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Mr. Roger Gilman
Mr. Allyn B. Forbes (1946)
Mr. Edward Ingraham

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EDITOR'S NOTE
On January 22, 1946 Mr. H. W. L. Dana read a paper on "Mr. and Mrs. Simon Greenleaf" and
on November 5, 1946 he gave an illustrated lecture on "The Dana-Palmer House." On
October 30, 1947 he entertained the Society at the Longfellow House with a program in
observance of the one-hundredth anniversary of the publication of Longfellow's
"Evangeline"; and on April 27, 1948 he had charge of the reading of several letters of
George and Martha Washington connected with the General's residence in Cambridge. It is
planned to publish accounts of all these evenings in a later number.

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PAPERS READ DURING THE YEARS 1946-48

MARIA DENNY FAY'S LETTERS FROM ENGLAND
1851-1852
READ BY LOIS LILLEY HOWE
April 23, 1946

MARIA DENNY FAY, the sixth of the seven children of Judge Samuel Prescott Phillips Fay, was born in Cambridge, June 6th, 1820 in the house now known as Fay House at Radcliffe.

In those days Cambridge was still a country town. It became a city in 1846, but in 1851 the "Old Village," as the Harvard Square region was called, had not felt the urban touch.

On Garden Street at the end of Mason Street, still a country road and the direct way to Watertown, stood the Washington Elm, a spreading tree of great beauty. On the corner opposite the Fay house was the picturesque old Jennison house; at the other end of the street, where the Deanery now stands, was the Aaron Hill house. Between the two was a more recently built house, now an apartment house. Here lived Maria's cousin, Mrs. Estes Howe, with her husband, "The Doctor," and her two unmarried sisters, Mary and Agnes White.

Mary was very intimate with Maria and it was to her that Maria wrote constantly. She had many admirers and there was one whom Maria always called "The Earlie's Son" because, though Mary, like Nora in Sir Walter Scott's "Nora's Vow," consistently said "The
Earlie's Son I will not wed," she always expected it to end as did the poem, "Nora's heart is lost and won, She's wedded to the Earlie's Son."

Maria's brother, Richard Sullivan Fay, with his wife and children had taken a country seat called Moor Park near Ludlow, in Shropshire, England. He had invited Maria and their niece Anna Maria, daughter of their oldest brother, Samuel Howard Fay, to make him a visit. A. M., as Maria often calls her, was only six years younger than her aunt. She also wrote copious letters home. These have been published and I shall take the liberty of quoting from them occasionally.

In 1936 I read to this Society Maria's letters describing their voyage to Liverpool in a sailing-vessel, their arrival and their journey as far as Shrewsbury, which they reached on a Saturday evening.

To-night I will read their further adventures in English Country Life.

Tuesday evening, Nov. 4th [1851]

My dear Mary:

Here we are at Moor Park which looks exactly as I had imagined only more cheerful, more beautiful. Imagine a country for miles and miles as fresh and green and highly cultivated as Mr. Cushing's place only more picturesque and you have Shropshire. I really do not know where to begin with the account of new impressions accumulated now for three days. I shall have to begin with daybreak on Sunday morning which first revealed to us this lovely country as we flew along the "pike" driven by Mr. Weller himself, leaving postbags now at a pretty lodge, now at the "White Raven" now at the "Greyhound Inn" and finally bringing up at the "Angel" in Ludlow. We saw the Castle and the fine old Church in the distance and as we drove through the streets were continually exclaiming at the quaintness of the houses. At the Angel we took a fly which brought us over an ancient stone bridge, past a lovely village church overgrown with ivy, another building that looked like a castle, some cottages with roses and nasturtiums in full bloom on the walls, then two or three gateways and lodges and at last those of the Moor. What magnificent Oaks and Beeches, Laurels, Holly, the leaves of the former not yet turned so that we see everything still in beauty. Soon comes the lawn in view, now the house. It is a venerable brick mansion with nine windows in front — we find them all at the door to meet us, we enter this immense hall wainscotted to the ceiling in oak, the portraits of the ancestors gazing down upon the strangers, we pass through the library into the dining room also lined with oak and seat ourselves at the breakfast table, as if we had just driven over from Cambridge. The children are all grown a good deal, speak rather imperfect English, but are at heart as Yankee as if they had never left home, very affectionate, very fond of fun and perfectly free from affectation of any sort. We relate our adventures nowise daunted by the presence of the butler who looks like Bishop Eastburn. After breakfast the children take us a flying tour of the house. On the other side of the hall are two drawing rooms and a conservatory. We then go up.
the oaken staircase very broad and massive and come into the gallery out of which the chambers open — this is all wainscotted with oak and the floor is polished oak, more by token that I tumbled down flat it was so slippery. Our room and dressing room are Chinese; furniture, drapery, everything Chinese. One of the rooms is lined with Arras; they are all different but all have those immensely high posted bedsteads which are now the fashion. In a wing are the nursery, nursery maids, governess and school rooms. The children dine and tea with the governess. We dine at six o’clock. A bell rings at half past seven, at half past eight we have prayers then breakfast — then I play on the piano with Kitty who is almost equal to me for an hour — at twelve we drive out, at two we lunch, at four or five we see the children for the first time since breakfast and take a walk or ride on the ponies, at half past five the bell rings to dress for dinner, so that the days seem extremely short. After we had made the tour of the house we got ready for church. There are pews belonging to the Salwey family who own this place, in the large church at Ludlow, and at the parish church at Richard’s Castle — to the former we went and everything was as ancient and queer as possible. The three wardens robed in black silk and bearing the silver insignia of office appeared to precede us and our rear was closed by the beadle in his gold laced coat, stockings and breeches, with a bottle nose and great cheeks and chin lost in his yellow neckerchief the very image of Mr. Bumble. We dined early and after dinner I took a walk with my brother over a part of the grounds accompanied by a setter, a pointer and three spaniels, and met Miss Landon and four brothers coming to see us. Her papa is rector of Richard’s Castle which is in the gift of this Salwey family and their place Batchcott is quite near us. Monday morning we drove into Ludlow. That is market day and all the country people and farmers come in to buy and sell, and the gentry to meet each other. The whole thing was like a scene on the stage at home, the farmers with their smock frocks handsomely embroidered or stitched, driving odd little wagons and donkeys. About the market which is at the top of a high street in the centre of the town were groups listening to a ballad singer shouting Lord Bateman’s history or admiring some juvenile ballet dancers dancing in the mud and all draped in white muslin and spangles. In the evening we went to Mr. Betton’s, another neighbor, to take tea — it is about a mile from here, but not so fine a place as this. . . . Tuesday we drove over to Ashford the name of the estates where the Russells, J. R. L.’s [James Russell Lowell, who had married Maria’s cousin, Maria White] cousins, live in and about that neighborhood. I cannot give you an idea of the beauty of the cottages many of them completely overgrown with ivy, others with roses which are still in bloom, there are no fences anywhere, but hawthorn hedges instead. The cottage gardens are full of fuchsias, hollyhocks and laurestinus. There is a beautiful garden here but I have not been in it. I see the walk that leads to it from my dressing room all bordered with laurestinus and myrtle in full bloom. We have grapes every day from the greenhouses. In the afternoon I walked across to Batchcott with Kitty on a pony. I rode a little way but Kitty led him and Lillie held me on as she supposed. They have two ponies so that A. M. and the children expect to ride a great deal. Today

Katherine and myself drove over to Henleigh House to call upon Lady Cuyler. A. M. could not go with us as she is suffering from a terrible cold. The ladies were not at home but I could see that the hall was like ours with a billiard table in the centre, only on the walls were the heads of deer with immense antlers. The front of the house is entirely covered with ivy — it is Elizabethan, has five gables in front and thirteen or fourteen windows in width and being three stories high you can imagine the effect of the vast green mass — it is of course kept trimmed round the windows which have old-fashioned casements. The space in front is oval and is surrounded by a wall of laurel, the leaves of which are as shining and green as japonica, but four times as large. I am of course in the process of comprehending that I am in England, but how I got here is the marvel. Our wardrobe is quite admired by the children and Fischer [Katherine’s German maid] who have
practised eyes — but Katherine’s seems to us so far beyond — she having basques and basquines
and caracos — the two latter are very pretty and desirable.

The Moor,

Nov. 20th [1851]

My dear Mary,

Though I have no letter to answer yet from the busy world of Cambridge, I will be true to
my promise and keep you au courant with what is going on at the Moor. My last was written a
fortnight ago since when we have all been going through the most persevering of influenzas.
Annie took hers on board the ship, it came to me the day we drove over to Henley, a few days
later Katherine took it and all the children in the order of their age have been sneezing, blowing
and coughing until the present moment. I am well at last but have a monument of my sufferings
in or rather on my nose which I only hope may not become of that permanent red which
distinguishes our gracious Queen’s and most of her loyal female subjects. I believe I fully
described to you the dimensions of this house; the hall is as large as the whole floor of the
Doctor’s [Dr. Estes Howe, Mary’s brother-in-law] house, not to speak of the corridors above, so
that you may conceive of the difficulty of warming it where there is only a fireplace and no
furnace. The rooms are all large and lofty and a fire in the grate makes no impression till the
middle of the day. Since I got over my cold I am not so susceptible and feel less sympathy than I
did with the shivering ancestors on the walls and the existing generations upon British soil. It
gives us great appetites, on the other hand we enjoy the delicious dinners of a first rate cook and
feel uniformly bright and well — it may however be a remote cause of red noses. The weather
since we came has been uniformly still and cold. The sun is shining as brightly as on a December
day at home. Your hands out of doors are numb with cold and yet the roses and ivy and myrtle
are blooming. — The leaves on the trees however are beginning to turn and the distant landscape
from our windows looks as bright with autumnal hues as if we were in America.

Since I wrote we have been so occupied with nursing our colds that we have

made very few excursions. We took one delightful walk to Maryknoll whence we had a fine view.
The walk was through a series of woods and fields and we were accompanied by Miss Janet
Landon, daughter of the rector at Richard’s Castle, a young lady of seventeen, her younger sister,
Kitty, her brother Edward, a very lively youth of sixteen devoted to Annie, her cousin Charles
Landon about twenty two, and his tutor Mr. Ogle a fellow of Christ’s College, Oxford. These all
live at the rectory which is called Batchcott and live within a quarter of a mile, being our nearest
neighbors. Batchcott is lovely, there is a terraced garden made of the closest shaven turf, the
flower beds being cut out of it in the form of baskets or horns — fine shrubberies, old yew trees,
ivy covered walls as everywhere contribute to its beauty, there are green houses, graperies,
forcing houses and everything to make a winter residence comfortable, (except, of course,
double windows and furnaces.) The living is five thousand dollars a year which, as in this country
the clergy are among the fashionable people, is not more than enough.

A day or two after we went to the Haye Park which is the old residence of the Salweys to
see a Fox hunt. We did not see the fox but the hounds went by us followed by the gentlemen in
their red coats and top boots to draw another part of the ground; it is a very pretty sight.
We passed another evening at Mrs. Betton's to meet Miss Beale; though there was only our party she was en grande toilette, blue silk, low neck and short sleeves. She sings quite well and has a very good opinion of herself. She is almost six feet high, in fact I felt like a pigmy beside her. She lives about seven miles from here and is coming here at Christmas when Richard returns. On Sunday we all went to Church at Ludlow where a Charity sermon was preached by the Archdeacon of Salop [Shropshire] upon the occasion of a new Mayor according to custom. Katherine held one plate and Miss Roche of Clungunford Hall the other (the Mayor in his blue silk robe trimmed with fur supported K!) at each side of the porch as the people went out. They received about 170 dollars. Miss Clive was at church and sat in the next pew to us. She is not at all pretty or distingue but looks very intelligent. None of the young ladies are very pretty — there are two or three Misses Clive, ditto Cuyler and Bridges. We went after church by previous invitation to Mrs. Myricke's the wife of the Curate to lunch — Everything was very elegant — there was first an almond soup, then cold roast beef, turkey, pheasants, ham and calf's head pie, jellies, tarts, grapes and other nice things — there were only our party, a Marquise de Clomat, two beaux, Mr. and Mrs. M. and their two daughters. Mme de Clomat is the daughter of a Lady Sayre and married to a French Marquis — is about as tall as — oh, I don't know; anybody so little is neither pretty nor interesting. Yesterday evening we had two gentlemen to dine, so I appeared for the first time a 1'Anglaise. Edward Landon who happened to be here when I came down professed himself satisfied except he would have preferred a white to a black silk bertha. Very often when they are here and the dressing bell rings, they get up to go and we tell them we are dressed — they can't believe it because we have on high necked dresses — the silks and open fronts and lace collar and under sleeves go "for nothing in their eyes. Katherine's dresses are very handsome. They are chiefly what she had in Paris. She regrets whatever new ones she had made for this winter as she is far beyond the ladies here, though on the whole I am agreeably disappointed in the appearance of English ladies. Mrs. Jones the milliner in Ludlow brings down the latest fashions from London which are very like those ours bring from New York. Charles Landon told me the other day when the neighborhood heard that an American family had taken Moor Park they were on the tiptoe of expectation. Bloomers, and Indian blankets, at the very least; they were quite disappointed that we were like all other well-bred people and he could hardly suppress his surprise when he found we took the same step in Polka. Kitty says in Paris the children used to ask her if the Americans were not black. You have no idea how full the papers here are of the Bloomer Costume, one would think it had been universally adopted in America so much do they make of it. Bloomer balls, Bloomer lectures, Bloomer polkas, Bloomer comic songs, etc. without end. I suppose by the time you get this letter the Kossuth fuss will have got upon the Atlantic Coast. He was made a great deal of here by the Alton Locke sort and the papers were filled with his speeches. A committee from the "Emancipation of Women Society" waited upon Mme. Kossuth with a speech to which she very properly replied that she was very happy in her own subjection to the best and greatest of men and had no wish at present to better her condition. When you see Mr. Child tell him that Fischer was ecstatic upon him and his German and thinks he might justly have been appointed Professor of the Rhetoric of every language. I go up to her [Fischer's] room every day for half an hour to talk German with her or rather to hear her talk for as yet I can better listen than speak. She is a very nice person quite intelligent and well informed.

* * *
I find all my winter things very comfortable. I think of sleeping in the red flannel dressing gown over the other. The climate is so damp that the cold is more penetrating.

The Moor

Dec. 11th '51

My dear Mary,

Very welcome was your pleasant letter telling me everything I wanted to know. . . . You have had trials which I hope will not diminish the chance of the Earlies’ son. Since I wrote the Earlies’ son and daughter of these parts have come to one of their three Seats, Oakley Park, and a day or two after came in state which means with four horses to their visiting equipage to call upon Mr. and Mrs. F. Unfortunately we were not at home so that we found only the cards of Mr. Clive, Lady Harriet Clive, Miss Clive and Miss Mary Clive. We returned the visit the following week but went after lunch when they are not at home so did not see them but only their fine oaks, the fine cattle in the park and their great pile of a house twice as large as Moor Park. Lady Harriet is the Monarch of all

she surveys in these parts; and the neighboring gentry, to our wonderment who were born where all are free and equal, stand quite in awe of her. She is very rich as she inherited three fine estates from her brother the Earl of Plymouth. Oakley Park belongs to Mr. Clive who is son to the Earl of Powis and they only live here three months as Lady Harriet holds the other two estates on condition of living on them part of every year. She usually gives a ball at Oakley Park when she comes down here and is Lady Patroness of a Subscription ball at Ludlow which usually comes off after New Year. There were balls given by everybody last year so that it will not be gay this season . . . The Earl of Powis ... is Viscount Ludlow and Baron Herbert of Cherbury. The grandfather gave the organ to St. Lawrence Church in Ludlow as you see by an inscription thereon and the shape though twice as large and the tone and date made me almost sure it was built by the same man who built our old one. When I went to play upon it sure enough there was John Suetzler’s name — it had been repaired twenty years ago just about the time that ours should have been. As I have begun with an account of the Clives I may as well finish with an account of all the people we are likely to know — Sir Charles and Lady Cuyler and five daughters next engage our attention. Richard has dined there two or three times after shooting with Sir Charles. [A. M. says “Somebody told Sir Charles that in his shooting dress he looked just like Cock Robin with his tail pulled out and you cannot imagine a better picture of him.”] He has his “morning suit” as he calls it sent over in the carriage so he changes his shooting costume for a suitable dress to meet the five white robed ladies in. (You get quite to like the custom of dressing for dinner even when there is no company •— the gentlemen never wear a dress coat except then, with a black cravat and black or white waistcoat they look very nicely. White cravats are not worn here by gentlemen because the butlers wear them). (Mr. and Mrs. Kevill Davies who have a fine estate called Croft Castle then Sir Wm. Boughton of Downton Castle, the Russells, Bettons, Beales, Landons and Brydges I have already mentioned.)

Last week Richard had a shooting party consisting of Mr. Charlton, a bachelor of ancient family and fallen fortunes — fallen or lost on the turf — his hair and whiskers are fast growing gray but he is still an elegant looking and very agreeable person; Sir Charles Cuyler, Mr. Betton and Mr. Landon — they dined here and we had a chance to judge of their powers of conversation.
I am sorry to say their chief topic was sporting and poachers — there was a short diversion upon charades and conundrums — an enquiry what had become of Cardinal Wiseman and a few other odds and ends of talk but little or no anecdotes. Mr. Betton whispered to me that one of the few wise things Mrs. Russell ever said was, that this neighborhood was not an intellectual one. Anne Maria sat between Mr. Charlton and Mr. Landon — the former was deaf in his right ear and sat on her left and Mr. L. deaf in his left ear and sat on her right. I was more fortunate or more cunning for I took good care to get on the right side of Mr. Betton who is similarly afflicted. I wore my green striped silk with the high waist. A.M. wore a blue silk and Madame a beautiful French dress — a changeable lilac and green silk with three deep flounces trimmed with three rows of green velvet ribbon of different widths, as were the sleeves and basques

Anne Maria has attained the principal end she had in view in coming abroad. She is gaining flesh very fast. I do not imagine she will go beyond a certain point but her arms and neck will not be so painfully thin as they were. She contemplates the daily improvement with the utmost satisfaction in the glass. She cannot give a furtive glance as other women can but on account of her nearsight must put her face entirely in the glass. As there are two dinners every day, the children’s at which we lunch and our own at which we dine, and as water is not the principal ingredient in any one of them but rather ale, port and sherry, those persons with whom they agree grow fat thereon. A.M. says she has hardly drunk a glass of water since she has been here.

Since I last wrote the weather is milder and more like what I imagined the climate of England to be. One inconvenience I have forgotten to mention — the English language as we speak it we are obliged to dispense with entirely and learn a new one. One must say drawing room instead of parlour — hall or corridor or passage rather than entry; there is no such thing as a waiter in the sense of servant or in the sense of tray. In speaking to a servant you must not say Mr. or Mrs. Fay but your master, your mistress — you may say that your father is a rum old chap, and call your best friend a muff if he hesitates to take a hedge with a double ditch in hunting. Slang is fashionable and you must not put on an h to anything but may take it off — thus — an hotel. You must say Mare-y not Ma-ry, etc., etc.

Give my best love to the Fosters. As we see the Advertiser every week, I shall see the weddings announced very soon. Do you imagine I am bereft of feeling by the ocean between, that you announce the defeat of the Whigs in such a triumphant tone? While I write you are profoundly ignorant of the crisis in Paris — reading foreign politics in some degree takes off the edge of my mortification in regard to my own. I am quite overcome with the news of Miss Hoyt. Do tell Mrs. Hoppin she must write me all the church gossip in return for mine.

In my next I shall probably have an account to give of an assembly to be at Ludlow of which Lady Harriet Clive is Patroness and the Earl of Powis Steward. Miss Beale has returned from a visit she has been making in Wales. I don’t know whether I shall like her or not. She has an unmarried brother with whom she lives. He is a clergyman of course. No younger sons of gentlemen are ever anything else unless they go into the army or navy.

Give my love to everybody in Cambridge. At this distance they all seem so dear that I cannot distinguish; the halo from the best beloved covers the least loved. Have I told you that to be pale and slender here is the fashion — color and size are considered appropriate to maidens of
low degree. You would become celebrated I do not doubt and be sent for to Court. Adieu with particular love,

Ever yours,

M.D.F. 14

The Moor, Dec. 28th [1851]

My dear Mary:

I write in the midst of the Christmas holidays hoping that you have had as merry ones as we have. Richard came home from Bonn the Monday before Xmas bringing with him Frank Peabody from Paris who proved a valuable addition to our party as he had a fund of inexhaustible spirits and is a capital dancer. We began immediately after lunch to show him the country and introduced him to Batchcott and Richard’s Castle and the four Messrs and two Misses Landon. In the evening we had a game of whist which was played in so new and offhand a style that we nearly died from laughing. The next day commenced with the breaking of the carriage which took the governess to the mail coach and put us quite in despair at the idea of going upon foot until it can be repaired. The young men were out shooting all day and the Landons came over after dinner to dance. They were dressed as usual, one with a double tattan and the other with a muslin flounced to the waist. Their Mama also in her common dinner dress — a low necked, short sleeved crimson satin. We danced Polka, Redowa, Schottisch and Valse a deuxtemps. Think of me breaking my principles under the tuition of young men educating for the Church. I feel however that I could not do it in better company. On Wednesday evening George Landon, the Oxford Don and future Rector, came down to practise a charade for Xmas evening. He and Frank Peabody act capitally and we were very much amused. At a late hour we went up to fill the children’s stockings. F. Peabody brought over some beautiful bonbons from Paris. We all hung our stockings on our door handles and it was a long time before we grown people could get each other to bed in order to fill each other’s stockings. I don’t know what the butler thought as he walked through the corridor the next morning to see them brimfull in every direction for this is not an English custom. Christmas morning coming down to prayers we heard the Christmas Carols before the house. These are very quaint and ancient versifications of the Nativity sung by boys. It was very beautiful and touching. One impressive custom we were too far to hear — the chimes are rung on Xmas Eve from midnight until two in the morning. Annie and I walked to church at Richard’s Castle and found when we came home the drawing room all dressed with holly and ivy and a superb mistletoe hanging up between the folding doors which the Gardener had brought. We dined at five o’clock and had the children all at table. We had in addition to the regular Christmas boiled turkey canvass back ducks and partridges from America, a present from some gentlemen who made a visit here in the Autumn. After dinner came the Landons and we had charades and dancing. The English do not generally dance on Xmas evening, but Mr. Landon said his father the Dean of Exeter always had dancing then, so we danced. Frank danced a great deal with Miss Janet and made an appointment to walk with her the next day. This we turned into a general excursion to Ludlow, whither we all walked except Richard, Annie and Willie who went on horseback. Katherine could not go because her carriage was not yet ready. When we got to Ludford which is this side of the river from Ludlow and is Mr. Charlton’s property we resolved to
go in and see it. It was an old monastery but has been long the domicile of the Charltons the last of whom is the bachelor I described in my last. We sent in our names, Miss Fay and party, and the housekeeper shewed us all over it, poor Mr. C. having had a bad fall in hunting and awaiting a surgeon could not do the honors himself. I wish you could see the hall which was once a refectory, the very books in black letter lie on the reading desks as they did five hundred years ago. Then the drawing room so cheerful — windows upon a lawn so beautifully shaven as to look like moss, ancient yew trees sweeping the ground. . . no end to the curious rambling chambers, in one of which you are informed King James I. slept when he visited Ludford. The house is in perfect order — a billiard table, etc. as they have in all the fine houses here. When we want to change the scene if you do not accept the Earlie's son we will hire Ludford which may be had, completely furnished for £150 (seven hundred dollars a year) with the privilege of shooting over 2000 acres, which we can invite particular friends to stay with us for. But I am out of my road, which we soon continued, for we thought the riding party must be tired of waiting for us. We were very soon in Ludlow and took our way at once to the castle where they were waiting for us. Here we roused Echo and the Guide and followed him through all that remained of banqueting apartments, towers, chapels, dungeons and kitchens with an oven where twenty-four bushels of flour were baked at once. Leaving the castle we went to a pastry cook's where we reposed our wearied limbs and comforted our inner men. Thence we went to the church in which one is always finding out some new chapel, thence to the Feather's Inn, remarkable for its carvings in oak without and within, probably once the abode of some gentleman when Ludlow was fashionable. Lastly to the Ball room where we are to dance the night after New Year's, and so home, where Frank Peabody had to dress for dinner at the Russells! We sat up until he came home, as we were anxious to know how the beautiful Miss Florence struck him. He came home enthusiastic to such a degree that he sat down and wrote to his father to come over from Paris to see Ludford, hoping he would take it until they are ready to go home in August. Saturday morning he went out shooting and lost an hour's visit from Miss Florence and Miss Harriet Russell and their brother Capt. Russell. The latter is astonishingly like James. Hair, eyes and nose in shape and expression but different in color. As they are in deep mourning this is their first visit. Miss R. is very handsome, in fact they are the first striking beauties I have seen. In the evening Mr. Charlton dined with us and as usual was very elegant and agreeable. He is quite old but his excessive thinness and his artificial teeth make him quite young in appearance. Sunday F. Peabody walked to Ash-ford hoping to see the Russells at Church but inquiring at the lodge if the ladies had gone, found Miss Florence had not passed the gate, so went up to the house and had the felicity of passing the morning with her and Capt. Russell.

Yesterday we had a visit from Mr. Clive, the great man of these parts. He is the son of an Earl is an M. P. and has 200,000 dollars a year income, when he came in he was so plain in his appearance and manners and so bespattered with mud that I thought he must be a farmer. He came on the part of Lady Harriet to know if it were really true that Mr. Fay declined all invitations to dine out. K. told him that such was the case, but that now her son had come home she could have him to accompany her, so we shall probably be invited very soon. Sir William Bough-ton and his daughters also called the other day to ask Madame to fix a day for dining at Downton Castle so that we have a prospect of something new to write about.
Yesterday in the afternoon Frank asked me to accompany him in a walk to Ashford in the
hope of catching a glimpse of his fair enchanter. As he had but an hour to spare before the fly
should come to take him away, we very boldly went to the house after finding she was out on the
pony. He consoled himself by carving Adieu! on the last stile that separates their grounds from
ours, with a promise on my part that I would find out if she saw it, ... [he] is looking very well
and is very agreeable and amiable. He plays and sings very nicely on the guitar. When we go to
Downton to dine we intend to display all our accomplishments for the people about us have the
greatest curiosity about us as Americans. They seem to think we ought to be half savage. Mr.
Clive who knows Mr. Everett very well is not so ill informed, but Sir William Boughton though a
great traveler evidently expected us to be smoking the calumet of peace when he entered the
drawing room.

The Moor
Jan. 25/52

My dear Mary,

* * * Our latest dinner was at Mrs. Meyricke's in Ludlow. Mr. M. is Curate of St. Lawrence
Church and there were four rectors with their wives invited to meet us, the Count de Croymier
being the only person of the Laity beside ourselves. It was not very brilliant. We had music after
dinner performed by all the ladies in turn and left early at eleven. [A. M. says: "It is customary,
when you go to dine, to take your own butler, or footman, and offer his services to wait."] . . .
The following week we were all invited to Sir Charles Cuyler’s to dine. After a drive of five miles
we reached Henley Hall at seven o’clock, were ushered into one of the quaintest drawing rooms I
have yet seen. It was entirely paneled with oak and the ceiling was covered with the very richest
mouldings a style which I believe just being revived. It is very handsome. The room was hung
with family portraits. . . . The dinner was very handsome, but of course not equal to the dives'
who had no end of plate and the Duke of Northumberland’s cook. My neighbor Mr. Church could
talk about anything. I advanced and we got on very nicely. The ladies left the table a little before
nine when the Landon's and Meyrickes who were invited for the evening arrived. When the
gentlemen came in Sir Charles got up a dance in which the rector and everybody else joined. To
this succeeded polka, valse a deux temps, and quadrille in quick succession. In one of the latter I
was opposite to our host with whom I vied in the agility with which I took my steps and we
flourished away adding much to the hilarity of the

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moment. Of course, I did my share of playing, but at an English party everybody can and will
take their turn of it. We had supper at about half past one and we got home a little before four!! It
was a very merry party and reminded me of family parties at home.

I forgot to say that in the week between these two occasions we were agreeably
surprised by the return of Frank Peabody from Paris accompanied by a common friend of his and
R., Mr. Hunt. As they chose to take up their abode in the Feathers’ Inn, Ludlow, we did not see
quite so much of them but they dined and passed the evening every day. I think the fair Florence
was the attraction and we sent for them to come over one evening intending to surprise her, but
she and her brother had just returned from Shrewsbury to take care of the rest of the family who
were all ill with measles so they were obliged to decline. She came over in a day or two, but
unfortunately after Frank had left, and spent the afternoon. She is very handsome and quite
accomplished, but has a little affectation of manner of being very lively and enthusiastic. After
you have seen her frequently you get it over as you see that it arises from a desire to give the
greatest possible amount of pleasure. Capt. Russell is a perfect beauty very like James but without any of his wit or conversation. Indeed he may think himself and perhaps is, handsome enough to do without exerting himself to talk.

A week ago last Friday arrived Joseph Gardner [son of Mr. and Mrs. John L. Gardner] direct from Boston. He stayed as we did at Shrewsbury all night on the way from Liverpool. It was the night of the great Shropshire Hunt Ball to which I mentioned our being invited. When he got up very early in the morning to take the four o’clock mail coach he saw a great many of the gentlemen in the smoking room for the ball room was in the White Lion, and among others one in a red coat whom he took to be a footman but, as he said, a very elegant fellow. It was one of the members of the hunt who on this occasion always appear in a red coat.

Mr. G. reached the Moor in time for breakfast, but had hardly eaten it before he had to get ready to accompany us to Downton Hall. Sir William Boughton had appointed the day for us to come and lunch, thence to make an excursion to see Downton Castle a fine place which the second son inherits from his mother so Mr. G. was quite in luck for the day was lovely too. After you pass the Lodge gate a very gradual ascent of two miles brings you to the door of Downton Hall, an immense house covered with ivy, surrounded by pleasure grounds and commanding a fine view. After walking about a little while, lunch was announced and we entered a dining room larger and more elegant than any we have seen yet. It is perfectly useless to describe it for the ceiling was so high that I could not, while at table venture to lean my head far enough back to admire the superb mouldings with which it as well as the walls were covered and which on the latter formed the settings of very beautiful full length portraits of some of the former Baronets and Ladies. We had hot roast fowl and vegetables, cold pressed beef that I could have wished Father was sitting before, and brawn with a second course of tarts jellies and fruit. After lunch the carriages came up and with an episode of stopping at a mine of Sir Williams’s "the most expensive toy of his" as

his daughter remarked . . . we went to Downton Castle about four miles farther. To describe this would only be reiterating. It is built in castellated style, of gray stone, has suites of apartments, fine pictures, fine library, dining room, with a dome as large as the Exchange in Boston. Then the walks and views without are extremely picturesque and wild. There were large wood fires in all the rooms to make it comfortable for us, but no one but the housekeeper and steward lives there. It was built by the great Greek Scholar Payne Knight Eyre and comes to the Bough-tons through Lady Boughton. Since Lady B’s death the Miss B’s have this Mrs. Eichbaum as dame de compagnie. She is a charming person and they treat her with the most delightful deference and kindness. The next day we all went to Ludford to lunch by Mr. Charlton’s invitation. Here we saw more ancestors, more old furniture, more fine pictures. Mr. C. returned the visit very soon for he came to dine the same evening. The next morning being Sunday some of us went to Ludford Church. This stands only a few feet from the Hall. Mr. C’s pew is in the Transept which contains the effigy of Sir Job Charlton the great man of the family. It is exactly like the portrait in the house and the marble Chief Justice’s cloak and ermine are all painted red, white and black. Less famous Charltons pave the floor. It is the custom here for clergymen to wear black gloves always in the reading desk and sometimes in the pulpit. This parson, however, instead of wearing kid gloves, encased his hands in plush ones, which as they hung over the pulpit looked like bear’s paws, much to the disgust of Mr. Charlton. This man was a perfect coxcomb and puts Mr. C. entirely out of patience, but his brother sold the living so he has no help for it till the incumbent dies, who is on his travels and has left the Curate to perform his duty.
This week we have been returning visits. We went to Oakley Park but Lady Harriet was not at home. She was down at her school. The next day came a very kind note regretting her absence and inviting us to come there and lunch next week, offering to shew us the School, etc., etc. She does a great deal of good among her tenantry and dependants. The day after we went to Croft Castle the seat formerly of Sir C. Cuyler's brother in law who was obliged to sell it to pay for an electioneering contest. It is now owned by Mr. Kevill Davies. You "will be tired of my superlatives. I ought hitherto to have used only comparatives, for this place demands my utmost. Imagine yourself entering an ascending avenue three quarters of a mile long lined on each side with ancient Beeches whose lofty branches meet overhead, then passing a stone gateway which was formerly the entrance to the Castle you come in view of the Castle which has been long since converted into a stately abode. The Kevill Davies were at Cheltenham so we got out of the carriage and walked upon the terrace which runs along the South side of the house and where Marygold, Polyanthus and some flowers I did not know were in bloom and which commands a very extensive and beautiful view of the Park sloping downwards ad infinitum to the belt of hills on the horizon. Thence we walked into the park where I did not know which to look at — the view or the trees or the running streams or the pools or the velvet carpet beneath my feet. The history of Mr. Davies is like what one reads in novels. He went to Chelten-

ham rich, young and unmarried. There an Irish beauty, poor and ten years older than himself managed to captivate him and in spite of the entreaties of his mother and the remonstrances of his guardian (for he was not quite of age) he made a runaway match of it for there was a make-believe opposition on the part of her mother. We were not at home when she called but I saw her at the ball and though the mother of half a dozen children is still very handsome. Miss Mary Clive thought she was too showy which I found afterwards meant that she had not a high-bred air. Certainly she had not, compared with Lady Harriet and Lady Powis.

February 25th, 1852.

We have just received an invitation from Sir W. Boughton which I will partly copy to give you an idea of the extent of it. My dear Sir, It will make all my party very happy, if you and Mrs. Fay, Mr. and the two Miss Fays will give us the pleasure of your company on Tuesday & Wednesday next the 2 and 3 of March at 1/4 before 7 — and I shall consider myself fortunate if I find that you happen to be disengaged for both days. You will meet Mrs. Walpole sister of Mrs. Acton whom you met here on the last occasion and some little party.

Is not this an idea driving seven miles two successive evenings to dinner? The avenue is two miles long and bordered by a precipice all the way.

March 11th [1852]

I suppose we shall make no move until my brother returns. Then I could get to Paris, get a wardrobe and see the sights, come back to London and see a little of the great world, I should be quite satisfied to come home, return to the back woods and reflect forever after on the vanity of human life. A further experience of the same by going down the Rhine to Switzerland would come no ways amiss, but unless we fall in with somebody who can take me I think it is quite doubtful if I get so far. A and K having so large a family to leave behind or to take I can hardly expect to go on my account over ground they have already traversed. Perhaps when R. comes back we may be able to take R. Jr. as an escort to Paris and then trust to find some Americans "on a tour in search of the picturesque" whom we could attach ourselves to. Cannot you find somebody who is coming out in June and write me word that you and they will meet me in
London or Paris on such a day? If we go up to London as we probably shall in June or May we shall be presented at a Drawing Room as one way of seeing a fine collection of women and diamonds.

May 26th [1852]

The Moor

My dear Mary:

You will have heard ere this that Richard was safely restored to us after a very short passage in the Asia. I was extremely obliged by your letter and the books. You anticipated my wishes. We were very much interested in Uncle Tom's

history and think some of the characters very well drawn. Miss Ophelia was particularly good and well contrasted with her Southern cousins. The negroes too were made very interesting, but I hesitate to show such a terrible picture of slavery to anybody here. I hope the book may do good. And now to congratulate you upon the new house. [The house on the corner of Oxford and Kirkland Streets]. If you had had your choice of all Cambridge you could not have done better. I only fear you will never want a house of your own, if you are made so comfortable. I rely upon your being so good a walker to see you often and since I have been in England I have learned to call a person a neighbor who lives fifteen miles off so the distance shall not separate us.

* * *

We are not yet in London you perceive, but my next letter to Father will be from thence. R. wanted us very much to go up yesterday so as to go to the Derby today but Annie and I did not care enough about it for it is a four and twenty miles drive to and from London and the greatest rush of people upon any known occasion and not half so attractive for ladies as the Ascot races which take place later in June to which her Majesty goes in great style. Among other important steps we have taken was my commencing a correspondence with Mrs. Lawrence on the subject of K. and me being presented at the next Drawing Room which takes place on the 3d of June. A note from her this morning in answer said she should be happy to present us — encloses the address of Miss L’s court dressmaker one Mme Fusey and speaks of having met Lady Harriet Clive at Bridgewater House who spoke very kindly of us, etc., particulars about the presentation she reserves till we meet. We have written to engage Mme F. and seem fairly in for it. As it is not my destiny to wear the bridal veil, I am going to induce in wearing the court train and instead of orange flowers to be adorned with feathers and a lappet.

R. proposes I should commence walking backwards with a table cloth attached to my dress but I shall invoke the genius of American Independence and remember my country — and do as I see other people!

I suppose you got the morning Post. It is the fashionable paper the novels always allude to. I thought you would be amused with the long lists of fashionables headed always by the American Minister and Mrs. Abbott Lawrence to whom courtesy assigns the earliest mention. Did you recognize Mr. Bancroft Davis? It is distinguish here to have a double surname — it indicates that a female ancestor the last of her name brought a great fortune therewith to her husband who unites her name to his to preserve the one and acknowledge the other.
I told Annie I should write you a description of the wardrobe with which we go up to London. She selects the least ragged of six silk dresses to wear in the train, we each have a new ball dress ruined by Doble whose name rhymes with trouble. [The dressmaker at Ludlow]. I have taken mine all to pieces and may contrive to wear it once while my court dress is being made which will serve afterwards for a ball dress in case we are invited! My striped green I trimmed the body of after one of K’s French ones and it is very stylish and becoming for a dinner dress — the other green will do to go see the lions in the Tower with but Annie has neither of these so that I have written to Mrs. R. Sturgis to ask her to engage a dressmaker for us immediately. I sent the organdie to the Gardener’s wife to do up instead of giving it to the laundry maid, and she sent it back apparently boiled to death; I cannot have even the melancholy satisfaction of giving it away to a servant, for nobody can wear it. You may imagine Annie’s state of mind — she who has always two new silk dresses early every Spring. We are invited tomorrow to go to a luncheon-dinner at Mr. Longworth’s the bachelor rector of Bromfield. It is the Clive property and his house, a very handsome stone one, is close by Oakley Park. The idea is to see the May (hawthorn) in blossom in the park and to walk about the grounds after the luncheon-dinner until dark when we come back to coffee at the rectory. The Cuylers and some gentlemen are to be asked to visit us — there is nobody else to ask as the Bridges’ are in mourning and everybody else is in town.

Richard came back delighted with you — had no idea you were so handsome — “splendid girl and no nonsense about her” by which last he means you are not one of the flirting sort of whom he has the greatest horror. May zyth — We have just had a kind note from Lady H. Clive telling us of various hairdressers and dressmakers to serve our occasions so that we begin to see our way clear in the maze of things to do. Annie is not going to be presented, as we thought two Miss Fays would be dreadful, and my not being shortsighted makes me likely to see more than she would.

Adieu with much love to Lois, Agnes and the Fosters, believe me

As ever,

M. D. F.

[May, 1852]

You will see what a pleasant day we had at Walcot. Lord Powis is charming as are his mamma and sisters — lively, unaffected and agreeable as well as highly cultivated and highbred. I only wish there was a Duke in the neighborhood for if Earls and Honorables are so nice what would his Grace be. It would be a climax like the red rhubarb. Seriously, they are precisely like our best
bred people at home. The only difference is in the prestige of their titles and the vast estates and great style in which they live.

(Private) The Colonel Forester has passed two days here — a most elegant, highbred, but not handsome man, very anxious to fall in love with a woman about thirty and he did not fall in love with me. Was it not mortifying? After this I think I may consider myself irremediably single. It is so long since I heard from

you that I feel as if you had got into mischief and were enjoying it too much to leave off long enough to write.

Henry Landon told K. yesterday that he was told as a great secret that I was going to marry Mr. Charlton who has just got home from a two months' absence in Worcestershire. The poor man is certainly generally in love with the Moor, but K. is his great attraction (Katherine I mean). He is too old and his estate too much encumbered to think of matrimony.

July 8th [1852]

Maria's birthday

My dear Mary:

I should think Mrs. Sturgis' position would be a pleasant one. Her house is the only one [in London] where Americans have any chance of meeting each other and she thus seems rather more the Representative of her Country than Mrs. Lawrence. Mrs. L. is always at home before two P.M. while Mrs. S. is at home every Sunday evening and has dinner parties beside. She says however that just as she begins to get acquainted or attached to a person he or she goes away and the thing has to be done all over again. She is very handsome and a great favorite with all the Americans — her children are very pretty and so exquisitely dressed as boys in England always are.

We could not have seen London under better auspices than we did with the exception of Katherine not being well. What with Lady H. Clive and Mrs. Lawrence we saw specimens of everything in the fashionable world from the Queen down to an Honorable — likewise their houses and equipages. In town they appear like the wealthy and fashionable elsewhere, it is in the country only that one gets the true effect of rank and station in England so that I appreciate my good fortune in having had so good an opportunity as during the last winter. When I return to my native obscurity, I shall miss for a little the comfort of a well-appointed equipage, numerous and good servants and the ease with which everything goes on in its appointed way here; but as I do not think happiness depends altogether upon such things, I shall only let them influence me as to pleasant remembrance and an example so far as it can be imitated.

* * *

Ever yours,

M. D. F.
From A. M.’s letters

In Rotten Row most fortunately we saw the Queen. Two outriders in red appeared, which was the signal for the carriages to form in a line on each side, and she passed between them in an open barouche drawn by four horses, two footmen in the rumble and two outriders behind. The Queen wore a pink bonnet, and her face and nose particularly were very red. Prince Albert looked very handsome. The Prince of Wales is a nice looking boy; the Princess Royal I could not catch a glimpse of.

Aunt C’s dress [for the Drawing Room] had corsage and train of pink taffeta and petticoat of white silk or satin, trimmed en tablier with Brussels lace, the train to be trimmed with ruching, tulle and roses. Maria’s will be blue glace, train and corsage and white petticoat trimmed with white lilacs, etc. On one side of the head are three or four ostrich feathers which are curled under and hang low on it. There are flowers, and from behind hangs a blonde barb called lappets. Both Maria and Aunt C looked uncommonly well, Maria better than I ever saw her.

They entered the throne room with the general circle, that is, after the diplomats and people belonging to the Government. Maria said she thought of Bunker Hill and went on.

Before entering the throne room their trains were spread out by pages. They curtsied twice to the Queen, once after their names were announced and the other time after the Queen had bowed. They curtsied also to Prince Albert and to the Royal family, and then pages took their trains and placed them on their arms and they were at the door.

St. James’s Palace was shabby.
scarlet-coated, rapiered figures walking up and down on red-heeled shoes offering the hospitality of their snuff boxes to the friends they meet, or with their ladies, gowned in hoop skirts and wigs, driving in coaches to take tea with one another, before they were forced to flee the country in the Revolution.

Then we might turn up Sparks Street, named for a former President of Harvard, and dwell on the idiosyncrasies of the President’s wife, whose form of punishment for her daughter was, with each misdemeanor, to take a tuck in her skirt, and, as in those days the mere sight of an ankle caused consternation, you can realize, that as the errors accumulated, and the skirts of the unfortunate culprit rose higher and higher to the knees, what a confining life the young damsel must have led. From Sparks Street to the next street is a short distance and I remember how a stranger, riding in the horse car, inquired of the driver what the name of the street was at which she wished to alight, describing it as a street bearing a noble name, and how he immediately replied "You mean Buckingham, Ma'am."

Down Concord Avenue we now turn to the Turnpike over which on that hot April day the Red Coats fled, and into Garden Street, named for the Botanical Garden, off of which runs a street named Linnaean

after the great Botanist Linnaeus. There used to be many students studying botany when I was young and I remember sitting on top of one of the high gate-posts in front of the Storers’ walk (on Garden Street) with Helen Storer on the other and how skilfully we used to switch off the hats of those botany students. Yes, the students wore hats in those bygone days. What we did it for was evidently to test human reactions — and we certainly got them. So to Craigie Street, which was once part of a large tract of land, on which stood "Craigie House," oftener spoken of as the Longfellow House. Its history dates back to Revolutionary days — and as is well known, it was in Craigie House that Washington took up his headquarters in 1775. Later it was inhabited by the Craigies — a strange and wondrous couple. Many are the tales told about them; one of which I like particularly is that of Madam Craigie, sitting by her open window on a warm spring day, seemingly entirely unperturbed by, and oblivious of the fact that swarms of small canker worms (which infested the elm trees of Cambridge), were festooning themselves over her dress and turban, and when her polite young boarder, Mr. Longfellow, offered to remove them — how she turned upon him and said in a stern tone, "Young man, have not our fellow worms as good a right to live as we?" Probably that is one reason why I can remember the canker worms in the eighteen eighties. Mr. Craigie is said to have fallen on evil days and had great debts, so that he never left his house for seven years for fear of arrest — except on Sundays, for according to the laws of that time all criminals were secure on the Sabbath Day from every arrest but Death.

We can also boast of a short, insignificant street, which, however small, had so impressed the young son of our minister, Dr. Crothers, that when the family were living in Rome, Italy, he rushed into the house one morning exclaiming "Mother, they have a street named Appian Way here, too!"

Of the many streets named for our Revolutionary heroes, I will mention a few of the outstanding ones — Washington, Green, Prescott, and Putnam — recalling the time when
these patriot soldiers commanded the Revolutionary Army, here at the Siege of Boston. Also of that period Hancock, Ellery and Gerry Streets bear the names of signers of the Declaration of Independence, and while we are considering Revolutionary Days, let me mention another street named, not for a patriot, but for a Revolutionary foe — Baron Riedesel, who surrendered to our Army at Saratoga in 1777 and walked with his Hessians all the way to Cambridge, where his men were billeted in the College buildings, and where the hooks for their hammocks still hung in Old Massachusetts Hall, in James Russell Lowell’s day. The Baron and his wife were housed, as prisoners of war, in one of the old Tory houses on the Corner of Sparks and Brattle Streets, left deserted by the fleeing Tories. They lived there in comfort for a year before being "exchanged," and I am told that the name of the Baroness Riedesel, written with a diamond on one of the window panes, can still be seen.

And how many streets are named for the Harvard Presidents and Professors. We can ponder on some of the eccentricities which seem inevitably to become part of great thinkers and scholars. Dunster, Chauncy, Holyoke, Willard, Langdon, Kirkland, Quincy, Sparks, Everett and Walker Streets were all named for Harvard Presidents. As we walk down Kirkland Street we can think of the President of that name as "a jolly little man, who when asked for his advice about a Church quarrel over the dogma of the Perseverance of the Saints" replied — "What troubles me is the Perseverance of the sinners!" Quincy Street was named for a President who found great difficulty in remembering names, and would say abruptly to a student, "What’s your name?" Sometimes he would ask, "Brown, what’s your name?" Once he could not recollect his own name, and when asking for his mail at the Post Office, parried the clerk who asked, "What name, Sir?" with, "Why, surely you know my name" and was rescued just in time by an acquaintance who inquired, "and how is your health this morning, Mr. Quincy?" "Oh," said Mr. Quincy to the clerk, "any letters for Mr. Quincy?" Dunster Street was named for Harvard’s first President, who was "fired" for some heresy or other. He was married to the widow of the first printer, who published the New England Primer and John Eliot’s Bible. Langdon Street bears the name of the President who gave the prayer to the assembled soldiers on their departure for Bunker Hill.

Then, how about the streets named for Harvard Professors? They were certainly remarkable men and deserved to have our highways commemorate them. Longfellow tells us of a talk he had with his friend Richard Henry Dana, who exclaimed proudly "What a set of men we have here — take Agassiz, he counts for three." And of that same professor, John Fiske, the historian, writes: "Such a human presence was Louis Agassiz, can we forget his beaming face as he used to come strolling across the College Yard with lighted cigar, in serene obliviousness of the University's statutes?" John Fiske goes on to say, "Scarcely as one passed him, one might exchange a pleasant word with Asa Gray, or turning up Brattle Street encounter with a thrill of pleasure Longfellow and Lowell walking side by side. It is a precious thing to walk on streets where such men have walked before."
Speaking again of streets named for Harvard Professors, there is one named for the Reverend Henry Ware, a Professor of Divinity at Harvard, about whom grew many legends, the best known being the one in which the students in his classes declared he was a liar, for he often began his lectures with "I am not aware, etc." Another street is named for a most interesting character — a Professor of German named Follen — who came to this country in 1824 and through the good offices of his friend, General Lafayette, who was in America at this time, obtained a professorship at Harvard. He it was who first introduced athletics to the American college. To be sure, when he had gathered some willing students out onto a vacant college lot, calisthenics was all that was offered them — a far cry from the football of these years, but he was the originator. He met a tragic death on the Steamer Lexington when the ship took fire and he, among a large number of passengers, perished.

Manners were of great moment in those days, and James Russell Lowell in his essay on Cambridge tells how Chief Justice Dana (for whom a street is named) once caused a butcher to be arrested for appearing in court without a coat, and of a friend whom Mr. Lowell calls "R.M." saying to him, "My children say 'yes, sir, no, sir' — my grandchildren 'yes and no' and I am every day expecting to hear 'Damn your eyes' for an answer from my great grandchildren."

Two of our great physicians have streets named for them — Water-house and Wyman. Waterhouse Street is named for the first doctor who practised inoculation for smallpox in America. He is described thus — "His queue slender and tapering like the tail of a crab, held out horizontally by the high collar of his shepherd's grey overcoat, whose style was of the latest when he studied in Leyden in his hot youth." I think he must have been an aggressive and egotistic sort of man, as well as a clever one. When some malicious people doubted his claim to fame in regard to inoculation for smallpox, he published this advertisement: "Lost, a gold snuff box with the inscription on it 'The Jenner of the Old World to the Jenner of the New,' whoever shall return it to Dr. Waterhouse will be amply rewarded." The other great physician was Dr. Wyman and a large part of his greatness was due to his extraordinary quality of "common sense." An amusing story is told of an old lady patient coming to see him and telling him that each time she drew an extra long breath she suffered pain. Dr. Wyman, gazing at her over his spectacles, solemnly urged her, "Don't take it, Madam, don't take it."

We have a Lowell Street and a Holmes Place named for our poets. Lowell loved his Cambridge, exclaiming "There is no place like it, no, not even for taxes," and when temporarily exiled to the Court of St. James as our Minister, and being asked by a fellow countryman, "Do you not wish to visit Egypt and see the Works of Rameses?" Mr. Lowell replied "I would much rather see Ramsay's in Harvard Square" (Ramsay being the Apothecary of Cambridge) — and he also wrote, "Rome, Venice, Cambridge, I take it for an ascending scale, Rome being the first stop, and Cambridge the glowing Apex!"

Shepard Street was named for the second minister of the First Church, and Appleton Street for Nathaniel Appleton, Pastor of the Parish for sixty-seven years. Agassiz, Gray, and Bond Streets commemorate our scientists, and in passing let me tell the tale of Mrs. Agassiz going one morning to take her bath and finding three large snakes in the bathtub, and when
she called excitedly to her husband, "Come quickly, there are three snakes in my tub," he called back "Where is the fourth?"

Reservoir Street, on which I live, used to border the reservoir that fed the thirsty Cantabrigians through my childhood, and was a popular trysting place for lovers on June evenings. The walls stood several years after the water had been drained out of it, and one day an investigating small daughter of three years rolled down its steep side and only the Fire Department could rescue her. With pride afterwards she would display her small leg, calling attention to "My reservoir sore!"

The streets named Oxford, Cambridge, Bowdoin, Vassar, and Wellesley bear witness to the academic quality of the City Fathers' tastes, as they were responsible for the naming.

So, as we walk the streets of our loved town, the Famous and the Great come to our minds, and Romance and Charm live again.

MEMORIES OF THE BERKELEY STREET SCHOOL
COMPILED BY ELIZABETH B. PIPER
Read January 28, 1947

MRS. SYLVIO M. DE GOZZALDI, a former First Vice-President of the Historical Society, has read many scholarly and interesting papers at your meetings. Her last one (in 1934, "Extracts from the Diary of Isabella Batchelder James") was presented only a few months before her death in April, 1935. Miss Fanny Elizabeth Corne, long an intimate friend, writes in her Memoir: "The eldest child of gifted parents, Mary Isabella James, intimately called "Ella," was born in Burlington, N. J. Her mother was Isabella Batchelder, of this city, and her father was Professor Thomas Potts James, a botanist of note. Ella James spent many summers of her girlhood in Cambridge with her grandparents who lived in the historic old Vassal House on Brattle Street. . . . While here she attended the Berkeley Street School. . . . After a while, the grandparents having died, the family came to Cambridge to live in the Vassal House. Later Professor James built a new home on the opposite side of Hawthorn Street, which by this time had been cut through the garden." I will refer you to Miss Corne's Memoir for a fuller account of Mrs. de Gozzaldi's life. The important sentence to us tonight is: "While here she attended the Berkeley Street School."

Doubtless all her friends knew of her happy school days and of her appreciation of the education and training given her by the various teachers. But only those connected with the Berkeley Street School Association can have any idea of the hours and hours of time and thought Mrs. de Gozzaldi gave, in memory of the early school years, to the Association of which she was President for twenty-three years. Recently Amy Browne Townsend and I had occasion to go through the papers of the Association and begged of everyone connected with it any items concerned with the early days. Our Secretary, Isabella Linley, pulled out from the darkest corner of what she said was a "very dark closet" a large box and found therein the "History of the Berkeley Street
School." With eagerness we read the papers collected and added to by Mrs. de Gozzaldi, describing the different stages in the fifty years of the existence of the school. The material is of course of primary interest to former pupils. Mrs. de Gozzaldi probably thought these papers of too informal a nature and of too recent a period to be suitable for the Historical Society. But since it is now nearly eighty-five years since the first pupil entered its doors, a few of us thought that others might be interested to hear of a school which had given education and happiness to many girls in Cambridge. And so with the permission of the Advisory Board of the Berkeley Street School Association these papers were offered to the Executive Committee of the Cambridge Historical Society. It seems an appropriate meeting at which to read them, since two of our hostesses, Miss Batchelder and Miss Jones, were former pupils at the Berkeley Street School.

And now just a few words about the Berkeley Street School Association. Mrs. de Gozzaldi writes, "The Association is largely indebted for its existence to Ethel Quincy Bumstead. She, with her friend Miss Bertha M. Howland, perhaps at the suggestion of Miss Constance Williston, conceived the idea of banding us together. Ethel came to me in full enthusiasm and asked my help. Untiringly she worked at all the preliminary arrangements, typing the Constitution and Lists of Pupils, seeing and writing to old scholars, and doing everything to make the plan a success. For many years she kept our album, collecting photographs of the girls and programs of events that happened in the school."

At a large meeting on February 24, 1912, at which former students adopted the Constitution and elected Officers and Advisory Board, it was suggested that the June meeting be in the form of a reception in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the School. It was for this great occasion that most of the papers which form the basis of our "History" were read.

And now let us jump back to June 4, 1912, the day of this large reception.

Frances Kittredge Wesselhoeft describes it: "The fiftieth anniversary party was held in the schoolhouse, 17 Berkeley Street, downstairs in the two large schoolrooms which were beautifully decorated with spring flowers. The President of the Association, Mrs. de Gozzaldi, with Mrs. Williston and Miss Constance Williston received in the front schoolroom, while the other officers and members of the Advisory Board greeted the Seniors in the adjoining room, and initiated them into the Association by placing wreaths of syringa and fern upon their heads. Afterwards sprays of syringa were presented to all the other pupils. Mrs. de Gozzaldi left the reception room long enough to be present at this ceremony, while Mrs. Henry M. Wheeler, the Vice-President, took her place.

"At the close of the exercises Mrs. William G. Farlow presented Mrs. Williston with two rhododendron bushes (Mr. Williston's favorite plant) as a token of affectionate regard
from the pupils of the School. There were nearly 200 present, and many teachers were among the number.

"Promptly at five o'clock Mrs. de Gozzaldi had made an address to all the assembled guests:

Members of the Berkeley Street School Association and friends, fellow schoolmates, girls, for we are all girls once more when we have passed through that door, we are here today to celebrate an event that is rare in this country. Few private schools for girls round out the half century. Dame Fashion and the changes and chances of this mortal life see to that. Here, however, in the midst of this community is a private school that has not only existed for fifty years but has maintained all that time a high standard of scholarship. It seems to us to make fitting the commemoration of to-day. . . .

We do not propose to have dry dull speeches on the history of the school, we shall not comment on the curriculum, nor even give the titles of all the textbooks studied here. We propose to make this a time of congratulation to the teachers, to ourselves and to the people of Cambridge.

When the school was established, and for many years thereafter it was unusual for a Cambridge girl to go to school in Boston. The subway, that marvellous, magical contrivance, that like Aladdin's wonderful carpet deposits us so quickly in the heart of the city, had not even been dreamed of. Plodding horses drew shaky cars, in which we sat for forty minutes or more with our feet in malodorous straw in winter, and our noses blue with cold. When the extra horse had laboriously drawn us up the hill we were set down in Bowdoin Square and left to walk to our destinations through a part of the city that even then was not considered desirable for schoolgirls. It was therefore a great boon to our mothers to have such an excellent school at their doors.

We are going to try now to perform a gymnastic feat. As we go on in years our joints stiffen and we become less agile at jumping, but our wits grow more nimble, and the older we grow the easier it seems to be to leap into the past and recall the memories of the early years of our lives. To help in the accomplishment of our purpose we have collected some portraits of ourselves as we looked in our schooldays. Photography was in its infancy in the early days of the school and kodaks had not made much progress in the years that followed, so these pictures are not high art. We smile at the strange fashions of our clothes which we had almost forgotten, but the loving eyes, the earnest young faces recall as nothing else does "the vision splendid" of those days.

Mrs. de Gozzaldi then regrets that the founder and his two successors as principal could not be present and adds:

One there is, the Mother of the school whose presence we enjoy, Mrs. Wil-liston; she feels that she cannot stand up and speak to so many of her girls but she will take you each
one by the hand. She has written some memories of early days that I know you will be pleased to hear.

Since you are not all members of the school, before reading Mrs. Williston's letter, a few words of explanation may be necessary.

Lyman Richards Williston, the founder of the School, was born November 7, 1830, in the Island of Maui, in the Sandwich Islands, where his parents William Richards and Clarissa Lyman Richards, were among the early missionaries from Massachusetts. Mr. Richards wished his children to have a New England education, and accordingly his son Lyman was sent in 1836 to Massachusetts, where he was received into the home of Samuel Williston, a manufacturer of Easthampton, Massachusetts, and the founder of Williston Seminary. His own father dying when he was still a boy, young Richards, at Mr. Williston's request, took the name of Williston and thereafter was known as Lyman Richards Williston.

He was educated at Williston Seminary during the years 1841 to 1846, and during the next four years at Amherst College, from which he was graduated in the Class of 1850. For two or three years thereafter he taught in Williston Seminary. He then received an appointment as Professor of Latin in Amherst College, with leave to go abroad and study. Accordingly he went to Europe and remained there nearly two years, 1853-1855, most of the time in Germany. During this stay abroad he became unable to continue full belief in the severe Calvinistic doctrines then prevailing at Amherst College, and though his revolt would to-day be considered extremely moderate, it was not so considered at the time, and necessitated the surrender of his professorship at Amherst.

On returning home he spent a year at the Andover Theological School with a view to settling his religious convictions. At the end of the year he married Miss Annie E. Gale and accepted an appointment as head of the Cambridge High School, beginning his work there in the autumn of 1857. Here he remained until the summer of 1862. He was highly successful in this work as the reports of the Cambridge School Committee at that time show, but he saw an opportunity to establish a private school for girls. Mrs. Louis Agassiz had for some years maintained such a school and was about to discontinue it. Accordingly in the autumn of 1862 Mr. Williston opened a school for girls in one side of a double house on Irving Street.

And now we read from the letter written for the 50th Anniversary by Mrs. Williston:

I remember so well the first opening of the school in Irving St., with how much interest we looked for the coming of those who were to be members of the school. First of all I saw Mr. Longfellow leading by the hand his daughter, Alice, — then Professor Pierce with his daughter Helen, — Mr. Dixwell with his daughter Sue, — and so on, with Hastings, Parsons, Storer, Allyn, Page, Gorham, Wyer, Deane, Towle, and many others.

Besides those mentioned there were Professor Levering, Professor Peabody, and the two principal ministers of the town, Rev. William Newell and Rev. Nicholas Hoppin. Also among the first scholars was Cordelia Howard. Her father George Howard produced "Uncle Tom's Cabin." Once as he was considering who could be little Eva, Cordelia said, "Why not
try your own child?” He did — Cordelia proved a great success, acting in England as well as in the United States until she grew too old for the part. In all there were 38 girls, in ages varying from 12 to 18, with one only 11. Many of these pupils remained for six years. Miss Hubbard was the assistant teacher and one of the girls who spent the winter in Boston remembers how she used to come out in the horse-cars and as they sat for half an hour with their cold feet in the straw, she felt that she ought to entertain her teacher with stories that she thought up in the night.

It was the time of the Civil War, and all the girls were knitting and working most industriously for the boys at the front. Mrs. Williston remembers that Sue Dixwell in particular used to knit stockings for the soldiers, keeping her hands busy while studying from the book before her on her desk. Miss Eliza M. Hoppin, daughter of the Rev. Nicholas Hop-pin, writes, "The principal incident which I remember in the old school was Charlie Mills being brought home wounded from the war. The ambulance was driven up to the next door (his mother lived in the other half of the house) during school hours. Here was the visible evidence of that war which only came into the background of our girlish thoughts but of which we were hearing daily and for the heroes of which we were knitting stockings and pulling lint.

A number of the schoolmates formed themselves into the "Banks Brigade" and Sue Dixwell was chosen Colonel. (After the War this became the first Bee. For further explanation let me refer you to a paper "The Bees of Cambridge," written by Mrs. Frederic Palmer and printed in the Proceedings of the Cambridge Historical Society. Mrs. Palmer was Mary Towle, one of the early pupils of the School).

The last reference to the War is on 10 April 1865 when Mary Freeman Prentiss (Mrs. James Murray Kay) wrote in her Diary: "Went up to School but Mr. Williston made a speech and dismissed us. Lee has surrendered! I have been singing patriotic songs until my throat is almost cracked. We cheered Mr. Williston and went home."

To return to 1862. Later in the year Mr. James Russell Lowell brought his daughter Mabel, and Grace Hopkinson followed in 1863, so that with the increasing numbers it was seen that larger accommodations were necessary.

In the summer of 1863 Mr. Williston built a house, #15 Berkeley Street, with a large ell on the north side especially constructed for the school. The ell of only one story, the roof surrounded by a balustrade, can be seen in several snapshots in our album. A flight of steps led up to a pleasant porch with railings covered with woodbine. The large door opened into a hall lined with hooks for hats and coats and with little boxes below for rubbers and rubber boots. Two doors led into the two large schoolrooms where the pupils were seated. There were two smaller recitation rooms and a large basement.

An aisle in the room on the west led to a door which opened into the Willistons' hall. Mrs. Williston writes: "I can see now my sister, Mary Gale, and her friend Grace Hopkinson (now Mrs. Charles William Eliot) poring over their books as they studied together in the library window."
This building remained substantially unchanged for the next 35 years. In the early 1900s the ell was moved away from the main house, and enlarged into a two and a half story building where the school was held in later years. When the school was discontinued the schoolhouse was altered into the present dwelling house at 17 Berkeley Street.

Of the two large rooms one was Mr. Williston's with his desk against the north partition, with recitation benches around and in front of him, and the blackboard behind him. The other was Miss Hubbard's room. Miss Hoppin writes: "First of all let me call attention to the fact that this school was made and this building built for US. Some of you may remember a famous citizen of Cambridge named Lee Powers. He dealt in old furniture and bric-a-brac on Boylston St. His mother put down carpets. When he had amassed sufficient money he took a trip to Europe and afterwards wrote a book, which began in this way — 'On June 4th of a certain year the good ship Pavonia steamed down Boston Harbour with US on board,' US being spelt with capitals.

"In Miss Hubbard's room were among others, Lilian Horsford, Alice Jones, Cora Spelman, Alice Longfellow, Carrie Peabody, Louise Kelsey, Julia Gorham, Effie Lovering, Julia Whitney, Clara and Katie Howe. In Mr. Williston's room were Cora Lovering, Emma Whitman, Helen Peirce, Hattie Spelman, Mamie Goodrich, Mabel Lowell, Mollie But-trick, Marnie Storer, Sue Dixwell, Mary Deane, Grace Hopkinson, Mary Prentiss, Katie Toffey, Emily Atkinson, Carrie Parsons, and later Mattie Walker and Grace Ward, Mary Towle, Sara Wyer, Clara Thies, Isabella Batchelder, Nannie Rotch and Anna Shaw, — about 25 in each room. (Now don't you think we ought to spell US with capitals?)"

Miss Hoppin continues: "How many memories these names bring up, and how many memories of schoolgirl pranks and foolishness. There was Sarah Copenhagen who when seen walking with a young man, and asked if she were engaged, always replied, "not yet." There was Lulie Newell who, when Miss Hubbard objected to water being kept in our desks, to be upset by books and by collapsible cups, and told us the water was downstairs and we must go there to drink it, brought up a tumbler of water in her pocket which she drank behind the cover of her desk, directly in front of Miss Hubbard, screened from her, yet visible to the entire schoolroom. That at least is a prank that cannot be repeated in these days of pocketless and hobble skirts. (Miss Hoppin wrote this in 1912.)"

"The memory of what we learned seems more faint. But I know that Mr. Williston inspired in us dim glimmers of what English literature might mean and that compositions were a favorite form of torture, and that once when my composition was read aloud I heard it all through as having a strangely familiar sound, and yet never realizing that I had written it. We used to recite poetry and even went so far as to learn Latin verse."
The girl who was longest at the school during Mr. Williston's time, Miss Margaret Curry Wyman, familiarly known as "Mardie," daughter of Mr. Edward Wyman, writes: "I first went to school, a fat little girl of ten, when all the scholars were at least twelve, and there I studied eight years, staying even one year after my class had graduated simply because I loved the school and the girls.

"All who went to the school will remember the little book with the brown cover, in which Mr. Williston had compiled in so small a space everything necessary for us to know in grammar, if only we had taken the trouble to study it; but in fact the only thing that we learned absolutely well was a short paragraph on slang, which we were told need not be committed to memory. I will quote it — 'Avoid slang words and phrases; they are undignified and unlovely, show poverty of expression and cast suspicion upon the character of the society to which you are accustomed.' I have a vivid memory of Mr. Williston teaching spelling. A few minutes before school closed for the day all books were put away and we each had a thin strip of writing paper on the desk before us and a pencil in hand. Mr. Williston then read out fifteen or more words, I think from the Manual, which we wrote down one below the other; these were collected and we got them back the next day with great black crosses against the misspelled ones which we had to correct and learn. This was the nearest approach to an examination in the school.

"Miss Hubbard, the Assistant Teacher, was a fine woman, her dignified and courteous manner was a revelation to us all. She had penetration and a way of making us all feel ashamed when lessons were unprepared. She was rather prim, always well dressed, with hair arranged in two funny little rolls, like the pictures of the Empress Eugenie, then the model for the world. She was succeeded by Miss Warren, who was young and rather afraid of the girls. Madame Bessan came in to teach French, she was another woman of great charm. Mr. Fettee taught drawing; his flat copies on tinted paper were touched up with white chalk with great effect. There was a gentleman who came on certain days and transformed Mr. Williston's table into a chemical laboratory. He poured various liquids into glasses making a change in color, showed us a concave and convex mirror and a Leyden jar from which the bravest among us received shocks."

I regret that there is no mention of this gentleman's name. At a later day Mr. Theodore W. Richards (after a few years to be the distinguished Professor at Harvard College) was the teacher of Chemistry. His picture will be found in our album.

"Miss Warren was succeeded by Miss Huntington, with the pretty curls, and after her came Miss Maria Whitney as Assistant Teacher. She was the sister of Professor Whitney of Harvard and Yale; later she was Professor at Smith College and also taught at the Brearley School in New York. She was a fine teacher appreciated by all who studied under her."

Mrs. de Gozzaldi elsewhere states that Grace M. Hopkinson (later Mrs. Charles W. Eliot) was a special teacher in Latin in 1867-1868, coming several days in the week. "She was the daughter of Judge Hopkinson and had lived for some years with her widowed mother just around the corner on Phillips Place (in the house now known as "International
When she came to teach she knew well most of the girls in her classes, which must have made the position difficult for her.

"She was very handsome, oval face, dark hair and eyes, but more than that she had an inexpressible charm." She had a beautiful singing voice. Mrs. de Gozzaldi remembers her leading the members of the Association in "Auld Lang Syne" at a reunion at Mrs. Farlow's house.

Miss Wyman continues: "There were two entrances to the school grounds, one from Berkeley Street through an archway in an arbor-vitae hedge, the other by means of a paling gate from Concord Avenue; the hedge suggested to Minnie Haskins, a second year scholar, the name Evergreen Nunnery by which name the girls liked to call the school. Perhaps you all do not know that the school grounds went from Berkeley Street to Concord Avenue taking in what is now Professor White's house — today we should say Dr. Cogswell's. Baseball was then the prevailing fashion at the College. We played it on the grassy plot between the house and Concord Avenue. At one time we used old Latin Grammars for bases; some girls had left lots of them, but Mr. Williston seriously objected and we had to stuff bags of sailcloth to take their place. As time went on we found that some dreadful men, whether young or old I don't know, used to watch us through the hedge, and we, being very proper young ladies, decided to move our quarters to the Longfellows' back garden where we were quite safe from all outside observation. The pitcher stood in a round grass hollow, called by one of our class the bowl for the Pitcher. . . ."

"Baseball was all very well in spring and summer but in winter some other entertainment was necessary and it was then that we started the Nunnery Gazette. I can't say that it was a literary success, but we enjoyed it all the same, and I don't doubt it was excellent practice for us. I remember what hard work the poetry was and how we ground out the rhymes. We were just sixteen and we were enjoying that time of life in a college town, and the pieces in the Gazette ran on College subjects. We had in it our School Song, written of course to the tune of Fair Harvard and beginning with quite a swing: 'Fair nuns to the Evergreen Nunnery throng,' and really the poetry is not much worse than the original.

"As I was looking over the paper I found some verses which I remember were considered quite poetical, because we described the Charles River as 'Silver ribbon winding into the bay,' but this high vein could not last and the end was a sort of ode to the freshman crew, — remember that we were just sixteen."

Miss Hoppin agrees that the Gazette contained "much poetry, a good deal of satire, not much news, but fake advertisements, and puns carefully explained." There were many allusions to "Sever and Francis," booksellers to Evergreen Nunnery.

"The girls who had entered the school the first year on Irving Street were now 18 and 19 years old and had gone to the Assemblies in Lyceum Hall and knew many Harvard students. Their accounts of dances, student concerts, and Junior Exhibitions were eagerly listened to by the younger girls, who on rainy days would gather around them at recess. One of my earliest recollections is so queer that you will hardly believe it. When I was ten
you can imagine that the first class was my wonder and admiration, and romance was always added when two or three of the girls would come to school with their nets (we all wore them then) lined with brown alpaca to conceal the curl papers underneath, and when the following day they appeared with showers of lovely curls, which they had worn to the party the night before, my excitement knew no bounds. In June 1868 the last of these girls graduated; this left a great gap for they were the leaders.

"We had no festivities on the last day of school. Mr. Williston gave a talk to those who were leaving, we called it our Baccalaureate sermon, of which I remember only the concluding advice, 'Do not be either a household drudge or a social butterfly.'"

Mr. Williston continued as head of the school until the summer of 1870. It was highly successful, but at that time the City of Cambridge offered him a large increase in salary to return as head of the Cambridge High School. He therefore placed his brother-in-law, Mr. Gale, in charge of the private school. Mr. Williston remained at the Cambridge High School until 1882, when after a brief interval he became Supervisor of the Boston Public Schools and later, until his retirement from educational work, Master in the Girls' Latin School in Boston. He died on March yth, 1897.

The new head of the school, Justin Edwards Gale, was born in Rock-port, Massachusetts, on November 10, 1843. He was the son of the Rev. Wakefield and Mary Louisa (Bigelow) Gale.

He graduated from Rockport High School in 1858, from the West-field State Normal School in 1860, Phillips Exeter Academy in 1862, A.B. Harvard in 1866, A.M. Harvard 1867. He belonged to Phi Beta Kappa. He married, at Cambridge, Massachusetts, March 28, 1872, Emma M. Whitman. (She was one of the first pupils, entering when the school was on Irving Street.)

Mr. Gale taught Latin in a French School in New York City from 1866 to 1870 and succeeded Mr. Williston. Later he was master of the Lexington High School, taught again in Cambridge, and then was master of the Weston High School. In 1895 he gave up teaching and became treasurer and director of cotton mills in the South.

Miss Wyman writes: "Mr. Gale was (in 1870) a very young man. We older girls felt that we owned the school and I think his position was a difficult one. But he very soon won not only our respect, but our true regard, and showed himself quite equal to the situation."

"It is hard to give a list of the assistant teachers and I am not sure that they are in chronological order.

"Miss Crum had succeeded Miss Whitney and then came Miss Wall,
whom we all loved and who I think returned our affection. I fear we imposed on this mutual understanding; she probably never knew how many times our history lesson was unprepared. We used to agree to engage her in conversation upon some subject in which she had a special interest and keep her talking so long that the advance was never reached.

"One of the favorites was Miss Charlotte Hedge. She usually wore a shepherd’s plaid dress and had dark curls, real ringlets gathered at the back of her head; the smooth locks above her brow were flecked with white; we felt a deep sympathy for her as someone whispered that she suffered from severe headaches and kept awake all night.

"Handsome Signor Torricelli struggled to teach us Italian and for drawing there were Miss Alcott, who talked much slang, and was adored as the 'May' of 'Little Women,' and Miss Bulfinch who I fear found few artists worthy of her teaching among our ranks.

"The French teachers came and went. There was M. Pierre Moran, an elderly and courtly gentleman, who tried his best to make the girls speak his language. One of his plans was to ask us to subscribe to a newspaper published in French in New York and at every lesson we were to relate some thing we had read in the journal.

"In the seventies the teacher was M. Jacquinot, familiarly called Jacquey, afterwards a Harvard Professor, and now buried in the strangers' lot in Mt. Auburn. He is described by one of the pupils as a typical Frenchman, with jet black hair and beard and gesticulating hands, rather a mystery to us. On one occasion he was radiant; we had been told to bring a puzzle, conundrum, or catch translated into French. One of the girls brought a charade. 'My first I hope you are; my second I know you are; the whole you always are.' This pleased him either as being Frenchified in its compliment in calling him 'a gentleman' or suited to translation."

Great interest was now shown in the drama. There is no date on the program for the play in which Miss Olive Swan, Miss Agnes Devens, Miss Alice Gray, and Miss Mabel Jones took part, "L'Hotel de la Boule Noire." On June 15 and 16, 1882 Miss Steenstra, Miss Ward, Miss Woolson, Miss Dexter and others acted in "Charade," and Miss Jones, Miss Williston and Miss Ware took important parts in "An Episode in the Life of Marie Leszczinska." On the same day also Miss Jones and Miss Ware were in a German play, "Die Gouvernante." This is the only trace we have of the influence of Miss Hellrigl, the German teacher announced in Mr. Gale's prospectus. It is hardly necessary to tell you that no man or boy ever appeared in any cast.

Miss Ingols had been assistant to Mr. Gale and when he gave up the school she succeeded him as head of the school, a position she held for about 25 years. Margaret Rae Ingols was born in Boston December 16, 1842; she died in Cambridge, December 14, 1904. She was the daughter of Levi and Emily Ingols, the youngest of seven children, five of whom were boys. She was educated in Boston, at the school of Mr. Seidhoff. She spent most of her life at the home of her sister, Mrs. Emily Norcross, the oldest in the family. Miss
Ingols had had private classes at home and a private school near Quincy Square. She had a fine, strong, wise face, framed in water waves.

Mrs. Charles Fiske (May Thorndike) wrote a paper on the ensuing period for the 50th Anniversary. Unfortunately it was not kept. However we do know that during the year 1885-1886 Mr. George Howard Parker taught biology and other science classes.

We also know that Miss Elizabeth Wentworth Green had charge of the large schoolroom for the younger girls. She was a great favorite. Miss Mary Deane Dexter remembers that she used small colored candies to show pupils how to add and subtract, an appealing device which made a lasting impression.

Fraulein von Seckendorf was the German teacher. Jane Sever writes: "She taught the German of that proudest of imperial divisions, Hanover. We felt the nobility that her 'von' implied." Miss Josephine Bumstead recalls enjoying so much being in a very small German class that she and her fellow student felt much aggrieved when a third girl entered the class. Fraulein von Seckendorf taught for many years and continued to be extremely popular. Katharine Livermore, a pupil at a much later date, exclaims, "She was such a dear that I cannot bring myself to call her a Boche."

Miss A. E. Smith was the excellent teacher of history.

Miss Katharine Livermore must be our next narrator. Her paper was given on February 1, 1913 at a meeting held in Mrs. Williston's house. "It was in the year 1890 that Miss Clara Howe's school came to an end, and nearly all its pupils went to Miss Ingols'. These pupils were Clara Emerton, Clara Turner, Pauline and Lily Jones, Alice Sharpies, Molly Russell, Margaret Fish, Gertrude Fox, Rita Benson, Katharine and Lesley Livermore, and Sybil Gage. Margaret and Anna Gage were at Miss Ingols' already, and Miriam was to come two or three years later.

"The two large schoolrooms were now presided over by Miss Ingols and Miss Mabel Williston, with the little girls in Miss Williston's room. Most of us had been at Miss Clara's for several years and had grown to be the big girls there. But at Miss Ingols' we found ourselves the youngest, and the big girls went up to 18 and 19. I can't remember what sort of clothes these old creatures wore, but I remember very well what tiny waists they had. Sybil told us in confidence that her oldest sister Margaret's friend Charlotte had never been in Margaret's room, because Margaret's room was on the third floor, and Charlotte's waist was so small she couldn't go up more than one flight of stairs.

"When we first went to Miss Ingols', little girls of nine wore, not wash dresses as they do nowadays, but woolen frocks with white pinafores over them. When we were a few years older we wore serge skirts, generally blue, Eton jackets, and scarlet belts, of stiff belting, with silver buckles. Grown-up ladies of course had long skirts that touched the ground, and it was rather an odd thing that girls began wearing long skirts before they put their hair up; all through our next to the last year at school we used to walk up and down Berkeley Street at recess holding up our skirts and with pigtails down our backs."
By this time Professor White's house had been built on the land behind the school on Concord Avenue, and the Evergreen Hedge had been cut down, but there was still a vacant lot opposite the school, where Mr. George H. Parker's house now stands; "it seemed a great field to us then." "We often spent recess there playing games, generally Snap the Whip or Hill-dill. We also played baseball in the field."

"On rainy days we spent recess in the basement which, with pillars to dodge and a coalpile, was perfect for string tag. There was a piano there too, and Amy Beard and Pauline Jones used to play for us to dance.

"The school day began at nine o'clock. Miss Ingols rang a bell and then came and stood in the doorway between the two large rooms and read a few verses from the Bible. Later Miss Ingols took to calling the roll every morning in the hope of inspiring punctuality. The school lasted till two, five hours for the older girls, with twenty minutes for recess; the little ones were dismissed at twenty minutes past one. We were often obliged to "spill over" into the Williston house where we sat in the sunny dining room, green with growing plants, or in Mr. Williston's severe library.

"The teachers were Miss Mabel Williston, Madame Harney, Mademoiselle Perrin, Fräulein von Seckendorf, Miss Norcross, and Miss Marcia E. Smith. Miss Steenstra, Miss Hewes, and Miss Newhall came later. Of Miss Ingols we saw nothing for a year or two; the first subject we studied with her was United States History. Miss Ingols used to be uncommonly vehement when discussing George III; one of her pupils told me that for years in succession she made a point of being in the room when the United States history class was reciting the lesson about the Revolution, in order to hear Miss Ingols on King George. Miss Ingols also gave a course in English literature for the girls who were not going to college, but really she gave it to all the girls in the room; it was so interesting that we all stopped whatever we were doing and listened.

"During our first few years at school Miss Mabel Williston was the teacher we saw most of, and none of her pupils will ever forget her. (Miss Mabel was the second daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Williston.) The subjects she taught were English, Geography, Arithmetic, and Botany; the subjects she didn't teach are hardly worth mentioning. Every course she gave was a course in general information, and so interesting, and so stimulating, that every recitation was an agreeable amusement.

"It was she who engineered the yearly picnics which took place on a Saturday in May or June at Arlington, in the woods. It was almost the most delightful day of the year; almost, for there was one other and that was the day of Miss Williston's Christmas Party for the girls in her room. We played games of all kinds, much jollier than we played anywhere else, and there were always cakes with little dolls and little animals and little dishes baked in them.

"The last day of school was under Miss Williston's supervision. On the next to the last day we used to go with her to pick daisies for decorations; we went up Brattle Street in the horse-car to Fresh Pond Lane, and picked thousands and thousands of daisies and brought them back to the schoolhouse and arranged them in wire nettings with which the
blackboard had been covered, so that on the next day the wall seemed papered with daisies. There was a program of reading and recitation by girls of assorted ages, and then before the ice cream, a spelling match and Miss Williston gave out the words."

Sarah Thayer (Mrs. John W. Ames) in the Memorial Sketch read at the Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration writes: "Miss Williston was somewhat shy and without any great liking for society in a formal sense. But she had a gift — almost a genius for friendship and those who knew her intimately found themselves attached to her by ties which knew no breaking.

"She was a remarkable teacher even in a family where the gift of teaching seems inborn to an extraordinary degree. I never thought of her as patient with our difficulties so much did she seem to make a pleasure of clearing them away. And she never made one feel ashamed by being sarcastic or irritable.

"I remember particularly her eagerness in the Botany classes. How many of us recall getting out into the yard to examine and analyze the flowers around the house — the rhododendron bush by the steps — the strawberry bush, the peculiar odor of those dark red flowers brings back those days in an instant — and the rockery which was Miss Williston's special delight. . . ."

Emily Sibley writes of Miss Marcia Smith (one of the five remarkable Miss Smiths who had a school on Phillips Place, later moving to Buckingham Street): "I shall remember her as, unconcerned with passing fashion, she sat at her desk in our Latin Class: dignified, without a trace of conceit, eager to develop our skill in the enjoyment of a great classic, and with her face frequently lighted from within."

Of Madame Harney a whole paper could be written. She taught at the school for 17 years. "She was what a foreigner seldom is, a good teacher. She managed to be thorough without being severe."

Jane Sever, later Mrs. Archer O'Reilly, adds: "Mme. Harney, daughter of Victor Hugo's life-long friend, radiated cheer for our French, and to a special student in the works of that poet how vivid she made the books and plays with her anecdotes of Hugo's life.

"For Miss Norcross, Miss Ingols' niece, we drew in crayon, and a few of us extended our studies and walked about Cambridge in the spring time, with campstools and sketch books, to draw pencil sketches of roof-trees, vines or river reaches.

"Last came Sarah Thayer, my cousin, absurdly young for one so learned, who taught Greek, and fired me with her own enthusiasm and love of Troy, gods and heroes." As Katharine Livermore, who began Latin with Miss Thayer, writes: "Can
anyone have been really as delightful as she seemed to us? She was a real personality and we looked forward to every recitation with her. She was strict too, stricter than most of our teachers at Miss Ingols' school.

"There was also Mademoiselle Colin who used to look around her class and point her long forefinger at all the girls whose knees were crossed, and exclaim, "Mademoiselle, Mademoiselle," in a tone of horror, and everybody's knees uncrossed before that forefinger, and some of them have never been crossed since.

"At the beginning of our last year in school most of us were seventeen. We had all begun to put our hair up which was a great labor. People wore detestable great pompadours then, sometimes even "rats" stuffed inside them. We all wore plaid woolen blouses with high collars; and if you went out to walk in a skirt that was three or four inches from the ground you called it a bicycle skirt. Our teachers during this last year were Miss Hyde, Miss Elizabeth Tetlow, and Miss Margaret Leonard. Miss Hyde taught us Physics and gave a course in Zoology also."

Reminiscences of Jane Sever, whose mother was for years an intimate friend of Miss Ingols, include a later period:

"Four years after I had graduated from school Miss Ingols called me back to teach in a newly enlarged building. My room was in the studio over the whole third floor, a lovely room with sloping roof, green-stained, and with an air of space and informality that suited me.

"The studio had its drawbacks. It was cold in winter. To remedy this, Miss Ingols had put in a gas radiator that could be pulled out into the centre of the room. The cock was unfortunately near the wall; before I could rush to light the radiator, gas accumulated in the connecting tube, and a fan of flame blew out through the holes at the top. One day I looked up from my task to see my class staring at me in fascinated stupefaction, before one girl gained enough breath to call, 'Oh Miss Sever, your head's on fire.'

"The most eagerly anticipated event of the winter was the Christmas fancy-dress party of 1904. Miss Ingols, knowing that I acted in many plays, had asked me to find her a costume, — that of Miss Mattie in Cran-

ford. Such a lovely one I was able to get; — and when she came up to the studio that afternoon last of all, after a hurried trip home to dress, she was the perfection of graciousness and dignity. She came to my end of the room where, gorgeous as a Princess of Spades, I was leading some children in a game; then she walked slowly to the other end to see all her school girls. There she fell. The children thought she had fainted; the rest of us knew soon that she had died. Dreadful as it was at the time, it has seemed ever since to me the finest climax of a life, — to fall in the midst of a duty that was her happiness." This is Clara Emerton's poem:

My Teacher
To Miss Margaret Ingols, who bore with me patiently for six years, in love and gratitude — 
"New England written on her brow. Coldly austere — but yet how kind; 'Spare not the rod' — is in her mind But in her smile — 'I teach by love.' "

Miss Munger and Miss Constance Williston at once took over the management of the School. Then Miss Williston alone carried the full responsibility. Miss Constance Williston was a younger daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Lyman Williston.

To write adequately of this period 1904-1912 would require another paper. There were the excellent teachers — Miss Rose Sherman, Miss Elizabeth Freeman, Miss Emily Adams, Miss Anna Grote among others. There were plays, pageants, basket ball, a school orchestra, all the procedures of a fine modern school.

In 1912 came the decision to join with the Cambridge School. Mrs. Williston wrote for the 50th Anniversary:

With the changes that are contemplated we do not feel that the old "Berkeley Street School" loses its identity, but only enlarges its scope and possibilities for helping those who seek its help.

But times had changed. Electric cars now ran in a complete network throughout greater Boston and the "marvellous, magical contrivance," the subway was in existence, making it easy for Cambridge girls to go to school in Boston.

As their loyalties must be transferred, and as all of greater Boston schools were "at their doors," more and more pupils took advantage of the varied opportunities.

Finally Miss Williston herself fell in with the prevailing fashion and left Cambridge to teach at the Brimmer School in Boston. Many Cambridge pupils followed her.

The old school has lived on in the Berkeley Street School Association, which devoted its energies not only to memories of the past but also to an interest in the future.

After the death of Miss Ingols many friends and former pupils and associates had given to Radcliffe College the sum of $2150 to establish a fund, the interest of which was to be awarded each year to a student. Year by year the Berkeley Street School Association had added to this fund, until to its surprise and delight in the years of high interest rates there was sufficient to pay full tuition! The story of the Fund however parallels the exciting story of the stock market. There came the depression! Once more letters of appeal were sent out. In this work Mrs. de Gozzaldi was aided by another former pupil, Emily Webster, Mrs. George H. Browne, wife of one of the founders of Browne and Nichols School for Boys.

Mrs. Holmes Hinckley says of her: "A true product of New England, she was yet without the severe strain that marked the early Puritan." A great believer in equal rights, in consumer's cooperation, in the value of education, she was untiring in her efforts to make available to others what she herself valued. As chairman of the Scholarship Committee, she with Mrs. de Gozzaldi, continued to write the letters urging the members of the Association to bring the Scholarship fund to its full tuition goal.
And so, now, it is in tribute to their untiring efforts and in loyalty to their ideal, that the pupils of a later date gladly take upon themselves the task of finishing what was so ably begun. Amy Browne Townsend, daughter of Mrs. Browne, has now succeeded her mother as Chairman of our Scholarship Committee. Amy, by the way, was one of those who received a spray of syringa at the 50th Anniversary.

As we read the record of accomplishments of the young women to whom awards have been made, and as we look forward to the future recipients — all to be either descendants of pupils of the school or Cambridge girls of similar calibre — we may feel that here indeed the Berkeley Street School will always live.

CAMBRIDGE, THE FOCAL POINT
OF PURITAN LIFE
BY HENRY HALLAM SAUND ERSON
Read April 22, 1947

THE common interpretation of Puritanism is a direct reversal of the historical reality. It is doubtful if any important movement in history has ever been more completely misrepresented. A progressive people have been described as conservative. A movement for breadth is spoken of as narrow. The endeavor to develop and apply kindly, merciful and humane principles has been misrepresented as a movement for inhumane ways of doing things. Puritanism in England should be compared with the environing life of the same period. The Puritans in New England should be compared with the people who had been opposed to them in the homeland. This will show that the Puritan has been most unjustly accused of faults that were not his. To him have been attributed purposes which he did not originate but which, indeed, he was endeavoring to remedy.

It is commonly said that Puritanism was destructive of art and literature; that it looked askance at all beauty and distrusted joyous living. Critics of Puritanism should remember that it produced Spenser's "Faerie Queene," Milton's "Paradise Lost," and Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress."

People who read the literature of early Puritan years in New England are likely to be impressed with the idea that laws were exceedingly harsh, and punishments degrading. Critics of the Puritans cite the ducking-stool, the stocks, and the cage. These common devices were not invented by the Puritans, but were copied temporarily from England, and appear in colonial legislation. One excellent source of information concerning the actual operation of laws, and the inflictions of punishments, is old diaries. Years ago a reward was offered, and has not yet been claimed, for proof that anybody in New England was ever put into a ducking-stool. Puritan methods of punishment were an endeavor to appeal to the force of public opinion in support of the observance of law. Archaic punishments were soon rejected.
Puritan law-making in New England shows a profound respect for human welfare and human rights. There were very few crimes for which capital punishment was inflicted. In England at that time there were two hundred crimes and misdemeanors which carried the death penalty. It seems hardly believable that little boys were taken out and hanged for such trifling offenses as taking apples from orchards. Long and hopeless imprisonments were inflicted for debt. "Time was when slaves were exported like cattle from the British coast, and exposed for sale in the Roman market. These men and women, who were thus sold, were supposed to be guilty of witchcraft, debt, blasphemy or theft" says William Pitt. Puritanism in England was endeavoring to cure such barbarities by the application of a higher sense of human worth. Puritanism in New England never copied such atrocities.

The New England Puritan, if rightly understood, emerges into a clearer light of appreciation. Too long has he stood in the sombre shadows of misunderstanding. Historical researches are bringing us to a fuller knowledge of the conditions of life in England, and in New England, and also in other lands, three centuries ago. We recall that from 1630 to 1640 took place that unique migration which brought more than twenty thousand Puritans from England to the new Colony of Massachusetts Bay. There is no justification for the fact that the life of these people, during the next half-century, is sometimes painted in dark colors. Their life does not justify the deep shadows which are sometimes cast upon it. It is much to be regretted that the word Puritanism has come to be synonymous with conservatism, narrow-mindedness, gloom and bigotry. Neither here nor in England did Puritanism deserve such condemnation.

The plain truth is that the Puritans of England, three centuries and more ago, were the progressive party in English politics. They were also the liberal party in the established Church of England. The Puritan in England, at that time, if we look at him with seeing eyes, appears not as a personification of darkness, but as a messenger of light. And the Puritans of the great migration to New England were the more adventurous and the more progressive element of this liberal and progressive party. Very often these people have been represented as fugitives from oppression; people who fled to the wilderness to escape the normal life of their country. Not at all; they came as the creators of a new era. Their com-

SAUNDERSON: THE FOCAL POINT OF PURITAN LIFE

ing was not a gesture of despair but an expression of high courage and an assertion of hope.

One serious reason for the traditional misunderstanding of the life of the Puritans of New England is that their life is contrasted with the life of enlightened people of today. From this point of view their life may seem gloomy and their laws restrictive. But we have only to look at the life from which they emerged, and the laws which they left behind, to see that they began to build their civilization anew with a more humane spirit and a greater emphasis on the worth of life.

It is altogether admirable that their moral fibre was, indeed, toughened by their contest with the wilderness. They had a sternness which was necessarily coupled with their courage. Their methods of life were more serious, for they were very much in earnest about their ideals. They had, indeed, a glowing idealism, a spiritual ardor, and a stern joy which
transformed their life and made it creative of the beauty and grace which came with the happier years that followed.

It is strange that critics of the Puritans take minor incidents of their life here, and magnify those incidents into grounds for wholesale condemnation of these pioneers. Let us look at one such incident. When certain dissolute people erected a Maypole in territory within the border of this colony, the Puritan authorities interfered with their intemperance. This has been cited as evidence that Puritanism was joy-less. But the feet that danced around the Maypole were not the feet

Whose stern impassioned stress

A thoroughfare for freedom beat

Across the wilderness.

The Puritans were moral athletes who were glad to adopt strenuous disciplines as do some of their descendants who are on athletic teams in our colleges today.

Some people today, reading old diaries, express themselves as shocked that our Puritan ancestors worshipped in winter in unheated churches. But these critics overlook the fact that at that time nowhere in the world was a large room provided with an adequate heating system; means for such heating had not yet been invented.

Again people read of old remedies for sickness used by our Puritan ancestors and say that the people of those times inflicted unnecessary misery on themselves. But people forget that the simple fact of the circulation of the blood was discovered only about the time of the great Puritan migration to these shores. The Puritans were as progressive as any other people in medical matters. But all medical knowledge, at that time, was crude and rudimentary.

I might go on answering these superficial criticisms of the Puritans, but time and space are limited. I offer, however, this proposition: The Puritans should be compared with other peoples of their time. If this is done we discover that the Puritans were pioneers seeking to establish a life higher and more humane than the life of their contemporaries.

THE BACKGROUND OF PURITANISM

We should now ask and answer some fundamental questions if we are to have clearly in mind who these Puritans were who created Massachusetts and developed here a new pattern for living. Whence came they and what was their background?

The answers to these questions will have to be brief indeed. There is not time, in this present hour, to trace the sources of Puritan culture at all adequately. A mere outline will have to suffice. In a few minutes we must get a glimpse of five centuries of history.
Go with me then in imagination to the day in the year 1215 when the obstinate and infuriated King John of England faced a group of the powerful nobles of his kingdom, and put his mark on Magna Charta. (King John was illiterate and could not write his own name.) Magna Charta is the root of progressive government for all English-speaking nations. It substituted a declaration of human rights for the erratic and arbitrary will of an autocratic monarch.

Look again and see a few years later the creation of the English House of Commons. It embodied the principle that "taxation without representation is tyranny." That House, in the course of centuries, became the highest power in the government of England.

Pass along to the next century and see the greatest English scholar of his age, John Wycliffe. He saw that the English people could attain their freedom more surely if they were educated, and also if there were the dynamic of a religious purpose impelling them toward a higher life. He did an epoch-making work; out of the various English dialects he created a common English language. Then he translated the Bible from its Latin version into English. This was before the invention of printing, but he enlisted the devoted service of a large group of educated men. They made copies of the Bible, and parts of it, and went out to teach. The Bible was their one text-book. A great inspired life was the result of this educational movement. The English people learned to love the book which was the implement of this new life.

It was about two years' work of a skilled penman to make one copy of the Bible. But in the next century came the invention of printing, which made possible the multiplication of this work by tens of thousands. Thus there was a physical means for general education.

The progress of successive translations of the Bible is a romantic and a tragic story. The autocratic authorities of church and kingdom sought to check the popular movement until they realized that a very large element of the English people would have the Bible even though some men paid for it with their lives.

Thus two movements in England flowed along together: the increasing power of the House of Commons in government, and the educational movement of producing, reading, and interpreting the Bible. In other words: increasing democracy was essentially a religious movement. The men who opposed autocracy in the succession of English kings and queens opposed autocracy in the English Church. The demands for political docility and for religious conformity were met by the united opposition of a powerful minority of the English people.

PURITANS AND POLITICS

It was early in the reign of Queen Elizabeth that this party which loved the Bible supremely and asserted the right of private judgment came to have a name, and that name was invented by one of their most powerful critics and enemies. The work "Puritan" was applied to them in derision, but it came to be a term of honor. It was inevitable that when tens of thousands of men in England were united in a supreme religious purpose they should come to have a sense of solidarity. When they acquired a definite name they gained
influence and importance. As this party gathered unto itself the men who were most original in their thinking, most independent in their judgment, most spiritual in their interpretation of religion, the party of the Puritans came to have a large political significance as well as an enormous religious meaning. Being ready to defy the archbishop and the sovereign in religious matters, they ceased to be docile and meek in governmental matters. Just as they championed the right of men to think for themselves in religion, they became the leaders of political reform. During the long reign of Elizabeth the Puritans were able continuously to elect a majority of the English House of Commons. In the meetings of that company of representatives of the common people, men gained priceless experience in the methods of popular government. They learned to think in terms of the welfare of the whole nation; they learned how to make motions and second them and debate them and vote upon them. Their autocratic sovereign might veto their decisions, but they did not find that to be any reason for desisting from their plan and purpose of gaining for the common people a large influence in governmental matters. Puritanism came to be the representative of the aspirations of the common people for a larger degree of political freedom.

The Puritans believed, just as strongly as did the high-church party, that in England there should be one great established church; but they believed that the church should be thoroughly purified of its inheritance from the dark ages. The Puritans were willing to use the Book of Common Prayer, but they resisted the claims made in its behalf, that it was to have autocratic authority over their consciences and their religious habits.

The Puritans placed great emphasis upon education; they wanted the common people to have increased opportunities for enlightenment. Especially they wanted a scholarly ministry; they wanted to provide a sufficient number of educated men to fill their pulpits; men who were capable of addressing intelligent audiences and stating religion in intelligent terms. They wanted a ministry which would encourage in people originality of thinking, and who would cultivate in the people direct personal, vital experience of God.

The high-church party distrusted the general spirit of enlightenment; they distrusted the movement for encouraging the people to read and interpret the Bible for themselves; they feared the growing movement for popular government; they looked with alarm upon the leaders of the House of Commons. They did their utmost to impress upon the people the attitude of meekness and docility. They were willing to fill the pulpits of the parish churches with men who would obediently read the prescribed ritual.

Time after time there were tragic movements for the suppression of Puritanism. Hundreds and hundreds of the most devout and the most highly educated and the most progressive of the clergymen of the Church of England were deprived of their livings. Poverty and exile and death were used as the terrible means for enforcing conformity, but the Puritan movement combined within itself the Progressive Party in English politics and
the broad-church party in the established Church of England. Between Puritanism and the authorities of the Church there was an irrepressible conflict.

INTENSIFYING THE CONFLICT

Upon the death of Queen Elizabeth in 1603 the history of England enters upon a new era. James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England, and he was the first of the Stuart line of kings. Queen Elizabeth had asserted, as had her father, Henry VIII., that the sovereign of England was the head of the Church of England; but James I., exceedingly arrogant, carried that idea further than his predecessor had ever dreamed of carrying it. He definitely formulated the idea of the "divine right of kings." He was determined to push the principle of autocracy in church and state to its utmost limits.

After a reign of twenty-two years, James I. was succeeded by his son, Charles I., a man as obstinate, as arrogant, and as opinionated as his father, but with even less of wisdom or of tact. When James I. died in 1625 there were some things in his autocratic policies that were not yet carried through to completion. Charles I. determined, not only to do what his father would have liked to do, but to go beyond even his father's policies.

Charles I. saw that Puritanism dominated the English House of Commons, — therefore he resolved to get rid of that power which sought to restrict him. He demanded of Parliament a vote of large sums of money to be raised by taxation in order that the royal plans might be carried out. Parliament was willing to grant the King modest sums of money on condition of political and religious reforms. The lines came to be very sharply drawn. The House of Commons stood for the rights of the people of England, and was determined to control taxation. The King pushed, even further than had his royal father, the doctrine of the divine right of kings, and regarded as treason and blasphemy all endeavors to resist the royal will. Therefore Charles I. resolved to rule England without Parliament, and to raise vast sums of money by extortion.

Discoveries and explorations had given to the people of England a knowledge of a new continent to the westward. During these trying times many of the Puritan people were saying that if in England they could not carry out their progressive plans in religion and politics they might create a new England in the North American wilderness. It seems paradoxical that Charles I. was pleased with this plan, but he saw in it two possibilities which seemed to favor his policies. He saw first that a migration of Puritans across the Atlantic would divide his opponents. He believed, too, that if a large company of English people were developing the virgin resources of the American seacoasts, forests, streams, fields, and possibly the mines, he might, by new taxation, fill his depleted treasury from these new sources.

It is one of the strangest paradoxes of all history that during one week in March, 1629, Charles I. dissolved the English Parliament, not to reassemble it for a decade, and also signed the charter of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay.

THE GREAT MIGRATION
It was a common thing in those days for the head of a business organization to be called Governor; and at that time there were many projects for transporting large numbers of people to distant parts of the world in order to develop new resources. Charles I. believed that he was signing the charter of a commercial company. The Puritans, however, were determined that the organization of that company should be the beginning of a movement for a new political government. In the course of a few months John Winthrop was named Governor of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. Charles I. regarded that title as equivalent to that of business manager of a colonizing corporation. The Puritans knew that his title of Governor was to carry with it the significance of head of the new government.

The Puritans were shrewd enough in their negotiations with the King to avoid saying anything in the charter about where the seat of government should be. In their hearts they were determined that it should not be kept in England nor under royal control. When the charter had been signed it was guarded as a priceless possession; and in April 1630 John Winthrop, with a little fleet of ships, set sail for the North American coast, carrying with him that charter which was destined to be the foundation for a new government of mighty influence. He arrived in the harbor of Salem in June 1630, and, after a brief survey of that part of the coast, he sailed into the mouth of the Charles River and made his final landing. With their feet upon American soil the people that were with him held a popular election and John Winthrop was thus elected Governor of Massachusetts.

During the next ten years twenty thousand people followed in this migration and established many communities and developed their colonial government. What they did in that decade is one of the great achievements of human history.

Now let us review the early years here. There is something highly dramatic about the Puritan migration. Sometimes the congregation of a church in England acted in cooperation. The able-bodied people turned their immovable property into money, gathered up their portable possessions, arranged for ships for the voyage, and migrated together. Arrived here, they explored what was to them unknown territory, made a quick choice of an area to be settled upon, and proceeded with haste to build homes for permanent living. In such a group you have more than the sum of the individuals: you have fellowship, a united purpose, a spirit of cooperation.

During the long voyages there must have been much discussion of the vital problems of what must be done in the new life and how it should be done. Especially did the leaders of this great migration shape tentative plans for their new life. But in our study of this movement, which established this Commonwealth and shaped a pattern for our Republic, we should keep constantly in mind that the whole movement was an experiment. These men were doing something which had never been done before, and for which there were no precedents. The leaders of the movement had a charter for a commercial company; but under that charter they were determined to create a political government. They
knew that what they did in that project would arouse the suspicion of King Charles, and
that armed conflict might result. Their concern over this phase of their enterprise was fully
justified even before their migration was completed.

A CAPITAL FOR THE COLONY

This gave great importance to the plans of the leaders for a seat of government. They
began promptly to explore the land with this problem in view. Groups of people chose for
settlement Salem, Charles-town, Boston, Roxbury, Dorchester and Watertown. But the
leaders decided, before the end of December 1630, to create a town for the definite purpose
of making it the seat of government. Boston was regarded as too vulnerable if the royal
ships should make an invasion; and so the choice was made of what is now Old Cambridge;
and the name Newtowne was chosen for this community.

Many of us can remember when the tides flowed and ebbed in this part of the Charles
River. Doubtless some of you remember when your winter’s supply of coal came on barges
which were towed up the river. Our early settlers believed that the royal ships would not
undertake to come up the river. So the matter of safety was a strong argument for this
choice. Another argument was convenience for those who lived in various other towns, and
who would live in towns yet to be settled.

Thus Newtowne was started. The agreement was hastily made that the officers of
government should build, each one, his house here; except one already settled in Salem and
one who returned to England. In 1631 Thomas Dudley proceeded in good faith to build his
home here, as did also his son-in-law Simon Bradstreet. Thus Thomas Dudley,
Deputy-Governor, became the real founder of this community. The Governor, John
Winthrop, began to build a house but did not complete it.

The convenience of holding meetings of the Governor, Deputy-Governor and the
Assistants was a strong argument for the plan of each one building his house here. But
there was also the problem of how these men should make a living. If by salt-water
commerce, Boston Harbor was greatly superior to these shores of the Charles River. Then,
too, the officers of government had very important duties in guiding the newly arriving
shiploads of people. These people were coming in great numbers — averaging two thousand
each season. They needed quick deci-

This does not mean, however, that the idea of Newtowne as the capital was abandoned
immediately. The General Court, as the officers of the government were called, met first at
Charlestown in the summer of 1630. From then till May 1634 the sessions were held in
Boston. Then they were held in Newtowne till May 1636. A session was next held at Boston
but Newtowne was again the chosen place from April 1637 to September 1638. After that
Boston was definitely chosen as the place of meeting.

This applies to the sessions of the General Court. But there were other gatherings of
great importance. Occasionally a call went out for a general assembly of the whole voting
population of the colony. And this community was the place most convenient for such a
gathering. If on Cambridge Common you follow the walk nearest to Massachusetts Avenue,
and pause at a spot opposite the Hemenway Gymnasium, you can see a substantial tablet.
It marks the site of an oak tree, which had attained impressive size in those early years.
That tree was often used as a landmark for these general assemblies of the Freemen — the
legal voters — of the Colony. The tree has disappeared but a young scion of the Washington
Elm stands in its place. This ancient oak is important in our further story. The open-air
elections were held there and had important results in the government of the Colony. It
marked an important point in Puritan life.

TAXATION AND REPRESENTATION

Meantime another phase of the plans for Newtowne as the capital had unexpected
consequences. The community was to be made safer by the building of a palisade. As the
safety of the Capital was of value to the whole colony, the General Court announced a tax
on all the towns to pay for the palisade. The total tax was sixty pounds and this was
assessed in approximately equal sums on the various towns. The amount to be paid by our
near neighbor, Watertown, was eight pounds.

Watertown had been settled in 1630 by Sir Richard Saltonstall and a group of about forty
men who set sail from Cowes, England, near the

Isle of Wight, their ship being part of Winthrop’s fleet. On July 30, in the year 1630, these
men met for prayer and consultation. They drew up a church covenant and signed it; and
thus became the second church of this Puritan migration, its only predecessor being the
church in Salem. Thus Watertown was founded.

George Phillips was the first minister of the church in Watertown, and his pastorate
continued for fourteen years. He was a man of deep religious convictions and also had large
ability as a leader in secular affairs.

Incidentally, let us note that the General Court, holding a session in Charlestown on
September seventh, 1630 ordered that "Trimountain be called Boston; Mattapan,
Dorchester; and the town upon the Charles River, Watertown." Thus was chosen the name
of that new settlement.

Under the leadership of their minister, George Phillips, the men of Watertown gave
evidence of clear thinking on fundamental questions of government. When this tax for the
palisade protecting Newtowne was levied, a meeting of the men of Watertown was called
and the matter was debated at length. The decision was reached to protest against the tax
— not from any objection to Newtowne as the capital, nor from any criticism of the plan for
its protection, but on the ground that taxes could not legally be levied by the government of
the colony without the consent of the people who were to pay the tax.

The amount of money involved in the incident was small, but the principle was vastly
important. The people feared that this tax would establish a precedent. Their statement
included the declaration that it was "not safe to pay monies after that sort, for fear of
bringing themselves and posterity into bondage." The leaders of Watertown were
summoned before the General Court to be examined for their resistance. Their argument
was that they could not lawfully be taxed without their consent. A fresh examination of the Charter of the Colony showed that it did not contain any provision for raising money by such taxation. The men of Watertown won their argument that day.

The incident led to a radical change in the government of the Colony. It was agreed that each town choose deputies who should share in the government. This established the pattern of government for our Commonwealth, giving us our State Senate and our House of Representatives. And this is reproduced in the Congress of this Republic.

SAUNDERSO: THE FOCAL POINT OF PURITAN LIFE

Be it noted again that those early creators of this Commonwealth were making a great experiment. They explored their procedure step by step. They had a charter for a commercial company; and only slowly could they evolve the constitution of a new political government. They had to maintain their charter in order that they might continue their colonial experiment. It was an achievement of a high degree of importance that they did succeed in carrying their political adventure through to a splendid success.

The plan of a palisade for the protection of Newtowne was carried through. A writer in 1633 speaks of its site as "too far from the sea, being the greatest inconvenience it hath." But he goes on to say that it is "one of the neatest and best compacted townes in New England" and adds that the inhabitants are prosperous and have plenty of cattle. He says that they have "many hundred acres of land paled in with a general fence, which secures all their weaker cattle from the wild beasts."

There is evidence that some of the poles, driven into the ground to form the palisade, took root, and produced trees which have not yet died out entirely. It was in 1632 that the General Court imposed the tax for this palisade. Evidently the project was completed promptly and a good many families availed themselves of its added protection.

THE COMING OF THOMAS HOOKER

Newtowne was about to enter on a new phase of its life. In 1632 a congregation from Braintree, in the County of Essex, England, came over to the Colony and began a settlement near Mt. Wollaston. Today the name Braintree reminds us of this. But in August of that year they decided to move bodily to Newtowne. Thomas Hooker had been their minister in England, but had been forced to flee to Holland. During 1633 he managed to make the voyage across the Atlantic and to take charge of his congregation here. They organized a church, and all seemed promising for Newtowne with its increased population and its very capable religious and political leader, Thomas Hooker. We should emphasize Hooker’s political ideas, and the fact that he had become suddenly the leader of the town which had been established as the expected capital of the Colony.

Thomas Hooker was a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge,
to this colony and immediately became associated with John Wilson, who, in 1630, had become minister of the church in Boston.

Another valuable addition to the ministry was another scholar, Samuel Stone, who became Hooker's associate in the church in Newtowne. And if you think that those early Puritans were always excessively solemn, recall that one of them wrote that the necessities of life were well provided for — that Stone meant building material, Cotton meant clothing, and Hooker gave assurance of fish for food. Stone, Hooker and Cotton crossed the Atlantic on the same ship.

Not long was the close association of these men to continue. John Cotton saw clearly the necessity of building the colonial government within the framework of the royal charter which put great responsibility on the Governor, Deputy-Governor and their Assistants. From his place in Boston he could look out on Boston Harbor and imagine the arrival of the warships of the tyrant King Charles. He worked closely with the most distinguished member of his church, John Winthrop.

On the other hand, Thomas Hooker shows a strange lack of concern for the practical necessity of working within the framework of the royal charter. When he arrived in the colony, the great migration had not yet run half its course. People were concerned for their very existence. Yet Hooker wanted to put into practice certain principles which would have endangered the degree of stability already attained and might have jeopardized the existing government.

He criticized sharply the exercise of authority by the General Court. He, a new arrival, declared his ideas wiser than those of the men who had carried the burden of administrative matters from the very beginning of the colony. He was especially urgent that all important decisions be made by popular vote and that the cautious limitations on the suffrage be swept aside. Under his plans, men newly-arrived would be allowed to share in decisions which might mean "sink or swim, survive or perish" for the whole great adventure which was destined to shape the lives of more than twenty thousand people who were risking themselves, and all they had in the world, on this colonization project.

The great debate between those who held the views of Hooker and

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those who held the views of the men of the existing government was centered here in Newtowne. In a very real sense, this community was the focal point of Puritan life. Thomas Hooker and John Cotton faced each other in the arena of this vastly important debate. They were both great men. Each held his convictions with the utmost fortitude. Each saw clearly his own principles. But, fortunately, each had breadth of mind and each put restraint on his own expressions of his views. Otherwise they might have allowed this debate to become bitter personal strife with disastrous consequences. Hooker decided soon to leave the scene of the debate, and to seek an open field for his ideas.

Explorers ranged far and wide in New England, studying the land. Reports, which interested Hooker greatly, told of spacious unoccupied areas of land in the valley of the Connecticut River. He planned to lead a migration thither. He petitioned the General Court of Massachusetts for permission to go. After stating economic reasons for the plan he gave another reason, more comprehensive: "the strong bent of their spirits to remove thither."
We may safely assume that he felt that only by such a move as this would he find room for the expression, in a government, of his ideas.

It is easy to see why some of the men of Watertown were attracted by Hooker's ideas of government. They had already made a dramatic claim for the rights of the common people. They shaped their plans for migration under the guidance of a minister of their choice, Henry Smith. A large group from the Dorchester church made similar plans with their pastor, William Wareham. Of course most of the people who had arrived in Newtowne with Hooker were ready to follow him loyally in this new adventure.

THE DEPARTURE OF THOMAS HOOKER

The pioneers of the migration started in 1635 and the others followed in 1636. The three groups from Newtowne, Watertown and Dorchester founded three towns in the Connecticut Valley: Hartford, Wethersfield and Windsor. Hooker was the guiding spirit of the migration and the organizing genius of their new life. These people were in the position of squatters on virgin soil. They had no charter and were outside the territory of any government. Hooker, therefore, could make con-

crete his ideas of government which had been but untried theories. Within a year there were eight hundred people who had migrated to these three towns in the Connecticut Valley.

They organized their town governments. Then, after taking time for the study of Hooker's plans, they chose their deputies to create a General Court, the first session of which was held on May 31, 1638. Thus they created a colonial government. In this action the Colony of Connecticut came into existence. On January 14, 1639, a great meeting of all the Freemen of the Colony was held in Hartford and a written Constitution was adopted as the foundation of the Colony. In these words Hooker declared his fundamental principle: "The foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people." The people may create a central government, but it possesses only such powers as are delegated to it by the people who are its creator.

Hooker's political genius is revealed in the organizing of that little colony. The signing of Magna Charta in England in 1215 was a great event. It put aside the autocratic will of a king and put in its place a written document. But it did not create a government. The signing of the compact in the cabin of the Mayflower by the Pilgrims was not the creation of a constitution for a government. But in Connecticut a written constitution was adopted and on it a government was built. This was the first time this had ever been done. And the guiding genius was the man who had been the first minister of the first church in this community of Newtowne. The immortal document is called the "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut." Let us remember that it is not based on any royal authority and makes no reference to any existing government. It is a creation of original genius. The fact that so few people were involved in it does not detract from its significance. When 150 years later the Articles of Confederation of the United States were drafted, we see Hooker's hand in these words: "Each state retains its sovereignty, freedom, and independence; and every power, jurisdiction, and right, which is not by this Confederation expressly delegated to the
work of a royal charter, and because our leaders were guiding the settlement of twenty thousand migrating people. More time was required here to shape the government. But in time the royal charter was relegated to a secondary place, and Massachusetts became as fine an expression of democracy as was Connecticut in the beginning.

When the great Puritan migration was scarcely half over, King Charles did demand the surrender of the Charter of Massachusetts, for he was alarmed by the news that the leaders here were really shaping a political government. The reply of the leaders here was to secrete the charter, fortify Boston Harbor, and appoint an emergency commission to conduct any war which might ensue. Affairs looked ominous in the extreme.

But it is strange how a trifling incident in a far-off country can make important changes. In Scotland a woman threw a stool at the head of a bishop — and Massachusetts was safe for many years to come.

King Charles, though of the Stuart line of Scottish kings, was King of England. He was supported, in his extreme claims of autocratic power, by the higher clergy of the Church of England. In England he demanded the utmost conformity. Suddenly he decided to force the Church of England ritual on the people of Scotland. In St. Giles' Church in Edinburgh an English bishop attempted to read that ritual. There it was that a Scotch woman turned and picked up her stool and flung it — with good aim — at his head. This dramatized the resistance of the Scottish people. The Scotch Covenanters were organized, and Charles saw in a flash that he had troubles near home and could let "Rebel Boston" go its own way. Events in England progressed rapidly. During the decade from 1629 Charles had not summoned Parliament. But in 1640 Parliament came into session and earned the title of the "Long Parliament." In a few years the royal army and the army of the Parliament met in battle. The civil war ended in a parliamentary victory, and the English commonwealth was established under Oliver Cromwell. King Charles was tried and beheaded as an enemy of the people.

The great Puritan migration ended in 1640. The New England Puritans were busy consolidating their gains. They could see more clearly the meaning of their ideals as those ideals were being translated into concrete realities.

Let us now turn back and look again at our community of Newtowne. It was in June 1636 that Thomas Hooker made his own exit. With him went a large part of the population of the town. But this was not a ghost town. In the autumn of 1635 Thomas Shepard had come,
with his English congregation, seeking a place of settlement. As Hooker's people moved out of their houses, the ashes scarcely cooled on their hearths as Shepard's people moved in. These Puritans were practical business people and there must have been a lively time of commerce for real estate agents as property changed hands. The town filled up as rapidly as it emptied. Thomas Shepard reorganized the church in Newtowne, building on the foundation of Hooker's organization. He married Hooker's daughter and discussed the idea of going to the Connecticut Valley. But his decision to continue here was wise, for he had a distinguished career as minister and wielded an influence in the affairs of the entire colony. Connecticut could not have offered him a comparable opportunity.

The Puritan leaders were turning with courage and vigor to the carrying out of one of their most significant projects: the founding of a college. It is estimated that of the people who came to Massachusetts in the great Puritan migration, one in every two hundred was a college graduate. It was largely because the leaders of colonial affairs recognized in Thomas Shepard a minister of fine scholarship and of deep piety that this community, Newtowne, was chosen as the site of the college.

Harvard College began its existence on October 28, in the year 1636 when the General Court of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay voted to give four hundred pounds toward a college. The college was ordered to be at Newtowne, which was promptly named Cambridge. The first Board of Overseers consisted of Governor Winthrop and the leading magistrates and ministers of the Colony.

The real founder of the college was John Harvard. He was born in London in 1607. He graduated from Emmanuel College, Cambridge, in 1632, and, after being ordained to the ministry, joined the great Puritan migration to New England. He was promptly elected assistant pastor of the church in Charlestown.

His life here was of tragic brevity. He died on September 14, in the year 1638. But he left his library of 400 volumes and half his property to the college where the first Freshman Class was just entering. This bequest of money was nearly twice as much as the sum voted by the General Court. The following spring the General Court voted "that the college agreed upon formerly to be built at Cambridge shall be called Harvard College."

I find an account of the first years of Harvard which names Nathaniel Eaton as the first President. But I have the catalogue, published by Harvard, which gives the record of the officers of administration and instruction and the names of all graduates for the early years. And Henry Dunster is named as the first President and his term of office is recorded as beginning on August 27, in the year 1640. The first Commencement was in 1642 and there was a graduating class of nine.

Nathaniel Eaton was appointed Head Master in 1638. He was graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and he seemed well-fitted for the position. But he was a great disappointment. He seems to have had in mind, for Harvard College, merely a picture of a second-class boarding school. Flogging the students was a method of discipline copied from
English schools. The Head Master's wife was in charge of the living arrangements of the students, and is said to have done her work very badly.

Matters came to a crisis when Eaton gave a merciless beating, with a stout club, to an assistant. He was brought into court, found guilty, and fined. He was promptly dismissed from his position.

Henry Dunster was 30 years old when appointed. He was a graduate of Magdalene College, Cambridge. He was truly a great scholar, a Christian gentleman, a man of vision and of executive ability. He built up the college very efficiently. Among other things accomplished was obtaining the charter under which Harvard still operates. Cambridge, at the time of the founding of Harvard, was a little village on the bank of the Charles River. The primeval forest began at the site of the present Law School. Between it and the river was an area of cleared land. The village center was at what later was named Harvard Square. South of the Square, down to the sites of the present Freshman Dormitories, stood most of the dwellings of the inhabitants of Cambridge. To the north of Harvard Square there was space for what was to be the Harvard Yard, and the first buildings of the new College. The

first building was named "Harvard College" and was on the site of Grays. Later buildings were each named a "College" and early pictures speak of the group of buildings as "the colleges."

The purpose of the founding of Harvard should be stated. Doubtless we are all familiar with this statement published in 1643:

"After God had carried us safe to New England, and we had builded our houses, provided necessities for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship, and settled the Civil Government; One of the next things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to Posterity, dreading to leave an illiterate ministry to the Churches, when our present ministers shall lie in the Dust."

It is sometimes said that Harvard was a theological school — its one purpose to train ministers for the churches. But the College Charter, written in 1650, states very definitely that the purpose of Harvard was to be "the advancement of all good literature, arts, and sciences. . . . and all other necessary provisions that may conduce to the education of the English and Indian youth of this country in knowledge and godliness."

Notice that the statement of purpose of 1643 says "to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity." It does not name theological instruction exclusively. President Dunster appealed for books on law and medicine so that Harvard could train lawyers and physicians. And the General Court declared that the College was also to educate men "fit for magistracie." The curriculum established by Dunster included studies in botany, physics, and astronomy. The College, we can see, planned from its early years to promote scholarship, to build up character, and to educate leaders for the State and the Church. And note that, in the Puritan Communities, the ministers were not only Churchmen but leaders in all things that promoted civic welfare.
In what I have said of these early years of Harvard College I have intended to show that that institution was part of the major project of Puritan life, to establish and perpetuate a community of enlightened people.

SCHOOLS AND BOOKS

And before turning to another phase of Puritan life, I want to point out that with the high standard of scholarship established by the first President of Harvard there was need of an adjoining preparatory school. This was founded in Cambridge, and its courses of study led directly into the College. Such schools, called Grammar Schools, were also established in seven other communities: Boston, Charlestown, Salem, Dorchester, Roxbury, Braintree and Dedham.

Let it be added here that public schools were established in every community of the Colony when the population was large enough to justify a primary school. Thus we see that Harvard was linked through the grammar schools with the whole public school system of the colony.

The laws of 1642 and 1647 of the Colony were very progressive. An essential policy was that of universal, tax-supported and state-controlled schools. This idea of public schools, to provide education for the entire population, has become a distinctive feature of American life, and the influence of this idea has spread far beyond even our Continental borders.

Another project of great importance in the plans of the Puritans was the establishment of a book-publishing business. In 1635 Jesse Glover, a wealthy Puritan clergyman from England, was in Boston and was deeply interested in the whole Puritan adventure. He had a special interest in education. He was sent back to England in the spring of 1636 to find the necessary funds and secure a printing-press. He was successful in his errand. How much of his own money he invested is uncertain but he secured additional gifts in England and Holland. He bought a good press and a font of type. He engaged a good printer, one John Daye, who was willing to migrate to New England and to serve the Puritan cause. Glover, with his family, his equipment and his printer, sailed for New England in 1638.

Unfortunately Glover died on the voyage, but his widow continued the significant project; and the printing-press was set up here in Cambridge. It is evident that as early as 1636, when Glover went to England for the press, the ideas of the leaders included the plan of having a close association between the College and the work of publishing. Events moved unexpectedly in that direction, for the young man Dunster, after he became President of Harvard, married Mrs. Glover. Thus the publishing enterprise gained a very close connection with the new educational institution. One of the early publications of the press was the Bay Psalm Book. The Book of Psalms was newly translated by scholarly ministers of churches of the Colony. A few copies of this significant work have survived. One copy sold recently for more than $150,000.
John Eliot, apostle to the Indians, translated the whole Bible into the language of the neighboring Indians. This book was also published by the newly-established press.

DEALING WITH DISSENTERS

While the Puritan leaders were carrying forward their highly significant enterprises, they had to deal with forces which endangered the very existence of their Colony, in which increasing thousands of people were investing themselves, their lives, and all that they possessed in the world. Sometimes modern critics of the Puritan leaders say that they fled from England to obtain religious freedom and then denied to others what they sought for themselves. This is a serious misinterpretation of their adventure in colonization. I repeat: their attitude was not that of fugitives from oppression but that of the creators of a new manner of life.

They had the outline of a new political state, and they wanted to see if it would work. They wagered everything on that project. They wanted to create an enlightened community, under the leadership of an educated ministry, and governed by godly men. They wanted a community which aimed at promoting the welfare of the entire population; a community in which there should be no poverty and no illiteracy.

Every Puritan church in the colony was a community church. It had the power to write its own creed and covenant. Let us bear in mind that these Puritans never created a central creed-making power, nor any autocracy which could dictate to the churches in any phase of their life. In order that the town governments and the colonial government might be in the hands of godly men, they bestowed the rights of Freemen only on the worthy members of their churches. This was fair and right in an administration which carried the responsibilities of so great an investment. They had a right to carry through their experiment; to see if a community so conceived, so organized and so administered "could long endure."

Probably the severest criticisms of early Puritanism here are based on the erroneous idea that there could have been toleration of various individuals and groups whose religious opinions differed sharply from the faith of the Puritan leaders. But those who make these severe criticisms fail to realize that individuals and groups of people came into the territory of the colony and endeavored to overturn the government by the political application of erratic religious ideas. The Puritan authorities were not suppressing religious opinions as such, but were defending the stability of their government against those who would destroy it.

An example of this is found in the case of Roger Williams. He asserted far-sighted principles of religious liberty. But he began, very soon after his arrival here, to proclaim the idea that the Charter of the Colony was entirely illegal; that King Charles had no rightful power to grant the Charter; that the Colony had no legal claim to the territory which it occupied. And this idea he projected into every corner of the Colony.

It is said by modern critics of the Puritans that for his ideas of religious liberty Roger Williams was driven forth alone into the wilderness infested with savages. Not at all. The Colonial authorities saw that he was endangering the existence of the Colony, and they
provided him with passage on a ship which was about to sail for England. He chose to flee in the night, for he had no desire to be deported. He went southward and founded what is now the State of Rhode Island. He had as yet no charter. That was obtained only in later years.

THE CASE OF ANNE HUTCHINSON

In the midst of the turmoil over the troublesome views of Roger Williams, King Charles proceeded to take action aiming to destroy the Colony. The alarming news reached Boston, and the government had to face the situation. Imagine the meeting of the General Court of Magistrates and Deputies, when they sat at a long table on which was lying a copy of a document by which the King had given to eleven of his courtiers the power to ruin them and all the other people of the Colony. The decisions of that day are poignant. Fortifications were built on Castle Island in Boston Harbor and at Dorchester and Charlestown. The little army of the Colony was recruited and actively trained. A council was formed to manage "any war that might befall."

Facing the danger of war with the Mother country, was it a time for broad toleration of a trouble-maker within the Colony? If they must fill their powder barrels, should they let one person play with fire in the powder magazine? By a strange coincidence the same ship which brought the copy of the ominous document from England, threatening the very life of the Colony, also brought a woman of great ability, Mrs. Anne Hutchinson. She came in 1634 and had here a picturesque career of four years. At no time was the Colony in graver danger of destruction than when she was at the height of her power. Even while Boston Harbor was being fortified against the royal warships, there was a threat of an invasion by the Indians with the possibility of a general massacre. When the situation was most acute, there was division, even in the military forces of the Colony, over the religious ideas of Anne Hutchinson; and though she was well aware of the danger, she pushed her campaign for the political application of her religious views.

The whole movement, of which she was the leader, is sometimes called the "antinomian controversy." The word "antinomian" means "against the (moral) law." Anne Hutchinson’s views can be stated briefly, and they are a vital part of our story. At the time of Christ, the Pharisees had a very elaborate system of ritual which aimed at the complete regulation of men's lives. Christ denounced the Pharisees saying, "They bind heavy burdens and grievous to be borne and lay them on men’s shoulders." This whole system of regulation and repression was called "The Law."

After the death of Christ there was sharp disagreement among his apostles as to the place of "The Law" in the Christian life. Some of them said that if men would become Christian they must first conform to the Jewish "Law." Paul had been brought up strictly as a Pharisee, but had cast aside this burdensome "Law." He wrote, "Now the righteousness of God, without the law, is manifested"; and "Therefore we conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law," and "The righteousness of the law is fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit," and "The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God."
Biblical scholars of the Puritan times had great skill in translating the Bible from Hebrew and Greek into English — that is, in translating it word for word. But they halted over the interpretation of it. Anne Hutchinson held that these passages which spoke of the law referred to the moral law. She did not know that Paul was setting aside the ritual law of the Pharisees. And there were many scholars who made the same serious blunder.

Anne Hutchinson, in England, had been greatly influenced by the preaching of John Cotton. When he migrated to Massachusetts, she decided to follow with her family. She joined the Church in Boston of which John Winthrop was the chief member, John Wilson the pastor, and John Cotton newly installed as teacher. But she soon gathered a considerable congregation, on days other than Sunday, for the teaching of her views. The Puritan leaders saw that, whatever the Apostle Paul might have written, the moral law was not set aside. Throughout the whole Colony there was discussion of the views of Anne Hutchinson.

Soon she criticized the Puritan ministers as "under a covenant of works." She declared that John Cotton was "under a covenant of grace" and that so were her followers and herself. She launched a vigorous movement to displace John Wilson as pastor of the Boston Church. She sought to rouse the members of other churches against their ministers. She denounced the government of the Colony.

Such a state of affairs would be distressing at any time; but when it developed while an Indian massacre was dreaded, it was ominous in the extreme. The majority of the Boston soldiers declared themselves to be under a "covenant of grace" and refused to march against the savages under a leader who, they declared, was under a "covenant of works." There was the spectacle of a divided army with the enemy almost at the gates.

The majority of the authorities of the government wanted to check Anne Hutchinson. But they took quick action to transport the guns, powder, and other munitions away from Boston lest the faction dominated by Mrs. Hutchinson seize them. They themselves went from Boston lest they be seized and held helpless. The General Court held its sessions in Newtowne.

Meantime a brilliant young man, Sir Harry Vane, had come from England. In a wave of enthusiasm the Freemen of the Colony had elected him Governor. He lived in Boston and was won over to Mrs. Hutchinson’s religious views. His accession to her ranks gave this woman confidence that she could gain political mastery of the Colony.

The General Court sought to check her influence by pointing out the grave danger in which the Colony was placed and commanding that Mrs. Hutchinson and her followers cease their subversive works. But they replied by drawing up a document condemning the General Court. The time of year was at hand for the annual assembly of the body of Freemen of the Colony and the election of the Governor, Deputy-Governor and Assistants. The meeting was here in Newtowne. I have spoken of a great oak on Cambridge Common which was a geographical center for such meetings. The
Boston faction hoped to get quick action adopting their document condemning the General Court and also to re-elect Sir Harry Vane as Governor.

A great crowd assembled, and Sir Harry Vane himself sought to set aside the regular order of business and get action favoring the Boston faction. Other men demanded that the meeting follow the usual order of business. A great tumult broke out, and men came to blows. The venerable pastor of the Boston Church, John Wilson, climbed that great oak tree, to be seen and heard by all, and made a vigorous speech appealing to men to proceed in legal fashion and to unite in defense of the Commonwealth. His counsel prevailed; the young Governor was swept from office, and the same, sober, dependable statesman, John Winthrop, was triumphantly returned to office as Governor. The Colony showed a united front against the savages and the situation was saved. Sir Harry Vane soon returned to England. In the course of time he became Minister for Naval Affairs under Oliver Cromwell. After the Restoration of the Stuart Kings he was beheaded.

But to return to Anne Hutchinson: the General Court saw clearly that the Colony must defend its existence. Mrs. Hutchinson was urged to moderate her propaganda. She refused, even when she was endangering the very life of the Colony. She was tried and sentenced to banishment.

It is said by modern critics of the Puritans that "The saintly woman, Anne Hutchinson, was driven out to be destroyed by the savages," that "Though her only offense was her religious faith, the bigoted Puritans sent her to her death."

But let us look at the facts. In the address to her by the General Court is this clear statement: "Your conscience you may keep to yourself; but if in this cause you shall countenance and encourage those that transgress the law, you must be called in question for it; and that is not for your conscience but for your practice." Here is not a violation of freedom of conscience but a restriction on political action endangering the existence of the Commonwealth.

Whither was Anne Hutchinson banished? First to a very comfortable home in Roxbury, that of Joseph Welde, brother of the minister of the Roxbury Church, and a member of the General Court. Here she lived for months in quiet and comfort. She was allowed to receive visits from her friends. But she continued her dangerous propaganda. Many statements, however, made at this time contradicted some of her earlier statements. When these falsehoods were pointed out to her she claimed that she had had new revelations from the Holy Spirit.

The scandal of all this was so serious that she was excommunicated by the Boston Church. And the authorities decreed that she must go farther than Roxbury. Where did she go next? To her own farm in Braintree. There she could pause and consider her future course. She was free to go northward to the present site of the City of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, and to share the fortunes of her brother-in-law, John Wheelwright. Or she was free to go southward and to associate herself with the followers of Roger Williams. She freely chose the latter course. After some years marked by further strife, she voluntarily left that colony and built a home on the western end of Long Island. There she perished in an
Indian uprising. The Puritans of Massachusetts had not the slightest responsibility for her tragic end.

WHAT ABOUT THE BAPTISTS?

Critics of the Puritans ask why the Baptists were not tolerated in this Colony. They ask, What difference does it make what amount of water is used in baptism? The custom which grew out of the Protestant Reformation was for parents to bring their infants for baptism because it was believed that regeneration took place in the rite. This was the custom among the Puritans. The Baptists, however, held strenuously that baptism was Christian only if the persons baptized were of sufficiently mature years to choose for themselves, and in baptism declared their personal faith.

As a religious teaching, the Puritans could tolerate this. But the Baptists drove hard for the political application of their definition of the name Christian. They asserted that the Puritans had not been baptized; that consequently they were not Christians; and that, further, as only Christians had a legal right to vote in the affairs of Massachusetts, the Puritans were outlawed. The Baptists claimed that only they, the Baptists, could exercise political power.

Thus we see that these militant Baptists were not asking to be tolerated in the Puritan community; they were seeking to dispossess the people who had come here in the Great Migration and had created the Commonwealth. Since any Puritan's ownership of his land and his house upon it rested on the legality of the Puritan government, the militant Baptist propaganda would have made them vagrants and intruders. Of course this absurd propaganda had to be checked. Again we have a situation when this government had to defend itself in order to live at all.

One other phase of Baptist practice was to go into Puritan churches and to interrupt the service of instruction and worship, especially when the service included the baptism of infants.

I have spoken of the scholarly man who was the first President of Harvard College, Henry Dunster, whose term of office was from 1640 to 1654. His departure was a strange event. In his biblical studies he came slowly and reluctantly to the conviction that the Baptist doctrine was the truth. He not only announced openly his newly acquired faith but interrupted a service in the Cambridge Church when infants were brought for baptism. There was great consternation among the clergy of the Colony. Could Harvard College train Puritan ministers under such a man? Dunster was examined. He apologized for disturbing a service, but he asserted vigorously his Baptist convictions. His days of usefulness at Harvard were ended. The authorities removed him.

THE WITCHCRAFT CRAZE

Many people speak and write about the episode of the execution of witches in Salem as if Puritans had invented the whole idea. The matter can be disposed of briefly. A tidal wave of hysteria over witchcraft swept over Europe and barely touched these shores. It is estimated that three thousand persons were put to death in Scotland and tens of thousands in other countries. Here the Puritans took one look at this action and revolted against it.
Fewer than a score of "witches" were put to death. The Puritan emphasis on the dignity of human personality was incompatible with it. The hysteria checked itself quickly. Samuel Sewall, one of the judges at the witchcraft trials, stood in the broad aisle of his church and, before God and man, asked pardon for condemning anyone as a witch.

It is often said that the Puritans showed themselves harsh and bigoted in their treatment of those peace-loving, gentle people, the Quakers. But anyone who says this shows that he does not know that in those days the Quakers were militant in their determination to shatter other forms of faith and were fanatical in their methods. In the Puritan churches in Massachusetts Quaker women would do shameless things, including yelling and running up and down the aisles and making worship impossible. They called this "testifying before the Lord." Their attitude toward the government differed little from anarchy. The Puritans used restraints against the Quakers not on the ground of religion but on that of preserving the life of the Colony.

Incidentally, let us recall the traditional phrase "The Puritan Blue Laws" long enough to say that such laws never existed here. They were invented by an English visitor who had a distorted sense of humor.

I began this paper with the statement that Puritanism was a progressive movement. This review of the history of the movement is offered in justification of that statement. In conclusion, I want to sum up briefly five important achievements of Puritan life here, all of them related to the life of our own community, Cambridge.

These five achievements are:

1st. Political democracy as expressed in their town meetings and their central colonial government.

2nd. Spiritual self-reliance as expressed in their self-governing churches and in their religious life, which emphasized to the utmost the right of private judgment.

3rd. Popular education as expressed in their great invention of the public school, and the principle that the education of the children should be at the cost of the community, because it was for the welfare of all.

4th. An educated ministry as expressed in their creation of a college for the training of their own young men to fill their pulpits, and the application of the principle that their preachers should appeal to the intelligence of their congregations. Their college was also to train men for a variety of forms of public service.
5th. Their publishing enterprise which aimed at using, for the intellectual and spiritual welfare of the entire population, the great invention of the printing-press.

These five movements were expressions of one central faith, a faith in the powers of human personality; a faith that, in human personality, there are intellectual and spiritual capacities which are best developed by being used. "We learn to do by doing" is a principle of modern education which was anticipated by our Puritan forefathers centuries ago.

The Puritan emphasis on education has been accepted so fully that we can scarcely imagine the time when it was a novelty. But Governor Berkeley of Virginia was contrasting his State with Massachusetts when, in 1670, he wrote this concerning Virginia:

"I thank God there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have them these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience and heresy and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the best government. God keep us from both."

The vitality of Puritan principles continues. They are the principles of a life which perpetuates itself while generations of men come and go. That life has a creative power which does not cease. In all my life this idea of a continuing life in successive centuries has never been more deeply impressed upon my mind than at the time of the Harvard Tercentenary, when we closed the meeting of the Alumni Association with the singing of "Fair Harvard." That immortal song recalls our Puritan founders and speaks of Harvard College as the

"First flower of their wilderness, star of their night,
Calm rising through change and through storm."

That first star represents one faculty of scholarly men. Harvard has become a great constellation, many faculties being grouped in it. We have seen its rising. No man can foresee for it any setting or any waning. It represents a light which is eternal, the light of truth. The Harvard shield bears with proud devotion the word VERITAS. Puritan beginnings here were indeed simple, but their consequences are large. And our community, bearing the great name of Cambridge, has an undimmed glory, for eyes that can see.

SOME MUSICAL MEMORIES OF CAMBRIDGE
BY SAMUEL A. ELIOT
Read May 27, 1947

It may appear to some of you that I am trespassing today into fields where I have no right to stray, so I am going first of all to present my credentials. I can do so without any undue
self-complacency for the said credentials are not based on any accomplishments of my own. They are inheritances from serviceable forebears — none of them professional musicians any more than I am, but pioneers in the development of musical understanding and appreciation. The story of their forgotten adventures and achievements deserves to be retold and it makes a rather interesting chapter in New England history.

My grandfather — whose name I bear — was a lover of music and eager to cultivate the enjoyment of music among his fellow-citizens whose Puritan inheritances did not include that rich and abundant source of pleasure. One does not think of the founding fathers — the planters of Plymouth or Cambridge — as given to playing a violin or strumming a banjo. They were too busy hewing a settlement out of the wilderness, breaking out farms, rearing their humble dwellings, settling the problems of new types of government in both church and state. My grandfather was born in Boston and lived there most of his life but he was no stranger to our Cambridge scene. He lived here during the seven years of his education and was for many years afterwards associated with the college — a member of the Corporation, treasurer of the college, author of the short history of Harvard. The last years of his life too were spent in Cambridge and he died in the house on Kirkland Street, which some of our older members may remember as later the residence of his niece — Miss Grace Norton. Mr. Eliot was a man of many affairs — active in the business enterprises of the community — active too in public life — for three terms Mayor of Boston and later a member of Congress. Music was his avocation and delight. He had a fine bass voice and in his young manhood organized and conducted the volunteer chorus choir which brought added renown to old Kings Chapel — a pioneer church in many fields — and the church of which he was long the senior warden. Twice every Sunday — even through the years when he was Mayor of the city — he was in his place in the choir gallery. Music too was the joy of his home life. All the family sang — a habit and felicity, I may add, that has been happily transmitted through three succeeding generations.

It was while he was serving as a member of the School Committee that he not so much found as made an opportunity to start something that proved to have large significance. The tide of interest in musical affairs had begun to flow in the 1820’s and ‘30’s and music was slowly finding a place for itself in the life of the communities hereabout. There were still very few professional musicians in this neighborhood — but amateurs had begun to foregather. The Pierian Sodality here at Harvard — a little band of students who liked to play together — dates from 1808. My grandfather’s elder brother, William H. Eliot of the class of 1815, organized and led in that year what seems to have been the first College Chorus to lead in singing at the chapel services. In that same year, 1815, the Handel and Haydn Society started in Boston. The Academy of Music was founded in 1833. The Harvard Musical Association was organized in 1837 and the Harvard Glee Club in 1858 — of these organizations more later. Meanwhile an ardent leader in the development of musical taste and skill had appeared. It was in 1827 that Lowell Mason — a New Englander born but employed as a bank clerk in Savannah, Georgia, returned to Boston determined to devote his time and talent primarily to music. In Savannah he had worked as a choir director and he soon found a similar opportunity in Boston, though to earn a living he also had to find employment in a Bank. He had already compiled a collection of church music but could find no publisher for it until the Handel and Haydn Society took it up and got it printed. It proved unexpectedly successful and in the succeeding 30 years sold something like 50,000
copies — the proceeds being divided 50-50 between the editor and the Society. Not unnaturally Mason became the conductor and for five years was president too of the Society. Then to his other occupations Mason added singing classes — for he was distressed to find how few of the singers in the Handel and Haydn Society could read music. It was partly to help

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It reminds one of the youthfulness of college students of those days to read in the Diary of Gen. Henry K. Oliver of the Class of 1818 that he and his classmate, Timothy Osgood, were members of that choir. Their voices had not changed and they both sang treble.

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Mason but more to give encouragement to the growth of musical taste and skill that Samuel A. Eliot and his friend the Reverend William Channing Woodbridge enlisted the coöperation of some of their well-to-do neighbors to found, in 1833, what they called the Academy of Music. They proceeded to acquire the Federal Street Theatre, a Bulfinch building of good design, and reconstruct it as a Concert Hall — the precursor of Music Hall and Symphony Hall of the later time. Mr. Eliot was president of the Academy and it was at the opening of the Odeon, as they re-named their building, that he delivered, on August 5, 1835, a notable address which had wide circulation and which has been called the Magna Charta of musical education in this country. It was at the Odeon, by the way, at Mr. Eliot's initiative, that there was given in 1841 the first performance in Boston of a Beethoven symphony.

The Academy of Music at once took on the responsibility for Lowell Mason's singing classes. Mason and George J. Webb — an English musician recently arrived — were appointed instructors — professors I think they were called — and instruction in vocal music was given in a number of private schools — one of them here in Cambridge. Mason compiled a collection of songs called "The Juvenile Lyre" which was, I think, the first children's songbook published in this country. The success of the singing classes was quickly established. The Principals of the schools, in rather stiff and guarded phrases, testified that the music study "exercised a happy moral influence upon the children's conduct" and "that it did not interfere with their regular studies." So Mr. Eliot, who, in 1836, was elected Mayor, was encouraged to propose that music be introduced into the Public Schools. It was a bold proposal for in those times music was regarded as appropriate for Sunday worship on the one hand and well adapted to convivial occasions on the other — but very few had dared to assume that it had anything to do with education. So sundry committees were appointed and reports were issued taking up all the aspects of the matter. The objections of those who regarded music as a perilous frivolity, if not a downright sinful occupation, were deliberately weighed — even the authority of Aristotle, if you please, was adduced — and finally in August 1839 the School Committee voted "to try the experiment of introducing vocal music into the Public schools of this city — that the experiment be started as soon as practicable and be continued and extended as this Board may hereafter determine." That,

my friends, was the modest beginning of a movement that soon spread like a prairie fire all over the length and breadth of the land. Now, of course, every considerable High School and
Academy has its band and its orchestra, its choruses, glee clubs and choirs. Music in the schools has become a vital influence not only for the children directly concerned but also in the life of the community at large.

Now turn over a page in this brief chapter of history: My father was brought up as you see in a singing family and like his father he had a good bass voice. He never became proficient in any branch of practical musical skill but he greatly enjoyed music and he was early given to understand that music is not only a source of great delight but that its practice has also invaluable educational disciplines. The singers in a chorus, you see, must keep the pitch and sing in tune. They must keep the time as the conductor directs. They must practice cooperation and a fine sort of voluntary obedience. Each singer follows his own part but it must blend in harmony with other parts. So there is training in the combination of independency and togetherness. And what is true of choral singing is, of course, equally true of concerted instrumental music.

My father became President of Harvard College — it was just a college — in 1869. Music had by that time got a sort of toehold here — but academically considered it was a pretty forlorn stepchild sitting on the doorstep. The first official mention of musical instruction at Harvard appears in the Catalogue of 1855-56. It is rather amusing to note — and the juxtaposition is also rather noteworthy — that the last three names appearing in that catalogue in the list of officers and instructors are those of Charles W. Eliot, Tutor, James Mills Pierce, Tutor, recent graduates of 1853, and then last of all — Levi P. Homer, Instructor in Music. His name does not appear in the Quinquennial Catalogue either as a graduate of the college, or in the list of officers and teachers, but he had a room in Divinity Hall, and he probably gave lessons there to volunteer students. Doubtless he also directed the student choir that led the singing in the room in University Hall then used as a Chapel — later the Faculty Room. Appleton Chapel was not built until 1858 and there an organ was installed. In 1861 there was a course of lectures on music and the great composers — but, curiously enough, the course was distinctly stated as "not open to under-graduates" and of course it was not counted for any degree.

The new organ in Appleton Chapel required the employment of an organist, and John Knowles Paine, just back from his studies in Germany and brimming over with musical ardor, took over the direction of the choir and must also have given private piano or organ lessons to such students as desired them. The Pierian Sodality still brought together a few students who played instruments and the glee club had a limited repertory. Neither club was permitted to give concerts outside of Cambridge. On the governing board of the College in 1869 complete indifference to the claims of music reigned and the Faculty was equally apathetic. No college in this country had recognized music as a suitable study for men of college age. Wrote John S. Dwight, "The idea that music is an art of intellectual and spiritual consequence, that it should be respected and placed upon an equal footing with the recognized "human-ides" . . . would have been dismissed as one of the wildest and most dangerous of dreams." Now President Eliot had witnessed the successful introduction of music training in the secondary schools and he ventured, with the daring of youth, to believe that it would prove to be equally valuable in the education of college students. He found in Mr. Paine a colleague after his own heart. After nearly four years of patient persuading, the gentlemen who as my father said represented "the type of evolved Puritan usually to be found in the Harvard Corporation," consented to the appointment of Mr. Paine
as an adjunct professor of music, and with a sort of shrug of the shoulders the Board of Overseers agreed. Two years later he became full professor and the first Department — or Division they then called it — of Music in any American college was launched. Professor Paine, and now I am quoting our great historian of music in these parts, Mr. John S. Dwight, "contrived, by his own zeal and example, to awaken an earnest interest in music in many of the students and to increase the general faith in music by good concerts and by the new dignity and worth which he imparted to the musical side of academic anniversaries, inaugurations and memorial services."

And now, just to complete what I called my credentials, my own participation in musical affairs in Cambridge had of course no such wide significance as the efforts of my father and grandfather — but I had a good musical inheritance and training. In college I took one or more of Professor Paine's courses, sang for four years in the College Choir [and sometimes in the chorus of other churches], was president and

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sometimes leader of the Harvard Glee Club of my time. Our modest repertory did not resemble the accomplishments of the Club as it has grown under the leadership of Dr. Davison and Dr. Woodworth, but we had a lot of fun and gave acceptable concerts in many New England cities and towns. Then in 1886 when Harvard was to celebrate its 250th Anniversary it fell to me — because I had known so many of the singers of the preceding decade — to be associated with Mr. Edward S. Dodge and our beloved Choirmaster of that time, Warren Locke, in organizing the Harvard Alumni Chorus to sing at the Anniversary exercises, and then to collaborate with Mr. Locke in selecting and publishing this compilation for the use of the Alumni Chorus. Here we gathered time-honored anthems of Beethoven, Schumann, Gounod and the like, Luther's Hymn and Fleming's 'Integer Vitae,' and also some original compositions written by certain Harvard graduates who had won distinction in musical careers. Here were first published the "Sanctus," written by George L. Osgood '66, "Into the Silent Land" by Arthur Foote '74, and "We praise thee O God" by J. C. D. Parker '48 who was, I think, the first Harvard graduate to devote himself to music as a profession. Then later I had a part in the editing of the three Hymn Books. Of one I was the chairman of the Editorial Board and of the others a sort of consultant. In all these musical connections I have found deep satisfaction and happiness.

But now let's get back to the beginnings of music in Cambridge and trace a bit of the historical background and what, came out of it. I suppose the first music heard in Cambridge was the rather dreary droning of psalms in the log meeting house that stood at what is now the corner of Mt. Auburn and Dunster Streets. Someone said that our Puritan forbears sang in church not because they wanted to but because the scriptures commanded them so to do. Of course they sang psalms — and only psalms. Man-made hymns, as Calvin called them, were not countenanced. For tunes they had a very limited selection, and those of a grave, almost dirge-like character. As you all know, the first book printed in the English Colonies was the Bay Psalm Book, printed here in Cambridge in 1640 by John Day in his shop at what is now the corner of Dunster Street and Massachusetts Avenue, where the Cambridge Savings Bank now is. By the way, you have noticed that one of the few surviving copies of the Bay Psalm Book sold just the other day in New York for something like
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$160,000. The Bay Psalm Book reigned supreme in the New England churches for a century and a half — the last edition was printed in 1773 — and then was supplanted by the Tate & Brady Collection, and then by that of Dr. Isaac Watts. There were no musical instruments. The congregation was led by a precentor armed with a pitch-pipe. As late as 1721 the Rev. Thomas Walter of Roxbury could write "We are confined to eight or ten tunes and in some congregations to little more than half that number" and he went on to say that the tunes were worn into such sameness that in the singing of the psalm it was sometimes forgotten what the original tune was. The excellent Judge Sewall frequently came home much discouraged about the music. "I set Windsor tune" he wrote in his memorable diary — "and at the second going over it ran into Oxford do what I would." And again "In the morning I set York tune but the gallery carried it irresistibly to St. David's which disgusted me very much." The congregations were wont too to take their own time about the business of psalm singing. "This," wrote the impatient Dr. Walter, "fatigues the singer with endless protraction of the notes beyond the compass of a man's breath and the power of his spirit. I have twice in one note paused to take breath. I have observed too in many cases that one man is upon this note while another is on the note before him which produces something hideous and disorderly as is beyond expression bad." It must have been a hard duty for people with sensitive musical ears to go to church on those days.

One fellow-member, Dr. Henry W. Foote, who is our foremost authority in American hymnody, assures me that while this paucity of tunes was true in the 18th century it did not accurately describe conditions in the 17th century. The original settlers of Plymouth and Salem, Boston and Cambridge were better supplied. The Mayflower Company undoubtedly had Ainsworth's Psalter which was almost their special property for it was printed in Amsterdam in 1612. Edward Winslow, later the Governor of Plymouth Colony, describes how at their last service at Leyden on July 31, 1620, the Pilgrim company "refreshed themselves with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of our congregation very expert in music." Mrs. Hemans in her famous hymn was quite inaccurate when she wrote of the "stern and rock-bound coast" of Plymouth Harbor but she may have been right in the lines "amid the storm they sang and the stars heard and the sea." The Massachusetts company of 1630 probably brought with them Ravenscroft's "Whole Books of Psalms" published in 1621, and later it was from John Playford's Collection of 1677 that the thirteen tunes were taken which were included in the 1698 edition of the Bay Psalm Book, the first edition to contain melodies.

So far as I know America did not produce any original hymn tunes until toward the end of the 18th Century when Oliver Holden wrote "Coronation," which is still popular. About the same time William Billings wrote a number of curious tunes, none of which have survived. They were mostly fugal in character — as someone said, resembling nothing so much as a lot of kittens chasing their own tails. Lowell Mason's collections of the 1820's contained some original tunes and a good many adaptations of secular music set to religious words — a kind of cobbling that doesn't always fit. A good many of Mason's tunes however survive in our present-day collections. There are 15 tunes ascribed to him in the excellent and very modern Hymnbook used in the worship of the church I have the honor to
serve. Most of those tunes are skillfully adapted, some from Gregorian Chants or oratorios, but some from operas and even ballads. These are eminently singable and most people have forgotten — or never knew — their secular origins. These are the humble beginnings of the rich and varied hymnody we enjoy today.

Turn now to the earlier days of music in the college community. The Pierian Sodality was, as I have noted, organized in 1808. The Sodality was a small group of students, seven or eight of them, most of whom seem to have been devoted to playing the flute. In the quotations from the early records contained in the book of our friend and neighbor, Prof. Walter Spalding, I found such notes as "Voted to add a bassoon," or "Voted to buy a bass viol." Heretofore when they needed a bass viol they had borrowed the one used in the Chapel. In 1834 the Pierian Spring almost ran dry, for there was only one member left — Henry Gassett of the Class of '34. He played his flute alone in his room but kept up the record of the Society until two friends joined him. Gassett, by the way, must have given more time to his flute than to his Greek and Latin, for he wasn't given his bachelor's degree until ten years after his class had graduated. He had later, however, long and honorable connection with the musical life of Boston. For fifty years he was secretary, treasurer and librarian of the Harvard Musical Association and his por-

trait hangs in the rooms of the Association today. Indulge me on a few more notes from the Pierian records. Here's one, for instance, that expresses "our deep indignation at the unjust, arbitrary and tyrannical measures of the College Government by which we have lost four of our most valuable members." Apparently these boys had been rusticated or expelled. Could it have been because they played their flutes too obstreperously? Or consider this note: "we met at Willards Hotel and performed with great taste and execution upon a bottle of champagne. We then proceeded to Mr. Spark's house where we played several tunes as well as could have been expected." In July, 1836, the Sodality got outside of six bottles of champagne presented by a Mr. Higginson. Is that perhaps a precedent, the first example of the later munificent endowment of music by another Higginson? One more note from a more prosperous though not more tranquil decade: "Whereas," we read, "the secretary of Harvard College, with unprecedented barbarity, went so far in his asinine wisdom as to administer public admonition to the Pierian Sodality for absenting themselves from Cambridge during a whole night, amusing some and annoying others, and whereas the Faculty has forbidden the Society from performing in the Yard for the innocent entertainment of the students, Resolved that we do not perform at the coming exhibition and that when the Praeses proclaims "musica expectatur" either a dead silence shall prevail or the audience be charmed with the strains of that damned organ."

The Harvard Glee Club was organized in 1857-58 at the initiation of Ben Crowninshield of the Class of '58 — a classmate of the beloved and honored father of the president of this society. A glee, by the way, does not imply just gayety or jollity —it is defined as "an unaccompanied piece of vocal music for men's voices." The Club gave its first concert — in conjunction with the Pierian —in Lyceum Hall in June 1858 and Mr. Dwight in the Journal of Music of June 19 wrote of it with discriminating praise. Gladly would I linger to tell of some of the famous singers and leaders of the Harvard Musical Societies: Langmaid '59, afterwards Boston's leading tenor and beloved physician; George Osgood of '66, a great authority in musical circles in my youth, soloist, choir master, composer. At one time two of
our Cambridge boys were respectively President and Vice President of the Glee Club — Edward S. Dodge '73 and Richard H. Dana '74 — and Arthur Foote '74 was leader. We may well remember his long and distinguished musical career. Nat Brigham '80, had, I think, the sweetest tenor voice I've ever heard but he never became a professional singer. I remember other splendid singers — Gardner Lamson '77, Louis McCagg '84, Francis Rogers '91, H. L. Murphy '08, and many more. We bred composers like Lewis Thompson '92 and F. S. Converse '93, John Alden Carpenter '97; and music critics and commentators like Wm. F. Apthorp '69, Nathan Dole '74, Henry T. Finch '76, Richard Aldrich '85, H. T. Parker '92 and J. N. Ashton '93. I think of Owen Wister '82 and Thomas M. Osborne '84, amateur musicians of distinction but who won larger fame in other fields of service. What outstanding conductors and choir-masters we turned out, our own Warren Locke '69, George Burdett '81, Philip Goepp '84, Tommy Safford '94, Malcolm Lang and R. G. Appel '02, Arthur Locke '05, Phil Clapp '09, Chalmers Clifton '12. What a grand lot of teachers and composers succeeded Paine in the Department of Music: Spalding, Hill and Ballantine, Davison and Woodworth, Piston and Merritt. Davison and Woodworth have led both of the old musical societies from strength to strength and in the last thirty years the Harvard Glee Club has become one of the best male choruses in this or any other country. And then in this brief review of musical affairs at Harvard who of us can forget the musical features of the Harvard Tercentenary in 1936 under the able direction of one fellow-member, Jerome Greene? There were three chamber concerts, a symphony concert and singing by a chorus of one hundred and seventy-five voices. Music had come into its own within the precincts of the University and Harvard stands preeminent in its contribution to the noblest and most universal of the Fine Arts.

I gratefully remember too how many of the members of the Harvard Faculty — not themselves musicians — were keenly sympathetic with all of us who were musically inclined. I mentioned Professor James Mills Pierce. He never failed to attend our concerts in my day and always had an encouraging word to say. I can see his portly frame as he marched majestically to his seat in Sanders Theatre — "How imposing," someone said, "he carries everything before him." Or there was Professor F. D. Allen, who wrote the music for the light operas we of the Cambridge Dramatic Club sang at the Arsenal Theatre. Professor Greenough wrote the librettos. And there was Henry Hill, father of the outstanding composer of our day; and another chemist, Theodore Richards, — his was a delightful musical family for you! — and Morris Morgan, another classical scholar and the possessor of a fine tenor voice, and oh how many more.

I was living in other parts of the country in the days when the Cambridge Choral Society nourished but I remember that Mrs. Charles W. Eliot and Mrs. Theodore Richards were among the sopranos. Mrs. Crawford Toy and Mrs. Walter Spalding and Mrs. Minton Warren were among the altos. Professor George F. Moore and Professor Byron Hurl-but and John Merrill and Francis S. Kershaw and Jerome Greene sang tenor, and Richard H. Dana and George Cole and Wm. C. Heilman were basses. They gave delightful concerts. Of the later developments, the Longy School of Music; Mrs. Langdon Warner's Bach Cantata Club; the
musical societies of Radcliffe; the bands and orchestras in the schools — you know more about them than I do. But I do want to say something about some of the older individuals who because they lived in Cambridge or worked here have made Cambridge famous in musical annals.

John Sullivan Dwight was for many years the outstanding influence in musical affairs in our community. I well remember him for in my boyhood he was living somewhere on Dana Hill. As I ran down Broadway to the High School (I always had to run for I was a lazy boy and never started for school until the last possible moment) I would tip my cap to Mr. Dwight standing at the corner of Broadway and Dana Streets waiting for the horse-car. After the fashion of those days he wore a shawl over his shoulders, or, in his seat in the horse-car, tucked over his knees. (Boys remember such queer things about old gentlemen.) A smallish man he was with a well-trimmed white beard, the very embodiment of gentle refinement, kindly, benevolent, diffident. He was born in 1813, so when I used to see him he must have been in his sixties. He was a member of the Class of 1832 at Harvard and of course he played a flute in the Pierian. The Sodality in his day, by the way, consisted of four flutes, two French horns, a cello, and at one time a bass horn. He went to the Divinity School and in 1839 was ordained minister of the Unitarian Church in Northampton. He was not much of a success as a minister — being rather dreamy and visionary. He wrote some good verses, however, in those days. My father used to like to repeat the lines that began "Rest is not quitting the busy career, Rest is the fitting of self to its sphere." But meanwhile he had here in Cambridge started a movement that had large significance. On Commencement Day, Au-

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The Cambridge Historical Society

gust 30, 1837, he called together a group of old Pierians and they organized the Harvard Musical Association, a society which had for its object "the cultivation of musical taste and science in Harvard University." That society has had a long and honorable career. It fostered the first Chamber Concerts given in Cambridge, sponsored the concerts given by the Germania and the Philharmonic orchestras, promoted the building of Music Hall in 1852 and the installation of the great organ in 1862. It has maintained at its headquarters facilities for musicians, both professional and amateur, and one of the best musical libraries in the country. Dwight was long its President and for many years, after the death of his wife, he lived in its quarters. His portrait hangs in the Library today. In 1841 Dwight and all his family, his father and mother and sisters, went to Brook Farm. There he directed the musical life of that unique community, taught the children singing and edited the Community paper, The Harbinger. In 1851 he married a charming singer in his choir and after Brook Farm broke up, with the backing of the Harvard Musical Association, he founded Dwight's Journal of Music, a journal which combined rare literary merit with the highest standard of musical taste and criticism. It had a hard struggle to exist but Dwight carried on for some thirty years, always a hopeful optimist who could not be conquered by disappointment. In 1881 he wrote for the Memorial History of Boston the article on Music in Boston, a rich storehouse of musical history. He died on September 5, 1893. Some of you may recall Mr. Lowell's lines in the "Fable for Critics." He was thinking of Hawthorne when he wrote:

When Nature was shaping him, clay was not granted
For making so full-sized a man as she wanted,
So, to fill out her model, a little she spared
From some finer-grained stuff for a woman prepared,
And she could not have hit a more excellent plan
For making him fully and perfectly man.
The success of her scheme gave her so much delight
That she tried it again, shortly after, in Dwight;
Only, while she was kneading and shaping the clay,
She sang to her work in her sweet childish way,
And found, when she'd put her last touch to his soul,
That the music had somehow got mixed with the whole.

Francis Boott of the Class of 1831 was another Cambridge resident who was not so much a practitioner as a patron of the arts. He had an exceptional tenor voice which even to his 90th year was sweet and true. Of course he played the flute and sundry other instruments and he composed some very creditable songs and ballads. We still sing the Cavalier Song, "Here's a health to King Charles," which was first sung at the Glee Club Concert in 1858. At his death in 1904 Mr. Boott left a handsome bequest to the Department of Music at Harvard.

John Knowles Paine I have already mentioned. It's queer how many musicians of note have come out of the State of Maine. I love Maine people because of their integrity and sound common sense and salty humor, but music does not seem a natural product of such a rugged land. It is a fact however that few parts of our country have been more productive of musical talent than the State of Maine. Professor Paine was born in Portland in 1839. He early came under the influence of the gifted musician Herman Kotchmar, long the famous organist of the First Parish Church. When he was only 18 years old Paine was his master's choice for organist at the performance of the Messiah in 1857. Then there were three years of study in Germany, the funds for his support provided by a devoted, hard-working sister at home, then back to Boston as organist at the West Church and in 1862 to Harvard as chapel organist. Soon his compositions began to appear. There was an oratorio ("St. Peter"), and an opera ("Azana"), two symphonies and sundry good songs and the Harvard Hymn we still use; and what I think the best of his compositions, the music for the performance of the "Oedipus Tyrannus" in 1881. I remember thinking that the music rather ran away with the play and that what we saw and heard was a sort of opera using a Greek play as a libretto. Mr. Paine was preëminent as composer and teacher. I did not enjoy singing in his choir as I did with his genial and indefatigable successor, Warren Locke. Mr. Paine was impatient with the ineptitude of his singers, untrained boys with good voices but many of them unable to read music readily. He would get a bit querulous over our mistakes.
Locke never lost either his patience or his enthusiasm and would lead the fifteenth going over of an anthem or a glee with as high spirits as when we began.

Only a few of us can remember George Fisher, though many of us can gratefully remember his daughter, Mrs. Austin C. Wellington, her-

self a well-trained musician and always the friend and benefactress of those who loved music. George Fisher had a very active and varied career — as a merchant and manufacturer, as a Cambridge representative in the General Court, and as, from 1859 to 1873, the editor and publisher of the Cambridge Chronicle, but more especially as the organist and choir master in several of our churches and as the organizer and director in 1869 of the rehearsals of the great chorus that sang under the direction of P. S. Gilman at the World’s Peace Jubilee. Mr. Dwight, by the way, did not approve of that Jubilee. He thought it a noisy demonstration of boastful patriotism. But after the performance Mr. Dwight agreed that, while quite inartistic, it was not inappropriate as a manifestation of popular rejoicing. Mr. Fisher was also the dynamic officer of the Handel and Haydn and the founder in 1873 of the Cambridge Conservatory of Music, where he and his daughter and other instructors taught music both to individuals and to classes.

The most famous singer who came from our Cambridge borders was Lily Greenough, granddaughter of Judge Fay, who lived in what we call Fay House of Radcliffe College. She won renown in opera and concert under her married name of Moulton. I can just remember her gorgeous voice and handsome face and stately bearing. Later she married the Danish Minister to this country and became the Countess d’Hegeman-Lindencrone, and her last years were spent in Denmark. Another unforgettable Cambridge singer was the great — great both physically and mentally — philosopher and historian, John Fiske. When he sang "The Two Grenadiers" the purlieus of Berkeley Street resounded and the windows of the Craigie Street houses rattled.

No story of music in Cambridge would be complete without mention of the contribution this city has made through the manufacture here of musical instruments of exceptional merit. The fame of our city rests, I suppose, chiefly upon our educational institutions and upon the wide diffusion of our most characteristic product — books — but in musical circles it may be even better known as the place where superior organs and pianos are built. Organs began to be made here as early as 1809, when Wm. M. Goodrich set up a modest factory in East Cambridge. He was succeeded by George Stevens, one time Mayor of Cambridge, and the business was carried on until 1891. Then in 1854 Henry Mason, one of the sons of Lowell Mason, formed a partnership with Emmons Hamlin, and the Mason and Hamlin organs and pianos carried the fame of the place of their origin — Cambridge — all over the world. Mr. Samuel S. Hamill built his first organ factory here in 1859 and Ivers & Pond moved their factory to Cambridge in 1881. The makers of all these instruments had the qualities attributed to one of them, of whom it was said that he, like his pianos, was upright, grand and square.
Orchestral concerts began in this neighborhood in a modest way under the auspices of the Academy of Music. Two small orchestras, composed of both professional and amateur players, the Germania and the Philharmonic, came into being and after Music Hall was built in 1852 the Harvard Musical Association sponsored symphony concerts there under the leadership of Carl Zerrahn. My own first experience of a symphony concert came in 1876 when Theodore Thomas brought his then unequalled orchestra to Cambridge and gave a series of six concerts in Sanders Theatre, doubtless in connection with a similar series at Music Hall. It’s strange to reflect how the judgments of boyhood persist and how often they remain valid. My enjoyment of the compositions I learned to love in my youth has continued unabated through all the seventy years that have passed since I first heard them.

No one knows just when Henry Higginson began to dream of founding a great symphony orchestra but it was in 1880-81 that he began to make his dream come true. He named George Henschel as its first conductor and the players were at first gathered from the old societies hereabouts. Henschel was only thirty-one years old and had had no experience as a director but he had the fire and enthusiasm that matched Higginson’s daring generosity. So in 1881 began the series of Cambridge concerts which have thrilled and delighted us for sixty-six years. Save for the nine years when we were living in Colorado and New York, Mrs. Eliot and I have enjoyed those concerts and for nearly forty years we have sat in the same seats in Sanders Theatre in proximity to many cherished neighbors and friends. We have seen the orchestra made and remade, ever increasing in its marvellous precision and authority under the brilliant guidance of its successive conductors, Gericke and Nikisch, Pauer and Muck, Monteux and Koussevitzky.

I cannot bring this paper to its close in more becoming fashion than by quoting some sentences from the letter which my father, in behalf of many friends and admirers, wrote to Major Higginson on the occasion of his 84th birthday. Charles Eliot and Henry Higginson had been born in the same year, they had grown up together in the same environment, and throughout the long years of their maturity they had been closely associated in the advancement of many good causes. There is something about this letter that caused Bliss Perry in his biography of Higginson to call it "severely perfect." It sets forth not only the appreciation of our community for what Major Higginson had accomplished but also felicitously describes the function of music and its influence upon our thoughts and feelings and conduct. It is too long to quote in full — but here are some of the paragraphs. My father belonged to a generation which had not adopted our easy and I think pleasant habit of calling each other by our first names. Even between close friends and associates a more formal sort of address was customary — so it was not "Dear Henry" but:

"Dear Major Higginson: —

Some of the thousands of persons who have had their lives made more interesting and happier by the concerts of your Symphony Orchestra . . . wish to declare to you on your eighty-fourth birthday their personal gratitude and their strong sense of the public benefits which have resulted and will result from your disinterested and patient labors in behalf of the Orchestra and the community it has served. Many of the signers of this Memorial are acquaintances who have long cherished high respect for you and your generous works, or
friends, old and young, who feel for you the sincerest affection; but most of them are strangers, who gladly embrace this their first opportunity to tell you directly that you have gladdened and exalted their physical and spiritual lives.

Boston was historically the right place in the United States to develop an orchestra of high merit. The soil in which you planted the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1880-81 had been well prepared during the forty years preceding by a series of earlier organizations for providing orchestral concerts in the community where you and I grew up. These pioneering organizations were the Boston Academy of Music, the Musical Fund Society, the Germania Orchestra, the Philharmonic Society, and the Harvard Musical Association. Their resources were limited and their achievements modest; but they made ready a supporting public for you. . . . Your plans and policies have been wise and generous toward both your public and the artists whom you employed. Your Orchestra

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ELIOT: SOME MUSICAL MEMORIES OF CAMBRIDGE

has given year by year a demonstration of the exceeding value of cooperative discipline. You have steadily insisted that the skilled musician's occupation is not a mechanical trade but an artistic profession. You have given your public the pure, refining, exalting, inspiring music of all nations and all periods. You have enlarged and strengthened the appreciation of sweet and noble music in this community.

We shall all better appreciate the work you have done ... if we bear in mind that good music sustains and consoles the human spirit in times of adversity, and is, next to good literature, the best expression of public prosperity, social joy, and religious transport. It transcends the limits of language or race, requires no versions or translations, and ranges freely through all the civilized world and the successive generations of men."

To receive such a letter as that — and to deserve it — says Bliss Perry, "may surely be counted among the durable satisfactions of life."

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THE HISTORY OF COOLIDGE HILL

BY ROSAMOND COOLIDGE

Read January 27, 1948

THIS paper tells the story of the last corner of rural Cambridge to become a closely settled neighborhood. The area involved is today bounded by the Charles River, the Cambridge Cemetery, Coolidge Avenue, and Mount Auburn Street.

In the year 1636 Deacon Samuel Thatcher built a house at the head of the road or lane leading up from the river landing which has been named in this order, Sir Richard’s Landing, Oliver’s Landing, and finally Gerry’s Landing. Deacon Thatcher owned most of the land
which is now called Coolidge Hill and his house stood near the corner of Coolidge Avenue on Mount Auburn Street. He and his heirs lived here continuously for over one hundred and fifty years.

In 1793 Elbridge Gerry, then owner of Elmwood, bought the Thatcher property and held it for eighteen years. During his governorship, in 1811, he sold to Thomas Melville of Boston, whose ownership continued only ten years. Two years previously, in 1809, the Widow Orne had bought a narrow strip directly opposite Elmwood Avenue, but otherwise the Thatcher property was still intact.

Then in 1821, Josiah Coolidge of Watertown, my great-grandfather, bought the Thatcher-Gerry-Melville property, with the exception of the Widow Orne's strip, and Josiah's family and heirs have lived there for one hundred and twenty-five years.

Coolidge Avenue was at that time a passageway to the land of Captain Moses Stone. Simon Stone had settled near the river in 1634 or 1635, when the Thatchers first built, and I believe the two properties may have joined, although on our deed there is mention of many people's having rights in the peat meadow and beyond. On Simon's Hill in Cambridge Cemetery is a stone marker which shows the spot where the ancestral pear tree stood for eleven generations until it went down in the hurricane of 1938.

On the west side of the passageway, which in 1830 became Coolidge Avenue, was more Stone property. This was to become Mount Auburn Cemetery in 1831. On Stone's Mount stood a noble tree in which the last resident member of the Stone family had built a tree house from which was seen the beautiful countryside. The tree house was still there when my father was a boy, with its ladder an alluring climb if somewhat precarious for little boys. Long since the present Mount Auburn Tower has offered a more lofty view from Stone's Mount.

Passing mention should be made of a landmark on the river side of the old street, the Winchester house, a mansion so large that the hall could hold a regiment. I have no authority for this statement, but heard it in my childhood and my imagination was kindled. The house now standing inside Cambridge Cemetery is said to be the gate house of the Winchester estate.

With this brief mention of the Stone and Winchester properties, themselves of sufficient interest to warrant a further paper, I return to the original bounds of this paper.

Josiah Coolidge and his son Joseph bought up small parcels of land until their farm included all the marsh land and the strip up from the river behind the present Mount Auburn Hospital. This narrow strip was called Willis Court and further east down to the river an old map shows a short street called Water Street. The name Gerry's Landing had disappeared temporarily.

In Willis Court there were three houses where lived families who worked on the farm. They might just as likely have worked in the marble works at the head of the court on Mount Auburn Street where the rotary traffic circle has been newly built, but it is probable that the tenants were helpers on the farm. One anecdote heard long ago remains in my memory about an old Dutchman who was restrained with some difficulty by my grandfather.
from cutting up for firewood a flourishing willow growing in his yard. It was doubtless one of the magnificent specimens whose sole survivor is being preserved at the edge of the new parkway extension.

When Josiah came down from Watertown he built a large and comfortable house in 1822 and lived there many years. The original Thatcher house was apparently taken down, but for years a summer house and a well marked the location of this early dwelling. By 1856 Josiah had deeded his farm to his son Joseph, who built himself the house at 34 Coolidge Avenue. It was to this second house that my grandmother came a bride from Avon Street in Boston, where Jordan Marsh Company now stands. The country must have been lonely for a young city girl at first.

Josiah in his seventieth year sold the homestead on Mount Auburn Street to the Henry W. Muzzey family. This was their home until Mr. Muzzey's death in 1886, at which time they moved to Buffalo. Josiah meanwhile had bought another farm extending from Brattle Street to Fresh Pond. On it he built the house which Mrs. Charles Peabody later remodelled so charmingly and where Mr. and Mrs. Copley Amory now live, on the corner of Lakeview Avenue. When Josiah was in his late eighties, probably about 1872, he sold this farm and moved back to Watertown. He had lived in Cambridge fifty years but Watertown was lovely country in those days. It was the town in which John and Mary Coolidge had settled in 1636, when they came from Cottenham, in Cambridgeshire, England. They raised a large family, many of whose descendants have lived very close to home.

The Coolidge-Muzzey house in Cambridge was bought back by my family after Mr. Muzzey's death, and at the turn of the century my Uncle Edward had the kitchen ell cut off and the house divided so that two families might live in it. The year after my parents were married they moved into the south half of this big yellow double house. This was in 1902, and the previous tenant was Helen Keller, then studying at Radcliffe. She lived there with Miss Sullivan, her teacher, and their dog, Sir Thomas Lipton, named for the donor. He had little ability as a seeing-eye dog because I remember stories of Father's guiding Miss Keller home when she had lost her way walking round the farm.

In chronological order the first piece of Coolidge land sold was a small strip which the Widow Orne bought from Josiah in 1825 to the east of the original strip, which she had bought in 1809 from Governor Gerry. The story of her house is given a little later. The second sizeable transaction was the sale and later re-purchase of the Muzzey house with surrounding land in the eighties. No more land was then sold until the Metropolitan Park Commission bought all the marsh land along the river and the piece including Willis Court behind the hospital.

The next land to be lopped off the farm was the first to be sold within...
my memory. In 1910 Browne and Nichols School bought the cow pasture and the hill within it for a playfield. Several families previously had wanted to buy the little hill for a house site because of the view of the river, the church and college spires, and the stadium, but the location was better suited to an athletic field and the hill has since been used to fill in lowland. It is interesting to remember at this point that Professor Eben Norton Horsford had done extensive excavation along this marsh and meadow region in connection with his research into the coming of the Vikings. The relics of long houses found in this vicinity supported his theory that Leif Erikson had landed at Gerry's Landing. This is now generally disproved by historians but the excavations proved without any question that Indians certainly fished and dwelt here before the seventeenth century.

In 1912 Mrs. Kenneth Grant Tremayne Webster and her brother Mr. Edward Forbes from Milton bought the great hillside slope where I remember fields of squash. They took the name Gerry's Landing for their joint property. When their houses were built it became immediately and painfully apparent that the days of pig raising on the Coolidge Farm were over. The pigpens were under the hill, exactly where the main building of Shady Hill School now stands, and the southwest wind which so frequently prevails blew gently and persistently right up to the houses of the new neighbors. The pigpens had long been a landmark and were the destination of a favorite walk for children in this part of the city. My father spent hours on week ends and during school vacations just patrolling. The boys from the "Marsh," which in my childhood meant the crowded neighborhood from Willard to Lowell Streets along Mount Auburn Street, knew every fruit tree on the farm and spent hours trying to evade my father or the watchman and to throw rotten apples at the pigs.

The front part of the farm, which included the old Josiah Coolidge house, approximately the extent of the Muzzey purchase, was sold to a company which at the same time bought the John Chipman Gray estate of Larchwood. This was in 1915. Both properties were sold for small house lots. Our big yellow house was turned round and moved a hundred feet to face Coolidge Avenue and seventeen new houses were soon squeezed into the rest of the space.

There now began to arrive the swarm of dogs and small children which are still two of the chief characteristics of our neighborhood. As children, my sister and I had had the rich and rare experience of farm life in a city. We had learned about flowers, vegetables, cows, and pigs and chickens; we had played in a big barn; we had ridden behind the farm horses; we had learned that people who work all day in the fields are kindly, simple people, and — at that time — usually came here from Italy; but we had never had many children friends near enough for neighborhood playing. Now we could see lights in our neighbors' windows, where once we had been able to see the State House dome ablaze with light when looking out our bedroom window.

Farm workers became increasingly difficult to hire and a farm within a city became a luxury. It required skilled helpers to raise greenhouses full of violets, carnations, geraniums, and chrysanthemums. It was equally a tremendous job to raise fields and greenhouses of lettuce, cucumbers, tomatoes, corn, and down in the meadow wonderful celery, all to be sent to Faneuil Hall Market. My father, who had always driven horses, now
learned to drive his own truck, but the war years after 1914 put a staggering load on men past middle age, as has been true again in recent years.

In 1924 Mr. Alva Morrison and Mr. Arthur Nichols bought the rest of the farm and they were responsible for the attractive development of the top of the hill. The house lots were sold to families who built their own houses, not as in the 1915 purchase to contractors who built for the most part to sell again. Shady Hill School bought the remainder of the meadow land. The big barn, stables, carriage house, the greenhouses, the two great chimneys and the boiler rooms were all taken down, and the last bit of rural Cambridge became residential.

It has long been a good New England custom to move houses from one location to another, and so it was quite in keeping with this tradition that one of the new houses to come to the hill should be an eighteenth-century house which Mr. and Mrs. Reginald Hull bought and moved from Appian Way to its present location at 144 Coolidge Hill. The house was built in 1790 and remained untouched through the Victorian era, thus retaining its original beauty. It is interesting that the details of the porch are identical with those of the John Chipman Gray house in Larch-wood. Mr. George Nichols brought his bride from Salem to this house in Appian Way in 1834. Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wyllis Elliott, the parents of Mr. Howard Elliott, lived there. At one time, Miss Elizabeth Dana, the sister of Richard Henry Dana, lived in the house. Professor Albert Bushnell Hart lived there, as did Arthur Hugh Clough, the English poet. The time came when the house was to be moved in accordance with necessary building plans of Radcliffe College. It was fortunate that it could be preserved. The moving was a major operation in the summer of 1929. It began in late June. The house remained in Brattle Street one whole month. The most dramatic episode in the trip was the midnight progress along Mount Auburn Street from Elmwood Avenue. Trolley and other important wires had to be cut or taken down at a time when traffic was least likely to be impeded. The flare of torches, the clang of iron bars, the shouts of the men working made the scene both colorful and memorable. The little house then made its dignified way up Coolidge Avenue to its present site. A service wing was added, and Mrs. Hull made a beautiful garden as an appropriate setting for this lovely example of late eighteenth-century architecture.

Mention has already been made of the two pieces of property which the Widow Orne bought, the first in 1809 from Elbridge Gerry and the adjoining strip in 1825 from Josiah Coolidge. The story of this land and its houses follows in chronological sequence. In 1807 John G. Orne had built a storehouse at the ferry landing and there the neighbors had been able to buy provisions. After his death Mrs. Orne moved the storehouse to her newly purchased hilltop and it was remodelled into a handsome Empire house with wainscoting throughout. The year after Mrs. Orne purchased the Coolidge land she sold her whole property to Loring Austin, who was her tenant in the house at the time. The Austins kept the house twenty-six years and sold it to Andrew Willis in 1852. This family sold to a daughter, Mrs. Moses Wildes, in 1861. Three years later the Wildes sold to Forsyth Willson, the poet. He only lived in the house three years. At his death in 1867 Mr. Amos A. Lawrence bought the place and sold it the following year to the Episcopal Theological School. That year the Reverend John S. Stone, first dean of the school, lived here. In 1877 the property
was bought by Mr. John Lord Hayes and from that time the old place knew the same owners for fifty-two years.

Mr. Hayes, a Dartmouth graduate, Class of 1831, studied law at the Harvard Law School and began his practice in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Here he married Caroline S. Ladd in 1839. His interest in tariff protection for New England industries took him to Washington. There he served as chief clerk of the United States Patent Office during Lincoln’s administration. In 1869 he became editor of the Bulletin of the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, published in Boston. He had two interesting hobbies in his later years. "A Garland of Sacred Hymns" translated from the Latin was published in the year of his death, 1887. In the long double parlor of the house were many beautiful pieces of his wood carving, notably an unusual cabinet made from wood of the first boat to race in a Harvard Boat Race.

When I was a child there were living in the house the three Hayes daughters and their brother, Mr. Will. Another son had died. None of them had married and their beautiful home, known as Havenhurst, received their constant and loving care. The garden was something to dream about and the people who lived in it fascinated the little girls on the other side of the fence. Mr. Will was exactly my idea of Mr. Mac-Gregor, whose garden Peter Rabbit loved to explore. When Mr. Will in his old campaign hat and the sisters in varied garden costumes, but always hatted and gloved, were arguing an important point in horticulture, their voices carried over the fence.

The stable at Havenhurst had been converted into a pleasant house by the architect, Mr. Ralph Adams Cram. During several years the Bullitts from Baltimore lived there with three little girls just the right age for my sister and me. If we were all careful about observing borders, hedges, and paths, and especially to keep out of the rose garden, we might play hide and seek to our hearts' content in the lovely hiding places all over that beautiful garden. I remember Miss Carrie's rounding us up for a favorite cat's burial service at the summer house at the bottom of the garden. And I see as clearly as though I were sitting under the grape arbor in the kitchen garden the vista down the broad path to the garden house at the far end, with the pear and apple trees on either side.

When Miss Susan, the last of the family, died, the property went to Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Comey. It was later divided among several new owners. The southeast quarter, including the house which Mr. Cram had remodelled, now is the home of Mr. and Mrs. Charles H. Taylor. The southwest quarter, on which stands the beautiful old house, was bought by Mr. and Mrs. George Pierce Baker, Jr. They made many changes in the house, and the ell, which was probably the oldest part of
Mr. Giles Taintor. With all this new building many of the beautiful trees and much of the shrubbery of the original garden were kept intact.

All the changes related in this story were inevitable in a growing community. I consider myself very fortunate to be the oldest inhabitant born and still living in such a pleasant neighborhood. It is only a very occasional twinge of selfish regret that comes when a huge oil truck is blocking all passage up Coolidge Hill Road in a space which was originally planned for a single driveway or, after a snowfall when various sidewalks remain unshovelled, a hazard to the foot traveller. Then I remember the days when a little girl could look out the window at fields white with snow and see a patient horse with perhaps her own father balancing on the plow as he cleared the roads and all the sidewalks along Mount Auburn Street from Havenhurst and clear down Coolidge Avenue to the Mount Auburn Cemetery barns, now no longer standing there.

A SIGNIFICANT CAMBRIDGE ANNIVERSARY

BY SAMUEL A. ELIOT

Read June 1, 1948

This society has been very indulgent to one of its senior members and I have abused your patience quite often enough — but your invitation, Mr. President, is a command and I obey. I am interested in the history of my native town and rather like to tell about the interesting events that have occurred here. I am not a profoundly erudite historian but rather resemble the lady who in the wartime wanted to help and volunteered to work at the Red Cross Diet Kitchen. They asked her what experience she had had in the field of nutrition. "Well, she said, I've been eating for a good many years." I am reminded too of what once happened to another superannuated parson who in a certain newspaper article in which his name occurred was described as a "battle-scarred Veteran." But the typesetter got his letters a bit mixed and it came out in the paper that he was a "bottle-scarred Veteran." Protest was made but the apology did not make things much better for there he was described as a "battle-scarred Veteran." Forgive me this unseemly levity but we like to make our spring meeting a more or less festive occasion. I guess I am like the man of whom it was written:

He was not naturally bad
Or viciously inclined,
But from his early youth he had
A waggish turn of mind.

But now I am asked to call your attention to a significant event in Cambridge history and to certain anniversary exercises in which the members of this Society should have an interest and a part. On October 27th, 1948, we shall celebrate the 300th Anniversary of the Cambridge Synod and the promulgation of the historic and prophetic document known as
the Cambridge Platform. Here is the reproduction of that epoch — making proclamation [the
speaker held up a copy] as it was printed in 1649 on the little printing press of Samuel
Green down yonder at the
corner of what we now call Dunster St. and Massachusetts Avenue. Here is set forth a new
form of government, primarily for churches but ultimately for communities and states. Here
we find the seeds that ripened into the Declaration of Independence, the Constitution of the
United States and the Bill of Rights. Here is the genesis of our great Republic.

I am not going to tell you all about it. That is for the scholars and orators who will
address us on October 27th. Suffice it to remind you that the Synod was first summoned by
decree of the General Court in 1646. It was a gathering of lay and clerical representatives
from all the communities and churches of the New England Confederation, summoned to
meet here in Cambridge on September 1st — so runs the invitation — "there to discuss,
dispute and clear up, by the word of God, such questions of government and discipline as
they shall think needful and meete." At their first meeting the Synod had to reconcile a
good many differences. Boston and Salem, for instance, the two chief centers, sent no
delegates because they questioned the authority of the Court. Those scruples had to be
overcome and other difficulties adjusted and settled, for, you know, our Puritan forbears
were not a set of postage stamps, all alike; they cherished a considerable variety of
opinions and habits of mind. But all were finally conciliated and a committee was appointed
to draft a form of declaration or platform, and the Synod adjourned to meet again on June
8, 1647. At that time it reassembled, but an epidemic — I don’t know just what it was but
suspect it was smallpox — caused another adjournment. The final session gathered here in
August, 1648, and there the draft prepared by the Rev. Richard Mather of Dorchester was
approved and, after many amendments, adopted and transmitted to the General Court.
There again it was much debated and not until October, 1651, was it finally voted that the
members "account themselves called of God to give their testimony to the said Book of
Discipline that for the substance thereof it is that we have practiced and do believe." Even
then fourteen members of the Court voted No — including the representatives from Boston
and Salem. But it was adopted, and there was laid the foundation stone of a democratic
Church and Commonwealth.

Now I do not propose to analyze the Platform — that is for wiser men to do. Let me
pause only to correct some rather prevalent misapprehensions about it. It was not — as too
many people seem to assume

— a statement of faith or of theological doctrine — not at all. It contained no theological
arguments. It was enough to declare — and that only in the Foreword — that the
Westminster Confession recently "published By the revered assembly in England, to be
orthodox and judicious in matters of faith." Even that was commended to the churches for
"substance of doctrine" — a somewhat cautious recommendation. All the seventeen
chapters of this Platform deal not with theology but with matters of organization and
administration — "disciplines," as they were called.
Here is another rather common misapprehension about our pioneers that needs some modification. Most people seem to assume that under the Puritan regime New England was "priest-ridden" — but should we not remember that, while ministers did enjoy a certain distinctive reverence and authority, they were not admitted to public office, and the ultimate control in both church and state was strictly in the hands of laymen. I remind you that the original Mayflower company had no minister at all. William Brewster, who led their worship, had never been ordained. You will remember too that when the Massachusetts Company gathered at the momentous meeting at the English Cambridge on August 26th, 1629, there was no minister present and the agreement to emigrate was signed by twelve laymen. When the Massachusetts government was set up here the magistrates and members of the General Court were all laymen and it was that General Court, and not any ecclesiastical convention, that summoned the Cambridge Synod. Remember, too, that under the provisions of the Cambridge Platform itself ministers retained their clerical standing only when in active service of a parish. An unemployed minister had no clerical standing whatever. Further remember that in the Puritan usage even weddings were conducted by a magistrate and not by a minister. There are no records of marriages in the Church Registers before 1684 and the same is true in regard to funerals, which were wholly secular proceedings. The Puritan ministers were influential leaders because of their learning, ability and character, but final authority was vested in the laymen.

Then more significant — and prophetic — of these more or less forgotten or neglected truths about our pioneers is the surprising fact that, rigid Calvinists though they were, they organized their churches, not on the basis of any of the accepted creeds or formulas of faith, but on very simple and unadorned covenants. There is no reference to doctrines that must be acknowledged or adhered to — save what they called the "Rule of the Gospel." You remember how the Plymouth pilgrims covenanted together "to walk together in all God's ways, known and to be made known, whatever it might cost them." That was both a cautious and a far-sighted agreement. It left the windows open for the new light that might, as John Robinson said, "break forth from God's holy word." It assumed that the revelations of the will of God were going to be progressive. The Covenant of the Church gathered in Salem in 1629 reads: "We covenant with the Lord and one another and do bind ourselves in the presence of God, to walk together in all his ways, according as he is pleased to reveal himself unto us in his blessed word of truth." How reads the Covenant, signed first in 1630 by the four outstanding leaders of the Bay Colony, John Winthrop, Thomas Dudley, Isaac Johnson, and John Wilson, and to be read today in the glowing glass of one of the windows in the present building of the First Church in Boston? "Desirous to unite ourselves in one congregation or church — we do hereby solemnly promise and bind ourselves to walk in all our ways according to the rule of the Gospel — and in mutual love and respect each to the other, so near as God shall give us grace." You may call our founders bigoted and intolerant if you want to — and there is some justification for so doing — but are not those covenants amazingly broad, hospitable, far-reaching? Under such agreements a church was a living organism that could grow and develop and adapt itself to the changing needs of succeeding generations. They remain in force even to this day. They did not have to be altered in a single word when those churches in Plymouth, Salem and Boston became Unitarian in faith and fellowship.
Well, it is not for me, as I have said, to retell the story of the Synod. Let me just mention certain incidents of too simple a nature to engage the attention of more erudite commentators. Let me raise certain questions that may relate the proceedings more closely to our Cambridge scene — questions such as these: Where did the delegates to the Synod meet and why did they meet there? How did they get there? Who were they? Well, they met in the compact little settlement originally called Newtowne, and after the founding of the College in 1636 named Cambridge. The village occupied the ground between the College Yard and the river. It was very much as it was first laid out by Thomas Dudley in 1631 on the streets that still exist and are now called Massachusetts Avenue and Mount Auburn Street, running east and west, and Boylston, Dunster and Holyoke Streets, running north and south. The hamlet had apparently already become the natural meeting place for such gatherings. Here met, for instance, in 1637 the assembly that dealt with what is known as the Antinomian Controversy, and here in 1643 met the convention that brought about the confederation of the four New England colonies — Plymouth, Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Haven — not a union or merger as too many people suppose, but a league — a league of independent, autonomous communities. Cambridge had evidently become the natural meeting place because it was central for the people in the scattered settlements along the seacoast from Barnstable to the Merrimac, and because the trail to the settlements to the westward and to Connecticut began here. More particularly, however, Cambridge offered accommodations for such gatherings that did not exist in any other town. The College building, a plain three-story structure of timber covered with cedar shingles, had been constructed in the years 1638 to 1643. In the summer this building was available to accommodate gatherings like the successive Cambridge Synods. Forty or more men could be put up in it. No other such building existed in the Colonies. John Winthrop, indeed, recorded in his journal that the members of the Synod "sat in the College and had their diet there after the manner of the scholars' commons but somewhat better, yet so ordered that it came not above sixpence the meal for a person." That sounds pretty abstemious, but the frugality may have been somewhat mitigated by the action of the General Court. In the Massachusetts Archives we read that "the Court thought it convenient that order be given to the auditor to send twelve gallons of sack and six gallons of white wine as a small testimony of the Court's respect, to the assembly at Cambridge."

The old chronicle, "New England's First Fruits," describes that first college building, which stood about where Grays Hall is now but nearer the street, as "very fair and comely within and without, having in it a spacious hall . . . the chambers and studies fitted for and possessed by the students are convenient." My kinsman Professor Samuel Eliot Morison in his history of "The Founding of Harvard College" has gathered a more complete description. In shape the building was like a letter E, with the straight side facing south. That was a well-known plan of the build-
building was begun, had lived for three years in that Eton building. "It takes no stretch of the imagination," wrote Professor Morison, "to suppose that when the old Cantabrigians on the first Harvard Board of Overseers were casting about for some plan that would look collegiate and yet not ruin the colony by the expense of building, Master Wilson produced from his memories of Eton a rough sketch which became the basis of the plan."

Now how did the delegates to the Synod get to Cambridge? There were no roads in the colony. I fancy that the delegates from the southern seaboard towns like Plymouth and Duxbury and Scituate and from the northern settlements like Lynn and Salem came by water. They would have used one of the big rowboats, or pinnaces, as they called them, which had a square sail which they could set when the wind was fair, and they would have come up the Charles River to the town landing which was about where Eliot House now stands. The delegates from the nearer villages probably walked, and John Allen from Dedham and William Hooke from Taunton and Ezekiel Rogers from Rowley and the men from Connecticut came on horseback over the rough forest trails.

Now who were the people who constituted the Cambridge Synod? The Cambridge Platform did not drop out of the sky. It was fashioned in human minds and hammered together by human hands. You recall Mr. Emerson's saying, "There is properly no history, only biography." That may be a bit exaggerated, but certainly any field of human endeavor becomes vivid for us when we view it through the experiences of the men who have there strived and achieved. To see a cause embodied in a man makes it come alive. Well, the participants in the Cambridge Synod were a noteworthy lot. You remember the much-quoted sentence in William Stoughton's Election Sermon — that "God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice seed into the wilderness." That rather boastful assertion had abundant justification. Many of the magistrates and ministers of the first generation in New England were not only men of good birth and sound learning, but of uncommon ability and distinction. Among them were more than fifty Cambridge graduates and ten or twelve more were Oxford men. No list of the delegates to the Cambridge Synod has been preserved, but from references in contemporary letters and journals we can reconstruct a partial catalogue of the participants. John Winthrop and John Endicott apparently attended only the third or last session. You see they would have been delegates from Boston and Salem which, as I have noted, did not at first accept the invitation. Sir Richard Saltonstall, the founder of Watertown, had gone back to England. Thomas Dudley, the founder of Cambridge, had moved first to Ipswich and then to Roxbury and may have been a delegate from that town, though I find no mention of his attendance in his biography. William Bradford, the Governor of Plymouth, and Simon Bradstreet, later the Governor of Massachusetts Bay, apparently took part in the discussions.

Of the ministers who attended we have a more complete record, for they were the men who kept the journals and wrote the letters. Richard Mather, who wrote the first draft of the Platform, was an Oxford graduate and had been the clergyman of Toxteth, near Liverpool. He had there been condemned and suspended by an ecclesiastical court and, coming to Massachusetts, became minister of the Church in Dorchester, where he served for nearly forty years. He was the father and grandfather of two more famous Mathers — Increase and Cotton. John Cotton of the Boston Church wrote the introduction to the
Platform. He had been Fellow and Dean of Emmanuel College at Cambridge and the Vicar of St. Botolph's Church in the Lincolnshire Boston, the largest parish church in England. John Wilson, the teacher of the Boston Church, was the son of a canon of Windsor, and his mother was the niece of the Archbishop of Canterbury. He himself had been a Fellow of King’s College, Cambridge. Imagine what a change it was for him, from King's College Chapel, one of the glories of English architecture, to the log-built, thatched-roofed little meeting-house in our Boston. John Eliot was another Cambridge man, but at Jesus College. He was for nearly sixty years the teacher of the church in Roxbury and the famous missionary to the Indians. Charles Chauncy was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, a teacher in the College and Vicar of St. Michaels. He came to the Cambridge Synod as the delegate from the church in Scituate and later he was the President of Harvard College. Samuel Whiting was the son of the Mayor of the Lincolnshire Boston, another Emmanuel man,

and he had been Vicar of Lynn Regis. He came to Massachusetts with a company of his parishioners, founded what is now our City of Lynn, and was minister of the church there for forty-three years.

Our own Cambridge representatives, you may be sure, were among the more influential delegates. They were not only the hosts but their prestige was high. Henry Dunster was President of the College. We know but little of his background, but he was at the English Cambridge at the same time as John Harvard and six or eight more of the New England pioneers. Dunster came over in 1640 and three weeks after his arrival ten magistrates and certain "elders" waited upon him and informed him that he had been elected President of the College. He was only thirty years old — the youngest of all our Presidents.

That leads me to observe that we too often forget or fail to note that most of the planters of New England were young people. We call the settlers of Plymouth the "Pilgrim Fathers" and the imaginary pictures of them represent them as elderly men with long gray beards. Well, William Brewster was in the fifties and William Bradford and a few others were in middle life, but the rest, both men and women, were in the thirties and twenties. Much the same was true of the Massachusetts Colonists. Winthrop and Endicott and Saltonstall and Dudley were men in the prime of life with grown children, but, as I have noted, John Eliot was minister at Roxbury for sixty years and Samuel Whiting at Lynn for forty-three years. They must have started pretty young. Indeed, all those Cambridge graduates of the years between 1630 and 1636 must have been in their twenties when they came over. We might have taken that for granted, for adventures like the planting of New England have always been enterprised by young people. But how many people, even erudite historians, persist in assuming that our Puritan forbears were crabbed old fellows given to bigotry and intolerance and vigorous disciplines. It is true that they dealt sternly with heretics and radicals. They welcomed only people who were ready and determined to walk with them in what they understood to be "the rule of the Gospel" and "in mutual love and respect each to the other." We should remember, too, that they lived at a time when no such thing as tolerance existed. Everywhere in Europe, except in the Netherlands, non-conformists were exiled, hanged or burnt. Even in Virginia non-attendance at the services of the Church of England was punishable by imprisonment or death. The New England authorities
were comparatively mild. They were dreadfully severe with the intruding Quakers, but the earlier contentious dissenters like Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson were what they called "enlarged," which meant that if they would betake themselves to Rhode Island and stay there, they would not be molested.

But to return to President Dunster and his participation in the Cambridge Synod. John Harvard had given the College his substance and the General Court gave it his name, but Henry Dunster gave it its direction and substantiated its guiding principles. There are three things about his administration that I like particularly to remember. Somehow he gave his little Colonial college a reputation for scholarship so that very early the ancient universities at Oxford and Cambridge recognized a Harvard degree as equivalent to their own. Then I venture to assume that it was Dunster who saw to it that his college never required of its teachers or students any theological tests. That was most remarkable, for Oxford and Cambridge — yes, every college in the Christian world — required in those days that its members subscribe to certain rigid doctrinal affirmations. No such oaths were ever exacted at Harvard. I wonder — and Professor Morison in his account of Dunster raises the same question — whether Dunster and his colleagues did not have some twinges of conscience about the way in which they, when they matriculated at the English Cambridge, had been obliged to sign creeds in whose articles they did not entirely or really believe. And third, it was Dunster who drafted and put through the General Court the College Charter of 1650 which set up a form of government consisting of the Corporation — the President, the Treasurer, and five Fellows — and the "Honorable and Reverend the Board of Overseers." That is the administrative setup that is still in force. I am sure that Henry Dunster was a potent influence in the drafting and adopting of the Cambridge Platform.

Of equal persuasiveness must have been our beloved Cambridge minister, Thomas Shepard. His story is familiar to most of you. He came over in 1635 when he too was thirty years old, and he lived here for fourteen fruitful years. He died in his prime but left behind him an unequalled reputation for thorough scholarship, stimulating speech, and devoted service to both the community and the Colony. You remember that Cotton Mather testified that "it was in respect to the enlightening and powerful ministry of Mr. Shepard that, when the foundation of a college was to be laid, Cambridge, rather than any other place, was pitched upon to be the seat of that happy seminary."

One sometimes wonders how the members of the Puritan Oligarchy retained their power through the succeeding generations. They did it chiefly because of their acknowledged ability and energy but also in two ways less frequently recognized. First by constant intermarriage among the principal families and by a sort of natural succession. Thus John Winthrop, Jr., the son of the greatly respected Governor of Massachusetts Bay, became the Governor of Connecticut, and Governor Thomas Dudley's son-in-law, Simon Bradstreet, became Governor of Massachusetts Bay, and so later did his son, Joseph Dudley. Another son, Samuel Dudley, married the daughter of Governor Winthrop. Thomas Dudley's granddaughter married President Rogers of Harvard, and his great granddaughter married
President Leverett. The widow of John Cotton married Richard Mather, and his daughter married Increase Mather. Thomas Hooker's daughter married Thomas Shepard, and so it went.

The other way in which they retained their positions was by their control of Harvard College, where the leaders of the new generations were trained. Winthrops and Mathers, Endicotts, Phillipses, Wards and Welds and a number of other outstanding families have been represented in the Harvard Catalogue from the earliest times. There are more than a thousand descendants of Thomas Dudley among the graduates of Harvard. They do not all bear the Dudley name for four of the governor's children were daughters, but they include Presidents, Fellows, Overseers and members of the teaching staff. There has been a descendant of Sir Richard Saltonstall, bearing the Saltonstall name, at Harvard in every one of the succeeding eleven generations. That is, I think, a unique record.

So let me bring this paper to a close with quotations from two addresses I heard in my long-ago youth. The addresses were made on the occasion of the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the First Church in Cambridge — the church which in its two branches will be the host when we gather in October to celebrate the Cambridge Platform. At that 250th Anniversary Service in 1886 I was one of the ushers and then hurried up the gallery stairs to take my place in the Choir. There I heard the resonant voice of my honored father saying, "The Puritans with all their sacrifices and struggles did not succeed in realizing the ideals they had at heart. It was impossible to constitute a state on a basis of church membership — impossible to make life all duty without beauty. In their social aims they ignored essential and ineradicable elements in human nature. Why then do we honor them? It is not simply because they were stout-hearted. Many a soldier of fortune, many a freebooter has been stout-hearted, too. It is because they were stout-hearted for an ideal — not our ideal, but theirs. Wherever and whenever resolute men and women devote their lives and fortunes not to material but to spiritual ends, there and then heroes are made and, thank God, made to be remembered."

It was on that same day that the younger Oliver Wendell Holmes, not yet honored as the great Justice of the Supreme Court, speaking just as the grandson of a former minister of the parish, but with the tone that thrilled all down one's backbone, said: "Time the purifier has burned away what was peculiar to our founders and has left only the type of courage, constancy, devotion — the august figure of the Puritan. . . . Those men planted a Congregational Church from which grew a Democratic State. They planted something mightier even than institutions. Whether they knew it or not, they planted the democratic spirit in the hearts of men. It is to them we owe the deepest cause we have to love our country — that instinct, that spark, that makes the American unable to meet his fellowman otherwise than simply as a man, eye to eye and hand to hand. When our citizens forget that they tread a sacred soil and that Massachusetts has its own venerable and inspiring traditions; when Harvard College is no longer dedicated to Truth and America to democratic freedom, then, but not till then, will the blood of the martyrs be swallowed in the sand and the Puritan have lived in vain."
A TRIBUTE TO FRANK GAYLORD COOK
ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF THIS SOCIETY

BY PRESIDENT WALCOTT

FRANK GAYLORD COOK died in Cambridge, March 3, 1948. A son of Ebenezer Washington and Delphia (Chaddock) Cook, he was born at Arcade, N. Y., May 13, 1859, and fitted for college at the Warsaw (N. Y.) Union. Out of the total number connected with the Harvard College Class of 1882, of whom 177 received degrees, Frank Gaylord Cook ranked 15, which gave him membership in Phi Beta Kappa. In his junior year he won honors in Classics; in his senior year, final honors in History and had honorable mention besides in Philosophy and Political Economy. During his junior year he and his classmate, George Lyman Kittredge, won Bowdoin Prizes for the designated subject "Burke as a Statesman." He was a member of the Everett Athenaeum and President of the Christian Brethren, which afterward merged in the Young Men’s Christian Association. He earned his way through college by tutoring during terms and in vacation, and continued to do so while in the law school. After graduating from the Harvard Law School, 1885, similar interests occupied him. He remained in Cambridge and became Secretary of the Shepard Historical Society at the First Church, Congregational. He traveled abroad and in the United States and had essays published in the Atlantic Monthly, the Christian Union and the Congregationalist. Although four of these were concerned with "The Marriage Celebration," he had remained a bachelor. He built a house at 44 Garden Street and in 1896 married a Radcliffe College graduate of that year, Miss Alice Burr Sterling of Bridgeport, Conn. They had no children. They enjoyed many vacation trips together, walking, or on bicycles, and latterly in motor cars. During 1924-25 they spent seventeen months traveling around the world, and in 1931 they repeated the trip. In 1933 Mrs. Cook died. In 1945 Mr. Cook gave his house to the Shepard Congregational Society for a parsonage.

He was a trustee of the Andover Theological Seminary; a deacon of the First Church in Cambridge, Congregational, and a moderator of its Corporation; and a trustee of the Cambridge Savings Bank.

In 1905 Mr. Cook joined Richard Henry Dana and Thomas Wentworth Higginson in founding the Cambridge Historical Society. Its active and efficient Secretary for several years, he arranged highly successful celebrations of the 275th Anniversary of the founding of Cambridge and of the 100th anniversaries of the births of Longfellow, Agassiz, and Parkman. Following his term as Secretary he continued till recently to be a member of the Council. He was the first member to leave the Society a legacy by will, a custom we hope will become general.

As tutor and throughout his career as a lawyer and a useful citizen, he was conscientious, industrious, and effective.
ANNUAL REPORTS

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY

FOR THE YEAR 1945

THIS Annual Meeting marks the completion of the forty-first year of the Cambridge Historical Society. The Society was unusually fortunate in not being seriously affected by the general war conditions of the past few years as were so many other organizations of various types. It is to be hoped that in this coming period of readjustment the interest in the purposes of this group and participation in its meetings will notably increase.

The Council has held six meetings during the year, all of which were of a routine nature.

The four regular meetings have been well attended, the average number present ranging from sixty-five to seventy members and guests. The Annual Meeting on January 22, 1945, at the Faculty Club, was at the invitation of Miss Penelope B. Noyes and after the various committee reports were read and adopted the members were greatly interested in the talk by Mr. Kenneth J. Conant on "The Architectural Development of Harvard." For the April meeting the Society were the guests of Miss Alice A. Thorpe, 115 Brattle Street, when Miss Katherine A. Crothers read a most entertaining series of reminiscences and anecdotes written by her mother and dealing with various personalities of Cambridge during the late nineties and early nineteen hundreds. These ranged from the social problems of the new street cars to the contemporary and more serious ones of propriety and behavior. The June meeting was held upon invitation of Mrs. Robert deW. Sampson at 108 Brattle Street. Miss Lois L. Howe and Mrs. Edward S. King each read a paper on the wanderings and vicissitudes of "The Lost Brook" and the attempts made to transfer its course into a garden. For the October meeting the members were the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Roger Gilman at 19 Ash Street, when Mr. Gilman gave an interesting history of the development of Ash Street from the laying out of Windmill Lane in 1633 down to the present time, the name of Ash Street being given it prior to 1854.

The variety of these programs is worth noting and the Society is deeply indebted to the various members who have so generously contributed to the success of the year's activities.
Since our last Annual Meeting we have lost through death the following members: Miss Annie E. Allen, Mrs. Elmer H. Bright, Miss Leslie W. Hopkinson, Mrs. James Lowell Moore, Mr. James A. Noyes, Rev. William Brattle Oliver, Mrs. Williston Lincoln.

We regret the resignations of Mr. David E. Burr, Mr. John Heard, Rev. Leslie T. Pennington, and Mrs. J. H. Walden.

We have welcomed to membership: Mr. and Mrs. Dudley Clapp, Rev. and Mrs. Gardiner M. Day, Mr. Arthur Drinkwater, Mr. and Mrs. Pinckney Holbrook, Mr. and Mrs. William DeLancey Howe, Miss Julia M. Johnson, Mr. and Mrs. Marcus Morton, Jr., and Rev. Henry H. Saunderson.

The present membership is as follows:

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Respectfully submitted,

BREMER W. POND,
Secretary

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1946

SINCE our last Annual Meeting the Council of the Society has met eight times. While the business at these meetings was largely of a routine nature, nevertheless it included the election of twenty-six new members and also the drafting of a petition sent to the President and Fellows of Harvard College protesting the contemplated destruction of the Dana-Palmer House by the University to make room for the new undergraduate Library. The one matter appearing on every meeting agenda, however, was the question of obtaining papers and hosts for the regular meetings of the Society! It is earnestly hoped that the members of the Society will consider themselves as a "Committee of the Whole" to help solve this problem that is of vital importance to the success of our meetings.

The attendance at the four regular meetings during 1946 showed a fairly definite increase over those of 1944 and 1945; the average of members and guests rising from slightly below seventy to above eighty. The Annual Meeting was held on January 22nd,
1946, at the Greenleaf House as the guests of Mr. and Mrs. Wilbur K. Jordan. Following the business meeting Mr. Henry W. L. Dana gave an illustrated talk on the lives of Mr. and Mrs. James Greenleaf, closing with the presentation to Radcliffe College of the two portraits painted in 1858. Mr. Jordan then gave an entertaining outline of the life and activities of Anne Radcliffe Moulson, one of the earliest benefactors of Harvard College, and whose name was adopted in 1894 as the one for the "Annex."

At the April Meeting, when Miss Bertha Hallowell Vaughan was the hostess to the Society on the 23rd, Mrs. Samuel A. Eliot read an amusing paper on "The Romance of Cambridge Street Names." This was followed by a reading by Miss Lois L. Howe of excerpts from letters written in the 1850s from England by Miss Maria D. Fay; Miss Howe's excellent editing brought out very delightfully the spirit of those times and the writer's reactions to English life and customs.

Mrs. A. Kingsley Porter invited the Society to "Elmwood" as her guests for the June Meeting, actually held on May 22nd! That afternoon

the Hon. Edward A. Counihan, General Chairman of the Centennial Celebration, outlined the plans for the observance of the one hundredth anniversary of the incorporation of Cambridge as a city. This celebration took place during the week of June 28th through July 5th.

The apparent effort to upset the traditional dates for the Society's meetings continued on for the October Meeting which was held on the evening of November 5th at the Faculty Club, with Mr. Pond as the host. Mr. Henry W. L. Dana again came to our rescue with an interesting talk on the History of the Dana-Palmer House; the lantern slides illustrated the development of the College and showed portraits of the various occupants from Richard Henry Dana, Sr., down to President Conant.

During the past year the Council has received with regret the resignations of four members: Mrs. Susan Child Scoggin, Mr. Willard H. Sprague, and Professor Louis J. A. Mercier.

The loss of eight members through death is recorded with deep regret. Several of these names should have been announced in last year's Report but the facts were not known at that time: —

Mrs. Henry Stetson; Miss Grace Wood; Mr. Gilbert C. Scoggin; Mrs. Benjamin P. Ellis; Mr. Henry Seaton Rand; Mrs. John H. Walden; Mr. Allyn B. Forbes.

We have been delighted to greet twenty-six new members during the past year: —

Rev. Henry H. Saunderson; Mrs. Arthur Beane; Miss Katharine F. Crothers; Mr. and Mrs. Albert F. Hill; Mr. and Mrs. Edmund J. Barnard; Rev. and Mrs. Henry Wilder Foote; Mr. and Mrs. Jerome D. Greene; Mr. and Mrs. Robert G. Henderson; Mr. Charles Hopkinson; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Lincoln Taylor; Mr. Charles F. Whiting; Dr. and Mrs. James Warren Sever; Mr. and Mrs. Wallace B. Donham; Miss Mabel Hall Colgate; Miss Elsie B. Taylor; Mr. John Reed Walden; Mr. and Mrs. Frank C. Doble.
With the beginning of this new year the Society membership totals 220, divided as follows: Life Members, five; Associate Members, seven; Active Members, two hundred and eight.

Respectfully submitted,

BREMER W. POND, Secretary

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SECRETARY FOR THE YEAR 1947

THIS meeting marks the close of the forty-third year of gatherings of the Cambridge Historical Society. The four meetings held during 1947 have shown a decided increase in the attendance over previous seasons, although no accurate count has been possible.

Your Council has held seven meetings during the year. The business at these has consisted largely of arrangements of programs for the Society's meetings and the consideration of names for membership. One informal meeting was held in October when the Council entertained the out-of-town guests to the Evangeline Centennial at a luncheon at the Commander. It was a very pleasant occasion in spite of the wretched weather. The Council approved the recommendation by Mr. Haynes of the Harvard College Library that all of the material and documents belonging to the Society be placed together on a group of shelves that had become available in the stacks. The material that had been at the Storage Library in Brighton was moved back to Widener, and everything is now together in that building.

The four regular meetings of the Society held during 1947 did not always occur on the customary fourth Tuesday of the month, but this irregularity seemed to increase the attendance. The Annual Meeting was held on January 28th at the Faculty Club when Miss Piper read a paper relating the History of the Berkeley Street School. For the April Meeting the members were the guests of Mr. Frank Gaylord Cook and Mr. Charles Lane Hanson; Dr. Saunderson gave a paper entitled "Cambridge, the Focal Point of Puritan Life." The June Meeting was on May 27th, when the Society were the guests of Mrs. Henry D. Tudor at the "Larches," and Dr. Samuel A. Eliot read a paper on "Some Musical Memories of Cambridge." The Council heartily concurred with a suggestion by Mr. Dana that the October Meeting be held on the date of the Centennial of the publication of Longfellow's "Evangeline," October 30th. This meeting was held at Craigie House and the unusually interesting program of the evening was planned and carried through by Mr. Dana. The at-
During the past year the Council has received with regret the resignations of eleven Active Members: —

Mrs. Edward Ballantine, Mrs. Richard M. Gummere, Mr. Charles Hopkinson, Professor and Mrs. Roscoe Pound, Mr. Frank B. Sanborn, Mr. Joseph E. Sharkey, Mr. and Mrs. Cyrus Woodman.

The Society has also lost two members through death: —

Miss Margaret Norton, Miss Bertha Hallowell Vaughan.

We have welcomed to active membership seventeen: —

Mr. and Mrs. Frank A. Boland, Miss Rosamond Coolidge, Dr. and Mrs. Chester F. Durant, Mr. Walter F. Earle, Mr. and Mrs. Alvan T. Fuller, Jr., Miss Eleanor Holmes Hinckley, Mrs. Clifford M. Holland, Mr. and Mrs. Richard B. Hobart, Mr. Reginald H. Johnson, Mrs. Waldo Shumway, Miss Helen I. Tetlow, Mr. and Mrs. Henry D. Winslow.

The membership of the Society is now two hundred and twenty-six (226), divided as follows: Life Members, five; Associate Members, seven; Active Members, two hundred and fourteen.

Respectfully submitted,

BREMER W. POND, Secretary
27.51* $781.05

Cash on Hand December 31, 1945 ..................... 673.70

$1,454.75

* Lantern Operator ........................................... $5.00

Bay State Historical League ................................ 4.00

Safe Deposit Box ........................................... 6.00

Chairs for Meetings ....................................... 12.51

$27.51

Maria Bozen Fund

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<tr>
<td>15 th St. Tr. Co. (Boston)</td>
<td>1,868.73</td>
<td>1,868.73</td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>Cambridge Savings Bank</td>
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<tr>
<td>5 th Merchants Nat'l (Boston)</td>
<td>1,715.00</td>
<td>1,715.00</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>Cambridge Savings Bank</td>
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$15,775.97

George G. Wright Fund

<table>
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<th>Date</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Bank Value</th>
<th>Cash Income Received</th>
<th>Account to which Income was Credited</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1/29/38</td>
<td>Opened</td>
<td>$100.00</td>
<td>$100.00</td>
<td>$100.00</td>
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Life Membership Fund

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Bank Value</th>
<th>Cash Income Received</th>
<th>Account to which Income was Credited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Historic House</td>
<td>$1,249.83</td>
<td>$1,249.83</td>
<td>$60.48</td>
<td>$1,249.83</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elizbeth E. Dana Request</td>
<td>$275.86</td>
<td>$275.86</td>
<td>$91.41</td>
<td>$275.86</td>
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Cambridge Trust Company

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Bank Value</th>
<th>Cash Income Received</th>
<th>Account to which Income was Credited</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2/7/40</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>60.00</td>
<td>2.06</td>
<td>60.00</td>
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Total Income — $461.31

Jane T. G. Nichols, Treasurer

TREASURER'S REPORT
**REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1946**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Amount</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cash on Hand January 1, 1946</td>
<td>$673.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dues and Initiation Fees</td>
<td>704.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. Saunderson, a/c Dudley Papers</td>
<td>6.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$1,384.20</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printing &amp; Stationery</td>
<td><strong>$74.10</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>Clerical Services, Supplies &amp; Postage</td>
<td>94.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allowances to Hostesses</td>
<td>45.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td><em><em>45.90</em> 259.74</em>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$1,124.46</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>* Chairs for Meetings</td>
<td>$19.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bank Service Charge</td>
<td>1.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Safe Deposit Box</td>
<td>6.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bay State Historical League</td>
<td>4.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slides for lecture on Dana-Palmer House</td>
<td>15.40</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$45.90</strong></td>
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</table>
# REPORT OF THE TREASURER FOR THE YEAR 1947

Cash on hand January 1, 1947 ................................................. $1,124.46

Dues and Initiation Fees net .................................................. 675.00

Sale of Proceedings net .......................................................... 65.40

$1,864.86

Printing and Stationery ............................................................ $ 60.25

Clerical Services and Postage ..................................................... 123.94

Allowance to Hostesses ............................................................. 60.00

"Evangeline Luncheon" net ......................................................... 79.68

Indexing Vols. 1-10 of Proceedings net ........................................ 149.00
Miscellaneous ............................................................ 35.28* 508.15

Cash on Hand December 31, 1947 ......................... $1,356.71

* Chairs for Meetings ............................................... $20.42

Bay State Historical League ................................. 4.00

Vault Rental .................................................... 6.00

Delivering Books to Widener from Storage Library .......... 4.86

$35.28

LIST OF MEMBERS FOR 1946-48
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACTIVE MEMBERS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marion Stanley Abbot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilian Abbott</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sarah Gushing (Mrs. G. M.) Allen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Almy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Helen Diman (Mrs. I. W.) Bailey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alethea Pew (Mrs. E. I.) Barnard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edmund J. Barnard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elizabeth Chadwick Beale</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruth Richards (Mrs. Arthur) Beane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mabel Anzonella (Mrs. S.) Bell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stoughton Bell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annie Whitney (Mrs. J. C.) Bennett</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander Harvey Bill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caroline Eliza Bill</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marion Edgerly (Mrs. A. H.) Bill</td>
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<tr>
<td>Helen Thomas (Mrs. H. L.) Blackwell</td>
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<tr>
<td>Howard Lane Blackwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delma Louise Gibson (Mrs. F.) Boland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frank Boland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beatrice (Mrs. A. H.) Blevins</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jessie Waterman (Mrs. Wm. F.) Brooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Martha Thacher Brown</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mildred Hunter (Mrs. G. E.) Brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josephine Freeman Bumstead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katharine Bennett (Mrs. G. M.) Day</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thomas Henri de Valcourt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bernard DeVoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Avis Mac Vicar (Mrs. B.) DeVoto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Deane Dexter</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frank Currier Doble</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helen I. Dadmun (Mrs. F. C.) Doble</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mabel Higgins (Mrs. W. B.) Donham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace Brett Donham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arthur Drinkwater</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dows Dunham</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marion Jessie (Mrs. Dows) Dunham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethel Harding (Mrs. F. C.) Durant</td>
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<tr>
<td>F. Chester Durant</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alvin Clark Eastman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frances Hopkinson (Mrs. S. A.) Eliot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Samuel Atkins Eliot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Benjamin Peirce Ellis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>William Emerson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frances White (Mrs. Wm.) Emerson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pearl Brock Fahrney</td>
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<tr>
<td>Claire (Mrs. P.) Faude</td>
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<tr>
<td>Eleanor T. Cope (Mrs. H. W.) Foote</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry Wilder Foote</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lois Whitney (Mrs. A. B.) Forbes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edward Waldo Forbes</td>
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<tr>
<td>Frances Fowler</td>
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<tr>
<td>Francis Edward Frothingham</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alice Howland (Mrs. H. G.) Garrett</td>
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<tr>
<td>Catherine Ruggles (Mrs. H. G.) Gerrish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hollis Guptill Gerrish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jane Bowler (Mrs. R.) Gilman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roger Gilman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Josephine Bowman (Mrs. L. C.) Graton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Louis Caryl Graton</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Louis Lawrence Green</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorothy Judd (Mrs. W. A.) Jackson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julia M. Johnson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reginald H. Johnson</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mabel Augusta Jones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wallace St. Clair Jones</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethel Robinson (Mrs. W. S.) Jones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frances Ruml (Mrs. W. K.) Jordan</td>
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<tr>
<td>William Kitchener Jordan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Albert Guy Keith</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edith Seavey (Mrs. A. G.) Keith</td>
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<tr>
<td>Justine Frances (Mrs. F. S.) Kershaw</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rupert Ballou Lillie</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ethel May MacLeod</td>
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<tr>
<td>George Arthur Macomber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ella Sewell Slingluff (Mrs. G. A.) Macomber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mary Crane (Mrs. E. F.) McClennen</td>
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<tr>
<td>Winifred Smith (Mrs. M. W.) Mather</td>
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<tr>
<td>Keyes DeWitt Metcalf</td>
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<tr>
<td>Elinor Gregory (Mrs. K. D.) Metcalf</td>
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<tr>
<td>Stewart Mitchell</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hugh Montgomery, Jr.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Helen Bonney (Mrs. H.) Montgomery</td>
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<td>Amy Gallagher (Mrs. A.) Morrison</td>
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<td>Margaret Miner (Mrs. M) Morton</td>
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<tr>
<td>Name</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ruth Crosby Hanford (Mrs. J. B.) Munn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helen Whiting Munroe</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mary Liscomb (Mrs. H. A.) Nealley</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arthur Boylston Nichols</td>
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<tr>
<td>John Taylor Gilman Nichols</td>
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<td>Emily Alan Smith (Mrs. J. T. G.) Nichols</td>
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<td>Albert Perley Norris</td>
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<tr>
<td>Charles Lincoln Taylor</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>Maude Eatchelder (Mrs. C. P.) Vosburgh</td>
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<td>Martha Eustis (Mrs. C.) Walcott</td>
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<td>Olive Ely Allen (Mrs. F. D.) Washburn</td>
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<tr>
<td>Henry Bradford Washburn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frederica Davis (Mrs. T. R.) Watson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ASSOCIATE MEMBERS**

| Sylvia Church (Mrs. I.) Bowditch | Phila Smith (Mrs. E. R.) James |
| Francis Apthorp Foster | Mary Wellington (Mrs. K. S.) Usher |

**LIFE MEMBERS**

| Mary Emory Eatchelder | Katherine Per Lee (Mrs. E. V.) Seeler |
| Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana | Eleanor Gray (Mrs. H. D.) Tudor |
| Bradford Hendrick Peirce | Alice Maud (Mrs. M. P.) White |