast would never be completed. But the reason he gave for this was not Allston's indolence or sloth. On the contrary, for Stuart the reason was "the rapid growth of the artist's mind, so that the work of this month or year was felt to be imperfect the next, under the better knowledge of more time, and must be done over again or greatly altered, and therefore would never come to an end."⁹⁴

This perpetually being unsatisfied with what he had done was both Allston's greatness and his undoing.

It is a mistake to suppose that throughout these twenty-six years Allston had been perpetually pottering over this picture. It must be remembered that through changes from one studio to another he had been forced to roll up and then unroll the picture again some

five times. After he had been obliged to leave his large studio in a barn near Fort Hill in Boston and go to a smaller studio, there was not room for him to hang up the picture at all. For thirteen years after that, it lay rolled up and it was only during the last four years of his life that it was unrolled again and stretched across the eastern end of his studio. On December 5, 1839, he wrote to his fellow-artist in South Carolina, Cogdell:

The "King of Babylon" is at last liberated from his imprisonment, and is now holding his court in my painting room ... I feel that in returning to my labors upon it as if I had returned to my proper element . . . I do not now admit even my friends into my room and so nobody can know anything about my picture.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ William Ware, *Lectures on the Works and Genius of Washington Allston*, Boston, 1852, p. 113.

⁹⁵ Washington Allston letter to John S. Cogdell, December 5, 1839.

Each day as he finished work upon it, he drew the great curtain across the face of the picture, so that no intruder might penetrate the secret that was there enshrined.

Back in 1827 Allston had signed a complicated Tri-Partite Indenture with some wealthy Boston gentlemen, for whom the picture was being painted. Under the weight of this obligation, the picture became a sort of nightmare. The finishing of it was a Herculean task and the canvas was a sort of Nessus shirt, like that in which Hercules became enmeshed.

As Allston in the remaining years of his life entered his studio in Cambridgeport day after day, his great unfinished picture there became for him a sort of "Handwriting on the Wall." He felt that he was himself being weighed in the balances and found wanting.

Shortly before the end came he said to his wife's sister: "I am growing old and losing my physical powers. I am ready to go. I only ask time and strength to finish 'Belshazzar.'" ⁹⁶

On July 4, 1843, just five days before his death, Allston wrote what was probably his last letter. This was to the widow of his old friend William Ellery Channing:

I have been troubled of late by a wearing, dull pain in my side. Occasionally it becomes very acute, so much indeed, as to force me, while painting, to suspend my labors until the paroxysm has passed

Speaking of Belshazzar's Feast, he said that he could undertake no other pictures "until relieved of this burden," and added: "Once freed of this importunate, heavy load, I shall be, I trust, another man."⁹⁷ Five days later he was at last "freed" from this intolerable burden — but it was only by his death.

THE BREAKING OF THE SEAL

On Saturday, July 8, 1843, just before the night of his death, Washington Allston had worked for many long painful hours on his unfinished picture, suffering from "the apprehension that he should not have the strength to finish what he was about."⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Jared B. Flagg, *The Life and Letters of Washington Allston*, p. 425.

⁹⁷ Washington Allston letter to Mrs. William Ellery Channing, July 4, 1843. Allston was planning to do another portrait of her late husband, but never lived to complete it.

⁹⁸ Moses Foster Sweetser, *Allston*, p. 150.

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He was attempting to enlarge the head of one of the soothsayers in the righthand foreground of Belshazzar's Feast and he had continually to ascend a tall ladder to reach that elevation and then descend from time to time to view from below the effect of what he had painted. The arteries that fed his heart were hardening and the constant climbing up and down the ladder became painful. He wanted to finish as much as possible before the coming of Sunday, his day of rest. The light that July afternoon lingered long and it was after seven o'clock in the evening before he left his studio and crossed the garden to his house.

For, since 1841, Allston had been living in a new house which he had built just across the garden from his studio. This house he had designed for his own simple needs. Emerson said "Mr. Allston would build a very plain house and have very plain furniture, because he would hold out no bribe to any who had not similar tastes to his own — a good ascetic."⁹⁹ "Allston himself wrote to his friend Cogdell in South Carolina:

I have at last, in my old age, got into a house of my own . . . Having the control over the design, the house was constructed not only according to my notions of convenience and comfort, but in some degree to suit my taste. It is in somewhat a different style from our dwelling houses here, and I should not have been surprised if much fault had been found with it by others; but people seem to be generally pleased with it. At any rate it has one great advantage — it is but 50 feet from my present Painting Room.¹⁰⁰

It was in this new house that Allston, with his wife and her sister and niece, spent the last evening of his life. This niece, Miss Charlotte Dana, had posed for the kneeling figure that he had introduced into Belshazzar's Feast. He had become devoted to her as though she were his own daughter and his last words were those which he addressed to her as they sat together by the fireplace. "God bless you, my child. I want you to be perfect."

Between midnight and one o'clock his wife came downstairs. "She found him sitting in his usual place, with his writing apparatus which he had just taken out, near him, his feet on the hearth, and his head resting on the back of the chair."¹⁰¹ He was dead.

⁹⁹ Emerson's *Journal*, June 1, 1835.

¹⁰⁰ Letter to John S. Cogdell, September 26, 1842.

¹⁰¹ Jared B. Flagg, *The Life and Letters of Washington Allston*, p. 330.

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The end had come "with a touch as gentle as the breaking morning light." His wife's brother, the poet Dana, said:

So beautiful an expression as was on his face I never saw on the face of man. Spirits were with his spirit ... So beautiful was the countenance after death, so softened the muscles and rounded and smooth the face, that he looked as he did years back, before disease and distress of mind had so preyed upon him.¹⁰²

They looked upon him as he sat there in the chair from which he had so often delighted his friends in conversation, with wonder and admiration, as though he were a being from another sphere, much as they had looked upon him half a century earlier when he first came to New England from the South and they had regarded him "as belonging to a race somewhere between us and the angels."

A man was then sent from Cambridge to bring the news of Allston's death to his nephew, the younger Richard Henry Dana, who was then living at 43 Chestnut Street on Beacon Hill in Boston. He wrote in his journal:

July 9. Sunday. This morning, at about 2 o'clock, we were waked by a violent & continued ringing of the street doorbell, & a pounding upon the wall ... It was dark & there in the street stood an empty chaise & a man upon the doorstep. "Who's there?" — "We want Mr. Dana to go to Cambridge immediately, — Mr. Allston is dead!"

It went to my heart like a clap of thunder. For the first time in my life I was confused upon an alarm. I could hardly breathe. In time I was dressed and in the street. The night air was very chilly, and the streets were as chill as death . . . We got into the chaise & rode out, with hardly a word spoken . . .

We reached the house. I saw a light in the back parlor, where he always sat, but none up-stairs. Where can he be? Where did he die? . . . I went to the door & just saw his body lying along the rug in front of the fire . . . There he lay . . . Excepting that his neckerchief had been removed, he was dressed as usual, his gray and white curls lay about his forehead and shoulders, and his sublime countenance with closed eyes was turned upward. His candles were burning upon the table, by the side of

¹⁰² Richard Henry Dana ist, letter to S. F. B. Morse, quoted in M. F. Sweetser, *Allston*, p. 152.

them lay his spectacles, the remnant of his last cigar was upon the corner of the mantelpiece . . .

The day was now broken, & there were the first twitterings of birds & the sounds of returning motion to the world. No rising sun was to awaken him from his rest, his spirit was in an eternal day to which no night cometh.

The light being fully returned we could contemplate his sublime countenance. There was the highest grandeur of intellect, with the purity & peacefulness of one in the world, but not of the world ... It was rising, soaring, from one elevation to one higher, & expanding into infinite space . . .

He had escaped that terrible vision, the nightmare, the incubus, the tormentor of his life — his unfinished picture.¹⁰³

On Monday evening Allston's funeral took place. The younger Dana wrote in his journal:

July 10. The funeral services began at half past seven in the evening, being put late that we might have a veil of evening.

The family, Cambridge friends, and a few like Morse who had come from a distance, gathered together as the evening shadows fell, in Allston's new house. From the windows they could look across the garden to the empty vine-covered studio.

After a brief service at the house, the funeral procession made its way toward the setting sun. The full moon, half-hidden in a bank of clouds, was rising behind them in the east. They passed the house on the rising land in the corner of the Harvard Yard where Allston had been married in 1830, and the old Sewall House where he had lived while in college from 1797 to 1800, and so, slowly progressing, came at last to the Old Cambridge Burying Ground between the two churches which, like Sentinel and Nun, kept watch over the dead that lay Between. There in the growing darkness could dimly be seen the tombstones marking the graves of the early settlers of Cambridge and of the Harvard Presidents of two centuries. They came to the large, unmarked, underground vault of the Dana family where Allston was to be buried. The younger Dana continues the story in his journal:

¹⁰³ Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Journal for July 9, 1843.*

When we reached the ground it was half past eight. There were a great many assembled in the Yard about the tomb, and the Sexton stood with his lantern. The moon was struggling through the clouds and making deep shadows from the gravestones and monuments. The whole was a most impressive scene. The coffin was placed at the grave's mouth, the mourners gathered about it, the men stood uncovered, and the solemn service of the church was read ... At the words, "Earth to earth, dust to dust, ashes to ashes," some earth was dropped upon the coffin and sounded fearfully and ominously to our ears ... At the "Amen," the bearers raised the coffin and entered the tomb, and we left the yard. The moon was shining brightly when we reached home.¹⁰⁴

Others have described how Harvard students appeared bearing torches and how the Burial Service was read by the light of lanterns.¹⁰⁵ Still others described how finally the overshadowing clouds opened, "as if to let inhabitants of other spheres contemplate the scene,"¹⁰⁶ and how the moon and stars looked down with their consecrating light, the white moonlight streaming on the statuesque face of the dead master. Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote:

Mr. Allston was buried the night of the full moon and I know not by what chance the funeral was so belated that when they came to the tomb it was evening & the moon shone full on the white statue.¹⁰⁷

WASHINGTON ALLSTON 1779-1843

On the third day after Allston's death and burial, the three Danas — the poet Richard Henry Dana, with his brother Edmund Trowbridge Dana, and his son Richard Henry Dana, Jr., — unsealed the door of Allston's studio, that living tomb in which the unfinished picture of Belshazzar's Feast was hidden from the eyes of men, and entered the silent

¹⁰⁴ Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Journal for July 10, 1843.*

¹⁰⁵ Moses Foster Sweetser, *Allston*, p. 155.

¹⁰⁶ Jared B. Flagg, *The Life and Letters of Washington Allston*, p. 333.

¹⁰⁷ Emerson letter of July 21, 1843 to his brother William Emerson.

sanctuary. There the journal of the younger Dana takes up the story as follows:

July 12, 1843. At 4 P.M. we assembled to enter the painting room & "break the seal" of the great picture. An awe had been upon my mind as though I were about to enter a sacred & mysterious place. I could hardly bring my mind to turn the key. We tried to prepare for the worst, so that nothing could disappoint us. But to enter this solemn place, so long & so lately filled with his presence & the home of his glorious thoughts & his painful emotions, the scene of his distresses which no human eye saw, & no human spirits can comprehend!

I turned the key & opened the outer door . . . There before us was spread out the great sheet of painted canvass — but dimmed, almost obscured by dust & marks & lines of chalk. The eye ran across the picture for the main figures. Daniel stood erect. The queen was there. But where the king should have been, where Daniel's eyes were fixed, was a shroud, a thickly painted coat, effectually blotting out the whole figure. We stood for some minutes in silence . . . Father looked at it and said, "That is his shroud". It was indeed a most solemn tragedy that this revealed. We felt that this had killed him. Over this, he had worn out his enfeebled frame & his paralyzed spirit, until he had sunk underneath it. The agonies he had endured here, no tongue can tell . . . The steps upon which he painted were placed so as to bring him against the face of the magician, and by looking carefully we saw marks of fresh paint recently laid on upon the face of the magician nearest Daniel. There then had been his last work. To the latest moment he had labored upon his great work. He had almost died with his pencil upon it.¹⁰⁸

"THE QUINCE IN THE DRAWER"

When the news of Allston's death spread abroad, America and England and Europe united to do him honor.

In this country, Emerson wrote: "A little sunshine of his own has this man of Beauty made in the American forest."¹⁰⁹ In England, the Poet Laureate, Wordsworth, wrote: "He stood, in my estimation, much above any artist of his day."¹¹⁰ In Italy, artists spoke of Allston as the "American Titian."¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Richard Henry Dana, Jr., *Journal for July 12, 1843*.

¹⁰⁹ Emerson letter of July n, 1843, to Margaret Fuller.

¹¹⁰ William Wordsworth letter of October 3, 1843, to Richard Henry Dana ist. in Moses Foster Sweetser, *Allston*, p. 50.

Little by little, however, with the coming of the second half of the nineteenth century, as realism took the place of romanticism and science in America took the place of art, the glory of Allston's fame began to fade. His reputation passed through a century of dispraise until

at last, with the revival of interest in early American romantic art, came a revival of an interest in Allston, who was no longer looked upon as the last and least of the old masters, but as one who in many ways anticipated many movements in modern art.

For many years a mystery seemed to hang about that ivy-covered studio in Cambridgeport. It was like a haunted chamber of which men spoke with awe. "The children of the vicinity had many a ghostly theory about this lone studio in New England."¹¹² On December 30, 1855, one of Allston's friends, William Wetmore Story, wrote of Allston: "I look at his studio, whenever I pass, with a heart pang. It is a terrible ghost — all is in fact ghost-like here."¹¹³

Little by little, like Allston's own fame, the building itself began to disintegrate like the baseless fabric of a vision and leave not a rack behind.

Nonetheless for those who knew the story and had hearts to remember, the charm and melancholy of Allston still seemed to haunt the neighborhood. On October 26, 1860, Longfellow wrote:

One man may sweeten a whole town. I never pass through Cambridgeport without thinking of Allston. His memory is the quince in the drawer and perfumes the atmosphere.

¹¹² Moses Foster Sweetser, *Allston*, p. 133.

¹¹³ Letter to James Russell Lowell, December 30, 1855.

AN EXCOMMUNICATION IN HARVARD SQUARE

BY WILLARD REED

Read April 27, 1943

IT is incumbent on me to say, at the outset, that my title, "An Excommunication in Harvard Square" is inexact. The fact is, that when I looked into the occurrence in 1809 that first attracted my attention I found there was a similar action in 1814, and that there had been in 1805 an incident of church discipline based on the same principle. Therefore the three cases may properly be considered together under the same title. Those of you who have read the Rev. Mr. Paige's "History of Cambridge," published in 1875, will easily transport yourselves to the Cambridge of this first decade of the nineteenth century. But it may be worth while to recall to you that settlement really stopped at that time at Quincy and Bow Streets. Beyond that you soon came to the big farm of Chief Justice Dana and could look off to Boston over land included in only about four more farms. It was all marsh, or swamp, or pasture, or woodland.

Even the settlement in the vicinity of Harvard Square was far more open than we are likely to conceive of it. The Common ran to Linnaean Street. Brattle Street stopped at Fayerweather Street, and the John Vassall house which Andrew Craigie bought in 1791 had a "house lot" of some hundred and forty acres, all acquired for little more than fifteen thousand dollars. Its land ran to the river, since Mt. Auburn Street was not laid out till

1808. The town had recently suffered the loss of three-quarters of its territory and half its population by the cutting off in 1807 of the Parishes of West Cambridge and Brighton.

In this town the only predominant, pervasive organization was the First Parish Church. It was the only church, for no other sect was organized till 1817, when the Baptists started, the next year the Methodists, and four years later the Universalists. Christ Church had been built, to be sure, in 1760, but at the time with which we are concerned all Episco-

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palian churches were in eclipse, for two reasons: in the first place, everything connected with England was anathema after the Revolution started. King's Chapel, for example, for a generation had to be referred to as "Stone Chapel." Furthermore, a large part of the members of Episcopalian churches had left as Tories with Howe for Halifax.

The First Parish was housed in its fourth building, then still used as the Town House and Court House of Cambridge, on the site later occupied by Dane Hall, the Law School, and now by Lehman Hall, the college business office. In that fourth building Washington had often worshipped, the Massachusetts state government had been adopted, and the United States Constitution had been ratified in 1788. It was the only large auditorium, holding about five hundred.

For our present purpose, indeed for all purposes, it is essential to increase our realization of the prestige of this organization. The Parish, as throughout New England, included theoretically all people within its boundaries. But in Cambridge the connection with the College, so close as to approach identification, added so much to its influence as to make it probably the outstanding example about 1800 of the power of the Puritan hierarchy, then at its zenith.

The history of the church showed a succession of vigorous ministers, though, curiously enough they had all, with one exception, died young. The first minister, Hooker, had a short term, because he soon led the migration of a large part of the church to Connecticut. Thomas Shepard was the first permanent influence, and he converted the man who was to be his successor, Mr. Mitchel, a strong enough man to lead in the dismissal of President Dunster for his heretical rejection of the dogma of Infant Baptism. In addition to this evidence of the connection of College and Parish is the fact that President Chauncy served as minister for some three years and the Rev. Mr. Oakes was Acting President, and later President, of the College.

The only long ministry was that of Mr. Appleton from 1717 to 1784. This of course covered the stirring times of the Revolution and the organization of the Massachusetts government, but his temperament was that of a tranquil man, and his ministry was calm, though he did join the College in a vigorous "No" when Whitefield applied for permission to speak in Cambridge.

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His successor was again a man whose ministry was cut off by untimely death, Rev. Timothy Hilliard, from Kensington, N. H.

The next succeeding minister was the one in whose time the incidents that we are to consider occurred, — Rev. Abiel Holmes, usually referred to as the father of Oliver Wendell Holmes, but decidedly a person of interest in his own right. He was called to the church in 1792 and remained in the same organization until 1829 and in the organization that was separated, — the Shepard Memorial Church, — until his death in 1837. It might be said that he was ousted in 1829 because he was a Yale man. By this I imply no petty prejudice in Harvard circles, but I am referring to the fact that he grew up in the stiffest kind of Connecticut theology which developed Calvinism to the extreme in the eighteenth century. He married the daughter of Ezra Stiles, the most prominent minister in Connecticut, and President of Yale College through the Revolution. His beginnings of literary work concerned his father-in-law, for he wrote "The Life of Doctor Stiles" in two volumes, and was led on from that to his "History of America from 1492" which came out in 1804 and in a later edition in 1829. He is spoken of affectionately by his son "The Autocrat" as distinguished by beauty and charm, but he proved himself on many occasions a very stout party.

He called himself "a moderate Calvinist," and he was certainly not as extreme as his Yale classmate, Rev. Jedediah Morse who in 1805 sued the Harvard Corporation for breach of trust when they appointed as Bussey Professor Henry Ware, alleged to be an Arian. But Holmes was of the school of Hopkinsian divinity, the culmination of Jonathan Edwards' powerful exposition of Calvinism. Their argument ran: "Are you willing to be damned for the glory of God? If so, then you are of the elect." But they added the shrewd proviso: "If you are willing to be damned for the purpose of being among the elect, then you are damned."

There are some figures that must come before us a little before we recount the incidents of excommunication, particularly the figure of William Hilliard. He was a son of the minister who preceded Abiel Holmes, and was an important man all his life as a printer and publisher, the first to use the term "University Press," and a member of firms in Boston that ultimately developed the house of Little Brown and several other publishing establishments. He came to Cambridge in 1800, was married there in 1802 to his cousin, Sarah Hilliard, from Kensington, N. H., and was

chosen deacon in the First Parish in 1804. He was inclined to decline the office because he was so young, but the choice was by fourteen out of fifteen votes, and he did enter upon his duties and continued to the end of his life in 1836. He built, in 1809, the large brick house still standing on the corner of Brattle and Hilliard Streets, notable later as the home of Hon. Joseph Story. He was conspicuous in the town affairs, was in the General Court for ten years, selectman thirteen years, and town clerk, assessor and treasurer for shorter terms. These services came in the years 1806 to 1834. He supported Abiel Holmes at the time of the division when the church wanted him to stay on account of his opposition to the development of Unitarian theology but the parish, the legal voters, dismissed him by a vote of thirteen to two, overwhelming and yet rather small in actual practice. Later, however, William Hilliard had dissatisfaction with Abiel Holmes and led opposition to him in the Shepard Memorial Church. He was very active in the stirring petition to improve the

Common in 1830, out of which developed incidentally the shift of center to the Cambridgeport region.

This was because the controversy raged so heatedly that "some members of the parish expressed a natural unwillingness to have their house of worship used for the transaction of secular business, and especially for the indulgence and expression of angry passions." Hence the new court house in Cambridgeport with a large auditorium became the center of the town business.

In 1852 Hilliard Street was named for this prominent Cambridge man. In the '40's it had been called "Woodbine Lane" and before that Appian Way was a name that ran through down to Mount Auburn Street.

Another prominent person of this period was Andrew Craigie, who had been the first Apothecary General of the United States in the Revolution and had developed a remarkable fondness for an adventurous life, particularly in finance. He was an early American plunger. He and his wife both had Nantucket origins, and had unfortunately some embarrassing tangles with earlier love affairs, causing "marital infelicities." He had a hectic life, although a brilliant one, in Cambridge where they settled in 1791 in the Vassall House,—which had been Washington's headquarters.

Craigie opened the Canal Bridge as one of his financial adventures in

rivalry with the already established West Boston Bridge. By getting hold of most of the real estate that was affected by this bridge he did acquire considerable property, but he never was in an assured financial condition even at his death in 1819. His widow continued to live on in the Craigie House, as it was now called, until her death in 1841, taking "paying guests," the last of whom was the young Professor Longfellow, who afterwards bought the house.

The other large house, possibly visible then across open country, was that of Elbridge Gerry, Governor of Massachusetts 1810 to 1812, and Vice-President of the United States from 1813 to his death in 1814. It was later the birthplace and home of James Russell Lowell. Some light is thrown on this group of people from the letters of Susannah Hill that were printed in the proceedings of your society some thirty years ago in a paper by Mrs. Gozzaldi. It will be worth while to give some of the references to the Hilliards in these letters to provide a setting for the incident that is most important for our consideration: —

"Deacon Hilliard has had a ball at his house, all the young people of the town there." . . . "We yesterday drank tea with Mrs. Deacon Hilliard." . . . "Your sister Judith spent a day with Mrs. Hilliard." . . . "Mrs. Hill saw Mrs. Gerry at Mrs. Hilliard's." . . . "Was at Mrs. Foster's party, Deacon Hilliard and Mrs. Hilliard there." . . . "Mrs. Hilliard has a very lame hand, an old complaint she will never get rid of." . . . "Deacon Hilliard is building a house." (1809) . . . "Mrs. Hill was at the Hilliards' Monday, a Russian who is now here at Harvard College and knows some medicine says he can cure her hand." . . . "Professor Peck is forty-two years old, married Harriet Hill who is twenty-three." (1810) . . . "Deacon Hilliard has gone to Canada, poor man, he meets with his afflictions." (1810) . . . "Mrs. Hilliard is living with him in their new house, how long that will last I do not know." . . . "Deacon Hilliard's wife (1813

October 11) has reformed and has desired to be admitted into fellowship with the church again. Most of the Ladies in town have called on her and everything is forgotten, some think it is too good to last." . . . "Sarah L. Hilliard is in the Cambridge Female Humane Society just started." (The ancestor of the Paine Fund.)

With this setting let us now have an account of the three incidents

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that exemplify the predominant position of this church in the community in the opening years of the nineteenth century: —

The first was a case of discipline on moral grounds in 1805 on January 4 when a member of the church, having been guilty of sin and having been repeatedly conversed with by the Pastor and admonished, having also uniformly expressed penitence for the offence, was at length encouraged to offer a confession to the Church. The following confession was accordingly presented at a meeting called primarily to elect a Deacon, and was voted to be satisfactory: —

"I desire with shame and deep humiliation to confess before God, that I have not guarded as I ought against indulgence, but have violated the laws of Christian purity, and have given just cause of offence to the Church of which I am a member, as well as exposed myself to the displeasure of a holy God. Truly sensible, as I trust, of my folly and sin, I humbly ask forgiveness of my Maker, and intreat you to restore me to your charity and fellowship and ask your prayers for me that I may be saved from sin in future and enabled by God's grace to adorn the doctrine of my Saviour."

The second and by far the most important case in detail was the excommunication of Sarah L. Hilliard, wife of Deacon William Hilliard, which took up the attention of the church from July 1808 to November 1809 and, in fact, had its repercussion in November 1813. A transcript of the records of this extraordinary case follows: —

1808 — July 10:

At a meeting of the Church, called by the Pastor, (Abiel Holmes) a letter from Sarah L. Hilliard was read, requesting the Church "to dismiss Mr. Hilliard from the office of a deacon." Whereupon, voted, that a committee of five brethren be appointed to confer with Mrs. Hilliard for the purpose of ascertaining the grounds and reasons of her request, and make report to the Church. voted, that brothers Caleb Gannett, John Mellen, Levi Hedge, and deacons Walton and Moore, be said committee.

Adjourned.

July 26:

Met according to adjournment— 18 present. The committee appointed to confer with Mrs. Hilliard made a report, which concluded thus: "Considering the nature of the request, as tend-

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ing to diminish respect for an important office, as affecting the interest and order of the Church and the honor of our holy Religion, the Committee are unanimously of the opinion, that no reasons have been offered by the applicant that would justify the Church in complying with her request."

Voted, unanimously, that the petition of Mrs. Hilliard be dismissed. Also, voted, unanimously, that the Pastor be requested to advise Sarah L. Hilliard of the improper dispositions discovered in her petition, and of its disorderly tendency; and to admonish her to cultivate a more Christian temper hereafter.

Meeting dissolved.

1808 — Nov. 4th

At a meeting of the Church, duly notified (12 members present) the Pastor stated, that he had not been able to give advice and admonition to Sarah L. Hilliard, conformably to the vote of the Church at its last meeting, on account of her peremptory refusal to see him when he called at Deacon Hilliard's house, although she was made duly acquainted with the special design of his visit, and warned that, if she persisted in such refusal, it would be at her peril.

Whereupon voted, That, in consideration of the contemptuous manner in which Sarah L. Hilliard has treated the Pastor and Church, in refusing to receive a pastoral admonition, in conformity to a vote of the church; also, in consideration of her general contumacious behavior since the presentment of her petition; she be suspended from the privilege of communion with the church.

Voted, that the Pastor be requested to communicate the transactions of the Church at this meeting to Sarah L. Hilliard.

Voted, that this meeting be adjourned to the Friday immediately preceding the first Lord's day in May next; unless it should appear expedient to call a meeting previous to that time. Adjourned.

1809 — May 5th:

The Church met according to adjournment.

The transactions of the Church relative to Sarah L. Hilliard were read. The Pastor then stated, that, being unable to obtain an interview with Mrs. Hilliard, he communicated the transactions of the Church of November 4th to her in writing the next day, November 5th, since which time he had neither seen her nor received any communication from her.

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Voted, that the further procedure of the Church in the case of Mrs. Hilliard, be postponed until the next Lecture day; and that this meeting be adjourned until that time.*

1809 — June 30:

The Church met according to adjournment. The number of members present being small, it was

Voted, to adjourn this meeting to the day of the Lecture preceding the communion in November.

Adjourned.

1809 — Nov. 3rd:

The church met according to adjournment, (11 present) The transactions of the church relative to Sarah L. Hilliard were read. The Pastor then stated, that he had given her written notice that the Church have it in contemplation to proceed to a still higher act of censure, and that he had required her attendance at this time and place, that she might have an opportunity to express her repentance, or to offer any reasons against such procedure of the Church; but that she returned the letter of notice with signs of contempt and defiance. Whereupon, after serious deliberation, the following Vote passed unanimously:

Whereas Sarah L. Hilliard in July 1808 requested the Church to dismiss her husband from the office of deacon, without offering any satisfactory reason for so extraordinary a request, which was considered by the Church as "tending to diminish respect for an important office, affecting the interest and order of the church, and the honor of our holy religion;" and whereas, in consideration of the contemptuous manner in which the said Sarah L. Hilliard treated the Pastor and the Church, in refusing to receive a pastoral admonition, in conformity to a vote of the Church, also, in consideration of her general contumacious behavior after the presentment of her petition, she was in November 1808 suspended from the privilege of communion with the Church; and whereas, after all the endeavors of the Church to bring her to a sense of her sin and folly, and to recover her again to repentance, she has given no evidence of contrition, but, on the contrary, together with her refusal to hear the Church, has given additional and increasing proofs of obduracy, and of an impious contempt of the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, and of the discipline of the Church:

** The Lecture Day was a meeting-day of the church on some weekday, oftenest Thursday. There was no exact time for its occurrence, but it was usually preparatory to some church ceremony.*

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Voted, That Sarah L. Hilliard be excommunicated.

Voted, That the Pastor be requested to pronounce the sentence of excommunication in presence of the Church, after the communion service on the next Lord's day.

1809 — Nov. 5th:

Lord's day. After communion service, the Pastor gave a brief account of the case of Sarah L. Hilliard and stated the obligations of ministers to endeavor to preserve the purity of the church:

Therefore thus saith the Lord. If thou return, then will I bring thee again that thou mayest stand before me; and if thou take forth the precious from the vile, thou shalt be as my mouth; they shall return unto thee, but thou shalt not return unto them. — Jeremiah XV, 19

And they (the Levites) shall teach my people the difference between the holy and the common, and cause them to discern between the unclean and the clean. — Ezekiel XLIV, 23

He then showed the treatment required in case of an offence in the church —

And if thy brother sin against thee, go, show him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee thou hast gained thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two more, that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every word may be established. And if he refuse to hear them, tell it unto the church: and if he refuse to hear the church also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican.

18 Verily I say unto you, "what things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and what things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.

19 Again I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven. — Matthew XVIII, 15-19

He observed: From this and other passages of the New Testament it appears that, after admonitions and rebukes, if the offender appears incorrigible, he is to be cast out of the Society, and avoided as a person with whom to have any intercourse, except in the offices of humanity, would be dangerous. It is accordingly stated in the Platform of our Churches that "while the offender remains excommunicate the church is to refrain from all member-like communion with him in spiritual things, further than the necessity of natural or domestic or civil relations do require; and are therefore to forbear to eat and drink with him, that he may be ashamed."

He then recited the transactions of the Church at its last meeting on

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the case of Mrs. Hilliard, as recorded under date of Nov. 3rd; and appealed to the Church for a confirmation of the vote of Excommunication, which was now signified (as it was in the first instance) by a silent vote. He accordingly pronounced, with pathos and solemnity, the following sentence of EXCOMMUNICATION:

In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the divine head of the Church, I declare Sarah L. Hilliard to be excluded from the Church of Christ, and cut off from the privileges of those who are steadfast in the covenant. I declare her to have broken the vows of God, which were upon her, and her sacred promises to his covenant people, and to be unworthy of Christian society and fellowship. I pronounce her to be a person from whom the followers of Christ are to withdraw, as from one who walketh disorderly. What is bound in the church on earth, according to the Gospel, will be bound in heaven. The sentence now passed is but a representation of a sentence inconceivably more awful, to be passed on the transgressor at the judgment seat of Christ, unless it be prevented by a seasonable repentance. That it

may be thus prevented, may God who hath the residue of the Spirit, of his infinite mercy grant, through Jesus Christ.

Amen.

A prayer was then made, adapted to the affecting occasion; and the usual benediction closed the solemnity.

Four years later:

1813 —Nov. 5th:

At a meeting of the brethren of the Church a confession in writing, signed by Sarah L. Hilliard, having been communicated, the following Vote was passed unanimously:

"Whereas the members of the Church were, for reasons apparent in their Records, reduced to the sorrowful necessity of passing a vote of excommunication against Mrs. Sarah L. Hilliard, which was solemnly declared by the Rev. Pastor Nov. 5th, 1809; and whereas the said Sarah L. Hilliard has since given satisfactory evidence of her contrition and repentance, and expressed her earnest desire of forgiveness and re-admission to our communion, as declared in her Confession this day communicated.

Voted, That the said Sarah L. Hilliard be and hereby is restored to the fellowship and privileges of the Church." The Pastor then solemnly declared her restoration to the fellowship

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and privileges of the Church, and exhorted the members to conduct [themselves] toward her accordingly.

There seems to be no evidence throwing light on the cause of Mrs. Hilliard's action, but a medical authority who has recently considered the case thinks it probable that the lady was afflicted with a psychosis temporarily. She appears to have carried on a normal life thereafter to her death in 1848, surviving her husband by twelve years.

The first and second instances of church authority to exercise its power over morals and insubordination were thus successful. But the third instance, that dealt with heresy, had an inconclusive result; the church took action, but did not succeed in enforcing its decision of excommunication.

This action was directed against George Bethune English, a graduate of Harvard of the class of 1807. If you were to look him up in the Dictionary of American Biography, you would think you had picked up a volume of Oppenheim by mistake. "Writer, soldier (in Algiers and Abyssinia) diplomat (chiefly in Turkey) marvellous linguist, protege of John Quincy Adams, served in the Marines in Algiers, went to Alexandria, turned Mohammedan, joined the Pasha in an expedition to Abyssinia, passed as a Turk in secret trade-negotiations in Constantinople, back to Washington, where he dealt with a Cherokee delegation in their own language, was charged with certain irregularities (he had always been in financial difficulties) lost the confidence of Adams, and finally died, at the early age of fifty-one."

What a life! Hardly a justification of James Russell Lowell's later remark that "Cambridge is a place where emotions are unrecognized and events never occur."

The occasion for action of the church against English was his publication entitled, "The Grounds of Christianity examined by comparing the New Testament with the Old." This publication was not based on the increasingly left wing theological heresies of the time. It was subversive of the whole Christian religion and so drew a broadside not only from Edward Everett but also from the leading liberal, William Ellery Channing. The steps of procedure in the action appear on the church records as follows:

1814 —Jan. 16.

A letter of the Pastor to brother Geo. B. English, and his answer, having been communicated to the Church, it was

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Voted, that brethren Professor Ware [Henry Ware, Sr.] Caleb Gannett, Professors Willard and Hedge, with the Pastor, be a Committee to confer with brother English on his recent Publication entitled, "The Grounds of Christianity, examined by comparing the New Testament with the Old," and to ascertain, whether he adheres to the sentiments advanced in that publication, or whether he is disposed to reconsider or retract them; and to report to the Church a suitable form of procedure.

1814 — July 1.

At a meeting of the Church the Committee appointed to confer with George Bethune English, respecting his recent Publication, made report: [summarized]

The committee interviewed Mr. English. He received them with civility and respect, but did not retract his opinions. He allowed his views to be a renunciation of Christianity, and incompatible with his continued relation to this church. The only concession he made was, that he did not justify some contumelious expressions that he had used.

The committee stated to brother English the peculiar aggravation of his offense — that while connected with the Church of Christ and under bonds of voluntary covenant, he had devoted his talents to subverting Christianity and bringing the Church into contempt. "They also faithfully and tenderly declared to him the serious offense taken at his conduct by the members of the church, their solicitude for his recovery to their charity, and the serious consequences of his opposition." At the end, the Committee asked if he would consider further and confer with them. He readily agreed. Although several months later he was still here no call or communication came from him. The Pastor went to his father's home in Brighton to get him. He had gone to Virginia, leaving no word. The Committee hold he voluntarily separated from the Church, but still remained subject to its discipline. Therefore the honor and interests of religion render further procedure expedient, and they ask the Church to decide upon a course. After some discussion, it was

Voted, That the further consideration of the Report be postponed until the Friday preceding the first Lord's Day in November; and that the Committee be requested to resume their communication with Mr. English and ascertain whether he has any communication to make to this Church.

1814 —Nov. 4.

The Committee having at a previous communication of this Report (at a meeting of the Church July 1st) been requested to resume their communication with Mr. English, further communicated the copy of a letter from the Pastor to him dated 25 July to which no answer had been received. After a deliberate and serious discussion, it was Voted, that the Report be accepted. The question referred, at the close of the Report, to the consideration and decision of the Church, was then put, and passed in the affirmative. The following Vote of excommunication was then passed: Whereas George Bethune English, by a recent publication, entitled "The Grounds of Christianity examined by comparing the New Testament with the Old" has publicly and opprobriously assailed our holy religion, not less to the scandal of the Christian community, than to the grief and scandal of this church; and whereas by this conduct he has violated his own solemn covenant engagements, renounced his Christian profession, scandalized the Christian name, and proved himself to be, not merely an apostate from the Christian church, but an enemy to the Christian religion. And whereas the faithful endeavors of the church to reclaim him have proved ineffectual:

Voted that George Bethune English be excommunicated.

So Mr. English was excommunicated. But the enforcement was another matter. After going to Virginia he went to Ohio, edited a paper for a while, and joined a Communistic movement on the order of the later Brook Farm. Soon he was off to the Mediterranean, and after he joined Islam it was probably beyond the ability of the best legal talent of Massachusetts to serve a writ of excommunication on a Mohammedan.

Now these three incidents involving the power of the Calvinistic hierarchy may be dismissed as historical curiosities, yet they raise some fundamental questions, ecclesiastical and theological, that can hardly be discussed here, but your President, Judge Walcott, assures me that it is relevant to propound them for your reflection.

First, what is a Church, in its relation to its members who are under censure? Has it responsibility to the community to discipline them? There is need of such action in some cases. A Federal Secret Service agent, long active in Chicago against the Capone gang, has stated that four of the very pernicious bondsmen who bailed out criminals were

deacons in Chicago churches. That implies no self-respecting form of organized Christianity.

Next, how far can the terrifying text, "whatsoever things ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven" be entrusted to the decision of fallible men? There is no evidence that Abiel Holmes felt himself a tyrant when the words were applied to Sarah Hilliard, but he felt a solemn responsibility, one that few ministers of today would care to assume.

Again, how well organized is a church to conduct such actions? These meetings were all small, and decisions were reached by a few, with results that affected human lives. We are inclined to leave serious cases to the law, and to let others alone. But the three incidents do

leave us wondering whether we have not lost something wholesome in the care for the moral fiber of society.

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ANNUAL REPORTS

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY

FOR THE YEAR 1942

DURING THE YEAR the Society has held four regular meetings. For the Annual Meeting, held in the Brattle House on January 23d, the hostesses were Miss Mary E. Batchelder, Miss Frances Fowler, Mrs. Arthur B. Nichols, and Mrs. C. H. C. Wright. Mr. Arthur B. Nichols read a paper on Thomas Fuller and his descendants. At the Spring Meeting, April 28th, the members were entertained by Mr. and Mrs. J. T. G. Nichols; Mr. Roger Gilman and Dr. Samuel A. Eliot read papers on "Cambridge Pioneers of the Oregon Trail." At the Garden Party, which was held on June 2nd at the home of Mrs. Arthur L. Jackson, Mr. H. W. L. Dana read a paper entitled "When Dickens Came to Cambridge in 1842." The hostesses for the Autumn Meeting, held in the Parish House of the First Parish Church on October 27th, were Miss Marion Abbot, Mrs. Frank B. Hawley, Mrs. Frank B. Sanborn, and Mrs. Henry J. Winslow; Miss Lois Lilley Howe read a paper on the history of the Book Club, written by the late Dr. Francis G. Peabody, but with additions of her own that brought the account up to date.

The Society is deeply indebted to these various members who have so generously contributed to the success of the year's activities. Since our last Annual Meeting we have lost through death the following members: Dr. Worthington C. Ford; Mrs. Edward Burlingame Hill; Professor Kenneth Grant Tremayne Webster; President Abbott Lawrence Lowell; our beloved Vice-President, Professor Joseph Henry Beale; and our only honorary member, Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup of England. We regret the resignation of Mr. and Mrs. Donald H. Menzel, Mr.

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and Mrs. Bruce Lancaster, Mrs. George W. Cram, Mr. Eric Schroeder, Rev. Francis B. Sayre, Mr. E. Raymond Ellis, and Mr. and Mrs. Paul R. Corcoran.

We have welcomed to membership Mrs. James Lowell Moore, Mrs. Ingersoll Bowditch, Miss Bernice M. Cannon, Miss Constance Williston, Mrs. Charles Walcott, Mr. and Mrs. Bernard DeVoto, Mr. and Mrs. Walter D. Edmonds, Miss Harriet Peet, Miss Gertrude Peet, Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Peirce Ellis, Mrs. Richard M. Gummere, Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hopkinson, Mr. Alvin Clark Eastman, and Mr. Francis E. Frothingham.

The Council has held seven meetings. At the meeting of October 9th, the Council regretfully accepted the resignation of Professor Eldon R. James, who has gone to Washington to engage in war work. Few members of our Society can adequately realize how much we owe to Mr. James for the accuracy and neatness with which he kept our records and for the promptness and genial good humor with which he attended to the many other duties of the Secretary's office. The Council has considered, and is still considering, the possibility of printing a list of the burials in the Old Burying Ground, this list forming a section of a complete manuscript written by WPA workers. The Council is carrying out the request of the United States Government by selling as scrap the electrotype plates of earlier volumes of Proceedings. We have on hand a good stock of all volumes except 4, 7, and 13. We shall be grateful to any member who will return copies of these three volumes that he may no longer wish to keep. Copies may be sent to the Secretary.

During the year the Society has taken up with the City Manager and with Mr. Marcus Morton, Jr., of the City Council the matter of the unsatisfactory conditions at the Old Burying Ground in Harvard Square and the question of returning the General Knox cannon to its position north of the Civil War monument on the Common. Some slight progress can be reported.

Respectfully submitted,

DAVID T. POTTINGER,

Secretary.

January 26, 1943

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REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR
1942
RECEIPTS— 1942

<i>Cash on Hand.....</i>	<i>427.27\$</i>
<i>Dues and Initiation Fees.....</i>	<i>\$662.00</i>
<i>1943 Dues paid in advance</i>	<i>3.00</i>
<i>Unidentified Dues</i>	<i>6.00</i>
<i>Sale of Proceedings</i>	<i>4.00</i>
<i>Contribution to Map of Burying Ground.....</i>	<i>1.00</i>
<i> Dr. Pratt, his share of cost of Vol. 27</i>	<i>35.75 711.75</i>

\$1,139.02

Printing and Postage\$ 85.81
Court House Work29.27
Clerical Service and Supplies.....65.43
Society's Collections24.00
Cost of Proceedings Vol. 27464.58
***Miscellaneous46.35 \$715.44**
Cash on Hand Dec. 31, 1942423.58

1,139.02

***Chairs \$15.90**
Drafting & Blue Prints Burying Ground 20.45
Safe Deposit Box..... 6.00
Dues Bay State Historical Society..... 4.00
\$46.35

JOHN T. G. NICHOLS,
Treasurer.

Maria Bowen Fund					
<i>Investments</i>	<i>Cost</i>	<i>1/1/42 Book Value</i>	<i>Cash Income Received 1942</i>	<i>12/31/42 Book Value</i>	<i>Account to Which Income was Credited</i>
U. S. Savings Bonds	\$ 5,250.00 (1)	\$ 5,250.00	0	\$ 5,250.00	None
Cambridge Savings Bank	2,241.32	3,150.58	\$ 79.76	3,430.34	Camb. Sav. Bank
Cambridgeport Savings Bank	1,500.00	1,607.44	32.30	1,639.74	Camb'port Sav. Bank
E. Cambridge Savings Bank	1,500.00	1,624.79	32.65	1,657.44	E. Camb. Sav. Bank
50 sh. 1st Nat'l Bank (Boston)	1,868.75 (2)	1,868.75	100.00	1,868.75	Camb. Sav. Bank
5 sh. State St. Tr. Co. (Bos.)	1,295.00 (3)	1,295.00	40.00	1,295.00	Camb. Sav. Bank
5 sh. Merchants Nat'l (Bos.)	1,715.00 (4)	1,715.00	60.00	1,715.00	Camb. Sav. Bank
	<u>\$15,370.07</u>	<u>\$16,511.56</u>	<u>\$344.71</u>	<u>\$16,856.27</u>	

George G. Wright Fund					
	<i>Date a/c opened</i>	<i>Bal. when opened</i>	<i>Bal. 1/1/42</i>	<i>Int. Rec.</i>	<i>Bal. 12/31/42</i>
Cambridge Savings Bank	1/29/38	\$ 200.00	\$ 218.15	\$ 5.48	\$ 223.63
Life Membership Fund					
Cambridge Savings Bank	1/10/34	\$ 760.22	\$ 844.33	\$ 21.23	\$ 865.56
Historic Houses					
Cambridge Savings Bank	5/ 3/40	\$ 2,149.82	\$ 2,231.42	\$ 56.13	\$ 2,287.55
Elizabeth E. Dana Bequest					
Cambridge Trust Company	2/ 7/40	\$ 60.00	\$ 205.72	\$ 3.09	\$ 208.81
		<u>\$3,170.04</u>	<u>\$3,499.62</u>	<u>\$85.93</u>	<u>\$3,585.55</u>

Book Value of all Funds 12/31/42 — \$20,441.82

Total Income — \$430.64

(1) Market Value 12/31/42		Appreciation	\$975.00	
(2) Market Value 12/31/42	\$1,765.60	Appreciation	50.00	\$38.375 per share
(3) Market Value 12/31/42	1,465.00	Appreciation	145.00	\$2.30 per share
(4) Market Value 12/31/42	1,350.00	Appreciation	165.00	\$3.10 per share
			<u>\$715.00</u>	

JOHN T. G. NICHOLS,
Treasurer.

LIST OF MEMBERS

ACTIVE MEMBERS

Marion Stanley Abbot

Annie Elizabeth Allen

Sarah Gushing (Mrs. G. M.) Allen

Mary Almy

Dwight Hayward Andrews

Matilda Wallace (Mrs. D. H.) Andrews

Helen Diman (Mrs. I. W.) Bailey

Florence Besse (Mrs. E.) Ballantine

Elizabeth Chadwick Beale

Joseph Henry Beale

Mabel Anzonella (Mrs. S.) Bell

Stoughton Bell

Annie Whitney (Mrs. J. C.) Bennett

Alexander Harvey Bill

Caroline Eliza Bill

Marion Edgerly (Mrs. A. H.) Bill

Albert Henry Blevins

Beatrice (Mrs. A. H.) Blevins

Mary Frances (Mrs. E. H.) Bright

Jessie Waterman (Mrs. Wm. F.) Brooks

J. Frank Brown

Martha Thacher Brown

Josephine Freeman Bumstead

Bertha Close (Mrs. G. H.) Bunton

George Herbert Bunton

David Eugene Burr

Chilton Richardson Cabot

Miriam Shepard (Mrs. C. R.) Cabot

Bernice Cannon

Carroll Luther Chase

Louise Fletcher (Mrs. C. L.) Chase

Philip P. Chase

Frances Snell (Mrs. H. L.) Clark

Margaret Elizabeth Cogswell

Ada L. Comstock

Kenneth John Conant

Marie Schneider (Mrs. K. J.) Conant

Frank Gaylord Cook

Julian Lowell Coolidge

Theresa Reynolds (Mrs. J. L.) Coolidge

Paul Reid Corcoran

Katharine Driscoll (Mrs. P. R.) Corcoran

J. Linda Come

Bernice Brown (Airs. L. W.) Cronk-hite

Leonard Wolsey Cronkhite

Sally Adams (Mrs. C. F.) Cushman

Bernard DeVoto

Avis MacVicar (Mrs. B) DeVoto

Mary Deane Dexter

Laura Howland Dudley

Frances Hopkinson (Mrs. S. A.) Eliot

Eleanor Sheridan (Mrs. D. E.) Burr

Samuel Atkins Eliot

Benjamin Peirce Ellis

Elizabeth Gardner (Mrs. B. P.) Ellis

Emmons Raymond Ellis, Jr.

William Emerson

Frances White (Mrs. Wm.) Emerson

Pearl Brock Fahrney

Claire (Mrs. P.) Faude

Charles Norman Fay

Allyn Bailey Forbes

Lois Whitney (Mrs. A.B.) Forbes

Edward Waldo Forbes

Frances Fowler

Francis E. Frothingham

Alice Rowland, (Mrs. H. G.) Garrett

Jane Bowler (Mrs. R.) Gilman

Roger Gilman

Josephine Bowman (Mrs. L. C.) Graton

Louis Lawrence Green

Virginia Tanner (Mrs. L. L.) Green

Helen McQuesten (Mrs. P.) Gring

Paul Gring

Christine Robinson (Mrs. R. M.) Gummere

Lois Lilley Howe

Eda Woolson (Mrs. B. S.) Hurlbut

Edward Ingraham

Elsie Powell (Mrs. E.) Ingraham

Pauline Fay (Mrs. A. L.) Jackson

William Alexander Jackson

Dorothy Judd (Mrs. W. A.) Jackson

Eldon Revare James

Phila Smith (Mrs. E. R.) James

Mabel Augusta Jones

Wallace St. Clair Jones

Ethel Robinson (Mrs. W. S.) Jones

Frances Ruml (Mrs. W. K.) Jordan

William Kitchener Jordan

Albert Guy Keith

Edith Seavey (Mrs. A. G.) Keith

Lillian Helen (Mrs. T.) Hadley

Franklin Tweed Hammond

Mabel Macleod (Mrs. F. T.) Hammond

Charles Lane Hanson

Mary Davis (Mrs. F. B.) Hawley

Florence Wilhelmina (Mrs. N.) Heard

John Heard

Nathan Heard

Frank Wilson Cheney Hersey

George Milbank Hersey

Georgiana Ames (Mrs. T. L.) Hinckley

Leslie White Hopkinson

Justine Frances (Mrs. F. S.) Kershaw

Rupert Ballou Lillie

Ethel May MacCleod

George Arthur Macomber

Ella Sewell Slinghuf (Mrs. G. A.)

Edward Francis McClennen

Mary Crane (Mrs. E. F.)

Winnifred Smith (Mrs. M. W.) Mather

Louis Joseph Alexandre Mercier

Keyes DeWitt Metcalf

Elinor Gregory (Mrs. K. D.) Metcalf

Hugh Montgomery, Jr.

Helen Bonney (Mrs. H.) Montgomery

Jane Hancock (Mrs. J. L.) Moore

James Buell Munn

Ruth Crosby Hanford (Mrs. J. B.) Munn

Helen Whiting Munroe

Mary Liscomb (Mrs. H. A.) Neally

	<p><i>Arthur Boylston Nichols</i></p> <p><i>Gertrude Fuller (Mrs A. B.) Nichols</i></p>
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<i>John Taylor Gilman Nichols</i>	<i>Mary Parkman Sayward</i>
<i>Emily Alan Smith (Mrs. J. T. G.) Nichols</i>	<i>Gilbert Campbell Scoggin</i>
<i>Albert Perley Norris</i>	<i>Susan Child (Mrs. G. C.) Scoggin</i>
<i>Grace Wyeth (Mrs. A. P.) Norris</i>	<i>Edgar Viguers Seeler, Jr.</i>
<i>Margaret Norton</i>	<i>Katherine Per Lee (Mrs. E. V.) Seeler</i>
<i>Ada Louise (Mrs. W.) Notestein</i>	<i>Martha Sever</i>
<i>James Atkins Noyes</i>	<i>Joseph Edward Sharkey</i>
<i>Penelope Barker Noyes</i>	<i>Philip Price Sharpies</i>
<i>Mary Woolson (Mrs. J. L.) Paine</i>	<i>Eugenia Jackson (Mrs. P. P.) Sharpies</i>
<i>William Lincoln Payson</i>	<i>Willard Hatch Sprague</i>
<i>Frederica Watson (Mrs. Wm. L.) Payson</i>	<i>Eleanor Morland Gray (Mrs. H. C.) Stetson</i>
<i>William Hesseltine Pear</i>	<i>Horace Paine Stevens</i>
<i>Fanny Carleton (Mrs. Wm. H.) Pear</i>	<i>Emme White (Mrs. H. P.) Stevens</i>
<i>Harriet Emma Peet</i>	<i>Dora Stewart</i>
<i>Leslie Talbot Pennington</i>	<i>Alice Allegra Thorp</i>
<i>Elizabeth Bridge Piper</i>	<i>Mary Wellington (Mrs. K. S.) Usher</i>
<i>Bremer Whidden Pond</i>	<i>Mabel Henderson (Mrs. W.E.) Vandermark</i>
<i>Lucy Kingsley (Mrs. A. K.) Porter</i>	<i>Bertha Hallowell Vaughan</i>
<i>David Thomas Pottinger</i>	<i>Maude Batchelder (Mrs. C. P.) Vosburgh</i>
<i>Mildred Clark (Mrs. D. T.) Pottinger</i>	<i>Martha Eustis (Mrs. C.) Walcott</i>
<i>Roscoe Pound</i>	<i>Robert Walcott</i>

<i>Lucy Berry (Mrs. R.) Pound</i>	<i>Mary Richardson (Mrs. R.) Walcott</i>
<i>Alice Edmands Putnam</i>	<i>Grace Reed (Mrs. J. H.) Walden</i>
<i>Harry Seaton Rand</i>	<i>Frank De Witt Washburn</i>
<i>Mabel Mawhinney (Mrs. H. S.) Rand</i>	<i>Olive Ely Allen (Mrs. F. D.) Washburn</i>
<i>Harriette Byron Taber (Mrs. F. A.) Richardson</i>	<i>Henry Bradford Washburn</i>
<i>Fred Norris Robinson</i>	<i>Frederica Davis (Mrs. T. R.) Watson</i>
<i>Katharine Wetherill (Mrs. L.) Rogers</i>	<i>Kenneth Grant Tremayne Webster</i>
<i>Clyde Orval Ruggles</i>	<i>William Stewart Whittemore</i>
<i>Frances Holmes (Mrs. C. O.) Ruggles</i>	<i>Alice Babson (Mrs. W. S.) Whittemore</i>
<i>John Cornelius Runkle</i>	<i>Olive Swan (Mrs. J. B.) Williams</i>
<i>Gertrude (Mrs. J. C.) Runkle</i>	<i>Constance Bigelow Williston</i>
<i>Paul Joseph Sachs</i>	<i>Emily Williston</i>
<i>Mary Ware (Mrs. R. deW.) Sampson</i>	
<i>Frank Berry Sanborn</i>	
<i>Grace Cobb (Mrs. F. B.) Sanborn</i>	

Samuel Williston

Cyrus Woodman

Henry Joshua Winslow

Frances Billings (Mrs. C.) Woodman

Grace Davenport (Mrs. H. J.) Winslow

Charles Henry Conrad Wright

Grace Abbot Wood

Elizabeth Woodman (Mrs. C. H. C.) Wright

John William Wood

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Francis Athorp Foster

Nina Fletcher (Mrs. B. K.) Little

Helen Wood (Mrs. W.) Lincoln

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