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PROCEEDINGS

OF

The Cambridge Historical Society

NINETY-SEVENTH MEETING

TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held on Tuesday, January 26, 1932, in the Court Room of Langdell Hall, Harvard Law School, with President Walcott presiding and sixty-eight members present.

The minutes of the last meeting and the Annual Report of the Secretary, including that of the Council, were read and accepted.

The Annual Report of the Treasurer was read, approved by Mr. Cook as Auditor for the Society, and accepted.

The Curator presented his Annual Report, recording accessions of various interesting items connected with Cambridge, some of which were on display after the meeting. The report was accepted.

President Walcott gave out the notice of the Bay State Historical League's winter meeting in Arlington, inviting members of the Cambridge Historical Society to attend.

Professor BEALE then read his informative paper on "The History of Local Government in Cambridge."¹ At its close, Professor Hall asked several questions on the changes in the character of public servants, etc. Mr. Cook asked the opinion of Professor Beale on the most important step toward the improvement of city government; the answer was, "Restore the Common Council."

Professor White, as Chairman, then reported for the Committee on Nominations. It was proposed by Mr. Bailey, and seconded

¹ See pp. 17-28, post.

by Mr. McNair, that the President instruct the Secretary to cast one ballot for the following nominations as presented for

OFFICERS FOR 1932

President --- ROBERT WALCOTT

Vice-Presidents --- MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, STOUGHTON BELL, JOSEPH HENRY BEALE

Secretary --- ELDON REVARE JAMES

Treasurer --- WILLARD HATCH SPRAGUE

Curator --- WALTER BENJAMIN BRIGGS

Editor --- DAVID THOMAS POTTINGER

Council: the above and

PHILIP GREENLEAF CARLETON, FRANK GAYLORD COOK, JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN NICHOLS, JAMES LEONARD PAINE, CAROLYN HUNTINGTON SAUNDERS

The Secretary cast the ballot, and these officers were declared elected.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned. Afterwards the members were shown the outstanding collection of portraits and through the new building of the Law School, under

the direction of Professor James, Librarian of the Law School. Refreshments were served in the Faculty Lobby.

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NINETY-EIGHTH MEETING

UPON THE INVITATION of Mrs. J. G. Thorpe and Mr. H. W. L. Dana, a meeting of the Cambridge Historical Society was held in the Craigie House, 105 Brattle Street, in honor of the two hundredth anniversary of General Washington's birth.

President Walcott presided and introduced Mr. DANA, who read an account of General Washington's occupancy of the Craigie House and also some letters written by the General during his stay there.¹

At the conclusion of Mr. Dana's paper President Walcott spoke briefly with regard to the location of a permanent memorial of General Washington's residence in Cambridge.

Mr. Hollis R. Bailey moved that, "We heartily endorse the proposal of the Cambridge Committee on the Bicentennial of the birth of George Washington that the United States erect a statue to Washington to commemorate his taking command of the Armies of the United Colonies at Cambridge on July 2, 1775, at the site of the Washington Elm or near-by on Cambridge Common, the said statue to be preferably equestrian."

The motion was seconded, and unanimously adopted.

The thanks of the Society were extended to Mrs. Thorpe and to Mr. Dana for their hospitality. Afterwards the company were entertained at tea by Mrs. Thorpe and Mr. Dana.

¹ This paper is to be included in a volume that Mr. Dana is preparing on the history of Craigie House.

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NINETY-NINTH MEETING

THE SPRING MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held on Tuesday, April 26, 1932, at the residence of Mr. and Mrs. Eldon R. James, 114 Brattle Street. There was an attendance of sixtyseven.

In the absence of President Walcott, Vice-President Stoughton Bell presided.

The meeting was called to order at 8:15 o'clock.

The minutes of the Annual Meeting and of the Special Meeting at Craigie House, held on Washington's Birthday, were read and approved.

The Secretary read a letter from Mr. Stephen H. Mahoney, Secretary of the Cambridge Committee for the Observance of the George Washington Bicentennial, the pertinent portions of which are as follows:

"It is the plan of the Massachusetts Commission to dedicate in each of the cities and towns through which Washington traveled on his route to Cambridge, a bronze tablet appropriately marked to designate the Highway. Because of the lack of any municipal appropriation for the purpose, the Cambridge Committee feels that the amount of money necessary for the securing of the tablet (estimated at \$150) can be raised by subscription from several organizations within the city. With this purpose in mind, the Cambridge Committee presents the matter to the Cambridge Historical Society for consideration, with the idea in mind that your Society may see fit to contribute toward this fund."

Mr. Frank G. Cook moved that a donation of \$25.00 be made out of the funds of the Society for the purpose explained in Mr. Mahoney's letter.

The motion was seconded, and unanimously carried.

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Mrs. Vosburgh, a member of the Cambridge Committee for the Observance of the George Washington Bicentennial, explained the plans of the Committee for the dedication of the George Washington Highway. On Mrs. Vosburgh's motion, it was *voted* that a committee of the Cambridge Historical Society be appointed to cooperate with the Cambridge Bicentennial Committee.

The Curator, Mr. Briggs, displayed a number of gifts to the Society.

Professor Hart spoke of a collection of references to Washington's stay in Cambridge which he had gathered, sufficient in amount to make a volume of about one hundred and fifty printed pages, which he hoped might be printed by the Society. He offered to present a bust of General Washington to the Society.

Upon Professor Beale's motion, Professor Hart's suggestion as to printing was referred to the Council with power to act. Professor Hart's offer of the Washington bust was accepted with thanks.

Mr. DAVID T. POTTINGER then read a paper, "John Burgoyne: Politician, Dandy, and Man of Letters."¹

After a vote of thanks to Mr. Pottinger for his interesting paper, the meeting adjourned.

¹ See pp. 29-45, *post*

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ONE HUNDREDTH MEETING

ON JUNE 10th, 1932 the Society were guests of Mrs. Robert de W. Sampson at a Lawn Party at her residence, 108 Brattle Street. There were between eighty and ninety members present.

At 4:30 P.M. the meeting was called to order in the studio of Mrs. Sampson's residence. President Walcott presided.

Miss MARY DEANE DEXTER read two papers on Sparks Street and its former residents. One of the papers was by Miss Maria Bowen, and the other by the late Mrs. Rosalba Smith Proell.¹

After the reading of these delightful papers the Society was entertained at tea by Mrs. Sampson.

With an expression of thanks to Mrs. Sampson for her hospitality, the meeting adjourned.

¹ See pp. 46-57, *post*

ONE HUNDRED AND FIRST MEETING TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held on Tuesday evening, January 17, 1933, at the residence of Mrs. Mary I. Gozzaldi, 96 Brattle Street. There were about one hundred members in attendance.

The meeting was called to order by President Walcott shortly after eight o'clock.

The Secretary read the minutes of the last Annual Meeting, held on January 26, 1932, and of the meeting of June 10, 1932. These minutes, upon motion, were approved.

The Secretary then read the Report of the Council and of the Secretary for the year 1932. Upon motion the report was accepted and ordered filed.

Professor Beale moved that the action of the Council in the matter of the proposed bridge to be built at or near Gerry's Landing in Cambridge and the Charles William Eliot Memorial in connection therewith, be approved.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

The President suggested that two delegates were to be selected to represent the Society at the meeting in Cambridge of the Bay State Historical League on January 28, 1933.

Mr. Briggs moved that the President and Secretary be chosen as delegates of the Society at the meeting of the League.

The motion was seconded and unanimously carried.

Dr. Samuel A. Eliot read the report of the Nominating Committee, nominating the following as officers of the Society for the ensuing year:

Vice-Presidents --- MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, STOUGHTON BELL, JOSEPH H. BEALE

Secretary --- ELDON REVARE JAMES

Treasurer --- WILLARD HATCH SPRAGUE

Editor --- DAVID THOMAS POTTINGER

Curator --- WALTER BENJAMIN BRIGGS

Council: the above and

CAROLYN HUNTINGTON SAUNDERS, PHILIP GREENLEAF CARLETON, FRANK GAYLORD COOK, JAMES LEONARD PAINE, JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN NICHOLS

The President called for further nominations from the floor.

There being none, Dr. Eliot, as temporary Chairman in the place of the President, asked what action the Society desired to take with regard to the report of the Nominating Committee.

Miss Howe moved that the Secretary be directed to cast one ballot for the nominees named by the Committee. The motion was seconded by Mrs. Hall and, upon being put by the temporary chairman, was unanimously carried.

The temporary chairman then declared the members named in the report of the Nominating Committee duly elected to the offices for which they had been nominated.

The Treasurer then read his report and that of the Auditor. Upon motion, these were accepted and ordered filed.

The Curator then read his report, which, upon motion, was accepted and ordered filed.

Mrs. Gozzaldi asked whether anyone could tell her of another chair from the old Faire Grammar School, as Mr. Martin has one and would like to know whether anyone knows of another. There was no answer.

Mrs. Gozzaldi, after a few remarks, stated that she had requested Mr. James to read the paper prepared by her on "The Old Burying Place on Garden Street."^[1]

This delightful paper was listened to with great interest, and the thanks of the Society were extended to Mrs. Gozzaldi not only for the paper but for her charming hospitality.

The meeting adjourned, after which refreshments were served.

¹ Mrs. Gozzaldi's paper is not printed in this volume of the Proceedings because a more detailed account of the Old Burying Ground, written by Miss Elizabeth Farnum, is to be published in the autumn of 1937. This book will list every headstone and footstone still standing in the graveyard. All tombs will also be included. Each grave will bear a number keyed to a blueprint of the cemetery now in the portico of Christ Church. A brief resume of the history of every person buried there will be noted. Only authoritative sources have been used, including the "Vital Records" of Cambridge and all

neighboring towns, Paige's "History of Cambridge," Harris' "Epitaphs," records from every cemetery in Cambridge, Quincy's "History of Harvard University," etc. The epitaphs on each gravestone have been checked for accuracy. This volume was begun in 1934 at the suggestion of the Old Burying Ground Committee, whose members include Hon. Robert Walcott, *Chairman*; Hon. Richard M. Russell; Mrs. Henry D. Tudor; President James B. Conant; Professor Joseph H. Beale; Mr. Allyn B. Forbes; Rev. Leslie T. Pennington; Miss Dora Stewart; Mr. W. Sumner Appleton; Professor Samuel Eliot Morison; Rev. C. Leslie Glenn, *Secretary*; and Professor Morley J. Williams, *Consultant*.

ONE HUNDRED AND SECOND MEETING

THE SPRING MEETING OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY was held on Tuesday evening, April 25, 1933, at the residence of Miss Elizabeth MacFarlane, 33 Reservoir Street. There were about seventy-five members in attendance.

The meeting was called to order shortly after eight o'clock by President Walcott.

After a few announcements by the President and the Secretary, Dr. Albert P. Norris read a paper on "Cambridge Land Holdings Traced from the Proprietors' Records of 1635."¹ This was illustrated with lantern slides of maps, houses, views of Cambridge, and Dr. Norris's maps of early land-holdings.

This important and interesting paper, containing information gathered by Dr. Norris in many years of careful research, was listened to with great appreciation. At its conclusion, a vote of thanks was tendered to Dr. Norris.

The Society also voted its thanks to Miss MacFarlane for her gracious hospitality. The meeting adjourned, after which refreshments were served.

¹ See pp. 58-79. *post*.

ONE HUNDRED AND THIRD MEETING

THE JUNE MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held at the residence of Mrs. Thomas R. Watson, 71 Appleton Street, at 4:30 P.M., on June 8, 1933. In the absence of President Walcott, Professor Beale took the chair.

Mr. Beale called the attention of the Society to the proclamation of His Excellency, the Governor of the Commonwealth, as to Flag Day and Bunker Hill Day; and then mentioned that President Hill's Phi Beta Kappa medal and the medal awarded him for the invention of the occultator, were on exhibition.

Mrs. Coolidge of the Medford Historical Society spoke briefly of Mrs. Vosburgh's interesting account of Penelope Vassall, published in the Medford Historical Society's Bulletin, copies of which were offered for sale.

Mr. William G. Land then read a very interesting paper on Thomas Hill, President of Harvard from 1862 to 1868.¹ Mr. Land's paper was listened to with great attention, and at the conclusion of his address Mr. Beale expressed to him the thanks of the Society.

The thanks of the Society were voted to Mrs. Watson for her hospitality. The meeting then adjourned, after which refreshments were served.

¹This paper was based upon Mr. Land's biography of Thomas Hill, published by the Harvard University Press in 1933.

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ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTH MEETING

THE AUTUMN MEETING OF THE SOCIETY was held at the residence of Professor and Mrs. James R. Jewett, 44 Francis Avenue, on October 17, 1933. President Walcott presided and called the meeting to order at 8:10 o'clock.

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and approved.

The Secretary announced the meeting of the Bay State Historical League with the Cary House Association of Chelsea on Saturday, October 21, 1933, at 2 o'clock.

Rev. Ralph E. Bailey read a paper, written by Mrs. Bailey, "The Distaff Side of the Ministerial Succession in the First Church in Cambridge." [1]

At the conclusion of the paper, President Walcott extended to Mr. and Mrs. Bailey the thanks of the Society.

Mrs. Merritt, the guest of Mrs. William Emerson, exhibited the note-book of Thomas Hooker, containing, among other matters, many sermon outlines.

The President then appointed the following Nominating Committee to report at the annual meeting of the Society in January, 1934: Dean Roscoe Pound, Dean William Emerson, and Professor James R. Jewett, *chairman*.

With an expression of thanks to Professor and Mrs. Jewett for their gracious hospitality, the meeting adjourned.

¹ See pp. 80-96, *post*

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THE HISTORY OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN CAMBRIDGE

BY PROFESSOR JOSEPH H. BEALE

Read January 26, 1932

THE TITLE to the lands from three miles south of the Charles River to three miles north of the Merrimac having been granted by the Plymouth Company to a trading company, "The Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay," the latter sent out a "plantation" to Salem, consisting of a Governor, several Assistants, and a company of planters who joined with a number of persons who had already settled there without authority, to form a compact settlement. It proved difficult to govern this plantation from England, and a large number of substantial Puritans were ready themselves to go out to the Bay. It seemed obvious that some authorized governmental authority, more than the subordinate governing in England of a distant plantation, was needed; and it was finally decided that those intending to emigrate should go together and take the charter with them. Fifteen hundred persons, therefore, set sail almost simultaneously in eleven ships, and reached New England between the tenth of June and the end of July. The principal ship, with the Governor of the Company and the Assistants, first went to Salem; but this not furnishing a satisfactory place for settlement, they went south to what is now Boston Harbor. Some ships had already reached there. Charlestown had formed a settlement in a place where a few squatters already lived; the Governor and his friends went to Boston; other groups settled at Watertown, at Dorchester, at Roxbury, and at Medford. There seems to have been no idea of separate local organizations at first: the whole neighborhood was the single plantation of the Governor and Company of Massachusetts Bay.

Two of these settlements bore the name of "town," Charlestown and Watertown; but this meant no more than a compact

group of houses, a large village. The original meaning of "town," however, was a walled settlement; and a walled settlement the Company wished to provide, a protected capital which should preserve the officers and the records. After search, that part of Cambridge which lies in the bend of the river below Harvard Square was chosen, and arrangements, never fully carried out, were made for a wall. Inhabitants came, few at first, but by 1634 fifty families, of the most prosperous in the colony, were settled here.

During the first year of the settlement, the entire new plantation was governed by the General Court of the Company, and by meetings of the Assistants, held now in one village, now in another. But by 1632 the various settlements, which were more and more taking the name *town*, began to develop local needs and local self-consciousness; and at once began to hold periodic meetings of the inhabitants. In Cambridge the records begin in November, 1632, with an agreement by the Inhabitants with regard to the "palings," the community fences which protected the ploughlands from the pasture-lands; and the next month, on December 24th, 1632, came "an agreement made by general consent for a monthly meeting." A little earlier or later Dorchester, Boston, and the other settlements took similar action. Thus towns came into existence simultaneously and spontaneously in every one of the villages which had been formed by the settlements of the fifteen hundred immigrants of 1630. They had settled close together, generally little more than a mile apart — too small distances for such local organizations of considerable size as existed in other English settlements, for instance, the Virginia plantations; and thus was created a problem of a metropolitan district which is not yet settled.

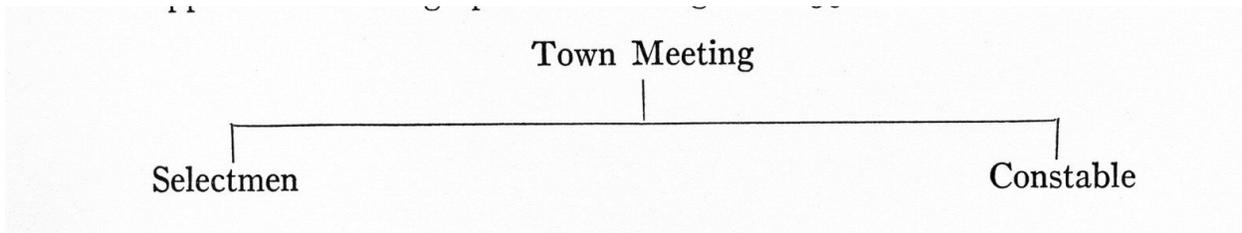
I say this happened spontaneously; a new form of local government was thus developed, full grown within a few months from its inception, which was unknown before. The next step in town government

took place almost at once. About the same time, within little more than two years after the invention of the Town Meeting, the Boston villages invented the Board of Selectmen.

This happened in Cambridge, February 3, 1632, where for a number of years they were called Townsmen; a little earlier in Dorchester, which seems to have invented Selectmen, as it perhaps invented the Town Meeting. But about the same time the town records of Salem begin; and it is rather obvious there that as the plantation became the town, the Governor and Assistants became the Board of Selectmen. The Boston villages may have got the idea of Selectmen from this source. Plymouth colony was a little later in taking both steps. The earliest towns date from 1633, Selectmen not earlier than 1645.

The purest democracy on earth, the New England town, thus seems to have sprung indigenously from the soil; the immediate precursor being the Trading Company, with its General Court and its Court of Assistants. Other theories have been suggested: for instance that of Adams and Channing, that it was the application of the Germanic village self-government to frontier conditions. This is no doubt true in a very general way. But the same inheritance led to the town in New England and to the self-governed plantation, becoming the county, in Virginia. It does not account for the town democracy rather than some other form of local government. The distinctive forms of town government — the town meeting and the selectmen — sprang up in the Bay Colony, influenced, if by anything, by the Company government of the colony of Salem. The officers of Salem were, however, almost all appointed by the Massachusetts Bay Company, and there is no evidence of a general plantation meeting to take action.

The organization of the first towns was extremely simple, as appears from this graph of Cambridge in 1635:



Any work not within the scope of either of the officers was done by the town itself, either directly in town meeting or by committees.

The functions of the Town were very simple. They granted land from the residue of the original bounds which had not been granted to settlers, they laid out highways, they regulated the use of the land and highways, and they supported the poor. These were the duties of the English parishes, and some historians have thought to find the origin of the New England Town in the English parish; but again the difference is so great as to make this origin dubious.

There has been taken at random for later consideration the year 1845, the year before the granting of a city charter; and now let us examine the work of the town two centuries earlier.

The first town meeting in this year was February 14, 1645, when a large grant of land "neere unto ye East Corner of Concord boundes, which swamp is heade of part of Shaw shine river," [which I suppose is now in Lexington] was made to Roger Shaw. Herbert Pelham, Esqr. and Capt. Cooke were deputed to lay out the grant, and their rough sketch is entered on the record. The second town meeting of the year was on September 12, when town officers were chosen:

Herbert pelham, Esqr, Roger Shaw, Edward Oakes, Tho: Beale, Richard Hildreth --- for Townsmen

mr. Joseph Cooke, Thomas Danforth --- for Cunstables

John Russells, william Cutter, Roger Bancroft --- Surveyours of land to be Joyned with ye cunstable

... John Stedman, John Cooper --- Surveyours of Highwayes

These are the only town meetings held during the year. It may not have been a typical year, as during the year 1646 (New Style) there were five meetings, though in 1645 there were but two.

The powers and functions of a town were gradually increased during the next two hundred years; so that in the year 1845 the law provided for such additional functions as education, health, and fire protection. A regular fire department was authorized by legislation in 1839. A "main drain," recently authorized by the legislature, was voted by the town in 1844.

In the year 1845 there were ten meetings of the inhabitants of Cambridge, and thirty or more meetings of the Selectmen. The first three town meetings were to consider legislation pending in the General Court. On March 24 they elected the town officers: 5 selectmen; 3 assessors; 7 overseers of the poor, who by vote were also to be surveyors of highways; 9 school committee men; 5 Board of Health; 15 surveyors of lumber; 3 fence viewers; 10 field drivers. They voted that the Selectmen should appoint the other town officers; and they accordingly appointed 5 weighers of hay, 6 measurers of wood and bark and sealers of leather and coal baskets, a sealer of weights and measures, measurers and sealers of upper leather, a pound keeper, 2 superintendents of burial grounds, 5 auctioneers, and many engineers of the fire department. The town voted not to appoint a tythingman. On April 14 the town appointed a committee on finance of 9 members, and voted a tax levy of \$40,000. The principal appropriations were:

Almshouse and Roads --- \$7,500 [*today*] \$425,000

Schools --- 12,000 [*today*] 1,867,000

Interest --- 1,600 [*today*] 482,000

Repairs of Bridges --- 2,500 [*today*] 40,000

Fire Department --- 3,800 [*today*] 447,000

Police Department --- [none] ---[*today*] 556,000

Population has increased 10 times.

The last three meetings of the year were occupied with the state election: a majority vote was then required to elect, and three ballots, on separate days, were required before all offices were filled. Two meetings were required to establish a new school at Dana Street.

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The principal business of the Selectmen was to approve bills, to draw jurors, and to prepare warrants for town meetings, though they did other more interesting things. One or two special things which were passed on during this year may be named as of special interest. The town voted, wisely as the event proved, to oppose the location of the Charlestown Branch Railroad with a terminus on the Common. This road was in fact built, but was soon removed for lack of support. A committee, of which Simon Greenleaf was a member, was appointed to present a code of by-laws. A committee was appointed to oversee the construction of the main drain which had been authorized the preceding autumn; the beginning of the sewer system.

At the meeting of the Selectmen on April 24th,

A communication was received from Rev. Daniel Austin asking permission at his own expense to enclose with an iron fence the large Elm Tree by the road side, near Cambridge Common, it being the Tree where Gen. Washington first drew his sword in the defence of the liberties of our country.

Voted, That the above request be granted to Mr. Austin, provided the inclosure will not interfere with the public travel.

In the Census of 1845 the population was 12,490, an increase of nearly 50% in five years; and the town-meeting government became unwieldy. The three thousand polls could not meet, or come near meeting, in any building in the town. Two plans were proposed: one was a division of the town into three; the other was the adoption of a city government. These plans were debated long and with heat. The plan for division was defeated, as others had been before; and a committee, of which Simon Greenleaf was the principal member, was appointed to present to the legislature a plan for a Charter.

City government was still new in the Commonwealth. Projects for a city government for Boston had been presented from time to time from 1780 to 1820, but all had failed because of doubt of the constitutional power of the General Court to create a city. The Constitutional Convention of 1820, among other amendments, presented one permitting the General Court to erect a city

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government in any town of 12,000 inhabitants; and this was accepted by the people of the state by a small majority. A committee was at once appointed by the Boston Town Meeting to bring in a plan. The leading man on this Committee was Lemuel Shaw, afterwards the great Chief Justice. The plan was a novel one, quite unlike either the cities of the middle states, formed on the English model, or

the southern cities, governed by commissions. This plan provided for a rather large council, elected by wards, which was to take the place of the town meeting. In other respects the government was not to be changed. The council was to elect Selectmen, and in all other respects act as the town meeting had done. In short, it was like the "elective town meeting" by which Brookline and other large towns are now governed.

The people of Boston, however, could not be so simply satisfied. When the report was presented, the town desired a mayor and aldermen, like other cities. The Chairman of the Selectmen became, by the changes made in the plan, a Mayor, the other Selectmen were called Aldermen, and they were elected directly by the people; and the City Council sat in two chambers. No change in function was made, however. The first charter of Boston, and that of Cambridge, modeled on it, can best be understood by remembering that the City Council represents the Town Meeting, and the Mayor and Aldermen take the place of the Board of Selectmen.

On this model the committee presented a draft of a charter for the proposed City of Cambridge to the legislature, which adopted it on March 17, 1846; and at a town meeting called for the purpose it was approved by a vote of 645 to 224 against.¹

The charter vested "the administration of all the fiscal, prudential and municipal affairs" of the city in a Mayor, a board of six aldermen elected at large, and a common council of twenty, elected by wards. The annual city election was held (as the town election had been held) on the first Monday in March, and the municipal year began April 1. These dates were later changed to the early part of November and January 1 respectively. The

¹ (8 Mass. Sp. Laws 577).

Mayor was the presiding officer of the Board of Aldermen, with a "casting vote" only, that is, a vote in case of an equally divided board. The executive powers formerly exercised by the Selectmen were vested in the mayor and aldermen, who appointed the police, issued licenses, prepared the voting list, and managed the recently established fire department. All the powers vested in the town were hereafter vested in the city council, including making by-laws, appropriating money, laying out streets and sewers, controlling health, and creating such officers as it should see fit; and the City Council was to elect a City Clerk and Treasurer. The voters, however, were to elect the School Committee and the Board of Assessors.

The last officers of the town of Cambridge were:

Selectmen: James D. Green (Chairman), William Wyman, Joseph Burrage, Jr., Alex. H. Ramsay, and Charles Wood

Assessors: Samuel S. Green, Lucius R. Paige, Royal Morse

Clerk: Lucius R. Paige

Treasurer: Abel W. Bruce

The officers in the first year of the City of Cambridge were:

Mayor: James D. Green

Aldermen: Samuel Batchelder, Ephraim Buttrick, Samuel P. P. Fay, William Fisk, Joseph S. Hastings, Charles Wood

Clerk: Lucius R. Paige

Treasurer: Abel W. Bruce

Assessors: Samuel S. Green, Lucius R. Paige, Royal Morse

That there was no break in the government is clear from these lists. The Chairman of the Selectmen became Mayor; the Clerk, Treasurer, and Assessors were reelected. Three of the Selectmen were dropped from the Board of Aldermen, one of them being elected to the Common Council.

This simple charter, with such slight amendment as time brings, sufficed for the Cambridge of the times; it was the charter under which the city government was carried on in the old City Hall on Main and Pleasant Streets. But the great increase of population in the eighties brought the need of a more formal city govern-

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ment, and particularly of an administration by the Mayor and appointed administrative boards, instead of by the elected board of Aldermen. Accordingly a new charter was drafted by a committee of which, if I am not mistaken, Judge McIntyre was chairman, and was passed by the General Court and approved by the Governor May 29, 1891, and was adopted by the voters at the next municipal election. The mayor was by this charter made the sole administrative officer, and the board of Aldermen became simply a branch of the City Council, with legislative functions only. The City Council were expressly forbidden to take any part in the employment of labor; thus emphasizing the dissociation of the Aldermen from administration, and the end of the ancient administration of government by Selectmen and their successors. The school committee and the assessors were still to be chosen by the voters; the City Council were to elect Clerk and Treasurer and overseers of the poor.

This was a model charter according to the standards fashionable at the time. It centered all administration in the Mayor; and it forbade to the City Council any hand in the employment of labor. A short use showed defects, and a self-appointed committee of citizens, which included several members of this Society, among them Richard Henry Dana, Hollis Bailey, George Wright, and Stoughton Bell, drew up a new proposal for a charter and submitted it to the legislature. The late Harry N. Stearns was then Senator from Cambridge; he was sure the entire charter could not be adopted, but did not wish to disappoint his friends on the committee, so he asked them to name two or three of the most important changes. The changes suggested were the change of the date of the city election to March again, with the hope of thereby getting rid of party politics, and the reduction of the school committee from thirty-three to five. These changes were enacted June 28, 1907, and were accepted by the city at its next election.

Soon after the adoption of the amendments of 1907, the country was swept by enthusiasm for city government by a Commission instead of by a City Council. This new plan, successfully employed in Galveston, was an adaptation of a plan almost uni-

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versal in the South before the Civil War. A group of young men, headed by Professor Lewis Jerome Johnson, prepared a commission charter for Cambridge, which contained a provision for preferential voting, for recall of elective officers, and for the initiative and referendum. This charter passed the General Court, and was approved June 7, 1911. It was to be submitted to the voters in November, and its sponsors began at once a speaking campaign to educate the voters. When the vote was taken, it was found that the charter had been defeated, though by only a few hundred votes.

Not only in Cambridge, but throughout the state, interest in forms of city charter became intense. The Boston plan, the single chamber, the commission form, the city manager, all had their partisans. Finally, weary with frequent applications from each city for this or that new charter, the General Court passed a general charter bill, containing uniform general provisions, but with a choice between provisions as to form of governing board, known as Form A, B, C, and D. Upon a petition, containing a certain number of names, for the adoption by a city of one of these forms, the question was to be put upon the ballot for the next election; and if it passed in the affirmative, the city was to be governed according to the form adopted. A petition was put on the ballot in the election of 1916 for a Form B government, a majority voted in favor of it, and the form of the city government was again changed.

The changes from the then existing form were the abolishment of the Common Council and a slight increase in the appointing power of the Mayor. Other changes were not important, except that the Mayor was made chairman of the school committee — rather a backward step. The single-chambered council was warmly recommended by the academic experts on city government; but it may be pointed out that the Common Council performed a useful function in giving many young men a taste of city government, and trained many of them for further service. A curious result of its abolishment is that ambitious young men strive for seats on the school board, making that body, instead of the busi-

nesslike administrative body it was under the amendment of 1907, a body of eager-tongued young orators.

And so, in the course of its three hundred years of history, our Cambridge has passed from a pure democracy to what might be called an aristocratic representative government; and from a simple organization with few functions to a thing of many commissions and boards, of manifold functions carried out by professional heads of departments. It has often been said that city government is the one American political failure. This is perhaps too harsh a judgment; but it is certainly not too much to say that compared with the greatest political feat of our people, the invention of that purest of democracies, the New England town, our city government at its best is a high price to pay for the success of great size.

So much for the history of forms of government; the history of what has been accomplished by the government in its three hundred years is another and more difficult story.

I know no better way to test the excellence of local government than first, its economy of operation; second, the character of the citizens whose services it enlists. In both these respects the town government of the first two centuries passes the test. The membership of the Board of Selectmen during this period contains distinguished names. Almost every Assistant during the colonial

period who lived in Cambridge served as Selectman, and many of those who were on the Governor's Council during the provincial period. During the first two hundred years the following families, most of those distinguished in our history, appear on the list: Boardman, Brattle, Bridge, Cutter, Dana, Danforth, Dunster, Farwell, Fox, Foxcroft, Goffe, Hastings, Hilliard, Jackson, Little, Oakes, Prentice, Russell, Saunders, Trowbridge, Vassal, Wellington, Whitney, Willard, Winship, Winthrop, Wyeth, and Wyman.

These men and their companions governed affairs so economically, not to say parsimoniously, that the tax rate in the two hundredth year of the city was \$2.26 on the thousand; and ten years later \$2.77, a rate which led the Committee on Finance to utter a warning against extravagance. But, as Paige points out,

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"Municipal affairs were very economically administered. The school-houses and other public buildings were few and inexpensive; the streets and sidewalks were neglected and unlighted; thorough sewerage was unknown; the members of the fire department were volunteers; and the police consisted of one constable in each of the three principal villages," that is, Cambridge, Arlington, and Brighton. There was no public water supply, no paved road, no care for the public health; but there was an almshouse. It may be added that Old Cambridge was against a city government, and in favor of separation into two or three towns.

With city government we get a very different story. Substantial citizens have not, generally speaking, been interested in the government or taken part in it. The Board of Aldermen seldom contained in its membership a person of note otherwise than for his connection with the city government. Rather more persons of importance have served in the Common Council, the most eminent of whom was Charles William Eliot in 1866; but his membership was so unimportant to him as not to be mentioned by his latest biographer. The undistinguished members of the city governments in eighty-five years have done away with any suspicion of parsimony. In 1846 the debt was \$22,000 and the tax rate \$5; in 1930 the debt was over eight and one-half million and the tax rate over \$30.

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JOHN BURGoyNE¹
POLITICIAN, DANDY, MAN OF LETTERS
BY DAVID T. POTTINGER
Read April 26, 1932

"MAKE WAY! Make Way! Give the General elbow room!" jeered a single-toothed crone who had sought a place of vantage on the top of a shed while below her the inquisitive but good-natured mob surged round a British officer and his comrades trudging dispiritedly through a narrow Boston street. Amid the guffaws of the multitude, the officer visibly blanched and started back. His chickens had come home to roost! A prisoner in the land of the enemy, far from the thousands of brave men who had gallantly followed him through the terrors of the American wilderness, conscious that his defeat was the worst

sustained in many a long year by British arms, he was anything but the gay young fellow whose first remark in America was thus garbled by a long-remembered old woman. For this was none other than John Burgoyne, lieutenant-general of His British Majesty's forces, who had said as he sailed up Boston Harbor two years and a half before, "Our army cooped up in this village? Let us once land, and we'll make elbow-room!"

As the officers and their captors squeeze their way along the streets and then take up the journey to their place of detention in Cambridge, let us consider the height from which this Lucifer had fallen. Choosing the Army for a career, he had made rapid progress through the usual subaltern grades and on May 10, 1758

¹This paper, originally written in 1924, was printed in slightly different form in the Boston Transcript of April 26, 1924. Since then a valuable addition to the subject has been published, Gentleman Johnny Burgoyne, by F. J. Hudleston [Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1927]. My own paper I look upon as a complement to Mr. S. F. Batchelder's Burgoyne and His Officers in Cambridge, published in Vol. 13 of the PROCEEDINGS OF THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORICAL SOCIETY (for the year 1918). — D. T. P.

was advanced to the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Two years later he did his tour of duty in the Seven Years War against France, serving at Belleisle. The next year, when Spain joined forces with France and attacked Portugal, England sent an expedition to the relief of her ally. Among the officers were Richard Lee and John Burgoyne, who were destined to be on opposing sides during the American Revolution. The campaign along the Tagus during the summer of 1762 sinks into subordinate importance in any but a minute history of the period; but like our own Mexican and Cuban wars it proved the mettle of future leaders. Burgoyne showed himself to be a trustworthy commander and a shrewd tactician. Promoted to the rank of colonel, he returned home in October, 1762. Ten years later he was made a major-general.

When the clouds of war began to darken in America, three major-generals were selected to serve under Gage at Boston; they were Sir William Howe, John Burgoyne, and Sir Henry Clinton. They set sail on April 20, 1775. Burgoyne's attitude towards the men under him was, as always, humane and enlightened; towards the Colonists, it was stupidly silly if we may judge fairly from the bombastic manifestoes he wrote for General Gage; towards his superior officer, it was insidiously disloyal. After a summer in the besieged town, he returned to England in December to look after some personal affairs. His departure was, from a military point of view, indefensible. Gage had already been recalled; Clinton had been sent with a detachment to the southern colonies; and therefore the command would, in case of accident to Howe, devolve upon the young and inexperienced Lord Percy. According to Horace Walpole — whose statements must, however, be discounted — Burgoyne arrived full of complaints and was literally bought off by Government. Whatever the reason, he was raised early in 1776 to the rank of lieutenant-general.

In April 1776, with his professional and financial status thus improved, Burgoyne set forth to America a second time. This summer he spent around Quebec, where he drove off the rebels and did much to keep the province loyal to the Crown. December

found him back in London again, with animadversions now against his associate General Carleton. His reception was, however, very different from the previous one. No one would listen to his complaints, nor offer sympathy for his sorrow at the loss of his wife, who had died a few months before. The King scarcely spoke to him, and he was forced to ask for an audience.

Such an attitude could not long be maintained towards anyone with the family influence and personal charm of John Burgoyne. When England decided upon a more vigorous military policy the next year, he was once more called upon to take a leading part in the campaign. In the theoretically perfect manoeuvres that were to give the British control of the Hudson and thus sever the colonial union, Burgoyne had by far the most difficult share; for he was detailed to break from Quebec through the wilderness, where unguessed obstacles of nature were added to the lurking attack of the Indians and the guerilla warfare of the colonists. The incidents of the expedition are familiar matters of history, which rightly designates the Battle of Saratoga as the turning point of the American Revolution and the nadir of British fortunes in the eighteenth century. The cause of the defeat is certainly not to be imputed to the brave general who crashed his way through the forest amidst heart-breaking difficulties and carried out to the letter his instructions to get to Albany. On excellent authority we know that Lord George Germain, the graceless hero of Minden, at this time Secretary for American Affairs, called at Downing Street to sign the orders for Burgoyne and for Howe; the latter's part being to proceed up the Hudson and effect a junction with Burgoyne. Finding only Burgoyne's orders ready, he refused to delay an excursion into Kent until the other set should be copied fair. On his return from the country, he had forgotten all about the matter. Thereafter the Government party was bound to exert every effort to conceal the Minister's carelessness.

After Burgoyne's surrender to Gates, his army was quartered in Charlestown. The commander himself was lodged in the so-called Bishop's Palace at Cambridge. The house, with its beautiful paneling and balustrades, its great fireplaces, and its lovely archi-

tectural proportions, has just been rescued from decades of oblivion and henceforth is to be the residence of the Master of Adams House. Meanwhile rumors of the disaster had reached England from Carleton at Quebec. Distance and uncertainty added to the anxiety felt on all sides. Saratoga was fought in October; official messengers did not reach London till early in December.

After vexatious delays, Burgoyne reached home about the middle of May, 1778. Lord Germain saw to it that he was forbidden to appear at Court, and a board of general officers was appointed to examine his conduct. But every circumstance now indicated that he would be used as a scapegoat for the sins of the administration: the court of inquiry declared that as a prisoner on parole he was out of its cognizance; a court-martial was denied him; an attempt was made, after he had delivered two scathing speeches against the ministry, to exclude him from his seat in the House of Commons. Finally he was ordered to return to Cambridge on the ground of his presence there being necessary to his troops. This order he refused to obey and in the end he resigned all his appointments, amounting to £3500 a year, retaining, however, his rank in the army in order that he might later be amenable to a court-martial and might fulfill his personal obligations to Congress. For over two years he and his friends sought an opportunity to defend his character. At last in 1781 he succeeded in presenting favorable evidence before a committee appointed to inquire into Sir William Howe's conduct during the war; but the committee was suddenly dissolved before it had passed a single resolution on the subject before it. He was finally exchanged against Henry Laurens, President of the Continental Congress. When the opposition came into power in 1782, he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the forces in

Ireland and a member of the Irish Privy Council. He retained this rank for about two years, after which his military career definitely ended.

Politics was so intimately interwoven with every feature of late eighteenth-century life that Burgoyne, like other military men, was almost forced into a parliamentary career. His record in the

House of Commons began with his election as member for Midhurst in 1761, a seat which he assumed on his return from Portugal. In the next election, that of 1768, he was returned for the borough of Preston. Junius asserts that he spent ten thousand pounds in securing this seat; but Junius is no more trustworthy than Walpole where Burgoyne is concerned, and the whole matter must be judged not with our enlightened civic conscience but by the general practice of the time. Whether corruption placed him in Parliament or not, he now took a more active and certainly a creditable part in affairs of state. In 1771 he attacked, eloquently but unavailingly, the Administration's acceptance of a very inadequate satisfaction from Spain for the seizure of the Falkland Islands. In 1772, when he voted for the Royal Marriage Bill in spite of having spoken against it on the first reading and then having stayed away from the later debates, General Conway sneered at the honesty of his vote. Within a month Burgoyne was again on his feet, this time in a matter of much greater moment. He now led the attack on Lord Clive which deprived the East India Company of its control over India and marked the final chapter in the wholesale plundering of that empire. "The whole attack on Clive," says Horace Walpole, "showed Burgoyne's position in the House." And that position, it may easily be seen, was neither insignificant nor dishonorable. In 1774 he was active in supporting Sir Edward Astley's motion for making Grenville's Select Committee Bill perpetual, a measure for the trial of contested elections that was in the direction of better government.

Burgoyne belonged, as might be expected, to the Court party, that band of "the King's friends" with which George III attempted to restore Stuart absolutism in principle if not in appearance. As a matter of course, he took his orders and reaped his rewards. Although his attitude towards the Colonists, for instance, was entirely friendly, he was able to persuade himself — with military premiums in view — that they were legally and constitutionally in the wrong. He even confessed to the King that in serving against them he missed that sense of exhilaration he had always felt when he had gone against an enemy. That he was shrewd enough to

jockey the Ministry into buying off his complaints and giving him all he had worked for, we have already seen. But when his schemes failed to work, when the coldness of the King showed him plainly that he need hope for neither pity nor favors, he was prompt to join the Opposition. According to Wraxall, when he returned on parole Charles James Fox went down privately to Hounslow in a hired post-chaise, where he met Burgoyne soon after he had landed, and persuaded him to change his political allegiance partly through reasoning and partly through promises of present protection and future employment. Does this seem unprincipled? It can be duplicated in the Parliamentary record of many leaders of the time. But what a company he entered when he was in Opposition! Wilkes, the Grenvilles, the Townshends, Edmund Burke, Charles James Fox, Barre, Dunning, Keppel, Dick Howe, Sir George Saville, Lord John Cavendish, General Harry Conway, and others make up the greatest assemblage of first-rate talents that have ever sat on the Opposition benches. It must have been amusing for cynics to see John Burgoyne joining such a company to drive Lord North from office in

1781, and leading a mob of three thousand people in Westminster Hall on the second of February, 1782, to protest against the high cost of coal and the profiteering of the Duke of Richmond, the Coal Baron of the time!

Once more, however, the General was to take a part that commends him even more warmly to the judgment of our own day. As he was foremost in the attack on Lord Clive's administration of India, so he came to the front in the trial of Warren Hastings. As one of the Managers of the trial, he was conspicuous among that historic, solemn gathering in the Great Hall of William Rufus on the thirteenth of February, 1788, so brilliantly described by the graphic pen of Macaulay. "But neither the culprit nor his advocates," says that sonorous page, "attracted so much attention as the accusers. In the midst of the blaze of red drapery, a space had been fitted up with green benches, and tables for the Commons. The managers, with Burke at their head, appeared in full dress. The collectors of gossip did not fail to remark that even Fox, generally so regardless of his appearance, had paid to the

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illustrious tribunal the compliment of wearing a bag and a sword. ... The box in which the managers stood combined an array of speakers such as perhaps had not appeared together since the great age of Athenian eloquence. There were Fox and Sheridan, the English Demosthenes and the English Hyperides. There was Burke, ignorant, indeed, or negligent of the art of adapting his reasonings and his style to the capacity and taste of his hearers, but in amplitude of comprehension and richness of imagination superior to every orator, ancient or modern." What a pity that Macaulay did not describe Burgoyne himself, whose love of fine clothes and pageantry combined with distinction of bearing to mark him out in any company less exalted. We catch a glimpse of him, standing upon his dignity as a Manager, in Fanny Burney's Diary. She had gone to the trial a second time with her brother James, who had been a companion of Burgoyne's on his trip to America in 1777 and who must have become very intimate with him in the circumscribed quarters afforded by vessels of the time.

"When the managers," says Miss Burney, "who, as before, made the first procession, by entering their box below us, were all arranged, one from among them, whom I knew not, came up into the seats of the House of Commons by our side, and said, 'Captain Burney, I am very glad to see you.'

"'How do you do, sir,' answered James; 'here I am, come to see the fine show.'

"Upon this the attacker turned short upon his heel, and abruptly walked away, descending into the box, which he did not quit any more.

"I inquired who he was; General Burgoyne, James told me. 'A manager!' cried I, 'and one of the chargers! and you treat the business of the Hall with such contempt to his face!'"

Burgoyne, like so many others who witnessed the opening of the trial, did not live to see the last day of that long-drawn-out process. His activity, however, did not tire; for we find him at one time moving a vote of censure upon Major Scott for a libel on the conduct of the committee, and at another the object of a series of anonymous doggerel epistles.

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An impartial observer might judge that such distinguished services in the halls of Parliament could well atone for even so black a failure as Saratoga. But it has been the fate of Burgoyne to live in the popular mind by that incident alone, without regard to his previous or his subsequent record. Bostonians have not forgotten his desecration of the Old South Church by the conversion of it into a riding-school, nor the grandiloquent language of the proclamations penned for General Gage. The Weems school of American history, too, which is still perniciously active in its efforts at "pure Americanism," has been delighted to single out Burgoyne as a chief example of the "Red Coat" who, both instinctively and purposely, adopted the colors of His Satanic Majesty.

Even readers with a greater range of historical background, who recognize that the proper estimate of a man must rest upon knowledge of his whole life and his cultural inheritance, have been too prone to accept without inquiry the ill-natured comments of Horace Walpole. Thackeray, for instance, despite his genial outlook upon humanity, could be betrayed into picturing Burgoyne as "tripping down St. James's street on his way to beat the Americans, and slinking back to his club crestfallen after his defeat." Walpole scarcely even mentions the General without a sneer: he is "the silent, modest, humble General Burgoyne," writing "concise descriptions" of his exploits; he is Julius Caesar Burgonius, Burgoyne the Pompous, General Hurlo-thrumbo, General Swagger. Over and over again Walpole applies to him such phrases as pompous, pompously pathetic, "a vain, very ambitious man, with a half understanding that was worse than none," "the most verbose and bombast boaster that ever bore a truncheon"; and he speaks of "his bombast style," his "rhodomontade," his "supernatural hyperboles," and the like. Such severe epithets call for explanation. It may be found, perhaps, in a letter written in 1766 by Burgoyne to Lord Townshend, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, regarding the application of a certain officer for the appointment of aide-de-camp. Burgoyne honestly and vigorously opposed it. But — the applicant was Horace Walpole's nephew!

Two more slanderous statements regarding Burgoyne may be traced to Walpole; namely, that Burgoyne was a natural son of Lord Bingley and that his marriage with Lady Charlotte Stanley, daughter of Lord Derby, was a run-away match disapproved by her father. These statements are repeated in almost every early account of the General. As a matter of fact, he was certainly the son of Captain John Burgoyne, a spendthrift man of fashion, and grandson of Sir John Burgoyne, Baronet, of Sutton Park, Bedfordshire. His marriage with Lady Charlotte Stanley while he was a young subaltern at Preston, took place with her eldest brother's full approbation and from his house in London. Her father at first objected, but was finally reconciled to the young couple, made them an allowance of £300 a year, assisted Burgoyne to rise in his profession, and, by his will, bequeathed Lady Charlotte the sum of £25,000. Their marriage seems to have been a very happy one, and there is no reason to doubt the extremity of his grief when she died while he was far away in Boston. John Deare, a promising young sculptor, did most of the work on a monument for her which the General ordered from the workshops of Thomas Carter in Piccadilly and which was to be put up in Westminster Abbey. No such monument, however, is there now. Unfortunately, then, for romance, Burgoyne's name cannot be added to the long list of eighteenth-century young men who rose from obscurity to rank and fortune by means of a hurried trip to Gretna Green. On the other hand, his marriage certainly improved his situation and placed him on an intimate footing with the great men of his day.

Those men, in view of the exclusive character of London society at the time, formed the circle that every reader of Georgian diaries, letters, and memoirs knows full well. Charles James Fox, the first of the Macaronis and the idol of England all his life, was an intimate friend even when the two men were on opposite sides of the political fence. Lord North, a most attractive gentleman in private

life, was another. So was Lord Strange, eldest son of the eleventh Earl of Derby and father of the twelfth Earl. The Duke of Devonshire, George Selwyn, and "Old Q," the Earl of March

and Queensbury, were among those who spent hours with him over the play-tables in St. James's street; for Burgoyne was a remarkably clever and successful gambler at a time when gambling was the very breath of social life. The Betting-Book at Brooks's, that repository of a thousand silly or scandalous wagers, which gathered up the crumbs from the greater losses at the card tables, contains the entry, "Mr. Burgoyne betts Mr. Charles Fox 50 guineas that four members of the club are married or dead before Charles Fox is called to the bar." Even Walpole, however, acquits him of the dastardly charge made by Junius under the cover of his anonymity that he waited round the tables for an opportunity of fleecing drunken young noblemen at piquet.

Although he was a close friend of most members of Johnson's Club, there is nothing to indicate that he ever met Johnson himself. Indeed, when the disaster at Saratoga was the one topic of conversation on every lip, Johnson is recorded as having made only a technical comment on the item in the Convention regarding the unfortunate soldiers' piling up their arms. In the autumn of 1790 he was proposed for membership in the Club, but greatly to the mortification of Boswell, who was in the chair on the election day, he received three blackballs. On the same day the Bishop of Carlisle and Dr. Blagden were proposed; Boswell doubted whether the latter would be admitted before Burgoyne. The Bishop was elected on May 22, 1792, some three months before the General's death, and Blagden not until March 18, 1794.

Of his political friends we have already spoken. To them must be added, in a more strictly social sphere, all that brilliant throng of men and women who assembled at Devonshire House during the reign of the great Georgiana. Artists and writers, whether men or women; "lions" from every quarter of the earth; the leaders of fashion and of pleasure — these made that wonderful palace at the head of St. James's street the center of society; and with them all John Burgoyne walked on equal footing. Sir Joshua Reynolds painted his portrait in 1766 and must afterwards have met him constantly, says Tom Taylor, "in the Green Room of Drury Lane, at the dinners of the Thursday Night Club, at the

Star and Garter, at every place of amusement where the gay, the witty, and the well-bred of London were gathered together." With Garrick as well as with Sheridan he was drawn into close relations through his remarkable success as a dramatist, which we shall discuss in a moment.

His refined tastes and love of society; his tall, distinguished person; his irresistibly charming manner; his genial, kindly nature; his unquestioned reputation for courage — were impeccable credentials in every circle. He had an unusual facility for inspiring attachment in all those with whom he came in contact, and the strength and permanence of his friendships throughout his life indicate that he was essentially a lovable man. His conqueror, General Gates, spoke of him as one "in whom the fine gentleman is united with the soldier and the scholar." Like all fashionable people of his time, he was fond of late hours, and seldom failed to find plenty to sit up with him long past midnight when his conversation, roaming over the incidents and the acquaintances of a widely varied career, became the most delightful thing possible. Would that there had been a Boswell present on such occasions

with his recording pen! At this distance of time we can only console ourselves with Johnson's dictum that "the happiest conversation is that of which nothing is distinctly remembered but a general effect of pleasing impression."

Still more eloquent tribute to Burgoyne's essential loveliness and strength of character is found in his treatment of his subordinates, that test which warps away the veneering from many a fine reputation. One of his subalterns in the Canadian Army of 1777 wrote to a friend in England that there was no doubt of the success of the campaign "if good discipline, joined to health and great spirit among the men, with their being led on by General Bur-goyné, who is universally esteemed and respected, could ensure success." "He had acquired the respect of his soldiers," says Trevelyan, "by treating them respectfully, and had secured the esteem of his officers by the scrupulous regard for justice which he exhibited in all his professional relations, and by his unaffected and easy friendliness when off duty. From the first hour of the

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expedition, up to the very latest, his commands were eagerly and punctually obeyed; and seldom has a general, and never perhaps a luckless general, been more heartily beloved by his comrades and subordinates." He maintained discipline among both officers and men by habitually treating them with discrimination and sympathy. Unlike any other officer of his period, he hated flogging, which was the common punishment in the army; he tried continually to find substitutes for it, and he used it humanely and judiciously when he was obliged to use it at all. In two ways he anticipated some of the most important advances in military science which the World War has made familiar to everyone. In the first place he attempted to apply such psychological principles as his common sense dictated: "to succeed," he said, "where minds are to be wrought upon, requires both discernment and labour. Admitting that English soldiers are to be treated as thinking beings, the reason will appear of getting insight into the character of each particular man, and proportioning accordingly the degree of punishment and encouragement." Again, he recognized the importance of morale and the dangers to which the spirit of an army is exposed during a long siege; he therefore, during the siege of Boston, turned Faneuil Hall into the eighteenth-century counterpart of a "Y" hut. His dramatic instincts naturally led him to the formation of an amateur theatrical company which presented the tragedy of "Tamerlane," some recent comedies, and a local "revue" called "The Blockade." For this last piece the General himself contributed a prologue, which was spoken by Lord Rawdon, a gentleman who later became Lord Moira and spent a long life in the field of statesmanship. Is it any wonder that such a man was followed with a pride and devotion that were proof against every danger and every toil; or that, in gentler walks of life, he was always at the center of an admiring group?

From these facts, which are matters of history all too little known, one may add another verse to the words of Koheleth. Still another may be found in Burgoyne's career as a dramatist. Who now reads his plays? Who knows that he ever wrote any? Even Professor Bernbaum, who has dragged many a worthless

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comedy from its mouldy hiding-place, dismisses the General's dramas with a few brief sentences. Gradgrinds have passed them by, leaving them for the inevitable day when thesis subjects shall have become more difficult to find. Only those who know their Elia minutely may have been led into this deserted region through the hidden reference to Burgoyne in the essay on "My First Play." Yet

Burgoyne had a noteworthy dramatic career and his plays would be as worthy of revival by semi-professional players as any of the minor Elizabethan works that have had so much vogue; and above all, for the student who wishes to get a picture of the foibles and manners of the late eighteenth-century, they are documents of unrivaled vividness.

Burgoyne's first adventure of this sort was a *fête champêtre*, a kind of pageant, which he was the first to introduce into England from France, entitled "The Maid of the Oaks." It took place on June 9, 1774, to announce the betrothal of his nephew, Lord Stanley, afterwards the eleventh Earl of Derby, to Lady Betty Hamilton, the daughter of the famously beautiful Elizabeth Gunning. The brothers Adam laid themselves out to transform Lord Stanley's estate, The Oaks, just outside London, into a sylvan scene appropriate to shepherds and shepherdesses, fauns, satyrs, and elves, and the conventional pastoral figures that so much charm us on old Dresden china. The hothouses of the metropolis were stripped of their orange trees to provide decorations; fountains were constructed; lighting effects were carefully planned. On the day of the festival, all the *haut monde* in their gorgeous equipages filled the roads leading thither. For once in the records, the capricious June weather of England proved favorable, and the whole celebration went off to the immense delight of the bored aristocrats and the gaping rustics. Garrick was there and, with an astute sense for profits, gained permission to produce the piece the next season at Drury Lane. With a few judicious alterations and additions from his pen, it was tremendously successful; and the editor of Burgoyne's *Collected Works*, published in 1808, said that "it has not yet lost its attractions with the public." Thirty-five years is a much longer lease of life than would be granted to most of the

"follies" and "reviews" of our own day! Mrs. Abingdon took the part of Lady Bab Lardoon; Mr. King, of Old Grovesby; Mr. Palmer, of Sir Harry Grovesby; and Mrs. Baddely, of Maria. Mrs. Abingdon's efforts, according to trustworthy information, "set the town in ecstasies," though Horace Walpole, as usual, sneeringly said that the play was "as dull as the author could not help making it."

Unfortunately the marriage to which the fete was the prelude, was not so happy as one would expect; but Lady Betty's story would lead us too far afield. It is important to note, however, that the Earl of Derby was always a close friend of Burgoyne's both politically and socially. Walpole says, perhaps with considerable truth, that he was "a raw young man, totally given over to his pleasures." Like his crony "Old Q" he now lives only in the annals of sport; for his estate The Oaks afterwards gave its name to the famous Oaks stake at the Epsom races.

In December 1780 appeared Burgoyne's next piece, a comic opera in three acts, entitled "The Lord of the Manor"; it contains some very excellent fooling on the methods of recruiting employed at the time and shows all the insight that we should expect from its author. Produced anonymously, it was attributed to almost every possible writer and the songs were thought "by many respectable judges" to have been written by Sheridan. The burlesque part of Moll Flagon, the brandy-sotted camp-follower, was taken by Suett.

Burgoyne's masterpiece, "The Heiress," was presented at Drury Lane on January 14, 1786. Walpole wrote the next morning to Lady Ossory that he heard it had succeeded extremely well and was, besides, excellently acted. Miss Farren, who wrote the last letter Garrick ever received and who married the Earl of Derby a few days after Lady Betty died, took the part of Lady Emily Gayville; and it was always one of her favorite characters. Three weeks later, Walpole wrote again to Lady Ossory and

told her that he had gone through "The Heiress" twice in one day and had liked it better than any comedy he had seen since "The Provoked Husband." He praised the prologue (by Richard Fitz-

patrick) but did not much care for the epilogue, which Burgoyne had prepared in a hurry. On June 14, 1787, writing again to the same correspondent, Walpole called it "the best modern comedy" and ascribed its perfection to the fact that its author moved habitually in the sphere of high life he had undertaken to depict. Horne Tooke said that it was, "one little morsel of false moral excepted, the most perfect and meritorious comedy, without exception, of any on our stage." Mrs. Tickell wrote to her sister Mrs. Sheridan after the performance, "The play went off with the most brilliant and satisfactory applause, epilogue and all. They have had a meeting at King's room to-day, (or I believe rather yesterday) to make a few necessary curtailments which the whole house was of opinion was the only thing to be done to it, to render it the most finished performance since the comedy 'The School for Scandal.'"

"The Heiress" kept the stage for many, many years. Miss Farren was succeeded in her part by Mrs. Pope and then by Miss Duncan, but neither of them equalled her rendering. Debrett, the publisher, gave Burgoyne £200 for the copyright, the largest sum that had been paid up to that time for such a work. Within a year, however, he had more than reimbursed himself for his unprecedented liberality, for he sold out ten editions and continued to reap his harvest long afterwards. It was translated into French, German, Italian, and Spanish. So late as 1857 a writer in "Notes and Queries" referred to it as "one of our most popular and celebrated comedies." There is even better evidence that it was well-known to Dickens and his early readers. In one of the scenes Lady Emily is "preparing the cast of her lips for the ensuing winter," to be called the Paphian Mimp; "it is done by one cabalistical word, like a metamorphosis in the fairy tales. You have only, when before your glass, to keep pronouncing to yourself niminiprimini — the lips cannot fail of taking their plie." The passage seems certainly to have been in Dickens's mind when he said in *Little Dorrit* that "papa, potatoes, poultry, prunes, and prism — especially prunes and prism" are "all very good words for the lips."

In October of the same year (1786) Burgoyne repeated his success with another play, "Richard Coeur de Lion," an adapta-

tion from the French of Sedaine. Mrs. Sheridan wrote the prologue; Linley, Sheridan's father-in-law, wrote the incidental music, except for a few portions that were retained from Gretry's original scores; and Mrs. Jordan took the leading female part. John Kemble was the Richard, and, to the astonishment of the public, he actually sang a song, "Lost to the world, forgot, forlorn." Mrs. Tickell wrote of the first performance, "Richard's himself again; in plain matter-of-fact prose, never were the most sanguine expectations of success so completely gratified last night as at our Richard, and what delighted us all more than anything was that the carpenters exerted themselves so much that there was not the least degree of impatience shown by the audience before the second act opened with such a wonderful alteration of beautiful scenery that it seemed quite the effect of magic to have had it there so soon." She wrote again, after the performance on the third night, "It went so much better than either of the preceding nights and the applause was if possible much warmer." Sir Gilbert Elliot, afterwards Lord

Minto, saw it in the following February and wrote, "Never in my life was I more highly entertained and delighted."

The occasional songs interspersed through the plays indicate that Burgoyne was by no means least among the large company of fashionable people who at that time were ready on a moment's notice to turn a copy of verses. The fashion, started, or at least fostered, by Lady Miller's *Batheaston Vase* and its imitations, was responsible for a greater quantity of amateur poetry than any other period except the Elizabethan can boast. To our ears much of it has a thin, tinkling sound; but anyone with a trifle of Johnson's "observation" is aware that our admiration for Elizabethan minor verse is only a recent growth, and he hesitates to declare that the verse of Burgoyne's contemporaries will never again appeal to English ears. The General's poetry, apart from the plays, consists mainly of prologues and epilogues — not forgetting the Prologue to "Zara," which he wrote for Lord Rawdon in Boston — and his contributions to that excellent bit of fooling, "The Probationary Odes," in which even more renowned men combined to "roast" Tom Warton, the successful candidate for the Laureateship.

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Besides these literary interests, he had a flair for antiquarian researches such as Bishop Percy and Joseph Ritson pursued. The original "Maid of the Oaks" was an early example of the modern pageant as distinguished from traditional survivals from mediaeval practice; and Burgoyne could not have planned it without some considerable knowledge of rural customs. Naturally, therefore, he became a leading member in a Society for the Encouragement of Ancient Games which Sheridan and Windham projected in 1787. Perhaps he and William Morris, otherwise a strangely contrasted pair, are even now enjoying a bout at single-sticks in the Elysian Fields!

Literary triumphs, with the social prestige they inevitably gave, and parliamentary duties of such importance that they still further enhanced it, must often have caused Burgoyne to forget the bitter days when defeat and obloquy were his portion. His friends, however, remarked that those days had left indelible marks on him despite his usually carefree air. Gout too claimed him as it did most of his contemporaries and eventually caused his death. Antony Morris Storer wrote to Lord Auckland on the tenth of August, 1792, "The papers must have told you of Burgoyne's death. It was very sudden. He passed Wednesday and Thursday at Mr. Fox's at St. Anne's Hill, in good health, complaining, however, of symptoms of the gout. On Friday he went to London, and on Saturday morning he died." This was on the fourth of August in his house at No. 10 Hertford street, Mayfair, once the residence of Lord Sandwich and later of Sheridan. He was buried in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey with a surprising lack of funereal ceremony, only one coach with four occupants in attendance. No memorial, not even a simple stone, was ever erected to mark his grave, and it never has been certainly identified. Nor does history relate who those four mysterious mourners in the coach were. One likes to imagine that they were Richard Fitzpatrick, Charles James Fox, Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and Lord Carlisle — gentlemen all, and merry companions whether around the baize at Brooks's or in the Green Room at Drury Lane or in the great Ball Room at Devonshire House.

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REMINISCENCES OF SPARKS STREET

Three Papers Read June 10, 1932

1. NOTES ON SPARKS STREET BY MARIA BOWEN

SPARKS STREET¹ is divided into two parts. Lower Sparks Street descends into what used to be called "the Ma'sh," which is now drained and adorned. Mr. George Martin Lane, Professor of Latin, lived in Mercer Circle, and dated his letters "Upper Marsh." When Sparks Street crosses Brattle Street, it becomes uplifted and has a hill in it.

It is named for a President of the College. Every President has had a Cambridge street named for him, except perhaps Dr. Hill, an unaccountable omission. Jared Sparks started in life with no advantages but a fine mind and personality, and the modesty and simplicity of a true scholar. He worked his way through school and college; then he devoted himself to history, and has left monumental biographies of Washington and Franklin. When a sculptor was working on a bust of him, the sculptor remarked on the height of the upper part of his head. "Ah," said Mr. Sparks, "it must be like an idiot's." He always wore the same half broken-hearted, half absent-minded air that Lincoln had, though of opposite appearance in other ways. In the hall of his rather stately house in Quincy Street, now belonging to the Swedenborgian Church, hung in glowing colors Miss Jane Stuart's portrait of his daughter Florence, represented as Alexander Pope's Belinda with a cup of tea. His daughter Eliza Wadsworth married the Director of the Observatory, Professor William Henry Pickering, transformed the picturesque old dwelling-house there (with terraces guarded by cherry trees) into a French chateau, and reigned as one of the queens of college society.

¹Sparks Street was the boundary between Watertown and Cambridge until 1754.

Two houses dominate the Square at the junction of Brattle Street. Denman Ross's large white house was built by Welch of Welch & Bigelow, the printers, and sold to Mr. Ross's father, a big man like his two brothers, who as Ross Bros, built school furniture. LeBaron Briggs lived in half the double house opposite the Ross place. Mrs. Charles C. Little, when a widow, also lived there until she took up her residence in Florence, Italy.

Sparks Street has a fine entrance. On one side lies the historic Brewster estate with its magnificent lindens, finer than any in England, its "graveled pathway" sung by Longfellow, and its barn-field in all its luxury of space. On the other corner a large flower garden smiles at every passer-by. The house, one of those built by Horatio Greenough, is foreign-looking, and its perron is surrounded by a circle of bright flowers, — hyacinths, then daffodils, then roses and heliotrope, then chrysanthemums, according to the season. A large bush of Persian lilac stands at the opening of the drive-way, and ivy-borders recall the Tuileries gardens. The house was built for Guyot the geographer, and there is a tradition, how true we know not to the contrary, that at a dinner-party given here, Mr. Agassiz was invited and one of his friends brought his pet bear. The bear escaped through a window, and had to be recaptured. The Rumford Professor of Chemistry, Eben Norton Horsford, bought the house and adorned it with a lovely marble statue in the hall-vista, Louis Seize furniture in the drawing-room, and last but not least, five daughters and two granddaughters, who added to the list of Cambridge beauties.

Behind the roses and lilies of the further garden stands the Spelman cottage, where another Cambridge beauty lived.¹ Clement Lawrence Smith, Latin Professor, lived next. Then came Henry W. Paine's house, and beyond are the Harris and Dodge places, one of the latter now having its

balustrade covered with trails of fuchsia. Mr. Paine possessed a great deal of dry wit, and was such a thorough American that when in Paris his chief occupation was to go to his banker's and read the American papers. Mrs. Paine was the soul of charity and geniality, and the one daughter

¹Harriet Spelman, who married Ernest Longfellow.

inherited her father's legal mind. Mrs. Paine was the President of the Cambridge Humane Society, and the Paine Fund, left at her death, has largely increased in its sphere of influence, and is most ably administered by Mrs. Chesley. Mrs. Paine and Mrs. Wyman revelled in shopping, not only for themselves, but with great generosity for others. Mr. Paine solemnly remarked to a fellow-traveller, "It is an impossibility to keep women away from shops."

On the opposite side of the street is one of the few modest and attractive brick blocks of Cambridge, built in the early 80's. Next comes the Russell house, illuminated by the memory of the young Governor of Massachusetts, William Eustis Russell. He was no relative of the Revolutionary Governor, Eustis, but was named for him and added lustre to the name. The next house, a modern one, was built by Mr. James Atkins Noyes, who married the daughter of Justin Winsor, historian and librarian. Then comes the hill, covered with wild wood and holding a little well. On the top of this hill lived, with his motherly wife and their family, Dr. Morrill Wyman, "the beloved physician," peppery and tender, wise and devoted. His biography has been well written by his son. The large estate opposite was owned by George Meecham and the house was built in 1859 by Mr. Charles Deane the antiquarian, courtliest of gentlemen. There was only one more house beyond, a two-story farmhouse with garden and greenhouse, belonging to James O'Brien. The street was bounded by Vassall Lane, perhaps marking the end of the Vassall property, and running up into Concord Avenue. It would not know itself now, having been cut through in the other direction and prolonged into Huron Avenue.

The Deane estate was broken into first by a lot sold to Mr. Justin Winsor. Later, Clement Circle, named for George Clement Deane, was laid out for College people, Mr. Robinson, Professor of Botany, Mr. Bliss Perry, Professor of English, and two others.

2. NOTES

BY MARY DEANE DEXTER

My own early recollections of Sparks Street as a small child in the seventies, naturally center around my grandfather's estate, the Deane house, barn, and extensive grounds and pasture land. It extended from the O'Brien line back to the present Manassas Avenue and down to the Dodge line, Mr. Dodge having bought his land from my grandfather in the late fifties, I think. The Deanes had a horse and buggy, carry-all and sleigh; a cow was kept, and there were flowers and a large vegetable garden and apple trees. I must have been small as I remember long days of play outdoors, when the corn was high enough to hide me and the trees seemed made for climbing. On the Fourth of July we would mount to the roof to see the fireworks and then all sit on the stone doorsteps and have ice cream and watch Dr. Wyman's fireworks on his place opposite. One pleasure was to creep up to an attic room where there was a curtained book-case containing children's books of the Deanes' time, — Jacob Abbott, etc. These old-fashioned books were a delight, and I lay on a horse-hair sofa and devoured

them. I can still feel the prickly horse-hair and smell the aroma of bars of yellow soap, of which there was always an ample supply stacked in criss-cross pattern to harden. I suppose an open window did not enter into my scheme of things.

Now in 1932, after seventy-three years of occupancy by the same family, the estate passes into other hands. In September the Sparks Street neighbors will welcome Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Musgrave and their four children, and we hope they will like us so well they will pass another seventy-three years among us.

3. SPARKS STREET BY ROSALBA PEALE SMITH PROELL

Sparks Street, once Lovers Lane, leads upward in a northerly direction from Brattle Street to what was once Vassall Lane, now Huron Avenue; rising with a slight curve past pleasant gardens

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with their lawns and shade trees, and dignified houses set back from the street at greater or less distance, according to the contour of the land and convenience for building. New houses have been set in what were open fields or parts of estates, but none of the older houses have changed their form except No. 64, which grew too small for the family and had to expand. Except for the paved sidewalk and the two streets leading out to the westward, Sparks Street keeps its old familiar appearance, which is very restful after seeing the changes in other parts of Cambridge.

The brick block at the corner of Brewster Street is a very good symbol of what Cambridge has so far escaped in its growth into a large city. I remember very well the disappointment felt, and expressed, by the residents of the street when Mr. John Brewster built this block. The view of beautiful sunsets would be, and was, entirely cut off from the houses on the east side there; but also I often heard the concluding remark, that they supposed that some day the whole street would be all built up closely on both sides, "just like Boston." The day may even now come, but let us be thankful that it is not yet. Brewster Street was not opened for a long time after the completion of the brick block. It was merely a driveway to reach the service doors at the back of the block, which did not have even fenced-off yards but was separated from the fields beyond by an ordinary rail fence. These fields made a good place for the children of Sparks Street to play. Those directly behind the block being filled with mounds of earth left when "the Museum" was put there, led to the invention of many new games in their hills and valleys. This Museum was built for Mr. William Brewster by his father to use for his collection of birds. It had a hall and stage of considerable dimensions. As far as I can remember, the building was never finished, though it may have been used for its original purpose. The only use I ever saw it put to was when some boy found a way to get in, and the rest of the boys and girls naturally followed. We found it empty and after the first thrills of exploring a large and echoing place, and scaring the girls by shouting and groaning through the furnace pipes, the novelty wore off and we turned to other things.

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This building was later moved to the end of the Brewster land, when Brewster Place, as it was first called, was laid out that far, and made into four nice little houses in a block. In one of these lived

Mr. and Mrs. Walter Deane, and next to them, Rev. and Mrs. J. I. T. Coolidge, Mrs. Deane's parents. At a later date Mr. Walter Deane was the curator of Mr. William Brewster's little brick museum which he set among trees, where he made a bird sanctuary. A tall wire fence with a slanting flange atop enclosed this on the south side of Brewster Street, down Sparks Street part way to the Brattle Street corner, and then across the grounds behind the old Brewster house, which faced Brattle Street. Inside lived little cocker spaniels who delighted to chase any cats that were clever enough to surmount the high wire fence but, once inside, could not get out again because of the top arrangement. But one oversight was that the posts of a narrow gate which opened on Brewster Street were of wood, so that puss soon found that she could come and go by this way if she cared to risk the danger of the dogs. Mr. William Brewster lived at first in a house in the brick block on Sparks Street; but after his father's death, he moved to the other house on Brattle Street. The Museum became the regular meeting place of the Nuttall Ornithological Society, the oldest society of its kind, I have been told. We were always grateful for the bird sanctuary, which gave us much pleasure in woody fragrance and bird song in the summer mornings and evenings.

The brick block may not have been a delight to the grown people who had to live opposite but it proved an enjoyable arrangement for their children. Mr. and Mrs. John Brooks with their two charming and handsome children, Arthur and Margaret, lived in the house at the upper end. Next to them in the block was a boarding house kept by a Miss Bangs, and between that and the Brewsters I remember the Dabneys. This is as I recall the first occupants of the block, in the early 1880's.

In 1883-4 we all moved over to Miss Bangs' while our house, No. 64, was being altered. It seems to me that it was while we were still there that the Brookses moved away and Professor and

Mrs. Thayer with their four daughters, Lucy, Grace, Miriam, and Edith and their son, Greenough, moved into the end house, coming from Andover, Mass.

It is always an unsolved question why children who have plenty of fields or large yards to play in, will continually prefer to play in the street. Perhaps the element of danger is the attraction, but so it seems to have been through the ages. They do it today, risking their young lives in automobile traffic just as we did then when only an occasional horse and carriage threatened us, or the policeman, who said baseball in the street was forbidden. Baseball we played nearly every summer evening, or "Three Old Cat," boys and girls together. Or, some boy having applied his mathematics to the circumference of the brick block and discovered that eleven times round was a mile, started us all to running, walking, skipping, and even hopping, miles. Little girls played jack-stones on the stone steps, or "house" in the vestibules. In the field behind we all made Pueblo dwellings up in the clayey mounds, and discussed the possibility of making them large enough to really get inside. Such was the interest inspired by our school teachers in American history. In the late afternoons we were often annoyed by the attention of children who came to and from the public school somewhere up Sparks Street, and who often became so troublesome that police authority had to be invoked. We knew them as "muckers" and were rather afraid of them. They were a race apart who lived on "The Marsh" as the other end of Sparks Street below Brattle Street was called. It was a good many years before I realized that "The Marsh" was really a part of Sparks Street. Brattle Street was so wide and the horse cars, branching at the Sparks Street corner, down Craigie and Brattle, seemed to segregate us entirely from that other less beautiful world.

Above the Hon. Charles Theodore Russell's place came a large field where is now Highland Street, which dipped quite steeply to a moist hollow under an apple orchard. In this hollow there used

to be ice enough in winter for small skaters, and rivulets of ice ran down between the trees from street level. An exciting and some-

what dangerous game was to coast on our skates down these streaks of ice without hitting any trees. It was most exciting, and I do not remember any accidents. We were also allowed to coast with our sleds from the top of the steep hill in front of Dr. Wyman's house.

Snows used to be deep in those years, and Sparks Street sidewalks used to be hard to keep passable. But if you didn't get your sidewalk cleared in good time, the policeman came to remind you of your responsibility. Spring mud was deep in roadway and sidewalk, and there was talk about getting a flagstone sidewalk. Meantime my father had a wide board walk made for our stretch of sidewalk and my parents hoped that others would follow suit. But though much appreciation was expressed, especially when passersby stamped the mud from their rubbers as they stepped upon it at either end, no cooperation followed. January thaws brought flowing rivers in gutters which defied even knee-high rubber boots, and children often had enjoyable difficulty crossing the gutters on the way to and from school.

Our house, No. 64, was originally built by President James Walker upon his retirement from Harvard. He had planned to enjoy his retirement with his garden and fruit trees and hens, but he was taken ill and died before he was able to more than make a beginning. The house was square, with a flat roof and a cupola, and stood on a terrace at the northern side of the quarter acre lot. The front door in the middle was flanked by a bow window on each side on the first floor. There were four windows in each bow, narrow with round tops. Above these in the two second story rooms were twin windows with round tops to correspond, and also over the door. The front door was two-leaved, of black walnut with ground glass lights in each, having a vine pattern. Three wide granite steps led down to the top of the terrace, where there was a large slatestone landing; and below, two more granite steps led to the gravel path leading to the gate, set in the high fence between two tall spruce trees. The fence itself is rather interesting in these days of less privacy. It was perhaps four feet high, of straight round spindles set in a wide baseboard and topped with a simple

moulding. The posts were round, slightly tapering, and capped by wide disks which were like nothing so much as huge pancakes which had humped a little in the frying. These made fine seats for young observers who paused to watch the world go by; and also for tables of discard for tramps who scorned a piece of bread and butter after pleading hunger at the back door. In the 1870's there were a good many tramps, some of whom seemed to be quite dangerous looking men.

At the back of the lot, or yard, as it was always called, slightly to the south of the houseline, stood a carriage house, a replica of the house with its cupola, except for the large barn door below and the lesser one over it for the haymow. Inside was a wide room for carriages and off it a pump room and stalls for two horses. A built-in stair led to the second floor where hay was to be kept. Outside on the south side was built a two story henhouse having windows with sliding wooden panels into the carriage room from the upper part, glass windows on the outside of both. A huge apple tree, the largest I have ever seen anywhere, grew beside this building and spread its large branches over henhouse and "barn." The barn, as we always called it, proved a wonderful attraction for all the

children of the neighborhood. There they could play and make all the noise they liked on pleasant or rainy days; and so they did, to the relief of many a mother's nerves. There was a good space between house and barn, originally intended for turning of carriage and horses, and a driveway led to the street through a wide gate, between the house and a double row of pear trees. These and the apple tree had been grafted by Professor Sophocles, and bore most beautiful and delicious Bartletts, Seckels, and "winter pears." The apple tree carried three different kinds, Graven-stein, Pound Sweets, and Snow apples. After we moved there, Professor Sophocles used to come often to see how his "orchard" was doing, and to consult with my father about their care, though I imagine that as my father grew up on a large farm in Pennsylvania, it was rather an exchange of experiences than a case of instruction. I remember feeling a great awe of the gentle old man, with his full white beard and eyes as black as sloes, who had "made the pears and apples grow" on our trees.

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The back and north side of the lot was bounded by a high board fence. A row of tall spruce trees grew along the back fence. After a while there was a gate cut in this fence for the convenience of the Dexter family, who lived directly behind us on Buckingham Street. The part of the board fence under the apple tree was replaced by a picket fence, and a gate was put in that. But when the general public began to use it and wear a path across our lawn, the gate had to be closed lest it should become a public right of way.

The summer twilight brought neighbors sauntering along the street to drop in for a chat. Among them would be Mr. Spelman from next door on the south side, to advise my mother about her flower beds. His own in the angle at the back of his house was a lovely picture through the branches of our apple tree, though he said that it shaded it too much. Dr. George Goodale, professor of botany at Harvard, who lived with his interesting family two doors above, brought a shrub or a tree now and then; or came as a good friend when someone was ill. Or if Mrs. Goodale or my mother were entertaining, there was mutual assistance in the necessities of table accessories, in the days when salaries were not elastic enough to cover all needs. Mr. Charles Deane or Mr. Russell often came in. Mrs. Paine, next above, would run in of a morning with some dainty or preserve, or would call me over to give me some of the roses which climbed the trellis on the south side of her house. I learned to play backgammon with her in her shady parlor one warm afternoon. Miss Jennie Paine used to trip daintily down the street going a-calling, or taking the horse-car at the corner on Brattle or Craigie Street for Boston. Her little feet would slip in and out in a marvelous tiptoe step from under her full hoop-skirted dress, probably the very last to be worn, in Cambridge at least; a small bonnet on her neatly coiled hair, and a tiny parasol held against the sun most elegantly. Mrs. Russell used to run across to spend an afternoon at backgammon with Mrs. Paine, and sometimes in summer when windows were open we could hear that they disagreed over it, Mrs. Russell being very deaf. But they were always the best of friends. Both old ladies wore fascinating lace caps with tabs. As they belonged to a generation who put

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on caps at forty as a matter of course, they were probably not nearly so old as we children supposed them to be. Our point of view was probably that of a little boy of six years who once after a considerable silence as they walked together remarked, "I s'pose it is most time for you to die, Papa." "Oh, why do you think so?" asked the surprised young father, who had hardly completed his thirties.

"Oh, because you are so old." "How old do you think I am?" asked the father. "'Bout four hundred," replied the youngster.

Mr. Justin Winsor, who had built a charming house on the southern slope of Mr. Deane's estate at the top of Sparks Street East side, spent many an evening on our front porch, which being without a roof made a pleasant cooling place to sit. I remember overhearing an interesting conversation about what books should be allowed for a young girl's reading. Should she be given Dickens and Thackeray, and which ones? In the light of today's literature, what a shock that would be!

The life of Sparks Street was simple and wholesome in spite of the fact, or perhaps because of the fact, that all the older people held positions of importance in the world, each in his own subject. We admired their ability and other accomplishments, but we loved them because they were fine, sincere, and kindly people. Many of the young folks then growing up have become important to the world's welfare. All the girls, I think, attended the Misses Smith's School, then in Phillips Place. Some of the boys did too, while some attended Mr. Hopkinson's school in Boston when they were old enough. The Misses Smith inculcated high ideals in us as well as the three R's and collateral subjects. We were perhaps at the time unconscious of the value of their instruction but we know now how to appreciate it. Later some of us went to Miss Ingalls' School in Berkeley Street, another fine school. It seems to me that standards in private schools were higher then and the children responded unconsciously perhaps, but fully, to the expectations of the teachers.

There were, of course, at our house a great many visitors besides our relatives, who came from different colleges in this country and

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from universities in other parts of the world, or people interested in education; they would remain a few hours or for several weeks.

I think the most interesting of all to the family, and especially to my brothers and myself, was the Pundita Ramabai of India, who came to Cambridge from Philadelphia and stayed with us on her way across the country, a most charming guest. She was on a mission for the improvement of the condition of the child widows of India. I do not remember the exact date of her visit, but it must have been the summer of 1885 or 1886. She spoke before several gatherings and told of the dreadful conditions existing in India. To us she told even more. It is sad to think in the light of what has recently been written that apparently little change has resulted from her efforts. I read not long ago that the Pundita was traveling in this country, I suppose on a like mission, and was sorry that I could not see her again.

A still younger generation has grown up, married, and settled in Cambridge and in other places, but Sparks Street keeps the air of pleasant homes and dignified neighborliness which was always its charm.

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CAMBRIDGE LAND HOLDINGS TRACED FROM

THE PROPRIETORS' RECORDS OF 1635

BY DR. ALBERT P. NORRIS

Read April 25, 1933

AS THE FIRST settlers of Charlestown sailed farther up the Charles River, they would have passed the so-called Gibbons Creek which extended northerly to the site of the present Sullivan Square. Westerly they could have looked up the valley of the Gibbons River, which, flanked with broad marshes, extended almost to Union Square, Somerville. The headland of Otis Hill in East Cambridge arose abruptly from the southern shore at the mouth of Gibbons River, and was flanked on the south and west by over three hundred acres of perfectly flat marsh land overflowed at high tide and in general appearance very similar to the Mystic River marshes that we can cross to-day. Near the Cambridge end of the Harvard Bridge of to-day, a point of gravelly land extended far out into the river to very near the site of the present embankment wall. To the north of it a deep cove, soon after known as Goffe's Cove, ran inland nearly to the site of the present Sidney Street. South of this point, this level marsh-land continued to the Oysterbank Field. The site of the present Fort Washington was at the easterly end of the headland before the sharp turn in the Charles River towards the west. Captain Island, five acres in extent surrounded by a continuation of the broad marsh, would come next in view. A little beyond, one could look northward the whole length of Long Marsh, bounded on the east by the upland bordering the modern Pleasant Street, and on the west by the ridge of high land then known as Wigwam Neck and now as the Putnam Avenue district ending at the Riverside Press. Continuing to sail up the Charles, the settlers would have passed Common Marsh, then Ship Marsh continuous with it and ending at a little creek which

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ran inland approximately under the new Eliot House and receiving a brook from the present Brattle Square. This brook and creek formed the eastern boundary of still another marsh and upland area known as the Ox Marsh, which terminated at Windmill Hill at the foot of our modern Ash Street. A half mile further up the Charles, having passed a marsh some twenty acres in extent called Windmill Marsh and a bold headland of beautiful pines later called Symond's Hill, their boat would have reached a little creek now called Gerry's Landing which, two centuries ago, was called Watertown "Town Landing." If a part of these explorers had there left the boat and endeavored to return to Charlestown dry-shod, in order to avoid the wet marshes along shore they would have walked approximately through our present Elmwood Avenue, down Brattle Street to Mason. Moist land occupied the Brown and Willard Streets sections. By cutting across our present Common, they would have avoided the swale in Brattle Square. Thence crossing broad level forest-land along our present Kirkland Street, they would have reached our Union Square in Somerville. The trail was along the edge of that marsh which flanked Gibbons River mentioned above and which would have prevented our explorers from crossing to our Cambridgeport or East Cambridge district. The mainland near Union Square terminated at the south edge of Washington Street in Somerville. This would have been their path to the narrow isthmus connecting the Charlestown headland with the mainland.

The three brothers Sprague, Thomas Graves, the Company engineer, the two Palmers, Abraham and John, with several helpers, had chosen the site of Charlestown about the old Town Hill near City Square in 1628. It was just a stone's throw from the stockade which had been built by John Walford several years before at the same time that Blackstone settled in Boston, and Conant on Governor's Island, and Maverick in East Boston. We all remember the history of the bad water supply

in the Charlestown settlement. The fifteen hundred colonists under John Winthrop in 1630 determined to sub-divide the settlement, and Sir Richard Saltonstall and the Rev. Mr. Phillips migrated up stream

to the Watertown Landing, while other groups settled in Dorchester, Weymouth, and Boston. Rumors of invasion by Indians, or by French, or by Government officials, led the Assistants to determine upon founding a fortified area of comparative safety. This tract that we have sailed and walked about in imagination was found to possess such difficulties of approach over the deep tidal rivers and broad marshlands, that they decided to complete its defense by building a fence (the "common pales") from deep water on the Gibbons River to the site of the main settlement chosen upon the plain south of Harvard College.

After the memorable meeting of the Assistants when it was decided to place the new town on the plain above the creek near Brattle Square, the Company engineer laid out the group of eight streets over the comparatively flat, high ground between our Massachusetts Avenue and the marsh edge at South Street between Brattle Square and our present Bow and Arrow Streets. Approximately sixty lots averaging five to ten thousand square feet each, were staked out; and at an early meeting of the townsmen, it was decided that all houses should be erected at least six feet back from the property line. The village Meeting House was located at the present corner of Dunster and Mt. Auburn Streets upon land apparently in the center of the village and at the point of highest elevation. The Deputy Governor, Thomas Dudley, chose a double lot overlooking the creek and the broad marshes toward Watertown, and there he built the substantial house with a moderate amount of wainscoting in the front room which aroused the adverse criticism of his leader, Governor Winthrop. Matthew Allen, brick maker and enterprising man, chose two lots between the Governor and the Meeting House. Richard Lord, the local store-keeper, chose the lot alongside Governor Dudley, while Daniel Patrick, the military director of the town, took the remaining holding of this city block. The store-keeper also had a plot across Marsh Street extending down to the shore of the creek, where we can imagine he brought his supplies by boat from Charlestown. Andrew Warner built his house on the edge of Marsh Lane across the street from Richard Lord. William Spencer, the Town Clerk,

chose the corner that is now Brattle Square and Mt. Auburn Street; and at his house, we are told, the town records were kept for some years. Sir Richard Saltonstall was assigned the lot never built upon but from that day to this called the Town Market Place, corner of Boylston and Mt. Auburn and Winthrop Streets. To the west of his lot Governor John Haynes had the first, and Thomas Spencer the second, lot. Simon Bradstreet selected the prominent corner of Boylston Street and Massachusetts Avenue. Apparently each householder had a small holding on the edge of the town where his cattle were kept, as we find lot after lot of small area abutting our modern Mt. Auburn Street, Field Lane, and Cow Yard Lane. If we had walked eastward along Spring, i.e., our Mt. Auburn Street, away from the church site, Joseph Reading's home would be on the opposite corner, while adjacent to this house and on its south, we might look in upon our fellow member Professor Hart's tenth grandfather. Out from his southerly windows he would have looked upon the knoll our pioneers set aside as a site for a fort because of its commanding position overlooking Ship Marsh and the river, suitable in position to check hostile approach by way of the river. This site was never fortified but was assigned to Joseph Cooke after he purchased this adjoining property of Stephen Hart, when the latter moved to Hartford. We should mention how the creek extending from the river bank along the edge of Marsh Lane was

widened and deepened at public expense, John Masters agreeing to make the excavation to twelve feet wide and seven feet deep at high tide. Those old streets have been widened a little and straightened, but their original relative positions for the most part continue to this day. In Paige's *History of Cambridge* we find a diagram of the eight village streets.¹ I have checked over the ownerships and find it to be in accordance with our City Clerk's records copied and published² since Paige was written. The records are so much more easily perused than that revered old volume written in Wm. Spen-

¹ See map 1, at the end of this paper, which incorporates Paige's material.

² "Published in 1896, "by order of the City Council," with the title *The Register Book of the Lands and Houses in the "Newtowne" and the Town of Cambridge*.

cer's hand but aged by three hundred years. The principal street from the center of the town leading into the impaled area was the present Mt. Auburn Street and its extension, Back Lane or Bow and Arrow Streets, out onto Massachusetts Avenue near the present Remington Street, thence following the course of Massachusetts Avenue to Pleasant Street.

Not until after 1635, five years after the first settlement of Cambridge, did the General Court of Massachusetts Bay Colony pass the act that every town should report the names of its citizens and the kinds of realty property that each held. It is a map showing these possessions in New Town as described in this book that I now wish to put before you.¹ Each townsman had a town lot; many of them had a separate cow yard lot; each had a small planting field of from one to two acres and, elsewhere, small farm lots averaging from two to five acres, and a few acres of marsh land. Some of the more forehanded had generous holdings of from ten to sixty acres in all. Thus there were assigned the entire thousand acres between the Charles River bank and the common pales, which extended from deep water on Gibbons River in East Cambridge almost in a straight line to the center of the Harvard Yard as depicted on the map. This area was grossly subdivided into the following districts: outside the Village, eight lots already described, of a little over an acre each, fronting on Massachusetts Avenue, extended from the center of Harvard Square to Quincy Street. Some of the principal citizens had their homes thus early on this front half of the College Yard. East of Quincy Street and extending nearly to Dana Street was the Old Planting Field, sixty-five acres in extent. Dana Street was "the Highway to the Common Pales." There, some twenty citizens had long, narrow allotments extending from the modern Dana Street to below Hancock Street in that district between Massachusetts Avenue and the Charlestown-Somerville line. Beyond these small-lot fields, large farm assignments took up the area to the river bank, part upland and part marsh. At the corner of Pleasant Street and Massachusetts Avenue, a lane

¹ See map 2, at the end of this paper.

called "the Highway to the Oysterbank" ran along the present site of Pleasant Street as far as Pleasant Place, thence obliquely in a southerly direction to a landmark called "Black Birds Swamp," just south of the corner of Chestnut Street and Pearl Street. From this district Oyster Bank Field, roughly fifty acres, extended eastwardly.

From our modern Putnam Square there existed a ridge of land ending at the present holding in the Riverside Press. This land was in colonial days called "Wigwam Neck." Some forty-five acres comprised this ridge, and several of the leading citizens made this their first choice of farm land. The Long Marsh of sixty-five acres seems to have been very flat, cleared, and desirable marsh land; many of the citizens chose small holdings of it, probably to make use of the swale grass, which could easily be drawn up to their barns at the head of the street.

In 1849 the surveyor Alexander Wadsworth made a very careful plan of the Harvard Yard, plotting upon it the areas serially purchased by the College. Superimposed upon this Wadsworth plan I have located¹ the lots assigned in the Book of Possessions, 1635, matching the lines of those lots of known history, most of which are smaller than units which the College secured. To William Westwood the original records awarded one rood at the southwest corner of the College Yard, seemingly extending out into the present Square on a line with the present Boylston Street. Because this lot was double the area of the three adjacent lots to the east, it matched perfectly with the Wadsworth map of 1840. Next to Westwood came John Olmstead, who had sold to Edmund Goffe from whom the College bought. Next came William Peintry, who on going to Connecticut seems to have sold to Nathaniel Eaton, the original Harvard principal. Next along Massachusetts Avenue came Thomas Hooker with one rood of front property, while across the Cow Yard Lane Hooker held one acre and George Steele had one-half acre. Again along Massachusetts Avenue John White had one acre and John Clark one fourth of an acre, with properties across Cow Yard Lane held as follows: John

¹ See map 1.

Steele, three-fourths acre; Richard Goodman three-fourths acre; Edward Stebbins one acre. Then the Cow Yard Lane, having turned at right angles around the Stebbins lot, led to the ox pasture, with Daniel Patrick's two and one-half acres next beyond. In the light of history, the Daniel Patrick possession passed through the hands of Thomas Beale into the Congregational Society's possession in 1669 and Harvard at last purchased in 1830. One more lot carries our survey of the College Yard to Quincy Street, which passed through about the middle of the James Olmstead four-acre possession fronting upon Bow and Arrow Streets southerly. The northeasterly half of the College Yard, that portion beyond the Pales, was entirely included in the ox pasture, except the College grant of two and one-fourth acres. Later the Yard took the four and one-half acres of Thomas Shepard and the six-acre holding of Thomas Danforth. The areas awarded in 1635 are shown by this ox pasture plan¹ extending almost to Beacon Street, Somerville, half a mile away. The acre and a quarter adjoining the second Church lot, Westwood's original plot, was deeded by John Betts to Harvard in 1661. It is interesting to note that in November 1642 "John Betts was fined by us [the Town] 19s and 6d for his haystacks and cow houses and dung hills that he anoyde the street before his door with, and though after warned to clear the street yett denied to doe it." Since this property was near the site of Massachusetts Hall, he merited the rebuke.

The Sweetman lot, one acre in extent, adjoining the Betts property on the northeast and surrounding the present Phillips Brooks House, was secured in 1697. An abstract of the deed given by Michael Spencer, the son-in-law of the Sweetmans, may interest you.

In 1697 \$350.00 (70 pounds) was paid for the lot, which was deeded to the following:

(President of Harvard) --- Increase Mather

(Vice President) --- Charles Morton

¹ See map 1.

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Fellows of Harvard College --- Michael Wigglesworth, Samuel Torrey, Samuel Willard, Nehemiah Hobart, Peter Thatcher, John Danforth, Cotton Mather, John Lowell, William Brattle, Nehemiah Walker, John White, Paul Dudley, Benjamin Wadsworth, and Thomas Brattle, *Treasurer*

Together with this one acre, two Cow Commons were included in the deed of sale, with water and water-course rights upon the property. Apropos the above mention of water upon these premises, I was shown by Mr. Briggs at the Harvard Library a sketch drawn by James Winthrop in 1801 depicting Cow Yard Lane and Field as in 1635 and showing the position of a brook which ran from the vicinity of University Hall southwesterly around the base of Watch House Hill and across Harvard Square in the direction of Brattle Square.

In 1786 Harvard secured title to the Appleton pasture of three and one-seventh acres. Evidently this had been most of Thomas Shepard's early holding allotted from the first ox pasture. In 1794 four and one-half acres came from the Wigglesworth family, fronting on Massachusetts Avenue and having been principally the Thomas Hooker house and orchard of 1635. Fellows Orchard of a scant acre had been purchased from Thomas Marrett back in 1642, and this property had apparently been in John Goodman's possession in 1635. The Village Parsonage was not secured until 1833 when it comprised four and one-quarter acres originally the possession of Daniel Patrick, Edwin Stebbins, and a back

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lot from the ox pasture. Acquired in 1835 was the Foster Estate at the corner of Quincy Street, originally James Olmstead's possession, and the Bigelow estate farther over Quincy Street, this a section of the Ox pasture. The "old planting field lots," extending from near Quincy Street eastward to Dana Street, was within ten years assembled from the first small holdings here depicted, into the possession of Edward Goffe, whose home was later built near the present site of Beck Hall. The two tiers of eastern lots in this old planting field became George Cooke's. Cooke also bought title to more than one-half the small lot hill district, i.e., bordering the easterly side of Dana Street. The Cooke brothers, George and Joseph, were among the most enterprising citizens of the town. Although they had been well-to-do husbandmen in England, they were disguised as servants of Roger Harlakenden when they shipped to America with the Reverend Thomas Shepard. Joseph Cooke established the ferry. He farmed extensively and together with his brother was the first to select the water-mill site on Mill Stream in the Arlington district. There he constructed a dam and a grist mill, which led to the betterment of the "Old Menotomy Path" up North Avenue and, in 1637, to the construction of the cross road from Watertown to Arlington Centre.

George Cooke's abutters on the eastern slope of Dana Hill were the properties assembled by Roger Harlakenden and by his widow transferred by her marriage to Herbert Pelham. These included tracts, sixty-three and twenty-two acres respectively, first assigned to Governor Dudley and his son, together with those of Richard Goodman and William Westwood, a total of 118 acres which passed down through 150 years as a unit property, Harlakenden — Pelham — Bannister — Ralph Inman —

Nathaniel Jarvis — thence to the United States Government in payment of debt and sub-division and sale at public auction into many small parcels in 1803. The story of this tract could fill a volume if we traced its use through forestry, grazing, and husbandry in the support of Herbert Pelham's good home and descendants; the romance connected with Ralph Inman's using it as a suburban estate, after nature had again covered it with extensive woodlands;

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while the natural setting gave broad vistas over marshes, river-way, and basins, outlined by distant hills beyond the river. Then came the seizure by our American Revolutionary Army, and the line of investment at the siege of Boston. Breastworks and forts crossed the whole tract, while the manor house still held and protected Mrs. Inman living in the ell. The main house became the military headquarters of General Putnam. This old house stood on the lot a step behind City Hall. It is stated that barracks were constructed on both sides of the present Austin Street, in which five hundred Continental troops were housed. Near the corner of Essex Street and Austin, there was a fair-sized pond with swamp land extending well over towards Harvard Street in an area where, even to-day, serious difficulties have been found in putting in building foundations. This pond fed a brook which followed the course of the present Austin Street down to Columbia Street, where it turned south and crossed our Lafayette Square into Goffe Cove. History states that many willows were about the Frog Pond, and Port youths used it for skating as late as 1825. From the manor house the view southward was upon the so-called Locust Field, later a part of the Dana estate, extending from Pleasant Street to Pearl Street. A beautiful row of locust trees lined the main street. Sad to relate, they furnished fuel for soldiers; in fact, to quote from a letter from Mrs. Inman written immediately after the Revolutionary troops went away, "Oh! that imagination could replace the wood lot, the willows round the pond, the locust trees that so delightfully ornamented and shaded the roads leading to this farm. I say could imagination supply the place of those to the former possessor, how happy — but in vain to wish it, every beauty of art or nature, every elegance which it cost years of care and toil in bringing to perfection, is laid low. It looks like an unfrequented desert, and this farm is an epitome of all Cambridge, the loveliest village in America." Much difficulty was encountered by the Inman family in maintaining their American loyalty and consequent possession of the property, and in 1787 they transferred the title to Nathaniel Jarvis.

As the result of an agitation for fifty years, Harvard Square

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citizens with the co-operation of some substantial Boston men, secured a charter to put in a toll bridge to lead by causeway and pile-piered bridge from Lafayette Square to Copper Works Point, Boston, and thence to Bowdoin Square. This construction was completed in 1794 and started a veritable boom in the former farm lands of Cambridgeport. Judge Dana was slow in disposing of his property, but Andrew Bordman and several aggressive operators purchased and sub-divided lands upon the route near the causeway from Lafayette Square to our present Grand Junction Railway track. Several taverns and shops were constructed before 1800. In 1803 Nathaniel Jarvis, who held title to the Inman estate and added to it a belt of land along the east side of Massachusetts Avenue to connect his large farm with the Pelham Island holding, became indebted to the United States Government. Foreclosure followed, and the Government surveyed the property and sold it out in small areas at public auction, again stimulating diversity of development. East of the Inman farm, whose boundary followed northeast of Norfolk Street to near where Prospect Street crosses the present Somerville line,

the one hundred and twenty acres were held in four plots for about one hundred and fifty years. Tallcott, Dennison, Roger Shawe, and Henry Dunster in the early days used this tract for wood lots, plow fields, and orchards. The separate pieces changed ownership very seldom, among the Parishes, the Wyeths, Dunsters, and Foxcroft. In our progress over the eastward slope of Dana Hill we have now reached that area of lowland, marsh, and the insular highland, East Cambridge. This tract was assembled in a single ownership before 1700. Its bounds are firmly established in the Registry of Deeds from the corner of our Austin and Columbia Streets on the southwest to the Somerville line near Columbia Street, the northwest corner. Thence following the old line of common pales to tide water in the Gibbons Creek, it follows the shore around Lechmere Point and along the river front to the eastern end of a straight line of division from Munroe Street, corner of Third Street, across the marsh to Berkshire Street near Binney Street, thence south to Pelham Island near Moore and School Streets, thence westerly

to the point of beginning. The island-like section, one hundred and thirty acres in extent, must have been the most attractive farm and home site hereabouts because it was the chosen home of surveyor Thomas Graves, part of whose pay was to be one hundred acres of desirable land for a farm. A letter written by Graves in 1630 says: "Thus much I can affirme in generall, that I never came in a more goodly country in all my life, all things considered: If it hath not at any time been manured and husbanded, yet it is very beautifull, open lands, mixed with goodly woods, and again open plaines, in some places five hundred acres, some places more, some lesse, not much troublesome for to cleere for the plough to goe in, no place barren, but on the tops of the hils; the grasse and weeds grow up to a man's face in the lowlands, and by fresh rivers abundance of grasse and large meddowes without any tree or shrubbe to hinder the sith." He lived in Charlestown and went up the old road towards Watertown, to the vicinity of Union Square, where the Gibbons River was narrow and he could easily ford it at low tide. He purchased one acre from the holdings of Increase Nowell, who was the first proprietor of that marsh land at the head of Gibbons Creek in Charlestown. Thomas Graves was thus able to reach the Cambridge pales by his ownership of this right of way across Gibbons Creek. It is generally believed that Graves built the first house on Cambridge soil, situated on the southerly slope of Otis Hill near the corner of Third and Spring Streets, East Cambridge. Three years later Graves sold this property to Atherton Hough, a colonist who had formerly been Mayor of Boston, England. He built his home at the corner of Washington and School Streets in Boston, using this river island for agricultural purposes. He commenced to purchase adjoining property — ninety-five acres of John Tallcott, twenty-seven of Matthew Allen, and eight of Hester Musse. In 1706 this large area became the possession of Deputy Governor Spencer Phips. He improved the property by laying out orchards and building walls, and erected a causeway across Gibbons Creek at the present site of Medford Street. Tradition says that upon this hill he built a beautiful suburban home, which was burnt simultaneously with

his moving into it. No records have been found other than tradition in confirmation of this.

Sir William Phips, founder of this family, was one of twenty-six children born in a humble family upon the coast of Maine. He became self-supporting when very young and followed the sea. He is supposed to have been a man of great physical strength. He learned the trade of ship carpenter. About 1680 he discovered among the Bahama Banks to the northward of Hispaniola an old Spanish

galleon sunk at a moderate depth, from which he obtained a huge fortune of gold and silver. He took this directly to London and offered it to King James II. The King knighted him and shared the booty generously with him, and in a few years appointed him Governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Sir William married the daughter of Captain Spencer, the widow of John Hull, a merchant of Boston. They had no children and they adopted his wife's nephew, Spencer Bennett. About 1705 the young man inherited the patrimony. He immediately bought the large estate in East Cambridge, formerly Atherton Hough's three hundred and twenty-five acres, which had been transferred to John Langdon shortly before.

In 1714 Spencer Phips purchased of Dr. James Oliver the Daniel Gookin homestead on Arrow Street in the Harvard Square district. He enlarged and developed this home, which was later occupied by William Winthrop. Spencer Phips rose to be Lieutenant-Governor in 1741. He had one son and four daughters. In 1757 he passed away and his estate was divided. This family materially aided in the particularly happy life then established along Tory Row, because Spencer Phips's daughters were gracing as wives several of these home. Sarah, the eldest daughter, had married Andrew Boardman, the steward of Harvard College in 1732, and lived opposite the Yard at the corner of Boylston Street. Elizabeth, the second daughter, married Col. John Vassall and lived in the newly built Vassall house, now the Vosburgh home. Mary Phips came next and had married Judge Richard Lechmere and occupied the Sewall-Cabot-Brewster house. Rebecca was Mrs. Judge Joseph Lee at the old Nichols-Cary-Lee house, now

owned by Professor Emerson. Elizabeth Vassall's granddaughter married Lieut. Gov. Thomas Oliver and lived at Elmwood. David Phips inherited the Arrow Street homestead. This group, you recognize, was no small part of that happy Tory set, including Ralph Inman, Henry Foxcroft, East Apthorp, and a few others, who were so rudely displaced when the Revolution broke out a few years later. The subsequent history of their holding in East Cambridge recounts its lease to James Russell during the Revolutionary War; the site of landing of British troops headed for Lexington and for Concord Bridge; the scene of grazing cattle viewed by the British beleaguered in Boston during its siege; how a foraging party landed in Russell's pasture and drove into the water ten head of cattle and swam them across the Charles to furnish food for meat-hungry Britons. Its ease of approach led General Washington to direct construction of Fort Putnam on Otis Hill for its defence. After the war was over and Congress had confiscated some of the fields belonging to members of the Phips family who saw fit to go to England, the others slowly sold to Andrew Craigie, who had vision of industrial development at Lechmere Point. Battles for land ownership succeeded as Andrew Craigie sought for construction of the bridge to Boston, the bridge to Charlestown, the Middlesex County Court House, for the development of the glass factory, and for the terminal of the Middlesex Canal. How that man's energy did plan and how much he did by hook or by crook accomplish, only to overshoot the mark of safety! He became a prisoner for debt, not permitted to leave his own lands, Craigie House on Brattle Street.

Herbert Pelham, back in 1642, owned the Simon Bradstreet lot of sixty acres which was upon both sides of the present Massachusetts Avenue between Lafayette Square and the Harvard Bridge. The northerly portion of this lot became known as Pelham Island. It was some ten acres in extent surrounded by wet marsh, and Goffe's Cove severed about ten acres across the lower end of the lot. Two and one-half acres of high ground on the firm land opposite Pelham Island was deeded by Edmund Goffe to Thomas Marrett in 1734 and was described in the deed as a place for

catching pigeons. The seven-acre lot of Edward Stebbins, of which the above had been a part, first extended along the mainland shore from our Lafayette Square to Decatur Street and served as the northern boundary of those marsh holdings extending from the mainland to the river bank. At the lower end of this group of marsh lands was a tract used for many years as a wood lot for Harvard College. The property west of Pleasant Street, fourteen acres abutting Long Marsh, was first awarded to William Goodwin; and the brothers John and George Steele had sixteen acres to the east. This comprised all the upland between Pleasant Street and the Long Marsh. The adjoining properties came into the possession of Thomas Danforth and were the nucleus of the Thomas Soden farm purchased by him in 1743. To the south of Massachusetts Avenue from City Hall to Lafayette Square is a district which has less of historic interest. The property lines have been more complex.

Following the departure of Rev. Mr. Hooker's party from Cambridge, much of this Cambridgeport property was purchased by Nicholas Danforth or Edward Goffe. Their families continued owners of many small holdings until about 1730. The death of Thomas Danforth, whereby Francis Foxcroft and his wife inherited his various holdings, led to several exchanges of lots with Edmund Goffe which shaped up into the larger unit holdings. On May 23, 1732, Edward Goffe, then of Marblehead, transferred six and three-fourths acres of land at the foot of Pleasant Street to Thomas Foxcroft, then residing in Boston, and in exchange he received six and three-fourths acres partly adjoining this tract. A plan drawn and copied at the Registry of Deeds established the new and oblique line of possession which separated the southern part of the Soden Farm from the adjoining tract largely held by Goffe, Trowbridge, and Dana interests until well after the American Revolution. The oblique line thus established extended from the corner of Parks and Pleasant Streets to the upper edge of Black Bird Swamp, an area mentioned upon the Dana estate plan of 1800 kindly shown me by Miss Elizabeth Dana, and which to my mind solved the position of the old highway to Oysterbank

Field. That same day in 1732, Thomas Foxcroft sold the triangular-shaped piece of land two and one-half acres in extent but located immediately north of Black Bird Swamp; this transfer was to Goffe, who already owned the adjoining property east. Within ten years, Edmund Trowbridge inherited the Goffe possessions and on June 24, 1742 we find recorded the sale of seven and one-half acres in the triangular shape, adding five acres to that which Goffe purchased as above, now sold to Edward Manning of Cambridge, and on the same day five acres next above was deeded to Edward Marrett. This Marrett property remained in the family ownership until it was sold in 1783 to pay items under the terms of his will. This Marrett land was deeded to Thomas Warland. The transfer was accompanied by a map for which we are duly thankful, and by its accurate measurements this tract is exactly located. It had remained intact these fifty years; a so-called watering-place on the corner of Magazine and Prince Streets aided in exact location. The Soden Farm home-lot, thirty-five acres in extent, was from the upper corner of Pleasant Street and Massachusetts Avenue extending to Somerset Street at the edge of the old marsh. This lower edge is accurately described by a map accompanying the deed of sale: Seth Hastings, to Nathaniel Jarvis, in turn to Major John Palmer. This lower end of the farm comprised seven and three-fourths acres of upland from the Soden holdings and four acres from Aaron Brook's marsh. This plan gives a splendid outline of the Soden Creek now long since filled in. The Soden buildings (the old home and two barns) were at the present corner of Western Avenue and Pleasant Street opposite Soden Street.

In 1742 Francis Foxcroft, the son-in-law of Thomas Danforth, deeded to Thomas Soden, yeoman of Cambridge, all his possessions on the promontory towards Captains Island described in six parcels. From this deed we find mention of an old dam connecting Wigwam Neck with the ridge of land near our present Fairmount Street. No other mention of this dam have I found. Several deeds of the Long Marsh properties carry rights to approach across adjacent high lands, allowing the removal of driftwood to the main

roads during the spring and fall storm seasons. I will quote from one of these deeds that gave such permission to the Hastings family: "Forever the liberty of passing and re-passing through the same Mannings land where it will do the least damage, with a team in the months of July and August, to carry off the hay from the said Sodens and Hastings lands to the town or public way, as also the liberty of passing with a team anytime in the months of September, October, and November to bring off the tide wreck that may be lodged on said Soden land by the tide." Tradition says that Thomas Soden hired much of the Danforth holding of lands in Cambridgeport; to wit, everything from Pleasant Street to Long Marsh plus many lots in the Long Marsh; and apparently Soden occupied a hired house as early as 1720. Samuel Goffe had acquired ownership to nearly two-thirds of this old Ward 4 promontory previous to 1700, and about 1690 he deeded twenty acres of upland and eleven acres of marsh, the Andrew Warner lot with the James Clark marsh land below, to Harvard College for use as a source of wood. Edmund Goffe, who died in 1726, owned the Oysterbank Field and adjacent fields extending well up along Pearl and Brookline Streets, comprising eighty acres. The remaining thirty-five acres on the west side of the headland was the lower field of Soden's hired ground. I will read to you the 1704 report of a commissioner appointed by the Selectmen of Cambridge to state a highway to the Oysterbank:

Pursuant to ye above mention'd appointment we have taken a View of ye above sd mr. Edmd: Goffe's Land yt: is called ye: Oysterbank feild, & do find it nesscessary yt there be a High way thru: a tract of Land in ye Possession of Lt Amos Marrett & thru: a tract of Land in ye possession of mrs Mary Bordman from ye High way yt leads from ye Town to mr Pelham's Island, to ye above sd mr Edmd Goffe's Land called by ye Name of ye Oysterbank feild: we likewise find an ancient Cart way through ye above Said Lt Amos Marrett's Land & mrs Mary Bordman's land wch is extended from mr Edmd Goffe's Land called ye oysterbank feild to a high way yt: leads from ye Town, to mr Pelham's Island wch is Reported by ancient men of their own knowledge to have been improved & possessed for & as a high way by ye Inhabitants of Cambridge above fifty years Quietly without any Moles-

tation, which we Judge needs no Stating wch Cart way we Judge convenient to be continued & likewise to be ye Town's by Right & Possession

Camr: ye 12 June 1704

Solomon Prentice Senr:

Nicholas ffessenden

John Oldham

In 1764 Richard Dana leased to Edward Trowbridge during his natural life several pieces of property in old Ward 4, the rental from which was described oddly: "Paying only a peppercorn at expiration of the term, if requested." Sold in 1777 by deed not recorded until 1792, Samuel Soden transferred to Richard Dana twenty-six acres of the home lot of the Soden farm which was later sub-divided for residential purposes when the West Boston Bridge was put through. It will thus be seen that at the end of the century Judge Dana came into possession of much more than half of the Cambridgeport land south of Massachusetts Avenue through inheritance via the Goffe estate and by purchase from the Soden-Foxcroft-Dana estate. The village baker, a Mr. Palmer, secured the lower end of the Soden home-farm, ten acres in extent, which he shortly deeded to Leonard Jarvis in anticipation of the land boom. On this site two rope walks were built after the bridge was opened.

The properties originally held by Edward Elmer, the Widow Muzzey, William Westwood, George Steele, and James and Nicholas Olmstead at the lower end of Wigwam Neck, in all about eleven acres, were gradually assembled into the ownership of the Coolidges, Mannings, and President Appleton during a century, and later to the possession of William Winthrop and Samuel Manning at the time of the Revolution. On May 4, 1835 Samuel Manning, a descendant, deeded this tract to Amos Hesseltine, who sold it to the Town of Cambridge as its Poor Farm. An old section of the Riverside Press is a part of the building erected at that time for the poor of our town. They were moved from the former Home on Norfolk Street, which had burned not long before. A few years later the city sold this property to Little,

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Brown and Company, who proceeded to sub-divide it. This tract to-day comprises the plots of the Cambridge Electric Light Company, the Standard Dairy Company, the Riverside Press, and many humble residences. The tract abutted the old Soden Creek, which was dammed. There, a tidal-water driven grist mill was established. The plot originally assigned to Simon Bradstreet further up Wigwam Neck became the pasture of John Stedman, and for nearly a century was in that family ownership. His daughters sold it to the Reverend Nathaniel Appleton, who continued it for cow pasturing many years after the Revolution. The Reversible Collar Company and the Houghton School are prominent parts of this old holding to-day. The extreme northeast corner of this lot and the adjoining Thomas Hooker lot, which later became Edward Pelham's, was the site of Fort No. 2 used in the siege of Boston. On both sides of Massachusetts Avenue near the head of Wigwam Neck there were clay-pits that were developed in the earliest days as sources of brick clay. Matthew Allen, an enterprising colonist, seems to have been especially interested in brick-making. We have now completed our survey of the original impaled Cambridge, that section in which many individual pieces of property are described as bounded upon the northeast by "ye Common Pales."

West of the Brattle Square creek and northwest from the College Yard were the two areas soon designated as West End and Pyne Swamp Field respectively. The first was that entire tract of upland lying north of the ox marsh and windmill marsh, and bounded westerly by the Watertown line, i.e., Sparks Street and Vassall Lane, Fresh Pond along the Fresh Pond swamp, as the northerly boundary was Raymond Street extension. There is no mention made in the property-descriptions in this first book, of lands "abutting upon pales in this area." In this respect it is different from those lands to the eastward. However the Town Records mention under date of April 7, 1634, that John Pratt was granted "two Ackrs by the ould burieing place without the Comon Pales." Our historians have interpreted this to refer to a portion of the three and one-half acres bordering Ash Street road-

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way leading down to Windmill Hill. Those huge willows standing a few years ago beside Memorial Drive and near the Cambridge Boat Club are often referred to as the riverbank terminus of the common pales extending from Centre Yard to this point on the river. Further research will possibly some day settle the intervening locations.

The Town Records state on January 4, 1635, "It is further ordered that the burryinge place shalbee palled in: wherof John Taylcot is to doe 2 rodd Georg Steele 3 Rod and Agate Thomas Hosmer 3 Rod Mathew Allen — 1 Rodd and Andrew warner apointed to get the Remainder done at A Publik Charge & he is to haue iiis A Rodd."

Symon Bradstreet had the adjoining lot to the south and was authorized by the town to build the street down by his pale.

William Butler and the Herbert Pelham holding at the corner of Brattle Street and Brattle Square came next.

John Haynes was allotted six acres fronting both on Brattle Street and extending through to the Common. Adjoining the burying ground was the Town Pound, an area fifty feet square fenced in and used for many years. About 1750 when agitation for the construction of a Church of England edifice in Cambridge started, a portion of the Common was deeded to the Burying Ground and to the Read estate. Thus James Read squared the westerly line of the Burying Ground adjacent to that which he sold to Christ Church. Read sold a lot 100 x 100, and the Proprietors deeded a similar holding to the Society. Then the Proprietors established a straight line from the Burying Ground to Fay House corner (then in the Prentice family) and agreed to sell to each abutter the strip in front of his holding. Prentice and Bordman and others made use of this opportunity. The Vestrymen responsible for the development were: Henry Vassall, Ralph Inman, Joseph Lee, David Phips, Thomas Oliver, John Vassall, and East Apthorp.

The lot at the corner of Garden Street, Mason Street, and Brattle Street, comprising four and one-half acres, was very early assigned to Thomas Scott. The next holding, four acres in

extent also running through from Garden Street to Brattle, was awarded to Thomas Judd. The next eight acres became the property of John Barnard and also a strip running from approximately opposite our Chauncy Street through to opposite Willard Street on Brattle. This included the site of the Longfellow House. This property was soon sold to John Bridge, who immediately purchased the Thomas Judd holding, which had been transferred to Thomas Whyte. Continuing up Brattle Street, Joseph Eason secured two acres, and Jonas Austin two more, thus pre-empting the frontage along Brattle Street up to Sparks Street. Behind these last two lots, Jonathan Bosworth secured the four and one-half acres which led through to Garden Street, while Roger Harlakenden took the five acres behind Jonas Austin, the northwesterly line extending to Garden Street, at a point about one hundred and fifty feet south of Bond Street. This property was soon deeded to John Maynard and in turn to Gregory Stone, in whose family it remained for a century. Near this corner was the celebrated Stone Elm, of gigantic size and great beauty. The next piece of land, eight acres in area, was allotted to Samuel Greenhill, who soon transferred it to Simon Crosby. Once more a plot of three acres, Edward Elmer's, brings us just about to Bond Street on Garden Street and opposite Brewster Street on Sparks. Irregular lots comprised the remainder of this town block extending south to Wyeth Street, to

wit: Nathaniel Ely had six acres opposite the end of Linnaean Street and comprising about half the Harvard Observatory grounds; John Gibson and John Arnold, with five acres each, brought the property alignment on Sparks Street to the present corner of Vassal Lane; William Mann had three acres and Thomas Hayward two acres along the Wyeth Street frontage, leaving a clay bank which was soon developed with a kiln in this upper end of the square. West of Wyeth Street, early called "Middle Way," there were eleven allotments aggregating fifty-two acres extending between Vassal Lane and Garden Street and over to the Great Swamp. Individual assignments varied between three and ten acres. Next this block of land on the east, bounded

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east by Raymond Street, south by Linnaean, and west by Garden, extending northwesterly to about Walden Street, was divided into eight small holdings, two to six acres in area aggregating thirty acres. East of Raymond Street was the upper section of Cow Common extending from Linnaean Street to Alewife Brook.

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THE DISTAFF SIDE OF THE MINISTERIAL SUCCESSION IN THE FIRST PARISH CHURCH IN CAMBRIDGE

By JULIA BAYNARD PICKARD BAILEY

Read October 17, 1933

IN THE VESTIBULE of the First Parish meeting-house there is a tablet that bears the names of all the ministers of our beloved church. By the side of each name so honored are the dates that mark the length of service as pastor here. So much of history that brief, simple record holds! Perhaps one would have to be of a minister's family to be most deeply stirred by contemplation of any such memorial. And it surely would be true of any daughter, or mother, or wife of a clergyman - of any feminine member of a parsonage - that inevitably to her eye there would be another list of names accompanying these heroes and leaders, the ministerial servants of the faith. It is quite proper and in keeping with wistfulness of feeling, that the name of the wife of each minister should not actually appear on the tablet, but in thought how surely and quietly it does take its place beside that of her husband! A daughter of the parsonage, deeply impressed by viewing the names of the ministers of this church, my heart knew that there was an accompanying list which meant much - vastly much - that was of the very life of this church. And so the desire has been deep and real, since the first moment of my viewing that tablet, to know at least something of each woman who ever bore the title of "the minister's wife" in this parish.

The name "Susannah Hooker" must be sufficient for the wife of our first minister, Thomas Hooker; for it appears that her maiden name is not known. In some of the English parish records she is referred to as Susan Hooker; but her husband, in his will, made years later here in America, calls her Susannah Hooker. So Susannah she shall be to us. When one reads the familiar history of all the persecution and vicissitudes that Thomas Hooker suffered at

the constant, harassing will of Bishop Laud, in England and even later in Holland, one comes with enthusiasm and delight upon the fact that Susannah came into the life of our first minister under the particular circumstances that she did. It was at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Drake (Mr. Drake a kinsman of the famous Admiral, Sir Francis Drake) in Escher, England, about 1620 or 1621, that Thomas Hooker and Susannah met. Susannah for some time had been assisting Mrs. Drake as companion. Mrs. Drake was a hypochondriac, who "had already worn out the consolations of two worthy ministers," one known as "Decalog Dodd," a great scholar, and the other, Dr. Usher, equally noted, Primate of Ireland. Thomas Hooker in his influence on Mrs. Drake proved to be successful in powers of restoration; and who knows but that his love affair with Susannah, at the time, added to the cheer which he was able to impart to the hitherto hopeless invalid? After they were married, Susannah shared with Hooker triumphs and trials in England and Holland. They lost two of their children, Anne and Sarah, who were buried in England. Coming to America, her husband served as the first pastor of this church; and they lived in the house famous as the home of the early ministers of Cambridge. In July, 1636, Susannah accompanied her husband to Connecticut, being carried there on a litter. She did not, however, remain in a state of invalidism. In time she presided over a charming home, reared splendid children, continued her great influence and interest in the church here as well as the church there, and outlived her husband, who died in 1647. Her husband in his will entrusts his literary treasures to her disposal and relies upon her judgment as to the disposition of much of his property and as to the rearing of his children. The children, John, Samuel, Joanna, Mary, and Sarah, are all mentioned in the will. The daughters married men who became ministers of note, and the son Samuel was a greatly beloved pastor. Susannah's grave is unknown but is thought to be in the little primitive first burial ground in Hartford, Connecticut, which has long since been disturbed. Although in a sense, Susannah Hooker will always be Connecticut's "First Lady," our church has a prior claim to that of Connecticut. Her

name takes its place beside the name of Thomas Hooker, minister of this church, 1633-1636.

The Rev. Samuel Stone, who was "Teacher" here during Thomas Hooker's pastorate, was married first in England. Although we do not have the name of his wife, she is said to have lived here with him; and she undoubtedly contributed much to the life of the church, and of her home, and of her community. The site of their home is well known and is frequently mentioned in Cambridge history. It is said that Mrs. Stone died at some time after going to Connecticut with her husband, and records indicate also that after her death there, Samuel Stone married again. He left, when he died, in Hartford, a widow, Elizabeth, and children, Samuel, Elizabeth, Rebecca, Mary, and Sarah.

Margaret Touthville, whom Thomas Shepard married in 1632, was a niece of Sir Richard Darley. From all the reports we have she must have been a young gentlewoman of an unusually courageous and gracious spirit. It was she who persuaded her husband to leave the persecutions in England. We have a very beautiful tribute to her in Thomas Shepard's own words. "She was," he said, "an incomparably loving, amiable, and pious wife." She died early in 1636, soon after her husband's installation. Just to have entered the sanctuary of this church was the fulfillment of her heart's desire! She left an infant son, Thomas, who grew up to be a noted minister, and through his daughter Anna,

wife of Daniel Quincy, she became a direct ancestress of many famous persons, among them John Quincy Adams, President of the United States.

Joanna Hooker, Thomas Hooker's daughter, whom Thomas Shepard married in 1637, and who died April 28, 1646, for nine years brought cheer and comradeship to Thomas Shepard's erstwhile desolate fireside. Such occasions as the synods and the trial of Anne Hutchinson brought the Hooker and Shepard families together at Cambridge. Joanna inherited her splendid qualities from both her father and her mother. We are told in Shepard's autobiography some very definite traits of Joanna's. There was common-sense in abundance, thriftiness, deep piety, unswerving

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cheerfulness. It is particularly interesting to note how much the people of the church meant to her, how greatly she enjoyed their fellowship. It is also a valuable clue to many things when Shepard states that she read and mused upon the notes of his sermons. He writes with evident satisfaction that she enjoyed them. Joanna left two small sons, - one of them died in infancy; the other son, Samuel, went to reside with his Hooker grandparents in Hartford after the death of his mother.

"My little Sam," wrote Hooker to Shepard, concerning the merry child, "is very well, and exceedingly cheerful, and hath been so all this time, - grows a good scholar - the little creature hath such a pleasing, winning disposition that it makes me think of his mother almost every time I play with him."

An ancient chronicler says: "On the eighth of September, 1647, Mr. Shepard married, for his third wife Margaret Boradel, by whom he had one son, (Jeremiah), born August 11, 1648, and who (Margaret Boradel Shepard) after his death, became the wife of Jonathan Mitchell his successor in the church at Cambridge." Margaret Boradel was born of English gentlefolk, wealthy and highly regarded. According to the will of her father, "John Borrowdale, Gentleman" of London, she evidently was the youngest child of her parents. Her marriage to Shepard probably occurred in Boston. We are told that Jonathan Mitchell, Thomas Shepard's successor, was first engaged to be married to the daughter of the Rev. Cotton Mather, but that she died during their engagement. After a while his thoughts turned to the young Widow Shepard. We are told that when she married Jonathan Mitchell, there was a most joyful celebration on the part of the parish and the students of the college, the occasion being the inspiration of many literary felicitations. It would be very interesting to see some of these. It would also be very interesting to know which husband's sermons Margaret really preferred! She survived her second husband a number of years, and as "Mistress Mitchell" is frequently and affectionately mentioned in the church records as being the recipient, at stated intervals, of funds from the church. The settlement of her estate was made in 1691. Margaret Mitchell is said

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to have been buried near the spot where Thomas Shepard and Jonathan Mitchell are supposed to be interred. One finds the tombstone there of her son Nathaniel Mitchell, aged seventeen. In Putnam's Magazine, the genealogical chart of Margaret Boradel Mitchell shows that President Grover Cleveland was of the seventh generation in direct descent from Margaret and Jonathan Mitchell. For this there is the sanction of Mr. W. Lincoln Palmer, the well known genealogist.

The wife of Urian Oakes, who was the next pastor of this church and also President of Harvard College, is thought to have been a daughter of the famous Dr. William Ames; but she was not the daughter Ruth, as has sometimes been stated. We are told, however, that Urian Oakes was in England at the time of his marriage and that his four children, Urian, Edward, Lawrence, and Hannah, were born in England. It is reported that when the Parish here sent a delegation over to England to persuade Urian Oakes to accept this pastorate, for over a year he would not consider it at all, because his wife was very ill in England. Her death occurred there, in 1669, and it was not until Nov. 8, 1671, that he came to Cambridge and accepted the pastorate. Mr. Oakes never married again. The three Oakes sons having died in young manhood, Judge Sewall in noticing the death of the daughter Hannah, who married the Rev. Samuel Angier, refers to her as the "only surviving child of her father." We are told in another place that she reflected the dignity of her family. An only daughter must have been very close to her mother's life and it is very likely that the wife of Urian Oakes was faithfully reflected in the life of her daughter.

We know that Major-General Daniel Gookin was one of the greatest and most influential men in the entire colony. What adventures had been his! A life in England, Ireland, Virginia, Maryland, and New England had been one of stirring experiences and of unusual historic importance. He himself was a leader in all these happenings. The story of his life it seems to me would give all the Boy Scouts in Cambridge a hero after their own hearts, and his dignified tomb in our burial-ground furnishes a shrine worthy

of any hero-worshipper. Such a man was the father of Nathaniel Gookin who, on November 15, 1682, became minister of this church. Another fascinating name of about the same period is that of Abijah Savage. This Abijah Savage was only thirty-one when he died on a sea voyage to Barbadoes. We have ample proof that when he was a student at Harvard he led a highly successful College riot which involved, I daresay, many parishioners of this church. His name adorns pages of cherished information in the annals of Harvard College. He was the grandson of Anne Hutchinson, his mother being Faith, the daughter of William and Anne Hutchinson. Such a man was the father of Hannah Savage who, on August 3, 1685, became the wife of the Rev. Nathaniel Gookin. At that time she was but nineteen. They had three children, Nathaniel, Abijah, and Hannah. Nathaniel Gookin, the minister, died at the early age of thirty-six, on August 7, 1692. Hannah, his wife, died May 14, 1702. Tradition regarding the burial-ground here says that Nathaniel Gookin "was buried under a brick monument crowned by a stone slab, but the inscription was gone in 1800; probably it was in the southeastern part of the yard where his wife's stone still stands." Constant were the generous appropriations of the church to the widow Hannah Gookin, in token of the regard in which she was held. There are evidences too of her abiding affectionate interest in church affairs after the death of her husband. Nathaniel and Hannah were a young couple with young children during the pastorate here. Descended from the very best that the state afforded, they undoubtedly were conscientiously devoted to the cause of the church, contributing much of lively interest to the life of the parish and community. I imagine that Hannah was a fine, happy young wife and mother, and it is easy to believe this quotation about her from a history concerning our city and parish: "The affection and esteem cherished by the church and town towards her, are manifested by their frequent donations while she lived, and by assuming direction and charge of her funeral, as they had previously defrayed the expense of her husband's burial." Does it not also tell us much of the name perpetuated in her descendants, that Dr. Holmes said in regard to a

member of that distinguished family who had just died: "She was the last of the Gookin family in Cambridge. It is said by those who remember her, that although she possessed but a small estate, in her personal deportment she fully maintained the ancient dignity of her family."

The first wife of the Rev. William Brattle was Elizabeth, daughter of Elizabeth Allen Hayman and Major Nathaniel Hayman, a well-known and influential citizen of Charlestown. They were married in Boston, November 3, 1697. She was admitted a member of the church at Cambridge April 10, 1698; and she died July 28, 1715, in the thirty-ninth year of her age, having borne two sons. We cherish the beautiful baptismal basin that was the gift from Mr. Brattle, and we wonder if Mrs. Brattle shared in the plan of the gift long before it was bestowed. I found this little item in small print tucked away among presumably more important matters in one of the order books of the Rev. William Brattle. On Feb. 21, 1707/08, he sent to England for "a modest silk with trimmings, Suitable for a Minister's wife of medium stature; Euff for a gown and petticoat & 1 yd an 1/2 of ye silk more; about 6s. per yd; also a dress and sleeves, ye rest of ye money to be laid out in black sowing silk, stiff and Fine pins." Remembering the fact of all the great wealth of the Brattle family, and the emphasis which later historians seem to place upon their possession of it, we rejoice to observe that the qualification "suitable for a Minister's wife" is the only descriptive standard used in that order. Then too, we get just the one bit of knowledge of Mrs. Brattle's person: she was of "medium height." We rather infer, however, that in her bearing and manners there was something regal that expressed her sense of what was appropriate demeanor for a minister's wife.

The second wife of the Rev. William Brattle was Elizabeth, daughter of Joseph and Ann (Waldron) Gerrish of Wenham, widow of Joseph Green, Harvard College 1695, minister at Danvers. She was born October 9, 1673 and married Mr. Green on March 16, 1698/9. He died November 26, 1715. They had nine children, one of them born posthumously. Shortly after Mr.

Green's death Elizabeth married Mr. Brattle. We know that as the daughter of the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Gerrish, she had a very beautiful and charming upbringing in a delightful home environment. We like to think that she shared the quality of mercy and tolerance which so characterized her father that he played an important part in subduing the tragic and hysterical witchcraft activities at the time. He defended and the home of her parents protected accused persons who were in danger of their very lives during this black period in our colonial church history. So we know that the second wife of Mr. Brattle brought with her a heritage of culture and piety, a spirit familiar with religion at its highest level, a rational faith capable of resisting the frenzy of mistaken persons, even though those persons were numerous and also important in regard and reputation. As we read the history of the First Parish of Danvers and recall the famous Diary of her first husband, we realize that she was a beautiful example of a worthy companion to a minister. Probably Mr. Brattle was very sure of Elizabeth's possessing all these estimable traits as he sought a second wife. But, as I have said, Mr. Brattle died shortly after his second marriage. It would be interesting to know how long she continued to live in Cambridge. She was seventy-four years old when she died on May 22, 1747 in Medford. From all accounts of her, - a wise, wholesome, courageous, attractive woman!

Margaret Gibbs Appleton, the wife of Nathaniel Appleton, was the daughter of the Rev. Henry Gibbs and his wife Mercy Greenough of Watertown. Mr. and Mrs. Appleton were both of distinguished ancestry, and through them has been transmitted an equally distinguished progeny. Mary Gibbs was born July 3, 1699 and married Mr. Appleton June 25, 1719. The longest pastorate of this church was

the more than sixty-six years of Mr. Appleton, who died February 4, 1784, aged ninety years. Margaret Gibbs Appleton died January 17, 1771, aged seventy-two years. One has but to recall that the term of the Appleton pastorate contained the years of our American Revolution and all the incidents that led to it, to realize that these crises and experiences called for

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a very high type of woman to fill the role of minister's wife. We are very fortunate in having in the Fogg Museum a portrait of Margaret Gibbs Appleton by Copley. It seems to me that we observe in this picture sweetness and strength, a sure understanding of life, a religion that finds life good. There seems to blend in it all the approachableness of the real aristocrat and a self-reliance that has so much strength that it can share with others. There also is a deep pleasantness of expression, that could give comfort and yet not be unmindful of sorrow. One feels that she brought much to life and that she also acquired much from life. In her portrait she wears a green frock with the white accessories and white cap. I think the wearer of that green attire was serene, poised, and cheerful. She has a distinguished place in all the histories of Cambridge and Massachusetts. Her twelve children, her husband, their descendants, - brilliant, notable, worthy, and the members of this Parish rise up and call her blessed, finding inspiration and a sort of happy strength in her very name.

Timothy Hilliard, the next minister of this church, married, in Boston, November 7, 1771, Mary Foster, the daughter of Thomas Foster and Sarah Banks, his second wife. Mr. Hilliard was ordained in Barnstable, his first parish, April 10, 1771. He took his bride there in the autumn of the same year. There they spent twelve years of happy, useful life. In Barnstable these children were born to them: Mary, Joseph, Timothy, William, and Charles. Timothy Hilliard was installed as pastor of this church October 27, 1783, and died May 9, 1790. During the nearly seven years of his pastorate here, he and his wife lived in the parsonage which stood in the College Yard, a little west of Quincy Street. Three of their children were born there. We have the marked graves in our burial-ground of the daughters Frances and Julia, who died young - Frances aged sixteen months and Julia aged eight years. Timothy Hilliard was the son of a deacon, Joseph Hilliard of Kensington, N. H.; and the wife of Timothy Hilliard, Mary, was the daughter of a deacon, - James Foster, of the West Church in Boston. We are told that our Mary Foster Hilliard was "a lady

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of rare endowments and accomplishments." She was a true gentlewoman and was connected by marriage with leading families in Cambridge and Boston of that time. She shared the brilliant and interesting life of her family and relatives as well as that of the Parish. Her brother was Bossenger Foster, who married first Elizabeth Craigie of Cambridge, and after her death, married Mary Craigie. He lived on Brattle Street in the Vassall House. After the death of her husband, - seven children surviving their father, - Mary Foster Hilliard some time later hired the house of Judge Winthrop and had a boarding house there. It evidently was the center of much friendly hospitality and charm. We are deeply indebted to Mrs. Isabella Gozzaldi for affording information concerning Mrs. Hilliard by a printed contribution to the Cambridge Historical Society of a correspondence several of the letters of which were written by Harriet, one of Mrs. Hilliard's daughters. Mary Foster Hilliard died the 23rd of October, 1817, and is presumably buried by the side of her husband Timothy Hilliard, in our burial ground. There can be found many tributes of praise to this interesting, courageous woman, and her

name has enriched our annals and interwoven itself with the affections, struggles, joys, and sorrows of our Parish and of the community.

"Mary, born August 25, 1767; married Rev. Abiel Holmes. A.M." - this recorded by President Ezra Stiles, of Yale College, her father. He states also: "The Rev. Abiel Holmes and my daughter Polly were married August 29, 1790. And November 9, 1790, embarked for Georgia." The father of Mary Stiles, the first wife of Abiel Holmes, was spoken of here and in Europe as the most learned man of his time. He seems almost a miracle among men. The marvel of his career was, to a large extent, made possible by his wife, Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Col. John Hubbard of New Haven, Conn. By her son-in-law, Abiel Holmes, we are given this description of her: "A woman of excellent accomplishments, intellectual, moral, and religious; and who, therefore, deservedly possessed his [her distinguished husband's] tenderest affection. By her prudence, and exclusive care of everything pertaining to domestic economy, she left him in possession of his whole time

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for literary pursuits and pastoral duties." The story of the family life of Mary, familiarly called "Polly," is nothing short of enchanting. She was one of eight children in the Stiles home. Tender devotion and unusual congeniality marked the relationship between these children, and they enjoyed a rare fellowship with their parents. We are not surprised that the great William Ellery Channing as a youth found inspiration in that home. A most interesting collection of verse by the Stileses, known as "A Family Tablet," contains eight poems written by her, signed "Myra," an anagram for Mary. Of course it is well known that Mary Stiles Holmes went to Midway, Georgia, as a bride. I have often thought of that lovely New England bride in the far-away Southland when travel was so rare and differences of sections much less familiar than they are to-day. I have longed to feel sure that japonicas and jessamines and Southern smilax were at their loveliest for her. She did not find the climate congenial, but the people poured out their hearts in welcome and lavished their affection upon her. She found some of the finest plantations adjoining Midway belonging to Southerners who were members of the Stiles family. They had come from England and aristocratic Barbadoes, and were very influential and prominent. The name is allied with the best Southern tradition, of the present and the past. When Mary Stiles Holmes came to Cambridge it must have given her great delight to be in her dear New England again. Her years of residence here were few: her husband having been installed in 1792, she died August 29, 1795, aged twenty-eight. She rests in our burial-ground, and near her two of her charming sisters, Elizabeth and Ruth, the mother of Ezra Stiles Gannett. Mary Stiles Holmes bore no children; but she was an abiding inspiration to her husband's literary achievements and ministerial labors.

One day the mother of Col. T. Wentworth Higginson, as a girl, wrote her mother: "Now, Mamma, I am going to surprise you. Mr. Abiel Holmes, of Cambridge, whom we so kindly chalked out for Miss N. W. is going to be married, and of all folks in the world, guess who to. Miss Sally Wendell ... it has been kept secret for six weeks, nobody knows for what. I could not believe it for some time and scarcely can now; however it is a fact they say."

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Sarah Wendell, the second wife of Abiel Holmes, whom he married in 1801, was the daughter of the Hon. Oliver Wendell and his wife Mary Jackson of Boston. She was thirty-three at the time of her wedding, her birthday being December 30, 1768. The Wendells were of Dutch origin. "My

forefather Evert Jansen Wendell," wrote Oliver Wendell Holmes, "was among the early settlers of Albany, and his arms, as I have often mentioned with a certain satisfaction, were stained on one of the windows of the old Dutch church of that city." Sarah Wendell had New England ancestry also; she was a direct descendant of Ann Bradstreet, "the Tenth Muse." John T. Morse, Jr., says that in Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes "there was much more of the intellectual quality of the mother than of the father." Mr. Morse continues: "Her traits were very different from those of her husband. She was a bright, vivacious woman; of small figure, and sprightly manners. Being also very cheerful and social, and very fond of dropping in upon her neighbors, and withal of sympathetic and somewhat emotional temperament, so that she readily fell in with the mood of her friend, whether for tears or for laughter, she was a very popular lady whom everyone greeted kindly. Dr. Morrill Wyman, of Cambridge, who knew her well, wrote to Dr. Holmes: 'Your mother's age, her pleasant ways, her gentleness, her never-failing inquiries for others, all impressed me with a reverential love, like that for my own mother.'" Perhaps no minister's wife of this parish was partner to more of perplexing heartache or showed greater wifely loyalty than Sarah Wendell Holmes; for her husband's pastorate came upon days that were marked by conscientious decisions of a rending kind, and the severing of precious ties of church and friendship. One rather infers from statements made by her distinguished son that the strictest orthodoxy was not really an entire expression of her Christian faith; but we know that Dr. McKenzie truly reports her partnership with her husband when in writing of Dr. Abiel Holmes he says: "His second wife, the mother of his children, ... long survived him, [she lived to be ninety-three] and received the affectionate homage of many hearts, both for her own excellence and for her association with him whose life she had shared and adorned."

We come now to one who is beautifully remembered by members of our church living in our midst to-day. I have asked many about Mrs. William Newell, and always there comes the immediate response: "Oh, she was very lovely! Yes, indeed I do remember her." Then, in every case of such inquiry, there is eager recounting of some incident or characteristic that is a delight to hear. We are blessed in having Mrs. Newell's own daughter, Mrs. James Lowell Moore, as a member of this church, and she has kindly consented to tell us something about her mother, Frances Boott Wells Newell.

I hardly know how to paint an adequate picture of my mother. I was the child of my parents' later years and when I was thirteen the crushing blow of the death of my two sisters within four months fell on her and caused a partial eclipse of her lighter side. My feeling of her character was of intense lovingness. She was preeminently maternal and wrapped up in her children, all of whom she survived except two, my brother, William Wells Newell, and myself.

But beside the mother characteristic she was greatly interested in public affairs and had a fine appreciation of values therein. Of course the Civil War enlisted all the intensity of her nature, especially as the second son, Robert, entered the service, leaving college in his junior year to become a lieutenant and then a captain in the 54th regiment. She was always a firm supporter of Abraham Lincoln and I remember her telling me that she said in her sewing-circle, near the beginning of his term, that she believed he was destined to be a very great President and that the other ladies hooted at her. Boston showed its worst side in its non-appreciation of Lincoln's quality, but my mother's fine instinct grasped it early and never wavered in her faith. I remember an incident when as a little girl, I was asked by my sister, "Are you for Lincoln or McClellan?" and my answering "McClellan" because he had kissed me at a reception at Harvard (one of my earliest recollections), and my sister saying "You mustn't say that, you must say Lincoln." When he was assassinated it was exactly as if one of the household had died and I remember seeing my reticent sister lying on the sofa and sobbing as if her

heart would break when I came into my mother's room in the morning and asked what was the matter to be told that Lincoln had been killed.

In 1827, William Wells, the well-known publisher in Boston, lost his printing and publishing establishment by fire and, by the mistake of a clerk, also lost his insurance. He was an excellent classical scholar and

turned for a living for his wife and seven children to the profession of teaching. With the help of friends he bought the Fayerweather estate on Brattle Street in Cambridge, consisting of a colonial house and sixty acres of land, for the sum of \$8000. The present stately mansion opposite Elmwood Ave. was then in such a rundown condition that his friend, Mr. Lyman, who helped him to finance the project, advised him not to let his wife see it till it had been renovated. Here he set up a boardingschool which was attended by many subsequently well-known characters, three of whom were Judge Story, James Russell Lowell, and Thomas Wentworth Higginson. The school has been hardly treated in several biographies, but somewhat unjustly, as the harsh discipline was not unique but the accepted method in English schools and Mr. Wells was an Englishman who happened to have been transplanted to America as a young man when his beautiful father, the Rev. William Wells, of Brattleboro, left his country in the 1790's, on account of the Birmingham riots, to settle in a remote country town in Vermont.

Here in Cambridge Mr. Wells' family grew up. My mother, the third daughter, was thirteen years old when the family moved to Cambridge and took up their residence in the dear old house, which is associated with the happiest memories of my childhood. Soon after Mr. Wells bought the house, he sold all the land except five acres which came down to my own day. My wonderful grandmother and three loving aunts made their house a perennial source of delight to my mother's six children. Grandmother's garden was a paradise to the youngest of the family with its wealth of fruits of every kind and old-fashioned flowers.

Grandmother was the eldest daughter of Kirk Boott, a commission merchant of Boston, who built the house in Bowdoin Square which afterwards became the Revere House. The family were all extraordinarily distinguished in looks and my mother inherited the fine profile characteristic of my grandmother's family.

My mother never told me much of her childhood but I gather that her bringing up was a Spartan one. I remember only one incident: that she saw her mother eating a bowl of rice and milk and wished she could have some, but apparently the child never dreamed of asking for anything, a wonderful contrast to the pampered young folks of to-day. When one sees the results of such bringing-up, as in her case, one questions the validity of present-day methods in producing the qualities of self-sacrifice and unselfishness, so needed in this chaotic world of ours.

In 1830 there came to Cambridge, then a small village, a young minister, Mr. Newell, twenty-six years old, for his first parish, which he was to keep for thirty-eight years, his only pastorate. In 1835 he married Frances Wells, who was then twenty-one, and brought her to a

house in Phillips Place where they began a long and happy married life till 1881, when he died at the age of seventy-seven.

My mother in her later years was fond of sewing and embroidery, and there was a beautiful peacefulness about her in these occupations. The family cat appreciated this quality and often insisted on sitting in her lap, knowing it would be thus free from disturbing influences. Her personality possessed an aura of warmth and sweetness which always attracted children. I remember with gratitude the comfort of her presence and the joy of nestling closely into her warm atmosphere.

She was very fond of biography, and we have read together many beautiful lives of interesting characters.

She was, as I have said, much interested in public matters. In her day there were no public associations of women and I have always regretted that she did not have the opportunities for social interests that her daughter possesses, for she had a keen and active mind with hardly enough to occupy her happily in her later years when the younger people were busy with their own affairs. We are more fortunate in that respect to-day but perhaps sometimes the more intimate relations, which she filled so beautifully, suffer.

Her religion was always intensely real and a part of her life. To see her once more is one of the great joys the future holds for the writer.

Vivid and adored in the memory of many hearts, Cora Weld Peabody, wife of Francis Greenwood Peabody, daughter of Francis Minot Weld and Elizabeth Rodman Weld, was born January 4, 1848 and died September 5, 1914. When I tell you that our greatly beloved Dr. Peabody, graciously acceding to my request, has himself given us a glimpse of his lovely wife, you and I know that we are very fortunate to be so honored. The light that came into Dr. Peabody's eyes and the tones that came into his voice as he talked to me about her seemed the perfect tribute, and only words such as Dr. Peabody can use can at all represent that light and those tones. Here is what her husband says about Cora Weld Peabody:

The first thing to say is that nothing would surprise Mrs. Peabody more completely than to know she was remembered by anybody, in the parish or outside of it, nineteen years after her death in 1914, not to speak of more than fifty years after her experience as a pastor's wife. Mrs. Peabody was by temperament and inclination of extreme modesty

and quietude of spirit, with no concern for self-importance and no desire for a conspicuous place in the church or the community. Her mother had been born and bred in the Society of Friends, and though marrying out of that connection remained in habit and taste a Quaker all her days, with the disciplined simplicity and the "surrender of silence" which characterizes the Friends. Her daughter inherited these beautiful traits, of self-restraint and spiritual tranquility, and it is a curious fact that these qualities, which might seem evanescent and soon forgotten, have survived in the memory of friends more permanently than many achievements of more ambitious lives. The efforts and schemes of active enthusiasts have their day and cease to be, while there remains the kindly reminiscence of unassuming and self-effacing service. It is striking to remember that a woman without any pretense of influence was in fact sought out for counsel and comfort by the most diverse kind of people, her contemporaries, younger women, men of the world, distraught or sad. They came to her as to a confessional, and told their troubles and revived their strength. In a word, she had that quality which

is the most rare and precious of human endowments, and which we loosely define as charm; - a graciousness and instinctive wisdom which is the gift of God to favored souls.

This does not mean that a life which thus shunned publicity was ineffective in public affairs. Mrs. Peabody gave herself wholeheartedly to the parish, making her home a meeting-place for old and young, serving in the ranks of committees and organizing the hospitalities of the Church. With her friend, Mrs. J. P. Cooke, she maintained for many years a weekly gathering of poor women, to prepare garments which were sold at nominal prices to them and their neighbors. She became much disturbed by the conditions of life in which many married students at the University and their wives were living, and she held a meeting at her own home to organize, with Mrs. G. L. Goodale, the Society of Harvard Dames, for the purpose of lessening the unbefriended solitude in which many married couples were involved. In kindly tasks like these Mrs. Peabody was happily busy, but she was by inclination and determination less a leader and administrator than a gentle and modest neighbor, preferring obscurity to prominence and giving to such duties the saving touch of humaneness and love. She had many severe trials and tragic sorrows to bear, but they did not break her serenity or crush her faith. Those who shared these experiences with her were sustained by her quiet self-mastery and by the unflinching source of her strength.

Mrs. Peabody was of the Victorian type of womanhood, whose first care was for her home, her husband, and her children, and whose place in the larger world was not of leadership, but of generosity and charm. One of her friends, who was a young girl in Mrs. Peabody's life time,

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has said that there was never anyone else like her. That would seem to say that simplicity, naturalness and self-forgetfulness are more rare than ambition and self-display, and are long remembered, like the memory of a gentle day, with its kindly warmth and its light at evening tide.

I often think that the Quaker poet, writing of the Quaker temperament, might have had in mind this self-effacing character:

"The blessings of her quiet life

Fell on us like the dew;

And good thoughts where her footsteps pressed

Like fairy blossoms grew.

Still let her mild rebuking stand

Between us and the wrong,

And the dear memory serve to keep

Our faith in goodness strong."

Does it not seem appropriate that the deepest, most quiet, most reverent, expression of our church life is associated with her in the following beautiful way?

This Resolution, offered by Prof. Jeremiah Smith, was unanimously adopted by the church, on Sunday, April 11, 1915.

RESOLVED:-

(1) "That the thanks of the Church are given to Rev. Dr. Francis G. Peabody for his gift of silver plates to be used in the Communion Service; and inscribed to the memory of his wife, Cora Weld Peabody.

(2) That Rev. Dr. Peabody is assured that this gift will be especially cherished as a remembrance of one whose helpful service and complete self-forgetfulness will long be an example for the younger generations of this Church, and whose beautiful life in our midst was a perfect illustration of Christian discipleship."

Louise Bronson Crothers - all hearts beat more quickly at the very sound of her name! Everyone who knows her would vie with every other in bringing a tribute to her, but no mere eulogy could be adequate. Her blessed presence among us is the climactic fact in the story told by this paper. It would be presumptuous for me to try to tell you about Mrs. Crothers or to describe how deep, abiding, and general is the appreciation of her distinguished husband, and of all their family. In spite of her gifts of mentality and humor, in spite of her wealth of spirituality, each of us unhesitatingly calls her "my Mrs. Crothers." And all of us gladly feel that in a real sense we belong to her.

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OLD CAMBRIDGE

By DAVID T. POTTINGER

Read at the Winter Meeting of the Bay State Historical League
in Christ Church, Cambridge, January 28, 1933

WE ARE MEETING this afternoon in a region which, if we may credit the late Professor Horsford's assertions, has known the presence of white men for over nine hundred years. A mile or so up the river a fence used to enclose the spot where on a sandy bank at the foot of a little hill, Leif Erikson built a house in the year 1000 and remained through the winter.

After that date, however, there is a long gap until sober history begins in December 1630, when a spot was selected between Charlestown and Watertown as a suitable place for a fortified settlement. It was called New Towne until the General Court ordered on the second of May 1638 that it should thereafter be called Cambridge.

Able, substantial men settled here immediately and laid the foundations of a prosperous community. Their first undertaking, almost, was to build a fence or pale or palisade, as it is variously called, around the town for protection against Indians and wild animals. Remains of it could be seen until a few years ago in the willow trees at the foot of Hawthorn Street and over on Oxford Street in front of Pierce Hall and the Agassiz Museum. The settlement itself was small - it was bounded on the north by what is now Massachusetts Avenue and Harvard Square, on the west by Brattle Square and Eliot Street, on the south by Eliot Street and South Street, on the east by Holyoke Street. These streets, together with the intersecting Winthrop and Mt. Auburn Streets, and the King's Highway (now Kirkland, Mason, and Brattle Streets) leading from Charlestown to Watertown, are the only relics that we have left from the earliest days.

Perhaps I should include the Common, but that is really only a

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small portion of the community pasture that stretched as far north as Linnaean Street. Away up there, in 1657, Selectman John Cooper built a house which is now the oldest building in Cambridge, substantial enough to have lasted these 275 years without material alteration or repairs. Surrounded by twentieth century apartment blocks which cannot possibly last a fraction of its age, it has witnessed practically the whole span of Cambridge life.

So fast does that life now move that it is hard to realize the comparative spaciousness and leisure that prevailed here until very recently. We can scarcely believe, as we look on these crowded streets, that only seventy-five years ago Admiral Davis had an unobstructed view from his house on the corner of Quincy Street and Broadway over to the dome of the State House in Boston. But most of us here this afternoon can recall the beginnings of the Embankment along the river and the building of the dam at Lechmere Point which has abolished the ebb and flow of the tides along our shores and has completely altered an important part of the landscape. To understand Cambridge history at all, then, one must remember that for over two centuries the town had more of a rustic than an urban quality.

During the seventeenth century the boundaries were constantly changing. At one time they extended from Dedham to the Merrimac river and included the present Newton, Brighton, Arlington, Lexington, Bedford, and Billerica. Much of the history of the century is concerned with the setting-off of these sections from the central settlement at Old Cambridge. At the very beginning, however, the whole venture nearly came to grief through dissensions that culminated in the removal of the first minister of the parish, Rev. Thomas Hooker, and a large number of citizens to Hartford, Connecticut, in 1635. Hooker was succeeded by Rev. Thomas Shepard. When he died in August 1649, he had done so much for the town that he was more lamented than any other public man except Winthrop, who had died a few months before. Another theological quarrel arose in the pastorate of Shepard's successor, Rev. Jonathan Mitchell, when the President of the

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college, Rev. Henry Dunster, took his stand in opposition to infant baptism and baptism by sprinkling, and as a result was expelled from both church and college. Whether or not one takes a lively interest in these metaphysical disputes, they must be recognized as part of the time, as reflections of the fact that Cambridge, like other New England towns, was a theocracy. What John Calvin barely succeeded

in doing for a brief period at Geneva, the Puritans did fully accomplish over many decades in Cambridge.

Analysis almost as detailed as that enjoyed by the early Cantabrigians would be necessary to show how this little community loosened its theological bonds and became for part of the eighteenth century one of the most cosmopolitan towns in the country, the seat of New England's nearest approach to a landed gentry with all the comforts of life implied in that term. On a small scale it is comparable to the change that came over London when the great Elizabethan pirates brought back the wealth of the Spanish main or when, two centuries later, the nabobs came home laden with the spoils of India. It must be remembered that wealth, as expressed in terms of money, is not indigenous to Massachusetts. It has always been imported, notably from the Orient during the palmy days of the East India trade. So the stately days of Cambridge in the eighteenth century were built largely upon the wealth derived from the West Indian plantations of the Vassall family.

The first of them was Colonel John Vassall, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1732, who in 1736 bought the house and land on the corner of Brattle and Hawthorn Streets belonging to Mrs. Mercy Frizell. His brother Henry in turn bought it from him in 1741 and proceeded to enlarge both the mansion and the grounds in a way that made it a truly distinguished estate. Later on, since the family possessed a well-stocked medicine chest and there were at least twenty rooms available for hospital use, the house became the medical headquarters of the Continental Army while it was in this vicinity.

About the year 1759 John Vassall's son, John, built a stately home almost opposite his uncle Henry's. During the Revolution,

while its owner was a refugee in Halifax, it became the headquarters of General Washington. Mrs. Washington arrived there on the 11th of December, 1775; and in spite of the General's ban on festivities, their wedding anniversary was celebrated with a gorgeous Twelfth Night party. Later the house was owned by Dr. Andrew Craigie, whose widow was forced to turn it into a rooming house. But what a series of boarders! Edward Everett, Willard Phillips, Jared Sparks, Henry Bellows, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Joseph Worcester, all lived there for longer or shorter periods. In 1843 Nathan Appleton bought it as a present for his daughter who had married Longfellow, and since then it has become, with the possible exception of Mt. Vernon, the best known private house in America.

Proceeding down Brattle Street, the visitor finds nearly opposite Elmwood Avenue the lovely Fayerweather House, built about 1760 by Amos Marrett, fifth in descent from President Dunster. Part of it was used as a hospital after the battle of Bunker Hill. A little farther along its neighbor the Oliver mansion, built almost at the same time, has become nearly as famous as the Craigie house; for here James Russell Lowell was born and this was his life-long home. The original builder, Thomas Oliver, was one of the happy family circle made up of Vassalls, Lees, Phipses, and Royalls, all closely related by blood as well as by marriage, who were the social leaders of the surrounding country. He was forced to abandon it in 1776 and later it came into the hands of Elbridge Gerry, Commissioner to France, Governor of Massachusetts, and VicePresident of the United States.

Although Elmwood brings us to the end of Tory Row, it does not by any means close the long list of old and interesting houses in Cambridge. The Nichols house at 159 Brattle Street, the Brattle house and the Read house near Harvard Square, the Ware house on Waterhouse Street, the magnificent "Bishop's Palace" now the Lodgings of the Master of Adams House, - these are only a few

landmarks in this immediate vicinity; while a day's stroll in other parts of the city would reveal many other charming places, here unnoticed because they are a mere century or century and a quarter old.

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Nor is there time to do more than hint at the story of this building in which we are meeting to-day. Begun in 1760, it was a very new affair when the Revolution broke out but that fact did not bring it any measure of consideration. Services soon had to be abandoned and the edifice became a disgraceful ruin. At last, in 1824 it was repaired and since then it has gone on to increasing usefulness. It seems quite certain that Mrs. Washington attended services here, and there is a strong tradition that the General himself did so.

Let me remind you once more that the citizen who looked forth from these windows in 1824 saw a simple rustic landscape. There is no reason to think that there was a town shepherd as there had been a century before; and yet the dusty road to Lexington, after it passed the college buildings and a few shacks on the left, cut through nothing but scrubby waste-land and swamp. The development we see about us is the work of the nineteenth century, even of the twentieth. It indicates the change to large-scale industrialism, large-scale housing, rapid transit, the development of mechanical invention by which Cambridge has suffered and has gained along with all the rest of the country. We simply cannot stand aside and refuse to deal with these innovations; for while we are sighing over them, the subway has emptied into our streets a dozen fresh trainloads of people clamoring for new apartment houses!

And yet Cambridge never has been quite like the "average" city. How could it be, with Harvard College in our midst? Thousands of people who know nothing of Vassalls or of Brattles, know that Harvard is in Cambridge, or vice versa. And thousands of others, who have never walked these brick and stone streets of ours or gazed down the vistas of our gardens, know well the lanes and homes of that city of the mind which we have here built up in three centuries.

A city of the mind! In one little-visited quarter are dull, narrow, stifling streets left as curiosities from the seventeenth century, where Increase Mather's gloomy theology shuts out all sight of the sky; and in another quarter is that lovely estate to which James, Royce, and Palmer have introduced us! As we push out

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from the ancient ways, we see more and more of these spacious places until it seems as if we to-day were living in the most beautiful regions of all time. Thought has become free, and the expression of thought - provided it is marked by courtesy and honesty - is unmolested. Health and weather may still be topics for greeting, but outside opinion has it that we do not ask our neighbor about his last operation but about his next book. And if you never lived in a town where everybody has written a book, you can't quite imagine what Cambridge is like!

Cambridge has given Harvard its local habitation; and, with a few noteworthy exceptions, town and gown have been one. In recent years, especially, it is remarkable how often the city has asked from the college expert advice on municipal questions and how eagerly the college has responded with its aid. Even the annoying matter of taxation has for the moment been happily settled.

Cambridge may well be thankful that the college did not permanently move to Concord at the time of the Revolution.

Yet here again, development - physical development at least - has been comparatively recent. Thirty years ago, for instance, the Yard seemed unalterable: Massachusetts, Harvard, Hollis, Holden, Stoughton, Holworthy, Thayer, University, Weld, Grays, Matthews, Dane, Wadsworth, Gore, Appleton, and Sever had all been there for at least a generation. Each dormitory entry had one bathroom, from which you took hot and cold water for use in your own bedroom. Gas was the only method of lighting unless you sensibly preferred the good old student-lamp that utilized kerosene. You kept your study warm by means of a coal fire in a Franklin grate; and you had no heat whatever in your bedroom. Such conditions were only a very slight improvement over those of thirty years before that, nor was there any notable further change for another ten years. Most Harvard graduates got a shock when they realized not only that someone wanted to change all this but that, when the changes were completed, they did not harm anybody or anything.

The extensions of the University's equipment outside the Yard have been so great that a graduate returning after a twenty years'

absence needs a guide. Laboratories, museums, and the Law School stretch to the north; southward are the Houses, the gymnasium, and numerous smaller buildings; across the river the Business School and the fully utilized Soldiers Field occupy much territory that originally belonged to the Cambridge settlement.

The contrasts pile up as one considers this great expansion: instead of two commons, there are now a dozen dining halls; instead of one physician working in a small dormitory room, there is a corps of doctors in a "medical center"; instead of dangerous, separate furnaces in each building, there are no fires at all and heating is done by live steam piped through miles of tunnels from a central source. So the story goes into almost every detail of college life.

But while physical conditions have been made so much more comfortable, what has happened to mental conditions? These, I think, have become far more uncomfortable to the boy who has come to college for a gay four year holiday. And by the same token they have also become far more invigorating for the student who has some intellectual goal in view, who really cares for the things of the mind. What with the concentration and distribution of courses, modern language requirements, general and divisional examinations as a prerequisite to the degree, a Harvard man has at his command the best machinery for getting an education that has yet been devised. In saying this, I would not for an instant disparage the equally great reforms of the educational system that were introduced by President Eliot sixty-five years ago. His development of the elective system changed Harvard from the provincial boarding-school that differed only slightly from its predecessor of the eighteenth century, and made it grow up into a national institution, flexible, vigorous, capable of meeting the needs that our country experienced in its amazing progress at the end of the century. For its time, Mr. Eliot's reform was as revolutionary as Mr. Lowell's has been for these latter days. There is no need to ask which is the greater; it is enough for us to know that here in our own time the giants have lived!

But what about the humbler folk, that miscellaneous crowd of

"characters" that has been part of the college scene from the very beginning? The Cambridge landlady has certainly gone, done for by the increased dormitory facilities and by the apartment houses. John the Irish Orangeman has gone, along with a good many of the peddlers, book agents, and solicitors who are supposed never to enter the college halls. Yet life is colorful. Even though we have become old, there are still cakes and ale, and ginger is hot in the mouth of these youngsters. And one does recall Mr. S. F. Batchelder's story of the two grey headed classmates who, as they crossed the Yard one day, got talking about the old college characters. John named them off one by one, all of them disappeared and forgotten; "life," he said, "must be colorless to present-day students without such background." "But, John, you forget," smiled his companion, "we are the college characters of to-day!"

The story reveals, I think, one further thing about Cambridge: it gives even the casual summer visitor an unusual sense of permanence; here, if anywhere in America, the links with the past are visible, are an accepted, undiscussed element in everyday living. And yet they are not allowed to limit our freedom of action in the present: a lively reverence for the Past gives the true Cantabrigian an equally strong sense of responsibility for the Future.

THE BROWNE AND NICHOLS SCHOOL

BY W. RODMAN PEABODY

Read as part of the Exercises commemorating the Fiftieth Anniversary of the School; June 9, 1933

THE APPROVED FORM of old graduate's address, as I have known it in literature, begins with a sentimental reference to the familiar buildings, each brick of which brings a heartfelt memory to the speaker, and then continues with the general allegation that never in after life has the speaker been so happy as when he played upon this familiar sod. Then follows the sentiment that a vast responsibility rests upon the present schoolboys to maintain the high traditions of Eton, Harrow, Groton, and St. Paul's, or way-stations. I cannot address you in this manner; first, because never before this afternoon have I had the privilege of seeing your school buildings, and, secondly, because the last time I was crossing what is now the school lawn I was eluding hurriedly a blue-coated police officer who was fortunately content with the arrest of my companion. The latter, unfortunately, had in his hand that damning evidence, a still smoking revolver. But, that, as Kipling said, is another story.

The alternative form of introduction to the old graduate's address contrasts the greatness of opportunity presented by the modern school to the boys of today with the crude conditions under which the speaker achieved his own education. This introduction is followed by a wish that the speaker had enjoyed the privileges of the present generation and a demand that the present undergraduates shall realize that never again will they be so happy as at the present moment. This approach to my subject is also closed to me; first, because it is not true that youth is the happiest time of life. The normal life becomes happier each year, at least up to the fifties; and I see no reason to believe that what the graph-makers call the curve of tendency will not be constant. This alter-

native introduction is also closed to me because in spite of all the privileges offered to you who are in school today, and much as each of you doubtless appreciates the opportunities which come from your daily association with your headmaster, I shall have to tell you frankly that I would not exchange my schooldays for yours. If I did not get a good education, it was as much my fault as it will be yours if you fail today.

In the first place, I am glad that I began school in the Cambridge of 1886. Cambridge was then a university town and not part of a great metropolitan city. It had a life quite independent of that of Boston. True, a horse-car drawn by two horses in summer and four in winter ambled its peaceful way under the elm-treed arches of Brattle and Craigie Streets and thence by way of Harvard Square to Bowdoin Square in Boston. But the running time from Elmwood Avenue to Boston was more than three-quarters of an hour, and the journey was an expedition rather than an incident in the day. It was a Cambridge with a Harvard Square from which it is true the elm tree in the center had been removed, but on one side was the town pump with the tin dipper. On the opposite side were the steps of Lyceum Hall on which it was said that J. R. Lowell had roosted with Mr. Sawin, the expressman, and other neighbors, in order that he might acquire the Yankee dialect which appeared later in the Biglow Papers. Across the way was the candy store of Ma Jones with its deterring sign, "Gentlemen will not, others must not touch the candy."

It was a Cambridge where from the site of the present Boat Club one could trace to the Somerville boundary the line of great willows said to be the remnants of the original stockade against the Indians. It was a Cambridge where the schooners under their own sails slowly worked their way up the Charles River to the wharves near the present Anderson Bridge and where the creeks and marshes of what is now Soldiers Field offered many an exciting field of exploration by canoe. It was the Cambridge of Mr. Longfellow in whose chair made from the spreading chestnut tree many of us small boys had had the privilege of sitting. His brother,

Mr. Samuel Longfellow, himself the writer of some of the most beautiful hymns in the English language, was our Sunday School teacher. Oliver Wendell Holmes had moved into Boston from his house near the Law School, but he was known by sight to all of us; and Mr. Lowell at Elmwood was a neighbor of our parents.

It was a Cambridge where Fresh Pond was still surrounded by great ice houses whose contents were shipped to the West Indies and whose annual ice harvest offered many adventures to skaters, who rode the moving floes from the ice fields to the elevators. And, speaking of skating, it was a Cambridge of dirt streets with wide gutters where water stood and froze in a cold snap after a thaw so that on many a winter's morning one could skate from my father's house on Kirkland Street straight to the Washington Elm, then a real tree of beautiful proportions, and thence into the Browne and Nichols schoolyard which was just opposite. It was in such a Cambridge that I began my five years of schooling.

The schoolhouse itself was a brown dwelling house near the corner of Garden and Mason Streets. Next door was the Fay Mansion, which was all there was then to Radcliffe. On Mason Street, with its back yard abutting ours, was the girls' school. It was early found advisable that the recess

periods of the two schools should not coincide, but a gate post with a dry rot cavity provided a letter box by which appropriate communications were circulated among the initiated, and as all sports were held upon the Common immediately opposite, it was customary to carry a school bench across Garden Street to the Common for the benefit of our supporters at school games.

The house itself had been remodeled so that downstairs it contained two large schoolrooms presided over by Mr. Browne and Mr. Nichols, respectively. Upstairs was a smaller room in which Mr. Metivier taught French and History, and a kind of back bedroom where Mr. Webster had collected enough apparatus to get most of us through our entrance examination in Physics. Behind the house was a run-down garden and orchard — a pleasant spot

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to study in spring — and a small barn whose second story was the gymnasium. Therefore, all the physical essentials of education were available, although to one brought up in these surroundings many inconveniences would have been apparent.

The school had existed for three years when I entered it at the age of twelve, but at least two of these years had been of an experimental character in the little house of Deacon Kendall on Appian Way. Our year brought the first group large enough to be fairly called a class. The two principals of the school were young men only recently out of college who together had conceived an idea not less original at that time for the fact that it is commonplace today. The idea was that education consisted not so much in driving facts into a boy's head as in making him use his head so that occasionally something intelligent would come out of it. In place of memorizing, the boy was to think. This radical experiment was received by our parents with skepticism. My own father was most pessimistic about my ability to pass college examinations because I could not repeat by heart a single whole page of Allen & Greenough's *Latin Grammar*. Exchange of thoughts between teacher and pupil could never, in the opinion of our parents, be a substitute for the accomplishment of an academic task. I must confess that this new idea presented a difficult program in the case of some of my friends who were constitutionally opposed to thinking. Still, if it were true as has been said that Mark Hopkins and a boy on a log would have constituted a university, it would be equally true to say that a boy on the centre of a log with Mr. Browne on one end and Mr. Nichols on the other would have had a hard time in escaping an education.

Mr. Browne presided over the younger boys and taught English and Latin. He was short, stocky, quick in movement, high strung, with a nervous energy which at its best stimulated his class to unusual alertness, but occasionally drove him to over-fatigue and the class to nervous timidity. On the whole he was the most stimulating teacher I ever faced until I sat under Professor John Gray at the Harvard Law School. He was, as you probably know, a remarkable skater and never was a group of boys more stimulated

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to outdo themselves in intellectual effort than on a Saturday morning, when engaged in making up back work, the news was circulated that Fresh Pond was black ice. No one was so eager to be away as Mr. Browne, and under the pressure of the skating urge he could whip boys into a mental activity that was astonishing. His teaching of Latin was original. Every boy had a blank book in which as a result of his reading he composed his own Latin grammar. The rules of grammar were derived by him from his

own reading instead of reading following the dreary repetition of rules of grammar. Of course, this primitive test of thinking had to be reinforced later by Allen & Greenough, but it was a worth while experiment. I confess that I am somewhat in doubt, however, whether the general success of the class in passing its examinations for college in spite of parents' fears, was due to this excellent grounding or to Mr. Browne's uncanny insight into the minds of the examiners which enabled him to predict the sight translations with the result that we sat down before our papers with confidence and translated passages from Virgil and Cicero which we had gone over carefully with him the week before.

Mr. Browne was a good teacher of English because he loved English literature. As in the case of Latin, he made the younger classes do some original thinking. As an incident to our English Class we studied phonetics. Mr. Browne had early concluded that the English classes as then conducted in many schools involved a great waste of time and that five years of school ought to provide instruction adequate to permit the anticipation of the required Harvard College English A. No examination in English A had ever before been given at the college entrance examination. The English Department welcomed the innovation, and Mr. Browne was so ingenious in predicting examination questions that practically our whole class passed with honors.

It was, however, for what I acquired outside the school curriculum that I am most deeply grateful to Mr. Browne. In our first year of English we read Bradford Torrey's *Birds in the Bush*, and I can still remember distinctly the thrill I received when Mr. Browne pointed out a downy woodpecker on a pear tree just out-

side the school window. Ornithology was not then a popular avocation; boys who stood under trees and looked up were considered a little sissy. Bradford Torrey was followed by spring walks before breakfast in the Fresh Pond marshes, which opened to me and to many other boys a love and a resource which has been one of life's great happinesses. To love of birds and love of literary style — the joy of finding that good prose is really true poetry and that good poetry is really true music — I am indebted to George Browne, and deep indeed is that debt.

Mr. Nichols was in many ways the antithesis of Mr. Browne. Tall, spare in his youth, he led rather than drove. His appeal was to the higher scholars. He did not force open the door of knowledge; he simply offered the key. He taught Mathematics and Greek, but I think that Mathematics was the favorite subject of his orderly mind. Under his guidance one of our class became a distinguished professor of Mathematics. Like Mr. Browne he broke away from a fixed curriculum and we were required to devise a system of Mathematics with only eight digits instead of the usual ten digits. For some reason this was called the toe system. I have said his appeal was to the scholar, yet there must have been some further quality which induced almost a whole class to come voluntarily to school once a week in the afternoon through a winter to read with him or rather to follow him as he read Ovid aloud. Perhaps it was a fear of disappointing him which brought some of us, for he assumed in a schoolboy something of his own ideals, and a boy's failure to maintain the standard he had conceived reasonable seemed more like a blow to his faith. That anybody should desire to receive a higher mark than he deserved would have been a genuine shock to him. He was not a sentimentalist; he simply judged others by the tests he applied to himself.

I said that he was not a driver. I state a half truth. He led others, but he drove himself. Not content with teaching school six days a week, he was our Sunday School teacher, — succeeding Mr.

Longfellow, and promptly ending our extraneous activities. Later he took an active but inconspicuous part in civic affairs and

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it is as a conscientious but self-effacing citizen striving for a cause rather than a candidate that I remember him best. It was this determination to maintain the high standards of duty which he set before himself and which made rest appear to be mere idleness, that in part at least caused his premature death — if death in the pursuit of a vision is ever premature. Mr. Nichols lives in the hearts of a generation of Cambridge boys as the embodiment of a Christian gentleman.

Of course, all the educational experiments of these two young schoolmasters could not be successful. At first they attempted to disregard the natural barriers between teacher and scholar by becoming our companions at recess, but they were wise enough to learn early that to a normal boy play with a master is a task, and that it is more humiliating to muff a ball thrown by a master than to fumble his classroom question. After the first year the normal proprieties between teacher and scholar were maintained. Moreover, it was not a success when the graduating class was permitted to study in a room without a teacher in order that they might prepare themselves for the independence of a college career. At least, the experiment terminated promptly after a cock fight that cracked the plaster over Mr. Nichols' head, and the discovery of one member of the class hiding on the roof. There were other similar disasters which I refrain from revealing lest they overstimulate the imagination of Class 1, but such incidents are part of the normal development of a young and growing school. I assume that no such problems face the schoolmaster of today.

Somewhat as I have described them to you were the early days of the school. A group of healthy, normal, average boys taken in hand by two young men who had a clear purpose and tireless industry, who disregarded traditions and were unafraid of criticism, who were unperturbed by their own mistakes, who recognized that only through experiments could they learn the way, who had faith in their principles of education, and who lived to see their principles accepted by the academic world, who believed that as a boy's muscle can be developed only by his own efforts and that no massage can take the place of exercise, so a boy's mind will develop

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only through his own original and constructive thinking, and that inserting facts into a passive mind is as unrewarding as kneading a passive muscle; that as physical efficiency comes only to a boy who is interested in the game and wants to win, so intellectual growth is achieved only by the boy who is interested in learning. The successful teacher, as they saw it, was not the man who could spoon-feed knowledge but who could arouse in his boys an appetite for knowledge. Once the mind is stimulated, education will follow as a matter of course.

That these principles are sound would be proved even if they were not now generally accepted by the generations of boys who have graduated from this school; by these buildings which were created because men had faith in the principles of the school and believed that they could not better serve their community than by insuring their perpetuation; by this group of masters and boys, who are the evidence of their living spirit; by this gathering which has paused for a moment to look back to

the beginnings of the school with the quiet confidence of those who know that the course which they have steered is true.

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ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SECRETARY AND COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1931

During the past year we have lost through death the following members:

MR. RICHARD H. DANA

REV. PRESCOTT EVARTS

Miss ALBERTA M. HOUGHTON

MR. WILLIAM COOLIDGE LANE

MRS. FRED N. ROBINSON

MR. JOHN H. STURGIS

MR. JOSEPH G. THORP

The following resignations have been accepted:

MRS. FRANK M. CLARK

MRS. DORIS HAYES-CAVANAUGH

The following new members have been elected:

MR. AND MRS. ELMER H. BRIGHT

MR. AND MRS. DAVID E. BURR

Miss FANNY E. CORNE

MR. LLOYD A. FROST

MR. ROGER GILMAN

REV. AND MRS. C. LESLIE GLENN

HON. LOUIS L. GREEN

MR. NATHAN HEARD

MR. AND MRS. ROBERT D. REYNOLDS

MR. AND MRS. KENNETH S. USHER

MRS. HOLLIS R. BAILEY (Associate)

We have, therefore, only nine vacancies at the present time in our regular membership list.

The minutes of the meetings throughout the past year show that a growing number of the members find stimulation in attending both the regular meetings and the Garden Party, and that

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there is a pleasant tendency towards more members taking part in preparing papers or in contributing informal reminiscences or anecdotes after the prepared programs.

The twenty-sixth Annual Meeting was held on January 27, 1931, at the residence of Mrs. S. M. De Gozzaldi. After the reports had been read, and the officers elected or re-elected, it was voted to elect Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup, formerly of Cambridge, now residing in England, an Honorary Member of the Society in recognition of her writings on the early history of Massachusetts. Miss Alice C. Allyn's most interesting paper on "A History of Berkeley Street, Cambridge, Massachusetts," was then read, followed by some of the informal reminiscences just mentioned.

The Spring Meeting was held at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Peter Vosburgh on April 28, 1931. Tribute was first paid by Mr. Briggs to the notable life and work of the late William Coolidge Lane, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society and a valued member of its Council since its inception; and by Professor Beale to the character and influence of the late Rev. Prescott Evarts, a former member of the Council of the Society. Then Mrs. Gozzaldi, Miss Dana, and Mr. Pottinger presented a detailed and fascinating history of "The Vassall House and its Occupants in Three Centuries." Through the kindness of the Rector of Christ Church, the original record books of the Church were an appreciated exhibit at this meeting.

On June 3rd, 1931, a delightful garden party took place at Gerry's Landing, the residence of Professor Kenneth G. T. Webster, with Oliver Elton, King Alfred Professor *Emeritus* of English Literature at the University of Liverpool, speaking entertainingly about his ancestor Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Oliver.

At the invitation of Mrs. C. C. Felton, the Fall Meeting was held at Phillips Brooks House, Harvard University, on October 27, 1931. Mrs. Felton and Professor Ephraim Emerton contributed a charming paper, and an interesting talk, on "Cornelius Conway Felton, Professor of Greek 1832-1860, President of Harvard University, 1860-1862," to this meeting.

Since last January, the Council has gathered for its four stated

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meetings to carry on the Society's activities and meetings. In May, the Council voted that the Secretary arrange for the taking, and the sharing of the expense, by the Society, of photographs of the statue of John Bridge, requested by Mr. Alfred Hills, Solicitor, of Braintree, England, from which lantern slides were to be made for use by him and the Rotary Club of Braintree and Bocking, while Mrs. Gozzaldi supplied much historical information to accompany them. The Society later received pleased and grateful acknowledgment of these pictures. The Council also voted in May to elect Professor Eldon R. James to fill the vacancy in the Council caused by Mr. Lane's death; and to hold half the title, with the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, to the set of seventeen negative plates of the interior of the John Hicks House, in return for sharing the expenses connected with obtaining them. At its meeting on January 12th, 1932, the Council approved the appointment of Mr. Frank G. Cook as Auditor for the Society, to succeed Professor Beale resigned.

Respectfully submitted,

BERTRAM K. LITTLE

Secretary

January 26, 1932

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REPORT OF THE SECRETARY AND COUNCIL FOR THE YEAR 1932

The following is the report of the Council of the Cambridge Historical Society for the year 1932, with which has been incorporated the Annual Report of the Secretary covering the same period.

Three regular meetings of the Society were held in 1932: the Annual Meeting, January 26; the Spring Meeting, April 8; and the Summer Meeting and Garden Party, June 10. These meetings were quite largely attended and indicate the active interest of the members in the Society and in Cambridge local history. With great regret the Council was led to abandon the regular Autumn Meeting, owing to its inability to obtain a paper notwithstanding constant efforts to secure one. It was found that a number of papers were actually in course of preparation but none would be ready in time.

In addition to the regular meetings, a special meeting was held in the Craigie House on February 22, in honor of the two-hundredth anniversary of General Washington's birth. The attendance at this meeting was very large.

The following papers were read at the regular meetings: "The History of Local Government in Cambridge," by Professor Joseph H. Beale, at the Annual Meeting; "John Burgoyne: Politician, Dandy, and Man of Letters," by Mr. David T. Pottinger, at the Spring Meeting; "Sparks Street and Its Residents," a symposium consisting of two papers, one by Miss Maria Bowen and the other by the late Mrs. Rosalba Smith Proell, both read by Miss Mary Deane Dexter, at the Summer Meeting. At the Special Meeting in the Craigie House, Mr. H. W. L. Dana read a paper dealing with General Washington's occupancy of the house, and also some of Washington's letters written from the house.

These papers were listened to with great interest, and the thanks of the Society were extended to the authors and reader.

The Council desires again to express its thanks to those who so graciously entertained the Society at these meetings.

The Council reports only two deaths among the membership of the Society during the year:

MRS. ANNA LYMAN (Mrs. John C.) GRAY and

PROFESSOR WILLIAM W. FENN,

both of whom joined the Society in 1909.

The following resignations were accepted with regret:

MR. N. RUSSELL CAZMAY

MRS. MARGARET C. (Mrs. Norton A.) KENT

MR. NORTON A. KENT

MRS. DOROTHEA F. (Mrs. Roger B.) MERRIMAN

PROFESSOR ROGER B. MERRIMAN

MR. A. CLENDENIN ROBERTSON (Associate),

a total of five members and one associate.

The following were elected to membership:

MRS. F. WILHELMINA (Mrs. Nathan) HEARD

MRS. ANNIE LONGFELLOW (Mrs. Joseph G.) THORP

DR. WILLIAM STEWART WHITTEMORE

MRS. ALICE B. (Mrs. William S.) WHITTEMORE

MRS. LILLIE McFALL (Mrs. Harry F. R.) DOLAN

MR. ALBERT GUY KEITH

MRS. EDITH S. (Mrs. Albert G.) KEITH

Miss GRACE A. WOOD

Miss CHRISTINE FARLEY

MRS. ROSCOE POUND

Miss J. LINDA CORNE

MR. ALLYN BAILEY FORBES

Miss MABEL F. READ

Miss ALICE PUTNAM

MRS. W. STEPHENS THOMAS (Associate)

On December 31, 1932 there were 212 members and 14 Associates.

Six meetings of the Council were held during the past year.

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The Society was represented by a member of the Council upon the Joint Committee for the improvement of the Old Burying Ground. This Committee has succeeded in having the City of Cambridge, with the assistance of the Committee on Unemployment, lay water pipes in the Burying Ground. Some planting has been done, and it is hoped to do more this spring.

The Council was also represented at the dedication of the Cambridge Markers on the route taken by General Washington to his first residence in Cambridge, Wadsworth House.

There was found among the papers of the late Richard Henry Dana a document showing Mr. Dana's desire that the portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Vassall, which are the property of the Society, should be hung in the Craigie House. The Council voted to authorize an indefinite loan of these portraits to the Longfellow Trustees, subject to withdrawal by the Society at any time.

The Bay State Historical League, through its President, Mr. Albert L. Haskell, requested that the Society act as host for a meeting of the League to be held in Cambridge on January 28, 1933. The Council acceded to Mr. Haskell's request and has arranged for the meeting to be held in Christ Church. At this meeting there will be an address of welcome by the President of this Society and a paper on historic Cambridge by Mr. David T. Pottinger. After the meeting Mrs. Joseph G. Thorp and Mr. H. W. L. Dana will entertain the delegates at tea in the Craigie House. Members of the Society are invited to the meeting in Christ Church.

A project sponsored by the Metropolitan Improvement Association for naming the bridge to be built at or near Gerry's Landing, the Charles William Eliot Memorial Bridge and for a statue of President Eliot to be erected at or near the approach to the bridge on the Cambridge side of the Charles River, was presented to the Council by Mr. Van Ness Bates, a representative of the Metropolitan Improvement Association. The project was in general endorsed by the Council, which adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, that the Council of the Cambridge Historical Society approve of the proposed plan for the completion, before March 20,

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1934, the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Charles William Eliot, of the bridge to be built at or near Gerry's Landing in Cambridge and that the bridge so built be named the Charles William Eliot Memorial Bridge, to commemorate the services of President Eliot to this Commonwealth. The Council also approves the establishment of such other memorial to President Eliot in connection with the proposed bridge as may be suitable.

Any member of the Society who has not yet had a copy of Paige's Index, to which he or she is entitled, may receive the same at this meeting by signing for it.

Respectfully submitted,

ELDON R. JAMES

Secretary

January 17, 1933

The following note was read as part of this Report:

Two Ancestor Records were sent in after the Annual Meeting in January 1931. They are those of

Miss LESLIE HOPKINSON, descended from seven early settlers: Henry Prentiss, John Sill, Percival Green, Edward Mitchelson, Zechariah Hicks, Thomas Whittemore, and Abraham Hill.

Mrs. GRACE E. (WYETH) NORRIS, descended from eleven early settlers: Nicholas Wyeth, Nathaniel Hancock, Deacon John Cooper, Edward Jackson, John Ward, Richard Francis, Elder Jonas Clark, Henry Prentiss, Richard Park, Nathaniel Sparhawk, and Francis Whitmore.

MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI

Surviving Member of the Early Settlers Committee

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ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

1931

RECEIPTS

January 1, 1931 balance --- \$800.52

Annual dues and initiations --- 688.00

Sale "Index to Paige's History" --- 87.50

Refund partial expense, photos John Bridge Statue --- 3.00

Interest, checking account --- 2.84

Interest, life membership fund --- 33.98

Total --- \$1,615.84

DISBURSEMENTS

Postage --- \$ 21.48

Printing --- 19.75

Clerical assistance --- 19.93

Chairs hired --- 13.50

Bay State Historical League - 1930-1931 --- 4.00

17 Prints John Hicks House --- 27.20

Positives — Letters from John Adams to President Joseph Willard --- 9.00

Photos — John Bridge Statue (\$3 later refunded) --- 8.00

Printing and binding "Proceedings XV" --- 266.85

Printing and binding "Proceedings XVI" --- 778.71

Expense in preparing "proceedings" --- 25.00

Flowers --- 6.00

Total --- \$1,199.42

Balance December 31, 1931 --- 416.42

LIFE MEMBERSHIP ACCOUNT

Balance January 1, 1931 --- \$697.15

H. W. L. Dana --- 50.00

Balance December 31, 1931 --- \$747.15

Respectfully submitted,

WILLARD H. SPRAGUE

Treasurer

(This account has been examined and found correct by Frank Gaylord Cook, Auditor. His signature subscribing to the above appears in the books of the Treasurer.)

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER

1932

RECEIPTS

January 1, 1932, Cash on hand --- \$416.42

Dues and initiations

187 Regular Members @ \$3 --- \$561.00

14 Associate Members @ \$2 --- 28.00

12 Initiations @ \$2 --- 24.00

[subtotal] 613.00

Sale 3 copies Proceedings XVII --- 3.50

Interest Life Membership Account --- 32.07

Total --- \$1,064.99

EXPENDITURES

Publishing Proceedings Vol. XVII --- \$397.00

Cambridge Com. George Washington Bi-Centennial a/c Bronze Tablet --- 25.00

Dues: Bay State Historical League --- 2.00

Printing --- 63.90

Stamps --- 27.88

Clerical Help, preparing and mailing notices and bills --- 35.38

Check tax --- .06 [subtotal] \$551.12

[total] --- \$513.87

LIFE MEMBERSHIP ACCOUNT

January 1, 1932, balance --- \$747.15

No transactions during year

December 31, 1932, balance Cambridge Savings Bank --- \$747.15

Respectfully submitted,

WILLARD H. SPRAGUE

Treasurer

I have examined the accounts of Willard H. Sprague, Treasurer of the Cambridge Historical Society, for the year ending December 31, 1932. All money received as entered on the books of the Society was duly deposited in the bank, and proper vouchers were shown for all expenses. Balance of \$513.87 as shown in the Treasurer's Report agrees with balance shown on bank statement.

FRANK GAYLORD COOK

Auditor

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REGULAR MEMBERS

1932-1933

MARION STANLEY ABBOT, ANNE ELIZABETH ALLEN, MARY WARE ALLEN, ALICE C. ALLYN, CHARLES ALMY, ALBERT FRANCIS AMEE, ALBERT STOKES APSEY, AGNES GORDON BALCH, JOHN HERBERT BARKER, MARY EMORY BATCHELDER (L), ELIZABETH CHADWICK BEALE, JOSEPH HENRY BEALE, MABEL ARRABELLA LEWIS BELL, STOUGHTON BELL, MRS. J. CLARKE BENNETT, ALEXANDER HARVEY BILL, CAROLINE ELIZA BILL, MARION EDGERLY BILL, CLARENCE HOWARD BLACKALL, EMMA MURRAY BLACKALL, ALBERT H. BLEVINS, MRS. ALBERT H. BLEVINS, WARREN KENDALL BLODGETT, ELLA JOSEPHINE BOGGS, ANNABEL PERRY BONNEY, MARIA BOWEN, WALTER BENJAMIN BRIGGS, ELMER H. BRIGHT, MRS. ELMER H. BRIGHT, ADA LEILA CONE BROCK, ARTHUR HENDRICKS BROOKS, ELIZABETH HARRINGTON BROOKS, JESSIE WATERMAN BROOKS, SUMNER ALBERT BROOKS, JOSEPHINE FREEMAN BUMSTEAD, BERTHA CLOSE BUNTON, GEORGE HERBERT BUNTON, DAVID E. BURR, MRS. DAVID E. BURR, ANNIE JUMP CANNON, PHILIP GREENLEAF CARLETON, SARAH SWIFT SCHAFF CARLETON, FLORA KIRKENDALL CARVER, THOMAS NIXON CARVER, ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., ANNIE BOURNE CHAPMAN, PHILIP PUTNAM CHASE, LESLIE LINWOOD CLEVELAND, EDITH MARY COE, MARGARET E. COGSWELL, ADA LOUISE COMSTOCK, FRANK GAYLORD COOK, FANNY E. CORNE, J. LINDA CORNE, LOUIS CRAIG CORNISH, SALLY ADAMS CUSHMAN, HENRY ORVILLE CUTTER, ELIZABETH ELLERY DANA, HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW DANA, LILY EUGENIE DEKALB, ERNEST JOSEPH DENNEN, MARY DEANE DEXTER, EDWARD SHERMAN DODGE (L), HARRY FRANCIS ROBY DOLAN, LILLIE McFALL DOLAN, LAURA ROWLAND DUDLEY, WILLIAM HARRISON DUNBAR,

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FRANCES HOPKINSON ELIOT, SAMUEL ATKINS ELIOT, EMMONS RAYMOND ELLIS, FRANCES WHITE EMERSON, WILLIAM EMERSON, EPHRAIM EMERTON, SYBIL CLARK EMERTON, CLAIRE SCHAYER FANDE, CHRISTINE FARLEY, CHARLES NORMAN FAY, LILLIAN HALE FAY, EUNICE WHITNEY FARLEY FELTON, ALLYN BAILEY FORBES, EDWARD WALDO FORBES, WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD, FRANCES FOWLER, ESTHER STEVENS FRASER, LLOYD A. FROST, DANA TAYLOR GALLUP, ROGER GILMAN, REV. C. LESLIE GLENN, MRS. C. LESLIE GLENN, MARY ISABELLA GOZZALDI, LOUIS L. GREEN, VIRGINIA TANNER GREEN, LILLIAN HELEN HADLEY, THOMAS HADLEY, EDWIN HERBERT HALL, ELIZABETH HARRIS, ALBERT BUSHNELL HART, FRANK WATSON HASTINGS, FRANCES P. HAWLEY, NATHAN HEARD, F. WILHELMINA HEARD, FRANK WILSON CHENEY HERSEY, STANLEY BARBOUR HILDRETH, ALISON BIXBY HILL, LESLIE WHITE HOPKINSON, CORNELIA CONWAY FELTON HORSFORD, ARIA SARGENT DIXWELL HOWE, LOIS LILLEY HOWE, EDA WOOLSON HURLBUT, EDWARD

INGRAHAM, ELSIE P. INGRAHAM, ELDON REVARE JAMES, PHILA SMITH JAMES, JAMES RICHARD JEWETT, MARGARET WEYERHAEUSER JEWETT, ETHEL ROBINSON JONES, MABEL AUGUSTA JONES, WALLACE ST. CLAIR JONES, ALBERT GUY KEITH, EDITH S. KEITH, GEORGE FREDERICK KENDALL, JUSTINE HOUGHTON KERSHAW, ANNA READ LAMBER, JAMES M. LANDIS, MRS. JAMES M. LANDIS, THOMAS WOLCOTT LITTLE, FLORA VIRGINIA LIVINGSTON, ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL, DAVID GORDON LYON, MABEL EVERETT HARRIS LYON, ELIZABETH MACFARLANE, ETHEL MAY MACLEOD, WILLIAM MACKINTOSH MACNAIR, EMMA ENDICOTT MAREAN, GEORGIE MARIA MARSTERS, HERBERT BRUCE MCINTIRE, LOUIS JOSEPH ALEXANDRE MERCIER, JOHN DOUGLAS MERRILL, NELSON CASE METCALF, JOSIAH BYRAM MILLETT, EMMA MARIA CUTTER MITCHELL,

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ALICE MANTON MORGAN, SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON, VELMA MARIA MORSE, JAMES BUELL MUNN, MRS. JAMES B. MUNN, EMMA FRANCES MUNROE, ARTHUR BOYLSTON NICHOLS, EMILY ALAN SMITH NICHOLS, GERTRUDE FULLER NICHOLS, HENRY ATHERTON NICHOLS, JOHN TAYLOR GILMAN NICHOLS, ALBERT PERLEY NORRIS, MRS. ALBERT P. NORRIS, MARGARET NORTON, CARLETON ELDREDGE NOYES, CHARLOTTE METCALFE NOYES, JAMES ATKINS NOYES, PENELOPE BARKER NOYES, THOMAS FRANCIS O'MALLEY, EDWARD HOLYOKE OSGOOD, MARGARET NICKERSON OSGOOD, JAMES LEONARD PAINE, MARY WOOLSON PAINE, WILLIAM H. PEAR, MRS. WILLIAM H. PEAR, GRAFTON B. PERKINS, MRS. GRAFTON B. PERKINS, CLARENCE HENRY POOR, JR., ARTHUR KINGSLEY PORTER, JOHN LYMAN PORTER, LUCY WALLACE PORTER, ALFRED CLAGHORN POTTER, DAVID THOMAS POTTINGER, ROSCOE POUND, MRS. ROSCOE POUND, ALICE PUTNAM, HARRY SEATON RAND, MABEL RENA MAWHINNEY RAND, MABEL F. READ, WILLARD REED, ROBERT D. REYNOLDS, MRS. ROBERT D. REYNOLDS, FREDERICK ALBERT RICHARDSON, HARRIETTE TABER RICHARDSON, MRS. ARTHUR CLENDENIN ROBERTSON, FRED NORRIS ROBINSON, JAMES HARDY ROPES, GERTRUDE SWAN RUNKLE, JOHN CORNELIUS RUNKLE, HELEN McK. M. RUSSELL, RICHARD M. RUSSELL, PAUL JOSEPH SACHS, MARY WARE SAMPSON, ELEANOR WHITNEY DAVIS SANGER (L), CAROLYN HUNTINGTON SAUNDERS, FRANCIS WEBBER SEVER, MARTHA SEVER, WILLARD HATCH SPRAGUE, GENEVIEVE STEARNS, GRACE WILLIAMSON STEDMAN, DORA STEWART, MRS. CHARLES STRONG, HELEN GRACE OLMSTEAD SWAN, WILLIAM DONNISON SWAN, JOHN HOUGHTON TAYLOR, ANNIE LONGFELLOW THORP, ALFRED MARSTON TOZZER, ELEANOR GRAY TUDOR (L), KENNETH S. USHER, MRS. KENNETH S. USHER, BERTHA HALLOWELL VAUGHAN, CHARLES PETER VOSBURGH, MAUDE BATCHELDER VOSBURGH, MARY RICHARDSON WALCOTT, ROBERT WALCOTT,

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