## Contents

**Officers**  
5

**PAPERS**

The Life Story of Cambridge Water  
BY JOHN F. DAVIS  
7

Francis Avenue and the Norton Estate:  
The Development of a Community  
BY CHARLES F. WHITING  
16

Rambling Notes on the Cambridge Trust Company;  
or Tales of a Wayside Bank  
BY GEORGE A. MACOMBER  
40

The Murder Trial of Dr. Webster, Boston 1850  
BY ROBERT SULLIVAN  
55

The Musical Scene at Harvard  
BY ELLIOT FORBES  
89

Eighty-five Aromatic Years in Harvard Square  
BY CATHERINE K. WILDER  
105

The Harvard Law School's Four Oldest Houses  
BY ARTHUR E. SUTHERLAND
Honorary Curator  Mrs. Henry H. Saunderson
Curator  Mrs. George W. Howe
Editor  Mr. Foster M. Palmer

1968
President  Mr. Richard C. Evarts
Vice-Presidents  Mr. Erastus H. Hewitt
               Mr. Dwight H. Andrews
               Mrs. Richard W. Hall
Secretary  Mrs. Charles S. Jeffrey
Treasurer  Mr. John L. Simonds
Curator  Mrs. George W. Howe
Editor  Mr. Foster M. Palmer

5

1969
President  Mr. Richard C. Evarts
Vice-Presidents  Mr. Charles W. Elliot, 2nd
               Mr. Amos N. Wilder
               Mr. James Donovan
Secretary  Mrs Charles S. Jeffrey
Treasurer  Mr. John L. Simonds
Curator  Mrs George W. Howe
Editor  Mr. Foster M. Palmer

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL

1967
The Life Story of Cambridge Water

BY JOHN F. DAVIS

CAMBRIDGE, earlier called Newtowne, was settled in 1636. In 1638, the Reverend Mr. John Harvard of Charlestown bequeathed nearly 800 pounds and his entire library of 400 volumes to a newly established, as yet unnamed college in Cambridge, which was thereupon given his name. So Harvard College had its beginning at its present location.

Pure water was never a problem to the earliest settlers of Cambridge. A plentiful supply of pure water from such streams and springs as Menotomy River, Swamp Creek, Squaw Creek, and Sachem Brook was utilized.

A Water Control Committee was appointed in 1700. Cattle were ordered pastured and watered at Charles River near the Water-town line. Refuse was dumped below the pasture. The Menotomy River was set aside for fishing and a weir constructed across it. Fish caught in the weir were divided among the settlers and the Indians.

The first Water Works Charter was granted to the Cambridge-port Aqueduct Company in April 1837, to bring water from springs on what is now Spring Hill in Somerville. The water flowed through wooden logs, and a limited amount was supplied to the lower Port for many years. Drinking water in other sections was obtained from wells. In some parts of the Town of Cambridge no houses were built because there was no well water to drink. Fire protection was nil. If a house caught on fire it burned to the ground.
Cambridge, in 1846, had practically no sewerage system and very few private street lamps. Our highways at night were in darkness. The condition of the roads was wretched, and as for sidewalks, there were none. In the winter months, and in wet weather especially, transportation by horse and buggy was difficult and walking practically impossible. All the days of the week, except Sunday, the streets were used for pasturing cows, so much so that it was quite difficult for women and children to make their way about town. The tax rate in 1846 was $5 per $1,000. Cambridge’s debt in 1846 was $22,000; the population was 13,000.

But the year 1846 was a memorable one for Cambridge. On March 17, 1846, Governor Briggs of Massachusetts signed the Legislative Act which incorporated the City of Cambridge. Thirteen days later the voters of Cambridge adopted this Act, and on May 4, the City Government was incorporated. James D. Green, the first Mayor of Cambridge, set an example of uprightness, ability, and faithfulness. His memory has been an inspiration to all who followed him as mayor. Under his mayoralty, the Police Department was organized. Volunteer Fire Departments were formed, followed years later by our permanent Fire Department. A sewer system was voted but not installed until thirteen years later. Two bridges to Boston, for which people paid over $2,000,000 in tolls to cross, became free municipal property in 1858.

Chester W. Kingsley, a member of the Water Board from 1865 to 1894, reported that a Charter was granted the Cambridge Water Works in 1852. In 1861, the Cambridge Water Works was empowered to purchase the Cambridgeport Aqueduct Company, and the City of Cambridge, in April 1865, purchased the rights of the Cambridge Water Works. Thus, all the water works in Cambridge became City property at a total cost of $291,000. This included the pumping station, Fresh Pond with all land surrounding it, approximately 200 acres, the reservoir on Reservoir Street with 12-inch pipe to Fresh Pond, and the distribution system. The original reservoir was constructed in 1855 by contractor Gardner Warren on Reservoir Street, one of the highest points in Cambridge. Constructed of stone and cement, it was 186 feet long, 118 feet wide, and 9 1/2 feet high, and of 1,764,803 gallons capacity. It was 73 feet above Fresh Pond and 2,300 feet from the engine house there. In 1865-1868 it was rebuilt and a second reservoir constructed alongside.

In 1887, Cambridge was authorized to purchase land and to take the water of Stony Brook and its tributaries in the Waltham and Weston area, with the added right to take land for building a dam and developing a storage basin. Thus, Cambridge acquired 22 square miles of watershed. The population of Cambridge was approximately 60,000 at this time.

In 1888, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts ceded its Great Pond Rights to the City of Cambridge with power to take all land and buildings around Fresh Pond for the purpose of preserving the purity of the water in the reservoir. Under the Act, the City took 170 acres, removed all buildings thereon, such as Fresh Pond Hotel, located on land now known as
Kingsley Park. The area of pond and land was approximately 330 acres. A fine drive around Fresh Pond was constructed with a wooden fence enclosing the pond. The reservation has since been graded, especially the hill overlooking Fresh Pond and later known as Kingsley Park.

At the time of the 50th Anniversary of the City of Cambridge, in 1896, Chester W. Kingsley, a member of the Cambridge Water Board for thirty years and its president for fourteen years, stated in his report, "Cambridge has an abundant supply of excellent water not surpassed by any town or city in Massachusetts and equaled by few."

Cambridge owes much to the wisdom and farsightedness of Chester W. Kingsley, known as the father of Cambridge water, and to the succeeding Board members who have served the City without compensation.

Cambridge's population in 1897 was about 87,500. At this time the facilities developed for its water resources were:

1. Fresh Pond, of 1,500 million gallons capacity, with land of 165 acres, acquired in 1852.

2. Stony Brook Reservoir, of 400 million gallons capacity, with land of 71 acres, acquired in 1887. Stony Brook was dammed at Waltham adjacent to Summer Street.

3. Hobbs Brook Reservoir, with land acquired in 1892 from Waltham, Lincoln, and Lexington of about 1,000 acres, excavated, rip-rapped, and bottom rock lined. With dams erected for Lower Hobbs at Winter Street, Waltham, and Upper Hobbs at Trapelo Road, Lincoln, a reservoir of 2,700 million gallons capacity had been created. When filled, this reservoir stood at an elevation of 183 feet above sea level.

4. Payson Park Reservoir, erected on 165 acres of land acquired from Belmont in 1898. Payson Park Reservoir, of 43 million gallons capacity, stands 178 feet above City of Cambridge base. Thus, the head for Cambridge water lines was established at 178 feet in 1898.

The total land area used by the Cambridge Water Department in this acquisition program was approximately 1,416 acres.

The 2,000,000 gallon reservoir at the high point on Reservoir Street, which developed the head for the system before Payson Park Reservoir became available, was now deemed surplus. The land was sold because of its being valuable for residential purposes.

Total cost of the Cambridge Water Works up to April 1916 was $6,700,000. Average daily consumption of water by Cambridge, for the year 1916, was 9.3 million gallons; and, Cambridge's population was 110,000. Edward W. Quinn was Superintendent of the Water Department from 1913 to 1917, and was succeeded by Timothy W. Good in 1917.

In 1923, the new Cambridge water purification plant was completed on the shores of Fresh Pond. It consisted of a dual underground settling basin, 137 feet long by 96 feet wide and 16 feet deep; a new building of the Georgian type, a two-story structure 223 feet long by 71
feet wide with central tower housing the wash water tank; the first story was of concrete, the second faced with tapestry brick. The structure housed ten rapid sand filters, with beds 24 feet by 20 feet by 9 feet deep; administration offices, laboratory, facilities for chemical treatment of water, engine pumps, etc. This new water purification plant, or filter plant, was dedicated June 1923, by impressive services with Cambridge officials at Kings-ley Park. This gave Cambridge the most up-to-date and largest water purification plant in New England. A steam driven Worthington Pump, of 20 million gallon capacity, was purchased and installed in 1930, which provided dual pumping facilities.

The Water Board, in 1932, installed a new electric pumping station of 15 million gallons per day capacity with new low water intakes, allowing for the recovery of an additional 375 million gallons of water from Fresh Pond, and six new filter beds in the water treatment plant.

A new 36-inch transition water main of approximately 2 1/2 miles from Stony Brook Dam to the center of Waltham, and a new 30-inch water main in Broadway from Harvard Square to Kendall Square, were also laid in 1932, to increase water transmission and to reinforce the system. A complete water metering program throughout the City was also initiated in 1932.

A study of possible sources of pollution of the Cambridge water supply in Stony Brook and Hobbs Brook watershed was completed by Professor Whipple of Harvard and the State Director of Public Health in 1934 which resulted in remedial action being taken during the succeeding years. In 1940 Cambridge voted to adopt the Plan E form of government. Plan E provides nine Councillors elected at-large by proportional representation (PR). The Council then elects one of its members as Mayor and then appoints a City Manager. The first Plan E Government took office January 1942. The Mayor presides over the Council, is Chairman of the School Committee, and is the ceremonial head of the City. The Council is the policy-making body, deciding upon three appointments, that of City Manager, the City Clerk, and the City Auditor. The City Manager appoints the five members of the Water Board, who serve the City gratuitously. Since 1942, Cambridge has had three City Managers, John B. Atkinson, 1942 to 1952; John J. Curry, August 4, 1952 to January 1966; and Joseph A. DeGuglielmo, 1966 to date.

Cost of the Cambridge Water Works to January 1939 was $9,250,000.

The population of the City of Cambridge in 1939 was 118,000. In 1942, due to the increase in consumption of water, the City Manager appointed a committee, consisting of Professor Gordon M. Fair of Harvard University, Professor Thomas R. Camp of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and Mr. Frank P. Scully, to study the water situation of Cambridge.

The water formerly flowing directly into Fresh Pond from Stony Brook is now partially diverted through a 42-inch pipe and enters the sedimentation basin of 1.5 million gallon
capacity. Here alum is added to develop coagulation and to enhance sedimentation. The water then flows to the filter beds and passes through three feet of sand and gravel, where the remaining suspended matter, caused by coagulation after chemical treatment, is removed. The water then passes over ripple plates in an aerator where gases, tastes, and odors are removed. Before the water enters the clear water basin, chlorine is added in accordance with State Health requirements to insure the safety of the water. Finally, lime is added to restore alkalinity and to develop an anticorrosion control program. From the clear water basin, which has a capacity of 4 million gallons, the water is pumped against the 35-foot head of the Payson Park Reservoir for distribution to the consumers by gravity.

In 1947, Mr. William H. McGinness was appointed Superintendent of the Cambridge Water Department, succeeding Timothy W. Good who retired after thirty years of service. Mr. McGinness has been Superintendent for twenty years and has rendered excellent service.

The year 1950 marked the start of a program of improve the Cambridge water system. The shortages of materials during the war and post-war years made it impossible to develop the improvement program at an earlier date. After years of study, under the guidance of Professor Howard M. Turner of Harvard as President of the Cambridge Water Board, the expenditure of $1,800,000 was approved by the City Council. This provided for a new pumping station, improvement and extensions for water treatment facilities at the filtration plant, work on the sedimentation basins, flocculation chambers, valve chamber, also for a new maintenance general shop building and garages erected two years later.

Cambridge owes much to Professor Howard M. Turner and the Water Board for the program of the additions to the Cambridge Water Supply as published and reported in booklet form in 1952. Also in 1950, the Metropolitan District Commission accepted the City of Cambridge's offer of $100,000 payable over ten years to be connected to the Metropolitan System at three different locations: a 16-inch connection with Metropolitan's 48-inch main at Porter Square; a 20-inch connection at Massachusetts Avenue at Cambridge Common; and a 30-inch connection at Broadway near Norfolk Street. These connections operate automatically and are controlled with pressure-regulating valves to supply emergency water and to maintain adequate pressures at large fires or during emergencies.

These connections were made in such locations in the distribution system as to allow for extended use of the Metropolitan District Commission's water during periods of drought, or when transmission lines have been removed from service for repairs or for the cleaning and lining program. Water rates in Cambridge were, in 1910, ten cents per 100 cubic feet, the lowest in the state. In 1949, the water rate was increased to thirteen cents per 100 cubic feet; in 1957 the charge was increased to sixteen cents per 100 cubic feet; and in 1966 the rate was increased to twenty cents per 100 cubic feet, still the lowest in the state.

In 1959, the new liquid alum building was erected adjacent to the valve chambers building. Liquid alum is now delivered by truck and fed automatically by the flocculators. The same year new, larger transformers were installed. The citizens of Cambridge, at the November election in 1959, voted by a small margin to fluoridate Cambridge water. Dentists, physicians, engineers, and people of authority considered fluoridated water a great health
benefit to children’s teeth up to age fifteen and of no detriment to other people’s health. However, four years later, Cambridge citizens voted to remove fluoride from Cambridge water, and since February 1964, no fluoride has been added.

In the Spring of 1960, an engineering firm was engaged to make a survey of the water distribution system of the City. Under the supervision of John F. Glacken, Water Works Engineer, tests on certain pipes of approximately one hundred years in age found the wall structure to have a potential life expectancy of another one hundred years. The encrustation of tuberculation within the pipe seriously restricted the flow of the water main and required the rehabilitation program. The Department has maintained this program during the past fifteen years and has cleaned and lined approximately 130,000 feet of pipe in the system varying from 42-inches to 6-inches in size.

In 1963, the obsolete electrical control panel for the treatment plant was replaced with a new and modern installation. On the operating floor level of the water treatment plant, adjacent to the chemist’s laboratory, a new and modern operating panel controlling complete plant operation was installed in conjunction with the replacement of the hydraulic filter valves in the galley of the original section of the plant built in 1923. Hobbs Brook Reservoir gatehouse was repointed and new sluice gates were installed.

Water is today uppermost in everyone’s mind. It is difficult for us to believe our supply of water from our own watershed no longer equals our demand. Rainfall was off seven inches in the first half of 1965, according to Metropolitan District Commission Director Harold J. Toole’s report of July 1, 1965.

Lawns are brown, ponds and reservoirs are down. Rain has been a scarce commodity for several years around Boston. This past summer, the use of water for sprinkling lawns, filling swimming pools, for air conditioning, and even for general use has been restricted. The drought of the last two or three years has taxed the Cambridge water supply. Fresh Pond is at its lowest level. Stony Brook and Lower and Upper Hobbs, which should be full during early summer, are approximately twenty feet below capacity. The Cambridge Water Department was obliged to draw one-third of its water from the Metropolitan supply during 1966.

Due to the foresight of our predecessors, Cambridge is connected to the Metropolitan and can automatically secure water from the Metropolitan District Commission from separate locations. When you turn on your faucet in your home to get a drink of water, this water may have originated in several places: Hobbs Reservoir, Stony Brook, Quabbin, or nearer home from rainfall at Payson Park or Fresh Pond. Wherever it originated, it is one of the world’s purest and most potable drinks.
Mr. Harold Toole, Director of the Metropolitan District Commission Water Division, said that homes and other users in the system, population of about 1,800,000, would continue to have water for well over two years, even if it did not rain at all.

This is despite the fact that Quabbin Reservoir is at its lowest level, 15 1/2 feet below capacity, since it was filled in 1946. Quabbin is the largest fresh water reservoir in the Eastern United States. It is a fenced-in area in North Central Massachusetts, ten miles wide and eighteen miles long. The water in Quabbin is impounded by Winsor Dam and Quabbin Dike. From these, water flows to the Metropolitan System.

The Cambridge Water Board is seeking every additional source of water, improving its distribution, and conserving its use. Most of the water problems, according to experts who are studying the problems throughout the United States, are due partially to distribution. Waste is a major factor in this country’s water resources problem, and pollution of these resources deprives the citizenry of many sections of the country of their God-given right. We need planning as well as more water. With the increased per capita demand and the population growth, it is imperative that proper planning be developed to meet this increased need.

Read January 22, 1967

Francis Avenue and the Norton Estate: The Development of a Community

BY CHARLES F. WHITING

BEING the earliest and oldest of one time residents of Francis Avenue, Cambridge, now living, I set myself the task of putting down my recollection of the early days of the neighborhood.

This led to an exploration of the origin of the area and to following the extension of Francis Avenue into the Norton Estate and eventually to cover the entire Norton property and also to include some special features of the community.

In this study I have had recourse to sundry records and to the assistance, greatly appreciated, of a number of residents, as recited at the close.

THE FRANCIS AVENUE TRACT

The property on the northerly side of the Charlestown Path (now Kirkland Street) within the limits of the present Divinity Avenue and Irving Street, an area of about ten acres, was settled in 1646 by Elder Edmund Frost.\(^1\) He received permission to fell timber for the

\(^1\) Francis Avenue runs north from Kirkland Street a few blocks east of Memorial Hall. The Norton Estate was bounded roughly by Museum Street on the north; by Beacon Street (originally Middlesex Turnpike) on the east; by Kirkland Street on the south; and on the west by Kirkland Place projected northerly. Kirkland Street
bore earlier the names of Washington Street, Professors' Row, the King's Highway, and the Charles-town Path. In the late 1800's a horse car was operated thereon from Harvard Square to Beacon Street.

2 The Frost Estate, westerly portion of five acres, was sold in 1831, 1836, and 1845 to John and Henry Ware, Jr. In 1839 John built a "country home" for his daughter at No. 14 Kirkland Place (now occupied by Professor H. T. Levin). In 1854 he sold it and the surrounding land to Isaac Cutler (housewright) who established Kirkland Place and built several houses thereon. At the west corner of Kirkland Street, Henry Ware, Jr. built a house for self occupancy. The two lots bordering on Divinity Avenue were sold and now are the sites of Harvard buildings.

building of a house. The estate was deeded by him in 1672 to his son, Ephraim. At this time there were two houses on the lot, one occupied by the father and one by the son. From Ephraim, who died in 1718, the property passed to his son, another Edmund. The second Edmund's grandchildren inherited the estate, but in course of time it passed into the hands of their uncle, Gideon Frost, who resided on the upper part of the presently named Massachusetts Avenue.

On the death of Gideon in 1803 the property, on which one building remained (rented out), passed to his children: Walter, Martha (Mary) who married an Austin, and Elizabeth, who married a Frothingham. A sale was made in 1836 by Mary to Ebenezer Francis of the eastern half, running 154 feet on Kirkland Street and north from Kirkland Street 625 feet to the Norton property; and in 1843 by R. T. Austin a sale of a similar lot adjacent on the eastern side, a combined area to Francis of about five acres.

Ebenezer Francis was born in 1790 in Beverly, Massachusetts, but spent most of his life in Cambridge where he died in 1886. He was a cousin of the man of the same name who was treasurer of Harvard College 1827-1830. He was a carpenter by trade with a shop on Dunster Street and was known as the "college carpenter."

The directory of the City of Cambridge of the year 1848 gives Ebenezer Francis a residence on Kirkland Street and after 1871 at 43 Kirkland Street, later numbered 1 Francis Avenue. City records show that a connection was made in 1855 from these premises to the sewer which is evidence of a residence there at that date. He lived here until his death in 1886.

The Registry of Deeds of Middlesex County shows a transfer in 1868 from E. Francis to Charles W. Munroe of 34,000 square feet of land in the northeast corner of his property. The western line of the lot was a 40-foot passageway running north from Kirkland Street to the Norton property. This passageway was to become, first Francis Place, second Francis Street, and finally Francis Avenue. A house and barn were erected on the premises and an orchard set out of which a few scattered pear trees remain. From this Munroe area eventually came the lots for the homes of the Loves, the Martins, the Davisons, and the Whitings, comprising the present street numbers 16 to 24 inclusive.
In the city atlas of 1873 the house and barn of Mr. Francis and the house and barn of Mr. Munroe continued to be the only structures on the original Francis tract. Francis Place is shown running north and south through the middle.

After the death of Ebenezer in 1886, his son Eben, a clergyman, continued to reside here and after his demise in 1892, his daughter Helen A. remained through 1916. She died in 1933 in Boston.

Building lots in the area were laid out and gradually sold. By 1886 Mrs. A. A. Harris was settled at No. 9 Francis Avenue and at No. 19 were Rev. Alpheus and Mrs. Andella Hyatt and daughter Anna who became a famed sculptress, particularly of animals. A studio house was provided for her use. In 1894 at the southeast corner, numbered as 49 Kirkland Street, were Mrs. Jennie L. Rand and her daughter Margaret. Throughout their occupancy beautiful flower beds were maintained much to the pleasure of those passing. The year 1895 brought the Rev. John G. and Mrs. Helen Lawrence Brooks to No. 10. He was a retired Unitarian minister who had made Social Economics his life work. They set a standard of distinction and of neighborliness highly regarded by the residents. Beyond the Munroe's at what is now the corner of Bryant Street was Mrs. Andrew Ingraham who complemented at the northern end the qualities of the Brookses at the southern end.

At this period Francis Avenue was dead-ended at what is now Bryant Street. A fence with barway blocked off the Norton Woods (the Norton Estate). The roadway without sidewalks was rough and muddy after rain. A new resident in 1904, Mrs. Charles F. Cushman, found it difficult to wheel her baby carriage through the mire and prevailed on the City Councilors to order acceptance of the street in 1906 and to provide proper surfacing.

The improvement of the roadway, the secluded character of the neighborhood, scattered trees, and its accessibility to the Harvard Yard by a walk of 10-15 minutes made this area an appealing location for the homes of Harvard professors. Another, and a very important factor was the decision by the City to abandon the projected extension of Everett Street, named for President Everett of Harvard, from Massachusetts Avenue across Oxford Street through "the hollow" north of the Agassiz Museum and via the line of Bryant Street through to Beacon Street, a decision which assured the tranquility of the neighborhood. Dominance by professors' homes soon became a fact. In the 1930's the development of the automobile lured professors to the suburbs but with resulting congested highways there has been a return movement and professors again predominate.

The establishment in 1908 of the Andover Theological School brought about the extension of Francis Avenue northerly, then easterly, and opened the Norton Estate for development. Hitherto the only structure on the property (north of Bryant Street) had been the Norton homestead, "Shady Hill."

ORIGIN OF THE NORTON ESTATE (NORTON'S WOODS)

The Foxcroft property, a large area of 120 acres, running northerly from the present Cambridge Street (at first called Foxcroft Street) to the present Everett Street and from the Common easterly to the present Beacon Street was assembled in the early Colonial period by Lt. Gov. Thomas Danforth, Deputy Governor of the Colony, Judge of the Superior Court,
and Treasurer of Harvard College, whose daughter Elizabeth married Francis Foxcroft. Through the middle ran the Charlestown Path, now Kirkland Street.

On the northerly half was the house of the Rev. John Phillips (he later returned to England) which in the 1660's was improved by Danforth. This location is approximately at No. 13 Kirkland Street, last occupied by Rev. Francis G. Peabody and now the property of Harvard.

On Danforth's death in 1699 the Estate descended to his son-in-law Francis Foxcroft and on the latter's death in 1727 his son Fran-

 cis, Jr. came into possession. He was active in public affairs, Register of Deeds for forty-four years, Justice of the County of Middlesex for twenty-seven years. He greatly improved the property by the erection in 1750-1760 of a mansion, two stories, with central "great entry," a building similar to the Longfellow House. This new house combined with the old one and a stable formed a sort of courtyard approached by a driveway via the present Oxford Street. Desiring that the Estate "be continued in the posterity of that ancient and honorable gentleman, Thomas Danforth Esquire, my grandfather," Francis Foxcroft, Jr. in 1768 provided that the mansion and sixty acres north of Kirkland Street should go to his son John.³

John Foxcroft was a well-to-do merchant, enjoyed a life of ease, was of Royalist sympathy, and when Colonial troops were quartered on his Estate he took refuge in Boston, but returned to occupy his mansion until 1777 when it burned to the ground. After this he resided until his death in 1802 in the John Hicks House now at the corner of Boylston and South Streets. On the Foxcroft site a building was erected and on acquisition in 1889 by the College was used as a dining hall for students. This building was moved up Oxford Street to make way for the New Lecture Hall in 1902, recently renamed Lowell Lecture Hall.

In 1807 John Phillips, Esq., the first mayor of Boston, acquired the 60 acres, originally in the Danforth-Foxcroft Estate, north of the Charlestown Path. There was a relationship between the Phillips and the Foxcroft families. In 1810 he added to it 4 1/2 acres adjoining the northeast corner, together with a mansion which faced on Middlesex Turnpike (later Beacon Street), and named the estate "Shady Hill." This lay at the time in the limits of Charlestown and had become accessible by the laying out of the Turnpike. The purchase was made from Daniel Mason, a tanner, selectman, and member of the General Court, who had built the house on the land which had been for some years in the hands of the Tufts family.

³ The other half, sixty acres south of Charlestown Path (Kirkland Street), was deeded by Francis Foxcroft, Jr. to his son Francis. However, the property eventually got into the hands of his brother John whose heirs in 1804 divided it into lots of two to twelve acres, five of which were acquired by Wm. H. Sumner and hence the name Sumner Road.
This was to be the home of the Phillips family for the short term of five years. Wendell Phillips (1811-1884), a son who became a famous orator, was born here. The house was on rising ground and a splendid location. The land sloped westerly to a pond of considerable size, later called Norton’s Pond and a favorite resort for skating by neighbors and college students. In 1815 Peter Chardon Brooks became the owner of the property and in the following year sold it to Harvard College.

In turn a year afterwards, in 1817, Harvard sold the homestead lot of 4^2 acres plus 30 acres (the easterly half of the Phillips purchase of 60 acres) to Rev. Henry Ware, Senior, a professor in the Harvard Divinity School, an early supporter of Unitarianism. This was the home for his large family for four years, 1817—1821.

The next purchaser was Samuel Eliot (grandfather to Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard) who made a gift of it to his daughter Catherine on her marriage in 1821 to Andrews Norton, a professor in the Divinity School. Although the elegant Craigie Estate, on Brattle Street, later Longfellow’s home, was available at this time, "Shady Hill" was preferred. Their occupancy was for a long term, until the death of Professor Norton in 1853. Three daughters, Louise, Jane, and Grace, were born here and also a son in 1827, Charles Eliot Norton, later Professor of the History of Art at Harvard.

Extensive improvements were made in the mansion under the direction of Mr. Eliot’s son, Samuel A., the father of the President, well fitted for the purpose by natural taste and study. The instructions given were to make the property "suitable for a gentleman's occupancy." The mansion which faced the north on the Turnpike (Beacon Street), Charlestown (later Somerville) was turned around to a southern exposure; bow windows were added and a general remodelling was made. There were also important outside improvements. The land, which was bare of growth, was extensively planted with deciduous and coniferous trees which developed in due time into woodland much enjoyed by subsequent generations. A demure lady of the neighborhood at a later day was wont to retire to the seclusion of the "woods" to get accustomed to the wearing of a new dress.

At the time of the above transaction the estate comprised 34/4 acres. It ran north to south about 1500 feet and east to west, at its widest part, about 1000 feet. Roughly the boundaries were on the north, Museum Street; on the east, Beacon Street; on the south, Kirkland Street; and on the west a projection northerly of the line of Kirkland Place.

Charles Eliot Norton, Professor of the History of Art at Harvard, was born here in 1827 and it was his home until death in 1908. On graduation from college he spent five years in mercantile life which took him on travels in the Orient and he did not settle into his life work until 1855. His wife, nee Susan R. Sedgwick, died in 1872. They had one son, Richard, and three daughters, Sarah (Sally), Elizabeth (Lily), and Margaret. His three sisters, Louise, Jane, and Grace, were members of the household for some time. During his distinguished professorate many students away from home on Christmas Eve came to know the charm of "Shady Hill" through his hospitality.

The unoccupied part of his Estate within the limits of Irving, Scott, Farrar, and Holden Streets was laid out for house lots in 1888 by the young and gifted landscape architect Charles Eliot, son of the president of Harvard. He made sales lot by lot to his friends on the
faculty with the assistance of Mr. George Howland Cox, later President of the Cambridge Trust Co. By the end of his life most of the extensive property had been sold. The remainder was subsequently taken up by Shady Hill Square, Shady Hill School, and Holden Green.

THE HOMESTEAD, "SHADY HILL" —136 IRVING STREET

1. 1806-1810 Daniel Mason, the first owner and builder. Then in the limits of Charlestown, part of Cambridge after 1820.  
2. 1810-1815 John Phillips (first mayor of Boston). He named the Estate "Shady Hill." To this he added sixty acres adjoining on the west acquired in 1807, a total of 64 1/2 acres.

4 Born 1870, killed 1918 in World War I.
5 This area was originally in the limits of Charlestown. In 1759 the neighbors petitioned the transfer of the area to Cambridge but were denied. In 1820, however, the General Court ordered the transfer. Somerville, to which the adjoining area belongs today, was not set off from Charlestown until 1842.

1815 Owned by Peter Chardon Brooks—64 1/2 acres.
1816 Owned by Harvard College—64 1/2 acres.

3. 1817-1821 Rev. Henry Ware, Sr.—an area of 34 1/2 acres.
4. 1821-1853 Rev. Andrews and Mrs. (Catherine Eliot) Norton. A winding driveway on course of present Irving Street and known as Norton's Lane led to Kirkland Street—34 1/2 acres.

5. 1853-1908 Prof. Charles Eliot Norton. His home since birth in 1827, 34 1/2 acres originally.
8. 1916-1948 Prof. Paul J. Sachs, Associate Director, Fogg Art Museum, and Mrs. (Meta Pollak) Sachs.
9. 1948—1960 Harvard University. The house, being unoccupied, deteriorated and was razed in 1960.

THUS THIS STATELY AND STORIED MANSION CAME TO AN END.

SHADY HILL SQUARE
It was perceived that there was a demand for housing for the young to middle-aged group of the College faculty. A section of the Norton Estate, corner of Scott and Holden Streets, was available and just across the street from the new school, to become the Shady Hill School. This educational facility added to the attraction of the Square for families with young children. The property ran 300 feet on Holden Street and 250 feet back to Beacon Street. Accordingly in 1915 Trustees Nutter and Chapman erected seven stucco houses, 2 stories high, five doubles and two singles. The buildings were pleasingly located around an ample square with entrance from Holden Street. The project was an immediate success and served well the needs of young professors. Among the occupants was James Bryant Conant, later President of the University.

"COOPERATIVE OPEN AIR SCHOOL,

LATER "SHADY HILL SCHOOL"

Agassiz, the public grammar school at Oxford and Sacramento Streets serving the Francis Avenue-Norton Estate area, had become out-grown and outmoded and replacement was undertaken in the year 1914. This school had attained high standing from the leadership of its headmaster, Miss Maria Baldwin, a Negro, a woman of high culture, of discerning nature, and of administrative ability. To provide schoolrooms for the pupils in the transition, Harvard University offered its cooperation and made available the large residence at the corner of Broadway and Quincy Streets, formerly the home of Professor Agassiz.

Mrs. Ernest (Agnes Boyle O'Reilly) Hocking, residing on Quincy Street and in the Agassiz School district, perceived this interruption to be an opportunity to resume her interest in education, manifested when a resident of New Haven, Connecticut. She accordingly set up school on the open rear piazza of her home for her own children and for others up to the space capacity of about a dozen. There she put into effect the methods of "progressive" teaching which had recently been developed. The experiment was so successful that continuation was decided upon. Larger space was needed and removal was made at the end of the year, under the organization of the "Cooperative Open Air School," to property acquired from the Norton Estate on Holden Street, southerly side, corner of Scott Street, an area of 16,000 square feet.

Several light framed structures, partly open to the weather to approach open air conditions, were erected among the willows. Assistants sympathetic with Mrs. Hocking's imaginative and dedicated principles were secured and the school started on its new site with forty pupils. To cope with open-air conditions, the children were heavily clothed and even wore mittens. Cooperation in teaching and in administrating was generously supplied by parents. Alva Morrison, as president, and John C. Runkle, as treasurer, provided invaluable service. The "progressive" idea prospered by leaps and bounds. Miss Katharine Taylor, with experience in Chicago, was made Director. The quarters were soon outgrown and in 1925 re-establishment was made at Coolidge Hill where it has continued to prosper.
A child on the street, asked by President Eliot where she went to school, gave the reply "to the best school in the world," whereupon he remarked "Shady Hill I presume."

It can be seen that this educational opportunity in the midst of

the Francis-Norton area was a very appealing factor in the housing development of the period.

HOLDEN GREEN —NOS. 16-32 HOLDEN STREET

The remnant of the Norton Estate, a sizeable tract in the southeast corner, was seen by a few of the neighbors and other friends of Harvard as a desirable location for an economical rent housing development for married students and young instructors for whom there was a very serious shortage. The lot is 275 feet on Holden and runs back to Beacon Street 250 feet to 375 feet, about 2Yz acres. Consequently in 1927 a trust was formed and construction begun. The buildings are of brick, 2% stories, in various arrangements, with pleasing landscaping, shrubs, trees, and walks. The apartments, 100 in number, for the most part of small size, are modestly priced and have served well an acute need of this group.

In the promotion and management of the project, Philip P. Sharpies, a resident of Farrar Street, has earned high commendation. The importance of this facility for the Harvard family was evidenced by its purchase in 1963 by the University.

CHRISTMAS CAROLS

In the early 1900's there was a goodly number of children in the Francis Avenue neighborhood. This brought to discerning mothers the opportunity of arranging a caroling group bearing lanterns through the streets of the area on Christmas Eve. Parents with talent in music guided the children in rehearsals and on the tours. It was a very great privilege to have as a neighbor Rev. William L. Worcester, the minister at the New Church, Swedenborgian, corner of Kirkland and Quincy Street, an example of beautiful architecture. He conducted a service of reading and song and lantern illustration for the group prior to their setting out. His dedicated rendering of the Christmas legend made an enduring impression on all favored to be present.

This neighborhood group of carolers, one of the earliest, was started in 1913 and has continued up to this time.

HARVARD BRANCH R.R. CO.

From the Somerville Station on the Fitchburg Division of the Boston and Maine R.R., it ran across Beacon Street, along the northerly line of Museum Street, Cambridge, across land between the Divinity Hall (on Divinity Avenue) and the Palfrey Estate (through the westerly portion of the Norton Estate) across Oxford Street and southerly corner of Jarvis Street,
across Harvard University land where the Physics Laboratory stands, to a point on Gannett land amid a cluster of willow trees where Austin Hall, part of the Law School, stands.

This was built by a corporation made up of Cambridge citizens for the purpose of serving the Harvard Square community with transportation to Boston. It was operated by arrangement with the Fitchburg R.R. Co. There were a half a dozen trains each way daily at a cost of 10 cents, single fare. It was in operation 1849-1855 but was not successful and terminated due to competition of buses and the impending advent of horse cars.⁶

THE WILLOWS

The willow trees, vestiges of which were in evidence up to 1900 at Holmes Field and in the Norton Estate, were a part of the stockade built in 1632 in an arc around Cambridge as a protection against the Indians and wild animals.

For more than a century this area has been one of the distinctive neighborhoods of the city and its residents have contributed potently to world-wide intellectual and cultural development.

REFERENCES

Mrs. R. A. (Esther Lanman) Cushman

Mrs. Charles (Clare Allen) Haskins

Mrs. Gerard C. (Mary Taussig) Henderson

Dr. Conrad Wright of the Divinity School

APPENDIX


Francis Avenue, West Side (first called Francis Place then Francis Street)

No. 1 (first numbered as 43 Kirkland Street)

1836-1886 Ebenezer Francis, Jr. b. 1790-d. 1886, built house and barn; carpenter

1836-1892 Eben Francis (son) b. 1819-d. 1892; clergyman

1846-1916 Miss Helen A. Francis (dau. Eben) b. 1846-d. 1933 in Boston

1920- Dr. Edwin J. Cohn, M.D., later known for his work on blood

1922-1952 John C. and Gertrude Swan Runkle. They made extensive improvements, adapting to authentic period; and erected the handsome fence.

1962- Rev. R. Jerrold Gibson, minister, Harvard Epworth Methodist Church


1910-1916 Mrs. Cyrus P. (Jenny L.) Thomas

1916-1920 Rev. and Mrs. Henry B. Washburn, Dean, Episcopal Theological School

1922-1925 Prof, and Mrs. William McDougall, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University

1925-1927 Prof, and Mrs. John Livingston Lowes, Professor of English, Harvard University

27

1927-1937 Mr. and Mrs. Nelson H. Smith

1937-1946 Prof, and Mrs. James M. Landis, Professor of Law, Harvard University

1946- William Cantor

No. 9 1886- Mrs. A. A. Harris

1894-1923 Misses Charlotte and Mary Harris

1930- Prof, and Mrs. Carl J. Friedrich, Professor of German, Harvard University

1960- Martin H. Slobodkin

No. 11 1897- Mr. and Mrs. Charles B. Davenport
1901-1920  Prof. Edward S. and Mrs. (Katharine Hinckley) Sheldon, Professor of Romance Languages, Harvard University

1920-1922  Prof, and Mrs. Oliver M. W. Sprague, Professor of Economics, Harvard University 1922-1924  Ernest D. and Mrs. (Caroline Phillips) Smith

1924-1955  Rev. Willard L. Sperry, Dean, Harvard Divinity School, and his wife Muriel

1960-  Prof, and Mrs. George C. Homans, Professor of Sociology, Harvard University

No.17 1898-1914  Prof, and Mrs. William Morris Davis, Professor of Geology, Harvard University

1915-  Prof, and Mrs. William R. Arnold, Professor, Divinity School, Harvard University

1961-  Francis M. Shea

No.19 1891-1903  Rev. Alpheus and Mrs. Ardella Hyatt, House and Studio. Miss Anna Hyatt, Sculptress, later Mrs. Archer Huntington

1905-1910  Samuel J. Fowler, Miss Frances Fowler

1911-1919  Mr. Walter F. and Mrs. (Elizabeth Hyde) Earle, President, Harvard Trust Co. 1919-1924  Prof, and Mrs. Charles H. McIlwain, Professor of History and Government, Harvard University

1925-1930  Mr. and Mrs. William B. Durant

1930-  Mr. and Mrs. Louis S. Thierry

1960-  Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Whitlock, Assistant to the President for Civic Relations, Harvard University

No. 21 1925-  Rev. Christopher R. and Mrs. (Mary Jackson) Eliot

1925-1957  Miss Abigail Eliot, Director Kindergarten School

1957-  Miss Martha May Eliot, M.D., Head of U. S. Children's Bureau and Professor, Harvard University School of Public Health

28

No. 23 1902-1954  William H. and Fanny C. Pear, Director Boston Provident Association, pioneer in social welfare; d. 1954

1902-1936  Miss Alice A. Pear, Secretary, Houghton Mifflin Co.; d. 1936

1902-1938  Miss Lucy M. Bradley, Secretary, Harvard University; d. 1938

1954-  Prof, and Mrs. Albert B. Lord, Professor of Slavic Language, Harvard University

[N.B. At this point the former Norton Estate is entered.]
Andover Hall

1908-1925 Andover Theological Seminary (associated with Harvard Divinity School); Andover Hall built 1911

1925- Harvard Divinity School (separation in 1926 by Court decree)—210,062 sq. ft (about 5 acres).

No. 53 1912—Prof. Charles H. and Mrs. (Clare Allen) Haskins, Professor of History, Harvard University
No. 57 1912—Prof. and Mrs. Edward Gay, Dean, Business School, Harvard University

The Gays and the Haskinses were friends and built simultaneously. This made possible the unique advantage of having an architect and builder in common and of consolidating the purchase of building material.

1921-1929 Arthur K. Reading, District Attorney, Middlesex County
1930-1965 Prof. Robert H. and Mrs. (Matilda Valenti) Pfeiffer, Professor, Divinity School, Harvard University

No. 59 1916-Prof. and Mrs. Gregory P. Baxter, Professor of Chemistry, Harvard University
1960- Dr. and Mrs. William D. Sohier, Jr., M.D.

No. 63 1912-1922 Mr. and Mrs. Fred MacLeod, Chairman, Massachusetts Railroad Commission
1922-1925 Mr. and Mrs. Paul Butler

1925-1938 Prof. and Mrs. Charles H. McIlwain, Professor of History and Government, Harvard University
1955- Edward T. Wilcox, Director of General Education, Harvard University, and Mrs. (Maud Eckert) Wilcox, Editor at the Harvard University Press

No. 65 1916-1960 Prof. and Mrs. Frank DeW. Washburn, Professor of History, Harvard University. Children: Edith m. Henry; Rosemary m. Sloane; Frank DeWitt
1960- Prof. and Mrs. John U. Monro, Dean of College, Harvard University

29

No. 67 1927-1960 Prof. and Mrs. Erwin Schell, Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

1962- Prof. and Mrs. Simon Smith Kuznets, Professor of Economics, Harvard University

No. 73 1928- Mr. and Mrs. Herbert S. Rose
1960- Mr. and Mrs. King Upton, Vice President, First National Bank of Boston

No. 75 1926- various occupants

1952-1959 Thais Carter and father, Frederic H. Atwood
No. 77 1926-1957 Prof. Matthew R. Copithorne, Professor of English, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the builder of the double brick No. 75 and No. 77

Francis Avenue, East Side

No. 2-4 (first numbered as 49 Kirkland Street)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1894-</td>
<td>Mrs. Jennie L. Rand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Miss Margaret Rand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950-</td>
<td>Prof. Robert and Mrs. (Helen Boyden) Lamb</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 6 1894-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1941-</td>
<td>Trustees James P. Borland et al., house built by Giles Taintor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1945</td>
<td>Rev. and Mrs. Dan H. Fenn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-</td>
<td>Unitarian Church Parsonage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-1958</td>
<td>Rev. Wilburn B. Miller</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1959-</td>
<td>Rev. Ralph N. Helverson</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 8 1941-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946-</td>
<td>Prof, and Mrs. G. Wallace Woodworth, Professor of Music, Harvard University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No.10 1895-1938 Rev. John Graham and Mrs. (Helen Lawrence) Brooks, Minister and Lecturer on Social Economics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1942-</td>
<td>Prof, and Mrs. Raphael Demos, Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 12 1925-1940 Dr. Bronson and Mrs. (Alice Ames) Crothers, M.D.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1940-</td>
<td>Prof, and Mrs. Ralph H. Wetmore, Professor of Botany, Harvard University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No. 14 1895-1925 Mr. and Mrs. Samuel E. Turner

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Name(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1930-1940</td>
<td>Mrs. Samuel M. Crothers; Miss Marjorie Crothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-</td>
<td>Prof, and Mrs. Howard Mumford Jones, Professor of Humanities, Harvard University No. 16 1906-1911 Prof, and Mrs. James Lee Love, Professor of Mathematics, Harvard University</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1912-1915 Rev. William and Mrs. (Ethel Burnham) Worcester, Minister, New Church, Swedenborgian, and Director of New Church School

1915-1950 Rev. Emilius and Mrs. (Emma Crocker) Smith, retired Episcopalian Minister

1950- Mr. and Mrs. C. Edouard Sandoz, Jr.

1955- Charles D. and Elizabeth Love Orth (dau. former residents, Prof, and Mrs. Love)

1960- Mr. and Mrs. Justin D. Kaplan, Editorial Staff, Atlantic Monthly

No. 18 1913-1916 Dr. and Mrs. Martin, M.D.

1917-1923 Mrs. Robert A. (Edith H.) MacFadden

1930-1940 Mr. and Mrs. Charles S. Fuller Watson Smith

1952- Mr. and Mrs. William Henry Chamberlin, journalist and author

No. 20-22 1913-1930 Dr. and Mrs. Davison, M.D.

1930-1940 Prof, and Mrs. Archibald T. Davison, Professor of Music, Harvard University

1940-1962 Prof, and Mrs. Ben H. Selekman, Professor of Economics, Harvard University

1963- Dr. and Mrs. Henry A. Murray, M.D., Professor of Psychology, Harvard University

No. 24 1906-1935 Mr. Charles F. and Mrs. (Isabel Kimball) Whiting

1936- Dr. Laurence B. Ellis, M.D. and Mrs. (Alice Whiting) Ellis

No. 30 1904-1910 Mr. Charles F. and Mrs. (Sally Adams) Cushman

1910- Increase E. Noyes

1912- Mr. Carleton and Mrs. (Charlotte W.) Noyes, English Department, Harvard University

1951- Prof, and Mrs. John K. Galbraith, Professor of Economics, Harvard University

[N.B. At this point the former Norton Estate is entered. Francis Avenue was extended north in 1908 from Bryant Street into the Norton Estate.]

No. 42 1960- (north of Bryant Street)—Center for the Study of World Religions

No. 44 1916-1948 Prof. James R. and Mrs. (Margaret Weyerhaeuser) Jewett, Professor of Arabic, Harvard University


1959- Rev. and Mrs. Samuel H. Miller
No. 56 1963-
Prof, and Mrs. Krister T. Stendahl, Professor, Divinity School, Harvard University

No. 60 1963-
Prof, and Mrs. James Luther Adams, Professor, Divinity School, Harvard University

No. 64 1958-
Prof, and Mrs. Jose Luis Sert, Dean, School of Design, Harvard University

No. 68 1936-1940
Mrs. William D. (Caroline S.) Howland

1940-1945
Mr. and Mrs. Thomas H. Eliot Mr. and Mrs. Carleton Fuller

1960-
Prof, and Mrs. Roy Lamson, Professor of Humanities, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

No. 70 1913-1930
Dr. Elmer E. and Mrs. (Mabel E.) Southard, he a Professor in Psychology, Harvard University, she an M.D.

1930-1963
Mrs. Gerard C. (Mary Taussig) Henderson

1963-
Prof, and Mrs. Stanley Smith Stevens, Professor of Psychophysics, Harvard University

Kirkland Street, West of Divinity Avenue

Originally the Charlestown Path, then Professors' Row, and Kirkland Street after 1830.

The thirty acres, the westerly half of the sixty acres acquired in 1816 by Harvard College from Peter Chardon Brooks and retained at the time of sale of the easterly half to Rev. Henry Ware, Sr., ran from a projection of Kirkland Place northerly and westerly to the Holmes property near the Common and made space for later expansion of the College and for homes of professors.

No. 11 Kirkland Street—adjacent to east side of Lawrence Scientific School.

Stephen Higginson, Jr. from Salem built here in 1822. This is the birthplace of Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson. He was followed by Charles Chauncy Foster 1836—1875. Subsequently the home of Charles Foster Batchelder from whom the property passed to Harvard. The house has been removed.

No. 13 Kirkland Street—west corner of Oxford Street. The first resident here was Rev. John Phillips who returned to England. In 1652 Lt. Gov. Danforth moved here from Mt. Auburn and Bow Street. He was followed by son-in-law Frank Foxcroft. In 1822 Professor Levi Frisbie built here. His widow married Professor James Hayward, 1826. It was the home of Dr. Estes Howe, father of Miss Lois Lilley Howe and President of the Cambridge Gas Co. James Russell Lowell's brother-in-law made his home here for a time. Rev. Francis...
Greenwood Peabody was the last occupant prior to possession by the College.

No. 15 Kirkland Street—east corner of Oxford Street.

In 1822 Prof. Asahel Stearns built here after loss by fire of the Fox-croft mansion. Miss Mary Upham followed and named it "Foxcroft House." Longfellow was a lodger here. In 1889 acquired by Harvard and used for some years as a dining hall. The building was moved up Oxford Street to make way for the New Lecture Hall in 1902, recently renamed "Lowell Lecture Hall."

No. 21 Kirkland Street—east of Lowell Lecture Hall.

Prof. John Farrar, the first professor in the Sciences, built here in 1822. Mrs. Farrar, her childhood spent in England, was a lady of cultivation with social and literary talents. For some years after remodelling it was the home of the Jones family of which the Misses Elizabeth and Pauline were members. In 1905 it was acquired by the College and, after extensive remodelling including the removal of the pillars at the front, by Rev. Edward C. and Mrs. (Eliza Coe Brown) Moore, it became their home until 1943. He was Chairman of the Board of University Preachers. Prof, and Mrs. Donald Scott were the next occupants, then Dr. Buttrick, University Preacher, and at present Rev. Charles P. Price, also University Preacher.

Kirkland Street, East of Irving Street (formerly part of the Norton Estate)

It has been noted that the Francis house was numbered 43 Kirkland Street and Mrs. Rand's across Francis Avenue was numbered No. 49.

Farther on Kirkland Street and east of Irving Street were the first houses to be built on the Norton Estate. Charles W. Eliot (second in rank in the Harvard Class of 1853), Assistant Professor in Mathematics and Chemistry, built in 1858 a double brick house numbered 59-61 Kirkland. The western half he provided for his father, Samuel A. Eliot, who had suffered financial reverse, and, recently married to Ellen Peabody, he settled in the eastern half himself. Disappointed in his failure to be promoted to a full professorship, he resigned from Harvard to take a position at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He continued to reside here, however, until called in 1869 to the presidency of Harvard, an office held for forty years.

Miss Grace Norton followed Mr. Samuel A. Eliot in the western side and made it her home until after 1920.

On the eastern side President Eliot was followed by Rev. Briggs, Dr. E. R. Cogswell, Mrs. S. P. Cogswell, and their son, Charles P. Cogswell. No. 67 Kirkland Street—Francis J. Child, Professor of Early English, settled in 1863. His wife was a Sedgwick, the sister of Mrs. Charles Eliot Norton. The premises were conspicuous for a beautiful rose garden personally tended by him. He appeased potential raiders of the flowers by bestowing bouquets on them.

In 1912 Prof, and Mrs. Jewett were occupants. I

In 1916 Rev. and Mrs. J. S. Penman.
In 1930 it became the home of Prof. and Mrs. Hugh Webster Babb of Boston University.

No. 71 Kirkland Street. From 1873 to 1890 this was the home of the Misses Anne and Grace Ashburner, aunts of Mrs. Charles E. Norton. They moved here from Stockbridge.

1890 The home of Miss Theodora Sedgwick

1900 Ellery Sedgwick, editor of the Atlantic Monthly

1921 Mr. and Mrs. T. M. Hicks, Jr. became the occupants Beyond here and to the east near Beacon Street, Miss Grace Norton erected a stucco building of six apartments as a contribution to the need for low-cost dwellings.

Irving Street, West Side (a part of the Norton Estate. The street north of Kirkland was opened in 1889)

No. 81-85

1917-1935 Prof. and Mrs. Zechariah Chafee, Jr., Professor of Law, Harvard University
1938-1941 Mr. and Mrs. William Ehrlich
1941-1954 Rev. E. A. and Mrs. Steimle
1954-1961 Rev. R. S. and Mrs. Corsy
1963-1965 Mr. and Mrs. James A. Rousmaniere, Director, Harvard Fund

No. 89 1915-1922 Mr. William and Mrs. (Alice Runnels) James, Jr., artist
1922-1925 Mr. and Mrs. J. Willard Helburn
1925-1940 Mr. and Mrs. Walter L. Boyden
1940-1960 Rev. and Mrs. Frederick May Eliot, President, American Unitarian Association
1963-Rev. and Mrs. Erwin Goodenough

No. 95 1889-1922 Prof. and Mrs. William James, Professor of Philosophy (1885-1889), Psychology (1889-1898), Harvard University. (Professor James d. 1910)
1922-1960 Mr. and Mrs. William James, Jr., artist

1960- Mr. and Mrs. John S. R. James

No. 99 1889-1922 Judge and Mrs. Jabez Fox
1922-1926 Mr. and Mrs. Albert Sprague Coolidge
1930-1945 Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Davison
1958-1960 Prof. and Mrs. James A. MacLachlan, Professor of Law, Harvard University
1961-Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin H. Brown, Adviser, International Office, Harvard University

No. 103

1889-1944 Prof, and Mrs. Josiah Royce, Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University. Prof. Royce died in 1916.

1953-1960 Mrs. Nelson H. Smith

1962-     Mr. Paul Child and Mrs. Julia Child, the "French Chef" of television

No. 105

1890-1900 Prof, and Mrs. Alphonse N. Van Daell, Professor of French, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

1901-1940 Prof. Minton and Mrs. (Salome Machado) Warren, Harvard University

1960-     Prof. Ithiel de Sola Pool, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

No. 107

1891-1925 Mrs. Eliza P. Gibbons (mother of Mrs. Wm. James)

1925-1941 Mrs. Leigh R. (Margaret) Gregor (sister of Mrs. Wm. James) Miss Rosamond Gregor

1941-1949 Mr. John and Mrs. (Rosamond Gregor) Heard

1960-     Prof. Reginald H. Phelps, Associate Dean, Graduate School, Harvard University, and Mrs. Julia Phelps, Lecturer on German

No. 109

1893-1947 Prof, and Mrs. E. L. Mark, Professor of Zoology, Harvard University. Prof. Mark lived 1847-1946.

1955-     Prof. Arthur and Mrs. (Marion Cannon) Schlesinger, Jr., Professor of History, Harvard University

No. 131

1963-     Mrs. Gerard C. (Mary Taussig) Henderson

Irving Street (East Side)

No. 104

1893-     Prof. Edward E. and Mrs. (Rebecca Ware) Cummings, Professor of Economics, Harvard University

E. E. Cummings, poet
Miss Jane Cummings

1954- Dr. and Mrs. Richard Wagner

No. 110

1889-1915 Mr. and Mrs. Robert H. Davis
1906-1915 Philip W. Davis

35

1916-1917 Prof, and Mrs. Leon Dupriez, Visiting Professor from Belgium to Government Department at Harvard

1919- Mr. George H. and Mrs. (Josephine L.) Perkins

No. 114

1912-1920 Mr. E. F. and Mrs. (Ada B.) Scheibe
1920-1959 Mr. and Mrs. Richard J. Cotter

1960- Prof, and Mrs. Don K. Price, Jr., Dean, Graduate School of Public Administration, Harvard University

No. 138

1913-1935 Prof. Ralph Barton and Mrs. (Rachel Berenson) Perry, Professor of Philosophy, Harvard University

1936- Dr. Herrman L. Blumgart, M.D., Professor of Medicine, Harvard University, and Mrs. Blumgart

[Note: In 1927 three double brick houses were built on Irving Street (East side) running from Kirkland Street to Farrar Street.]

Bryant Street (Bryant Street to Irving was accepted by City as a public street in 1906 and on to Scott Street in 1917)

No. 1 (corner Francis Avenue)

1911-1923 Prof. Herbert and Mrs. (Florence) Langfeld, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University

1926-1935 Willard and Mrs. (Margaret Mason) Helburn

1935-1955 Prof. George H. and Mrs. (Freda Mark) Chase, Professor of Classics, Harvard University

1955- Mr. and Mrs. Francis Skiddy von Stade, Jr., Dean of Freshmen, Harvard University
No. 5

1915-1945 Rev. William Worcester, Director, New Church Theological School
Miss Margaret Worcester

1946- International Student House, Hillel Foundation of Cambridge, Inc.

No. 7

1915- Prof. Alfred M. and Mrs. (Margaret Castle) Tozzer, Professor of Anthropology, Harvard University

No. 21

1936- Dr. Soma and Mrs. (Elizabeth Sachs) Weiss, M.D.
1963-1965 Mr. Victor O. and Mrs. (Elizabeth Sachs Weiss) Jones

No. 4

1902-1930 Mrs. Andrew (Mary E.) Ingraham
1930- Mr. and Mrs. Laurence K. Marshall

No. 20-24 (originally numbered 17 Scott Street)

1916-1926 Dr. and Mrs. Conrad Wesselhoeft, M.D.
1926-1965 Dr. C. Edouard Sandoz, M.D., psychiatrist, and Mrs. Evelyn Potts Sandoz

Mr. and Mrs. C. Edouard Sandoz, Jr.
Miss Margaret Sandoz
Charles Edouard Sandoz

36

Farrar Street (this street, opened in 1891, was named in memory of Professor Farrar, by Professor Lanman)

No. 9 1890-1939 Prof. Charles R. and Mrs. (Mary Hinckley) Lanman, Professor of Sanskrit, Harvard University

1939-1955 Mrs. Thomas (Faith Lanman) Hine, later Mrs. Aldrich Durant
1941- Mr. Robert A. and Mrs. (Esther Lanman) Cushman
1950-1965 Mrs. Charles F. Cushman (once at 30 Francis Avenue)

No. 15 1894-1921 Prof. Comfort Avery and Mrs. (Elizabeth Parsons) Adams, Professor of Electrical Engineering, Harvard University
1921-1940 Mr. and Mrs. Lloyd S. Frost
1940—1960 Mr. and Mrs. Anthony De Sousa
1960- Mr. and Mrs. Robert De Sousa, Jr.

No. 17 1899-1925 Rev. and Mrs. Robert S. Morison, Librarian, Divinity School, Harvard University
1925- Mr. and Mrs. Philip P. Sharples

No. 16 1928-1932 Prof, and Mrs. George P. Baker, later Dean, Harvard Business School
1932- Dr. and Mrs. Wilfred Bloomberg

No. 20 1926- Cambridge Nursery School, founded by Miss Abigail Eliot of Francis Avenue

No. 22 and No. 26
1928- Built by "Lanman—Farrar St. Trust" for neighborhood protection. At present Mrs. Mary Nash at No. 22 and Mrs. Caldervood at No. 26. Former occupants: Robt. Moore (Sheraton Hotels); Prof, and Mrs. Milton Katz, Harvard University Law School; Prof. Sam Bass Warner, Harvard University Law School; Mr. and Mrs. John Weare; Mr. and Mrs. Roger Johnson

Holden Street (Farrar to Scott Street opened in 1901)

No. 10-32 East Side
1927— Holden Green—100 low-rent dwellings for married students and instructors of Harvard University

No. 34-56
1915— Shady Hill Square—five double and two single stucco buildings around an ample open square

South Side, Corner Scott
1916-1925 Cooperative Open Air School, later known as Shady Hill School

37

No. 41 1930—1940 Francis W. Seaver (corner Farrar Street—house moved from Divinity Avenue)
1942-1965 Prof, and Mrs. Alfred V. Kidder, Harvard University

No. 45 1935-1954 Prof. Charles C. and Mrs. (Louise Slocum Whiting) Abbott, Harvard University Business School
1954-1955 Prof, and Mrs. Alwin Pappenheimer, Harvard University
1955- Prof, and Mrs. Bernhard Blume, Professor of German, Harvard University

Scott Street (Street opened 1891)
No. 7 1894-1930 Prof, and Mrs. Roland Thaxter, Professor of Biology, Harvard University
   1935-1950 Prof, and Mrs. Gordon Fair
   1950- Prof, and Mrs. Bruno Rossi, Professor of Physics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
No. 11 Mr. and Mrs. Webb
   1909-1959 Judge Franklin T. and Mrs. (Mabel Macleod) Hammond
   1960- Dr. and Mrs. N.E. Zinberg, M.D.
No. 2 1899-1939 Prof, and Mrs. Frank W. Taussig, Professor of Economics, Harvard University
   1939-1959 Mr. and Mrs. Arthur K. Reading, formerly at 57 Francis Avenue
   1959- Mr. and Mrs. Max Blitzer
No. 8 1899-1912 Rev. and Mrs. Charles H. Spalding
   1916- Prof, and Mrs. William S. Ferguson, Professor of Classics, Harvard University
No. 12 1894-1912 Mr. and Mrs. Wm. H. Goodridge
   1912-1937 Prof, and Mrs. David G. Lyon, Professor of Semitic Languages, Harvard University
   1945- Prof, and Mrs. Alden B. Dawson, Professor of Biology, Harvard University
No. 14-16
   1929-1934 Dr. Guy and Mrs. (Mary Rivers) Lane
   1934-1950 Prof, and Mrs. Leigh Hoadley, Professor of Biology, Harvard University
   1950-1957 Prof, and Mrs. Sterling Dow, Professor of Classics, Harvard University
No. 18 (Corner Holden)
   1925-1943 Dr. O. G. and Mrs. (E. Bayliss) Ricketson, Archaeologist, Carnegie Institution of Washington

---

1943-1944 Mr. Frederick A. and Mrs. (Jeanette Peabody) Lovejoy
1944-1945 Prof, and Mrs. Philip Hofer, Curator of Printing and Graphic Arts, Harvard University
1945-1963 Prof, and Mrs. John Norton, Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology
1964- Prof, and Mrs. Max F. Milliken, Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Read March 31, 1967
It seems fitting to play on the title of "Tales of a Wayside Inn" in commenting on the Cambridge Trust Company, because, for years after it started in 1892, it was indeed a wayside bank, sheltering people — among others Cantabrigians, Harvard students, and the faculty — on their way by streetcar to Boston. Members of the Longfellow family have been among its customers — including the poet’s grandson, the late Henry Wadsworth Longfellow Dana, whose papers made interesting many meetings of this society.

Many Cambridge literary and academic people have let the Trust Company take care of their affairs, thus freeing their minds for more intellectual pursuits. They seldom cared about mere figures and it seems to me that this audience, so obviously intellectual, will not be remotely interested in dry statistics about the Trust Company. Consequently, this paper concerns itself with people, rather than with figures, a few of which are attached in an appendix. As a vehicle for notes of a non-promissory nature, let me refer from time to time to individuals, and especially to the succession of Presidents of the Trust Company, and to their connections with its history.

The ancestor of the Trust Company — and I suggest that a Cambridge Historical Society paper may without apology refer to ancestry or at least to background — was the Cambridge Safety Vaults Company, established in 1890 with the following notice:

Cambridge Safety Vaults Company

424 Harvard Street

Joseph B. Russell, Pres.

Joseph B. Russell

Woodward Emery, Clerk

Henry White

John H. Hubbard, Treas.

J. Rayner Edmands

F. Perrin, Manager
Richard H. Dana
Moses G. Howe
James W. Brine
William R. Ellis

The Cambridge Safety Vaults company has secured premises at the corner of Harvard and Linden streets, Old Cambridge; has employed the Damon Safe & Iron Works to construct solid, burglar and fire proof vaults; and now invites the citizens of Cambridge and the neighboring towns to inspect them.

This company offers safes to rent at from ten to one hundred dollars per year according to size.

Ample accommodations will be furnished to patrons for the examination of papers.

The Company is also ready to receive, for safe keeping, jewelry, plate, works of art, books, papers and other valuables at very moderate prices. As all of the recent ingenious and expensive inventions and improvements in locks, and in the treatment of metals have been examined and the best chosen in the construction of these vaults, this company feels that it can offer as perfect security as any like institution in the state. As a matter of fact there is only one vault in Boston equal to it in point of massive construction.

The vaults will be open for inspection from 8 a.m., to 2 p.m. The directors have decided to adopt office hours which they believe will be of special convenience to Cambridge residents, viz.: from 8 A.M. to 2 P.M., and 5 to 6 P.M. Among the stockholders are all the directors and officers above named, and

William E. Russell  Professor N. S. Shaler
Frederick P. Fish   Albert M. Barnes
Frederick Dodge    F. H. Leavitt
James L. Fisk      Brock Bros.
George L. Damon    General E. W. Hincks
Archibald M. Howe  Joseph R. Richards
Howard Sargent    C. E. Wentworth

41

J. H. Wyeth & Co.  Robert A. Boit
S. Lathrop Thorndike  William E. Stone
Manning Emery     Dr. Walter Woodman
J. M. Hilton      W. W. Peirce
It is difficult for a modern banker to imagine the reason for a pure safety deposit company since no new ones, to the writer's knowledge, have been formed in many years. Banks nowadays expect to lose money from vault operations, which are still most necessary to the public, but no longer very profitable.

Most items stored are not seen by, or known to, the bank staff. An exception was the communion plate belonging to Christ Church. This consists of a priceless chalice, a paten, and a flagon, given by William and Mary, the joint sovereigns of England, to the Rector of Kings Chapel in 1694. In 1772 Governor Thomas Hutchinson received from the Crown new plate "to be appropriated at his discretion"! He gave it to Kings Chapel and then gave three of the old pieces to Christ Church, other pieces being given to another Anglican church in Newburyport.

Christ Church’s silver was stored in the Trust Company vaults, but was used every Sunday. Mead Wheeler, one of the oldest members of the staff, volunteered to come to the bank every Sunday morning. He, and later Willard Phippen, the Trust Company’s treasurer for so many years, unlocked the vaults, and then delivered the precious plate to church representatives who returned it after the morning services. I am told that this was a voluntary act on their part, not requested by the bank directors. Since Mr. Wheeler was not even an Episcopalian, this was a sort of pre-ecumenical offering on his part. The plate is now deposited in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and used in church services only at Christmas and Easter. I wonder if Kings Chapel as it exists today, as a Unitarian stronghold, has ever thought of asking for a return of this plate. Perhaps I should not even raise the question, with a modern Governor of Massachusetts living in Cambridge. I refer to Robert F. Bradford, until recently a member of this Society. He is active today at Kings Chapel and, incidentally, an active director of the Trust Company.

Another treasure stored in the vaults was the instrument owned by the famous violinist, Ole Bull. I am told that sometimes he would give a fragmentary concert to the members of the staff when he returned his violin for safekeeping. In my time — this was during the last war—a student applied for storage space for a dozen shirts and was willing to pay the charge. The request was unusual enough to be referred to me. The student engagingly explained, "You know, sir, how hard shirts are to come by these days. I’ve just inherited these from my father’s estate and am about to go into the Army. While I trust my roommates, I do not wish to put temptation in their way." We took the shirts—at the usual fee.

It was a logical step, after people had intrusted the vault company with their securities, jewelry, plate, wills, and other valuable papers, to suggest that their money also be intrusted to the same group. Hence the Cambridge Safe Deposit and Trust Company opened in 1892, having been originally created by a special act of the Massachusetts legislature, in 1890.
The first board of directors consisted of: Josiah Q. Bennett, James M. W. Hall, Gardner M. Lane, William T. Piper, Alvin F. Sortwell, Oliver H. Durrell, Erasmus D. Leavitt, Nathaniel C. Nash, Joseph B. Russell, Moses Williams, Henry White.

Boards of the Trust Company, from its beginning to the present time, have had more distinguished members than the mere size of the institution would warrant, this being so because Cambridge is Cambridge. Let me make a few comments on several of the original board members, since not all of the present members of this Society were alive in 1892.

Mr. Piper, according to an obituary speech published by the Cambridge Club (which continues its vigorous way at monthly dinner meetings, and before which the Society’s president, our Mr. Evarts, recently gave a delightful paper on Old Cambridge) —Mr. Piper graduated from Harvard. He studied next in England at Trinity College and at the University in Leipzig, then returned to our Cambridge to get his PH.D. degree. The account adds, "Of sufficiently independent means, and without the taste for a profession or business, he practically devoted his life to public and semi-public work." He served on Cambridge’s Common Council, its school committee, its public library board.

Mr. James M. W. Hall, according to the Cambridge Chronicle Semi-Centennial Souvenir published in 1896, like his associate mentioned above was born in Boston, but broadened his interest to Cambridge. He was a partner of the lumber firm of Wellman, Hall & Co., and served as Mayor of Cambridge. I suspect he was chosen without the campaign competition that is a factor of our city of today. He served on its water board and taught a large Bible class in what the Chronicle refers to as the Shepard Church, now known as the First Church in Cambridge —Congregational.

Oliver H. Durrell, besides being president of the Cambridge YMCA, was a partner in the then rich Boston dry goods firm of Brown Durrell & Company. Another of the original directors was Josiah Q. Bennett, an important factor in the natural ice business which is referred to later on in this paper. He was the father of our own late member, J. Clark Bennett.

The first President, from 1892 to 1894, was Henry White, owner of the University Press. His building still stands on University Road. It is occupied by Baird-Atomic, Inc., an organization which his son Herbert H. White assisted in various ways in its infancy. Mr. White, Senior, like a number of his associates on the Trust Company board, is labelled as "capitalist," on company statements. It is significant to note that in those days, "capitalist" was not a dirty word, but gave confidence to the general public. Nowdays, banks refer to capitalists on their boards as "trustees," or "consultants," or, somewhat negatively, as "retired."

Joseph B. Russell served as the second President from 1894 to 1898. He was the first President of the Cambridge Safety Vaults Company and the first Vice President of the Trust Company. In the early days, three or four "capitalists" seemed to indulge in games of musical chairs, and were elected to this or that bank office, or chair, at irregular intervals. The only reason I can find
that Mr. Russell happened to become President in 1894 was that his predecessor, Mr. White, chose to stay in Europe for a long period. Capitalists, quite properly, could live on their income—but how about the staff? For instance, Mead Wheeler, then the Trust Company’s one and only teller, wrote a letter to the Board in 1896, asking for a raise. He probably did not dare to speak to President Russell. Mr. Wheeler’s salary was $500 a year. After deliberating until the next monthly meeting, the Board raised his salary to $750 —yes, a year!

The Treasurer himself—in those days the Treasurer ran the bank from day to day —received $1800 a year. The record states: "In anticipation of his intended marriage, the Treasurer asks for an increase in his salary of $200." The minutes are signed "Louis W. Cutting, Secretary." In a Gilbert and Sullivan double role, Mr. Cutting, as Treasurer, received the requested annual salary of $2000.

Nathaniel Gushing Nash, the third President, served from 1898 to 1903. He was a neighbor of the Eliots and the Sortwells. Of the three houses, only the Eliot house stands today, on Reservoir Street. The Sortwell house, too large for modern occupancy, was torn down in recent years, and the land is now the site of several contemporary dwellings. The house built by Mr. Nash, whose son sold it to the wife of the well-known author, John P. Marquand, has recently been demolished. A new house is still to be built on the vacant land which seems to be developing into a bird sanctuary.

Mr. Nash received from Harvard a master's degree in Greek History and in Cryptogamic Botany. The New England Historical and Genealogical Register records that "his passionate love of nature formed the keynote of his life." Yet, to continue from the Register, "much of his time was spent in analyzing economic and business conditions," this activity being, presumably, the reason for his choice as President.

Alvin F. Sortwell was the last of the "capitalist" presidents, from 1903 to 1910, and the first President to die in office. The game of musical chairs was over.

The Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, in his History of Cambridge, writes of Alvin F. Sortwell, banker and railroad president, that he was first elected to the Common Council in 1878, was Mayor of Cambridge in 1897-1898, and was a member of the Water Board and a trustee of the Public Library. He was President of the Montpelier and Wells River Railroad, in Vermont, and of the East Cambridge Savings Bank.

George Howland Cox, who had been elected a Director in 1896, and Treasurer in 1903, must have known the bank well when elected President in 1910. He had come to Cambridge as an engineer, employed by the then successful, Boston-based Calumet & Hecla Mining Co., where he worked for twenty-seven years. His community activities included membership in the long defunct Metropolitan Improvement League; Treasurer of the Cambridge Homes for Aged People; trustee of Mr. Auburn Hospital, then called Cambridge Hospital; trustee of the
Dowse Institute; and President of the Cambridge Board of Trade, predecessor of today's Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Cox, perhaps because of his early West Point training, used, I am told, to stand in the middle of the bank floor and bellow orders not only to the staff, but sometimes to customers. Perhaps that accounts in part for the continued growth of the bank across the Square, the Charles River Trust Co., later absorbed by the Harvard Trust Company.

Discipline was the word in those days. An early Treasurer under Mr. Cox was once asked by his clerk-assistant, "Sometime would you be willing to tell me the bank's policies — I prepare the figures for you and for board meetings and often wonder what the board's policies are." "Young man," the treasurer under Mr. Cox is reported to have snapped, "When I decide to speak to you about policy matters, I will do so—for the time being, policy is none of your business."

Alvan Bourne Hathaway was President from 1920 to 1950, by far the longest term of presidential office in the history of the Trust Company. The directors had a problem, as bank directors often do, of choosing a successor to Mr. Cox, who, like all bank presi-

-idents, was not getting any younger. It was natural for Herbert White, son of the first President, and the Trust Company's most active director and largest stockholder, to consult with his friend Philip Stockton, President of the Old Colony Trust Company. In those days the Old Colony was independent and not, as now, connected with the First National Bank of Boston. Mr. Stockton knew the Cambridge Trust flavor as he was a director. His directorship was partly because of his friendship with other directors, partly because, I am told, the Old Colony Trust was a substantial stockholder. In those days, Massachusetts trust companies often owned stock in other banks and indeed held other types of common stock.

As a result of Herbert White's questions, Mr. Stockton called into his office Alvan Hathaway, then a young assistant treasurer of the Old Colony, and asked him, "How would you like to go to Cambridge Trust as a vice president, with the expectation, if they like you, of becoming President in a year or so?" Mr. Hathaway told me he made the mistake of saying "I'm happy here, sir, and don't know anything about Cambridge Trust Company or Cambridge. Besides I'm not sure I've had enough experience to be president of such a bank. Its trust business, unlike Old Colony's is, you say, a very small part of its activities. What would I do if I were faced with problems I could not solve?" Mr. Stockton, whom I remember as a strong, rather dour old man, looked at Mr. Hathaway coldly and merely said, "Hathaway, if you have any real problems, come to me — I'll tell you what to do." The only answer to that was "Yes, sir." He had problems, of course, but I suspect he never really needed direction from Mr. Stockton, much as he respected him.

Mr. Hathaway and his wife continued to live happily in a Brook-line apartment, resisting for a period gentle suggestions of the directors that the President of the Trust Company should live in Cambridge. In those days its customers were even more concentrated in Cambridge than they are today. Finally the Hathaways reluctantly moved to 983 Memorial Drive, where, as far as I could see, they lived happily ever after.
Mr. Hathaway quite naturally took an active part in Cambridge affairs. For years he was Treasurer of the Avon Home and the Cambridge Chapter of the Red Cross. He steered the Trust Company through two wars, peace adjustments, and depressions. He preferred to run the organization as a "bond bank" in that loans were secondary to investments — a policy reversed in recent years.

Mr. Hathaway, along with Walter Earle of the Harvard Trust, Stoughton Bell, and Judge Robert Walcott, were a foursome in Cambridge organizations, and for decades headed many committees and boards in social service and community areas. Bankers were naturals, and still are, for the position of president or treasurer of charitable organizations — why not, for they are supposed to know something about money, and obviously have all the time in the world, for they sit at uncluttered desks and are still believed to go home when the bank closes at 3 o’clock.

One of Mr. Hathaway’s older directors, and a much beloved man, was Edward A. Davenport. In his later years he was President of the Metropolitan Ice Company, whose predecessor was the Fresh Pond Ice Company. A charming print of the latter’s ice-cutting operations on Fresh Pond hangs in the Harvard Trust today. It shows the large wooden ice-houses, the horse-drawn teams, and huge saws used in the cutting of natural ice. This was before the days of the controversy as to how much chlorine should be put in our Cambridge water. I recall my first dinner party at the Berkeley Place house of David H. Howie, a wise and knowledgeable director in my time. He was, and still is, a notable gourmet whose knowledge of wines made him lift his eyebrows at too many cocktails. He used, however, to serve one Martini before his dinners. When I praised the one he handed me, he remarked, "If its flavor is different from those you make, it's because I feel you can't use ice made from Cambridge water, on account of the chlorine content. My Martini ice is made from Belmont Springs Company's water."

Mr. Davenport found a good use for his natural ice. He and Alvan Hathaway used to make day-long expeditions to look at properties suitable for bank mortgages. He would have a rather elaborate picnic prepared, with suitable non-alcoholic drinks, and would pack the lunch, well iced, in a special container that fitted on the running board of his car. These inspections were a combination of bank business and pleasure.

He was a successful business man, but in his youth not always successful. The story is told of how, as a young man, he was sent to collect a long overdue ice bill from a Harvard professor, famous for his intellect, and infamous among Harvard Square business men for not paying bills. Young Davenport knocked at the back door, which was opened by the professor himself. The collector explained why he had come. "Why, yes, of course . . . now my family is away and I was about to raid the ice chest for lunch. Won't you join me and we'll have a good talk." The young man, embarrassed and flattered, was regaled with ham,
potato salad, and stories of ancient history. The professor added, "It's such a hot day, and I have four bottles of beer, right on top of your excellent ice —let's have some."

An hour later, young Davenport drove back to the office. His superior said to him, "How did you make out?" "The professor was very nice and gave me a good lunch." . . . "Well," impatiently, "did you get the money?" "Oh," said the young man, "he was so interesting that I forgot to ask him again for it." In his will, only a few years ago, Mr. Davenport, always thoughtful, left the following bequests:

I give, devise, and bequeath to the several members of the Board of Directors of the said Cambridge Trust Company, a total sum of three hundred dollars ($300.), requesting but not requiring them to set this sum aside as they see fit to provide a fund to be used for furnishing smoking materials or other things for their pleasure at meetings of the board. . . .

Mr. Davenport also left a small sum for an outing for the Trust Company's employees.

Another member of the board was Herbert H. White, son of Henry White. Mr. White, when I knew him, was old, far from feeble, and unique in his way of life, in that he maintained handsome places in Brookline and on Marblehead Neck, but had a shabby office above Mr. Hawkins' garage on University Road. His quarters had 1890 furniture, including a roll top desk, Morris chairs, and a huge bed. The walls were covered with hunting and fishing trophies and yachting pictures.

He once told me the following story about the nearby Bennett Street yards, now used by the Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority, and perhaps the site of the future Kennedy Library.

He read in the newspapers that the Boston Elevated Railway Company—predecessor of the MBTA—planned a subway ending in Harvard Square. Mr. White began to wonder where the trains would be stored. He hired a horse and carriage from a local livery stable and spent a long morning slowly driving around Harvard Square in concentric circles. His conclusion was that the only large, cheap land lay adjacent to his University Road property toward the river. He bought the whole property for two cents a foot.

Within six months, he was visited by a young man clad in immaculate white flannels and a blazer, who explained that he would like to buy the land for tennis courts. He was Treasurer of a Cambridge tennis club which needed more space, and offered ten cents a foot. Mr. White, unimpressed, and indeed made suspicious by his visitor's mid-morning sports clothes, said he'd think the offer over. He later told his secretary, "If that young man ever returns, follow him and find out where he goes. My Cambridge friends tell me there is no tennis club here, only individual courts."

The faithful secretary, after the man's second visit and Mr. White's refusal to sell, did follow him all the way to a Milk Street office door labelled "Boston Elevated Railway Co." A few
months later, Mr. White sold the land at a dollar a foot, to the Boston Elevated Railway Company, whose staff never played tennis on the property.

Messrs. Hathaway and Howie took special pains in planning the annual directors’ dinners, held in earlier times at the now defunct Colonial Club, town but not gown ancestor of the present Harvard Faculty Club; later at Riverbank Court where several of the directors lived when it was a residential apartment hotel and not an adjunct of Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and later still, at the Union Club.

The selection of the menu and wines was so seriously consid-

ered, that the dinner committee often had a trial run dinner, just to make sure that the chef of the moment could cope with the entree. There used to be no problem of desserts, the meal ending with the conventional cheese and fruit, coffee and cognac. A break in the menu routine was occasioned by the sad fact that two of the directors developed ulcers as an aftermath of the 1929 stock market collapse. They begged for ice cream. But the dinners continued a serious and agreeable annual affair, starting with traditional fresh caviar and Champagne — the latter, for better or worse, in recent years, competing with cocktails for a very few.

In the 30’s, when I had been at the bank a short time, Judge Walcott, to me always a fearsome figure, stopped at my desk and said, "Macomber, the treasurership of the Cambridge Historical Society is being vacated, as, most unfortunately, Willard Sprague of the Harvard Trust is retiring. I think you’ll do as treasurer." It was obviously a command performance, and I said "yes, your honor," without daring to inquire about the duties. He turned on his heel, but half way across the bank floor, reversed his stately progress, returned to my desk, and said, "I have just realized that the by-laws require a treasurer to be a member. I suppose we’ll have to elect you."

After a few years, it seemed wise for me to resign as treasurer, since meetings happened to come at an inconvenient time for me. More recently, several of your members —our fellow members — suggested that my wife and I rejoin. This was such a flattering invitation that we accepted, and have continued to enjoy these meetings as non-working members.

The old records of the Trust Company, quite properly, do not comment on the historic national crises through which the company successfully passed — the Spanish American War, two World Wars, Korea, and now Vietnam. But because of purely legal banking requirements, the dramatic closing of all banks, in 1933, is thus recorded:

Voted: -That the action of the officers and employees of this bank in transacting business on behalf of this bank on Saturday morning, March 4, 1933, from 8130 until 8:50, at which time this bank first received notice of the
proclamation by the Lieutenant Governor as acting Governor of this Commonwealth, declaring March 4 and March 6 bank holidays, and thereupon closed the doors in compliance with said proclamation; be ratified, approved and confirmed as and for the action of this bank.

Voted: - That the action of the officers and employees of this bank both in doing business for this bank and in restricting the doing of business by it from March 4 through March 13, 1933, in compliance with the proclamation of the President of the United States and of the Governor of this Commonwealth, and with the regulations of the Executive Department of the United States and of this Commonwealth, be ratified, approved, and confirmed.

Adjourned:-

a true record

(Sgd) Edward L. Bennett, Secretary

The Trust Company continues to be independent, and not controlled by one of the Boston-based bank holding companies. Directors come and go, but the old standards are maintained. Some of this audience will remember a number of the earlier directors:

James J. Storrow, the Boston philanthropist whose fortune made the Storrow Drive possible—and very occasionally, nowadays, impossible.

Edgar Crocker, one of many staunch supporters of Mount Auburn Hospital, whose grandson of the same name is head of today's Trust Department.


Charles A. Stover of Billings & Stover, and James Brine, whose grandson operates today the sporting goods store in Brattle Square.

Harvard celebrities, such as Professors William B. Munro and Lincoln F. Schaub, and Deans Henry A. Yeomans and Stanley Teele.

R. Ammi Cutter, now Associate Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, and George E. Cole, who ran the Harvard Cooperative Society for many years.

Dwight P. Robinson, Jr., of Massachusetts Investors Trust fame.


The recent moves of the Trust Company, from old Holyoke House, a Harvard dormitory built in 1874, to present quarters on the same site, opposite "Forbes Plaza" in Holyoke Center, had to be made without bank closing — no edict from Washington or from the State House made temporary closing possible, nor would the convenience of customers have made it desirable. But the problems were real, because demolition of the old building, thanks to the cooperation of our landlord, Harvard College, had to be done piecemeal. First a great slice of the rear of Holyoke House was made, just as though a gigantic knife had sheared off the
rear of the bank, where customers' coupon rooms and my alcove existed. A temporary and rather fragile backing was erected, until the present ten-story section of Holyoke Center was constructed.

At the same time new vaults were built, only a few feet away from the still useful and substantial old vaults. The only reason for their destruction, at considerable cost to the bank for new construction, was Harvard's desire to have a handsome wide sidewalk on Holyoke Street, from Massachusetts Avenue to Mt. Auburn Street. The College later planted three large maples where the old vaults stood. We used to say that these maples, which may have cost the College a thousand dollars, cost the Trust Company about $100,000. But we are glad the change took place, and continue grateful to Harvard as an admirable landlord, then and now.

At one point in the demolition of the main building, before the bank had been shifted to the ground floor and second floor of the new high-rise structure, the plaster dust was so dense that one could hardly see staff and customers across the floor. How patient customers were—and the staff, too. Plaster dust choked noses, and filled the hair of our faithful women staff members. They were offered, and cheerily accepted, three free shampoos—paid for by the Trust Company.

The problem of moving customers' safe deposit boxes presented problems in logistics and in that much abused term "public rela-
Appendix

(in thousands of dollars)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Capital Funds</th>
<th>Trust Dept.</th>
<th>Deposits</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>445</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>294</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>1,387</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>3,371</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1927</td>
<td>435</td>
<td>1,130</td>
<td>6,356</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1,343</td>
<td>7,713</td>
<td>12,762</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1,745</td>
<td>24,537</td>
<td>22,774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>2,548</td>
<td>40,506</td>
<td>28,245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>2,688</td>
<td>46,124</td>
<td>31,272</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

54

The Murder Trial of Dr. Webster
Boston 1850

BY ROBERT SULLIVAN

IN THE system of juris prudence of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, few cases are as often quoted by our courts as The Commonwealth of Massachusetts against Webster. When sitting on the criminal side of the Superior Court, my colleagues and I use it, or parts of it, in jury instructions almost daily.

The very fact of the extremely extensive use of a case now 118 years old led me to inquire into the contemporary publications, newspapers, and manuscripts to establish in my own mind’s eye what indeed had been the actual, factual situation at the Webster trial. The experience has been extremely revealing and somewhat disenchanting.

In the light of our current attitude toward the protection of the rights of the individual who is criminally accused, the fate of Dr. Webster might equally fairly have been determined by the whims and thumbs of the vestal virgins at the Colosseum in Rome.

Why? Not because Dr. Webster was innocent—perhaps he was not—but because he did not receive a fully fair trial by the standards of today.
"Boston," said Charles Dickens shortly before the Webster trial, is "where the houses are so bright and gay — the bricks so very red — the stone so very white — the knockers and plates upon the street doors so marvelously bright and twinkling — the city is a beautiful one." Yet this word picture does not altogether accurately portray the City of Boston at the middle of the nineteenth century. Accordingly, and at the risk of travelling out of the record, here follows a brief panoramic description of the backdrop against which the tragedy of the Webster case was played, the setting, if you will, within which the scenes took place.

Physically, the city was bursting at its seams. There was no Back Bay as Bostonians now know it; the embankment just west of Charles Street marked the westerly boundary. Dwelling houses were being built on the northerly side of Beacon Street, about opposite the Public Garden (they are still there today).

For the fourth time, in 1850, the City Council had attempted to sell the Public Garden. A plan was published showing the area subdivided into house lots with new streets between Beacon and Boylston (which later became Commonwealth Avenue, Marlborough Street, and Newbury Street). Happily, and in spite of the alluring prospects of a profit to the City of Boston of a million and a half dollars from the sale of the house lots, "this miserable proposal went down in defeat."

Boston at the halfway mark of the nineteenth century was meeting many bewildering challenges and hardly knew which compass to follow. This was the threshold of the Industrial Revolution in America, the start of the Victorian Age, the era of the telegraph and the railroad, and yet this was also a period of fear and insecurity.

Mid-nineteenth-century Boston society centered around Beacon Hill with its exact focal point at "The Club" at the corner of Park and Beacon Streets, and Jonathan Amory’s mansion next to it fronting on Park Street. The latter especially was the scene of gay parties and balls. The social arbiter was Mrs. Elizabeth Copley Greene, the daughter of the famous artist John Singleton Copley. The Somerset Club, a gentleman’s club, was established in the mansion of Benjamin W. Crowninshield at the corner of Somerset and Beacon Streets.

One of the founders of the new Somerset Club in 1851 was George F. Parkman, son of the principal in this sad tale. A lawyer and philanthropist, the younger Parkman died in 1908 leaving his mansion at 33 Beacon Street, overlooking the Common, and upwards of five million dollars "for the preservation and maintenance of the Boston Common." The Boston Park Department today occupies his home on Beacon Street.
The greatest challenge of the time to the city, however, was a sociological one. From 1845 through 1849 the staple crop of Ireland had been black and pest-ridden. The "potato famine," as it was called, drove hordes of emigrants from the Emerald Isle. Virtually all were penniless and virtually all landed in either New York or Boston. In these few years before 1850 nearly 37,000 Irish immigrants descended upon the city with a total population of less than 100,000. The problems of absorption were beyond belief. Living conditions for the newly arrived were deplorable; public health problems were extreme. The rash and sometimes troublesome Reverend Theodore Parker dubbed Boston, "not the Athens of America, but the Dublin of America."

Boston's real claim to its characterization as the "Athens of America" in 1850 was grounded upon the "Saturday Club." Meeting at the Old Corner Book Store and later at the Parker House, a block away, were the literary giants of the day: James Russell Lowell, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Louis Agassiz, Charles Sumner, Asa Gray, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne — "The Boston Olympians."

But Boston at the turn of the half century had its moral problems, too. Ann Street which ran from Dock Square to North Square and is now known as North Street was the center of the red-light district. In one night 150 ladies of the evening were arrested there just after the Webster trial. Richmond Street in the North End of Boston was a maze of gambling places, brothels, and cabarets, all catering to seamen — so bad was it, in fact, that it was called "The Black Sea."

At the same time the city abounded with religious fervor. The Park Street Church had been erected at Park and Tremont Streets earlier in the century. It is said that this corner was called "Brimstone Corner" because of the calibre of sermons delivered at what is now the venerable and beautifully designed place of worship.

A few blocks away, the Reverend William Miller had organized a sect called "The Millerites." He had mathematically calculated that the end of the world would come on a certain date just prior to the half-century turn. His followers gave, or sold away, their belongings and then caused to be constructed a church building which, rebuilt, later became the Howard Athenaeum on Howard Street, later still the Howard Theatre, and still later the Old Howard of burlesque fame.

On the carefully calculated and appointed day the Millerites gathered at the church and with a proper sense of repentance, huddled together, prayed, and waited for the doomsday.

Reverend Miller had, as we know now, miscalculated — a sad thing for him but a great boon to the Harvard University students and others of the first half of the twentieth century who marvelled at the gyrations of the ecdysiasts on the Old Howard stage. Time, and the New Boston, of course, have long since darkened that stage.

The other religious leaders in 1850 were Ellery Channing, Francis Parkman, and Theodore Parker. Channing needs no salute, and Parker was so rash and outspoken that all pulpits were barred to him in the i840's. The Reverend Francis Parkman, a most distinguished
clergyman, was the brother of the victim, an important witness at the trial of Webster, and the father of Francis Parkman, the famous historian.

Shortly before the Webster trial, Boston had abandoned Jamaica Pond as the source of supply of water, and in 1848 tap water flowed from Lake Cochituate in Natick to be pumped into a great reservoir located immediately behind the State House on Beacon Hill. Indeed, to celebrate the occasion of the new water supply, James Russell Lowell had written an Ode and, as a climax to the gaiety, Mayor Quincy turned on the fountains in the Frog Pond on Boston Common.

The Common in 1850 was not only a forum for celebrations and gala events but it was a daily playground, place of exercise, and center of business and social activity — "As the baths were to the Romans, so the Common was to Bostonians." In the early morning hours one could see Daniel Webster strolling on the mall with Edward Everett, Whitman with Emerson, Rufus Choate with Charles Sumner and, yes, the autocrat, Oliver Wendell Holmes — strolling alone.

Pre-Civil War Boston had been swept off its feet by the prospects of intercity and interstate commerce and travel offered by the youthful railroad industry. A visitor to Boston in 1850 could arrive on any one of seven railroads at any one of seven railroad depots.

The traveler to Boston had a wide selection of "first class" hotels from which to choose. He could find accommodations at the Tremont House across from Tremont Temple (now the site of the 73 Tremont Street office building), the Adams House, the American House on Hanover Street, Young's Hotel on Court Street, the United States Hotel on Beach Street, the old Bromfield House, located halfway down Bromfield Street (the stable entrance is still visible), or (if the traveler could afford it) the Revere House, Boston's finest, in Bowdoin Square.

The gracious old State House, where once colonial governors had presided, was in 1850 occupied by law offices and tailor shops. Farther west, destitute of ornament, stood the old Court House (where this grim tragedy was played). It faced on Court Street and was located immediately behind City Hall. Years later when the courts were removed to Pemberton Square the old court building was used as an annex to the City Hall. Still later it was demolished and the presently existing City Hall annex was constructed on the site.

Some years before 1850 the wealthy merchant, Samuel Parkman (father of the victim) had built a great mansion at the corner of Green and Cambridge streets (later to be used as the United States Courthouse). When Samuel Parkman's two daughters married, their mother wished them to live nearby and accordingly Parkman built another great mansion on Cambridge Street. This structure
could only be characterized as a duplex mansion, for it was in fact two separate great houses enclosed within one exterior. One side was occupied by the victim’s sister Elizabeth, Mrs. Robert Gould Shaw, her husband and family, the other by Mrs. Blake, younger sister of the victim, her husband and family. The unusual Blake-Shaw mansion, as it was called, was a landmark in Boston in 1850.

On the hill above and at the site of the present day courthouse were the Pemberton Square homes of Dr. George C. Shattuck, Samuel Putnam, F. B. Crowninshield, John A. Lowell, Nathaniel I. Bowditch, R. C. Winthrop, Mrs. Henry Sigourney, and Peter C. Brooks, the richest man in Boston. Nearby and from the highest point, the Bulfinch-fronted State House and the magnificent Hancock Mansion standing next to it commanded a view of all the city and the great reservoir which provided the city with water by gravity flow.

A brief glance at the 1849-1850 Boston City Directory reveals that Samuel S. Pierce sold groceries at Court Street, there were 1,500 drinking saloons in the city, 478 practicing lawyers (extraordinary number), and only 30 policemen; there were seven Cornelius Murphys, five Daniel Murphys, ten Michael Sullivans, and one Robert Sullivan; there were thirty-six Kennedys, one Saltonstall, one Cohen, and a Reggio who was the Vice-Consul for Sicily; and there was one George Parkman, a physician, who lived at No. 8 Walnut Street.

This then was Boston in 1850. This was the backdrop for the trial of John White Webster, charged with the murder of that same Dr. George Parkman.

II

AUDIENCE

The impact which the Webster trial had upon Boston, indeed upon the nation (for this was the day of the telegraph), can best be measured by considering that the population of Boston at the time of the trial was about 137,000 people, and that a very large fraction of that number attended some part of the twelve-day trial.

Here is what George Bemis, principal prosecutor of Dr. Webster wrote, in 1850, with regard to the arrangements for the trial and the numbers attending.

By stationing a police force so as to effect a change of audience in the gallery every ten minutes and then issuing cards of admission to the entrance on the inner side, a great degree of quiet was secured around the bench and jury seats.

Within, as it was computed by the estimate of the police, no less than 55,000 to 60,000 persons had a view of the trial from the gallery.

Perhaps within the Bar and upon the lower floor where the audience was much more permanent, nearly as many more persons, were present at one time or another during the proceedings.
Since 400 B.C., when Socrates was sentenced to drink the fatal hemlock cup, to the present day, few trials have attracted the public interest and attention as did the trial of John White Webster in 1850.

III

DRAMATIS PERSONAE

The tremendous public interest which was generated by the case was due in no small part to the fame and prominence of the persons involved. Here follows a brief review of some of the personalities who were concerned, their respective backgrounds, and the roles into which they were cast at this trial 118 years ago.

I. The alleged victim, GEORGE PARKMAN, M.D., scion of a most distinguished Boston merchant family. Master of Arts at Harvard University, Doctor of Medicine from the University of Aberdeen and member of the Massachusetts Medical Society.

Although Dr. Parkman was a doctor of medicine (he had been the author of several books on lunacy and the care of lunatics, and a pioneer in psychiatry), his real estate holdings in Boston were so extensive that he devoted most of his time to rent collecting. He was also known as a money lender.

By nature a prompt and punctual and aggressive man, he is described in the official report of the Webster case as "quite peculiar in manner and in person." Support for this characterization is found in the fact that Dr. Parkman, well known to the people of Boston in 1849, was called "The Chin" by some because of his unusual facial structure.

Parsimonious as he was, Dr. Parkman had been generous to the Harvard Medical School, and a chair named in his honor was, at the time of his disappearance, occupied oddly enough by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr. More oddly, the specific reason for the naming of the Parkman Professorship was Dr. Parkman's donation to the Harvard Medical School, three years before his disappearance, of the land upon which the school was situated and where, it was later established (at least to the satisfaction of the jury), his body was found.

Dr. Parkman left his Walnut Street home in Boston in the forenoon on November 23, 1849 in good health and in good spirits and was never again seen alive by his family.

II. OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES, twice a witness at the Webster trial. "The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table," and the father of the great jurist Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.

Graduated from Harvard in 1829, Holmes had at first entered the Harvard Law School, and during his short stay there he had composed the famous poem "Old Ironsides." Thereafter he studied medicine, beginning in 1830 at a private medical school, then attending the Harvard Medical School and, finally, completing his medical education in Europe.

On April 3, 1847, Holmes was appointed to the professorship named for the victim. He became the Parkman Professor of Anatomy, and immediately thereafter he was made Dean
of the Harvard Medical School, a position which he occupied throughout this entire unhappy affair.

A good anatomist, a better philosopher and wit, after the trial Holmes was to stun the contemporary literary world with The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, Elsie Venner, and other works. At a meeting at the Parker House with Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, John Lothrop Motley, and others, he was to be a founder of the Atlantic Monthly. He also authored a flattering biographical sketch of the victim of this strange case, the principal feature of a volume entitled The Benefactors of the Medical School of Harvard University.

III. WILIIAM T. G. MORTON, dentist, physician, star witness for the defense of Dr. Webster at the trial, who had three years before made the entire civilized world grateful to him for the discovery of ether anesthesia.

Here was America’s greatest contribution to medical science in that era. Here, indeed, was the greatest contribution from any age, from any country—the rendering of human beings insensible to pain in surgery. Morton was born in 1819 in Charlton, Massachusetts, had studied dentistry in Baltimore and practiced it in Connecticut before coming to Boston to study medicine.

He attended but did not graduate from the Harvard Medical School while he conducted a dental practice under the aegis of Dr. Charles T. Jackson at 19 Tremont Street. During this period he virtually suspended his business to research ether anesthesia. On October 16, 1846, at the Massachusetts General Hospital he demonstrated his discovery in the first surgical operation under anesthesia. A short time later Dr. Jackson, his disgruntled employer, was to claim the discovery as his own and to challenge the integrity of Morton, thus precipitating litigation between the two which lasted for years and involved President Pierce, the Supreme Court of the United States, the Congress, the King of Prussia, the American Medical Association, and the Academy of Science of France.

The trustees of the Massachusetts General Hospital in 1848 joined with a group of Bostonians in acknowledging ether anesthesia as Morton’s achievement. On the other hand, some years later when the Ether Monument was placed in the Public Garden, where it is today, the name of the discoverer was discreetly omitted. (Said sometimes punster Oliver Wendell Holmes, "Inscribe it to Either.")

IV. JEFFRIES WYMAN, M.D., famous anatomist and star witness for the prosecution, a graduate of Harvard College and the
Harvard Medical School, and at the time of the trial the Hersey Professor of Medicine at the Harvard Medical School, a post which he had held since 1847.

Wyman’s role was to testify against his colleague (after having pieced together the human parts which were said to have been parts of the body of Dr. Parkman) to attempt to establish the corpus delicti. For this he appeared to be qualified although the 200 works which he had written were principally concerned with animal anatomy.

V. JARED SPARKS, a witness for the defense, President of Harvard University.

He had graduated from Harvard with an A.B. degree in 1815, had taken his Master of Arts degree in 1818, and had been (seriatim) a Unitarian minister, an educator, an author, and for many years a Professor of History at Harvard University. Shortly before the trial he succeeded Edward Everett in the President’s chair.

VI. LEMUEL SHAW, the presiding Justice at the Webster trial. Chief Justice Shaw was born in 1781 in Barnstable, Massachusetts, the son of a minister of the West Parish Church of Barnstable. In 1800 he was graduated from Harvard College, and in 1804 he was admitted to the Bar in the State of New Hampshire and Massachusetts.

Shaw’s early legal career was remarkable only because in 1806 his law associate Thomas O. Selfridge was indicted and tried for the murder of a seventeen-year-old boy and later found not guilty. (Shaw testified at the Selfridge trial in which many thought the jury reached a "Scotch" verdict — i.e., "not guilty; but don’t do it again.")

Soon, however, the diligence, attention to detail, sound judgment, and knowledge of the law, which were later to serve Shaw well for thirty years as Chief Justice, gave him great stature at the bar. When Boston became a city in 1822 it was Shaw who authored the city charter. The following year, together with Asahel Stearns and Theron Metcalf, he compiled the General Laws of Massachusetts and (for the first time) published the compilation. Later he was to serve as a committee of one to marshal the law of equity in the commonwealth.

His position as counsel and director of the New England Bank had enhanced his fortune and his professional reputation. He had served as President of the Boston Bar Association immediately before his judicial career began. In 1830 Shaw was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court. He resigned in 1860 and died the following year.

In 1853 Shaw endeared himself to Massachusetts judges both past and present, including your humble servant, when he single-handedly defeated a legislative attempt to reduce judges’ salaries while the judges held office, and a second move by the lawmakers to relieve the judges of life tenure. When he died in 1861 Shaw left as his best remembered single judicial act, his charge to the jury in the Webster case, which charge, as we shall see, was edited and changed by the Chief Justice—after it had been delivered to the jury, and after the jury had returned its verdict.
IV

PRE-DRAMA EVENTS:

THE DISAPPEARANCE AND THE SEARCH

The saga begins on Friday, November 23, 1849. For some time prior to this date Dr. Webster had been in debt to Dr. George Parkman. Over a period of years his borrowings from Parkman became evidenced by a series of promissory notes to a total of $2,432. The size of this debt can be best measured and appreciated when it is considered that Dr. Webster's annual salary in 1849 as a Professor at the Harvard Medical College was $1,200.

Parkman was a relentless creditor and his patience with Dr. Webster had been easily exhausted. Thus at some time in the course of these involved financial transactions Webster had hypothecated his valuable mineral collection to Parkman as mortgage security for his debt. Perhaps in desperation but at any rate some months before November of 1849 Professor Webster attempted to sell the cabinet of minerals (which were already pledged) and,

amazingly, he chose as a prospective purchaser Robert Gould Shaw, Parkman's brother-in-law.

Quite naturally, Shaw informed Dr. Parkman of Webster's inclination to sell the security for his debt. Parkman became infuriated and with threats and insults he pressed Webster for payment in an almost frenzied manner. Thus was the stage set for the happenings of Friday, November 23, 1849, and the events which followed.

About 11:00 A.M. that morning Parkman, having met and conferred with his brother-in-law, Robert Gould Shaw, left him at the Merchants Bank without announcing his destination. Then Dr. Parkman purchased for his invalid daughter a head of green lettuce (a great delicacy in 1849) and proceeded to Paul Holland's Grocery Store at the corner of Vine and Blossom Streets in the West End of Boston. He never did return.

When Parkman did not appear at his home that evening, Mrs. Parkman communicated with her brother-in-law, Robert Gould Shaw, who advertised the disappearance and an offer of reward for information in the city's newspapers.

From then on Shaw was at the center of the extensive investigation which followed. Interestingly, the first reward offer, published and circulated by handbills and newspapers, contained this:

He (Parkman) was seen in the southerly part of the city in or near Washington Street in conversation with some persons at about five o'clock of the afternoon of the same day (Friday, the 23rd).

The entire police force of the City of Boston under the direction of Marshal Tukey was requisitioned, the Charles River dredged, dwelling houses and outbuildings, all owned by Dr. Parkman in the West End of Boston, thoroughly searched, and for sixty miles beyond the
city limits inquiries were made and handbills concerning the disappearance of Parkman distributed.

However, throughout the following week Professor Webster demonstrated absolutely no change in deportment. He was at his residence each day for family meals and in the evening was either at home with his family and friends or visiting his neighbors with his wife and daughters to play whist.

As Thursday of that week was Thanksgiving Day, Dr. Webster on Tuesday delivered to the porter or janitor of the Harvard Medical School, Ephraim Littlefield, an order for a Thanksgiving turkey. Littlefield, the janitor, was to repay this small holiday kindness in a most extraordinary way the next day, Friday, and again later at the trial when he was to hold the center of the stage, for he was the most important prosecution witness against Webster, holding the stand for two full days.

On Tuesday of this frantic week following the disappearance the police officers searched all the various rooms of the Harvard Medical School, including Dr. Webster’s among the rest. Webster’s suite was immediately contiguous to the dissecting room.

On the day after Thanksgiving, Friday, borrowing the tools from a neighbor, the janitor, Littlefield, broke through the walls of the vault immediately below Dr. Webster’s privy and reported that he saw on the basement floor portions of a human body.

Littlefield immediately summoned the police and they conducted a particularly thorough search of Dr. Webster’s apartment, resulting in the discovery of a human thorax in a tea chest packed in tan. In addition, and most importantly, a number of false (mineral) teeth were found in the stove located in Dr. Webster’s office. Here follows a contemporary account of what happened immediately thereafter:

The officers of justice took Dr. Webster into custody at his residence in Cambridge this same Friday evening. They found him at his door just parting with a friend. They told him it was proposed to make another search in the college and desired him to be present, and under this pretense took him into Boston in a carriage. The carriage was stopped at the city prison. There the party alighted and the officer informed Dr. Webster that he was under arrest charged with the murder of Dr. Parkman.

Whatever Littlefield’s motives in searching, whether he was a publicity seeker, a reward seeker, or worse, his surreptitiously undertaken discoveries placed Professor Webster in jail on Friday, November 30, 1849, one week after Dr. Parkman’s disappearance, and Littlefield’s testimony at the trial, as we shall see, was extremely helpful to the prosecution.

V

PRE-TRIAL PREJUDICIAL PUBLICITY
On December 13, 1849, the coroner’s jury announced that their inquest had been completed, and that their final report was as follows:

1. The sparse human remains found in the Medical School were the remains of George Parkman, M. D.

2. George Parkman had come to his death by violence on the 23rd day of November, 1849 at the Harvard Medical School.

3. The death of Parkman was caused "by blow or blows, wound or wounds" inflicted upon him and said means were used by the hands of said John W. Webster by whom he was killed.

This hearing had been conducted on an ex parte or one-sided basis, without opportunity of cross examination and outside the presence of the accused. Only the prosecution was permitted to be present and only the prosecution could introduce evidence and present witnesses.

This startling and condemning report of the coroner's jury was published verbatim in the Boston and New York press. Thereafter, there was sustained publicity given to these findings which lasted for several days.

Here follows a quotation from the Daily Evening Transcript, Boston, Saturday, December 15, 1849, before the grand jury had been summoned, and indeed it is characteristic of the newspaper treatment given to this case.

In Boston I find that the general opinion is that Dr. Webster is unquestionably guilty of the murder of Dr. George Parkman, and not a few go so far as to say it was premeditated.

    In Cambridge, among those who know Dr. Webster, there is a general belief in his innocence although most persons confess that they do not see how the circumstances can be reconciled with this belief.

    He is a man of considerable scientific acquirements but he is not a man of very strong mind.

    There cannot now be the slightest doubt that the body found in the medical college is that of Dr. Parkman.

The coroner’s jury procedures and the tremendously wide-

spread newspaper publicity given its hearings and its findings after a one-sided or ex parte hearing may sound ridiculously prejudicial to us today yet it was all consistent with the statutes of Massachusetts in 1849.

Yet faithfully the grand jury with the benefit of all this publicity indicted Webster on January 26, 1850, and on Tuesday, March 19, 1850, a quorum of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, consistent with the statute, assembled in the Supreme Judicial Court House to "hear the case of the Commonwealth against John White Webster." The court
quorum consisted of Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw and Associate Justices Samuel S. Wilde, Charles A. Dewey, and Theron Metcalf.

VI
THE DRAMA OPENS: THE TRIAL

In 1850 it was the usual practice for the Attorney General of the Commonwealth to prosecute all capital cases. Accordingly, Attorney General John H. Clifford, Esquire (later Governor of Massachusetts), appeared to prosecute John W. Webster for murder on March 19, 1850.

Before the case began, however, Clifford announced to Chief Justice Shaw that although propriety required him to open the case and to argue the cause at the closing, he, nonetheless, wished to have one George Bemis, Esquire, an independent attorney, conduct the trial on behalf of the Commonwealth. (This practice of retaining independent counsel to represent the Commonwealth had begun about twenty-five years before 1850 when Daniel Webster had been retained by the state to prosecute in certain criminal matters.)

Counsel for the defendant were the Honorable Pliny Merrick (three years later appointed to the Supreme Judicial Court) and his associate Edward D. Sohier, Esquire. Both were well-known and well-established members of the bar. Clearly both had had considerable experience on the civil side of the court. Equally clearly they had had little or no experience on the criminal side.

Finally, the jury was chosen and the Attorney General delivered to them his opening address which lasted from ten in the morning until one in the afternoon. The thrust of his remarks advanced two solid propositions:

1. That George Parkman, M.D., had been murdered and the assorted human parts found in the investigation were from his body.

2. That he had been murdered by the hand of John White Webster.

Ironically, while Attorney General Clifford lost himself in his own eloquence and promised the jury to expose the case against Webster to the "clear, calm light of justice in this Hall of Justice," above his head crushing crowds of ticketholding spectators were being moved in and out of the court gallery in ten-minute shifts.

VI-A
THE THEME IS STATED: THE PROSECUTION'S CASE

Here follows an analysis of the testimony of the principal prosecution witnesses as "phonographically recorded by Dr. James Stone and later 'stereotyped.' "

The principal witness on the first day of trial was Dr. Parkman's brother-in-law, Robert Gould Shaw, merchant. Shaw told of the anxiety of the Parkman family when the doctor did not return home at the usual time on Friday, November 23, and of his own participation in
the search immediately following the disappearance. He testified concerning the
distribution of 28,000 handbills in Boston and Eastern Massachusetts and he related his
own actions in offering rewards through newspaper publications. "After Dr. Parkman's
disappearance," said Shaw, "I had suspicions of a man who had been punished for stealing
from the doctor's home."

He told from the witness stand of his dealings with Webster in April of 1848 concerning the
sale of Webster's minerals, and described Dr. Parkman's family, his wife, his invalid
daughter, and his son, George F. Parkman (later the generous benefactor of the Boston
Common), who was then touring in Europe.

Shaw's testimony on the identification of the human parts was dramatic, but extremely
equivocal. The hair on the chest and on

the back of the thorax was what Shaw used to identify—if indeed he did identify. Said Shaw:

There was nothing about the parts dissimilar from him (Parkman) yet if I hadn't known Dr.
Parkman was missing I shouldn't have been led to suppose that the parts of the body found were
his.

The fact of his disappearance had as much to do with my opinion as the color of the chest
hair.

The language of identification, it would seem, fell far short of establishing the corpus
delicti.

On the second day of the trial, the jury was taken to the Harvard Medical School for a view
of the premises. This was done, it is to be noted, over the strenuous objections of defense
counsel, for the practice of conducting a jury on a view in a capital case, quite usual today,
was apparently not so in 1850.

After the Marshal had finished his rather lengthy testimony, he was followed by witnesses
Winslow Lewis, Jr., M.D., George H. Gay, M.D., and James W. Stone, M.D., all leaders in the
field of medicine in Boston in 1850. These three medical doctors had constituted a
committee called a "medical committee" to examine in detail the human parts which were
found. All three had known Dr. Parkman very well and for a very long time. Lewis had
known him intimately for thirty years.

This august body concurred in the view that it was likely that the parts they had examined
were all from the same human body, but each of the three in turn testified, "If I hadn't
known George Parkman was missing I should not have suspected that this was his body"
—again hardly enough to establish the corpus delicti.

Clearly, the most dramatic witness of the trial and quite possibly the most effective witness
for the prosecution was the next witness, Nathan C. Keep, surgeon and dentist, who had
manufactured false teeth for Dr. Parkman in 1846, three years before his disappearance.
Keep said that he well remembered the manufacture of the false teeth because Parkman
had come to him in 1846, had said that he wished to make a speech at the grand opening of the new Harvard Medical School, that he had donated the land and had otherwise been a benefactor of the institution, and that in order properly to articulate his speech, he wanted the new teeth before the gala day.

Parkman’s view might appear venturesome to new denture wearers of today but, at any rate, Dr. Keep and his assistant, Noble, sat up all night working on the dentures so that they would be ready in time for Dr. Parkman’s speech. Perhaps Keep’s artistry was imperfect or perhaps Dr. Parkman had some second thoughts about speech making with new false teeth but for whatever reason, the records show that when Governor Everett called upon Parkman at the dedication of the new medical school he merely rose, smiled broadly, bowed, and sat down.

Keep, the dentist witness, wept throughout the entire and lengthy testimony. Whether the tears were shed for Dr. Parkman or for Dr. Webster, a personal friend of long standing whom he was helping to convict, is not clear. Several times the witness became so agitated that it became impossible to proceed for he was "overcome with his feeling." Throughout all of this there was, of course, the ten-minute change of onlookers in the gallery and the constant change of spectators on the court level.

On one occasion Keep, in describing his examination of the teeth after their discovery in Webster’s stove, said, "After examination I said, 'Dr. Parkman is gone. We shall see him no more.' " With that he again burst into tears and the audience in the galleries, now emotionally drained, joined with him. To complete and compound this farcical performance, in the midst of Keep’s tearful testimony the Attorney General requested that the Court grant a short recess, with the most extraordinary explanation that his office was on fire, and he wished to save some important papers.

Thus was the emotional framework for Keep’s testimony set, yet tearful as it was, emotional as it was, it was, nevertheless, very telling against Webster. For he did identify the fire-scarred false teeth (after exhaustive description of manufacture) as those of George Parkman and he did introduce into evidence a plaster cast of Dr. Parkman’s jaw made by him in 1846, and he did relate the mineral teeth exhibits to this cast.

This testimony —tears, interruptions, and all —clearly was effec-

tive in establishing the corpus delicti. Equally clearly it required rebuttal by the defense which came, as we shall see, from Dr. William T. G. Morton.

The next witness was Dr. Jeffries Wyman of Cambridge, faculty colleague of Dr. Webster at the medical school, a professor of anatomy. His testimony, it would seem, was also very damaging to the defense.
Wyman’s examination of the parts of the human body had revealed that they had been separated by a person with some knowledge of anatomy, and examination of the thorax, Wyman testified, showed that there was more hair present on the back of the thorax than he had ever seen before on any person. It was his "catalogue of bones" testimony, however, which revealed the extent of his research in order to establish that these were parts of the same body. Each tiny particle of bone which had been found in the stove had been catalogued and then pieced together. It was Wyman’s opinion that the fragments were from the head, face, neck, and feet and that all were consistent with being parts of the same body and, further, it was his opinion that the particles of the cranium bones showed some evidence of having been fractured "by mechanical violence" before burning.

What Wyman had done with his research and with his testimony was to piece together and complete a hideous picture puzzle effectually establishing that all of these parts were from one body—but whose?

Following Professor Wyman to the witness stand was Oliver Wendell Holmes, Dean of the Harvard Medical School and Park-man Professor of Anatomy. Holmes was cast in the unfortunate role of testifying against one of his six professors. The thrust of his comparatively short testimony was (1) that the parts of the body which he examined had been dissected by a hand experienced in the field of anatomy and (2) that having known Dr. Parkman as he had for many years, he saw nothing about the remains dissimilar from Dr. Parkman’s person — again hardly an unequivocal identification.

For the next two full days the witness stand was occupied by the janitor, Ephraim Littlefield. The detailed description which Littlefield was able to give of all of the circumstances surrounding the case causes the reader to pause and consider.

On Tuesday, following the disappearance, the police searched the medical school to "see if Dr. Parkman had stowed himself away there" and Littlefield accompanied them. The janitor had the only key to the basement under the dissecting room where human parts were cast and he opened it for the officers to search there.

The same day Dr. Webster gave Littlefield an order for a Thanksgiving turkey drawn on one Foster who sold meats next to the Howard Athenaeum on Howard Street in Boston. "The first time Dr. Webster ever gave me anything" said the enthusiastic witness and "I told my wife that I was going to watch every step that Dr. Webster took."

This he apparently did for he testified as to every hour of everyday of the search. He testified as to the heat of Dr. Webster’s stove, and the locked and bolted doors of Dr. Webster’s apartment and, finally, as to the details of the search which he said he had conducted in Webster’s privy vault while his (Littlefield’s) wife stood guard above.

Perhaps the most significant part of Littlefield’s testimony came near its end when, confident, basking in publicity, he inadvertently ejaculated, "I never told anybody I meant to get the reward and I defy anyone to prove it." The Reverend Francis Parkman, brother of the victim and Pastor of the accused, next testified as to his relationship with both. He told
of Webster’s visit on Sunday, November 25, two days after the disappearance of Dr. Parkman. He related how Webster had said that he had paid the missing Parkman $483 and that indeed Webster was the unknown person who had called on the Minister's brother the morning of the 23rd.

Proof of consciousness of guilt is a method of proof of guilt relied upon by prosecutors even today in Massachusetts and elsewhere. It consists of evidence to show that the accused person conducted himself in some way that would betray a guilty conscience. On this maxim of prosecution, the Attorney General relied heavily in the case of Commonwealth against Webster as we shall see from the testimony of the next following witnesses.

Meanwhile, Marshal Tukey, the guardian of law enforcement in Boston, had received many written suggestions and advice. Three letters, however, had arrived which attracted his attention and which were to be featured at the trial.

The first was well-drawn and lengthy, obviously written by an educated person, and it suggested, among other things, setting off explosives in the Charles River to cause the body of Parkman to rise from the water. It was anonymously signed "Civis" (citizen). The other two were crudely written and indeed one was quite illegible. It was the purpose of the prosecution to establish that these three letters had in fact been written by Dr. Webster after Parkman's disappearance in order to distract the attention of the police from him and to cast suspicion elsewhere — thus a showing of consciousness of guilt. All three letters were introduced and marked as exhibits.

Then on the eighth day the Commonwealth called to the witness stand Nathaniel D. Gould who had been for fifty years an instructor in penmanship and who was the official penman for the Harvard Medical School diplomas. He said that he had become familiar with Professor Webster's handwriting over a period of years since each professor was required to sign each Harvard Medical School diploma in 1849 and thereabouts. Gould opined that all the letters were written by Webster and the handwriting showed that Webster had attempted to disguise his own writing.

Handwriting experts in court had rarely been used before the Webster trial and certainly few before, or for that matter since, have been allowed to go so far — to identify the writer first and then to say the writing had been disguised by him.

Here the entire case took an odd twist because on the day after the handwriting experts finished their testimony, Defense Counsel Sohier received a letter from "Civis" dated the day before, swearing that he, "Civis," whoever he was, and not Webster had written the original "Civis" letter and declaring that the testimony of the handwriting expert Gould showed "the utter fallibility of human judgment."

The handwriting and the style of this second "Civis" letter com-
pletely resembled that of the first. Unquestionably both had been written by the same person, yet the second "Civis" letter was never introduced into evidence nor argued at the trial of the case.

On this extraordinary note, the Commonwealth closed its case, for this was the prosecution's "case in chief." This was the proof relied upon by the prosecution to establish that the human parts were those of George Parkman and to establish that John White Webster had done him to death.

VI-B

THE CONFLICT DEVELOPS: THE DEFENSE

On the eighth day of the trial and on the afternoon of Wednesday, May 27, Edward D. Sohier, Esquire, arose to make his opening for the defendant Webster.

He began with a fiery plea to the jurors to put prejudice against the defendant from their minds. In this regard he spoke of the great shock to the community when Parkman’s disappearance had been announced. Said Sohier:

Men quit their avocations—clustered together in the exchange—in workshops, street corners and on the porches of churches—can you forget the burst of indignation so creditable to this community but so dangerous to the defendant Webster, threatening not only the defendant himself, but the safety of the harmless Medical School itself—is it a fact that there can be no prejudice?—By no means!

After this eloquent, fiery, indeed blazing introduction to his opening for the defense, Sohier suddenly, unexpectedly and, it would seem, inappropriately, launched into a lengthy discussion regarding the legal differences between murder and manslaughter. Most amazingly, before he had even outlined the evidence which he expected to introduce, he said to the jury:

It is your duty to keep the line of demarcation between murder and manslaughter distinct in your minds for on one side of the narrow line is death, on the other life, life burdened perhaps by long and severe imprisonment— but still life.

To the present-day advocate it would seem that thus in the opening for the defense, before any evidence had been introduced,

indeed even discussed, Defense Counsel Sohier had conceded that there would not be an acquittal and that he was arguing for the lesser of the two alternatives — guilty of manslaughter.

Far from having no defense or a hopeless defense, it developed that actually the thrust of the defense was three-pronged and more, and the many witnesses who testified for Webster supported these propositions:

1. That Professor Webster by character was simply not the type of person who could commit such a crime as charged and that he was a gentle man, mild, kind, and humane.
2. That George Parkman had left the Harvard Medical School after his interview with Webster and had been seen abroad in the streets long after 2:00 P.M. on November 23 and even at times which would clearly demonstrate that Webster had not a hand in harming Parkman for he, Webster, had not been the last person to see Parkman on November 23.

3. That the calm, placid actions of Dr. Webster in the week following the Parkman disappearance (his behavior in the bosom of his family—playing whist with friends, reading aloud to his daughters, delivering regularly scheduled medical lectures, all without a shade of change from his regular, quiet, cheerful manner) were all completely inconsistent with the hypothesis of guilt of a heinous crime.

The balance of the eighth day of trial was devoted to the testimony of sixteen witnesses, all of whom swore that Webster had been known to them for many years and that his reputation in the community was that of a mild, placid, peaceable, quiet, and humane gentleman. Among the sixteen were the Mayor of Cambridge, where Webster lived, and a Boston merchant, Charles M. Hovey.

The ninth day of the trial found Jared Sparks, President of Harvard College, on the witness stand. Sparks told of knowing Webster intimately as a neighbor in Cambridge and as a colleague. He testified slightly longer than the other character witnesses and he was most firm in his avowal that Webster had the reputation in the community as a peaceable and humane gentleman. Nine others followed President Sparks of Harvard to the witness stand, all affirming Webster's character, all substantial persons in the community, including the City Marshal of Cambridge and Judge Samuel P. P. Fay.

The next phase of the defense was presented through the testimony of Marianne Webster, Harriet P. Webster, and Catherine P. Webster, all daughters of the defendant, and Ann Finnegan, a domestic in the Webster household.

These lovely, tearful, innocent young ladies established for the jury and for the throngs of observers what had indeed been Dr. Webster's placid activity from November 23, the date of the disappearance of Dr. Parkman, until November 30, the date of Dr. Webster's arrest.

The truth of the assertions of these witnesses in their testimony was apparently conceded by the prosecution for in each case cross examination was waived. It would seem that the testimony of the young ladies, uncontested as it was, portrayed the defendant Webster as either a master of the artistry of sangfroid or as an innocent person.

The next witness for the defense was Dr. William T. G. Morton, a dentist, who was probably the most effective, certainly the most flamboyant, witness at the trial.

To appreciate the role into which this witness was cast it is only necessary to recall the tearful, emotion-packed testimony of Dr. Keep, the manufacturer of Dr. Parkman's false teeth and the only witness to deliver substantial identifying testimony to establish the corpus delicti.

Dr. Morton, who less than three years before had discovered ether anesthesia, was the medical celebrity of his time. Slowly he ascended the witness stand. After identifying
himself for the jury and after being handed the mold and the teeth so dramatically identified by Dr. Keep, here is what Dr. Morton said in substance:

1. Morton was familiar with Dr. Keep's artistry in dentistry in the manufacture of artificial teeth.

2. There were no marks about the teeth previously identified by Keep as Dr. Parkman's by which it would be possible for Dr. Keep, or anyone else, to identify them.

3. The teeth which Keep had identified as being those made by him for Parkman had been subjected to such ferocity of heat that they had been fused and that it was, therefore, quite impossible to identify them.

Next, taking the mold which Keep claimed he had used in the manufacture of Parkman's teeth in 1846, three years before, and which had been introduced into evidence, Dr. Morton proceeded to fit into this mold false teeth, which he had in his pocket, teeth entirely unrelated to the case.

Concluding this early and yet most effective use of demonstrative evidence, and flourishing the mold which Dr. Keep had identified as being of his own manufacture, Morton said, "I could take this mold and find teeth which would better fit the mold than these" (pointing to the teeth found in Webster's furnace and introduced by the prosecution as exhibits).

Thus did the dramatic and articulate Morton contradict the hesitating, vacillating, tearful testimony of Dr. Keep. But did he destroy it? The strongest and final string to the bow of the defense was the hypothesis that Dr. Parkman did leave the medical school after his interview with Dr. Webster and that he was indeed seen alone or in the company of others on the streets of Boston long after it would have been possible for him to have been harmed by Professor Webster.

Thus it became of the utmost importance to the defense to establish that Dr. Parkman was seen on streets in Boston after 2:00 P.M. on November 23, 1849, the day of the disappearance. To this end the following witnesses were produced and they testified as recorded below in capsule form:

Philomena Hatch, who had known Dr. Parkman for fifteen years, said she had seen him on Cambridge Street, between Blossom Street and North Russell Street in the West End of Boston, at ten minutes of two on November 23. He was headed towards Court Street (away from the Grove Street Harvard Medical School).

Next came William V. Thompson, Clerk of the Registry of Deeds in Cambridge, who had known Dr. Parkman for many years as a result of the doctor's recording of real estate transactions. Thompson testified that he saw Parkman, appearing excited and angry, at ten or fifteen minutes after two o'clock on Causeway Street near Portland Street on November 23.

Next, Samuel Wentworth testified that he had known Dr. Parkman for several years and that he had seen him, hands clasped behind his back,
striding along Court Street between 2:30 P.M. and 3:30 P.M. on November 23.

Then to the witness stand came a former tenant of Dr. Parkman's, Samuel Cleland, who testified that on November 23 between 3:15 and 3:30 he had seen Dr. Parkman on Washington Street between Milk and Franklin Streets. This testimony coincided perfectly with the distances and the chronology of Wentworth's and Thompson's stories.

Following Cleland came Sara Greenough. She had known Dr. Parkman for many years and she had seen him at the corner of Cambridge Street and Russell Street in the West End of Boston at ten before 3:00 on the 23rd of November.

The most impressive and credible witness to support this thrust of the defense testified next. She was Abby Rhodes, who had known Dr. George Parkman for about twenty-five years. She related that on November 23 at 5:00 P.M. she, in the company of her daughter May, was returning from Mr. Hovey's store on Winter Street; May was carrying eleven yards of muslin. Mrs. Rhodes and her daughter passed Dr. Parkman closely and they bowed to him and he in return bowed to them. This meeting took place on Green Street near Dr. Parkman's father's home at 5:00 P.M. on November 23.

Following her mother came May Rhodes, daughter of the previous witness. The substance of her testimony was this: "Coming from Mr. Hovey's store on Winter Street with mother, we met Dr. Parkman at Green Street. Mother and I bowed to the doctor and he bowed to us. I was carrying," said Miss Rhodes, "eleven yards of muslin purchased at the Hovey store and Dr. Parkman came so close to us that I was forced to shift the muslin to avoid hitting him with it." Miss Rhodes herself had known Dr. Parkman for ten years.

So ended this demonstration of strength, seven reputable, apparently disinterested witnesses all very familiar with Parkman, all placing him at places and at times where it could have made the commission of the crime by Webster not improbable but impossible.

The defense had done its work fairly well. By irreproachable witnesses Webster had been portrayed as a mild, humane, gentle man. By uncontroversial testimony Webster had been shown to have conducted himself throughout the unforgettable week of the search not as a killer but as a fine, gentle, family man embarked upon a course of conduct impossible for an inexperienced criminal to sustain. Thirdly, and importantly, reputable persons had established that Parkman was abroad on the streets in Boston long after it would be reasonable to assume he had come to harm by Dr. Webster's hand. And by no means to be disregarded was Dr. William T. G. Morton's testimony, which many felt had negated Dr. Keep's identification of the false teeth.

Following this showing, Mr. Sohier stated that the defense had no further testimony to offer. He rested.
Incredibly enough, at this final stage of the proceeding Attorney General Clifford for the prosecution arose in the courtroom and, before the jury, announced that he had four or five witnesses whom he wished to call in rebuttal to establish that there had been walking the streets of Boston, at the time of the disappearance, a person who bore a strong resemblance to Dr. Parkman, and still in the presence of the jury, Judge Lemuel Shaw, acting for the Court, rejected the testimony as being "too remote." This suggestion to the jury, although excluded, would seem to have been very damaging to the defense which had rested at least in major part upon the premise that Parkman was alive long after Webster could have committed the crime.

Thus ended the trial of the cause, leaving only the arguments of counsel and the Chief Justice's charge to the jury.

VI-D

THE CLIMAX APPROACHES: CLOSING ARGUMENTS

The closing arguments of counsel were not particularly remarkable. Defense Attorney Pliny Merrick argued first for Webster.

Relying heavily upon the theme of Parkman's appearance on the streets of Boston, long after the murder was supposed to have been committed, Merrick challenged — "Is George Parkman really dead at all?"

Then, incredibly, the defense counsel argued again on the theme of murder versus manslaughter—and more incredibly he prefaced his murder versus manslaughter discussion with this unfortunate choice of words: "I must assume that the homicide was committed by the prisoner at the bar." Why?

With this discourse which virtually assumed no chance of acquittal, and which was, in effect, an argument for a verdict of guilty of manslaughter, the defense counsel closed. He had delivered an eloquent, pessimistic masterpiece of diversion, disorder, and disjunction.

There remained now only the unsworn statement of the defendant and Chief Justice Shaw's charge to the jury.

VI-E

DR. WEBSTER'S STATEMENT TO THE JURY

Until 1866, sixteen years after the Webster trial, a defendant in a criminal case in Massachusetts had absolutely no right in our courts to testify in his own defense or on his own behalf. He was "incompetent" to testify.

This rule of law was a less than salutary one based upon the general distrust of criminal defendants.
Some time before the Webster trial the practice had been developed that in a capital criminal case the defendant could address the jury at the conclusion of the trial—not under oath, not subject to cross examination, and the subject of the testimony, unsworn as it was, was not evidence for the jury’s consideration. This option is available to the defendant even today in Massachusetts in murder cases. But in 1850 it was the only means by which a defendant could say anything to a jury in his own defense. Thus at the conclusion of the trial, Chief Justice Shaw called upon Professor John W. Webster to ask if he wished to avail himself of the privilege of speaking to the jury.

Against the advice of his counsel Webster arose and thrilled the crowds moving in and out of the gallery with his fifteen minutes of sound argument, ending in this very dramatic statement:

Gentlemen, my very calmness during this trial has been used against me— but it matters not—my trust is in My God—and in my innocence.

With that Dr. Webster sat down but then immediately he arose again and said:

My counsel did not produce testimony in their hands which would fully establish my innocence. [The second "Civis" letter.]

Then dramatically peering at the teeming crowds in the galleries above him, Webster called upon the true author of the "Civis" letters to come forward and to declare himself and thus set Webster free. No one responded.

VII

THE CHARGE TO THE JURY

It must be said that Chief Justice Shaw’s charge to the jury which is so widely used as firm legal authority today was something less than unanimously well received in 1850. After the trial Shaw received volumes of censorious and harshly critical mail from Webster sympathizers and from professionals in the law.

It is important to note that there is some considerable confusion as to what precisely the Chief Justice said in his charge. Dr. James W. Stone "phonographically" reported the trial, especially including the Chief Justice’s charge to the jury. Yet in the preface of Stone’s transcript, which came into general circulation immediately after the verdict, Stone says that the charge, as it appears therein, had been "carefully corrected" by Shaw.

George Bemis, Esquire, the principal prosecutor in the Webster case, published in 1850 a compilation of his notes of the trial in complete book form with addenda. Bemis says in the preface to his
publication that the Chief Justice had favored him with a copy of the charge after it was "written out and revised with care."

An examination of the contemporary newspapers (all of which reported Shaw's charge almost in its entirety) reveals that they vary slightly the one from the other, but all vary from Stone's and Bemis' versions of the charge.

Thus we are left with that portion of the jury instructions officially and permanently recorded in the Massachusetts Reports (5 Gushing) which quite obviously, and on its face, is not complete but a "condensed," "changed," "revised," or "corrected" version of what actually was said by Chief Justice Shaw.

VII-A

THE CHARGE ON CORPUS DELICTI

A sound definition of "corpus delicti" is the body of the crime, or the fact of the offense. Thus when one says there is some question about the corpus delicti, he is asking: "Did the crime actually take place at all?" In the Webster case it would appear that the corpus delicti problem was a plaguing one.

The leading authorities upon the law of criminal evidence in 1850, made it quite clear that the fact of the corpus delicti, or the commission of the homicide, had to be proven to an absolute certainty, or beyond the least doubt. After this had been established absolutely, then the burden of proof of the prosecution was to show that the defendant had committed the crime beyond a reasonable doubt. These legal authorities of the English-speaking world were firm on this point, and they advanced the cool and sensible explanation that this rule of certainty of the fact of the homicide was altogether warranted by the melancholy experience of the conviction and execution of supposed murderers of "victims," who had in fact survived their "murder."

Thus, it would appear, had Chief Justice Shaw instructed the jury in accordance with the views of the leading text authorities of the day,—i.e., on a charge of homicide the accused should not be convicted unless the death be first distinctly proven either by direct

84
evidence of the fact or by production and inspection of the body—Webster would of necessity have been acquitted. No one could honestly say in March of 1850 that the human parts had been identified absolutely and beyond all doubt as those of Parkman. Indeed, it could not be said with absolute certainty that Parkman was dead at all—dead from violence or dead from any cause. Continuing, and now concerning himself with the efficacy of the testimony of the witnesses who swore they had known and recognized Parkman in the late afternoon of the day of his disappearance, the Chief Justice addressed the jury as follows:

Perhaps no man was better known in the city than the deceased. It is obvious that if Parkman was seen by the witnesses at the times and places stated by them . . . hundreds perhaps thousands of persons would have seen him and would have come forward to declare it. The absence of such testimony is to be weighed and "considered."
VIII

THE CLIMAX

Lengthy as it was, learned as it was (at least in major part), cited and quoted as it has been by attorneys, useful as it is and was to Massachusetts jurists in the past and today, Chief Justice Shaw finally ended his charge at 8:00 P.M. on Saturday, March 30, and the jury was ordered to deliberate. Less than three hours later, at 10:50 P.M., the jury returned to the Court with their decision.

"Gentlemen of the Jury, have you agreed upon a verdict?" intoned George Wilde, Clerk of the Court for Suffolk County. "We have," was the response. "Who shall speak for you?" asked Wilde. "The Foreman," was the unanimous answer. "What say you, Mr. Foreman, is John White Webster, the prisoner at the Bar, guilty or not guilty?" At that moment an awful silence descended upon the crowds in the gallery, every eye was directed to the lips of the Foreman. Then came the single word —"Guilty."

The Clerk turned to the court and shrieked, "Guilty, he says, your Honor, Guilty he says!"

Webster shut his eyes, his hands convulsively clutched the bar before him and he sank into his chair in tears.

The terrible gloom which swept the courtroom and the galleries manifested the great sympathy felt, in Boston, for Webster. Chief Justice Shaw finally dismissed the jury, ordered the gallery cleared by the police, and recessed the court until Monday, April 1.

Thus had the fatal drama been played —thus had the field been won — by Attorney General Clifford and Bemis, by Littlefield the janitor, by Robert Gould Shaw, by Dr. Jeffries Wyman, by Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, by Dr. Nathan Keep and, yes, if you will, by the contemporary press. It was ended. Webster's doom had been sealed.

IX

DENOUEMENT

On the twelfth and last day of the trial, the Court again convened for sentencing, this time without the jury.

Chief Justice Shaw, from his central position on the bench, addressed Dr. Webster (as well as the teeming gallery and the representatives of the press) for fifteen minutes before pronouncing sentence. The substance of his remarks contained (i) his views on the wisdom of the guilty verdict, (2) some words of moral advice to Webster (obviously coming too late for application or use), (3) some rhetoric with regard to the loss of Dr. Parkman and, finally, these words:

. . . And then be hanged by the neck until you are dead—And may God, in His Infinite Goodness, Have Mercy on your Soul!
Webster leaned against the bar, placed his handkerchief to his face, and burst into tears.

Several petitions were brought before Governor Briggs and his Council seeking Webster's pardon by executive clemency and insisting upon his innocence of the crime. All were denied. Finally, in the last days before Webster's execution, the Reverend Dr. George Putnam, who had only come to know Webster since his arrest, addressed himself to the Governor's Council. The clergyman said that Dr. Webster had related to him a story which in fact amounted to a confession of homicide far less than premeditated murder. Here is the story as the minister related to the Council.

Dr. Parkman had on November 23, 1849, stormed into Professor Webster's apartment at the Medical School to collect his debt, and had violently and excessively accused and abused Webster. Webster, acting in sudden and compelling fury, had picked from his table a length of dried grape vine and in great passion had struck Parkman on the head. The creditor Parkman had been felled by the blow and expired immediately. Thereafter, Webster, hysterical with remorse and with fear of discovery, had dissected the body in order to dispose of it, and had disposed of it through the hole in the privy in his rooms at the Medical School.

This was not, however, Webster's own confession but a story vicariously told by the Reverend Doctor Putnam in his well-pleaded petition that the sentence of death be commuted to life imprisonment. The Governor and Council rejected this plea also.

X

CURTAIN

For the several months following the jury’s verdict, and during the pendency of the perfectly futile pleas for clemency, Webster had been visited by his faithful wife and daughters at the jail each day. Joseph Eveleth, the Sheriff of Suffolk County, at the request of the prisoner, kept the Webster family entirely ignorant of the date set for the execution. Governor Briggs had ordained that it take place in the new Leverett Street jail yard on August 30, 1850.

On each daily visit Webster's wife and daughters passed the last minutes before leaving him in reading passages from the Bible, taking the Chapters of the New Testament "in course and never skipping." On August 29 Mrs. Webster and the girls arrived at the jail as usual, this time for a four-hour visit. At its conclusion, daughter Harriet read the passage for the day. Then Mrs. Webster and the girls embraced Webster and departed the jail.
The passage Harriet had read on the evening of August 29 was Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians — "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

On August 30, 1850 at 9:30 A.M. John White Webster was hanged.

It is recorded that "the body swayed slightly to and fro; and in a few seconds there was a spasmodic drawing up of the legs. Beyond this there was no observable struggle."

EPILOGUE

After the execution a letter purporting to have been sent from Dr. Webster to Reverend Dr. Parkman was delivered to the Boston Evening Transcript by Reverend Dr. Putnam. The sense of its contents was a request for forgiveness, compassion, and prayers. Many interpreted it as a posthumous confession. It appears that no one challenged the authenticity of the letter. Do any doubts remain?

Read March 24, 1968

The Musical Scene at Harvard

BY ELLIOT FORBES

This paper was first delivered at the Saturday Morning Club, January 27, 1968.

To contemplate the musical scene at Harvard University is in a way to contemplate the growth of music and music study in this country as a whole. Since Harvard University is situated in New England, in greater Boston, one finds that until the middle of this century one could say that most of the significant developments in music were started or suggested right here. Harvard was the first university to establish a department of music, and the main streams of music expression in this area, including the establishment of the Boston Symphony Orchestra in 1881, can be seen to be an outgrowth of this fact. In the last few years, of course, schools of music and universities and colleges in every state of the Union have joined in this development, and Harvard's graduates have spread across the country to play their part in the field of music and music education.

It would take a large book to attempt to summarize this growth, and I would like in this talk only to suggest in a broad way the ever-changing musical scene in Cambridge. This account then can make no claims to inclusiveness, but I hope that in its emphases it will not have been seriously exclusive.

The basis for my remarks comes on the one hand from a splendid book entitled Music at Harvard by Walter Raymond Spalding, which attempts to describe the scene from the beginnings to 1935, and on the other, from my own experience which starts as an undergraduate in music in 1936.
Walter Spalding, who lived a very long life—from 1865 to 1962—was what might be called the second father of the Music Department, the first of course being John Knowles Paine who founded the department in the 1860’s. To read Spalding’s book is to experience, necessarily at second hand, a concept of learning which, in its richness and its serenity of purpose, provides an important antidote to the feelings of pressure one inevitably experiences today. His was the doctrine of slow, steady progress in the cultivation of music. His motto, "Festina lente"—make haste slowly—has been kept alive by one of my senior colleagues, who was his pupil. If in 1935 Spalding warned against modern tendencies "the motto of which seems to be 'everything in a rush and too much of everything,' " how much more of a danger this is today. He reminds us in a footnote that the basis of Greek culture was the enviable motto "nothing too much," which of course is equally applicable not only to the art of music but also to the art of living itself.

For the first 150 years of Harvard’s life one can only guess at what little if any musical activity existed. The New England colonists did not have time for much music except in their church services, and this was primarily in the form of psalm settings. The following is an estimate of this music-making from a sketch by William Arms Fisher entitled Ye Olde New-England Psalm-Tunes:

Tunes of limited compass were pitched high, but those of wider range were pitched low to accommodate all voices; and, as at first, not even a pitch-pipe was permitted, the Deacon or the recognized leader of the singing often pitched the tunes too high or too low. Thus for generations the tunes were "set" or "struck up" without any certainty of the right pitch and, for lack of books, without any certainty as to the correct time or tune. The dark age of music had come, for the sturdy psalm-singing founders had long since gone and their psalm-droning successors, utterly without instruction, singing by ear, if at all, catching garbled tunes as best they could from a quavering voice, added their own embellishments, which resulted in a jargon in which the loudest or most cutting voice triumphed. Writing in 1774 John Adams calls the "old way" "a drawling, quavering discord."

To show that at Harvard all was not solemn in music we can cite the earliest known Harvard song which Spalding dates about 1760.

It is a free version, thus a parody, of one of the psalm tunes, which I cannot sing to you because the original music is lost.

Now we are free from College laws, from commonplace book reason,

From trifling syllogistic rules and systems out of season:

Nor evermore we'll have dennaed, if matter thinks or thinks not,

But all the matter we will mind is he who drinks or drinks not.

Copernicus, a learned sage, who rightly followed reason,

Asserts (I now forget the page) Earth follows Sol each season:

Well, be it so, who cares for that may prove 'tis but a notion,
Yet this is most important still, to mind the bottle's motion.

Plenum, vacuum, minus, plus are learned words and rare too,

Such terms let tutors now discuss, and those who please may hear too,

A plenum in our wine shall flow, with plus and plus behind, sir,

But if our stores grow minus low, a vacuum you'll find, sir!

It was not until the end of the 18th century that musical instruments were brought over here in any quantity from Europe. All the more remarkable it is then to find that the first Harvard musical organization was founded at the beginning of the 19th century — the Pierian Sodality of 1808. Sodality means companionship and Pieria was a district in Northern Thessaly, supposedly the home of the Muses. The beginnings of this organization, which is now better known as the Harvard-Radcliffe Orchestra, are so colorful and well documented that a taste of Harvard in the 19th century will be gained by quoting from a few of the minutes that exist in the Harvard University Archives.

The basis for the development of instrumental music was the natural desire on the part of the students to play together, to furnish music for ceremonial occasions, and to entertain friends. The same desire for singing can be cited as the original raison d'être of the Glee Club founded 50 years later, whose history is related to that of the Sodality.

At any rate the first minute, dated May 10, 1808, has the single word "Serenaded." We can only guess what the instruments were, but at this time lower string instruments and most woodwinds and brass were scarce. However, the flute was available and more occasionally the violin, the trumpet, and the cornet. In 1810 a bass viol was bought, and in 1814 a horn and bassoon. By 1819 the members were on the lookout for "clarionets." There was a pastoral quality to these early days as suggested by a minute of 1820: The Pierians went "to Fresh Pond where they took a handsome supper presented to them and then went out upon the pond in boats. They played . . . extremely well and the music was much improved by the romantic character of the scenery." Things were in a precarious state in 1832 for the Pierian membership had sunk to one member, Henry Gassett '34, who practised the flute alone in his room until in the spring he could entice two friends to join him in keeping the Sodality alive. Eighteen thirty-three was an interesting year: in March they voted to buy a French horn to replace the bass horn, otherwise known as the Serpent, which "did not chord with the flutes and it was therefore not played upon. At this meeting we played cGod save the King.' " In September a trombone had been acquired, and in November it was proposed to organize a glee club — the first direct ancestor of the Harvard Glee Club. And it is recorded that the Pierian Glee Club sang in 1834.

Friction between students and the Establishment is not a priority of the 20th century. In June 1834, we read of "the deep and universal indignation which is felt at the unjust, arbitrary, and tyrannical measures of the College Government, by which we have lost, for the present at least, four of our most valued members . . . How different is our condition now from what it was but a few weeks since, when the 'Sons of Harmony' equalled in
number, if not in their music, those celestial maids from whom they derive their name! [The Muses were nine in number; take away four, and five are left.] But we do not by any means despair: the Sodality has seen darker days than these.

The Pierian serenaded professors and even the president of the college frequently. In 1837 it had a meeting with Pierian graduates and from this gathering was born the Harvard Musical Association. This organization of Harvard graduates was incorporated in 1845 with headquarters in Boston. It provided some of the earliest chamber music concerts to be heard in Boston. The Association organized the first Boston Symphony concert at the old Music Hall in

1865 and from this beginning was developed Major Higginson's great achievement in 1881, the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Also from the Association came our earliest musical magazine, Dwights Journal of Music, and again the Cecilia Society which, as a Boston choral organization, was preceded only by the famed Handel and Haydn Society, established in 1815.

Meanwhile the Pierian struggled on, its membership sometimes down to three members. Again there were struggles with the authorities. A spirited resolution of June 1843 reads: "Whereas the Faculty of Harvard College, with unprecedented barbarity & oppression, saw fit in their asinine wisdom, to administer Public Admonitions to the Pierian Sodality individually, for absenting themselves from Cambridge during the whole night, amusing some Sc annoying others . . . And Whereas the same Faculty have forbidden this same Sodality from performing in the College Yard for the innocent amusement of the students; Resolved: That we do not perform at the coming exhibition and . . . that when Praeses proclaims, 'Musica expectatur,' either a dead silence may prevail, or the audience charmed with the mellifluous strains from that d----d old organ." What a contrast in length this is to two terse summaries of 1851: September 18 — "Met and played abominably"; September 26 — "Met and played like thunder." The notice of March 30, 1857, is more matter-of-fact: "Met, practiced, liquored & adjourned."

What kind of music was played? We soon have occasion to learn — from a concert of historic importance given on June 9, 1858. But first a minute of particular interest dated March 16 of this year: "Our energetic president, Brother B. W. Crowninshield, started some time ago a desire to form a good college Glee Club and this idea he has carried out this term. It was proposed and carried that the Pierian and the Harvard Glee Club should take a room together, as they would then be able to furnish it better and carry on everything on a grander scale than each one alone could do . . . This was the old room at the Theta Delta Chi . . . It is over Saunderson's Grocery Store, corner of Holyoke and Main Streets." The room was well furnished: "We have also a grand piano from Chickering's

warehouse and in an adjoining apartment a barrel of very excellent ale."
Luckily for our purposes the first joint concert of these two groups was written up in *Dwight’s Journal of Music* (June 19, 1858) along with reference to our next area of interest, the teaching of music at Harvard. Since this is both a witty and an informative critique I will read it in its entirety.

**College Music**

A Concert under (or almost under) the classic elms of Harvard, of music vocal and instrumental, performed exclusively by students, is a new thing under the sun. We had barely room to say last week that we had attended such a concert, given by the old "Pierian Sodality" and "Harvard Glee Club," in the Lyceum Hall at Cambridge. We had too many pleasant memories connected with the old Sodality, to be able to resist the courteous invitation tendered us in person by the president, upon whose violoncello bass all the harmonious elements now pivot. It was a different affair in our day—a quarter of a century ago. Then we were little better than a flute club (every music-smitten collegian played the German flute as ardently as Mr. Swiveller)—a cloying concentration of mere sweetness—relieved however by a couple of brave French horns, a basset horn and trombone, and sometimes a bass viol as we called it, and a clarionet; well that the latter ceased its exhaustive draft upon the lungs in good season, or we should not be here to write about it! The gentlemanly and artistic violin was not then known in college. We had perhaps a dozen members. Music enjoyed no general recognition in the college system. The Club existed but by sufferance; and consequently its members did not always feel that they were put upon their good behavior. There were some wild times; but there were periods of splendor, as well as of eclipse in its history. More than once, since that time, it has almost died out; then again some genuine enthusiast or two revived it.

There is a somewhat better state of things in college now. Music is at least beginning to be recognized. The government has gone so far as to appoint an instructor in sacred music, and put the chapel choir in proper training; although we do not learn that said instructor has to do with either of the clubs above named. But certain it is that Music is far more appreciated among the leading minds at Harvard than it ever was before. The musical progress of the community about the college of course exerts an influence there; and some effect undoubtedly is due to the organization among Cambridge graduates, some twenty years since, of the "Harvard Musical Association," which sprang immediately from the old "Sodality." Be this as it may, the concert on Wednesday evening gave evidence of a higher musical culture among the students than past experience led us to expect. The vocal selections were mostly of a high order; and the instrumental pieces, although belonging to the category of "light" music, were such as the occasion and materials required, and showed good skill and taste in treatment. Here is the programme:

1. Nord Stern Quadrilles; Strauss.
2. Serenade; Eisenhofer—Rhine Wine Song; Mendelssohn.
3. In Terra Solo. (Don Sebastiano; Donizetti.)
4. Integer Vitae.
5. Love; Cherubini.
6. Huntsmen's Farewell; Mendelssohn.

7. Amelie Waltzes; Lumbye.

8. Wecker Polka (Ballet of Faust.)

9. Serenade; Baker.

10. Sestette. (Czar and Zimmerman); Lortzing.

11. Drinking Song; Mendelssohn.

12. Cavalier Song; Boott.

13. Pot-Pourri. (Martha;) Flotow.

14. College Songs.—Fair Harvard, with words by Rev. Dr. Gilman. Written for our Bi-Centennial in 1836.

The "Pierians" are no longer a mere flute club; they numbered upon this occasion three good violins (forming the left wing); a 'cello (worthily presiding in the centre, as we have said before, with steady and controlling dignity); two flutes plus one cornet, for the right wing; the whole flanked by a Grand Piano played by four hands:—just a nice little orchestra for the graceful Strauss and Lumbye waltzes. These were played with a precision, delicacy and spirit, which showed skill enough to master higher kinds of music, with the addition of a few more instruments. It is a good sign that collegians have begun to cultivate the piano and violin. It must of itself lead to study of the more classical schools of music. When the favor in which music is at length regarded by the Academic "powers that be," shall ripen into actual provision for music among the other recognized "humanities," when the Professorship of Music shall be founded, there is no telling with what ardor students will devote themselves to Beethoven and Mendelssohn and Bach and Mozart.

Something in this right direction might be seen already in the performances of the "Glee Club," composed of sixteen voices, who sang the Mendelssohn part-songs, the Latin chorus, Sec., wholly without accompaniment, with admirable blending, light and shade, &c.,—quite up to the standard of our German "Orpheus," as we thought, and more uniformly in good tune. The Cherubini Quartet was a beautiful composition, and so finely sung as to be imperatively encored. So in fact were more than half the pieces. It was a most excitable, enthusiastic and responsive audience; neither the students, nor the enthusiastic fair (who with them naturally constitute as good a mutual admiration society as you will find) appeared to have the least respect for Mr. Punch's diatribes against the "encore swindle."

Well, it was a pleasant evening; like a realizing in one's children some of the fruitless aspirations of his own youth. A gratifying symptom, too, that the young men in College, who were wont to waste themselves in low and sensual indulgences, are learning to find that genial excitement which their natures crave in purer and more wholesome channels. Glee clubs and boat clubs are good alike for body and for soul.
What fine prophetic wisdom is here! We will leave the Pierian Sodality for the moment with the comment that slowly and surely its repertoire continued to improve; for instance, works by Mozart occur with increasing frequency in the programs to come.

We can identify Dwight's "instructor in sacred music" who, you remember, was to "put the chapel choir in proper training"; his name was Levi Parsons Homer of Boston. In the College Catalogue of 1856-57 appears for the first time an entry concerning the teaching of music: "Instruction in music, with special reference to the devotional services in the chapel, is open to all Undergraduates. The course will extend to the higher branches of part-singing.

Separate classes for graduates will be formed if desired." This development was doubly significant for it signalled the beginning at Harvard of both serious singing and the serious study of music. We must take up these two strands one at a time.

By 1814 we know that there was a chapel choir which included boy sopranos. Since Harvard’s religious basis was Unitarian, the role of music in the service must have been strict. Emphasis upon the training of the choir was made by Homer in the late 1850’s and again by Warren Andrew Locke from 1882 to 1910. In the '60's and 70's the organist was John Knowles Paine who was not particularly skilled as a choir director but was an organ virtuoso. Nineteen ten was the great year in this branch of music-making.

for at this time Archibald T. Davison, affectionately known as "Doc," was appointed organist and choirmaster. Now for the first time real instrumental virtuosity was combined with inspired choral leadership. The boys' choir was abandoned and the organ rebuilt. Soon the beautiful ensemble of men’s voices became the wonder of the Yard.

The members of the Glee Club heard this tone and wondered how they could develop this sense of ensemble in their singing. At first Dr. Davison helped them informally and in 1912 became their musical director, but wisely refused to conduct in public until he had been invited to choose the music as well as direct it. This happened in 1919. But before this there were important developments. Mrs. H. H. Gallison had founded the Radcliffe Choral Society in 1898 and directed it with increasing help from Davison until 1918. Around 1916 it was clear that those members who were also in the chapel choir were the mainstay of the glee club. They became increasingly unwilling to sing the old type of Glee Club song, to a large extent college songs and German songs from the Mannerchor tradition, because they had tasted something better. This experience in musical taste was enriched by the joining of Harvard and Radcliffe together to sing carols led by the choirmaster at a Christmas service. A lesser man than Davison would probably not have succeeded in persuading President Lowell to allow ladies in Appleton Chapel! In the meantime Mrs. Gallison, who was a friend of Karl Muck, the great conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, was trying to get Muck and Davison together. It proved hard to get the latter's cooperation, so at a rehearsal of the joint chorus, Mrs. Gallison sneaked Dr. Muck behind the stage of Agassiz Theatre at Radcliffe. Dr. Muck was so impressed that on the spot he invited the chorus to sing Brahms' Schicksalslied with the orchestra, and the first collaboration between chorus and orchestra took place on April i, 1917. After the great disruption of World War I, the Glee Club asked "Doc" Davison to become its leader in every way and at the same time he became
conductor of the Radcliffe Choral Society. Now the great tradition of choral singing at Harvard was truly launched.

Now let us pick up the other thread from Dwights Journal, the announcement of an instructorship and the prophecy of a professorship. In 1818 Harvard admitted that pianoforte playing was a "polite accomplishment approved by authority of the college which the student might pursue with an outside teacher." The next mention of music comes in 1856 as already indicated. Six years later John Knowles Paine is first mentioned in the catalogue — instructor of music — at the bottom of the list of college officers. Music was considered a frivolous subject for learning by the layman; during furious faculty debate on whether the study of music could be considered a worthy branch of the Humanities the distinguished historian Francis Parkman is supposed to have cried "Musica delenda est." Great credit goes to three Harvard Presidents for the successive developments of this field: Thomas Hill, 1862-1868, who supported its inception and whose grandson, Edward Burlingame Hill, was a distinguished composer and teacher at Harvard; Charles W. Eliot, 1869-1909, whose father, Samuel Eliot, as mayor of Boston, had introduced music as a subject in the public schools; and A. Lawrence Lowell, 1909—1933, who backed up Spalding and Davison in the creation of the Harvard Music Department as we know it today.

A word about John Knowles Paine, 1839-1906. From 1858 to 1861 Paine studied in Germany and returned to be recognized as the country's leading organist. As instructor at Harvard he became known as a composer, the first American to compose in the larger forms: a Mass in D in 1867; Oratorio of St. Peter, 1873; Symphony, 1876; and his chef d'oeuvre, Oedipus Tyrannus of Sophocles for solo voices, chorus, and orchestra in 1880-1881. In the latter year it was performed in Sanders Theatre by students, alumni, and professional musicians — Harvard's first big event in serious music with an audience which included Longfellow, Emerson, Holmes, G. W. Curtis, Howells, and many others.

During this time Paine was singlehandedly building up the department. In the 1870's the courses in harmony and counterpoint were increased from one to three. By paying five dollars one could receive eighteen lectures in the history of music. Spalding points out how ludicrous was his title of assistant professor; the only one who was qualified to assist him with his manifold offerings was himself! Paine was finally made a professor in 1875; although he was at times teaching as many as six courses at once, he did not receive any assistance until 1895 when Spalding became an instructor.

I remember two of my father's stories about music at Harvard; he was in the class of '95. The first was that he tried out for Spalding's class in harmony and was told to sit at the piano and read music in front of him — it was probably something like a Bach Chorale. My Father couldn't read and therefore faltered and was refused admission. He kicked himself afterwards for not having taken the initiative to offer to play something by ear, for this he could do tolerably well. Who knows whether he would have made it, but he was really disappointed. The second story was that he was the second cellist in the Pierian. In the
Tchaikovsky piece that they were working up there was a fine cello solo. At one rehearsal the first cello was absent and my father saw his chance to play a glamorous solo. The moment came and he played a few notes, whereupon the conductor rapped the stand and said “Cello tacet; French horn take the solo,” and that's the nearest he got to playing a solo in the Pierian.

By this time Harvard was offering courses not only in advanced theory but in instrumentation. And between 1893 and 1909 the department was graduating—usually summa cum laude—the first larger generation of American composers and teachers: Converse, Hill, Daniel Gregory Mason, Carpenter, Heilman, Ballantine, Davison, and others.

In 1893 the department realized that it had two teaching areas:

1. To provide technical and grammatical courses for students intending to become composers and teachers; 2. To provide means for laymen to understand and enjoy music through courses that treat the historical, literary, and aesthetic sides of music. Now came a period of real expansion. With Paine's retirement in 1903 Spalding became chairman, and Harvard music graduates joined the faculty to follow Spalding's lead: first Converse, but only for a short time, then Heilman, Hill, Davison, and Ballantine.

Equally important, Spalding saw the need acutely of space to teach. In the 1860's and 70's the department had had to make do with any room available; in the 80's, when Spalding was a student, it was forced to do business in the Boylston Chemical Laboratory where odors contributed a dubious sensory accompaniment to the contemplation of a symphony, and so on. Finally in 1914 the present Music Building was finished, and a third era could begin.

This era, which extends to the mid-nineteen thirties, is characterized by growth in the second area of music learning — history, literature, and aesthetics. Under the general heading of "Courses on typical forms and styles of instrumental music" there were the following alternatives: Mozart, Modern French Music, Beethoven, Russian Nationalists from Glinka to Stravinsky, Bach, or Brahms. While Piston was emerging as the new leader in composition and music theory, two new men were added to the faculty who have left the imprint of their musicianship between them on generations of Harvard students to this day. They are A. Tillman Merritt and G. Wallace Woodworth, affectionately known as Woody. A course in choral music by Davison was balanced by a course on instrumental music by Woodworth. This development led to the Music Department's most famous single course, Music i, a survey of the whole literature of music. Founded by Davison, its great tradition is carried on by Woodworth. Tillman Merritt is the concentrator's ideal of a teacher, the complete musician equally at home in old music and new, in music theory or in history.

During the second and third eras, as I call them, that is, from 1895 to the end of the 1930's, there were further kinds of growth. The Boston Symphony Orchestra was already giving its eight or nine concerts a year in Sanders Theatre, and now some twenty of its players would come out individually to demonstrate the qualities of their particular instrument in orchestration classes. Student composers were fortunate to be able to hear their own compositions played in special readings by the New England Conservatory Orchestra. Through the generosity of a number of patrons chamber music concerts of various kinds.
were offered, and the Stradivarius Quartet was for a year in residence and even performed illustrations as a part of course instruction. G. Wallace Woodworth, who had been conductor of the Radcliffe Choral Society since 1925, took over the Glee Club in 1934 and the University Choir in 1940. Meanwhile the undergraduates were starting to perform for each other in the Music Club with programs that often included their own compositions. Lectureships were established which brought famous composers to Cambridge —Gustav Hoist, Georges Enesco, and Igor Stravinsky.

A fourth era of the Harvard Music Department may be placed in the decade from 1942 to 1952 under the brilliant chairmanship of Tillman Merritt. While the choral activity was continuing to expand dramatically under Woodworth’s leadership, the department was building up its instruction in a third area, that of musicology or the study of music history and literature at the graduate level. The department had made a start in this direction with the visiting lecturers, Hugo Leichtentritt and Willi Apel, but what was needed was endowments for professorships so that the department would consistently have the manpower to teach in its expanding scope. These were secured by Merritt and one of the first fruits of this flexibility was to bring the great historian, Otto Gombosi, to Harvard. Meanwhile on the composition side Harvard was able to bring back its own Randall Thompson of the class of ’20. Now Harvard was able to stay in the forefront in awarding advanced degrees.

Another important aspect of this era was the Symposium on Music Criticism in 1947, a three-day colloquium, which brought distinguished musicians from all over the world to Harvard and included addresses on the subject alternating with concerts of compositions by Hindemith, Piston, Schoenberg, Malipiero, and Copland, all commissioned by the Symposium.

Finally in this period there was the important establishment, in 1945, of the Basic Piano Program, an important new arm in Harvard’s teaching. With an increasing number of concentrators in music, it was clear that no thorough knowledge of music was possible unless a course of study in basic keyboard musicianship was established whereby each student was assured instruction in bringing the music to life himself as sound, as a basis for his equipment as a musician. And to this end extensive construction of practice rooms in the basement of the music building was undertaken.

The present era has been so far one of consolidation. One of the brightest jewels that we have to offer is the Basic Piano Program, to which most students today are immediately attracted, and this is largely because it is being taught by the gifted Luise Vosgerchian.
Harvard’s great music library was finally brought under one roof in 1956 with the construction of the Eda Kuhn Loeb Library annexed to the Music Building. The distinguished historian-librarian Nino Pirrotta came from the St. Cecilia Library in Florence, Italy, to take charge.

The Isham Library in Memorial Church has become a major repository of early music printings in microfilm under Tillman Merritt’s curatorship, and this forms a collection which of its kind is unequalled anywhere in the world. John Ward and David Hughes along with Pirrotta carry on the work in musicology. Meanwhile the composers Leon Kirchner and Earl Kim are developing a doctoral degree in composition, which revives an emphasis of earlier days when three doctoral degrees were awarded for composition and scholarly work combined: Louis Adolphe Coerne in 1905, Archibald T. Davison in 1908, and Philip Greeley Clapp in 1911.

In the choral field, while the Glee Club and Choral Society continue work both separately and together, the University Choir has become a full mixed choir throughout the year under the fine leadership of Choirmaster and Organist John Ferris. James Walker is providing a new golden era for the Harvard University Band and has started a Harvard Wind Ensemble.

We started our survey of the Harvard musical scene with consideration of instrumental activity and to this we return. The most dynamic change that has occurred in the area of extracurricular activity has been in this area. By 1871 the Pierian had a real conductor, and the Sodality had certain bright periods of leadership under such musicians as Forchheimer, Clapp, Clifton, Piston, Woodworth, and Holmes, only to fade again. But in 1959 a great renaissance took place under the exciting directorship of Michael Senturia ’58. The orchestra became and has remained a first class organization. Known now as the Harvard-Radcliffe Orchestra, this group typically presents a program of a big orchestral classic, an important contemporary work, and a third work to balance out the program—this November the program consisted of the Beethoven Symphony No.I, the first performance here of Piston’s Clarinet Concerto, and Mahler’s Das Lied von der Erde. The orchestra is fortunate to have its present conductor, Dr. James Yannatos. To return to Harvard to teach has been a great privilege for me, and in the work of the Glee Club and Choral Society one of the great experiences of the year is a joint performance with the combined chorus and the Harvard-Radcliffe Orchestra.

And the reason for this is the students themselves. Thanks in part to their alertness and sense of initiative and thanks of course in part to the fine work now done in music in the schools to prepare them for these experiences, they arrive, generation after generation, to prove that there is a climate for music-making of a high order. This climate was not established by accident; it has a direct relationship to the history of music in this country that we have been surveying. Dr. Davison’s credo was "as much good music as possible for as many men as possible." The students are taking care of this at Harvard themselves, often on their own; there is no stopping them. The most remarkable thing about the Harvard musical scene today is the amount of student musical initiative. For not only are there the established musical outlets—band, orchestra, glee club, and choir, sponsored by the music department and the university, but also there is a student orchestra, the Bach Society Orchestra, sponsored by the Harvard-Radcliffe Music Club, to perform the chamber
music literature. The only rule of the organization is that its conductor shall be an undergraduate. Besides this, in the house dining-halls and common rooms there are every manner of ambitious musical undertakings from song recitals, jazz combos, and chamber, vocal, and instrumental combinations to full operas such as Britten's Turn of the Screw and Mozart's Marriage of Figaro and Don Giovanni. These students were not deterred in the least two years ago to find that in the same spring that they were preparing Don Giovanni, it was also being given both by Sarah Caldwell's group and the visiting Metropolitan Opera. Such is the explosion in performance—and we haven't even mentioned the Gilbert and Sullivan Players!—which marks the vigor of today's undergraduates, who do not even have to be music concentrators to contribute something remarkable to the Harvard scene.

So we have ever new problems of musical development and focus to work towards in the present climate. But Spalding, were he still alive, would reiterate the statement in his book, but perhaps now with a greater twinkle in his eye: "If we do not in time become a musical people, the reason will be not that we do not hear enough music, but that we do not make enough ourselves."

Read May 28, 1968

Eighty-five Aromatic Years in Harvard Square

BY CATHARINE K. WILDER

A TINY island exists today in Harvard Square about which the poet Robert Hillyer, Harvard '17, writes:

Not all goes up in smoke, here smoke appears
To give stability in changing years.

Leavitt & Peirce, whose name evokes a host of blue haze memories, has the honor of being the oldest store in its original location in Harvard Square today. It has been more than a business for eighty-five years. Mark De Wolfe Howe, '87, correctly identifies it in verse:

Narrowly parted from the Yard
A little college long has stood.
No flunkster ever yet was barred
Today, if one stands in the middle of this unique store, and looks around, one instantly concludes that here is a most successful blending of a tobacco business with the history and art pertaining to smokers and their paraphernalia as well as with the history of Harvard, especially its athletics, over nearly a century.

The store has passed through three periods of growth to arrive at this distinction. The first began in 1883 when Wallace Peirce, a clerk in Bartlett’s Drug Store, decided to buy Brock’s interest in a tobacco store, known as Leavitt and Brock, located on the present site of the Cambridge Trust Company. The new firm, Leavitt & Peirce, then moved to 438 Harvard Street, its present location. Later this address was changed to 1314-1316 Massachusetts Avenue.

The association of these gentlemen lasted until 1922, when they died within a year of each other. Students, only males until after World War I, soon found this store a non-clubman’s club. The genial, big, burly, dark-haired Leavitt and the spare, small, blond, equally-genial Peirce encouraged this by making their location a center for Harvard activities.

The eastern front window became a Harvard bulletin board. Hours for team practices, lost and found, athletic scores, and general notices all were posted there. The Crimson regularly noted in its columns, "See Leavitt's window for details."

The owners set up pool tables in the rear of the store. Billiards were added to these in a room on the second floor above the store. Here students relaxed and made friends.

Waldo Peirce, '08, later confessed that "Leavitt & Peirce was probably one of the reasons it took me five years to get a degree, though the B in A.B. didn't stand for billiards. It seemed more important at the time to make a run often than to get a c plus or minus in say English A."

Arthur Stanwood Pier, '95, a non-smoker all his life, indicated that in his sophomore year Leavitt & Peirce was one of his favorite haunts. "I lived," he wrote, "between Mt. Auburn Street and the river. After a nine o'clock class in Sever or in Massachusetts, by the time I had crossed Massachusetts Avenue I usually found some excuse for dawdling before my eleven o'clock class — so between ten and eleven most mornings I sat with my back against the wall on Leavitt 8c Peirce's comfortable leather cushions and watched the leisurely activities of two of my classmates, who seemed to be majoring in billiards."

At one time the custom prevailed that no freshmen were allowed to use the tables. Whether this was a rule made by the owners or the students or both is not certain. As a consequence, Mr. Leavitt and Mr. Peirce opened another shop in the next block, which they
called the Rendez-Vous Club. The latter did not exist for long, and the rule regarding the freshmen changed.

Often the victorious teams brought one of their footballs or baseballs to the store and recorded the date of the game and score on it. Some of these decorated the walls along with oars and photographs of the teams.

Fred Leavitt kept a scrapbook of the tickets to Harvard’s athletic events, which today is the most complete one of its kind. He also filed all newspaper articles and pictures which mentioned his store, particularly the ones from the Crimson. These are another rich historical source today.

The tickets for Harvard’s games were sold there until the Athletic Association took this responsibility in 1893-1894. For ten years students used to line up on the street the night before the tickets to the big games went on sale. Seated on camp stools with a lamp at their side, they either studied or dozed, while waiting for the store to open. Even after direct sales by the HAA began, a limited number of tickets continued to be sold at Leavitt & Peirce.

Railroad and steamship tickets also were available there. Everyone in Cambridge found this a convenient location when they made their travel plans.

Like all students, those of this era had ideas how the college should be run and society in general could be improved. Blue books at Leavitt & Peirce provided the outlet they needed in which to express their concerns as well as their protests. In 1886 a blue book petition produced the formation of an undergraduate organization. In 1888 another was sent to the President and Fellows requesting that the spring recess be "more liberal." Railroad and steamship companies received petitions for special rates when Harvard games were held away, and the Cambridge civic authorities were requested from time to time to permit student parades on the streets bordering the Yard. When the United States entered the First World War in 1917, the first enlistments of Harvard students were recorded in a blue book in this store.

Synonymous with the names of the founders is that of Cake Box Mixture. A large black metal cake box always rested on the top of the counter at the right of the entrance. It contained a Leavitt & Peirce tobacco mixture which was prepared in a loft on Church Street. Students were invited to fill their pipes free of charge from this source. If they liked the mixture, they could purchase it in a small metal replica. For eighty-five years Cake Box has been smoked by many a Harvard student and professor. Brooks Atkinson, '17, had an honest confession to make about it in 1958:

Who were the students who lounged grandly on the premises of Leavitt & Peirce from 1913 to 1917? Do they realize now, more than forty years later, that life is earnest and that there is not a minute to be lost between the cradle and the grave?
I never knew who they were because I was always in a hurry to improve each shining hour. Once or twice a year (not often enough to be recognized) I did drop in to take a free pipeful of Cake Box Mixture from the open box on the counter. I tried to give the impression that, if the sample were to my taste, I would order Cake Box Mixture in bulk, and that Leavitt & Peirce and I would thus get on to a good thing that would keep us in close association for years.

But it seemed to me that the clerk already knew that I was about the most reliable customer that Dill ever had; and I should not have questioned his judgment if he had raised a reproving hand and moved the sample box out of range. But who were the students leaning on the counter as if they had nothing else to do? Were they the bonafide customers of Cake Box Mixture? Not me.

Cake Box not only has provided relaxation and aromatic pleasure for pipe smokers, but it has inspired poems and artistic creations. Norman Hall, '22, wrote:

Marie Antoinette
Was a practical sort;
She was quick with advice
When foodstuffs were short.
The suggestions she made
Tobacconists make:
"Are the people unhappy?
Let 'em try Cake!"

Waldo Peirce, '08, made a sketch of St. Peter smoking a pipe with a group of angels emerging from the enveloping haze. His

108

caption read, "Good old St. Peter, that Heavenly Fixture, Blows his best Halos with Cake Box Mixture."

Lucky was the son who received the parental advice, "If you must smoke, go to Leavitt's and grow up on Cake Box like a gentleman or be disinherited."

The metal shortage during World War II caused the disappearance of the small cake boxes, which today are a collector's item. Cake Box comes now in either paper pouches or square metal boxes, and one of the latter is open on the counter to be sampled as it has been over the years.

Fred Leavitt and Wallace Peirce made many friends during the thirty-nine years they shared the business. Many students felt free to disclose to them their problems, concerns, joys, and sorrows. The owners provided encouragement, sympathy, and understanding advice when it was needed. In their own way they conducted a counseling service. They helped young men grow up by overcoming momentary hurdles. They even loaned them money,
when they thought the request a legitimate one, and they banked their bets when big sports events occurred.

The responsibility they assumed sometimes carried with it great anxiety, as when Roger Merriman, '96, later a distinguished scholar, put a pool ball in his mouth and could not get it out. His father, a Worcester clergyman, was entertaining the Worcester Association of ministers by telling them of Frisky’s success at college, when the telephone rang and he learned what had happened to his son. It was known later that the Cambridge Police Department kept an object like a shoehorn handy for such emergencies.

Each June the friendships were rekindled when the gentlemen opened a stand in the Harvard Yard and dispensed free cigars to reunioning graduates. Most of them found time to visit the store and to evoke nostalgic memories while there.

The glorious first period of Leavitt & Peirce ended in 1922. President Lowell and other officers of the University realized how firmly rooted it had become in the life of the Harvard community, and they wanted to be sure that this would continue. They encouraged Fred W. Moore, '93, Treasurer of the Harvard Athletic Asso-

109

ciation, and Frank Knapp, who had charge of the allotment of tickets at the HAA, to purchase the business. It was understood that Moore would continue in his job while Knapp would manage the store.

Period two was to last until 1956. During those years the owners had to cope with the impact of the end of World War I on American life, the Depression, a second World War, and the global upheavals following this. Harvard, too, was changing. President Lowell introduced the new houses; Radcliffe’s affiliation with Harvard grew closer and closer following World War II. Women frequented the Yard and the store with ever-increasing informality. Automobiles in greater number made the Harvard community more mobile. The student body reflected the increasingly democratic character of American society, and more and more students and professors from abroad mirrored the advent of a world becoming politically and economically one.

Frank Knapp’s warm personality and his smile were great assets at this time, not to mention the momentum of the previous period. However, the changing Harvard scene demanded a new dimension in this store to keep it in the heart of the community surrounding it.

A snack bar was the answer to this need. The left front side was leased to Larry and Helen Bradshaw for this purpose. A balcony over this was constructed to enable the students to get to the billiard tables upstairs. This project produced an instant favorable reaction.

"In appearance," wrote Charles C. Bergman '54, "it was very ordinary, but to the loyal habitue it had a special charm in its complete lack of any decor. . . . The Harvard greats and near-greats, the fashionable, the literary, the athletic, and just the hungry gathered to sample Larry's dubious hot chocolate served in white, chipped mugs." Fish cakes and hash with an egg were other specialties at this counter.
Just as a coterie became identified with the pool tables of the previous period, so a special group became associated with this snack bar. Dean Landis of the Law School, Roscoe Pound, and Louis Lyons frequently had breakfast there. This ordinary luncheonette created the feeling of "an Elizabethan coffee house to so many people on the Harvard scene."

In time Frank Knapp bought out Moore's interest. His personality like those of his predecessors became "soaked into the very plaster and lath of the walls." He tried to maintain all the associations with the University and the Alumni which were possible during those turbulent years. In the early fifties he died. His widow, Minerva, and his stepdaughter, Miss Barbara Ferry, assumed the responsibility of the store. This was indeed an innovation: two women managing Leavitt & Peirce in Harvard Square.

Mrs. Knapp survived her husband by only a few years. Her daughter inherited this "college within a college." Problems plagued her. With reluctance she removed the pool and billiard tables which were being little used. Rising costs produced financial difficulties with the snack bar. Radcliffe and Harvard students did not help when they conversed too long on the leather stools, thus reducing the number of clients per meal.

Miss Ferry was discovering that the smoking paraphernalia chosen by her and her mother did not appeal to men's tastes. They had introduced various games and gifts, but these moved slowly.

Mr. Leavitt and Mr. Peirce had established a wholesale business along with their retail one. Cake Box was an important part of this. All in all Miss Ferry found she had neither the training nor the ability to carry on the business of her stepfather.

Throughout periods one and two the store had a friendly relationship with David P. Ehrlich Company in Boston. This tobacco business, founded in 1868 and thus celebrating its 100th anniversary this year in a new location next to King's Chapel, was owned by Ferdinand Abraham at the time Leavitt and Peirce opened their store. In 1884 an enterprising young salesman, David P. Ehrlich, joined Mr. Abraham's staff, and "in good time" married his daughter. Subsequently the firm's name became David P. Ehrlich Company.

Ehrlich, Fred Leavitt, and Wallace Peirce became friends. They shared their growing tobacco interests. Ehrlich's company was making pipes in his store which were being sold around the world. He brought artisans from Germany and Austria who were highly skilled in this art. Leavitt &. Peirce bought Ehrlich's pipes and sold them under their own name. Those which were broken and brought to their store to be mended were sent to Ehrlich's. Cake Box in turn was sold in Boston. When the Rendez-Vous Club was launched, Ehrlich helped his friends finance it.
Above all, the three gentlemen were sports fans. Ehrlich not only attended the prize fights in the Boston Garden, but Leavitt & Peirce and later Frank Knapp supplied him with tickets in choice locations for the sports events in Cambridge. His interest in the latter became keener when three of his nephews, Richard Ehrlich, '22, William Ehrlich, '25, and Henry Ehrlich, '34, attended the college.

In 1942 David Ehrlich died. His only son and heir had predeceased him. He willed his company to his nieces and nephews, three of whom were Harvard sons. Under them the David P. Ehrlich Company continued without any lowering of its high standard and renown among tobacco connoisseurs at home and abroad. It maintained its tie with Leavitt & Peirce as it always had been.

In 1956 Miss Ferry received offers to sell her inheritance. She turned them down, as she did not want the business to become just another tobacco store. She had decided who should be the ones to relieve her of her great responsibility. She asked the Ehrlich heirs to buy Leavitt & Peirce. They were as surprised by this request as they had been with their inheritance in 1942. They, especially the Harvard nephews, immediately saw the importance as well as the challenge of preserving "this college within a college, in Harvard Square." The answer was yes and period three began.

Frank Doody was brought from the Boston store to Cambridge to be the new manager. He and David Fiorello, the manager of Ehrlich's in Boston, were to work closely with the heirs in guiding Leavitt & Peirce into its new era. Changes had to be made, but the Ehrlichs wanted these to be as little of a shock as possible to those who had known and loved the store over the years. The beginnings of a Harvard museum were there. This could be extended with more pictures of Harvard's good old days added to the walls. If the pool tables and now the snack bar could not be there, at least photos of them could, along with souvenirs of dramatics when men took the women's parts. Grads could identify classmates not only in sports costumes but in elaborate dresses with wigs and artificial busts.

The balcony above the old snack bar, no longer needed as an access to the billiard room, became a Harvard rogues' gallery as "The Belles of Bellesley" (1899) and "The Secret of the Nile" (1898), along with old tuition bills ($18.25 a term), team tickets, and other Harvard memorabilia appeared. Undergraduates could quickly get a feel for the history of their alma mater, as they scanned the walls while buying their tobacco.

The heirs kept the store a center of information for Harvard athletics. The salesmen would be ready to answer requests regarding games. Tickets could be purchased too. The eastern front window would be available for notices. To this day the crew post their practice schedule there just as they always have.

Instead of the stand in the Yard at Commencement time, the Ehrlichs decided to supply all the class dinners with match folders with reunion numerals on front and back. The fact that these were with the compliments of Leavitt & Peirce was discreetly marked behind the matches.
Mr. Doody annually contacts all the reunion chairmen and finds out where the respective class dinners are being held and the number of people expected. The match folders are at the designated location at the proper hour. Moreover the twenty-fifth reunion class as well as the fiftieth receive free cigars along with the matches. Over five hundred cigars and a case of matches containing 2500 folders are delivered at the twenty-fifth reunion class dinner alone.

The Ehrlichs added another new dimension to the June festivities. They decided to make the fiftieth class their special pet. Thanks to modern medicine more and more men were living to enjoy this event. The Harvard nephews felt that a display of the accomplishments of this distinguished group should be made. The twenty-fifth had theirs in Widener. Now the east window of Leavitt & Peirce carries one for the fiftieth class each June and free cigars and matches are dispensed at every gathering of this group throughout their reunion. People look forward to this display, and have been known to drop in the store well before commencement to make sure that it will be there.

In the rear of the store, where the pool tables used to be, the Ehrlichs have built a humidor room. To enter it for the first time transfixes one. No delectable aroma like it exists or could exist anywhere else. On one wall of this tobacco paradise, cages have been constructed for each of Harvard's clubs. Their particular brands of cigars are stored there and removed for special occasions. Lockers are provided for a few distinguished customers of long standing, one being David McCord, '21.

In 1958, two years after the purchase, Leavitt & Peirce celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary. The Ehrlichs invited Harvard men to honor this by sharing their memories of the store with the new owners. Eminent men from the classes of '87 to '58, from Mark De Wolfe Howe to Jonathan Kozol, responded and their records along with photos of Harvard personalities and activities over these years were published in a booklet and distributed widely. David McCord helped in the editing of this and gave it the title 75 Aromatic Years of Leavitt & Peirce in the Recollection of 31 Harvard Men.

To honor the memory of the founders, the Ehrlichs have added seven tobacco mixtures which Mr. Leavitt and Mr. Peirce used to make from canisters in their store. They are sold along with the David P. Ehrlich mixtures in both stores and are listed in the catalogue under the heading "Leavitt & Peirce Imported Tobaccos." One called Cambridge Mixture includes tobaccos from Macedonia, Virginia, and Carolina, all flue-cured.

With the extra dimensions of the past securely preserved in the store in ways fitting to the demands of the present, the Ehrlichs gradually began to add their own dimension. Richard Ehrlich, '22 and William Ehrlich, '25 have been largely responsible for this. It began to come into focus right after the purchase when a few cases were placed in the middle of the store where unusual pipes and objects pertaining to the art of smoking were displayed.
It is no wonder that the Ehrlichs moved in this direction, as from their uncle they not only inherited the realization that a pipe store is "dedicated to the art of smoking and to the premise that the smoking of tobacco is an exquisite pleasure," but David Ehrlich left them a large case in his Boston store filled with over 300 carved meerschaum pipes, one of the finest collections of its type in the world. Most of these were created in his store. Today one of the artisans who made them is celebrating his fiftieth anniversary with David P. Ehrlich Company and working, as he always has, in a front window where passers-by may stop to watch him — an Old World touch in the New World as well as a choice bit of old Boston in the new Boston.

In a short time a museum within a museum has appeared in Leavitt & Peirce. Richard Ehrlich in his travels and through contact with collectors at home and abroad has amassed a unique collection of its kind of the paraphernalia of smokers' requisites which covers the history of tobacco and the art pertaining to it.

In 1964 large cases were built and placed to give the sense of a space apart from the store itself. There people may browse, marvel at and enjoy the wide variety of fascinating and beautiful objects in these cases which have been created by artisans of other eras. Dutch Delft tobacco jars, snuff graters and French snuffboxes, engraved tobacco boxes, Staffordshire puzzle pipes along with a wide assortment of other pipes and tobacco tampers are only a few of the treasures now housed at Leavitt & Peirce.

Cartoons pertaining to smokers have been added to the walls. A fine example of the symbol associated with old cigar stores in this country in the nineteenth century, the wooden Indian, stands at the foot of the stairs leading to the balcony. David McCord discovered this in an antique store and told Richard Ehrlich about it. The purchase was quickly made and David McCord named the figure Whatcheamo meaning "what cheer." It originated in Newport. A smaller Indian hangs over the entrance on Massachusetts Avenue, which lends a special artistic touch to this busy street.

The collection is becoming increasingly known and Richard Ehrlich has been requested to send some of the objects to be displayed elsewhere. Whatcheamo has traveled to Philadelphia, while other treasures have appeared in a recent exhibit at the Boston Public Library. Last January Wendell D. Garrett, a member of this Society, published an article on the collection in Antiques.

Richard Ehrlich's collector's zeal is resulting in the addition of rare books on the history of tobacco and its pleasures. The shelves behind the manager's desk are filling up with these. After World War II the store began to sell chess sets. A graduate student who had acquired a valuable one in Europe when he was a soldier there, asked the manager if the store would be interested in selling it. This led collector Ehrlich to add another item on his list. Today Leavitt & Peirce has a valuable collection of antique chess sets from England, France, Italy, India, China, and Macao, and the store is known as a place where these may be purchased along with new ones.
Since the 1950s, families, especially graduates with their wives and children, come together to make purchases particularly over the weekend. Every youngster is given a miniature corncob pipe as a souvenir, and invariably he or she is shown the museum. The store is respected and appreciated by all who use it including the Square's newest element, the hippies. "We have no trouble with them," remarked the manager, "they like the tradition of the place. Why, I can't change a thing around here, but someone notices it and complains."

It has been this way for eighty-five years at Leavitt & Peirce, the oldest store in its original location in Harvard Square. Like Harvard it has changed and yet not changed. It has continued to fulfill the admonition and prophecy at the close of Mark De Wolfe Howe's poem which opened this paper:

O little ancient shop and college  
Still teach your priceless brand of knowledge,  
Proving all minor ills surmountable  
Teach on through years and years uncountable.

Read October 22, 1968

The Harvard Law School's Four Oldest Houses

BY ARTHUR E. SUTHERLAND

On the afternoon of Sunday, January 19, 1969, the Cambridge Historical Society met in the James Barr Ames Courtroom, in the Harvard Law School's Austin Hall. Many of the Society's members had spent long hours of study there, when it was the reading room of the School's library. If in the gathering dusk of that winter afternoon some of the audience could still see the fantastic heads of dragons and wild boars carved on the beams overhead, they may have remembered Henry Hobson Richardson, the architect of Austin Hall who was so devoted to the Southern French Romanesque style, and who ingeniously placed so many grotesque creatures in the beams and the stonework of Austin when he designed that building in 1881-1882.

The Society had given me a welcome invitation to project for that meeting a collection of slides having to do with the four oldest houses of our School, and to comment on their character and history. It was for me an hour happily evocative of cherished traditions; and I was grateful when the Society then asked me to write out my discussion, and offered to reproduce in its Proceedings some of the slides. This paper is the result.

Early in October 1817 Charles Moody Dustin of Gardiner, Maine, came to Harvard's College House Number Two to enroll in the University's new law school. He was the first of more than forty thousand students who have joined the School's ranks. Undoubtedly Asahel
plans for his new studies. Stearns was the junior of the School’s two-man faculty; he was
assigned all the administrative work and all the routine teaching at the new School. At that
time the term "University Professor" meant one who derived his salary from general
University funds, not from a named endowment. The senior member of the Law School
faculty was Massachusetts’ Chief Justice Isaac Parker, the Royall Professor of Law. Harvard
had appointed Parker in 1815 as the first incumbent of that professorship, and in June and
July of the next year, he had delivered a series of lectures. Professor Parker’s first annual
report described them: they did not suffer from niggard narrowness. They were

... an introductory lecture recommending the subjects of his course to their attention, four
lectures comprising the Juridical History of the Colony, Province and Commonwealth and its
various changes—one lecture on the organization of the judicial power of the State, one on the
organization and powers of the courts of the United States—one on the Constitution of the
Commonwealth and the various historical events which led to its adoption—one on the
Constitution of the United States and the several antecedent confederacies—a lecture on Natural
Law, one on the history of the common law, one on the civil law, one on ecclesiastical law—a
history of the titles to real estate in this Commonwealth—on personal contracts and property—on
the domestic relations—with two or three lectures on some of the subjects intended as
explanations and illustrations, and a concluding lecture of a monitory nature in relation to the
studies, deportment and general principles by which their success in life and usefulness to the
public would be covered—On the whole, 17 or 18 lectures.¹

But Professor Parker’s greatest service to the University had been a suggestion in his
Inaugural Lecture, delivered April 17, 1816. He pointed out that in a short course of
lectures such as he contemplated,

. . . nothing like a law education can be attempted; and indeed, I am satisfied, after reflection
upon the subject, that such an attempt, if practicable, would not be useful for undergraduates,
who cannot devote the time necessary for any tolerable proficiency, without too great an
abstraction from other studies, most of which are essential prerequisites to the study of law.

¹ Our count is nineteen or twenty. Charles Warren quotes Parker’s report (History of the Harvard Law School,
I, 303) but does not say where he found it. The Harvard College Papers for 1816 and 1817 do not contain it.

Dane Hall, second home of the Harvard Law School (Harvard Law School Collection).
Gannett House viewed through an archway of Austin Hall (from a photograph by Russell Peck in the Harvard Law School Collection).

Austin Hall (from a photograph by Samuel Chamberlain in the Harvard Law School Collection).
Henry Hobson Richardson in Paris, 1859
(courtesy of Mrs. Charles Allerton Coolidge).
At some future time, perhaps, a school for the instruction of resident graduates in jurisprudence may be usefully ingrafted on this professorship . . .

Parker renewed his proposal in the spring of 1817, and on May 14 of that year the President and Fellows resolved to establish a school for professional instruction in the law, intended primarily for college graduates. On June 12 the Overseers concurred in that resolution and in the appointment of Asahel Stearns as University Professor of Law.

The new School needed quarters; and the University authorities assigned for it two or three rooms on the ground floor of a onetime dwelling house, a gambrel-roofed structure on the westerly side of what is now Harvard Square, a little way north of the present building of the Harvard Trust Company. The picture here reproduced is what was then called a "mathematical thesis," made, so its inscription shows, "by an actual survey." A student named Boyd made the drawing in 1795.

The Law School's first home was hardly luxurious. College House Number Two had been built in the mid-1700's. The Reverend Samuel Webber, Hollis Professor of Mathematics, lived there from 1798 to 1806, and as a result it was sometimes called the Webber house. Professor Webber became President in 1806 and accordingly moved to Wadsworth House. The new Hollis Professor of Mathematics, John Farrar, succeeded to Webber's chair and to his dwelling, and thereafter some people called it the Farrar house. By 1817 Professor Farrar had moved elsewhere, and Harvard had acquired that structure and the one next northerly, denoting them respectively College House Number Two, and College House Number One.

Andrew Preston Peabody, who knew the College Houses in the mid-1920's, wrote in his Harvard Reminiscences first a description of College House Number One, and then continued

. . . The lower story of the other College House was the seat of the then infant Law School. The upper stories of these buildings were occupied, in part, by undergraduates who could not get rooms within the college-yard; in great part, by certain ancient resident graduates who had become waterlogged on their life-voyage, by preachers who could not find willing hearers, by men lingering on the threshold of professions for which they had neither the courage nor the capacity, . . .—in fine, by such waifs of literary purlieus as in these faster days would be speedily blown away, and as since those old garrets were pulled down have found no shelter in Cambridge.

The two College Houses faced easterly across a wide dusty road. A student who looked out of a front window of the College Houses saw, 75 yards away, the west end of Massachusetts Hall and a quartering view of Harvard Hall. To the north of Harvard Hall stood Holden Chapel where it stands today. A thousand feet northerly of the college Houses, across a corner of the rather bleak and empty common, were the house once owned by the Reverend Caleb Gannett, eighteenth-century tutor and steward of the university, and the
gambrel-roofed dwelling of the Reverend Abiel Holmes, minister of the First Parish Church. In 1817 an inquisitive eight-year-old boy, Oliver Wendell Holmes, son of that minister, was living in the gambrel-roofed house. He graduated from Harvard College in 1829 and at once enrolled with Harvard Law School in College House Number Two. For a little while he seemed to enjoy the law, and in September he wrote to Phineas Barnes, an Andover classmate with whom he maintained a lifelong correspondence,

I am settled once more at home in the midst of those miscellaneous articles which always cluster around me whenever I can do just as I please,— Blackstone and boots, law and lathe, Rawle and rasps, all intermingled in exquisite confusion.\(^4\)

But the young man wearied of the law after only one year. In the School Register kept by a student aide appears opposite his name a concluding entry "Deserted to the enemy (Medical)." And young Holmes must already have been thinking about a third career, for on September 16, 1830, the Boston Daily Advertiser carried his poem "Old Ironsides" which kept from destruction for scrap lumber the U.S.S. Constitution, now the oldest vessel of the United States Navy.

\(^3\) Andrew P. Peabody, Harvard Reminiscences (Boston, 1888), pp. 210-211.


The Harvard Law School did not flourish during its first twelve years. Professor Parker's duties as Chief Justice inevitably diminished the time and energy he could devote to the Law School. Professor Stearns was a hard-working, conscientious man, attending steadily to his duty, supervising the studies of his students, sitting as a judge on moot-courts. He drew up a systematic plan of studies for the School. He collected as much of a law-library as he could in the battered first-floor rooms of College House Number Two. In 1824 he published a treatise, A Summary of the Law and Practice of Real Actions, dedicating it to his students "as a testimony of his earnest desire to aid them in the honourable and laborious study of American Jurisprudence." He vainly urged the President and Fellows to give the School better quarters. The University, beset by financial troubles and some internal dissensions, kept the Law School in College House Number Two, but showed its understanding of Stearns' work by making him a Doctor of Laws at the 1825 Commencement.

Enrollment in the Law School continued to shrink. In 1827 Parker resigned his Royall Professorship; Stearns continued to struggle on by himself in College House Number Two. In 1828 the kindly and ailing Dr. Kirkland resigned as President of the University. In the winter of 1828-1829 only one or two forlorn students continued in the Law School. On April 7, 1829 Professor Stearns, too, resigned. The Law School had reached its lowest point.

But there was light ahead. In September 1828 Nathan Dane of Beverly, Massachusetts, a noted lawyer and legal author, had written to Justice Joseph Story, who was a Fellow of the Harvard Corporation, suggesting that Dane might give $10,000 for "the Law Branch in Harvard University." In January 1829 Harvard's Governing Boards persuaded Josiah Quincy, lawyer, former congressman, former Boston mayor, to undertake the presidency of the University. Quincy, Dane, and Story planned the revitalization of the Law School. One
regrets that they did not share the good news with Stearns. Perhaps they were anxious to install an entirely new faculty. In June the Corporation inducted Quincy as President, appointed Story to a new Dane Professorship of Law, and made

John Hooker Ashmun of Northampton Royall Professor in place of Stearns. A new spirit swept through young men who were considering legal careers. In September 1829 Oliver Wendell Holmes, who had not yet "deserted to the enemy (Medical)" wrote to his old classmate Barnes:

When you was here, I thought of going away to study my profession; but since Judge Story and Mr. Ashmun have come, the Law School is so flourishing that I thought it best to stay where I am.\(^5\)

Young Holmes' estimate was better than his endurance of a profession distasteful to him. He turned to a distinguished career in medicine; but flocks of young men came to study law under the brilliant Story (who, like Parker, divided his time between the Law School and judicial duty), and under Professor Ashmun who, like Asahel Stearns before him, ran the School during the senior professor's necessary judicial absences. The School's problem ceased to be attracting students; the difficulty became providing appropriate facilities for the increasing numbers who sought the law at Harvard. From this necessity came the second home of the Harvard Law School. Nathan Dane was again the benefactor who made it possible.

On September 12, 1831, President Quincy wrote the 78-year-old Dane a letter which deserves respectful study by modern University-Development Chairmen.

The Law School in Harvard University in its present flourishing state is justly considered a creation of your own. As its founder, I deem it my duty to keep you apprised of any intentions concerning it, which may have a tendency to affect its prosperity and usefulness, to the end that any views you may entertain in relation to it may not be counteracted by any acts done without your knowledge; or that should they differ from your plans or be less adequate or appropriate than your anticipation, you may know our reasons, before they take the form of acts, and be varied or abandoned by any wishes you may have or may see fit to indicate. The School is flourishing beyond all expectation. It already consists of thirty-five members. Five or six more are anticipated. We think ourselves justified in calculating with certainty on 40 members, and I have reason to think it will exceed that number; in this state of things a serious question is pressed upon us. The Corporation have completed the purchase of the whole of Judge Story’s Library. The cost of it, with books previously purchased, have stood the College in stead the sum of $8000. The Library is too large for any single room we can appropriate for it, and is consequently distributed into two or three, and is consequently inconvenient for arrangement or research, and extremely exposed to injury and dilapidation. Besides which, none of the rooms at

\(^5\) Morse, Life and Letters of Oliver Wendell Holmes, I, 62.
present possessed by the College are suitable for public lectures, moot courts and occasional meetings of the students and professors.

A temporary and unsuitable wooden structure, Quincy wrote Dane, would cost $2000; a brick Law College "suitable to contain a library, professors' rooms, lecture rooms and every convenience the institution now demands" would cost $7000. If erected, such a building, he wrote,

. . . must unquestionably bear your name. If not given to it by the Corporation as it would be, it would be done by the public voice. Now such a building, if erected, ought to be fully adequate to our wants, and to have some feature of permanence, and bear some affinity in material and effect to our benefactor's distinguished bounty. Now a building of wood to cost $2000. would do neither the one nor the other . . . I have thus taken the liberty, sir to present to you a simple statement of the prosperity, the prospects and the exigencies of the School your liberality has founded. My purpose has been simply to make a distinguished benefactor know precisely the relations of the object of his bounty. I consider the moment to be somewhat in the nature of a crisis in respect of the progress of the School. If nothing is done by the Corporation, the tendency to check the growth to which it seems destined is unquestionable. A temporary wooden building seems to me neither suited to our exigencies, nor yet worthy of the Institution or its founder.

Before taking any step, therefore, I have thought that my duty required I should apprise you of facts, that if any views or wishes exist in your mind on the subject, they may be known, should you see fit to communicate them; and that should you have any reason to be dissatisfied with any of our proceedings, you should have no occasion to complain of our intentions not having been previously communicated. This communication you will consider confidential, or otherwise, at your pleasure, and should you see fit to make any reply to it, any restriction you may choose to impose on the subject matter of it shall scrupulously be observed.6

6 Warren, History of the Harvard Law School, I, 470—473. Warren cites this letter as found in the Harvard College Archives among the Quincy papers. It is no longer there nor is it in the Law School Archives. Fortunately Warren quoted the letter in full.

The new result of succeeding negotiations was Dane Hall, built in 1832. It stood "north of the Meeting House" (torn down the next year), which is to say in the Yard between the present southern entries of Straus and Matthews Halls across the Square from the present-day Coop. It was a two-story Greek temple, originally sixty feet deep and forty wide. In 1845 it was enlarged by building a rectangular addition across the rear. On the ground floor was a library with a reading room and studies for the two professors. A lecture room and two smaller rooms, one for the librarian's dwelling, took up the second floor. Charles Sumner, librarian in the 1830's, thought it "the pleasantest room in Cambridge." If that room existed today, its occupant would look out on the subway kiosk in Harvard Square.

Dane Hall housed the Harvard Law School during the years which Samuel Eliot Monson has called its Augustan age. Story, until his death in 1845, continued his judicial work on the Supreme Court, and held court in New England as a Circuit Justice. During the same time he wrote and published a series of distinguished books which went a long way to systematize and "restate" the discrete decisional law of the United States, in a manner suggesting the work of the American Law Institute in the present day. He attracted to the School not only
men who became outstanding practitioners of the law, but authors, diplomats, and political leaders—Charles Sumner, Richard Henry Dana, Benjamin Robbins Curtis, James Russell Lowell, Rutherford Birchard Hayes, to name a few. During Story’s career as Dane Professor the student body rose from almost none to 140, a level which with fluctuations continued until the decade of 1870-1880. The library collection swiftly rose in size and quality.

Story was an inspiration for eager students; but he consumed no time or energy trying to make himself a taskmaster for laggards. His philosophic model for the Law School (or possibly the incidental result of his consuming preoccupation with matters other than pedagogy) was, in modern metaphor, an intellectual cafeteria, not a forced-feeding station. The School set no examinations, either for admission or for graduation. Story’s lectures were improvised discourses; but students felt an electric stimulus from the presence in the School of a witty, productive legal scholar who enjoyed talk with the young and who for his auditors drew on his unequalled store of learning, culture, and experience at the bar as well as on the bench. In September 1845 Story was preparing to retire from his judicial duties when he was suddenly taken ill and died within a few days. He was irreplaceable.

The momentum which Story had given the School carried it along for a quarter-century after his death. Greenleaf, Parsons, and Washburn turned out some useful books; one of the last was Emory Washburn’s 1860 Real Property. Joel Parker contributed classroom learning, stimulus, and wit, but published no book. The percentage of students without an undergraduate degree rose. The School coasted. Still, during those twenty-five years after Story there were many brilliant graduates. Among the LL.B.’s of 1853 were James Coolidge Carter, the first President of the Harvard Law School Association, elected in 1886, and Christopher Columbus Langdell, the first Dean of the School, who began its reorganization and rejuvenation in 1870. James Bradley Thayer, LL.B. 1856, joined the Law School faculty in 1873. John Codman Ropes and John Chipman Gray, both LL.B.’s of 1861, together started the American Law Review and gave their names to what is now the largest law firm in New England; Gray was for many years a distinguished author and professor of law at Harvard. John Fiske, LL.B. 1865, is now remembered for his books on history and philosophy, but his letters written from the Law School demonstrate the stimulus he found there. Any school in which Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., LL.B. 1866, gained his introduction to the law must have had virtues.

However, some graduates began to demand revitalization of the School. The changes in requirements for admission, in instruction, in examination, in faculty, which President Eliot and Dean Langdell brought about, in 1870 and thereafter, gave the School new life. One great stimulus was a new home for it. Dane Hall had been demonstrating inconveniences. Langdell wrote in his 1878-1879 report as Dean a brutal sentence. "It is unnecessary to speak of the architectural shortcomings of Dane Hall, for they are so great and
so notorious as to be a discredit to the entire University." He complained of poor ventilation, noise of traffic in the now-paved Square, crowding, and the danger of fire from the gaslights in the library. The following year Eliot in his Presidential Report endorsed Langdell’s complaints. Dane Hall, he wrote

... is inadequate in every respect. There is but one lecture-room, so that two classes have been this year obliged, at great inconvenience, to resort to lecture-rooms which chanced to be temporarily vacant in University Hall; the very valuable Library is exposed to destruction by fire; the situation of the building is such that the lectures are much disturbed by the noise from the streets; and neither professors nor students can be properly accommodated in the Library. A new building upon a new site is urgently needed.

These reports may well have brought Edward Austin of Boston to give Harvard the Romanesque building which bears that name, in honor of his brother Samuel. Edward Austin, born in 1802 or 1803, was nearly eighty when Eliot’s report appeared. He had been supercargo for a Boston shipping firm in the 1820’s, had then turned to cotton, railroads, and insurance, and had accumulated a substantial fortune. Early in 1881 he offered Harvard $100,000 to build a new Law School structure. When the estimated cost ran to $35,000 more, he cheerfully gave the rest. Harvard employed as its architect Henry Hobson Richardson, who had built Sever Hall for Harvard in 1878-1880, and Trinity Church, Boston, before that. Richardson must here have a few lines.

He was born in Louisiana in 1838 and was appointed to West Point but failed of acceptance because of a speech defect. He went, instead, to the University of Louisiana for a year, and then came to Cambridge to prepare for Harvard, from which he was graduated in 1859. He next went to Paris, and after one failure in examinations he gained admission to the Ecole des Beaux Arts.

Instruction in that School largely consisted in work in the atelier of some associated architect. Richardson entered that of Jules-Louis Andre. The photograph of Richardson here reproduced was taken in 1859 in Paris. The original is owned by his granddaughter, Mrs. Charles Allerton Coolidge of Belmont, who very kindly lent it for reproduction and permitted its publication with this

essay. The outbreak of the Civil War in America cut off remittances from Louisiana, and Richardson was unable to remain at the Beaux Arts for formal instruction. However, Andre kept him on at the atelier and he made his living by his professional work. During his years in France he developed the strong liking for the Romanesque tradition which appears in much of his work. In October 1865 he returned to the United States and lived in New York until 1874. Though he had only a single commission to build in that city, he rapidly obtained commissions elsewhere, including the 1872 commission for Boston’s Trinity Church. In 1874 he moved to Brookline, Massachusetts, where he established workrooms in his house. Commissions came rapidly and when Harvard asked him to design first Sever and then Austin, it retained the services of the best known American architect of his time.

Austin was Richardson’s largest 1881 commission. He began work on it in February of that year and at first planned the building with the library at the right or east end, a story higher than the rest of the building. The left part was to be longer than the library portion, and a
triple porch, similar to the present one, was to be in the center of the long side, flanked by two towers. Richardson found this proposal unsatisfactory and at once started a new design close to the one ultimately adopted. The new plan was symmetrical, as are the masses of the building actually constructed; but an asymmetrical feature is the stair turret just east of the triple-arched porch. Tradition has it that Dean Langdell wanted a means of access to his study more convenient and more private than the main staircase, which was bound to be full of students hurrying up to the great reading-room or down to the new classrooms.

Austin Hall is an architectural museum-piece. Henry-Russell Hitchcock in his book on Richardson’s architecture and times calls it “certainly one of Richardson’s greatest works,” and says that when the architect built Austin and Sever “Richardson repaid his debt to Harvard by constructing the only two buildings in Cambridge worthy to stand with those of the eighteenth and the first decades of the nineteenth century.” Hitchcock wrote in 1936; perhaps today he would reconsider. But Austin continues to attract architectural attention. The curious leering, grinning, or scowling little heads on the porch pillars; the dragons in unexpected corners of the stonework; the one of them, seemingly Richardson’s sly jape at the law, which is savagely biting at a gadfly on his haunch but by mistake biting his own flesh; Richardson’s own insigné, cut in the white sandstone by one of his imported English stoncutters, an oblong panel filled with architects’ drawing instruments and complex knotted cords, which, looked at curiously, suddenly form the capital letters HHR, —a man looks at these things for years and still finds surprises. A professor of law whose study in Austin faces the quadrangle formed by Littauer, Gannett House, and Austin, sees almost every day men or women carefully photographing, drawing, or painting Austin’s Romanesque arches.

Perhaps this is the moment to explain the Law School’s Gannett House. Many people, confused by the name Harvard has given this graceful Greek Revival building a biscuit toss from Austin Hall, have supposed that it is “the seat of Caleb Gannett, Esq.,” the house from which the much-reproduced watercolor ”Bell view” of the Common in 1805 was painted. But the original Gannett House was torn down some time before 1838, the year when the present Gannett House was constructed, I think on the site of the original. A companion watercolor, also painted by Bell in 1805 but looking northerly ”from the Episcopal Church,” pictures on the northeast of the Common what must be the original Gannett House and easterly of it the Abiel Holmes house. The original Gannett House appears from that painting to have been three stories in front facing the Common, and two stories high in back. It evidently then stood about where the new Hemenway gymnasium now
stands, a few paces west of today's Austin Hall. That was the site of the present Gannett House in 1922; it then faced southerly across the Common like its 18th-century eponym. In 1938 it was moved a few feet southerly and was turned around to face the quadrangle now formed of Littauer and Austin.

The present Gannett House appeared in the 1905-1906 Law School catalogue as a university-owned dwelling for students. Its attractions were there praised by the boast "Room No. 9 and Room No. 4 which serves as a bedroom for No. 3, are heated by steam." Room rent included without extra charge cold water from a tap in the basement. In 1924 the interior was refurbished and has ever since housed the Law Review, the Legal Aid Bureau, and also more recently the Voluntary Defenders. Despite the fact that our Gannett House is only a third of the way through its second century, it is a pleasant architectural foil to Austin, and for many alumni it stirs brave memories. It is only six years younger than Dane Hall was; it is our oldest house still standing.

In September 1883 John Himes Arnold, the Law School's librarian, began moving books from Dane Hall to the light, spacious stacks in Austin. Lectures began in Austin's four airy classrooms on October 1 of that year. A new and zealous bookboy named John McCarthy began bringing books to students at the library delivery desk which stood about where the double oak doors now open from the courtroom to the anteroom of professors' offices and the Sheldon room. John McCarthy served the School for more than half a century. Dean Langdell and the School's four professors settled into their new panelled studies and watched coal fires glow in their grates when the fall afternoons grew chilly. North and east of Austin, Holmes Field stretched out clear of buildings. The windows of the reading-room provided an admirable view of football games!

And what became of Dane Hall? The newborn Harvard Cooperative Society used part of it until 1904. Professor Münsterberg had his psychological laboratory there from 1892 to 1905. Harvard

Charles Warren, in vol. II of his history of the school, chapter 47, gives a detailed account of the development of the Library.

By 1906 Austin was too small to hold the School; we added Langdell; we twice enlarged that; and now we have built two new, shining, many-splendored houses beside and beyond Langdell. These colossal marvels a man can admire, in the full etymological sense of that word. Austin is a little more comprehensible; and besides it has a patina of memories. Here Langdell planned; here John Chipman Gray sat in his bay of the reading room thinking of
The Nature and Sources of the Law; here James Barr Ames pondered and wrote of the law in medieval England. In Austin Hall’s reading room young Roscoe Pound, trying to study Roman Law during the Christmas holidays of 1889, was set on the right track by John Chipman Gray. Here Austin Scott began his Harvard studies in 1906. Here John Maguire, brand new professor in 1923, looked from the window of his study in the same direction as Caleb Gannett, gazing from his window seat in the eighteenth century, though the view John Maguire saw in the twentieth century had strangely changed. So Austin Hall inspires some wonder, and for those who really know it, much affection.

Read January 19, 1969

9 Time spoils everything, even Story’s puns. A lawyer’s Latin maxim states that when a principal procures an agent to do something on the principal’s behalf, the principal is as responsible as if he had done it himself: Qui facit per alium facit per se. Facit was pronounced a century ago with "a" and "c" as in the English "face." The modern fashion of a hard "c" and broad "a" ruins Story’s joke.

130

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I have not belabored these pages with comprehensive footnotes. The index to my book The Law at Harvard may help anyone who wishes to study this story at greater length.

Many people generously helped me with this essay. The Cambridge Historical Commission and its staff, particularly Robert Bell Rettig, were endlessly kind, helping me with selection and reproduction of pictures, with advice, and with tactful correction. Any blunders which, absit omen, may be discovered in these pages are my fault, and have occurred despite the good offices of these experts. The admirably well-informed librarians of the Harvard School of Design were most generous in providing me with material on H. H. Richardson, the architect of Austin Hall.

Mrs. Charles Allerton Coolidge, Mr. Richardson’s granddaughter, let me borrow, and has permitted me here to publish for the first time, the charming picture of her grandfather in his Beaux Arts days, holding his gleaming top-hat. It was (and is) framed in black hardwood which Charles Coolidge fashioned with his own hands; my good and skilled friends at Cambridge Camera and Marine photographed it for a slide without removing the frame—only one of the many skilful photographic services they furnished me. The other pictures are part of the Harvard Law School collection. They are here reproduced thanks to the courtesy of Earl Borgeson, the School’s librarian. The Austin Hall photograph is the work of Samuel Chamberlain. The photograph of Gannett House, framed in an archway of Austin, was taken by Russell Peck when he was Secretary of the Law School.

Joseph E. Leininger, then Vice Dean of the Law School, gave me every generous help and encouragement. And in the fluster of my busy teaching life, none of these matters could have been researched, arranged, coordinated, and generally set right without the scholarly training and cheerful competence of my then secretary and research assistant Mrs. John Alcock. I am grateful for the help of these and of many other friends.

131
The Class of 1903

BY RICHARD C. EVARTS

This title will bring to mind different things to different people. To those of us who are French it might well refer to the army conscripts of that year; and to a great many people in Cambridge it would mean the Harvard class of 1903. But, while this rather trivial and rambling record of the past does deal with a graduating class, it is not even a high school class but the class which graduated from the Peabody Grammar School in Cambridge in 1903.

I don't know whether the trade in class pins today is as brisk as it was in those days. Then, I believe, every graduating class of every grammar school in Cambridge had a class pin. I think the pin must have been selected with great care by a committee, but I have no recollection of who was on the committee or how it was chosen. Our class pin had the numerals 03 in silver on a crimson field with the initials P.G.S. underneath. The initials of course stood for Peabody Grammar School but to our infantile minds it was fun to tell people they meant blind pigs because they spelled pigs without an I. But after all, is much that passes as humor today any less childish?

The Peabody Grammar School was then a sturdy brick building of four stories on the corner of Linnaean and Avon Streets. Today it has been replaced by a group of two-story buildings with a great deal of glass and I am sure of very high quality. I do not believe, however, that the education that goes on within them is of any higher quality than what we received.

Most of us had a good deal of respect for most of our teachers, although of course some of us were in a state of continual warfare with them. Two of our teachers stand out in my memory as having qualities which seemed even then as nothing less than extraordinary.

One of them was the principal of the school, Mr. Cutter. He was a man of rather less than average height, somewhat stoop shouldered, with a well-trimmed graying beard. Unless we transgressed the rules too often we saw little of him except at assemblies of the whole school, until the ninth grade which was the graduating class of most of the Cambridge grammar schools in those days. I think the Agassiz School had only seven grades and some of those who went on to higher learning transferred to the Peabody School. I remember Faith and Tom Lanman were two of such transferees.

In the ninth grade Mr. Cutter gave us a preview of the mysteries of elementary physics and of algebra in preparation for high school. He would perform simple experiments in physics which entranced us, and led us along the paths of new learning so patiently that many of us wished to go farther ourselves to greater discoveries.

Of course of a class of some 40 boys and girls, not all of us were thirsting for knowledge or even interested in learning more than enough to get by, but it is some indication of the respect which we all had for Mr. Cutter (I have forgotten his first name) that a legend was current that what appeared to be round shoulders were really the bulging of powerful back
and shoulder muscles, and that some boy had once seen Mr. Cutter lift an iron beam single handed. I believed it then. Today I am inclined to think it had no foundation in fact. But it instilled awe and admiration in most of us to whom physical prowess outweighed intellectual attainments and was much more interesting and exciting.

And then Miss Ewell, the ninth grade room teacher.\(^2\) I never

\(^{1}\) Frederick Spaulding Cutter, 1853—1935, Harvard ’74, master or principal of the Peabody School 1889-1909.

\(^{2}\) Charlotte A. Ewell was listed in Cambridge directories from 1872 through 1920. Some fifteen years before the time described, she had for a time been principal of the Agassiz School.

knew her first name. Of course I never knew her age either. To us she was ageless. A slim, straight-backed lady with white hair and a fringe is the way I remember her. She was almost a prototype of that unsung heroine, the New England old maid. Without once raising her voice, she kept perfect discipline and order in a room of over 40 girls and boys, some of the latter as big as full-grown men and often quite as intractable. One of the biggest boys in the class was Horace Skilton who later became a football star at Rindge School, and still later represented Ward 10 in the Plan B City Council. I remember well one day in the course of a lesson in American History which covered the Civil War, there was some discussion of the Army and Horace raised his hand. On being recognized by Miss Ewell he stated, "Miss Ewell, I have passed all the physical requirements for West Point." Miss Ewell looked at him benevolently and replied, "That's very nice, Horace. I hope you will be able to pass the mental requirements too when the time comes." As far as I know Horace never did go to West Point and never attempted to, but I hope Miss Ewell's gentle irony did not deter him.

The Civil War must have been taught to us pretty objectively and wholly lacking in Northern bias. A few days before Memorial Day one or two of the veterans of that War spoke to us. They were probably in their sixties but to us they were ancient. They spoke not only without bitterness but with respect for their former enemies, and emphasized the evils of war rather than its glories. Of course their chief emphasis was the honor due to those who gave up their lives for their country.

It is evidence of the impartiality with which we were taught history that our respect for Miss Ewell was much enhanced when it was rumored that she was related to General Ewell, one of General Lee's trusted officers, often mentioned in our history book.

Perhaps our respect for Miss Ewell went to extremes in crediting her with occult powers. One afternoon as she was standing with her back to the class putting some figures on the blackboard a boy popularly known as Towser (partly, I suspect, because he had the elaborate full name of Frederick Lilburn St. Glair Towers) took this opportunity of brightening our day by thumbing his nose at her. Quick as a flash she turned and caught him in the act. I don't remember what happened to him, but I do remember that thereafter we believed she was endowed with
supernatural powers, possibly including second sight and eyes in the back of her head. It was too prosaic and unromantic for us to consider that she may have heard something unusual was going on and poor Towser was betrayed by the smothered giggles of his classmates.

There were some very pretty girls in our class. It would be invidious to name them. They were all comely, and I am sure those who are living still are. They were all far and away better students than the boys.

After that generality it is only fair to say that some of the boys stood out as good students. John Daly is one that comes to mind. He was the son of Augustine J. Daly, one time Mayor of Cambridge and a special justice of the District Court in Cambridge. John later distinguished himself at Harvard College and Harvard Law School and became one of the best city solicitors Cambridge ever had. He was also an accomplished linguist. He died a few years ago. Eddie Graustem who still lives in Cambridge was also a good student. Then there was Henry Kittredge, son of Professor George Lyman Kittredge, who became a teacher and author. For some years he was the headmaster of St. Paul's School, Concord, New Hampshire. His death was not long ago. Tom Lanman who became a well known surgeon, also died within the last few years.

Perhaps the most interesting of our classmates, even then, was Conrad Potter Aiken who later became internationally known as a poet and the author of a number of novels. He won the Pulitzer prize for poetry in 1930. Conrad now spends a large part of his time on Cape Cod, but he goes most winters to Savannah, Georgia where he occupies a house or apartment which has been set aside for him as a sort of poet laureate of the State of Georgia or of the city of Savannah. They are very proud of him down there.

Conrad had had broader experience than most of us. In the first place he was born and lived in Savannah, Georgia, where his father was a doctor. In 1901 when he was about eleven years old his life had been touched by tragedy in the death of both his father and mother under the most terrible and heart rending circumstances. I think it was due to his inspiration that he, Henry Kittredge, Endicott Marean (another classmate), and I started what we called a magazine with the name The Story Teller, published by the Akvartean Publishing Company. The name Akvartean was supposed to be a combination of the letters of our own names, but it is apparent that Conrad and Henry were short changed, although they were the most important and talented contributors. Conrad contributed both prose and poetry, and Henry contributed a continued detective story which his father told him in installments at breakfast. Sherlock Holmes had just returned in Collier’s Weekly after everyone, including his creator, thought he had been disposed of, and we were fascinated by the stories. I would have thought that The Story Teller lasted for only two or three numbers; but there must have been more as the only copy I have been able to find is number 16. Its circulation was practically non-existent as most of the numbers were laboriously written in longhand. I believe we did succeed in getting some copies typewritten by Endicott’s mother who had a typewriter. She herself wrote poetry for publication, so she had a fellow feeling for struggling authors. She and Endicott lived on Brewster Street directly behind 151 Brattle Street where his grandfather Endicott lived.
Conrad lived with an uncle and aunt on Garden Street opposite the end of Shepard Street. Henry Kittredge lived on Hilliard Street, and I lived at 19 Follen Street.

Of course we had no organized sports at school but there were a number of pick-up baseball teams in various neighborhoods, as we all had a keen interest in baseball. I remember we had a team we called, for no discernible reason, the Imps, of which Conrad was the star pitcher. We considered he had a good fast ball. Some of the other members of that so-called team were Richard and James Gozzaldi, Henry Kittredge, Norman Nash, later Episcopal Bishop of Massachusetts, John Tunis (who a few years ago wrote a book containing charming reminiscences of his boyhood in Cambridge), and John’s brother Roberts. I cannot now remember any other members of the team. Perhaps there weren’t any. I don’t recollect that we ever played any other team. From this distance it seems to me that most of our activity consisted of playing scrub games ourselves and practicing the art of catching fly balls under the tutelage of Mr. Gozzaldi in the Gozzaldi back yard. The Gozzaldi house was on Brattle Street where the Mormon church now stands.

Of course the neighborhood surrounding the Peabody School has changed a good deal since 1903. There was a vacant field opposite it on Linnaean Street where an apartment house now stands. There were few apartment houses in Cambridge then, and the encroachment of Radcliffe College on the neighborhood had not yet begun, yet as one walks there today most of the frame one-family and two-family houses on Linnaean, Avon, Shepard, Avon Hill, and Walker Streets look pretty much the same as they did then. Then there were almost no automobiles; it took over three quarters of an hour to go from Harvard Square to downtown Boston in a trolley car over Harvard Bridge.

In those days there was a service at Harvard’s Appleton Chapel at twenty minutes of nine every morning. Some of the boys in our class sang in a boy choir which performed at these services under the direction of Mr. Warren Locke of the Harvard Music Department. These privileged choristers were allowed to come to school well after nine o’clock without being recorded tardy, which was the scholastic word at that time for late; perhaps it still is. Singing was part of our curriculum. There was no intensive instruction; it was more like a fringe benefit which we enjoyed. We were told how to read music, but I suspect some of us could never learn to carry a tune. So most of our singing was done by the class as a whole. "The Red, White, and Blue," which we sang with gusto, was a general favorite and is the only song I specifically remember. You know how it goes. I won’t offend your ears by trying to sing it, but the first verse is:

Oh Columbia, the gem of the ocean,

The home of the brave and the free,

The shrine of each patriot’s devotion,

The world offers homage to thee.
Thy mandates make heroes assemble

137

When Liberty's form stands in view;

Thy banners make Tyranny tremble

When borne by the Red, White and Blue!

It had a rousing tune. I wonder whether it is still sung in schools. Probably not.

Every day, school opened with the saying of the Lord's Prayer unison and the reading of a scripture passage by the teacher. It was required by a Massachusetts statute since repealed after I Supreme Court of the United States held a similar statute in; other state unconstitutional in an opinion based on some highly esoteric if not farfetched reasoning. The existing statute requires the room teacher to begin the school day by announcing "that a period of silence not to exceed one minute shall be observed meditation." Clearly the silence is salutary and it is to be hoped I meditations are; but some day someone may well raise the question whether the minute of enforced silence is not unconstitutional an abridgement of the right of freedom of speech. What will I United States Supreme Court do then?

I have heard it said that schools of that day were too much regimented, but I do not remember that we felt oppressed. We were drilled in spelling, arithmetic, punctuation, and English grammar we also learned by heart pieces of prose as well as poetry. When Miss Ewell with her soft voice said "Attention scholars" we sat straight with our hands folded on the edge of the desk in front us. It seems to me that Miss Ewell frequently addressed us "Scholars." It is probably the only inaccurate statement she ever made. The rules were definite and we knew them; if we wanted a quiet life we obeyed them; if we wanted excitement or notoriety we didn't.

When we went to the assembly hall we marched to the sound a drum beaten with great vigor and skill by a classmate whose fi name was Gordon. Unfortunately I have forgotten his last nar He also drummed for fire drill and on other occasions. I have forgotten whether the school found someone equally talented after had graduated.

Graduation Day was our great climax, but strangely enough I remember few details. We were all dressed in our best clothes — most of the girls wore white dresses — our families attended, and we received our diplomas individually from the hands of Mayor McNamee. I am sure the graduation exercises must have included two selections which we had learned and been drilled in over and over again so we could recite them in unison distinctly and with appropriate expression. One of them was from Shakespeare's Julius Caesar—Brutus speaking to Cassius the night before the battle of Philippi:
There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
Omitted, all the voyage of their life
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.
On such a full sea are we now afloat;
And we must take the current when it serves,
Or lose our ventures.

It was about that year I was taken to see Richard Mansfield in Julius Caesar and was delighted to hear those lines so familiar to me spoken by that great actor.

The other selection we recited in unison was a passage from Webster's reply to Hayne where the god-like Daniel was at his oratorical best:

When my eyes shall be turned to behold for the last time the sun in Heaven, may I not see him shining on the broken and dishonored fragments of a once glorious Union; on states dissevered, discordant, belligerent; on a land rent with civil feuds, or drenched, it may be, in fraternal blood! Let their last feeble and lingering glance rather behold the gorgeous ensign of the Republic, now known and honored throughout the earth, still full high advanced, its arms and trophies streaming in their original lustre, not a stripe erased or polluted, nor a single star obscured, bearing for its motto no such miserable interrogatory as "What is all this worth?" nor those other words of delusion and folly, "Liberty first and Union afterwards"; but everywhere, spread all over in characters of living light, blazing on all its ample folds, as they float over the sea and over the land, and in every wind under the whole heavens, that other sentiment, dear to every true American heart—Liberty and Union, now and for ever, one and inseparable!

I am sure the Mayor must have made a speech at our gradual but I don't remember a word of it. Our general feeling was 01 impatience for the exercises to end. It was, I suppose, a miles in our lives with which we were not at all impressed. But loo back I think most of us would now agree that whether we 1 happy or unhappy in the ninth grade of the Peabody Gran School, or whether we can remember anything we learned tl it was a high privilege to have come under the influence of two i unforgettable people as Miss Ewell and Mr. Cutter.

Read March 16, 1969
College Redbooks and the Changing Social Mores

BY PRISCILLA GOUGH TREAT

THAT this subject should be so timely in the year 1969 is entirely fortuitous. When Mr. Evarts did me the honor of asking me to write a paper for the Cambridge Historical Society, he said: "You're having your 50th reunion this year; can't you find a subject connected with that?"

My eye being on available source material, I suggested Radcliffe Redbooks and how they reflect that social climate. The Redbook, as many of you know, is the undergraduate bible, the source of all factual information about rules, customs, procedures; and is read—even now, I believe—with intentness by entering freshmen. The changes in social procedures and rules over the past 50-plus years as described in them are the subject of this paper. The changing rules highlight the changing times as well as the status of young men and women. In particular do they show the shift from the in loco parentis position of the College to independent action by the young. And to make the changes even more telling I have included some information about the similar rules at Harvard which are traditionally printed in a somewhat dull-appearing pamphlet in black and white with no cover.

My heartfelt thanks go to the Schlesinger Library for giving working space and to the Radcliffe and Harvard Archives for providing me with such adequate material.

First, a brief historical sketch of the book itself. At Radcliffe it was first issued in 1907 by the Christian Association, organized in 1896 for the purpose of developing character in the students and of conducting active Christian work, and at that time affiliated with the YWCA. In addition to co-sponsoring the first Red Book, the Association held devotional meetings every Monday afternoon conducted weekly classes in the study of the Bible and of missions.

The co-sponsor was the Emmanuel Society, organized in 1896 with a combined philanthropic and social purpose. Each year raised, chiefly by an open play, the tuition fee of one student; made a contribution to a permanent scholarship fund. It maintained a loan library for textbooks and a secondhand bookstore. The Emmanuel Society held daily morning services in Aga House from 8:50 to 9:00, led by prominent Cambridge clergymen among whom were Dr. Samuel McChord Crothers of the F Parish and the Rev. Prescott Evarts of Christ Church, father of president. A note following the announcement of these services adds, "All students should make it a habit to be present at expression of the Christian spirit in College."

The first issue of the Red Book was three by five inches in with a red cover, and contained twenty-seven pages, including a map of Cambridge in the vicinity of Harvard Square, four college songs, and some advertising which doubtless covered the cost or part of the cost of...
printing. Listed in it were descriptions of twenty-one undergraduate clubs and the college magazine.

Miss Agnes Irwin, dean of the College, addressed a note of welcome to the incoming freshmen, in this case the class of 1911. incidentally, this pattern of a welcome from a college officer or officers was followed up to 1960. Miss Irwin said, among other things that she hoped the class would "realize your highest ideals; attain to the noblest type of womanhood, both mentally and spiritually. My hope is that each one of you may learn here to value things of the spirit even above things of the mind."

There were no rules as such in this first Red Book—just Suggestions, such as: Read the bulletin board daily; look at the letter board under your initial; remain standing after prayers until minister has gone out. There was also a section called College Interests which included

such pieces of information as: The college color is crimson; the dean receives students on Wednesday afternoons at 4:30; on the first Saturday afternoon after Registration Day, the three upper classes give the first reception to the freshmen; each freshman has a senior advisor to whom she may go for help or advice during her first year in college.

The ads in this first Red Book will interest you—one full page was headed Ask for Dennison’s the only crepe paper napkins, delicate in design, and with fast color printing; J. P. Belcher, ice cream, at 29 Brattle Street; J. F. Olsson, picture framers; Colburns, 1432 Massachusetts Avenue, opposite Matthews, for Radcliffe and Harvard Souvenir spoons. And the telephone number was 701-1.

At Harvard the first printed parietal rules, parietal being used in its true meaning, pertaining to life within the walls, were issued for the year 1905-06. The first one read as follows: Every student is responsible for the maintenance of good order in his room; no student shall kennel a dog in a College building; no student shall play ball or noisy games in the Yard, corridors or grounds adjacent to College Buildings; no boisterous music or playing on drums or other harsh instruments; no punches or distilled liquor shall be kept in rooms; no young women, unless attended by an older woman as chaperone, shall be allowed in student rooms; during the evening no woman even with a chaperone shall be allowed in student rooms, except by permission of the Proctor.

I am impressed with the fact that throughout the whole period of nearly seventy years covered by this paper, the time of day was considered very important in rules covering the activities of men and women together. A continuing rule at Harvard read that the display of signs and other articles apparently taken from public places is a breach of good order. Such display is prohibited in all University buildings.

By 1911 the College had an alma mater, words by a member of the class of 1909, music by a 1907er, and the Harvard Co-operative Society was advertising in the Radcliffe Red Book,
as was the Charles River National Bank, Mr. James F. Pennell, president, and deposits of one million dollars; and Howard's Flower Shop at 18 Boylston

Street in the old Harvard Square Post Office Building. The 1912 edition included a half page ad for Miss Minnie C. MacLean's for chiropody, manicure, shampooing and singeing, located at 5 Boylston Street.

In 1911 the Guild, the successor to the Christian Association, was producer of the Red Book, and Miss Coes, then dean, wrote in her welcoming note that the class of 1915 should pray for "a strong hand on the rudder of life."

The Guild, in addition to increasing Christian life at Radcliffe and bringing students into intimate connection with the outside world, maintained a room on the top floor of Agassiz equipped with writing paper, stamps, sewing materials, and simple medical conveniences. I quote: "The college public is asked to investigate." Under Suggestions something new has been added: "Students are requested not to have their friends call them up on the office telephone."

In 1912 appeared one of the most quoted Suggestions, and one which continues to appear in Red Books for the next twenty years: Do Not Leave the College Yard without a Hat.

Bertha M. Boody became dean in 1914 and there appears under Suggestions'. A summons from the dean should be answered immediately in person or by letter. Letters for the Dean and Secretary should be left in the boxes provided for that purpose.

To the class of 1920 entering in the fall of 1916 Miss Boody wrote hoping that the members would have "a happy life where you will be proud to combine, I hope, respect for authority with readiness for individual responsibility, where consideration of other people and appreciation of other people's efforts will free you wholly from what Prof. Norton called 'that common hindrance, self reference.' "

In 1920 there was executed on February 29 a most important agreement between the College Committee on the Halls of Residence and the students, whereby the field of internal management of the Halls, exclusive of housekeeping and finance, and the chaperone rules were turned over to the students. But the Committee hastened to add that these powers could be withdrawn in case of maladministration. This agreement and the first of the rules drafted by the student Board of Hall Presidents, as the new organization was called, appeared in the 1921 Red Book which now came out in a larger size, four by six inches, and under the aegis of the Student Government Association.
Incidentally, the words Hall and Dormitory are used interchangeably. The Yard refers to the Garden Street part of Radcliffe, and the Quadrangle to the area at Shepard, Linnaean, and Walker Streets.

The Board of Hall Presidents, made up of students, which was to govern the social behavior of students for the next forty years, drew up as some of its first rules:

There shall be no calling or whistling between Halls or talking from windows to girls on the street. Girls may not smoke in the Halls or on the College grounds or elsewhere in Cambridge, except in a private house. Guests may not smoke in the Hall or on the terraces. All girls who are out to dinner or out after 7:30 must be registered. Where chaperones are required the name of the chaperone must be included in the registration. If, when a girl is already out, she decides to go to the theatre or the movies, she must come back to get a key. She must not expect the Mistress to sit up for her. No one but the Hall Mistress may let a girl in after ten. If a girl hears another girl trying to get in after ten, even if the Mistress is asleep, she must call the Mistress, who will open the door. Girls may go with a man to concerts, lectures, hockey games, etc., if they come directly home. Upperclassmen may go to the theatre with a man if they come directly home. Moving pictures and pop concerts are considered as theatre. A group of five girls—among whom is a Senior—may go to a concert, lecture, or theatre, if they come directly home. Two or three Juniors may go together to a concert, lecture, or theater without a Senior, if they come directly home. Two or three underclassmen, i.e., Freshmen and Sophomores, may go together to concerts and lectures without a Senior, if they come directly home. Girls may walk up from Harvard Square, with a man, or together, after ten; but not from Central Square or Boston.

A girl could have dinner with a man at the following restaurants: The Cock Horse, Brattle Inn, Washington Court, Cherokee Inn on Church Street, The Raven on Massachusetts Avenue, Holt's on Holyoke Street, Durgin and Park's, Parker House, Touraine, Colonial, Marston's, Murray's, WE and IU, Copley Plaza (until 9:00), 60 Anderson Street.

Tea must end at 7:00. Girls may go in automobiles directly to, or come directly from, places for which they are registered. Girls may not dance at a public place after 7:00 unless they are chaperoned. Upperclassmen may go to dances with men in Boston if they are home by 12:30. Chaperone rules do not apply to girls accompanied by brothers or fiances. The engagement must be announced.

Nineteen twenty-three was the year that Bernice Brown became the dean. In her message to the class of 1927 she writes "We are both beginners. The opportunities the College offers us are limitless. Let us grow in wisdom together." And this is the year that "Come directly home" is interpreted to mean the longer way around. A girl must now return from the theatre with a man by 11:45 or get a later permission from the Hall Mistress and the Hall president. But she may stop at a drugstore, candy shop, or other approved eating place on the way home, if she is in by 11:45. Come Directly Home also means different things for different places: from the river by 10:00; the rink (and I take this to mean the Cambridge Skating Rink) by 10:15; the Arena by 11:00; and sleighrides by 12:30 unless permission has been given to dance.

In 1923 additional names were added to the list of approved eating places, including Child's, Ginter's, Huyler's, Mary Elizabeth's, Schrafft's, the Waldorf, and Walton's. The rule about automobile riding now reads: "Girls may go in automobiles directly to or come
directly from places for which they are registered, provided the distance is within a ten or fifteen mile radius of Boston."

In 1925 a brother was no longer considered a chaperone. On the evening of the last day of midyear examinations a masquerade dance is held to "let off steam accumulated during midyears." And I think I remember that no men were invited!

By 1927 six new places were added to the list where a girl could dine with a man alone, and upperclassmen could dance at a public place until 8:00. After that, a chaperone was necessary. There was still no smoking permitted in the College buildings and no smoking by guests.

You may be interested to know what the penalties were for breaking these rather elaborate and specific rules. The first offence brought a fine—in my day I seem to remember that it was $.50; the next offense a summons before the House Committee, or if important enough, before the Board of Hall Presidents; the ultimate was a loss of privileges, this word being taken to cover any event for which registration is required, i.e., anything that was fun.

By 1928 freshmen could go to what was then called the University Theatre by themselves if they were back by 11:00, which was also the deadline for the Rink, the River, or canoeing. Riding in an automobile is now allowed until 7:30 except when there is daylight saving and then the hour is pushed up to 9:00. The restriction of a 9 P.M. return from the Coplaza is removed, and the Ritz, Somerset, and Statler are added to the approved list of hotels.

Two years later—1930—a special section headed Smoking is included for the first time. It reads "There shall be no smoking in College buildings except in specified places." That same year students had to be back from Revere Beach by 11:00.

Another first that year read: Under no circumstances may one or more students visit a man's dormitory, boarding house, apartment or home at any hour of the day or night without a chaperone. The corollary to this read: Students are asked not to evade the rules by staying with a friend! Freshmen must have permission to stay out after 10:00, and they cannot dance in a public place after 8:00 without a chaperone. No telephone calls may be received after 10:00 or before 7:30 without special permission. And all entries in the Registration Book must be in ink. That the Board of Hall Presidents meant business is evident by the addition of another and much stronger penalty—recommended exclusion from college.

All restrictions have now been removed on eating places before 8:00; but students must consult the approved list as posted if they wish to stay after 8:00.
Listed among customs in 1930 was the statement that seniors are expected to wear caps and gowns during the first few days of college and from May 1 on.

A rule about visiting in the Harvard Houses first appears under the heading Chaperonage in 1932, quoting from Harvard regulations: "Women shall not enter the Houses, dormitories, or clubhouses unattended. A student living in a House must obtain special permission to receive women guests in his room from the Master or the Senior Tutor." Radcliffe, having ruled that under no circumstances must a student visit a man's room without a chaperone, graciously concedes that permission of said Master or Tutor is considered adequate chaperonage.

For the Harvard student living in a dormitory which would mean in general, freshmen, he must get permission to entertain a girl in his room from the Proctor or the Dean. This will be granted only when a chaperone is present.

At the Medical School unescorted women guests will announce themselves at the office and wait in the lobby while the people they want to see are summoned. On departing they must be accompanied to the door and leave by the front lobby only. Escorted women guests are allowed in students' rooms from 1:00 to 6:00 on Fridays and 1:00 to 7:00 on Saturdays. They will be allowed in the Common Room from 10 A.M. to 2 P.M. on all Saturdays and Sundays. All those who have the privilege of taking guests to the Dining Hall may take women to lunch only.

The Business School and the Law School followed in general this same pattern. At one time the Business School did rule that women guests may be entertained, with due permission, between 1:00 and 8:00 on Saturdays when the University football team was playing in the Stadium.

At MIT the rule was simple and direct: Women are not admitted to dormitory rooms.

In 1937 there was a major breakthrough in the Radcliffe rules.

Seniors in the upper five academic groups whose personal record in the dormitories during the preceding three years was satisfactory to Student Government had complete freedom as to their hour of return from evening engagements. "They shall conform to registration rules, but receive no fine or reprimand if their actual return is later than intended." But if she thought she was really off the leading rein, our senior had only to read the next rule which said that all students, except freshmen up to midyears, must be back by 12:00 unless by special permission. All students on academic probation were given only two late nights (that is, after 10:00 and before 12:00) a week.

Ada Louise Comstock, greeting the incoming freshman in 1939, wrote: "These are no times in which to accept opportunities as a matter of course or as personal gratifications. Whether for its own defense or to help a devastated world, this country will need to conserve and develop all its resources of mind, as well as of matter. . . ." And she ended, "I hope that the tension of these days may bind your class together in an exceptional unity,
based upon a common determination to use your four years in acquiring the disciplined strength which your country sorely needs."

The very next year saw the appearance on the campus for the first time of the American Student Union, whose purpose was stated to be: The only national student organization that has stood consistently for academic freedom, rights of labor and opposition to all steps leading us into this war. This is the year 1941—42, when freshmen may have fifteen special permissions to be out after 10:00 at strictly social affairs, up to midyears. And any student expecting to return after 10:00 must take a key from the keyboard—not ask for and receive it from the Hall Mistress as before.

Meanwhile at Harvard, "A student who is guilty of an offence against law and order at the time of a public disturbance or unauthorized demonstration or who disregards the instructions of a proctor or other University officer at such a time may have his connection with the University severed. The mere presence of a student in a disturbance or unauthorized demonstration may result in disciplinary action."

Miss Comstock, greeting the class of 1946, writes in the 1942 Red Book: "You are living on borrowed time; time lent you in which to acquire knowledge and develop powers which are accounted more important than the war work you could be doing with your present equipment."

At Radcliffe the word was acceleration with classes entering in July, November, and March, with men and women together in small classes beyond those open to freshmen.

And under College Customs a statement appears: "Many customs are now curtailed because of the accelerated program and wartime restrictions, but they will be reinstated as soon as possible." Alas: in many cases they never were (and if this sounds like an old graduate speaking, make of it what you will).

The first girl in the class to be married after graduation is still, even in this period of curtailment, given a set of Radcliffe china; and the first girl baby born after graduation has a silver spoon and becomes the mascot of the class. The Junior-Senior luncheon went on with curtailed menu and the engaged girls still ran around the table. The dormitories are now open until 11 P.M. on Sundays; and no alcoholic beverages can be kept in the dormitories. Slacks may be worn in the dormitories until 2 P.M. on weekdays, till 11:00 on Sundays, and to the corner in the evening, but nowhere else at any time. The Student Council ruled that slacks or ski pants must not be worn to class except in stormy or sub-zero weather. It hopes that Radcliffe students will continue to dress in good taste and this, they feel in view of Radcliffe's urban and Harvardian location, means no slacks.

This is 1945. Sunbathing in the Yard is prohibited—shoes and stockings must not be removed. No longer must the Hall Mistress be awakened to let in a late returnee who has no key. Whoever hears her may do this, but the name of her admittor must be included in the registration. Smoking on Harvard steps or grounds is forbidden. If you must smoke at Harvard you must conform to the Harvard rules, so says the Red Book.
In the fall of 1947 students living in the Radcliffe dormitories were, on the payment of $1, given a door key to keep for the year, except that it must be turned in at the beginning of each vacation period. In rotation, one dormitory will now be kept open till midnight, Monday through Saturday. Long coats must be worn over gym suits when walking between the Gym and the Quadrangle. And in the basement of Memorial Chapel there is a Radcliffe Sanctuary with a large washroom and a place to study —open from 10:00 to 4:00 Mondays through Fridays.

The 1950 rules define a formal chaperone as an older woman or a married couple. Informal chaperones can be two or more girls. For any party after 1:00, a formal chaperone and special permission from the Hall Mistress are necessary.

S.D.A. —Students for Democratic Action—is listed among the student clubs for the first time. "A nationwide organization for liberals. It works for academic freedom and student rights as well as for universal economic security and civil liberties."

Students can now wear their slacks in the specified places until 5 o'clock in the afternoon —three hours longer.

About this time there appeared in the Red Books a section called Savoir Faire which was based on a small pamphlet called Do You Know the Answers? which was first published in 1944, but was not reprinted and only included in the Red Book in 1950. Savoir Faire specifies among other things that shoes are to be worn indoors and out, and stockings also, except in the spring when smoothly tanned or well made-up legs are the vogue.

Under the heading of Good Neighborliness: Girls will not wear slacks, shorts, or blue jeans at Harvard, nor sprawl on the grass, nor smoke in Harvard buildings, nor bicycle in the Harvard Yard. When Radcliffe students go in to dinner in the dormitories the head table is to be filled first. "Accord," says this section, "your mistress the courtesy due the social head of your group. Get up when she or any older person comes in the room and let her out of the dining room first."

Speak to the deans at a dance, whether there is a formal receiving line or not. Wearing the right thing at the right time gives self-assurance and poise. Hats should be worn at formal luncheons and teas.

This section ends with a flourish with the words: "Radcliffe girls ought to look like ladies, it is imperative that they be recognized as girls." Under men and dates appear the following interesting statements:

Cambridge is a well-stocked hunting ground for men of whom there are several kinds.

There is the unknown man who asks for a date sight unseen. The odds are against you unless you like to gamble. The drugstore romeo—Never; the man with the apartment just around
the corner; watch your step, better yet, retreat; friend of a friend, beware of this unless you can get some inside dope. You may lose a friend as well as a date; man who comes at you at a party—if he’s goodlooking, courteous, and interesting, grab him; otherwise, go back to your date or lacking one, go home; the man who goes out with one of your friends—how good a friend are you; the man who sits next to you in Eng. 160—well, you have eyes, haven’t you?

The sitting rooms in the dormitory are provided for bridge games, informal groups, or callers. They are not private parlors. You are on display.

Drinking is a personal matter. You need not be a camel, but be thirsty in moderation.

Smoking on the street does not become a lady.

And for your own sake, save amorous activities for a more secluded spot. You may want the world to know you’re in love, but there must be a better way than demonstrating in public.

In 1951-52 MIT succumbed. Women may now be entertained anywhere in the dormitories from 5:00 to 8:00 on weekdays; 5:00 to 1 A.M. Fridays and Saturdays; 12 noon to 10:00 P.M. on Sundays and holidays.

At Radcliffe the class of 1957 entering in 1953 came into another bonus. Each hall now votes whether or not to allow jeans for Saturday and Sunday supper. If it approves, no guests are permitted and the wearers must go only to the dining room, not into any other public rooms. Overnighters must be in by 1 A.M. of the evening of their return as compared to the 10 o’clock previous deadline.

In that section of the 1954-55 Red Book entitled Guide to Good Taste, the word chaperone has finally been deleted, having served well for over forty years. The rule now reads: When visiting a man’s

152

apartment, it is suggested that another girl or another couple or an older couple be present when the party runs longer than 1 A.M.

Freshmen get another plus in 1958 when they were allowed thirty late permissions before midyears, of which twenty-seven must be taken before Christmas, as against half that number six or seven years earlier. Smoking in all the rooms in the brick dormitories is now in order; but only in specified places in the off-campus frame houses.

Seniors may leave the dormitory as late as midnight if accompanied; but no student may leave the Hall before 7:30 A.M. unless she has obtained permission the day before. After 10 P.M. when the dormitory is closed, no permission will be given beyond 1 A.M. and no sign-outs changed. Under no circumstances may a student leave the dormitory after 10 P.M. alone. Night is more wicked than day.

If a student fails to check in by 1 A.M. the House Committee member who is checking the sign-out books at 1:15 checks the student’s bed and the dormitory; at 1:30 she wakes the hall president; at 1:45 the head resident; at 2:00 the dean of residence; at 2:15 the police.
A hall president can give no permission later than 2 A.M. Cast parties may go to 4 A.M. But there are no late permissions for beach parties.

This is the year 1960 when seniors may leave the dormitory as late as 1 A.M. if accompanied. From 10 P.M. to 1 A.M. took forty years.

Sunbathing is now taboo on the street side of any dormitory or in a location open to public view. No pets are allowed in the halls of residence — I remind you that Harvard stated specifically, no student shall keep an animal, a bird, or a reptile in a College building. Students at Radcliffe may not travel in unchartered or private planes without the approval of parents. The penalties are pretty specific in 1960—late five to nine minutes, one warning; ten to fourteen minutes, two warnings; fifteen to thirty minutes, social probation. Three warnings constitute social pro. Forgetting to sign in earns two warnings, forgetting to sign out equals probation which means having to stay in the dormitory one of the next two

Saturday nights and you must make your decision as to which Saturday night by the middle of the week.

In 1961-62, the rules reiterated the need for discretion in displays of affection in public places. Smoking in bed is forbidden; gentlemen guests at the dormitory for dinner must wear coats and ties.

The 1962 edition of the Redbook was issued by the Radcliffe Government Association, the successor to the Student Government Association, much respected by the older classes. It differs from its parent in that "representatives from the Administration as well as all undergraduates are voting members. This conception of a community government facilitates communication and co-operation between administration and student body." This year also marks the beginning of the House Center system which unites the resources and talents of each of its component dormitories in encouraging cultural and intellectual activity on the campus. Radcliffe has three functioning Houses and one a-building.

Now we read that alcoholic beverages may be served but only by the Head Resident in common rooms for special occasions.

By 1964—65 there are no restrictions as to the hour of return for juniors and seniors, nor for sophomores after Thanksgiving. However, any sophomore, junior, or senior who wishes the greater security of being checked on, may sign out in the columns used by the freshmen. It would be interesting to know how many girls took advantage of this protection.

On Open House nights, the dormitory shall be open till midnight. Each dormitory shall decide by vote which nights of the week it wishes to have open house.

Each dormitory may vote to have twenty-five parietal hours — parietal here meaning hours in which its residents may entertain the opposite sex in their rooms — each week between the hours of 12 noon and 10 P.M. The days and times of these hours must be approved by two-thirds of the girls living in the dormitory.
Each dormitory will decide by a two-thirds vote the number and times of quiet hours and what dress will be acceptable in the dormitory. The 1965-66 Redbook carries the following paragraph: "Students must never go out alone in Cambridge after dark. In the past there have been enough unpleasant incidents to make this an unfortunate but imperative fact of life at Radcliffe. It is particularly unsafe to cross the Common, even with an escort."

On marriage: a student contemplating marriage must notify the dean in advance and give evidence of parents' knowledge or consent. Otherwise she may be asked to withdraw. In my day, marriage during the college year was forbidden.

On drinking: students with the permission of the Senior Resident or Resident Fellow may serve wine before dinner in the living room or in the dining room during the meal on special occasions.

The Harvard parietals in 1968 were as follows: with permission, women may be entertained in rooms between 4:00 and 7:00 on weekdays except on Saturday and Sunday when the hours begin at noon. On Saturday evening and pre-holiday evenings, freshmen may entertain until 8:00; men living in the Houses till midnight.

Harvard rules state further: A student living in rooms or an apartment outside the College is expected to behave responsibly, to maintain good order in his rooms, and decorum in his relationships to the community. Organizational or public meetings may be held in the Student Activities Center between 9 A.M. and 11:30 P.M. The organization concerned must provide escorts for women returning to the Radcliffe dormitories after 11 P.M. There was still a vestige of chivalry left!

In 1967 the publication of the Redbook was taken over by the College News Office. It had grown to a five by eight inch size with ninety pages in which among other things, thirty-three organizations and ten pages of advertising, plus a map and the Alma Mater, were included. Of those firms advertising in the first issue in 1907, only the Coop and J. F. Olsson still appear. The Radcliffe Christian Association is no more. Student Government has undergone still another change, now operating as the Radcliffe Union of Students, one of its goals being real (the italics are mine) student government.

A new day has dawned. O tempora, O mores!

Read May 27, 1969

From Lover's Lane to Sparks Street

By Penelope Barker Noyes
OFTEN, I have wondered when Grandfather Winsor entered Harvard (he and President Eliot were 1853 classmates) as he explored Cambridge by foot and on horseback, if he thought, in going up Lover's Lane, off Brattle Street, that he would have his own house there, about twenty-five years later, on land he bought from his friend and fellow-historian, Charles Deane, numbered 74 Sparks Street. After Grandfather had been Director of the Boston Public Library for ten years, President Eliot asked him to become Librarian in 1877. So it was in the 70s that the grandparents came to live in Cambridge. This explains my background there.

It is heartwarming to have reference made to Grandfather's librarianship studies. A sentence from President Pusey's report for 1964—1965: "Justin Winsor was already at work in the Library establishing the great collections which have since helped us to pre-eminence in the field." In a 1969 description of the Library itself: "Winsor's enduring contributions to the development of the Harvard Library were his belief that 'books should be used to the largest extent possible and with the least trouble,' and the policies he instituted to make that principle operative. A system of 'reserved books' for undergraduates was established in the reading room and free access to the bookstacks was granted to graduate students and faculty. The system proved so sound that it remains in use at Harvard today and long since has become standard practise for all American university libraries and many abroad." The Venezuela Boundary Commission about which I would hear as a child. Grandfather was a historian even as a College freshman — then correcting the proof-sheets for his History of Duxbury, which his Grandmother Winsor had urged him to write.

There had been, earlier, an old farmhouse at the bend of Lover's Lane, standing under an elm. These had gone before the house at 74 Sparks Street was built. Two other elms stood across the street when my parents bought the corner lot (still numbered on my tax bill as 71 Sparks Street) from Mr. John Spalding, whose house at No. 75 then had trees, from the old apple orchard beside the octagon porch.

My parents, James Atkins Noyes and Constance Winsor, were married 4 February 1890 by the Rev. Samuel Longfellow and Rev. Edward H. Hall, of the First Parish, in the parlor at "74." A year later I was born there and was christened by the same two ministers on 4 February 1892 in the parlor. Mr. Longfellow had been a friend of Father's on Brooklyn Heights.

From Cambridge travellers we rented two other houses — one year we were in the Devens house, 155 Brattle Street. The next, we lived in that belonging to the Harold Whitings on Waterhouse Street, that house now the headquarters of the Cambridge American Red Cross. Throughout my childhood, standing in a Victorian frame on the Blue Room mantle was a photograph of several small children. It was a haunting one to me: Grandmother told me the story of those children, lost at sea on their way from Cambridge to a new home in California. Grandmother's tale came vividly to mind, when several years ago I read Kathryn Hulme's Annie's Captain, on her sea-captain grandfather. Captain Cavarly had been on the
S.S. Colima over four years. She was one of his own ships. She foundered, not far from her destination, and had sunk within ten minutes after she struck. Professor Whiting had left Cambridge to be head of Physics at the State University at Berkeley.

The cornerstone of my home can be clearly read from the street (when the leaves have fallen!)—1894. Father often told me that, after Grandfather Noyes had made it possible for him to buy the

corner lot, he and my mother spent twelve months working on house plans with their architect, Wadsworth Longfellow. Father remarked he had never realized how much there was to decide— which window-fastening, door-handles (shape and/or materials), lighting fixtures, problems all! Electricity had only recently come in—no one was too sure about it. So all fixtures, when the house was built, were dual—gas and electricity. It was a relief to me, somewhere along the aos, to cut off all gas. However, certain fixtures I retained—using the gas apertures either for real candles or electric ones—my house retains a Victorian air!

Dr. Morrill Wyman told father our two elms had been old when he was a boy. As he was born in 1812, I feel that the survivor of the two may well be nearing 175 years old!

The grandparents’ house has had three weddings take place in the parlor overlooking the garden at Mrs. Dodge’s—all three brides daughters of historians—my mother, Constance Winsor Noyes, Elizabeth Channing Fuller, Mary Eleanor Abbott Gleason.

President Eliot had many kinds of wisdom and understanding. He asked my father to edit the Quinquennial Catalogue (after my mother had died on New Year’s Day 1895, aged not quite 35 years). This task helped give Father the courage needed to carry on. Father had found two persons to help him and me. Miss Margaret A. Greene was more than housekeeper; she was a very true friend. Cornish Louise Pethick was my nurse for several years. I kept in touch until her death in the flu epidemic of 1918. Louise had a true English green thumb! We had many plants always in the nursery. I still use bowls for narcissus she and I bought at Bunkio Matsuki’s in Boston. Her parents lived on Antrim Street. Her sisters, Mary and Rose, were maids at Grandmother’s. Her father was a stonemason at the then "yard," not far from Clark’s Telescope, by Cottage Farm Bridge. He knew how to please a child! Louise and I, on one of our walks through Fresh Pond Lane, leading from Brattle Street to Huron Avenue between the Grays’ fence and Mr. Moulton’s greenhouse (another place she and I would visit!) had picked up a bit of marble. I still have the heart-shaped paperweight Mr. Pethick cut for me.

Grandfather Winsor died in 1897. Grandmother stayed on at "74" until 1901. Two Radcliffe girls lived there with her. When Miss Greene left us in 1901, Grandmother moved across Sparks Street to us. ‘Twas then the Channings left Brewster Street for 74 Sparks Street. Mr. Channing asked Grandmother to leave Grandfather’s green book-bag—it hung for long in its accustomed place in the study both historians used.
Father and I often "explored" near-by places —exercise and history! We would walk up to Fresh Pond. He'd tell me of his visits to the Old Hotel in Kingsley Park on the Knoll stretching out into the Pond. That had gone long since but parts—in my childhood, he showed me—had been moved to become dwellings in the area between the Pond and Huron Avenue. Sorry, but I cannot now identify them! Then, often, we would linger on the bridge over the Fresh Pond and Fitchburg Railroad tracks. My ancestor, Grandmother Winsor's father, Ebenezer Barker of Charles town, had been the civil engineer used when this railroad was laid out. Often, later, in both World War I and World War II, when at night I heard heavy trains using those tracks to circle Boston I would wonder what that great-great-grandfather would have felt about the ammunition, service men, wounded, in those long trains of cars, travelling his railroad line. He was also agent for the Charles River and Warren Bridges. Here I will go back further into family history, because one of Father's ancestors was a "Director" of the Charles River Bridge, which was opened on 17 June 1786. A silver teapot, engraved with a picture of the bridge, was given Captain David Wood of Charles town, when the bridge was completed. The silversmith was his neighbor, Zachariah Brigden. The teapot now has a home at the Museum of Fine Arts; as a memorial to Father. This quotation from their Bulletin —"This first bridge to span the river between Boston and Cambridge deprived Harvard College of its rights in collecting revenue from the Charlestown Ferry privileges." Through Mrs. Buehler's research the following report has come to me of the dedication in 1786. Here are Deacon John Tudor's comments, under the date of June 17, 1786:

This day Charles River Bridge was finish'd, when a vast concourse of peo-

The spelling is truly phonetic!

I have, at home, a piece of an early map of the Sparks Street area. There, High Street, in added pencil, became Highland Street. I do not remember water in the built up, granite-block reservoir, built in 1885, that stood at the corner of Highland and Reservoir Streets. The old guardian in charge had a pet fox in a cage at the foot of the steps leading to the top of the high granite wall, beside the house, numbered now "51 & 53-" It was not often that we girls climbed up to look into the stone emptiness below. If one looks, now, at
many of the dwellings along Huron Avenue, one can tell which ones were built after the Reservoir was demolished, by the well-cut granite blocks creating cellar-walls!

Father and I also watched the growth of the pine trees planted by the Water Department on the slopes towards Fresh Pond, along Huron Avenue. I was truly horrified at the thought of the city even considering cutting them down for a school-site! Even if Fresh Pond is not the main water supply now, still it is wise to keep its watershed in condition! Later, he and I watched the plane trees planted along Memorial Drive.

Another exploration would be God’s Acre, the early cemetery between the First Parish Church and Christ Church. One of our ancestors lies there, buried not far from the several early Harvard presidents. Lieut. Edward Winship, born in England, came to the colony, died and was buried in Cambridge in 1688. He was a Lieutenant of the Cambridge Company by 1660. What would he think of the aspect of Harvard Square today? How many going by the old cemetery ever notice the early milestone set up just inside the iron fence, where it can easily be read from the sidewalk? I’m glad Father told me about it —and I silently salute it, as I do the other ancient one on Huntington Avenue, at the base of Parker Hill.

The Botanic Gardens at the corner of Garden and Linnaean Streets were a favorite place on a Sunday afternoon. The little paths threaded through rock gardens were just right to use, and a joy when we found the first mayflowers. The pools gave other delights. The old gardeners were lenient with us children entering the greenhouses, provided we were thoughtful about the necessary closing of doors between "heat-zones"!

Father, one day, pointed out to me, very specially, Mr. Jeremiah Smith. He was a true Son of the Revolution.

I still remember Father’s face upon returning from a "command" call on Madam Russell, in the corner house opposite us. She had asked Father if he would not cut down one of our then two elms, so she could see "husband" return from the trolley-stop on Huron Avenue. He did cut down that tree! The Honorable Charles Theodore Russell’s "summer" home still stands halfway up Bel-mont Hill. Their stable was on a side street, off Concord Avenue, before reaching Fresh Pond. Their daughter-in-law, Mrs. Joseph B. Russell, for a number of years, gathered us girls into a group of sewers for the then annual Fairs in aid of the Cambridge Hospital.

In the Fall of 1896, at the time of my fifth birthday, my Father enrolled me in Miss Markham’s School. My grandparents Winsor, neighbors over the fence from Colonel and Mrs. Higginson, were interested in her, as were many others, when her project of a school became known. As I was an only child. Father wanted me to have the companionship of other children, hence my early start at school.
I do not know who was the architect of Miss Markham's school building. Perhaps she was herself. (Her niece, "Miss Helen's" daughter, became a practicing architect years later.) I believe the land on which the school was built had belonged to Mr. Griswold.

Miss Markham's living quarters were upstairs, but I do not think that she used, out of school hours, the little room on the ground floor by the stairs. Grandmother Winsor told me that she gave Miss Markham a pair of her Hitchcock chairs. I suspect other neighbors helped in many similar ways.

Even as a child, I sensed the friendly atmosphere of the school — entering as we did from Buckingham Place, between the two cloakrooms, little boys on one side, little girls on the other, the great fireplace of the assembly room faced us, often with a blazing fire. One idea of Miss Markham's I have never forgotten. She had had made wooden "stretchers" of varying heights, with unbleached muslin nailed on. These were made to fit the windows. With one inserted in a window there was a change of air, but no draft on the youngsters. Of course the great fireplace and the smaller ones in the other rooms helped keep the air fresh.

The plan of the smaller rooms, along one side of the assembly room, made for much fluidity. Those folding doors could help in many ways. When we had our plays the middle room would be the stage, the doors acted as the curtain, and the audience sat on the school benches or chairs facing this room. Of plays we had Shakespeare—using the Hudson Edition (a much-cut version?). We had our copy, slung on a long string, hanging from our necks — each his own "prompter."

We were a small school. As I remember it, only about forty pupils at a time, and of many ages. Therefore plays had to be simple. When I see today's Buckingham girls, with hair streaming down their backs, I realize the cycle has returned — for we either had long braids, curls, or flowing hair! In our day, when taking the part of Mercutio (let us say), to obtain a medieval hair-do, we learned how to place a stalwart elastic around our tresses, thus to create a bobbed effect, letting the long hair disappear down our backs, beneath our tunic! Costumes were what our families could manage, and by today's standards quite primitive.

Twice, I remember, the school had closed in term-time — once measles swept through, another time it was whooping-cough!

But, really, it is Miss Bérubé I remember there even in my first word as we met in more recent years. To my amusement, she usually spoke of my long curls of those long-ago days — did she have to get them unsnarled from coat buttons?
Seems to me, I always liked MAPS! This would have pleased Grandfather Winsor. I remember vividly my fun and delight in modeling South America in clay — how those Andes grew!

Several summers ago, while listening to a seminar on modern art at the Amos Fortune Forum in Jaffrey Center, I was carried back in a flash to the painting room at Miss Markham's. The speaker, a teacher at the school of the Museum of Fine Arts, used the word "rhythm." All at once, I was a child, watching and listening to the school's neighbor, Denman Ross, tell us children about rhythms, how they could be used in different ways of design, even showing our inept fingers how to draw and paint our versions. In fact, I never know when early school days will not pop up in my thoughts.

One always exciting class was "Sloyd." This we had in the great room of the ell of the Smith sisters' house across the street (No. 13 where Mrs. Hooton lives). It was really fun to play with hammer and nails, saws and planes, and many other excitements like an auger bit! Both boys and girls had a good time, while many objects were created. Proudly I brought home to Father the bird-house I had made. He fastened it securely to the summerhouse in the corner of the garden. Come Spring of 1905, a pair of bluebirds nested there! This brought Mr. Brewster to the house on many a day. He told us it was the first time in years bluebirds had nested so near a house in Cambridge. He would sit watching from an upstairs window. This fact is mentioned in his Birds of the Cambridge Region, where Mr. Brewster reported: "Brood brought out safely."

Father had brought me up on his experience and his photographs of the Blizzard of 1888 in New York City. My time came in that of Cambridge in 1898. Father, with Cornish Louise, came to fetch me home from school. I still can see the mountainous snow of Sparks Street, as we turned up from Brattle Street to climb towards home. Grandfather, in 1896, my first year, would often walk me to school on his way to his desk in old Gore Hall.

Father was fortunate in purchasing, also from Mr. Spalding, the house lot next on Highland Street about 1896. We have always called this lot "The Garden." It was part of the same apple orchard. Father planned it well for us to play in. Mr. Longfellow was asked to design the summerhouse, crowned by a pineapple for hospitality. The two pin oaks were planted when they and I were each seven years old. Swing and "teeter," sand-box and bicycle-rack were there. In those days, little children seldom were given a watch. We were to be in England with the grandparents the summer of 1897. Father consulted Professor Edward Pickering at the Observatory about the correct latitude and longitude to use for a sundial. Negretti and Zambra made one of bronze in London, dated 1897. This still stands on its pedestal backed by lilacs, and surrounded by bulbs and perennials. The garden saw fairs for the Cambridge Hospital — small girls, small amounts earned — sticky fingers meant Grandmother and I washed the coins before the "returns" went to the Hospital Office! Sylvia Scudder Bowditch told me what her father had christened the garden — "Penelope's Plaisance" — and what fun that plot of land has seen.

I was fortunate to receive many glimpses of people. At that time the college community was smaller — the grandparents and Father knew many.
Sunday morning, often, I would go to Grandmother's (Sparks Street was safer to cross then!) and we would go through one of the gates on our way to call on Mrs. Edward Pickering, daughter of Jared Sparks, at the Observatory. Even the last time I looked at the steps leading up the steep bank, the wooden bicycle groove beside them was still there. The groove just fitted this small girl's shoe. The big house was a gracious one. We would find Mrs. Pickering upstairs in the drawing room. In a few minutes, the maid would return with Mrs. Pussy and her latest kittens. The two ladies had a successful chat, and I a happy time. Mrs. Pickering understood how a small person liked little things — I still treasure wee ornaments given me.

Grandmother would often take me calling — one might call it a predecessor of "baby-sitting"— only we covered territory on foot!

I remember my surprise and interest when first we walked to see Mrs. John C. Gray. This was before "The Larches" was moved to its present site; it was still on Brattle Street. What fascinated me was to see a room with two fireplaces! Another friend we visited was Mrs. Asa Gray, long before that house was moved from the Botanic Garden across Garden Street. My mother's edition of the Botany is that of 1875. In 1877 the grandparents rented the William Dean Howells house at 37 Concord Avenue. Mrs. Bartlett lived in the house at 165 Brattle Street. I wonder which is my earliest edition of the Quotations? First printed in 1855, each edition is larger. Still, the quotation used by one reviewer, from Christopher Marlowe, is true: "Infinite riches in a little room." Again, near this house, we'd see Mr. Lucian Carr, with his long white hair, spare figure, and tall staff, walking along Brattle Street. At 156 Brattle Street, lived Mr. Samuel Scudder. It was always a treat to be shown his butterflies, housed in a small building behind the house. I've never forgotten the title of his book — Frail Children of the Air. Miss Blatchford, a relative of his lived there too. I own the tale of her own childhood — Little Jane and Me — as well as Polly and the Aunt. Polly Platt stayed there more than once, when a baby was due at her own home on Long Island. Polly would attend Miss Markham's, so knew us children. Across Sparks Street lived Miss Jeannie Paine — her father was Professor of Music at the College. In person, she is shadowy; but how far-seeing was her legacy, to be administered from the First Parish, in help for "female residents of Cambridge, 25 years or over; male residents 65 years or over." Grandmother told me about Professor Toy — they lived at 7 Lowell Street. I can't remember calling there. What I do remember is her telling me how, if it was stormy weather and Professor Toy felt "house-bound," he would take up a score of a symphony, to read while sitting by the study fire. A marvelous way to enjoy music. She also said — and how this appealed to a small girl — the daughters were nicknamed "the Playthings." Miss Bowen we would see — a benefactress of the Cambridge Historical Society. Grandmother felt her to be one of the last to wear even a "token" hoop-skirt! Miss Ellen Bulfinch, granddaughter of the architect, lived up along Huron Avenue. I
would see her walking by. Sometimes we met at Grandmother’s. We’d see the widow of John Fiske on Brattle Street. We’d call on Anna Hyatt, the sculptress, and her mother. I think of Miss Hyatt when I pass Jeanne (F)Arby Central Park. What a treasure house of things to see when we called on Miss Nathurst at Denman Ross’s!

Grandmother and I would drive with Mr. Summers, whose livery stable was on Healey Street opposite the “Tin Canyon,” with his pair of horses, twice a year, spring and fall, to West Roxbury to see my great-grandmother Winsor, and her sister, Aunt Delia How-land. It was an all-day excursion—we would drive along Brookline Street toward the Cottage Farm Bridge, I always on the lookout for the long nose of the Clark Telescope. Quoting from David McCord in "Cambridge Sky": “The curious, naked ruin of some large refractor, rusted and empty on its iron trunnions and still pointing at the sky, may be seen on Henry Street, a stone’s throw from the Charles.” Again I found a reference inTeale’s Wandering Through Winter—a 12-inch Clark refracting telescope made in 1868, still cherished. Would that then I’d been taken to see Fort Washington! Exploring that had to wait a long time, until Miss Howe and I went there on a photographic jaunt!

One other drive taken with Mr. Summers, was when Louise and I were driven by him, in a booby-hut, one winter’s afternoon, to the birthday party, in a house on Commonwealth Avenue, for the son of old friends of Father’s. Harvard Bridge seemed very long!

There was lots to do around ”74,” both when Grandmother was there, and then the Channings. Gurney Hill, below the Reservoir, was not considered a proper coasting spot for a small girl—even in those days there was a rough element towards Fresh Pond. We used the slope from the Deane’s house, the present day Upper Buckingham School, down into "the Howling Wilderness" in front of "74" — created by several old willows, grape-vines, and shrubs. The grapes were a temptation, not so much to us, as to the youngsters from "the Marsh." Grandfather would go through the gate to


Colonel Higginson’s at 29 Buckingham Street, for a call next door on old Father Moriarty. In those days, the priest knew the children of his parish: the depredations would stop! Later on, Elizabeth Channing and I would bring back wildlings from picnics at Menotomy Park, Arlington, or the area, full of birds and wildflowers, where the various metal plants now stand near Fresh Pond. These we planted in the "Howling Wilderness," successfully, too.

The gates were many between Sparks Street houses and Buckingham ones. One entered the child-sized woods in back of the Higginson’s, where sometimes we were given permission to use the tree-house. One gate was always locked. Grandmother understood children. Somehow that Miss Henshaw must have had an unhappy experience with children, always to lock her gate! Grandmother referred to her as "the Snippy Lady," and we children steered clear! Incidentally, the gentle slope of Deane’s Hill was just right for us to use for our homemade, barrel-stave skis. The double row of cedars between the "Snippy Lady’s" house and that now owned by the Dunnings was a perfect small "lane." Grandmother’s purple beech was a delight—what better climbing tree? For us, each limb was a room.
Neighborhood "days at home" were common in my childhood. In fact, my neighbor Mrs. Edward Dodge continued "Thursdays" until her death. Mrs. Channing offered us tea in rose medallion cups with toasted crackers any afternoon —served when dictation was over, and Mr. Channing with his secretary, Miss Eva Moore, would leave the study, and we youngsters would come in after an afternoon at the skating rink.

Brattle Street children would have their game of "funeral" —I almost did! Great-grandfather Nathaniel Winsor, Jr., had had an opportunity to buy the fine house between Craigie House and the Episcopal Theological School. He turned it down as "too far in the country." A poor decision, as Blackstone Square and West Newton Street, Boston, were not so successful! One date is clear. When Grandfather's close friend, Dr. Angell of Ann Arbor received an honorary degree at Harvard Commencement of 1905, grandmother and I were there in Sanders Theatre as his guests. It was also the 25th Reunion of 1880, the class of Theodore Roosevelt.

When several neighbors saw the Librarian of Harvard walking up Brattle Street carrying an old child's ladder-backed, rush-bottomed armchair they knew where he was bound! It stands now in my library, ready for small visitors.

The Avon Home was still functioning in the house standing back of the small public schoolhouse on Lowell Street. We youngsters would go to see and help (if it could be called that!) with the children living there, on their "fair" days.

One character I must not forget to mention — old John, the Orangeman! Colorful, always, his white-painted cart, with a large red H, and donkey getting a drink at Wash-Tub Square. Later we played baseball on the open lots where now stand the older Radcliffe dormitories. Some, better skaters than I ever was, when the river froze wth "black" ice, would skate to Boston and Miss Winsor's school!

One winter's day, walking down Brattle Street, I saw a man straddling the gutter. There was snow on the ground, ice melting in the gutter, so that miniature rivers were flowing there. It was Professor William M. Davis of the Geology Department, studying currents, even of such infinitesimal size.

Father and I went to the Boston Symphony Orchestra concerts at Sanders Theatre —that was a week-night engagement permitted. I'm glad I saw Major Higgmson. His was a vision into the far future when he started the Boston Symphony Orchestra. We also would see Professor Palmer and Professor Peabody.

Sunday breakfast, we three, Grandmother, Father, and I, would wonder if this was to be a day when President Eliot and Mrs. Eliot would bicycle by on their way to son Sam's on Reservoir Street for breakfast. Their son Charles had advised Father on the few trees he planted and the many shrubs.
Professor Albert Bushnell Hart’s Source Readers in American History, dedicated to the twins, "Little A. and Little A.,” were along the lines of the work Grandfather did in interesting students in sources. His Narrative and Critical History of America can produce much for a student. I loved playing with the "signature" blocks of famous people —now with his papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Mr. Horace Scudder, his wife, and daughter were special friends of all of us. Sylvia and Grandfather had the same birthday, which created an especial bond. Mrs. Scudder gave me lilies-of-the-valley for the garden, still blooming each spring. The "Bodley" books of Mr. Scudder were a delight to read. Also, I have his anthology of poems. Grandmother used to read me out of Dana’s Book of Household Verse—a veritable storehouse. She and I also shared in reading my mother’s copy of Mr. Lear's Nonsense Rhymes. The readings aloud are good memories to have.

Wash-Tub Square and the horses: pungs and a ride on the runners: Officer Blynn, who knew all children, whether from "the Marsh," or from Brattle Street. The Lamp-Lighter going up Sparks Street at dusk. Watching for the German chimney sweep, Oen-schlager, to walk up Sparks Street with his tall silk hat and the bundle of rods and brushes over his shoulder, come to clean our many flues. The joy of the front seat of an open trolley car on the way to a picnic in Arlington or Waltham. Commencement Day and the Lancers. Parades up Brattle Street on Memorial Day. The cavern of Amee Brothers bookstore. The excitement of choosing a toy in the shop around the corner.

Wars touched us then only slightly. I remember Father telling me of the blowing up of the Maine in Havana Harbor in February 1898. I still have a small Spanish shell given us by Captain Dyer, a friend of great-uncle Edward Barker who lived on Buckingham Street. Captain Dyer, Commander of the Baltimore, had picked up the shell at the Battle of Manila Bay, i May 1898. The Boer War came —and that was my first experience of learning that everyone, amongst our friends and neighbors, did not feel the same, that faults could be on both sides.

A child remembers, something told here, an episode there, rarely a date to which to hitch events. Though probably written not always accurately, perhaps these paragraphs may give small pictures of an earlier Cambridge.

Read October 28, 1969
AUTHORS OF PAPERS IN THIS VOLUME

The late JOHN F. DAVIS, a Cambridge businessman, served on the Water Board for ten years and was its President at the time of his death, September 5, 1968.

CHARLES F. WHITING, Harvard '97, a retired businessman, is the doyen of sometime residents of Francis Avenue.

GEORGE A. MACOMBER was President of the Cambridge Trust Company from 1950 to 1967.

ROBERT SULLIVAN is an Associate Justice of the Massachusetts Superior Court.

ELLIOIT FORBES is Fanny Peabody Professor of Music, Harvard University.

CATHARINE KERLIN WILDER contributed a paper on the American Revolution to an earlier volume of the Proceedings.

ARTHUR E. SUTHERLAND is Bussey Professor of Law, Harvard University.

RICHARD C. EVARTS, author of Alice’s Adventures in Cambridge and President of the Society 1965-1969, practices law in Boston.

PRISCILLA GOUGH TREAT was Director of Publicity for Radcliffe College from 1925 to 1937 and received the Radcliffe Alumnae Recognition Award in 1969.

PENELOPE BARKER NOYES, granddaughter of librarian, historian, and cartographer Justin Winsor, is a lifelong resident of the neighborhood about which she writes.

Annual Reports
SECRETARY’S REPORT FOR 1967

The Cambridge Historical Society held four meetings in 1967, the sixty-second annual meeting on January 22, 1967, the 238th meeting on March 21, 1967, the 239th on Tuesday, May 23, 1967, and the 240th on October 24, 1967. The speakers at the meetings were: Mr. John F. Davis, a member of the Society, who read a paper on "History of Cambridge Water"; Mr. Charles F. Whiting, a member of the Society, who read a paper on "Francis Avenue and the Norton Estate"; Professor Thomas H. D. Mahoney, Professor of History at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, whose paper was entitled "Edmund Burke, the Rockinghams and Repeal of the Stamp Act"; and Mr. Henry A. Millon, Associate Professor of Architecture at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, who gave an illustrated talk on Richardson’s Cambridge Buildings.

Thirteen members of the Society have died and two have resigned.

The present membership is six Associate Members, eight Life Members, and 234 Active Members.

Once more the Society has had a very pleasant year under the humorous and relaxed leadership of President Evarts.

Anna H. Jeffrey, Secretary

SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR 1968

THE Cambridge Historical Society held four meetings in 1968, the sixty-third annual meeting on Sunday, January 28, 1968, the 242nd meeting on Sunday, March 24, 1968, the 243rd on Tuesday, May 28, 1968, and the 244th on Tuesday evening, October 22, 1968.

The speakers at the meetings were: Mr. George A. Macomber, a member of the Society, whose paper was entitled, "Rambling Notes on the Cambridge Trust Company, or Tales of a Wayside Bank"; the Honorable Robert Sullivan, Associate Justice of the Massachusetts Superior Court, read a fascinating paper entitled "A Cambridge Tragedy: The Trial of Professor Webster"; Professor Elliot Forbes, Professor of Music at Harvard University, read a paper on "Music at Harvard"; and Mrs. Catharine K. Wilder, a member of the Society, read her humorous paper entitled "Eighty-six Aromatic Years in Harvard Square."

The Executive Council met on February 1, 1968, March 19, 1968, June 11, 1968, October 24, 1968, and December 4, 1968. The vital statistics of the Society are: seven members have died, three have resigned, and one moved away. There are ten Associate Members, seven Life Members, and 232 Active Members as of January 15, 1969.

Once more the Society has enjoyed a very pleasant year under the humorous and relaxed leadership of President Evarts who procures very entertaining speakers.

Anna H. Jeffrey, Secretary

SECRETARY'S REPORT FOR 1969

THE Cambridge Historical Society held four meetings in 1969, the sixty-fourth annual meeting on Sunday, January 19, 1969 in the James Barr Ames Court Room in Austin Hall at the Harvard Law School, the 246th meeting on Sunday afternoon, March 16, 1969, the 247th meeting on Tuesday afternoon, May 27, 1969, and the 248th meeting on Tuesday evening, October 28th. With the exception of the 1969 annual meeting all the others were held at the Lee-Nichols House.

The speakers at the meetings were: Mr. Arthur E. Sutherland, Bussey Professor of Law at the Harvard Law School, who gave an illustrated talk on "Harvard Law School's Four Oldest Homes"; President Richard C. Evarts whose paper, "The Class of 1903" was a gem,
which my travels caused me to miss; Mrs. Robert Treat, a member of this Society, whose paper, "Red Books and the Changing Social Mores" was fascinating to old Radcliffe graduates; and Miss Penelope Barker Noyes, a member of this Society, whose paper, "From Lover's Lane to Sparks Street" brought back Cambridge in its heyday, not its present shaggy-haired uproar.


The vital statistics of the Society are as follows: five members have died, two associate members have resigned, and two were dropped for non-payment of dues. There are twelve Associate Members, seven Life Members, and 234 Active Members plus two Honorary Members.

The Society had an excellent year with interesting programs under the relaxed and humorous leadership of President Evarts. It has been a pleasure to serve as Secretary in his regime.

Anna H. Jeffrey, Secretary

174
REPORT OF THE TREASURER

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES
FOR YEARS ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1969 AND 1968

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Year Ended December 31, 1969</th>
<th>Year Ended December 31, 1968</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Income</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment Income:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Savings bank interest</td>
<td>$420.30</td>
<td>$852.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bond interest</td>
<td>3,319.05</td>
<td>2,517.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dividends</td>
<td>3,223.04</td>
<td>3,279.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6,962.39</td>
<td>8,649.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Operating Income:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Membership dues</td>
<td>$1,697.00</td>
<td>$1,697.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guest and admission fees</td>
<td>53.00</td>
<td>54.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sale of publications</td>
<td>5.00</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations—home maint.</td>
<td>918.00</td>
<td>1,333.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations—special</td>
<td>2,000.00</td>
<td>2,000.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Income</td>
<td>$11,635.39</td>
<td>$11,753.67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| **Expenses**         |                              |                              |
| Operating expenses:  |                              |                              |
| Meetings             | $509.74                      | $574.90                      |
| Clerical and postage | 460.79                       | 372.31                       |
| Printing and stationery | 363.60                 | 228.00                       |
| Miscellaneous        | 98.46                        | 33.88                        |
|                      | $1,432.59                    | $1,299.09                    |
| Real Estate 159 Brattle Street: |                      |                              |
| Insurance            | $683.00                      | $473.00                      |
| Hostesses            | 150.00                       | 210.00                       |
| Repairs and maintenance | 1,835.40                 | 3,291.32                     |
| Repair of termite damage | 21,711.40                |                              |
| Less:                |                              |                              |
| Contributed by members | (5,920.13)                |                              |
| Charged to reserve for structural repairs | (15,791.37) | 2,668.40                     |
| Total Expenses       | $4,100.99                    | $5,183.41                    |
| Excess of Income over Expense | $7,534.40               | $6,570.26                    |
| Less: Additions for Reserves: |                      |                              |
| For structural repairs | $2,000.00                  | $2,000.00                    |
| For publishing proceedings | 1,000.00                  | 1,000.00                     |
| Addition to Unappropriated Surplus | $4,534.40               | $3,570.26                    |
### Comparative Statement of Assets and Funds
#### December 31, 1969 and 1968

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assets</th>
<th>December 31</th>
<th></th>
<th>December 31</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1969</td>
<td></td>
<td>1968</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash in checking account</td>
<td>$1,630.52</td>
<td></td>
<td>$6,050.90</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash in savings account</td>
<td>7,023.11</td>
<td></td>
<td>8,652.42</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cash due from sale of securities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>582.61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonds at cost or face value</td>
<td>51,757.19</td>
<td></td>
<td>54,757.19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Market value—$40,455.00 [1969]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$48,801.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$48,801.25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Common stocks at cost</td>
<td>68,786.90</td>
<td></td>
<td>66,023.74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Market value—$79,509.62 [1969]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$95,529.61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>$95,529.61</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other assets at nominal value</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture &amp; fixtures</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Collections</td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.00</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total Assets</strong></td>
<td><strong>$129,201.72</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>$136,070.86</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Funds

#### Restricted Principal Funds:
- **Cook Bequest**: $1,006.67
- **Emerson Bequest**: $20,000.00
- **Life Memberships**: $1,325.00
- **Total**: $22,331.67

#### Unrestricted Principal Funds:
- **Bequests and donations**: $26,819.89
- **Unexpended income**: $10,722.04
- **Unallocated principal gains**: $21,280.07
- **Total**: $58,822.00

#### Reserve for Structural Repairs:
- **Bal. Jan. 1, 1969 and 1968**: $22,000.00
- **Appropriated from income**: $2,000.00
- **Charges for termite damage**: $15,791.27
- **Bal. Dec. 31, 1969 and 1968**: $8,208.73

#### Reserve for Publishing of Proceedings
- **Bal. Jan. 1, 1969 and 1968**: $2,000.00
- **Appropriated from net income**: $1,000.00
- **Bal. Dec. 31, 1969 and 1968**: $3,000.00

#### Plants and Contents Funds
- **Total**: $4.00

#### Unappropriated Surplus:
- **Bal. Jan. 1, 1969 and 1968**: $32,300.92
- **Excess of income over Expenses and Reserve allocations**: $4,534.40
- **Bal. Dec. 31, 1969 and 1968**: $36,835.32

#### Total Funds and Surplus
- **December 31, 1969**: $129,201.72
- **December 31, 1968**: $136,070.86
# APPRAISAL OF INVESTMENTS

**AS OF DECEMBER 31, 1969**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cambridge Savings Bank Regular 188432</td>
<td>$7,023.11</td>
<td>$7,023.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Savings Banks</td>
<td>$7,023.11</td>
<td>$7,023.11</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**BONDS:**

| $10,000 | Chesapeake & Potomac Tel. 6 7/8s 2008 | 88 | $8,800.00 | $10,050.00 |
| 3,000 | Gulf States Util. 5 3/8s 2-1-97 | 73 7/8 | 2,216.25 | 3,073.22 |
| 2,000 | Metropolitan Toronto 4s 7-1-78 | 71 | 1,420.00 | 1,994.80 |
| 5,000 | N. E. T & T 6 1/8s 10-1-06 | 73 | 3,650.00 | 4,888.25 |
| 5,000 | N. Y. Tel Co 6s 9-1-07 | 72 1/2 | 3,625.00 | 4,863.25 |
| 3,000 | Pacific Gas & Elec 5 6-1-89 | 70 | 2,100.00 | 3,000.00 |
| 5,000 | Phila. Elec Co 6 1/8s 10-1-97 | 70 1/2 | 3,975.00 | 4,837.50 |
| 5,000 | Public Serv Elec & Gas 7 3/8s 98 | 85 | 4,150.00 | 5,121.50 |
| 3,000 | Sears Roebuck 4 3/4s 8-1-83 | 75 3/4 | 2,237.50 | 3,000.00 |
| 3,000 | So. Calif. Edison 4 3/4s 7-1-82 | 68 1/4 | 2,066.25 | 2,976.07 |
| 5,000 | Std Oil of N. J. 6s 11-1-97 | 81 3/4 | 4,087.50 | 4,952.60 |
| 3,000 | U. S. Steel 4s 7-15-83 | 70 1/4 | 2,107.50 | 3,000.00 |

**$52,000 Total Bonds** | $40,455.00 | $51,757.19 |

**No. Shares COMMON STOCKS:**

| 100 | Amer Tel & Tel 48% | 4,862.50 | 6,270.70 |
| 100 | Central & Southwest 40 1/4 | 4,025.00 | 1,776.99 |
| 50 | duPont 105 | 5,250.00 | 6,993.02 |
| 104 | First Nat'l Bk of Boston 67 1/2 | 7,020.00 | 1,959.68 |
| 75 | General Electric 77 7/8 | 5,812.50 | 7,351.68 |
| 58 | General Motors 69 3/8 | 4,009.25 | 3,626.29 |
| 204 | Gulf Oil 31 | 6,324.00 | 3,850.00 |
| 200 | Gulf States Utilities 21 1/8 | 4,375.00 | 1,732.63 |
| 15 | I B M 364 1/2 | 5,467.50 | 4,871.25 |
| 100 | Standard Oil of N. J. 61 1/4 | 6,175.00 | 6,864.29 |
| 150 | Texaco 28 | 4,200.00 | 6,174.38 |
| 100 | Texas Utilities 55 3/4 | 5,512.50 | 5,632.09 |
| 100 | Union Carbide 57 | 3,700.00 | 5,902.09 |
| 200 | Va. Elec & Power 22 1/2 | 4,676.37 | 2,042.81 |
| 200 | Weyerhaeuser 40 1/2 | 8,100.00 | 4,939.00 |

**Total common stocks** | $79,509.62 | $68,786.90 |

**TOTAL ALL INVESTMENTS** | $126,987.73 | $127,567.20 |
To the Officers of the
Cambridge Historical Society
Cambridge, Massachusetts

I have examined the statement of assets and funds of the Cambridge Historical Society as of December 31, 1969, and the related statement of income and expense for the year there ended. My examination was made in accordance with generally accepted auditing standards, and accordingly included such tests of the accounting records and such other auditing procedures as I considered necessary in the circumstances.

In my opinion, the accompanying statements of assets and funds and the related statement of income and expense present fairly the financial condition of the Cambridge Historical Society at December 31, 1969, and the results of its operations for the year then ended, in conformity with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding years.

Robert A. Cushman
Certified Public Accountant
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138
February 18, 1970

List of Members
*Died   **Resigned    A Associate Member    H Honorary Member    L Life Member

Douglas Payne Adams
Marion Harmon Stanwood (Mrs. D. P.) Adams
Paul Frost Alles
Margaret Wilder (Mrs. P. F.) Alles
Elizabeth Gardner (Mrs. C.) Almy
* Mary Almy
James Barr Ames
* Mary Ogden (Mrs. J. B.) Ames
Oakes Ingalls Ames
Harriet Hastings (Mrs. O. I.) Ames

Dwight Hayward Andrews

Matilda Wallace (Mrs. D. H.) Andrews

Eleanor Appel

Gage Bailey

Ellen Nealley (Mrs. G.) Bailey

Helen Harwood (Mrs. I. W.) Bailey

Frances Josephine Baker

Dorothy Bartol

Ruth Richards (Mrs. A.) Beane

Ralph Beatley

Beryl Barbier (Mrs. R.) Beatley

Pierre Belliveau

Joseph S. Bigelow III

Mary Ellen Brown (Mrs. J. S.) Bigelow

Howard Lane Blackwell

Helen Thomas (Mrs. H. L.) Blackwell

John Thomas Blackwell

Ann Wrightington (Mrs. J. T.) Blackwell

180

* Frank Aloysius Kenney Boland

Charles Stephen Bolster

Elizabeth Winthrop (Mrs. C. S.) Bolster

Rebecca Crowninshield Browne (Mr. R. F.) Bradford

Laura Post (Mrs. S. A.) Breed

Author H. Brooks, Jr.
Jean Halladay (Mrs. A. H.) Brooks
Eleanor Sheridan (Mrs. D. E.) Burr
Harriet Ropes (Mrs. R.) Cabot
Levin Hicks Campbell
Eleanor Lewis (Mrs. L. H.) Campbell
Ruth Blackman (Mrs. P. D.) Caskey
Melville C. Chapin
Elizabeth Parker (Mrs. M. C.) Chapin
Louise Fletcher (Mrs. C. L.) Chase
James Ford Clapp, Jr.
Grace FitzGerald (Mrs. J. F.) Clapp
** Roger Saunders Clapp
** Winifred Irwin (Mrs. R. S.) Clapp
John Wheelwright Cobb
Ann Valentine (Mrs. J. W.) Cobb
Arthur Harrison Cole
Anna E. Steckel (Mrs. A. H.) Cole
L Mabel Hall Colgate
Mary Conlan
** Theresa Reynolds (Mrs. J. L.) Coolidge
Dana Meserve Cotton
Geraldine Pierce (Mrs. D. M.) Cotton
Phyllis Byrne (Mrs. G.) Cox
Constance B. Crocker
Katharine Foster Crothers
Robert Adams Cushman
Esther Lanman (Mrs. R. A.) Cushman
Richard Ammi Cutter

Ruth Dexter Grew (Mrs. R. A.) Cutter

* John Francis Davis

Margaret Finck (Mrs. J. F.) Davis

A Gardiner Mumford Day

Casimir deRham, Jr.

Elizabeth Evarts (Mrs. C.) deRham

Cecil Thayer Derry

Thomas Henri deValcourt

Arthur Stone Dewing

* Frank Currier Doble

* Helen I. Dadmun (Mrs. F. C.) Doble

James Donovan

Frances Cooper-Marshall (Mrs. J.) Donovan

David Crocker Dow

Eunice Greta Eleonora Nelson (Mrs. D. C.) Dow

Sterling Dow

Elizabeth Flagg (Mrs. S.) Dow

Arthur Drinkwater

Elizabeth Droppers

Robert Parker Dudley

Anne Kirk (Mrs. R. P.) Dudley

Dows Dunham

Marion Jessie Thompson (Mrs. D.) Dunham

James Morse Dunning
Mae Bradford (Mrs. J. M.) Dunning

* Ethel Harding (Mrs. F. C.) Durant

Osborne Earle

Eleanor Clark (Mrs. O.) Earle

Charles William Eliot, 2nd

Regina Dodge (Mrs. C. W.) Eliot

Lawrence Gray Eliot

Eugene Emerson

Richard Conover Evarts

Richard Manning Faulkner

Marian Carter Thomson (Mrs. R. M.) Faulkner

* Edward Waldo Forbes

Elliot Forbes

Kathleen Allen (Mrs. E.) Forbes

Lois Whitney (Mrs. A. B.) Forbes

Alden Simonds Foss

Dorothy Tenney (Mrs. A. S.) Foss

* Francis Apthorp Foster John Freeman

* Elizabeth Burditt (Mrs. J.) Freeman

182

Ingeborg Gade Frick (Mrs.)

Robert Norton Ganz

Claire MacIntyre (Mrs. R. N.) Ganz

A Wendell Douglas Garrett

A Martha Jane Nuckols (Mrs. W. D.) Garrett

Hollis Guptill Gerrish
Catherine Ruggles (Mrs. H. G.) Gerrish

Henry Lathrop Gilbert

Priscilla Brown (Mrs. H. L.) Gilbert

** Robert Lincoln Goodale

** Susan Sturgis (Mrs. R. L.) Goodale

* Margaret Benedict (Mrs. T.) Gorham

Charles Chauncey Gray

Pauline De Friez (Mrs. C. C.) Gray

Harding Updike Greene

Dorothea Dusser de Barenne (Mrs. J. D.) Greene

L Helen McQuesten (Mrs. P.) Gring

A Erwin Nathaniel Griswold

A Harriet Allena Ford (Mrs. E. N.) Griswold

Addison Gulick

* Lilian Helen (Mrs. T.) Hadley

Edward Everett Hale

Helen Holmes (Mrs. E. E.) Hale

Amy de Gozzaldi (Mrs. R. W.) Hall

Constance Huntington Hall

Mary Louise Perry (Mrs. R. W.) Harwood

Robert Hammond Haynes Christina Doyle (Mrs. R. H.) Haynes

Mary Taussig (Mrs. G.) Henderson

Robert Graham Henderson

Lucy Gregory (Mrs. R. G.) Henderson

* Erastus Henry Hewitt

Jane Meldrim (Mrs. E. H.) Hewitt

A Albert Frederick Hill
* Georgiana Ames (Mrs. T. L.) Hinckley
* Elizabeth Mary Hincks
** Sinclair Hamilton Hitchings
** Catherine Farlow (Mrs. S. H.) Hitchings
Harley Peirce Holden

James Cleveland Hopkins Jr.
Barbara Cassard Rowe (Mrs. J. C.) Hopkins
* George Wright Howe
Rosamond Coolidge (Mrs. G. W.) Howe
Marjorie Hurd
Charles Street Jeffrey
Anna Hollis (Mrs. C. S.) Jeffrey
L Constance Bouve (Mrs. H. A.) Jenks
George Wilbur Jones
* Susan Wilbur (Mrs. Llewellyn) Jones
Wilbur Kitchener Jordan
Frances Ruml (Mrs. W. K.) Jordan
L Theodora Keith
John Spaulding King
Judith Stanton (Mrs. J. S.) King
Margaret Thayer (Mrs. S.) Lancaster
Persis McClennan (Mrs. C. T.) Lane
William Leonard Langer
Rowena Morse (Mrs. W. L.) Langer
Andrew Leighton
Phebe Crampton (Mrs. A.) Leighton

Isabella Carr Thompson (Mrs. D.) Leighton

Margaret Child (Mrs. G. A.) Lewis

* Isabella Prince Linley

Marian R. (Mrs. M.) McClay

Elizabeth Blair (Mrs. B.) MacDougall

George Arthur Macomber

Ella Sewell Slingluff (Mrs. G. A.) Macomber

Thomas H. D. Mahoney

Ralph May

Gladys Smyth (Mrs. R.) May

Joseph Maybank III

Mary Rose Ferguson (Mrs. J.) Maybank

Keyes De Witt Metcalf

Elinor Gregory (Mrs. K. D.) Metcalf

A Hugh Montgomery

A Elizabeth Beal (Mrs. H.) Montgomery

Ona Amelia Morse

* James Buell Munn

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

Elizabeth Flint (Mrs. F. H.) Nesmith

Henry Webster Newbegin

Harriet Jackson (Mrs. H. W.) Newbegin

Edwin Broomell Newman

Mary Beaumont (Mrs. E. B.) Newman
Nina Nightingale
Grace Wyeth (Mrs. A. P.) Norris
John Torry Norton
Rose Eleanor Demon (Mrs. J. T.) Norton
Penelope Barker Noyes
Walter George O’Neil
* Isabel Marchant (Mrs. W. G.) O’Neil
Foster McCrum Palmer
Doris Madelyn Brown (Mrs. F. M.) Palmer
Bryan Patterson
Bernice Caine (Mrs. B.) Patterson
William Lincoln Payson
Frederica Watson (Mrs. W. L.) Payson
Howard Fletcher Peak
Marion Lawrence Blake (Mrs. H. F.) Peak
A Eleanor H. Pearson
Norman Pettit
Beatrice Binger (Mrs. N.) Pettit
Helen Russell (Mrs. G. W.) Pierce
Marion Hilton Pike
* * Elizabeth Bridge Piper
Mary Friedlander (Mrs. J. S.) Plaut
**Hartwell Pond ** Mildred Clark Stone (Mrs. D. T.) Pottinger
H Susan Nichols Pulsifer (Mrs.)
Lucy Balch (Mrs. A. L.) Putnam
Edward Sears Read
Edward Reynolds
Dorothea Jordan (Mrs. E.) Reynolds
George Irwin Rohrbough
Martha Fraser (Mrs. G. I.) Rohrbough
Alfred Sherwood Romer
Ruth Hibbard (Mrs. A. S.) Romer

Charles Rodney Sage
Marjorie Llewellyn (Mrs. C. R.) Sage
Edward Joseph Samp, Jr.
Cyrus Ashton Rollins Sanborn
Agnes Goldman (Mrs. A.) Sanborn
Esther S. Sands
* Laura Dudley (Mrs. H. H.) Saunderson
A Mason Scudder
A Celia Vandermark (Mrs. M.) Scudder
L Edgar Viguers Seeler, Jr.
L Katherine PerLee (Mrs. E. V.) Seeler
John Langdon Simonds
Mary Frances Trafton (Mrs. J. L.) Simonds
Lester Otis Simonds
Margaret Gass (Mrs. L. O.) Simonds
* Elizabeth Copley Singleton
Carol Mary Smith
Clement Andrew Smith
* William Stevenson Smith
Chauncey Depew Steele, Jr.
Marian Elizabeth (Mrs. C. D.) Steele
Theodore Lyman Storer
Katherine Ladd Storey (Mrs. T. L.) Storer
Carolyn Stubbs
Arthur Eugene Sutherland
Mary Elizabeth Genung (Mrs. A. E.) Sutherland
Ellamae McKee (Mrs. W. D.) Swan
Helen Ingersoll Tetlow
Gordon Bruce Thayer
Lydia Coffin Prescott (Mrs. G. B.) Thayer
Persis Louisa Webster (Mrs. C. F.) Toppan
H Grace Williams Treadwell
Robert Treat
Priscilla Gough (Mrs. R.) Treat
Genevieve C. (Mrs. W. L.) Tutin
Adam Bruno Ulam
Mary Hamilton Burgwin (Mrs. A. B.) Ulam
Mary Wellington (Mrs. K. S.) Usher
George Eman Vaillant

Anne Greenough (Mrs. G. E.) Vaillant
Marjory Rowland (Mrs. H.) Walter
Roger Sherrill Webb
Anne Van Vleck (Mrs. R. S.) Webb
William Burton Webster
Marguerite Bigelow (Mrs. W. B.) Webster
Daniel Bradford Wetherell

Esther Elizabeth Hughes (Mrs. D. B.) Wetherell

* Thomas North Whitehead

Harriet Eaton (Mrs. T. N.) Whitehead

Walter Muir Whitehill

Jane Revere Coolidge (Mrs. W. M.) Whitehill

Charles Frederick Whiting

Amos Niven Wilder

Catharine Kerlin (Mrs. A. N.) Wilder

Constance Bigelow Williston

A Mary Maynadier Mathews (Mrs. J. H.) Wing

Grace Davenport (Mrs. H. J.) Winslow

Henry Davenport Winslow

Katharine Nichols (Mrs. H. D.) Winslow

Henry Wise

Pearl Katz (Mrs. H.) Wise

Albert Blakeslee Wolfe

Beatrice Ewan (Mrs. A. B.) Wolfe

* John William Wood

Charles Conrad Wright

Elizabeth Hilgendorff (Mrs. C. C.) Wright

187